

A grammar of Pere (Bere, Mbre) of Côte d'Ivoire

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1 Introduction

1.1 Pere language

Pere (in the literature also spelled *Pèrè*, *Bere*, *Mbre*) is a seriously endangered language of central Côte d’Ivoire. It is listed as “Mbre” in Glottolog (viewed July 2018), code *mbre1244*, and in ISO 639-3, code *mka*. Pere people have the surname *Fofana*.

The small Pere-speaking zone is a linguistic enclave surrounded by Koro, a Mande language. All residents of the *Pèrè* villages speak Koro on an everyday basis. Koro is a peripheral member of the Manding language-dialect complex, which also includes the widely-used languages *Bambara*, *Jula* (*Dioula*), and *Maninka*. Koro is classified within East Manding, closely related to *Maninka*. The ISO 639-3 code for Koro is *kfo*. In Glottolog (viewed July 2018) Koro (code *koro1306*) is subgrouped with *Koyaga* within the *Maninka-Mori* subgroup of East Manding. There are also a few *Senufo*-speaking villages in the Koro zone.

The Pere language has been difficult to classify within any known West African language family. For present purposes we leave it as “unclassified Niger-Congo.” That is, it seems to belong to the vast Niger-Congo family, which has been thought to include *Bantu* and its relatives *Kwa*, *Kru*, *Gur*, *Adamawa*, *Atlantic*, and in the more adventurous versions *Dogon*, *Mande*, *Ijoid*, and *Ubangian*. However, Pere has not yet been clearly connected on linguistic grounds with any of these families. The *Kwa* and *Gur* families, along with the “peripheral *Gur*” languages that are now generally excluded from *Gur* (*Tiefo*, *Natorio-Wara*, *Viemo*, *Toussian*, and the *Senufo* family) are the most logical candidates.

Denis Creissels stumbled on the “*Pèrè*” language in 1985 during fieldwork on Koro. He returned briefly twice between then and 1990 and compiled and circulated a short unpublished commentary and lexical list (Creissels MS). He indicated that the language was not being passed on to children born in the 1980’s. He noted that *Mbre* looked Niger-Congo, but neither he nor the language-family specialists he consulted could place it in a specific family. He deserves full credit for bringing the language to the attention of Africanist linguists and for providing enough lexical data to permit initial consideration of its genetic position.

The endonyms for the language and ethnicity are those in (1). The *-à* suffix, which we label “absolute,” occurs on nouns phrase-finally or in isolation. The terms all begin with *pèrè-* of variable tone as a compound initial. This stem does not occur except in compounds. The difference between our *y* and Creissel’s (IPA) *j* is orthographic.

| | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| (1) | Ethnonyms | ours | Creissels (hyphens added) |
| | Pere person | péré-wū ɲɔŋ-à | pèrè-ù |
| | Pere people | péré-wū-bè | pèrè-ù-bè |
| | Pere language | pérè-písì-yà | pèrè-pìsj-à |

The exonym for the language and ethnicity in the wider region, for example in the Koro language, is Bere, pronounced **bèrÉ**, un-compounded and with initial **b** and a rising tone pattern. Our assistant once suggested that we use **pèrÉ**, in publications, essentially blending the segments of the native compound initial (including **p**) with the tones of the wider exonym. We will use the orthographically semi-Gallicized “Pere” without IPA symbols or accents.

Creissels reported that the Pere considered themselves to belong to the “numu” (Jula for ‘blacksmith’) category within the system of Mande castes.

Pere is currently spoken in north-central Côte d’Ivoire by individuals in the village of Bondosso and marginally in the village of Niantibo. Until recently it was also spoken in the village of Kouakoudougou. Bondosso is on the outskirts of the town of Tiéningboué in Béré *région* (sub-province) in Woroba *district* (province) in northern Côte d’Ivoire. Bonosso and Niantibo are about 2 km apart. Kouakoudougou is about 3 km from Niantibo.

Information about the three Pere-speaking villages is as follows, with Tiéningboué added for reference. Coordinates are in degrees, minutes, and decimal fractions (000 to 999) of minutes.

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| (2) | French name | Creissels | Pere name | north | west |
| | Bonosso | Bondosso | bònó-sò | 08 11.652 | 05 43.199 |
| | Niantibo | Niatibo | ɲàtìbó | 08 12.550 | 05 44.114 |
| | Kouakoudougou | Kouakoudougou | kwààkú-dùgù | 08 14.719 | 05 44.995 |
| | Tieningboué | — | sôw-díí | 08 10.776 | 05 44.324 |

sôw-díí means ‘Koro village’ (-díí ‘village of X’ occurs only in such compounds, §5.1.9). *bònó-sò* means ‘granary-village’ in Koro, because of the large number of granaries that were formerly present in the village (there are none in the current village!). The locally popular etymology of *ɲàtìbó* treats it as a corruption of a Koro phrase *à mà ɲàbò bá* ‘it hasn’t yet been arranged’. This alludes to an episode in the founding narrative of the two villages. The elder of two brothers, both hunters, decided to build his village at Bondosso. The younger one wasn’t initially sure where to build his. *kwààkú-dùgù* is Koro for ‘the village of Kouakou (personal name of its founder, of Akan origin)’.

The three existing ethnic Pere villages are the result of several rearrangements over time, including consolidation from seven to three villages, and physical displacement of Bonosso from an original site (now a ruin) to the current village.

The Pere language is in best shape in Bonosso, where it continues to be the main language among middle-aged and older adults in few households. In-marrying non-Pere-speaking women are now creating language barriers even in these households. In other households, middle-aged persons speak Koro among themselves, but can switch to Pere in the presence of strangers for purposes of intimacy or secrecy. In Niantibo, only a dwindling number of older people are moderately competent speakers, and they make only occasional use of the language. In Kouakoudougou, Pere is said to be extinct. Regardless of these differences in language vitality, all three villages continue to have a sense of Pere ethnic identity.

1.2 Environment

Based on rainfall and vegetation, the zone is Sudano-Guinean but tending toward Guinean. The landscape consists chiefly of dense savanna with pockets of canopied rainforest. The land is rolling but relatively flat, without major topographic features such as inselbergs or large bodies of standing water. There are seasonal streams, swamps, and ponds. The Bandama River runs from north to south and is the eastern boundary of the larger Koro zone inside which the Pere zone is nested. This river also feeds into the Lac de Koussou to the southeast of the Pere zone. A good part of the land in Koro-Pere country is amenable at least in theory to cultivation. However, clearing fields is difficult because of the size and density of trees, and in some lowlands there are insect problems (tse-tse flies, mosquitoes) that deter cultivation and settlement.

Rainy-season crops are the staple yam (*Dioscorea alata*) plus rice, peanut, and maize. The rainy season extends from May to October. Yam is generally consumed in the form of a soft pudding-like cake, onto which sauce is served. This cake is called *futu* (French *foutou*) in Côte d'Ivoire. There is another type of *futu* made with banana and cassava instead of yam, and this too is sometimes prepared locally. Yam is now supplemented by rice for those who can afford it. Maize is mostly cultivated for sale. Cotton was once a major cash crop but its cultivation has declined locally, except in the few Senufo villages in the immediate area. Dry-season gardening is not widely practiced.

The town of Tiéningboué (1 km from Bonosso), usually pronounced [tʃɛniŋwe] in local French, has a weekly market on Wednesdays and is an administrative and transportation hub for all of the Pere villages. It is primarily Koro-speaking, but it has some merchants representing various regional ethnicities (Jula, Hausa, etc.). Small villages near the Pere zone are mostly Koro-speaking. There are some small Senufo settlements of recent origin, but there is said to be little interaction

between them and other ethnic groups. There are small groups of Fulbe herders living on the edges of villages and towns, or in their own separate hamlets. Fulbe women come on foot to all the villages to sell fresh milk, as in much of West Africa.

1.3 Previous and contemporary study of Pere

1.3.1 Previous work

Creissels' unpublished survey and wordlist (Creissels MS) was mentioned in §1.1 above. A version was updated and published as Creissels (2016).

Roger Blench (MS 2017) analyzed the genetic position of Pere vis-à-vis Niger-Congo subgroups, based on Creissels' materials and an unpublished conference handout by Oumarou Boukari. Blench's conclusion is that Pere is NC, cannot be assigned to any NC subgroup, but has some affinities to Gur-Adamawa. The latter conclusion is based mainly on what appear to be frozen noun-class and verbal derivational suffixes.

We will not weigh in here on the genetic position of Pere. We note, however, the recent tendency to split up previously recognized NC subgroups (Gur, Atlantic, Kwa), and to reclassify various individual languages or small groups thereof as unplaced NC. If this is correct, Pere and several other languages branched off very early from Proto-NC and have no close relatives.

1.3.2 Our fieldwork

Tioté, a native speaker of Koro and a graduate student in Linguistics at the Université de Cocody in Abidjan began studying Bere on his own c. 2008, then under the supervision of Prof. Yapo Joseph Bogny of the Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny (UFHB). Tioté has worked off and on ever since with a native speaker who works in Abidjan and who is our primary native-speaking assistant, Seydou Fofana. Tioté defended his doctoral thesis at UFHB in late 2018, under the supervision of Prof. N'guessan Jérémie Kouadio.

Heath, who had been active in central Mali and southwest Burkina Faso, visited Abidjan in 2013 and learned about this project through the offices of Prof. Roland Raoul Kouassi, also of UFHB. Heath provided some start-up funds for short field trips and for additional work by Tioté with Seydou.

In 2016-17 a group from Abidjan including Tioté, Bogny, and several students spent a week in Bonosso with financial support from the University of Michigan. Heath, Tioté, and Seydou subsequently had a 10-day session in Burkina Faso at Heath's base in Bobo Dioulasso.

The fieldwork accelerated in the period 2017-2018. Heath and Tioté worked together in Bonosso for a week in June-July 2018, focusing on plant and animal terminology, including field observations, photography, and where necessary specimen collecting of plants. Much of the collecting was done by Heath's longtime Malian assistant Minkailou Djiguiba. After Tioté's departure, Heath remained in Bonosso for three additional weeks in July 2018 working on grammar and lexicon with Seydou accompanied by older speakers. In November-December 2018 Heath spent ten days in Abidjan, ending with Tioté's thesis defense. Heath then proceeded to Bonosso for three weeks, accompanied for a week each first by two UFHB students, then by a UFHB maître-assistant, then by Tioté. During this session Heath worked primarily on lexicon and transcription of texts, while Djiguiba did some additional botanical collecting and photography.

Heath, Tioté, and Seydou did a final few days of corrections and gap-filling in Bobo Dioulasso in late April 2019.

Specimens of plants not previously familiar to Heath and Djiguiba were identified in Abidjan at the Centre National de floristique under the supervision of Dr. Konan Yao.

1.3.3 Materials for archiving

Heath intends to archive lexical spreadsheets, audio recordings corresponding to the texts at the end of this volume, no later than 2020. These will be in the Deep Blue electronic archive (University of Michigan Libraries).

Heath intends to process film footage mostly shot by Djiguiba in Bonosso into a few short documentary videos of the type previously produced for Dogon and other Malian peoples. When finished in 2020 these videos will also be archived at Deep Blue.

When deposited, these items will be retrievable by searching in Deep Blue at <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu>, search under "Heath" or "Pere language."

In the meantime the lexical spreadsheets will also be available on Heath's overall project website dogonlanguages.org.

Our flora-fauna material from Bonosso will be featured in a separate lexical spreadsheet. Our flora images will eventually be archived at deepblue and at the [tsammalex](http://tsammalex.com) website.

1.3.4 Funding

Funding for the fieldwork on Pere has been as follows. In 2016 and early 2017 Heath, Tioté, and the first field-trip group from UFHB were supported by a pilot grant from

the University of Michigan (African Studies Center, Linguistics Department, and Office of Research Funding).

The main fieldwork by Heath, and the final stages of Tioté's work, were funded by grant PD-255909-17 from the National Endowment for the Humanities (2017-2020) for work on Pere in Côte d'Ivoire and on Tiefo-D in Burkina Faso. The relevant program, jointly run by NEH and the National Science Foundation, is the Documenting Endangered Languages program.

1.3.5 Comment on texts

Readers are encouraged to start with the last three texts (2018-08 to -10). These are “how we do it” texts that have a relatively simple discourse structure, and the recordings were clear. Linguists may be able to follow most of the material even before digging into the grammar chapters. The morpheme index will help in this connection. The preceding texts (2018-01 to -07) are narratives, parts of which were spoken rapidly, making transcription and analysis more difficult.

1.3.6 Acknowledgements

Heath and Tioté are grateful for the hospitality of the village of Bonosso, starting with the chef de village.

Mr. Seydou Fofana has been centrally involved in Heath's and Tioté's work on Pere both in Bonosso and elsewhere (Abidjan, Bobo). His extended family in Bonosso took excellent care of us during many weeks of fieldwork in the village. The fieldwork sessions there were typically triangular, consisting of Heath (sometimes alongside Tioté), Seydou, and one of a rotating roster of older persons (including the chef de village), a combination that proved fruitful.

Heath also acknowledges the help in this project, and in everything he has done in West Africa since 2005, of his primary assistant Minkailou Djiguiba from Mali.

Tioté again thanks his former supervisors at UFHB, especially Professors Joseph Bogny and N'guessan Jérémie Kouadio.

Finally, Heath and Tioté thank Prof. Bogny and Prof. Roland Raoul Kouassi, both of the Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny in Abidjan, for their participation, encouragement, and logistical support.

2 Sketch

The brief comments in this chapter provide an initial birds-eye overview of the main features of the language. In all cases, much greater detail and exemplification are presented in later chapters.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Segmental phonology

Pere has an ordinary (for the zone) vowel system with **seven qualities** including an ATR-type contrast at mid-height, { ϵ ɔ } versus { e o }, but no ATR oppositions at high or low height. There is **no ATR or other vowel harmony**. Each of the seven vowel qualities occur in long and short forms, and with or without nasalization.

The consonant system is also normal for the zone, with voiceless and voiced stops, fricatives (mostly voiceless), nasals, liquids l and (tap) r , and semivowels. Laryngeals h and $ʔ$ are marginal. Consonantal places of articulation are labial, alveolar, palatoalveolar, velar, and labial velar. In the latter category, gb and ηm are common while kp is attested but uncommon. Labial velars are transcribed here without a ligature, but they are unit phonemes.

2.1.2 Tones and prosody

There are **three phonetic tone levels**, but $M[id]$ and $L[ow]$ are essentially positional variants of a single nonhigh tone value, resulting in a **phonemic two-level** tone system $H[igh]$ versus L .

The distinction between M and L is important in communication, since a clause-internal M -tone only occurs on morphemes that are followed immediately by a nonhigh (i.e. phonemically low) tone. The shift from a phonemic LL sequence to phonetic ML is indirectly helpful to listeners in identifying verbal aspect. Many verbs have different initial tones in the otherwise (i.e. segmentally) identical perfective and imperfective. For example, ‘go’ is perfective $f\acute{o}$ and imperfective $f\grave{o}$. Except in the progressive construction, verbs are immediately preceded by subjects, the most common of which are phonemically L -toned pronominal proclitics like 1Sg $k\grave{e}$. In $k\acute{o}$ ‘I went’, the H -tone of $f\acute{o}$ prevents the L -tone of $k\grave{e}$ from rising to M , so the verb has much higher pitch than the pronoun. In imperfective $k\bar{e} f\grave{o}$ ‘I (will) go’, on the other hand, the pronominal has higher pitch than the verb. This is because the verb is L -toned before a pause. Before another phonemic L -tone, the phonemically L -toned

pronoun rises to phonetic M. Therefore the relative pitch of segmental *ke* and *fo* is a key acoustic cue for correct identification of aspectual categories by the listener. In addition, /Cṽ/ nouns are realized as Cṽ before modifiers and suffixes.

Pere has both a clause-final question particle *nà* and clause-final falling question intonation (without the particle), depending on the type of question (§3.6.1, §13.2.1).

2.1.3 Key phonological processes

The main tonal process is one that raises an L-toned syllable or morpheme to M-toned when followed by an element beginning with a nonhigh tone, as described above.

There is no significant tonal terracing, i.e. where different words of the same tone fuse into a syllable sequence with perfectly level pitch, as though they were unsegmentable multisyllabic words. Word sequences H#H, M#M, and L#L therefore allow minor, subphonemic pitch changes at word boundaries.

Segmental and metrical phonology is relatively simple. The sequence C v rv (where v is any short vowel) can undergo partial syncope of the first vowel. This is generally heard as weakening to **schwa**, and we transcribe as Cərv. Schwa does not otherwise occur as a vowel phoneme.

2.1.4 Key transcriptional conventions

The single most important point for readers of this grammar to remember is that the M/L tonal distinction \bar{v} versus \hat{v} is subphonemic (v = any vowel). Accordingly, there is no contradiction when we state that a morpheme C \hat{v} is present in an example where it appears as C \bar{v} . We will not constantly remind readers of this point.

Since most verbs have **tonally distinct perfective and imperfective** forms, we often refer to them with bipartite transcriptions like *fó/fò* ‘go’. The form on the left is perfective, that on the right is imperfective. Additional variants of verbs (e.g. *fóó, fòò, fòò, fòó*) occur in specific morphosyntactic contexts and are generally predictable from one or the other of the two forms in the lexical pairing.

Nouns are variably cited in the bare **premodifier** form or in the **absolute singular** form. The latter has suffix -à, often accompanied by a syllabic stem-extension.

IPA has only two diacritics for falling tones on a short vowel, \bar{v} and \hat{v} . In Pere, which has three phonetic tone levels, a word-final short vowel can have <HL>, <HM>, or <ML> tones. We use \bar{v} for <ML> short vowels, which arise when two phonemically L-toned vowels fuse into a single word-final vowel, but only after the first of them is raised to M by the process described above. This is a common pronunciation of lexically L-toned nouns when they are followed by absolute

suffix -à, either before a pause or before an H-tone. We transcribe ...Cā-à when the final fused vowel is audibly long, but often the vowel is short, which forces us to transcribe ...C-â.

We use \hat{v} for either phonetic <HL> or phonetic <HM>, both of which are manifestations of phonemic HL. Phonetic <HL> short vowels occur only before a pause or before another H-tone. Phonetic <HM> occurs only before an M- or L-tone.

2.2 Morphosyntax

2.2.1 Constituent order

Basic constituent order for simple indicative clauses is (3). This is an SVO pattern with a few twists.

(3) (Tense) S V_{asp} (O) (VP-final particle) (X) (Neg)

Here O is direct object (at most one per clause) and X is a residual domain including adjuncts such as dative and other PPs as well as simple adverbs. The verb is always marked for aspect (perfective, imperfective). The clause-initial tense slot is often empty, but there are nonzero future and (in some contexts) past markers. A few **VP-final particles** (pseudo-postpositions) occur immediately after the object, in a manner reminiscent of English phrasal verbs (§11.1). Setting adverbs like ‘yesterday’ can alternatively occur in preclausal position, preceding tense and subject and in this case often set off prosodically.

The **progressive** construction diverges from the SVO type in (3). It is marked by wè ‘be’ as post-subject auxiliary and by locative postposition l̩ after the verb. The clausal structure is (4).

(4) progressive
(Tense) S ‘be’ [(O) V_{Prog} (VP-final particle) Loc] (X) (Neg)

In (4), a direct object precedes rather than follows the main verb, which has a distinctive tonal form in this construction, hence the subscripted V_{Prog}. The VP-final particles remain stranded in postverbal position while their apparent complements (actually direct objects) are placed in preverbal position. The progressive is therefore useful in distinguishing a) intransitives plus true postverbal PPs from b) transitives followed by VP-final particles (pseudo-postpositions).

In the simple clause type (3), without the ‘be’ auxiliary, pronominal subjects and pronominal objects have different forms (§4.2.1), e.g. 1Sg kè as subject versus k̩ as object. However, in the progressive construction (4), a 1Sg object is kè rather than k̩. This tells us that the distinction in pronominal forms is not subject versus object,

rather **preverbal** versus **nonpreverbal**. In the progressive, both subject and object are preverbal, the subject preceding the auxiliary and the object preceding the main verb.

2.2.2 Nouns and NPs

There is no case-marking for noun-headed NPs. Subject (or rather preverbal) and object (or rather nonpreverbal) pronominals are distinguished as indicated above, see §4.2.1 for details. There is no grammatical gender or other noun-class marking, except in some personal names and some greetings (§4.6). However, animacy is distinguished in 3Sg object pronominals (animate -è, inanimate -à), and [\pm human] is relevant in object focalization (§13.1.2).

Most singular nouns have a **premodifier** form when followed by an adjective or by certain other NP-internal modifiers, and an **absolute** form with suffix -à. The **plural** suffix on nouns is usually -bè before modifiers, and combines with the absolute suffix as -bī-yà. There are some irregular plurals.

Modifiers follow the noun, except that possessors precede. Nonpronominal **possessors** may be separated from the possessum by a **genitive** linker nì. The basic order of elements within an NP is (5), where “Poss” is a possessor NP. See §6.1 for details and examples.

(5) (Poss Gen) N (Adj) (Num) (Absolute/Dem) (Quant)

2.2.3 Verbs and clause-level inflections

Verb stems are marked for perfective versus imperfective **aspect** by tonal ablaut (§9.1). In indicative clauses the functional split between perfective and imperfective is typologically unremarkable. For example, the imperfective occurs in present (habitual) and future time contexts. In deontic modals, however, the perfective form functions as imperative positive, while hortatives can use either perfective or imperfective. This aspectual split is the central feature of Pere verbal morphology. An important minority of verbs including ‘do’ and ‘give’ have identical tonal as well as segmental forms in the two aspects.

Additional tonal changes apply to verbs in the prohibitive (§11.6.2) and in the progressive (§11.4.3), and to the second clause or VP in some multi-clause constructions (purposive §16.4.1.2, ‘not yet’ §16.3.5).

Derivational verb morphology is very limited. See §10.5 on deadjectival inchoatives and §10.3 on verb-stem reduplication. Third person object pronominals (§4.2.1) and in some contexts the postposition-like VP-final particles (§11.1) encliticize to verbs in suffix-like forms.

Invariant **particles** combine with one of the verb forms in the past, future, progressive, hortative, and all negative categories. These particles occur in various positions in the clause, ranging from clause-initial (tense) to clause-final (negation). See §11.5 on tense, §11.6 on deontics, and §11.2 and §11.6 on negation.

As mentioned above, the progressive construction (§11.4.3) is roughly of the type ‘X be [[(object) Vb] Loc]’, compare schematic English ‘X is [in/at deer-hunting]’. This is the only construction in which the direct object precedes the main verb. On syntactic grounds one can argue that the main verb is a verbal noun and that the object is a kind of compound initial. However, the object may be a full NP including determiners, or a pronoun, unlike the case with ordinary nominal compound initials.

2.2.4 Focalization and relativization

Focalized subjects can take the form of independent (replacing proclitic) pronominals, or regular forms of noun-head NPs. A focalized nonpronominal NP normally has absolute suffix -à. Subject and nonsubject focalization constructions are distinct. Both pronominal and nonpronominal focalized constituents are followed by one or two **focalizing morphemes** á, yì, and/or lé depending on grammatical function and [±human] (§13.1). The most common combinations are subject focus á and object focus à lé or (nonhuman) yì lé.

There is a partial overlap of focalized and relative clauses. lé occurs at the end of nonsubject focalized constituents, and may be preceded by á ~ à or by yì. By contrast, lé occurs on heads of all relative clauses including subjects, and is added directly to the premodifier form (singular or plural) of the head. Nonsubject relative heads may be fronted or may remain *in situ*. Subject NPs are already clause-initial.

Subject relatives have the structure (6). If the future morpheme is present, it follows rather than precedes the head, which is bolded here. See §14.2.1 for examples. Elsewhere the future morpheme precedes subjects.

(6) [**noun(-Pl) lé**] (Fut) Vb ...

Two options for an object relative are illustrated schematically in (7). (7a) shows an *in situ* (internal) head. (7b) shows a **fronted** (external) head, with a resumptive third person object enclitic (3SgAnObj, 3SgInanObj, or 3PlObj as the case may be) on the verb. For examples see §14.2.2.

(7) a. [subject NP] Vb [**noun(-Pl) lé**] ...
 b. [**noun(-Pl) lé**] [subject NP] Vb-3Obj ...

2.2.5 Clause-chaining

Two indicative clauses denoting distinct events, with same or different subjects, may be combined into the functional equivalent of a tightly-knit clause conjunction in English. There is no ‘and’ conjunction or other syntactic marker.

While such clause sequences can be run together prosodically, there is no “conjunction reduction.” The second clause has its own subject, which in the case of a same-subject sequence is always pronominalized. Both clauses have regular clause-level inflections, often the same. A schematic example is (8). Seydou is subject of the first clause and is replaced by a third person pronoun in the second. The two clauses are otherwise parallel in form. Here, both verbs are perfective. For examples see §16.3.

- (8) [Seydou go.Pfv] [3AnSg buy.Pfv sheep]
‘Seydou_x went and (he_x) bought a sheep.’

2.2.6 Motion verb plus VP complement

A divergent offshoot of the construction described in the preceding section has ‘come’ or ‘go’ as the first verb, but now in a special **lengthened** form with final L-tone that probably originated as a fusion of the motion verb with a following 3Sg pronominal subject à from the second clause. This lengthened form is now generalizable to any pronominal person or number. The second clause, no longer beginning with a pronominal subject, is now analyzable as a **subjectless VP** (§16.3.1.2). The ability (‘can VP’) construction is similar in form (§16.6.).

Another important same-subject two-VP construction begins with a simple motion clause, usually with verb ‘come’ or ‘go’ in a normal perfective or imperfective form in the first clause, and ends with a subjectless VP. The latter has a special **contoured** tonal form (H.L or L.H) of the second verb, and if this verb is transitive the **object precedes** rather than follows it. The sense is often but not always purposive (the motion event was intended to permit the second event), and we label this construction “purposive” (§16.4.1.2).

2.2.7 Conditional or subjunctive nì

Clause-initial nì, preceding the subject, converts the clause into either a conditional antecedent (‘if/when ...’) or, in some subordinated clauses, a subjunctive-like clause. For conditional antecedents, which can be glossed with either ‘if’ or ‘when’ depending on context, see §15.1. By **subjunctive** we mean a hypothetical or contingent eventuality whose truth is not asserted by the speaker. For examples see

‘whether or not’ (i.e., willy-nilly) complements (§13.4.1) and various subject-switched complements (§16.4.1.2, §16.9.4, §16.11.1.3). *nì* also occurs in hortatives (§11.6.3).

2.2.8 Subordinated clauses

There are several ways to subordinate one clause to another. Loose subordination is exemplified by temporal adverbial clauses that have translations like ‘while ...’ or ‘if ...’. These tend to be phrased as PPs with nominalized (and possessed) verbs (§16.5), cf. English *during my sleeping*.

Verbal-noun complements (similar to English infinitival VP complements) also occur with matrix verbs like ‘begin’ (§16.8).

There is a distinctive ‘have not yet VPed’ construction with *tá* ‘finish’ as first verb followed by a VP complement with a special tonal form of the verb, and with an object (if present) preceding rather than following the verb (§16.3.5).

3 Phonology

3.1 Phonological basics

We use C for consonant and v for vowel in formulae. Use of lowercase v permits addition of tone diacritics (v́, v̀, etc). There is no regular v consonant (voiced labiodental fricative) in Pere so no confusion should result.

3.1.1 Syllables and metrical structure

Words are normally composed of Cv and Cvv syllables. Consonant clusters other than homorganic nasal plus voiced stop clusters are uncommon, except that full syncope may produce Cr clusters. Word-final sonorants are rare but do occur occasionally. Glottal stop occurs only word-finally and prepausally in negator wóʔ and in gbóʔ ‘all’.

3.1.1.1 Initial NCv

The stems in (9a) begin with a syllabic nasal, which may bear its own tone. The only other possible cases are the composite postpositions in (9b). These are semi-lexicalized contractions of combinations beginning with a morpheme nì, likely the genitive morpheme. The uncontracted variants still occur, but the more common contractions are on the way to becoming unsegmentable.

- (9) a. ñdè ‘sit’ optional but common reduction of nìdè
 ńdè ‘crown (top of head)’
- b. ñ-tíyⁿ-à purposive < nì tíyⁿ-à (§8.5.1).
 ñ-téé-lò purposive < nì téé lò (§8.5.1)

In addition, genitive nì and demonstrative ní may syncope to ñ and ñ before a consonant-initial word.

Initial ŋm as in ŋmò ‘uproot’ is a unit phoneme (labial velar), and the initial ŋ is not syllabic.

3.1.2 Consonants

3.1.2.1 Consonant phonemes

The inventory is (10). Parenthesized consonants are marginal, either in frequency or in structural status, see the following sections.

| (10) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|--------------|------|----|-----|-----|-------------------|---|----|-------------------|-----|-----|
| labial | p | b | f | | | | | m | | |
| alveolar | t | d | s | (z) | r, r ⁿ | l | n | | | |
| alveopalatal | (c) | j | (ʃ) | | | | ɲ | y, y ⁿ | | |
| velar | k | g | | (ɣ) | | | ŋ | | | |
| labial velar | (kp) | gb | | | | | ŋm | w, w ⁿ | | |
| laryngeal | | | | | | | | | (h) | (ʔ) |

Key to the columns of (10): 1 = voiceless stop, 2 = voiced stop, 3 = voiceless fricative, 4 = voiced fricative, 5 = rhotic (tap), 6 = lateral, 7 = nasal, 8 = semivowel (glide), 9 = aspiration, 10 = glottal stop.

Transcriptions are IPA-compatible except that y is used for IPA [j] (semivowel), j for IPA [ɟ] (alveopalatal stop), and r for IPA [ɾ] (tap).

3.1.2.2 s and ʃ

The distribution of ʃ is variable across speakers. One pattern is that the combination /sy/ before a vowel optionally fuses as ʃy or simple ʃ. This is a recurring situation in the paradigms of nouns ending in ...si, since absolute suffix -à combines with si variably as (omitting tones) -si-(y)a, -sy-a, -ʃy-a, and -ʃ-a, with -ʃy-a being especially common. Our primary assistant generally follows this pattern. If all cases of ʃ were of this type, we would not hesitate to analyze ʃ as a positional allophone of s phoneme.

However, some speakers have ʃ more systematically before both high vowels {i u} and before both semivowels {y w}. For example, the verb ‘remove, take out, take away’ is variably sú or ʃu, depending on the speaker. Even speakers such as our assistant who pronounce ‘remove’ as sú have initial ʃ in a few high-frequency stems such as those in (11).

- (11) a. ‘red’ ʃwèlì ~ ʃòdì
 b. ‘hot’ ʃòwú
 c. ‘pestle’ ʃòlì

This shows that ʃ has at least incipient phonemic status.

3.1.2.3 g and ɣ

[ɣ] is basically a positional allophone of g phoneme, as in Koro and some other languages in the region. Spirantized [ɣ] occurs optionally in the word-medial environments a_a and ɔ_ɔ, as in (12). Stop articulation [g] occurs between other flanking vowels, including o_o as in tògò ‘resow, oversow’.

- (12) a. environment a_a, often pronounced [aɣa]
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| kàgá-à | [kàɣáà] | ‘file (tool)’ |
| lāg-ā | [lāɣā] | ‘grandmother’ |
| gbàgàlá/gbàɣàlà | [gbàɣàlá/gbàɣàlà] | ‘dry (something)’ |
- b. environment ɔ_ɔ, often pronounced [ɔɣɔ]
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| gbògòlá-à | [gbòɣòláà] | ‘adult woman’ |
| sógó/sògò | [sòɣó/sòɣò] | ‘rub’ |
| mògòní/móɣóní | [mòɣòní/móɣóní] | ‘itch (v)’ |

For details of this alternation, see §3.2.2.3.

3.1.2.4 Labial velars {gb kp ɲm}

kp, gb, and ɲm are unit phonemes with overlapping velar and labial constrictions. Of the three, gb is by far the most common. A few examples of stem- or word-initial position are in (13). Nouns are shown in absolute singular form. gb may precede any vowel quality, though gbu is rare.

- (13)
- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| gbàràgá-à | ‘courtyard’ |
| gbéy ⁿ á-à | ‘horn’ |
| gbēgā-à | ‘tree, stick’ |
| gbīyā-à | ‘chin’ |
| gbògòlá-à | ‘adult woman’ |
| gbōṅā-à | ‘stomach’ or ‘cheek’ |
| gbúgúfí-yà | ‘red-flanked duiker’ (small antelope) |
| gb(ə)rìsá-à | ‘sliding door’ |

The data are similar for other word classes including verbs, e.g. gbàⁿ ‘be able’, gbògòⁿ ‘be tired’. gb also occurs medially, as in gbòṅgbó/gbòṅgbò ‘tap (to dust off)’, tógbè ‘friend’, and tòṅgbwá-à ‘ax’.

ɲm is moderately common. Some examples are in (14).

- (14) a. initial
- | | |
|--|---------------|
| ηméy ⁿ á-à | ‘oil palm’ |
| ηmār ⁿ -ā | ‘rifle’ |
| ηmúlá ⁿ /ηmùlà ⁿ | ‘groan (v)’ |
| ηmèèné/ηmèènè | ‘get lost’ |
| ηmá/ηmà | ‘be pleasing’ |
- b. medial
- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| tígéláηmár-â ⁿ | ‘bat’ (mammal) |
|---------------------------|----------------|

kp, by contrast, is rare. From a working lexicon (November 2018) we can cite two nonspecies nouns, one of which denotes a plant product (15a), along with a handful of nouns denoting flora species (15b).

- (15) a. kpátā-à ‘open shed, stall’ (< Koro)
 kpóⁿ-bōgōlā-à ‘tree resin’
- b. kpàⁿflé-bwōlā-à ‘tree sp. (*Strychnos spinosa*)’
 kpá-sòη-â ‘liana sp. (*Paullinia pinnata*)’
 fêté-kpá-à ‘herb (*Euphorbia heterophylla*)’

kp does occur in Koro and in other languages of the region and a fuller Pere lexicon would likely turn up a few additional examples in borrowed lexicon.

3.1.2.5 Tap r

The rhotic consonant is a tap, IPA [r]. It does not occur word-initially or word-finally. It does occur intervocally in the sequence Cvr_v, often but not always flanked by identical vowels, and in longer words containing this sequence. Cvr_v tends strongly to reduce to Cərv with a brief schwa intervening between the first consonant and the tap. Schwa does not otherwise occur in the language. For some stems, we have heard only the reduced variant with schwa. For others, we have heard both reduced and full variants, or just the full variant. We suspect that there is much variation within and across speakers. However, we transcribe the forms as we hear them.

In the reduced variant, it can be difficult to hear the tone on the schwa. However, the schwa can bear a tone distinct from that on the rhotic syllable. For example, the verb ‘exit (v), go out’ is perfective gbórò ~ gbárò with H.L tone sequence and imperfective gbèrò ~ gbèrò with level L.L. An instrumental study might show that the schwa is more prominent in gbórò than it is in gbèrò, where it could be syncopated to zero without affecting comprehension.

In a few cases *r* is heard as part of a *Cr* consonant cluster without schwa. It is difficult to distinguish *Cr_v* from *Cər_v*, since the aerodynamic articulation of a tap requires some airflow before and after. The best case for a true *Cr* cluster is *fr* as in *fráŋgbá-à* ‘adult man’, since some airflow occurs naturally in the articulation of the fricative *f*. However, a phonemic transcription *f්රාŋgbá-à* could be argued for.

r also appears to occur at the onset of a consonant cluster in the variant form *k̀̀̀ndó* ‘nine’, a borrowing from Koro. However, this is likely syncopated from the trisyllabic variant *k̀̀̀̀ndó*.

For nasalized *rⁿ*, which has the same phonotactics as oral *r* and in some cases is arguably derived from it by Nasalization-Spreading (§3.2.1.6), see §3.1.2.8 below.

3.1.2.6 *wⁿ*

Issues of interpretation arise regarding the putative nasalized sonorants {*wⁿ* *yⁿ* *rⁿ*}. Alternative analyses could be that nasalization originates in an adjacent vowel (or both flanking vowels), or that nasalization is a feature of syllables or other segment sequences. It is necessary to treat the three sonorants separately, and for each one we distinguish stem-initial, stem-final, and stem-medial position. We begin with *wⁿ*.

There are no cases of stem- or word-initial *wⁿ*. This is also the situation with *yⁿ* and *rⁿ*.

We recognize stem-final *wⁿ* in premodifier and plural forms of several nouns, e.g. *gbówⁿ* ‘foot’ and plural *gbówⁿ-bè*, compare absolute singular *gbóŋá-à* with velar extension. In some such nouns the form with final *wⁿ* has a variant with long vowel. For example, ‘path’ is premodifier *nàwⁿ* ~ *nààⁿ*, plural *nāwⁿ-bè* ~ *nāŋ-bè* ~ *nāāⁿ-bè*, and absolute singular *nāŋā-à*. For more such forms see (58) in §4.1.1.3. In the plurals, *wⁿ-b* is often heard as [mb], and various similar assimilations occur when *gbówⁿ* and *nàwⁿ* are followed by a modifier (e.g. an adjective). The consonantal alternations suggest that final *wⁿ* here is an unstable lenited reflex of *ŋ.

In one other stem, final *wⁿ* remains *wⁿ* in the extended absolute singular form. This is a dialectal variant of ‘wild pig’: premodifier *gbòyòwⁿ*, absolute singular *gbòyūwⁿā-à*. The other variant is premodifier *gbòyò* and absolute singular *gbòyūwā-à*. Because of the variation and slight irregularities in vocalism (*o* → *u*) we do not consider these forms to be representative.

Intervocalic *wⁿ* within stems is rare: We can cite *p̀̀̀ràwⁿá/p̀̀̀ràwⁿà* ‘(animal) become restless’. Contrast *ǹ̀̀ná-ā p̀̀̀rāŋā-à* ‘cotton’.

Medial *wⁿ* occurs in certain stem-suffix combinations. Unlike ‘foot’ and ‘path’ described above, the noun ‘borer beetle’ (various tiny beetles that gnaw into wood or stored cowpeas) has stable *ŋ* in the premodifier form *d̀̀̀ŋ*, but it lenites to *wⁿ* intervocalically in the absolute singular *d̀̀̀wⁿā-à*. Plural *d̀̀̀ŋ-(g)bè* with optional labial velar articulation of the oral stop confirms the final *ŋ* in the premodifier form.

Another source of w^n is from the desyllabification of a nasalized rounded vowel. Our example of this is ‘hand’: premodifier $b\grave{a}^n$, absolute singular $bw^n\text{-}\grave{a}$ from $/b\bar{o}^n\text{-}\grave{a}/$. The form transcribed $bw^n\text{-}\grave{a}$ is heard as $[bw^n\bar{a}^n]$ with the vowel carrying most of the nasalization. An alternative phonological derivation is that nasalization spreads from \bar{o}^n to suffixal a before the former desyllabifies. Another example of the same type is premodifier $f\grave{u}^n$ and absolute singular $fw\text{-}\grave{a}$ ‘ridge in plowed field’.

Some examples of intervocalic w^n are more clearly attributable to Nasalization-Spreading (§3.2.1.6) to a suffix-initial w . This is the case when an epenthetic semivowel w or w^n separates a verb-final vowel from a vocalic 3Sg object suffix. The w^n variant occurs after a nasal syllable (e.g. Cv^n or Nvv). An example is $t\grave{u}^n/t\grave{u}^n$ (... $y\acute{i}$) ‘cook (v)’, which with inanimate 3Sg pronominal object is $t\bar{u}\text{-}w^n\grave{a} y\acute{i}$ ‘cooked/cooks it’, pronounced $[t\bar{u}^nw^n\bar{a}^nj\acute{i}]$ with the first two vowels nasalized. In $t\grave{u}^n/t\grave{u}^n$ (... $l\grave{e}$) ‘put down’, with a different VP-final particle, the comparable pronominal combination is $t\bar{u}\text{-}w^n\bar{a}\text{-}nd\grave{e}$. Here the nasalization originating in $t\grave{u}^n$ passes through the medial syllable containing the inanimate 3Sg object pronominal $\text{-}\grave{a}$ and continues rightward to the onset of the final syllable with $l\grave{e}$ (which nasalizes as $\text{-}nd\grave{e}$).

3.1.2.7 y^n

The status of y^n is similar to that of w^n (preceding section), with minor differences.

Stem-initial y^n does not exist.

Stem-final y^n is rare but it does occur in the compound final $\text{-}d\grave{e}y^n$ (§5.1.10), whose absolute singular form is $\text{-}d\bar{e}\eta\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$. We infer from these forms that $*\eta$ lenited to y^n rather than to w^n in this case. The unrounded front vowel e was undoubtedly a contributing factor, but $\text{-}d\grave{e}y^n$ is the only example of y^n from $*\eta$ in this position. In ‘heat (n)’ the velar nasal is stable: premodifier $\acute{s}\eta\eta$, absolute singular $\acute{s}\eta\eta\acute{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$. In ‘okra’, the premodifier form has Cvv shape: $s\grave{e}\grave{e}^n$, absolute singular $s\bar{e}\eta\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$. Stem-final oral stop $*g$ likewise appears as w rather than as y in examples like ‘swimming (n)’: premodifier $s\acute{e}w$, absolute singular $s\acute{e}g\acute{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$. See (58a-b) in §4.1.1.3 for more examples.

Stem-medial y^n occurs in all forms of the verb $m\acute{y}^n\acute{a}/m\grave{y}^n\grave{a}$ ‘insult (v)’. One could alternatively phonemicize as $m\acute{y}\acute{a}^n/m\grave{y}\grave{a}^n$ with final nasalized vowel. A similar case is $t\acute{y}^n\text{-}\grave{a}$, a kind of postposition (§8.7.2).

Other cases of medial (intervocalic) y^n are limited to stem-suffix combinations. Some monosyllabic nouns with premodifier shapes Cii , Cee , and $C\epsilon\epsilon$ have syllabic extensions with medial y in the absolute singular: $Ci\acute{y}\text{-}\grave{a}$, $C\acute{e}\acute{y}\text{-}\grave{a}$, $C\epsilon\acute{y}\text{-}\grave{a}$. If the stem is nasal, i.e. Cv^n or Nvv^n , the medial semivowel is y^n by Nasal-Assimilation. One example out of several in (57a) in §4.1.1.3 is ‘grass’: premodifier $s\grave{e}\grave{e}^n$, absolute singular $s\bar{e}y^n\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$, pronounced $[s\bar{e}^nj^n\bar{a}^n\grave{a}^n]$ with everything except the sibilant nasalized. There are some similar examples with verbs preceding 3Sg object suffixes, e.g. $\acute{s}i\text{-}y^n\bar{a}\text{-}nd\grave{o}$ ‘filled it, loaded it’ from verb $s\acute{i}^n \sim \acute{s}i\acute{i}^n$.

after nonnasal syllable

dárⁿé ‘hold by pinching’

More than half of these stems have a nasal syllable preceding the putative rⁿ. At least historically, nasalization may have spread rightward into the rhotic syllable. However, there are also some examples in (16a-b) of an autonomous rⁿ preceded by an oral syllable. There are also several examples like nààmóró ‘squash, crush’ with oral r in the same nasal environment, showing that Nasalization-Spreading from the left to the tap is not synchronically productive (if it ever was).

In all forms with rⁿ, the vowel following it is phonetically nasalized. It is more difficult to hear nasality in the vowel preceding rⁿ, since this vowel is generally reduced and centralized in the direction of schwa (§3.1.3.2) before tap r and rⁿ. However, in unreduced pronunciations we do hear nasality in the pre-rhotic as well as post-rhotic vowels, as in fóⁿró ‘Senúfo’. We therefore locate the point of origin of nasality in the tap, though it is actually realized on the flanking vowels.

The alternative is to locate nasality in one or both of the flanking vowels, as in dó⁽ⁿ⁾réⁿ or fóⁿróⁿ. This alternative cannot be ruled out, since there are some true nasalized vowels not dependent on a nasal or nasalized consonant (§3.1.3.4).

Evidence for a nasalized lateral phoneme lⁿ is much weaker than for rⁿ. However, in mlâⁿ ‘rice’ one might argue that the nasalization of the vowel emanates from the m and passes through the l, in which case málⁿà would be a better transcription. Likewise, the verb ηmúláⁿ/ηmùlàⁿ ‘groan’, borrowed from Jula, could be compared with stems like ɲórⁿó ‘fat (n)’ discussed in the preceding section. If the nasality of ηmúláⁿ/ηmùlàⁿ is attributed to the initial nasal consonant, one could argue for a representation ηmúlⁿá/ηmùlⁿà. However, there is no evidence for autonomous lⁿ not nasalized by a preceding true nasal consonant.

3.1.2.9 Glottal stop ?

The glottal stop occurs in negative marker wó? (§11.2.1) and in the universal quantifier gbó? ‘all’ (§6.7.1). The glottal is heard only in prepausal position, i.e. clause-finally or in isolation pronunciations of NPs. The negative morpheme reduces to wó when non-clause-final (i.e. before interrogative particle nà), and ‘all’ reduces to gbó as part of a NP in most grammatical functions within a clause (subject, object, postpositional complement).

3.1.2.10 h

This consonant likely occurs only word-initially in loanwords. From our working lexicon of November 2018 we can cite only h   j  n ‘heaven’, which also has an unusual tone melody.

3.1.2.11 z

This consonant occurs medially in a few items of cultural vocabulary, likely all loanwords. We can cite s  zr  -   ‘straw roof’ (< Koro) and l  g  z  r-   ‘4pm Muslim prayer’ (ultimately < Arabic).

3.1.2.12 c

The unvoiced palatal stop occurs in our working lexicon of November 2018 only in a handful of flora-fauna terms like c  g  ly  -   ‘palm sp. (*Phoenix reclinata*)’. Alveolar stop t before i in stems like t   j  /t  j   ‘shake’ has a slightly assibilated release and can approximate [c] phonetically to our ears, but our pronunciations with c were swiftly corrected by native speakers.

By contrast, the voiced palatal stop j, IPA [j], is common.

3.1.2.13 Consonant clusters

Word-initial consonant clusters are combinations of an obstruent plus an oral sonorant {w y r}, or a nasal followed by a nasalized sonorant {wⁿ yⁿ rⁿ}.

The shape CyE with C a voiced stop and E a mid-height front vowel from the set {e   } occurs in one independent pronoun and in three verb stems and their derivatives (17a). CyE differs from bisyllabic CiyE (17b), indicating that CyE is not the result of (synchronic) syncope applied to CiyE.

- (17) a. initial Cy
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>independent pronoun</i> | |
| by   | ‘they’ |
| <i>verb</i> | |
| dy  /dy   | ‘be delivered, arrive’ |
| by  /by   | ‘weep’ |
| by   ⁿ /by   ⁿ | ‘become big/fat’ |

b. initial Ciy

verb

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| fíyé/fiyè | ‘be quiet’ |
| dí-yà | ‘ate it’ (with object pronominal) |

noun

| | |
|-------|-----------------------------|
| fíyé | ‘neck’ |
| píyé | ‘name’ |
| síyè | ‘affine (in-law)’ |
| dí-yà | ‘thing’ (absolute singular) |

We know of a few nouns, one verb, and one independent pronoun beginning with Cw (18a). Cwv is distinct from Cuwv with a full initial syllable (18b). Again, a syncope-based derivation of Cw is not possible.

(18) a. initial Cw

independent pronoun

| | |
|-------------------|----------|
| mw ⁿ ḏ | ‘you-Sg’ |
|-------------------|----------|

noun

| | |
|--|---|
| bwòlì | ‘jug’ |
| kwē ⁿ (< /kwě ⁿ /) | ‘ramrod’ (absolute kù ⁿ á-à, comments below) |
| kwàà | ‘tree sp. (<i>Antiaris</i>)’ |
| kwólí-fàndìgì | ‘plant sp. (<i>Thalia</i>)’ |

verb

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| pwòlì/pwólí | ‘share (v)’ |
|-------------|-------------|

b. initial Cuw (among other examples)

| | |
|------|----------------------|
| mùwé | ‘(bone) dislocation’ |
|------|----------------------|

kwēⁿ (< /kwěⁿ/) ‘ramrod’ undergoes resyllabification when absolute suffix -à is added, producing kùⁿá-à. The w has clearly syllabified to u but the source of y⁽ⁿ⁾ is debatable. One possible derivation is via Mid-Height-Vowel Raising to /kwiⁿ-à/ then Semivowel-Insertion to /kwiⁿ-yⁿà/ followed by resyllabification. Or perhaps ε directly desyllabifies to y. This alternation is apparently unique to ‘ramrod’ and its phonology is nontransparent.

We have seen that syncope is ruled out as an explanation for Cy and Cw in (17-18) above. However, there are some cases where initial Cy or Cw does likely result from syncope at the end of a word. This is the case when absolute -à is suffixed directly to a noun or adjective stem otherwise ending in si ~ ji. These combinations, which include verbal nouns with suffix -sí, tend strongly to syncopate, the most common output being palatalized ʃy-a with the tone of the syncopated vowel spreading rightward. This may further contract to ʃ-a as the y is absorbed by the

sibilant. Occasionally final *se* or *se* is also treated this way. The more or less homorganic *s/ʃ* and *y* appear to attract each other, favoring syncope of the intervening vowel (which is also more or less homorganic). All of the premodifier forms in (19) have variants with *ʃ* for *s*, but *ʃ* is more common in the absolute form.

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| (19) | premodifier | absolute singular | gloss |
| a. nouns | | | |
| | ʃilé-jìsì | ʃilé-jīʃī-yà | ‘handle (of kettle or pail)’ |
| | tùgùsì | tùgùʃy-â | ‘power, strength’ |
| | nùŋgó-kàsì | nùŋgó-kāʃy-â | ‘sand’ |
| | ɲóŋó-sì | ɲóŋó-ʃy-â | ‘chewstick’ |
| | gbēē-kèsé | gbēē-kèʃy-â | ‘tree bark’ |
| b. verbal nouns (for more, see §4.1.2.4) | | | |
| | ɲìr ⁿ i-sì | ɲìr ⁿ i-ʃí-yà | ‘looking (n)’ |
| | | ~ ɲìr ⁿ i-ʃy-â | |

The noun ‘thorn’ has premodifier variants *ʃyéⁿ* and *séⁿ*. The attested absolute forms are *ʃí-yⁿà* and contracted *ʃ-âⁿ*, both of which arguably derive from *séⁿ*, see Mid-Height-Vowel Raising (§3.2.1.3).

A similar example involving *t* rather than sibilant *s/ʃ* is the noun ‘custom, rite’: premodifier *ʃíyáá-tè*, absolute singular *ʃíyáá-ty-â* (alongside variants with initial *s*).

A similar pattern of flanking homorganics favoring syncope occurs in some absolute singular forms involving *f* or *b* plus *w* (20). A syncope analysis seems clear in (20a). In (20b), we can either add epenthetic *w* (§3.2.1.2) and then syncope *u* or *ɔ*, or we can have the *u* or *ɔ* desyllabify directly to *w* (§3.2.1.4).

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (20) | premodifier | absolute singular | gloss |
| a. fúwé ~ fúwó | | | |
| | | fw-â | ‘husband’ |
| b. fû ⁿ | | | |
| | | fw ⁿ -â | ‘ridge in plowed field’ |
| | bð ⁿ | bw ⁿ -â | ‘hand’ |
| | -kò | -kw-â | ‘owner’ (§4.4.3) |
| | -kō-mù | -kō-mw ⁿ -â | ‘owners’ |

There are some apparent initial and medial clusters of the form *Cr*. See §3.1.2.5 above for background about the tap *r* and its reductive effect on preceding vowels, and the aerodynamic need for airflow both before and after the tap. We struggle with the transcriptional choice between *Cr* and *Cər* before vowel in many cases. Given that a

schwa can often be heard at least as a variant, and given that the schwa syllable occasionally bears a different tone than the rhotic syllable, we incline to normalize transcription as Cər. Some examples are in (21).

(21) a. initial C(ə)r

nouns

bárí-bárí ‘darkness’
f(ə)ráŋgbó ‘adult man’

verbs

fàré/fàrè ‘stay, remain’
táré/táré ‘be straight’
dárⁿé/dàrⁿè ‘hold by pinching’
təròmá/təròmà ‘twist’

b. noninitial C(ə)r

nouns

fítáráⁿ ‘oil lamp’
mààsórá ‘peanut(s)’

verbs

yèètáró/yèètàrò ‘walk around’
yèètáró/yéétáró ‘get wet’

The initial cluster fl occurs in the term for the Fulbe ethnicity, e.g. plural flá-bè ‘Fulbe people’. There is no phonetic schwa in this case.

3.1.3 Vowels

3.1.3.1 Vowel phonemes

The inventory of short oral vowels is (22). This 7-vowel system occurs in a wide range of interior West African languages, whose northwestern limit is Dogon and Bangime. Farther north, five-vowel systems occur in most Songhay and the more northerly Mande languages. Conversely, 10-vowel systems including ATR oppositions in high and low vowels occur farther south on or near the Atlantic coast (e.g. Kru languages).

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| (22) | i | u |
| | e | o |
| | ɛ | ɔ |
| | a | |

The seven vowel qualities occur in phonemic short and long forms. All of the oral vowels also have nasalized counterparts, indicated by superscript ⁿ, e.g. aaⁿ.

3.1.3.2 Schwa [ə]

Schwa (reduced centralized vowel) is not a true vowel phoneme in Pere. It occurs phonetically as the result of incomplete syncope of a short vowel within a stem that is preceded by a consonant and followed by tap r or less often certain other consonants. See §3.2.1.5 for discussion and examples.

3.1.3.3 ATR

West African languages that distinguish at least mid-height {ε ɔ} from {e o} are typically said to have an ATR (**advanced tongue root**) feature. {ε ɔ} are [-ATR], {e o} are [+ATR]. The actual articulation is somewhat variable.

Pere does not have ATR harmony, either internally within stems or in stem-affix combinations. [-ATR] vowels {ε ɔ} may co-occur with [+ATR] vowels {e o} in adjacent syllables within synchronically unsegmentable stems, as in sègèlé/ségélé ‘tilt’ and sònnéré/sònnèrè ‘wring out’.

Idiosyncratic ATR shifts occur in a handful of nouns that shift [-ATR] stem vowels to [+ATR] before the absolute suffix -à.

| (23) | premodifier | absolute Sg | gloss |
|------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| a. | bèw ~ bèè | bēgā-à | ‘chest (body)’ |
| b. | sògò | sōgā-à | ‘yam’ |
| c. | màṅgòrò | māṅgòrá-à | ‘potter (caste)’ |

In some West African languages, ATR-harmony provides evidence for the underlying ATR value of high and low vowels that do not phonetically distinguish [-ATR] from [+ATR]. Alternatively, one can argue that ATR-harmony provides evidence that entire stems containing high and/or low vowels are treated as [-ATR] or [+ATR]. Since Pere has no ATR harmony, there is no reason to attribute ATR values to high or low vowels, or to stems containing only high and/or low vowels.

3.1.3.4 Nasalized vowels

Clearly nasalized vowels occur in stems without nasal consonants, e.g. séⁿ ‘thorn’, tààⁿ ‘forest’, and sòⁿ/sòⁿ ‘set, put up on’. However, a subset of such stems has suffixal

forms that include a nasal consonant, for example tààṅá-à ‘forest’ (absolute singular, §4.1.1.3) and són-ṅà ‘put it up on’ with 3Sg object -à (§9.2.2.2).

A difficult analytical problem is whether vowels adjacent to nasal consonants are phonemically (as well as phonetically) nasalized. In the absence of clear minimal pairs of the type ná versus náⁿ, we cannot be sure that the vowel of ná, phonetic [náⁿ], is distinctively as opposed to automatically and redundantly nasalized. Both Nv(v) and Cv(v)ⁿ syllables in verbs can induce nasalization of a following suffix. Likewise, in words like tógómà ‘name-sharer’ the only way to test whether the second ɔ is phonemically nasalized is to artificially segment the stem into syllables. Native speakers often do this as tó, góⁿ, mà⁽ⁿ⁾, suggesting that they treat the second ɔ as nasalized even when artificially separated from the following nasal consonant.

3.2 Segmental phonological processes

3.2.1 Transsyllabic and metrical processes

3.2.1.1 vv-Contraction with absolute suffix -à

In the singular of nouns and adjectives, absolute suffix -à combines with a preceding vowel as follows. A stem-final a regularly, and (in nonmonosyllabics) final nonlow short vowels sometimes, contract with -à to form ...á-à or ...ā-à. For shortened final [â] or [ã], see below. Some unshortened examples are in (24).

| | | | |
|------|---|-------------|------------------------------|
| (24) | noun | absolute Sg | gloss |
| | a. final low vowel (contraction obligatory) | | |
| | júfá | júfá-à | ‘pocket’ |
| | b. final nonlow front unrounded vowel (contraction variable or lexical) | | |
| | ʃílí | ʃílí-à | ‘knife’ |
| | fíyé | fíyá-à | ‘neck’ |
| | púkóré | púkórá-à | ‘navel’ |
| | c. final nonlow back rounded vowel (contraction variable or lexical) | | |
| | kùrú | kùrá-à | ‘hill, mountain; hump; ball’ |
| | fèṅṅòrò | fèṅṅòrā-à | ‘cough (n)’ |
| | fèròwó | fèròwá-à | ‘dust’ |

If the stem is Caa or otherwise ends in long aa, the contraction is at most long a-à, not superlong #aa-à. Example: káá ‘armpit’, absolute singular ká-à.

In some cases, vv-Contraction appears to have applied (since the final vowel shifts from a nonlow quality to a), but the contracted vowel is heard as short.

| | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|----------|
| (25) | noun | absolute Sg | gloss |
| | fórɛ ⁿ | fór-â ⁿ | ‘hunger’ |

There is some free variation in the phonetic duration of final contracted vowels, but some nouns seem to require either long or short pronunciations. In our lexical database we transcribe final length as we hear it, but we have not extensively sought out or recorded variants.

vv-Contraction does not apply when 3Sg animate object -è or 3Sg inanimate object -à is suffixed to a transitive verb. These combinations call instead for Semivowel-Insertion (§3.2.1.2). The latter process is also found as a variant, or is lexically specified, for many nouns ending in nonlow vowels when followed by absolute -à.

vv-Contraction also occurs at word-boundaries. The contracted vowel is long and has the quality of the second underlying vowel. Some grammatical morphemes such as nì ‘if’ or ‘and; with’ and focus lé often contract with a following word-initial vowel, often 3Sg pronominal à. We write e.g. n = āà and l = āà, or in texts with tabs n = āà and l = āà. Here = (elsewhere a clitic boundary) is an indicator that contraction has occurred. 1Pl wó may reduce to ó and contract with a preceding vowel, as in n = ōō ‘if we’. Prohibitives and hortatives involve irregular contraction of modal morphemes with pronominals (§11.6.2-4), e.g. singular prohibitive m = ēē likely from *mì lé. For the stable M-tones in n = ōō and m = ēē, see §3.4.2.5)

3.2.1.2 Semivowel-Insertion before 3Sg object suffixes

This process is regular when 3Sg object markers -à (inanimate) and -è (animate) are suffixed (or encliticized) to a transitive verb. y is inserted after an unrounded vowel (low or nonlow), and w is inserted after a back rounded vowel. The semivowel can be faint or even inaudible after mid-height vowels, but vv-Contraction is blocked.

| | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (26) | stem-final | with postverbal -à | with postverbal -è |
| | a. semivowel y | | |
| | a | a-yà | a-yè |
| | i | i-yà | i-yè |
| | e | e-(y)à | e-(y)è |
| | ɛ | ɛ-(y)à | ɛ-(y)è |

b. semivowel w

| | | |
|---|--------|--------|
| u | u-wà | u-wè |
| o | o-(w)à | o-(w)è |
| ɔ | ɔ-(w)à | ɔ-(w)è |

Semivowel-Insertion is pre-empted by those verbs that have a special consonant-final allomorph before these 3Sg suffixes, usually ending in {g ŋ}. See §9.2.2.2 for details and lists of the relevant verbs.

3.2.1.3 Mid-Height-Vowel Raising before a

Under some conditions, stem-final mid-height vowels {ɛ e o ɔ} can shift to corresponding high vowels before a suffix or word beginning with a. {ɛ e} raise to i, and {o ɔ} raise to u. This usually applies to short vowels. There are a few cases where the underlying vowel is long, but it shortens as part of this process.

The raising occurs in nouns and nominal modifiers before absolute suffix -à. (27a) presents the two known grammatical morphemes (suffix or specialized compound final) that undergo raising. (27b) presents all known monosyllabic nouns that raise. (27c) presents a sample of nonmonosyllabics whose final vowel raises. The absolute singular forms shown are pre-surface, but close to their surface forms.

| (27) | input | absolute Sg | | gloss |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | | pre-surface | surface | |
| a. | -bè | /-bì-à | -bī-yà | plural |
| | -kò | /-kù-à | -kwā-à | ‘owner (of)’ |
| b. | déé | /dí-à/ | dī-yà | ‘thing’ |
| | kéé | /kí-à/ | kī-yà | ‘fruit, seed’ |
| | tè ⁿ | /tì ⁿ -à/ | tī ⁿ -à | ‘liver’ |
| | tò | /tù-à/ | tūw-à | ‘remainder’ |
| c. | tùndò | /tùndù-à/ | tūndw-à | ‘work (n)’ |
| | lòlò | /lòlù-à/ | lòlú-wà | ‘star’ |
| | gbàndé | /gbàndí-à/ | gbàndí-yà | ‘prayer’ |
| | ṅèné | /ṅèní-à/ | ṅèní-yà | ‘younger sibling’ |

The raised vowel, like original i and u, may then desyllabify or add a homorganic semivowel (see the following section), as well as undergo tonal processes.

The small number of nouns in (27b) indicates that raising is not productive with monosyllabic noun stems. In fact, most Cvv and Cv noun stems have an extended stem of the form Cvyv, Cvwv, Cvgv, or Cvŋv before absolute -à (§4.1.1.3), resulting in vv-Contraction to Cvya-à, etc.

Raising is somewhat more productive in final vowels of nonmonosyllabic nouns. However, there is variation (partially lexicalized, partially free) between raising to i-à or u-à on the one hand, and vv-Contraction to long a-à on the other, see §3.2.1.1. For example, ‘work (n)’ can combine with the suffix as /tùndù-à/ (surface tündw-à) or as contracted /tùndà-à/ (surface tündā-à).

The situation is similar with transitive verbs. A small number of them, listed in (28), undergo raising before 3Sg inanimate object -à and 3Sg animate object -è. A semivowel is then inserted. ‘Say’ (28b) does not take animate objects. ‘Know’ (28c) undergoes raising in the high-frequency inanimate combination but not in the lower-frequency animate combination.

| | | | |
|------|--------------|------------------------------------|--------|
| (28) | input | with 3SgObj | gloss |
| | a. déé / dèè | dí-yà / dī-yà dí-yè / dī-yè | ‘eat’ |
| | b. té / tè | tí-yà / tī-yà | ‘say’ |
| | c. sèè / sèè | sī-yà / sī-yà ~ sēē-yè / sēē-yè | ‘know’ |

The verbs in (28) can also raise before another word beginning with 3Sg pronominal a, for example a PP or a possessed noun. This is the case with déé ‘ate’ in (29).

| | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|----------------|------|-----------------------|
| (29) | à | dí | [à | námw ⁿ -à] |
| | 3Sg | eat.Pfv | [3Sg | meat-Abs] |
| | ‘He/She ate his/her meat.’ | | | |

3.2.1.4 Desyllabification or Semivowel-Insertion before absolute -à

As illustrated in §3.2.1.1 above, stem-final vowels of noun stems may contract with absolute -à, resulting in long a-à. When the stem-final vowel is nonlow, {i e ε} may alternatively desyllabify to y or insert a following homorganic y, and {u o o} may desyllabify to w or insert a following homorganic w. The choice between these treatments and vv-Contraction is partially free and partially lexicalized.

When Desyllabification occurs, the tone and in some cases the mora originally associated with the stem-final vowel are transferred to the -à suffix. In some other cases, only the tone is transferred. Outputs are summarized in (30).

| | | | |
|------|------------|------------------------------|--|
| (30) | stem-final | before -à (desyllabified) | before -à (with homorganic semivowel) |
| | i | y-a, y-aà | i-yà |
| | e | " | e-(y)è |
| | ɛ | " | ɛ-(y)è |
| | u | w-a, w-aà | u-wè |
| | o | " | o-(w)è |
| | ɔ | " | ɔ-(w)è |

The tone (not shown) depends on that of the final stem-syllable, but ends in the L-tone of the -à suffix.

The desyllabified vowel is shown above as y or w, but especially after ɛ and ɔ it may be closer to nonsyllabic open ɣ and ɹ.

The short desyllabified w-a variant is very common with stems ending in Cu, e.g. *jààmú* ‘blood’, singular absolute *jààmⁿw-à*. By contrast, stems ending in Ci often prefer the i-yà option with inserted semivowel, as with *ménì* ‘rain (n)’, singular absolute *ménì-yà*. This may be because the tongue can get into position for a during the articulation of lip-rounding (w), but it takes longer for it to move from i to a.

Like Semivowel-Insertion, this process is pre-empted by those verbs that have a special consonant-final allomorph before these 3Sg suffixes, usually ending in {g ɲ} (§9.2.2.2).

3.2.1.5 Syncope before r and occasionally other consonants

Partial syncope to schwa, or full syncope (disappearance of the vowel) occurs within stems in the sequence Cvr_v, where v is a vowel. Partial syncope also occasionally occurs in Cv_gv and Cv_ɲv. The syncopated vowel usually has the same underlying quality as the following vowel. The sequences shown may be word-initial or -medial. Syncope is often optional, permitting unsyncopated pronunciations that reveal the true quality of the syncopated vowel. In our lexical work, in some cases the quality of the syncopated vowel was indeterminate. In this grammar and in the lexicon we often write schwa ə. Some examples are in (31).

- (31) a. séḡé ~ sáḡé ‘soda ash’ (also séḡéⁿ ~ sáḡéⁿ)
 b. gbèrè(y)é-gbèrè(y)é ‘sugar’
 c. gbòḡgbòrò ‘stool’
 d. kàrà ‘earthenware bowl’
 e. làḡàzèrá ‘4 PM prayer’
 f. sóra ‘man’
 g. tètàḡé ‘cold (n)’
 h. bèḡá ‘poison; poisonous plant’ (cf. §3.2.2.3)

Examples (31g-h) show that the schwa syllable may bear its own tone. If syncope is complete, the syncopated tone must relocate to the right, hence bḡá from bèḡá.

3.2.1.6 Nasalization-Spreading

Pere does not have an especially productive process of this type. However, semivowels *w* and *y* do nasalize after a syllable in the same word of the type *Nv(v)*, with nasal consonant *N*, or of the type *Cv(v)ⁿ* with autonomously nasalized vowel. In *-yà* and *-wà* suffix variants (after Semivowel-Insertion, §3.2.1.2), the spreading produces *-yⁿà* and *-wⁿà*, respectively, pronounced [jⁿàⁿ] and [wⁿàⁿ] with nasalization most clearly audible on the vowel.

There are no suffixes or compound finals beginning with *r*, so the only cases of possible nasalization of *r* to *rⁿ* are stem-internal, as in *márⁿá* ~ *mérⁿá* ‘drive out, expel’. However, *nààmóró* ‘squash, crush’ and some other stems have oral *r* in a similar environment.

Such alternations as *tēⁿ-bī-yà* ~ *tēm-mī-yà* ‘livers’ are treated here as cases of Nasal-Stop Fusion (§3.2.2.1).

3.2.1.7 Resyllabification (of semivowel and high vowel)

For a possible isolated example of resyllabification, see the discussion of *kwēⁿ* (< /kwěⁿ/) ‘ramrod’, absolute singular *kùyn-â*, in connection with (18) in §3.1.2.13.

3.2.2 Local phonological processes

3.2.2.1 Nasal-Stop Fusion

Sporadically, a stop may become a nasal after a preceding nasalized vowel or semivowel at a boundary. The nasal feature is transferred, or spreads, into the consonant. This is a more productive process in the surrounding language, Koro,

which likely influenced the Pere phenomenon. In Mande linguistics this process is described by names such as “consonant mutation.”

The noun ‘nail (body part)’ is kámù (absolute singular kámwⁿ-à). It combines with nouns bðⁿ ‘hand’ and gbóⁿ ‘foot’ as follows, including the variants. Note the variants with η. The forms shown are premodifier before H-tone.

- (32) bðⁿ-kámù ~ bð⁽ⁿ⁾-ηámù ‘fingernail’
 gbðⁿ-kámù ~ gbð⁽ⁿ⁾-ηámù ‘toenail’

This is not a productive process in Pere.

3.2.2.2 Velar-Nasalization (g to η)

g medially in a stem with nasalized vowel(s) alternates variably (speaker by speaker) with η. Example: ségéⁿ ~ séηé ‘soda ash’. In the latter pronunciation, both vowels are phonetically (i.e. allophonically) nasalized, as in phonetic [sÉⁿηÉⁿ], though this is not indicated in transcriptions. Our main assistant states that forms like ségéⁿ are correct, implying that a conscious normative factor is at work. The more natural pronunciations, often the only ones used by some older speakers, are of the type séηé.

3.2.2.3 Spirantization (g to γ)

As in Koro and many other West African languages, phoneme g is often but not invariably spirantized to [γ] in the environments ɔ_ɔ and a_a, but not in other combinations. This was noted briefly in §3.1.2.3 above. Examples are in (33).

- (33) g often pronounced [γ]
- | | | | |
|----|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| a. | fɔ̄gɔ̄-fɔ̄gɔ̄ | [fɔ̄γɔ̄fɔ̄γɔ̄] | ‘lungs’ |
| | gbðgðlól | [gbðγðlól] | ‘young woman’ |
| | gbðyðgól | [gbðjðγól] | ‘crop (of bird)’ |
| b. | kàgá | [kàγá] | ‘file (tool)’ |
| | làgà | [làγà] | ‘grandmother’ |

A complication is that the first syllable in the sequences Caga and Cəgə may undergo syncope, resulting in Cəga and Cəgə, pronounced with [γ]. In other words, Spirantization applies prior to syncope. An example is bàgá ~ bəgá, pronounced [bàγá] or [bəγá], a term denoting certain poisonous plants (*Amorphophallus*, *Anchomanes*).

The important noun ‘yam’ (the local food staple, *Dioscorea alata*) has the forms in (34). The vocally irregular absolute singular shifts from ɔ to o, and undergoes vv-Contraction of /oɑ/ to aa. This disrupts the ɔ_ɔ environment that requires Spirantization, so g does not spirantize in the absolute singular.

(34) ‘Yam’

- a. g pronounced [ɣ]
 sògò premodifier
 sōgō-bè plural
- b. g pronounced [g]
 sōgā-à absolute singular

The verb of the verb-particle combination *sá/sà ... yí* ‘cut’ has two vocalic variants *sá-/sà-* and *sé-/sè-* before object suffixes. Perfective forms are, as expected, spirantized *sá-gà yí* with phonetic [ɣ] and unspirantized *sé-gà yí* ‘cut it’ with phonetic [g].

The medial nasal-stop sequence *ŋg* does not spirantize regardless of flanking vowels: *gbàŋgá-à* ‘granulated salt; soda ash’, *dòŋgó* ‘because of’.

While there are many stems with *a_a* and *ɔ_ɔ* vowel sequences, the mixed types *a_ɔ* and *ɔ_a* are rare or morphologically limited. *a_ɔ* seems to be confined to compounds with a stem-break between the two vowels. The environment *ɔ_a* is parasitic on *ɔ_ɔ*, occurring in singular nouns after absolute suffix *-à* contracts with stem-final *ɔ*. The relevant examples do have spirantized [ɣ], as in (35). It is indeterminate whether spirantization applies directly to /ɔgɑ/, or whether it applies to /ɔgɔ/ prior to vocalic contraction.

| | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| (35) | stem | absolute Sg | gloss |
| | fìgò-fìgò | fìgō-fìgā-à | ‘lung(s)’ |
| | [fìɣòfìɣò] | [fìɣōfìɣāà] | |

One morphological context where phoneme *g* appears is in stem-extensions before suffixes. Some monosyllabic verbs are extended in this way before 3Sg animate object suffix *-à* (§9.2.3). Examples are *jè* ‘lay out (mat)’, *jī-gā lè* ‘laid it out’, and *lá/là* ‘rip’, *lá-gā lè* ‘ripped it’. The *g* is arguably part of the stem synchronically (and almost certainly etymologically), though our segmentation treats it as part of the suffix. The allophony respects the rule given above, with [g] in *jī-gā lè* versus [ɣ] in *lá-gā lè*. A similar presuffixal *g ~ ɣ* emerges in absolute singular forms of some

monosyllabic nouns: absolute *bēgā-à* versus unsuffixed *bèw ~ bèè* ‘chest (body)’, absolute *gbāgā-à* versus unsuffixed *gbàw ~ gbàà* ‘mat’ (§4.1.1.3).

3.3 Cliticization and affixation

Accentual languages including English are full of “phonological enclitics” that reflect prosodic reduction of syntactic words, which are then hosted in suffix-like forms by accentually stable words (*isn’t, gonna*, etc.). As in many languages without accents or clear prosodic indications of word boundaries, the distinction between cliticization, affixation, and simple juxtaposition is often indeterminate or at least unprovable.

A distinction between **satellite** (affix or clitic) on the one hand, and simple juxtaposition on the other, can be justified by observing phonological interactions between the host and satellite, provided that these interactions are not typical in other word juxtapositions.

Among postverbal pronominals, which function as direct objects (except in the progressive), some like 1Sg *k̀* have invariant form and there is no compelling reason to analyze them as suffixal or encliticized. By contrast, 3Sg object pronominals (inanimate *à*, animate *è*) are suffixal or encliticized as postverbal objects, and they induce various lexicalized morphophonological changes in the form of a preceding verb (§9.2.2.2).

Additional candidates for satellite status are the VP-final particles *l̀* and *l̀* (§11.1.2.1-2), but only when they directly follow a verb with at most a 3Sg object suffix intervening. This occurs in perfective and imperfective clauses with pronominalized 3Sg object, and in the progressive for all object types (since the object precedes the main verb). In these contexts, these two particles take unaltered form *l̀* and *l̀* after oral syllables, but become *-nd̀* and *-nd̀* after nasal syllables. This distinguishes them from the same pseudo-postpositions when they follow a nonpronominal NP (in perfective and imperfective clauses), since their forms do not change when the preceding NP ends in a nasal syllable. The true postpositions *l̀* (dative) and *l̀* (locative) always follow NPs or fuse with pronominals, and do not systematically change their form after nasal syllables. We therefore transcribe the nasalized VP-final particles as *-nd̀* and *-nd̀* with hyphens (we could alternatively use the clitic boundary =). We could extrapolate and transcribe unaltered *-l̀* and *-l̀* with hyphens in the same morphosyntactic contexts, but there is no compelling phonological argument for this.

Another postposition *yí* ‘in front of’ encliticizes to and contracts with most Cv pronominals to form *Ci-í* (§8.4.5.1).

Another *l̀* morpheme, the one that follows all verbs in the progressive construction, might also be considered a satellite, based on the fact that it induces changes in the verb (raising L to H tone, lengthening Cv verbs to Cvv) with or

without an intervening VP-final particle. However, this *lò* does not itself have a nasalized variant after nasal syllables. See §11.4.3 for details.

A fairly strong case can be made that the “preverbal” forms of all pronouns are proclitic. The main reasoning for this is that several of them have special forms in this position, distinct from those of independent pronouns and those of nonpreverbal pronominals (e.g. postverbal direct objects); see §4.2.1 for paradigms.

3.4 Tonology

We distinguish three surface tone levels H[igh], M[id], and L[ow]. However, these three can be reduced to two, written H and L, at the lexical or phonemic level.

We use the term **melody** to denote the lexical tone or tone sequence of a stem, before the application of tone sandhi or ablaut. Melodies are represented in slashes, e.g. /L/ and /HL/. A melody may be spread over a nonmonosyllabic word.

Monomoraic (Cv) syllables normally bear a single tone. Bimoraic Cvv, whether forming a monosyllabic word or occurring at the end of a nonmonosyllabic word, can also have contour tones <HL>, <LH>, or (surface) <ML>. We use angled brackets <...> to represent contoured tones on a single syllable.

Because of L-to-M Raising (§3.4.2.4), sequences of two structurally L-toned morphemes are heard as M L, which should not be confused with H L in spite of the falling pitch. For example, in the aspectual opposition *kè fó* ‘I went’ versus *kē fò* ‘I go’, it may initially sound as though the pronoun *kè* has shifted to H-tone in the latter. Actually, it is the verb that shifts from H-toned perfective to L-toned imperfective. This then triggers a secondary partial rise of the tone of the preceding pronominal from L to M.

3.4.1 Lexical tones

The sections below describe tone-melody classes for various types of stems and indicate how these are determined.

3.4.1.1 Tone classes of noun stems

Nouns may have tone melodies /H/, /HL/, /LH/, and /L/. Long stems, which might be composite at least etymologically, can also be /HLH/ or /LHL/. There are some iterative (reduplicative) stems with /LH-LH/ or /HL-HL/.

The frames for identifying nominal tone melodies are illustrated schematically in (36). The H-tone of the final syllable or (for monosyllabics) the final mora of /LH/ and /H/ melodies is often dropped to L before H-toned modifiers like *pí* ‘one’ (36a)

(§3.4.2.1. In this position, the four basic tone classes may reduce to two surface tone patterns, HL and L. However, the flattening of /LH/ to L can be resisted, especially in careful pronunciation. The four tone classes are easily distinguished in suffixal contexts (36b-c). L is raised to M before the suffixes, which are lexically L-toned.

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----|-----------|------|-----|
| (36) | | /H/ | /LH/ | /HL/ | /L/ |
| | before... | | | | |
| a. | pí ⁿ ‘one’ | HL | L (or LH) | HL | L |
| b. | plural -bī-yà | H | LH | HM | M |
| | singular -à | H | LH | HM | M |

Of the three morphosyntactic contexts shown in (36a-c), the plural (36b) is optimal for determining the tone class of a noun, except for the few nouns that have irregular plurals. In theory the singular is equally good, but the -à suffix contracts with some stem-final vowels, making the stem tones less transparent. Examples are in (37).

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------|--|----------------------|----------------------|
| (37) | | júfá | kàgá | pónì | gbàà |
| | | ‘pocket’ | ‘file (n)’ | ‘country’ | ‘stone’ |
| | before... | | | | |
| a. | pí ⁿ ‘one’ | júfà pí ⁿ | kàgà pí ⁿ ~ kàgá pí ⁿ | pónì pí ⁿ | gbàà pí ⁿ |
| b. | plural -bī-yà | júfá-bī-yà | kàgá-bī-yà | pónī-bī-yà | gbāā-bī-yà |
| | singular -à | júfá-à | kàgá-à | pónī-yà | gbā-à |

In trisyllabic and longer stems, including those with complex melodies like /HLH/ and /LHL/, the final syllable behaves in the manner illustrated in (37) above, with the onset unaffected (38).

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|------------------------|
| (38) | | sófààní | kòkáfì |
| | | ‘donkey’ | ‘flank (body)’ |
| | before... | | |
| a. | pí ⁿ ‘one’ | sófààní pí ⁿ ~ sófààní pí ⁿ | kòkáfì pí ⁿ |
| b. | plural -bī-yà | sófààní-bī-yà | kòkáfì-bī-yà |
| | singular -à | sófààní-yà | kòkáfì-yà |

In trisyllabic and longer stems, /LH/ is divided into /L*H/ with just one final H tone, and /LH*/ with just one initial L tone. * here indicates repeatability of the tone to its left. /L*H/ is common with trisyllabics.

- (39) a. /L*H/ màngd̀ró ‘potter (caste)’
 k̀̀k̀̀tí ‘pig’
 f̀̀r̀̀wó ‘dust’
 t̀̀t̀̀bú ‘calf (of leg)’
 p̀̀ỳ̀d̀éⁿ ‘hip’
- b. /LH*/ s̀̀nǹ̀éj̀̀é ‘chili pepper’

3.4.1.2 Melodies and tone classes of verbs

Tone classes are based on the relationship between perfective and imperfective verbs. The possibilities depend on the syllabic shape of the stem.

The perfective-imperfective pairings of Cv and Cvv verbs are of only two types (40a-b). For these verbs, we take the perfective as revealing the lexical tone.

- | (40) | perfective | imperfective | melody | Ipfv overlay | gloss |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| a. | yá | yà | /H/ | {L} | ‘come’ |
| | jíí | jìì | /H/ | {L} | ‘kill’ |
| b. | p̀̀ò | p̀̀ò | /L/ | {L} | ‘do’ |
| | s̀̀èè ⁿ | s̀̀èè ⁿ | /L/ | {L} | ‘buy’ |

The difference between /H/ melody (40a) and /L/ melody (40b) is audible in the perfectives, but is erased by the shared {L} overlay on the imperfectives.

Some slightly heavier verbs with shapes such as CvCv have similar /H/ or /L/ lexical melodies, with predictable imperfective tone overlay {L}. However, some other CvCv and many longer verbs such as CvvCv and trisyllabics allow contoured tone patterns in the perfective, mainly LH and HL but occasionally also LHL. The imperfectives in these cases are level H or level L, but which of these is paired with the perfective pattern is not always predictable. As a result, it may be impossible to determine which of perfective and imperfective reveals the lexical melody. See §9.1.1-6 for the details.

3.4.1.3 Tonal minimal pairs

The known pairs of nouns that differ by lexical tones, at least in some morphological contexts, are in (41).

| (41) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|---|-------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| a. /HL/ versus /LH/ | | | | |
| | jísì | jíʃy-ā | jísì-bī-yà | ‘face; eyes’ |
| | jìsì | jìʃy-â | jìsì-bī-yà | ‘place’ (also jìʃí etc.) |
| b. /L/ versus /H/ | | | | |
| | nònò | nōnō-(w)à | nōnō-bī-yà | ‘plastic’ |
| | nónó | nónó-à | nónó-bī-yà | ‘milk’ |
| c. /LH/ versus /H/ (→ /H-L/ including increment in absolute singular) | | | | |
| | pààlí | pààlá-à | pààlí-bī-yà | ‘mud’ |
| | páá | páá-lā-à | páá-mī-yà | ‘waterjar’ |
| | | [for -lā- see (59b) below] | | |
| d. /LH/ versus /L/ | | | | |
| | pèsí | pèsy-â, | pèsí-bī-yà | ‘song’ |
| | pèsì | pēs̄y-â | pēs̄ì-bī-yà | ‘broom’ |
| | | [also variants with ʃ(y) for s(y)] | | |
| e. /L/ two) versus /H/ | | | | |
| | gbàw | gbāgā-à | gbāw-bī-yà | ‘mat’ |
| | ~ gbàà | | ~ gbāā-bī-yà | |
| | gbáw | gbágá-à | gbáw-bī-yà | ‘body’ |
| | ~ gbáá | | ~ gbáá-bī-yà | |
| | gbàà | gbā-à | gbāā-bī-yà | ‘meal, food’ |

Examples of minimal pairs of monosyllabic verbs that differ tonally in the perfective, are in (42). Tone-dropping in the imperfective neutralizes the tone-melodic opposition. Most of the minimal pairs are nonproblematic in terms of recognition by listeners since they occur in different frames (transitivity, forms before 3Sg object suffix, typical complements).

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| (42) | perfective | imperfective | gloss |
| a. | kó ⁿ | kò ⁿ | ‘miss target’ |
| | kò ⁿ | kò ⁿ | ‘give birth to’ or ‘be born’ |
| b. | só | sò | ‘ignite’ or ‘shine’ |
| | sò | sò | ‘give’ |
| c. | kó | kò | ‘break’ |
| | kò | kò | ‘pull’ |
| d. | jé | jè | ‘(plant) sprout’ |
| | jè | jè | ‘knock down; lay out (mat)’ |

For a few cases of derivationally related verbs that differ semantically in transitivity (inchoative versus factive), and that differ tonally only in the imperfective, see §9.1.4.

3.4.2 Tonal processes

3.4.2.1 Irregular tone shifts in compound finals

There are no systematic tone shifts for either initials or finals in compounds, other than regular tone sandhi. However, some nouns do shift tones irregularly as compound finals, either across the board (with all initials) or just in one or two combinations. ‘Slingshot’ is phrased as “plastic-stick.”

| | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| (43) | compound | | noun related to final |
| | nònò-gbégá-à | ‘slingshot’ | gbēgā-à ‘wood, tree, stick’ |
| | X-dī-yà | (various, §5.1.5) | dí-yà ‘thing’ |

3.4.2.2 H#H-to-L#H

A noun stem of at least two moras ending in H tone drops its final-mora H to L before a word beginning with an H-tone.

Examples include /H/, /LH/ and /HLH/-melody nouns before a numeral that begins with an H-tone, such as píⁿ ‘1’ and náá ‘4’. In our lexical spreadsheet, the “sg” column in the “nouns” worksheet is based on the form of the noun before píⁿ.

| | | | | |
|------|---------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (44) | noun | gloss | ‘one X’ | ‘four Xs’ |
| | tóó | ‘hole’ | tóó píí ⁿ | tóó ~ tóó-bè náá |
| | gbòṅgbó | ‘hip’ | gbòṅgbò píí ⁿ | gbòṅgbò ~ gbòṅgbò-bè náá |
| | sófààní | ‘donkey’ | sófààní píí ⁿ | sófààní ~ sófààní-bè náá |

In elicitation, speakers sometimes failed (or refused) to drop the final H-tone of /LH/ and /HLH/, or else they pronounced it with middling pitch as a compromise. We normalize transcriptions to show the full drop to L, which is typical of allegro speech.

H#H-to-L#H is useful to the fieldworker in determining the tones of the morphemes on both sides of the boundary #. In a sequence X Y, if we know that Y is H-toned we can observe the surface tones of X and easily distinguish stem-wide /H/ from /L/ melodies (the latter does not rise to M in this context). Conversely, if we know that X is L-toned, we can determine the tone of Y by observing whether X appears as L-toned before Y (so that there is a sharp upturn in pitch at the boundary), or whether X is equal to or higher than Y in pitch.

H-toned verb stems do not systematically drop their final syllables before an H-tone (45).

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------|----------|------------|
| (45) | kè | yógò | tíyé-lā-à |
| | 1Sg | bury.Pfv | child- Abs |
| | ‘I buried the child.’ | | |

3.4.2.3 Prepausal H-to-M (or downstep)

Prosodically light H-toned words of one or two moras, such as negative particle wó? and dative pronominals like yā-rē ‘for him/her’, tend to be pronounced with lower than modal pitch in prepausal (e.g. clause-final) position. The drop is noticeable when they immediately follow another H-tone as in (46).

| | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----------|-----|
| (46) | yā | à | sógólé | wó? |
| | Fut | 3Sg | slip.Ipfv | Neg |
| | ‘He/She will not slip.’ pronounced [sógóléwō?] | | | |

Heavy H-toned words, such as imperfective sógólé, likewise tend to drop the pitch of the final syllable somewhat in prepausal position.

| | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----------|
| (47) | yā | à | sógólé |
| | Fut | 3Sg | slip.Ipfv |
| | ‘He/She will slip.’ pronounced [sógólē] | | |

We do not normally indicate low-level final-syllable pitch declines like those in (46-47) in transcriptions. Notating them in a narrow phonetic transcription would be challenging. They might be analyzed as downstep, though their phonological motivation is different from what is usually understood by downstep. They might also be analyzed as the fusion of phonological H-tone with a clause-final intonational boundary L-tone.

Since there are no structurally M-toned words or syllables prepausally, there are no contrasts between these downstepped H-toned and true M-tones.

3.4.2.4 L-to-M Raising

L-toned morphemes including entire stems, and final L-tones in HL-toned stems, are normally raised to M-tone when not followed by an H-tone or by a pause (or other major prosodic boundary). Citation forms behave as prepausal, so they cannot end in true M-tone. Premodifier forms of nouns generally cannot occur prepausally, so for nouns the issue mainly affects absolute forms.

The absolute singular nouns *yēgā-à* ‘river’ and *gbākōrōmā-à* ‘skin’ are formed from nouns that have lexical /L/ melody (*yèw*, *gbàkòròmà*). The absolute singular forms have suffix *-à*, making the stems nonfinal and therefore subject to raising to M-tone. Whether premodifier *yèw* and *gbàkòròmà* surface with L- or M-tones depends on the tone of the following modifier or suffix. Whether the optional plural suffix *-bè* occurs on the noun in the noun-numeral combinations like ‘four Xs’ in the right-hand column of (48) determines whether the stem is L- or M-toned.

| | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------|---------------------------------|---|
| (48) | premodifier | gloss | ‘one X’ | ‘four Xs’ |
| a. | <i>yèw</i> | ‘river’ | <i>yèw píⁿ</i> | <i>yèw náá</i> ~ <i>yēw-bè náá</i> |
| b. | <i>gbàkòròmà</i> | ‘skin’ | <i>gbàkòròmà píⁿ</i> | <i>gbàkòròmà náá</i> ~ <i>gbākōrōmā-bè náá</i> |

We have tended to normalize clause-internal tonal transcriptions to show M rather than L in a constituent-final syllable when followed by a non-high syllable. This reflects what we consider to be an ideal that speakers aim for. However, in natural speech some structurally L-toned final syllables may be heard variably in the low to mid pitch continuum.

3.4.2.5 Leveling of rising tones (Cṽ́- → Cṽ̄-)

Falling <HL> tones are allowed, though uncommon; see (50) below. By contrast, rising <LH> tones are not generally allowed on single syllables other than word- and phrase-final verbs (see below).

In noun stems preceding a suffix or a modifier and in contractions like /nì wó/ → n = ōō ‘if we’, Cṽ́ is usually leveled to Cṽ̄ (stable M-toned). This derived M is not dropped to L before an H-tone. The nouns in (49a) have bisyllabic absolute singular forms of type Cṽ́Cṽ́-à and premodifier and plural stems without the medial consonant. The premodifier forms are realized as M-toned Cṽ̄(v̄), both before a lexical modifier (adjective, numeral) and in the plural with suffix -bè or -bī-yà (49a). For ‘chicken’ (49b) this is the case in the Cṽ̄ premodifier form, but not in the plural with its irregular Cṽ́Cṽ́- stem. For ‘dog’ (49c) this is the case in the irregular plural with contracted Cṽ̄- stem, but not in the premodifier form which is based on the bisyllabic Cṽ́Cṽ́- stem.

| (49) | absolute Sg | premodifier | absolute Pl | gloss | reference |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| a. | fùwá-à | fūū | fūū-bī-yà | ‘death’ | (57b) |
| | tègá-à | tēē | tēē-bī-yà | ‘talk (n)’ | (58a) |
| | gbèy ⁿ á-à | gbēē ⁿ | gbēē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘cowpea’ | (57a) |
| | kùy ⁿ á-à | kwē ⁿ | kwē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘ramrod’ | (18a) |
| | sénī-sùwá-à | sénī-sūū | sénī-sūū-bī-yà | ‘east’ | (136a) |
| | sòṅá-à | sṽṽ ⁿ | sṽṽ ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘drinking (n)’ | (70) |
| b. | tòwá-à | tṽṽ | tògó-bī-yà | ‘chicken’ | |
| c. | kèsy-â | kèsí | kēē-bī-yà | ‘dog’ | |

For the plurals in -bī-yà after an M-toned vowel that was leveled from an underlying rising tone (49a,c), another option is to drop the M-toned vowel to L and shift the H-tone to the plural suffix. For example, /kwēⁿ-bī-à/ ‘ramrods’ can be realized as kwēⁿ-bī-yà as in (49a), or alternatively as kwèⁿ-bī-yà. Likewise sénī-sūū-bī-yà ‘east’ (admittedly a “made-up” plural) was also recorded as sénī-sùù-bī-yà. In other words, the <LH> tone is either flattened to M, or the H tone feature peels off and lands on the following syllable, leaving just L behind in the stem syllable.

In spite of the avoidance of Cṽ́ in noun stems followed by suffixes or modifiers, derived Cṽ́ occurs for several monosyllabic verbs in the same-subject purposive construction. An example is purposive sòó from sò/sò ‘give’ (§16.4.1.2).

Elsewhere (§4.2.2, §8.1) we state our suspicion that fused dative pronominals of the shape Cṽ̄-rē may reflect tone flattening from earlier *Cṽ́-ré.

Lexically HL-toned C $\acute{v}\grave{v}$ is fairly uncommon but stable (50). However, the high-frequency demonstrative y $\acute{e}\grave{e}$ ‘this/that’ (50a) is sometimes shortened and flattened to y \bar{e} in allegro speech.

(50) a. grammatical morphemes

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| y $\acute{e}\grave{e}$ ~ y \acute{e} ~ y \bar{e} | ‘this/that’, §4.3.1.1 |
| túù | plural of indefinite tí, §4.3.3 |

b. nouns

| | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------------|
| úù | ‘fog’ | absolute singular úwā-à |
| ɲáà | ‘shadow’ | absolute singular ɲá-à |

In addition, some monosyllabic verb stems have falling C $\acute{v}\grave{v}$ instead of C $\grave{v}\acute{v}$ in the purposive construction, e.g. s $\acute{e}\grave{e}^n$ from s $\grave{e}\grave{e}^n$ /s $\acute{e}\grave{e}^n$ ‘buy’ (§16.4.1.2).

Many additional occurrences of word-final HL-toned syllables result from contraction of stem-final with suffixal vowels, notably when absolute suffix -à is added to noun stems, as in y $\acute{e}\acute{g}\acute{a}$ -à ‘village’. There are likewise many ML-toned word-final syllables of the same morphological type, as in y $\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{a}$ -à ‘sound, noise’, from underlying /y $\grave{e}\acute{g}\acute{a}$ -à/ prior to L-to-M Raising (§3.4.2.4). When either ‘village’ or ‘sound’ is followed by a nonhigh tone (L or M), the raising process applies again to produce y $\acute{e}\acute{g}\acute{a}$ -ā ‘village’ and y $\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{a}$ -ā ‘sound’.

3.4.2.6 Contour-Tone Simplification ($\hat{v} \rightarrow \acute{v}$ before nonhigh tone)

Absolute forms (suffix -à) of some nouns can appear with final falling tone, generally due to contraction or syncope as in k $\acute{e}\acute{s}\acute{i}$ -yà ~ k $\acute{e}\acute{s}y$ -â ‘the dog’. The actual pronunciation is more variable than the transcriptions suggest, since the pitch rise may begin on the semivowel y. When forms like k $\acute{e}\acute{s}y$ -â are followed by a nonhigh tone, they can simplify, as in k $\acute{e}\acute{s}y$ -á lè ‘to the dog’ (dative).

3.4.2.7 Summary of tonal processes

Summarizing the effects of H#H-to-L#H and L-to-M Raising, (51) shows how various nouns pattern tonally before an H-toned verb f \acute{o} ‘went’ and before an L-toned verb f \grave{o} ‘goes (imperfective)’. For ‘my father’ (51a), the monomoraic Cv pronominal and noun are too brief to display significant tone-dropping before the H-toned verb. The other forms (51b) do show a final L-tone before H-toned f \acute{o} . Before L-toned f \grave{o} , the forms in (51b) end in M-tone, except that the falling tone in the variant k $\acute{e}\acute{s}y$ -â for ‘dog’ is simplified to k $\acute{e}\acute{s}y$ -á before the L-tone.

| | | | | |
|------|------------|--------------|---------------|------------------|
| (51) | noun X | gloss of X | ‘X went’ | ‘X will go’ |
| a. | ké tó | ‘my father’ | ké tó fó | yà ké tó fò |
| b. | nóná-à | ‘bird’ | nóná-à fó | yà nóná-ā fò |
| | gbēgā-à | ‘wood, tree’ | gbēgā-à fó | yā gbēgā-ā fò |
| | tòwá-à | ‘chicken’ | tòwá-à fó | yā tòwá-ā fò |
| | kèjí-yà | ‘dog’ | kèjí-yà fó | yā kèjí-yā fò |
| | ~ kèjy-â | | ~ kèjy-â fó | ~ yā kèjy-á fò |
| | tíyé tār-à | ‘child’ | tíyé tār-à fó | yà tíyé tār-ā fò |
| | kēē-bī-yà | ‘dogs’ | kēē-bī-yà fó | yā kēē-bī-yā fò |

3.5 Intonation

3.5.1 Interrogative intonation

Polar interrogatives are expressed by adding a terminal intonation effect to what is otherwise the corresponding indicative. The final syllable is prolonged with higher than modal intensity, and tracks down to a low pitch. See §13.2.1 for details.

See also sèē→ in §7.2.2.

3.5.2 Incompletion intonation

As in many languages, a clause-final syllable may have higher than modal pitch as an indication that another clause is coming. As a result, an L-toned syllable may sound H-toned. We do not take this to be phonological tone-raising, and we transcribe the relevant words in their normal tonal form. The pitch raising (or failure to drop) is not indicted in our textual transcriptions.

4 Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, determiners

This chapter focuses on the forms of the words that make up NPs: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, and determiners. For the structure of NPs see chapter 6. For other NP-initial or -final elements such as universal quantifiers (‘all, every’), topic (‘as for’), ‘also, too’, and ‘even’, see §6.8-9.

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Underived noun stems

4.1.1.1 Underived regular common nouns with suffixes -à and -bè

Nouns are marked for number (singular/plural). Singular and plural nouns each have two forms, one that is here labeled **premodifier** and the other that is here labeled **absolute** (i.e. not followed by a modifier). The absolute forms shown in this section are those for unmodified nouns.

For common nouns, absolute very often coincides with phrase-final in the sense of occurring at the end of a noun or noun-adjective combination that is not followed by a determiner or numeral. However, an absolute-marked string can freely be followed by gbó ‘all’ or indefinite tí, suggesting that these latter particles are external to an inner core NP.

The absolute suffix is absent with personal names. This includes fauna terms that are used like personal names in tales, e.g. ‘Hyena’ and ‘Hare’. When used as common nouns, these fauna names do show absolute suffixes in the relevant frames.

The regular paradigm for common nouns is presented schematically in (52). X represents the bare stem, and Mod is a postnominal modifier. The absolute suffix is -à. The plural suffix is -bè, to which the absolute suffix -à may be added. The absolute plural combination /-bè-à/ is realized as -bī-yà.

| | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------|-----------|---------|
| (52) | Sg premod | Sg Abs | Pl premod | Pl Abs |
| | X Mod | X-à | X-bè Mod | X-bī-yà |

Phonetically, -bī-yà optionally syncopates to -by-à. We usually transcribe as unsyncopated -bī-yà.

A few examples of regular nouns are in (53). The premodifier forms shown are those that appear before a nonhigh tone.

| (53) | stem | Sg premod | Sg Abs | Pl premod | Pl Abs | gloss |
|------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | pónì | pónī Mod | pónī-yà | pónī-bē Mod | pónī-bī-yà | ‘country’ |
| | trà ⁿ | trā ⁿ Mod | trā ⁿ -à | trā ⁿ -bē Mod | trā ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘tendon’ |
| | jèŋgé | jèŋgé Mod | jèŋgí-yà | jèŋgé-bē Mod | jèŋgé-bī-yà | ‘tongue’ |

There are a number of tonal and segmental adjustments and some outright irregularities. The most regular phonological modifications are the tone sandhi rule H#H-to L#H, which drops a final H-tone to L before an H-initial word especially within NPs (§3.4.2.2), and Nasal-Stop Fusion (§3.2.2.1), which optionally assimilates the b of the plural suffix to m after a nasalized vowel.

- (54) a. jèŋgé ‘tongue’
jèŋgè píⁿ ‘one tongue’
(~ jèŋgé píⁿ or similar in careful speech)
- b. tèⁿ ‘liver’
tēⁿ-bī-yà ~ tēm-mī-yà ‘livers’

In the singular, suffix -à combines with a preceding vowel as follows. A stem-final a always, and final nonlow short vowels sometimes, contract with suffix -à to form ...a-à. The nonlow vowels alternatively remain audible before -a-, but may desyllabify. For example, stem-final L-toned ì may combine with -à as contracted ...ā-à, as uncontracted ...ī-yà with (often faint) homorganic semivowel as a buffer, or as desyllabified ...y-āà ~ ...y-ā with the tone of the stem-final i and optionally its mora shifted onto the suffix. Likewise, final L-toned ù may combine with -à as contracted ...ā-à, as uncontracted ...ū-wà, or as desyllabified ...w-āà ~ ...w-ā. Stem-final mid-height vowels {e ε} may remain distinct or may be raised to (or treated like) i, and {o ɔ} likewise may remain distinct or may be raised to (or treated like) u. Examples are scattered through the arrays below.

This treatment of vowel-vowel combinations differs from that involving the final vowel of a verb stem and a following 3Sg inanimate object marker -à, where epenthetic y is inserted after unrounded vowels.

Some nouns that show no major irregularities not accounted for above are presented below. We show the singular premodifier form as it appears before nonhigh tones, then the singular absolute, and finally the plural absolute. Nouns that are obviously composite (compounds or derivatives) are omitted here, but covered in chapter 5.

| (55) | singular | | plural | gloss |
|---|------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | premodifier | absolute | absolute | |
| a. /H/ melody | | | | |
| <i>monosyllabic</i> | | | | |
| | káá | ká-à | káá-bī-yà | ‘armpit’ |
| | kéé | kíy-à | kéé-bī-yà | ‘seed, nut’ |
| | gbó | gbw-â | gbó-bī-yà | ‘wooden eating bowl’ |
| | sé ⁿ ~ ʃyé ⁿ | ʃíy-à ⁿ ~ ʃy-â ⁿ | sé ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘thorn’ |
| <i>bisyllabic</i> | | | | |
| | júfá | júfá-à | júfá-bī-yà | ‘pocket’ (< Arabic) |
| | ʃóṅé | ʃóṅ-â | ʃóṅé-bī-yà | ‘soda ash’ |
| | fétí | fétí-yà | fétí-bī-yà | ‘holy day’ (< Fr) |
| | fíyé | fíyá-à | fíyé-bī-yà | ‘neck’ |
| | dówá | dówá-à | dówá-bī-yà | ‘oil’ |
| | nónó | nónó-(w)à | nónó-bī-yà | ‘milk’ |
| | fǎr ⁿ é | fǎr ⁿ -â | fǎr ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘hunger’ |
| | bóbá | bóbá-à | bóbá-bī-yà | ‘bullet’ |
| | ṅór ⁿ ó | ṅór ⁿ w ⁿ -â | ṅór ⁿ ó-bī-yà | ‘fat (n)’ |
| | písí | písy-â ~ píʃy-â | písí-bī-yà | ‘language’ |
| | sǎré | sǎrá-à | sǎré-bī-yà | ‘year’ |
| | ʃéli | ʃélā-à | ʃéli-bī-yà | ‘war, squabble’ |
| | sǎré | sǎr-â ~ sǎré-à | sǎré-bī-yà | ‘man’ |
| | túmú | túm ^w -â | túmú-bī-yà | ‘water’ |
| | ṅíní | ṅíná-à | ṅíní-bī-yà | ‘house’ |
| | púmá | púmá-à | púmá-bī-yà | ‘tale’ |
| | gbéní | gbéní-yà | gbéní-bī-yà | ‘apex of thatched roof’ |
| | késú | késú-wà | késú-bī-yà | ‘box, chest’ (< French) |
| | gbásá | gbásá-à | gbásá-bī-yà | ‘maize’ |
| | jándá | jándá-à | jándá-bī-yà | ‘old-fashioned palm- frond door’ |
| | táámú | táám ^w -â | táámú-bī-yà | ‘beer’ |
| | kwóólí | kwóólá-à | kwóólí-bī-yà | ‘kola nut’ |
| | ʃíílí | ʃíílá-à | ʃíílí-bī-yà | ‘knife’ |
| <i>trisyllabic with partially syncopated medial Cǎr</i> | | | | |
| | súmǎrá | súmǎrá-à | súmǎrá-bī-yà | ‘allspice (cube Maggi)’ |
| | sázǎrá | sázǎrá-à | sázǎrá-bī-yà | ‘straw roof (for hut)’ |
| | púkǎré | púkǎrá-à | púkǎré-bī-yà | ‘navel’ |

trisyllabic

| | | | |
|---------|---|---------------|---------------------------------|
| símíní | símíní-y ⁿ à | símíní-bī-yà | ‘cock (of rifle)’ |
| dógósí | dógósí-yà | dógósí-bī-yà | ‘copy, same (type of) thing’ |
| kúrówá | kúrówá-à | kúrówá-bī-yà | ‘stirring stick’ |
| kórówó | kórówá-à | kórówó-bī-yà | ‘money’ |
| fégélé | fégély-â | fégélé-bī-yà | ‘flower’ |
| ɲóɲómé | ɲóɲómí-y ⁿ à ~ ɲóɲómé-y ⁿ à ~ ɲóɲómé-y ⁿ à | ɲóɲómé-bī-yà | ‘camel’ |
| sánjúrú | sánjúrú-à | sánjúrú-bī-yà | ‘hanging basket’ |

quadrisyllabic

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| bárí-bárí | bárí-bárí-yà | bárí-bárí-bī-yà | ‘darkness’ |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------|------------|

b. /HL/ melody

monosyllabic (rare)

| | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------|----------|
| úù | úwā-à | úū-bī-yà | ‘fog’ |
| ɲáà | ɲá-à | ɲáā-bī-yà | ‘shadow’ |

bisyllabic

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| ńdè | ńdè | ńdē-bī-yà | ‘crown, top of head’ (§4.1.1.2) |
| jísì | jísy-â ~ jífy-â | jísī-bī-yà | ‘eye(s), face’ |
| námù | námw ⁿ -â | námū-bī-yà | ‘meat’ |
| lúlù | lúlw-â | lúlū-bī-yà | ‘diamond’ (< Arabic) |
| pónì | pónì-y ⁿ à | pónī-bī-yà | ‘land, country’ |
| nómù ~ nôm | nómw ⁿ -â | nómū-bī-yà | ‘cut (wound)’ |
| ménì | ménì-y ⁿ à | ménī-bī-yà | ‘rain (n)’ |
| mínì | mínì-y ⁿ à | mínī-bī-yà | ‘powder, flour’ |
| sénì | sény-â | sénī-bī-yà | ‘sun; day’ |
| ʃéli | ʃélā-à | ʃéli-bī-yà | ‘squabble’ |
| sásì | sáfy-â | sásī-bī-yà | ‘earth, land’ |
| bwòlì | bwōlā-à | bwōlī-bī-yà | ‘jug, water container’ |

heavy bisyllabic

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------------|---|
| túndéè | túndéè | túndéē-bī-yà | ‘host (who provides lodging)’ (§4.1.1.2) |
|--------|--------|--------------|---|

c. /LH/ melody

bisyllabics

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| kèní | kèní-y ⁿ à ~ kèny ⁿ -â | kèní-bī-yà | ‘cat’ |
| kòmí | kòmí-y ⁿ à | kòmí-bī-yà | ‘palm wine’ |
| kòní | kòní-y ⁿ à | kòní-bī-yà | ‘belly’ |
| lòló | lòlw-àà | lòló-bī-yà | ‘star’ |
| sèlí | sèlí-yà | sèlí-bī-yà | ‘porridge’ |
| fèlé ⁿ | fèly-â ⁿ | fèlé ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘whistle (n)’ |
| pùló | pùlw-àà | pùló-bī-yà | ‘quarrel’ |
| fèlá ⁿ | fèlá ⁿ -à | fèlá ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘bladder’ |
| kàgá | kàgá-à | kàgá-bī-yà | ‘file (tool)’ |
| jìjì | jìjì-yà | jìjì-bī-yà | ‘place’ |
| ~ jìsí | | ~ jìsí-bī-yà | |
| lìgí | lìgá-à | lìgí-bī-yà | ‘fontanel’ |
| jòní | jòní-y ⁿ à | jòní-bī-yà | ‘fun, play (n)’ |
| kàyí | kàyí-yà | kàyí-bī-yà | ‘roof (of house)’ |
| kèsé | kèsy-â ~ kèsy-â | kèsé-bī-yà | ‘shell, pod, chaff’ |
| pèsí | pèsí-yà | pèsí-bī-yà | ‘song’ |
| ~ pèjí | ~ pèsy-â | ~ pèjí-bī-yà | |
| kùrú | kùr-â | kùrú-bī-yà | ‘hill; hump; ball’ |
| bùró | bùr-â | bùró-bī-yà | ‘sack’ |
| jèsé | jèsy-â | jèsé-bī-yà | ‘rope, thread’ |
| kòlá | kòlá-à | kòlá-bī-yà | ‘soap’ |
| sègá | sèg-â | sègá-bī-yà | ‘grandfather’ |
| tùrú | tùr-â | tùrú-bī-yà | ‘comb (of rooster)’ |
| mèr ⁿ é | mèr ⁿ á-à | mèr ⁿ é-bī-yà | ‘nosebleed’ |
| bàsí | bàsy-â | bàsí-bī-yà | ‘sweet corn-flour snack’ |
| tègbé ⁿ | tègbé ⁿ -(y ⁿ)à | tègbé ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘spleen’ |
| gbàló | gbàlw-àà | gbàló-bī-yà | ‘temple (of head)’ |
| byè ⁿ -fí | byè ⁿ -fy-â | byè ⁿ -fí-bī-yà | ‘respect (n)’ |
| jèṅgé | jèṅgí-yà | jèṅgé-bī-yà | ‘tongue’ |
| ṣíndé | ṣíndy-àà | ṣíndé | ‘greeting (n)’ |
| làmbá | làmbá-à | làmbá | ‘modern lamp’ |
| gbàndé | gbàndí-yà ~ gbàndy-â | gbàndé-bī-yà | ‘prayer’ |
| gbàṅgá | gbàṅgá-à | gbàṅgá-bī-yà | ‘salt’ |
| gbòṅgbó | gbòṅgbw-àà | gbòṅgbó-bī-yà | ‘thigh’ |
| tàmbá | tàmbá-à | tàmbá-bī-yà | ‘arrow’ |
| tòṅgbó | tòṅgbw-àà | tòṅgbó-bī-yà | ‘ax’ |

| | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| pààlí | pààlá-à | pààlí-bī-yà | ‘mud’ |
| jààmú | jààmw ⁿ -â | jààmú-bī-yà | ‘blood’ |
| lààmú | lààmw ⁿ -â | lààmú-bī-yà | ‘sleep (n)’ |
| kùùní | kùùny ⁿ -â | kùùní-bī-yà | ‘egg’ |
| pèèndó | pèèndw-áà | pèèndó-bī-yà | ‘roselle’ (cf. ‘sour’) |
| pèèmíí | pèèmí-y ⁿ à ~ pèemy ⁿ -áà | pèèmíí-bī-yà | ‘peanuts’ |
| sààlíí | sààlí-yà | sààlíí-bī-yà | ‘piece (of meat, wood)’ |
| <i>bisyllabic with syncopated medial Cr</i> | | | |
| làkré | làkré-yà | làkré-bī-yà | ‘key’ (< French) |
| fítrá ⁿ | fítrá ⁿ -à | fítrá ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘oil lamp’ |
| <i>trisyllabic /L*H/</i> | | | |
| yògòní | yògòní-y ⁿ à | yògòní-bī-yà | ‘mortar (for pounding)’ |
| tètèbú | tètèbw-â | tètèbú-bī-yà | ‘calf (of leg)’ |
| bìyèṅú | bìyèṅá-à | bìyèṅú-bī-yà | ‘trap (n)’ |
| pìyèlí | pìyèlá-à | pìyèlí-bī-yà | ‘fertilizer’ |
| fêròwó | fêròwá-à | fêròwó-bī-yà | ‘dust’ |
| fêrègé | fêrègá-à | fêrègé-bī-yà | ‘mane’ |
| tùgùjí | tùgùjí-yà | tùgùjí-bī-yà | ‘strength, force’ |
| bàràamá | bàràamá-à | bàràamá-bī-yà | ‘fork (at the end of a stick)’ |
| bèríkí | bèríky-â | bèríkí-bī-yà | ‘brick’ (< Fr) |
| gbòyògó | gbòyòg-â | gbòyògó-bī-yà | ‘crop (of bird)’ |
| gbèrìsá | gbèrìsá-à | gbèrìsá-bī-yà | ‘sliding door’ |
| màṅgòrò | màṅgòrá-à | màṅgòrò-bī-yà | ‘potter (caste)’ |
| tùbààbú | tùbààbú-wà | tùbààbú-bī-yà | ‘white person’ |
| mìfìíní | mìfìíní-y ⁿ à | mìfìíní-bī-yà | ‘fart (n)’ |
| finètrí | finètrá-à | finètrí-bī-yà | ‘window’ (< French) |
| gbèṅgbìgè | gbèṅgbìgá-à | gbèṅgbìgè-bī-yà | ‘palm-frond basket’ |
| <i>tri- and quadrisyllabic /LH*/</i> | | | |
| sènnéjéné | sènnéjéná-à | sènnéjéné-bī-yà | ‘chili pepper’ |
| kìyáámá | kìyáámá-à | kìyáámá-bī-yà | ‘afterlife’ (< Arabic) |

d. /L/ melody
monosyllabic

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| sù ⁿ | sw-â ⁿ | sūm ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘Ramadan’ |
| bò ⁿ | bw-â ⁿ | bō ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘hand, arm’ |
| fù ⁿ | fw-â ⁿ | fū ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘ridge, mound (in field)’ |
| tò | tw-â | tō-bī-yà | ‘remainder, rest’ |
| tè ⁿ | tī-y ⁿ à | tē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘liver’ |
| dà ⁿ | dā ⁿ -à | dā ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘granary’ |

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| mlá ⁿ | ml-â ⁿ | mlá ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘rice’ |
| nàà | nā-à | nāā-bī-yà | ‘fire’ |
| tàà | tā-à | tāā-bī-yà | ‘bow (for arrows)’ |
| mìì | mī-y ⁿ à | mīī-bī-yà | ‘excrement’ |
| bàà | bā-à | bāā-bī-yà | ‘stone’ |
| gbàà | gbā-à | gbāā-bī-yà | ‘meal’ |
| <i>bisyllabic</i> | | | |
| tàrà ⁿ | tōrā ⁿ -à | tōrā ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘tendon; vein’ |
| kòrò | kōrā-à | kōrō-bī-yà | ‘rainy season’ |
| ɲènènè | ɲēnī-yà | ɲēnē-bī-yà | ‘urine’ |
| sùsù | sūsū-ā | sūsū-bī-yà | ‘bride’ |
| ɲìɲ ~ ɲìì ⁿ | ɲīɲā-à | ɲīɲ-(g)bī-yà | ‘head’ |
| ɲìɲ ~ ɲìì ⁿ | ɲīɲā-à | ɲīɲ-(g)bī-yà | ‘baggage’ (homonym of ‘head’) |
| kòm(ù) | kōmw ⁿ -ā | kōm(ū)-bī-yà | ‘hair’ |
| kàm(ù) | kāmw ⁿ -ā | kāmū-bī-yà | ‘nail (of finger, toe)’ |
| bòm(ù) | bōmw ⁿ -ā | bōm(ū)-bī-yà | ‘foutou (yam staple)’ |
| jòmù | jōmw ⁿ -ā | jōm(ū)-bī-yà | ‘breast’ |
| kàwà | kāwā-à | kāwā-bī-yà | ‘cloud’ |
| kèw(ù) | kēww-ā | kēw(ū)-bī-yà | ‘millet, sorghum’ |
| gbènà | gbēnā-à | gbēnā-bī-yà | ‘gold’ |
| pèsì | pēʃy-ǎ | pēsī-bī-yà | ‘broom’ |
| tìní | tīnī-yà | tīnī-bī-yà | ‘time, moment’ |
| nònò | nōnō-(w)à | nōnō-bī-yà | ‘plastic’ |
| yòsì | yōsī-yà | yōsī-bī-yà | ‘dance (n)’ |
| ~ yòʃì (etc.) | | | |
| ʃòlì | ʃōlā-à | ʃōlī-bī-yà | ‘pestle’ |
| bwòlì | bwōlā-à | bwōlī-bī-yà | ‘can (container)’ |
| sòlì | sōlī-yà | sōlī-bī-yà | ‘heart’ |
| kàrà | kār-ā | kārā-bī-yà | ‘earthenware bowl’ |
| tùndò | tūndw-āà | tūndō-bī-yà | ‘work (n)’ |
| lààlè | lāālā-à | lāālē-bī-yà | ‘intestines’ |
| lààlì | lāālā-à | lāālī-bī-yà | ‘day (point in time)’ |
| fìlì | fīlā-à | fīlī-bī-yà | ‘wind, air’ |
| <i>trisyllabic</i> | | | |
| ɲòɲòmù | ɲōɲōmw ⁿ -ā | ɲōɲōmū-bī-yà | ‘tooth’ |
| tòɲòrò | tōɲōr-ā | tōɲōrō-bī-yà | ‘nape (base of skull)’ |
| fəɲènènè | fəɲēnī-yà | fəɲēnē-bī-yà | ‘metal, iron’ |
| kòròwò | kōrōwā-à | kōrōwō-bī-yà | ‘throat (internal)’ |
| fūrùgbà | fūrùgbā-à | fūrùgbā-bī-yà | ‘cripple (n)’ |
| tògònì | tōgōnī-yà | tōgōnī-bī-yà | ‘ashes’ |

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| tùgùli | tùgùlā-à | tùgùlī-bī-yà | ‘termite mound’ |
| gbòndùgù | gbòndùgā-à | gbòndùgū-bī-yà | ‘knee’ |
| fāndìgì | fāndìg-â | fāndìgī-bī-yà | ‘leaf’ |
| dòndùgù | dòndùgā-à | dòndùgū-bī-yà | ‘smoke (n)’ |
| gbòṅgbèrò | gbòṅgbērā-à | gbòṅgbērō-bī-yà | ‘stool’ |
| fèṅgòrò | fèṅgōrā-à | fèṅgōrō-bī-yà | ‘cough (n)’ |

quadrisyllabic

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------------|---------|
| jàkòwàjò | jākòwājw-āà | jākòwājō-bī-yà | ‘fever’ |
| gbàkòròmà | gbākòrōmā-à | gbākòrōmā-bī-yà | ‘skin’ |

quadrisyllabic with obligatory iteration

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| fṵgṵ-fṵgṵ | fṵgṵ-fṵgā-à | fṵgṵ-fṵgṵ-bī-yà | ‘lungs’ |
| kārē-kārè | kārē-kārī-yà | kārē-kārē-bī-yà | ‘cartilage’ |

e. tritonal and quadritonal melodies

L.H.L

| | | | |
|---------|------------|---------------|------------------------|
| nùnáà | nùná-à | nùnāā-bī-yà | ‘cotton’ |
| kòkáfì | kòkáfìy-â | kòkáfī-bī-yà | ‘flank (body)’ |
| mààténì | mààténī-yà | mààténī-bī-yà | ‘spittle, gob of spit’ |

H.L.H

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| gbésùrú | gbésùr-â | gbésùrú-bī-yà | ‘gizzard’ |
| jáwòbá | jáwòbá-à | jáwòbá-bī-yà | ‘Yacouba (ethnicity)’ |
| tétègè | tétèg-â | tétègè-bī-yà | ‘cold (n)’ |
| sófààní | sófààní-yà | sófààní-bī-yà | ‘donkey’ |
| jáánàmá | jáánàmá-à | jáánàmá-bī-yà | ‘hell’ (< Arabic) |
| gbé ⁿ -gbèjí | gbé ⁿ -gbèjí-yà | gbé ⁿ -gbèjí-bī-yà | ‘ground nut’ |

L.H-L.H (iterated)

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------|----------|
| dàbó-dàbó | dàbó-dàbw-áà | dàbó-dàbó-bī-yà | ‘duck’ |
| kàlé-kàlé | kàlé-kàlé-(y)à | kàlé-kàlé-bī-yà | ‘kidney’ |

4.1.1.2 Common nouns that omit absolute singular -à

A number of common nouns occur normally in a form that does not appear to end in the absolute suffix -à. For some of these nouns, the simple (premodifier) and plural forms are elicitable but are not in everyday use; they are parenthesized below. They include some loanwords that are not commonly modified or pluralized, and some time-of-day nouns that tend to function adverbially.

| | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (56) | simple | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | a. loanwords (mostly < French, < Arabic (via other languages), or < Koro) | | | |
| | (gòrònàmà) | gòrònāmā | (gòrònāmā-bī-yà) | ‘government’ (< French) |
| | (hèèjá ⁿ) | hèèjá ⁿ | (hèèjá ⁿ -bī-yà) | ‘heaven, paradise’ |
| | | ~ héréjàŋ-â | | |
| | (làgàzàrá) | làgàzàr-â | (làgàzàrá-bī-yà) | ‘4 PM prayer’ (< Arabic) |
| | (pèrìmìrì) | pèrìmìry ⁿ -â | (pèrìmìrì-bī-yà) | ‘twilight prayer’ (< Arabic) |
| | mààsórá | mààsórá | mààsórá-bī-yà | ‘peanut’ (< Koro) |
| | b. times of day (see §5.1.10) | | | |
| | (tìníí) | tìníí | (tìníí-bī-yà) | ‘morning’ |
| | (sên-dé) | sên-dé | (sên-dé-bī-yà) | ‘mid-day’ |
| | c. other | | | |
| | ńdè | ńdè | ńdē-bī-yà | ‘crown of head’ |
| | kóróbórâ | kóróbórâ | kóróbórâ-bī-yà | ‘gourd (necked)’ |
| | túndéè | túndéè | túndéé-bī-yà | ‘host’ |

The situation is only slightly different with ‘rifle’ (ultimately < Arabic). The forms are premodifier ɲmārⁿà, absolute plural ɲmārⁿā-bī-yà, and absolute singular ɲmārⁿ-â. The tones of the latter suggest the presence of the absolute suffix, slightly contracted.

4.1.1.3 Nouns with syllabic extensions before absolute -à

A significant number of nouns have alternations between an extended **preabsolute** stem that occurs directly before (singular) absolute -à, and a **simple** stem that occurs before NP-internal modifiers and also before the plural suffix -bè (including plural absolute -bī-yà). In most of the relevant examples, the preabsolute form has an additional presuffixal Cv syllable whose consonant is a semivowel or a velar.

In (57), the extra syllable in the presuffixal (absolute singular) form begins with a semivowel {y w} that is homorganic to the stem vowel, which is nonlow in all cases. Cii, Cee, and Cee become respectively Ciya-à, Ceya-à, and Ceya-à. Cuu, Coo, and Coo become respectively Cuwa-à, Cowa-à, and Cowa-à. It is as though Cee were treated as underlying /Ceye/, Coo were treated as underlying /Cōwō/, and so forth, since such representations would combine with a vocalic suffix to yield the correct outputs (Ceya-a, Cowa-a, etc.). y nasalizes to yⁿ after nasal stems (Cvⁿ, Nvⁿ). The one case of Cwv, namely kwēⁿ (< /kwēⁿ/) ‘ramrod’, is resyllabified before the suffix (57a), see §3.1.2.13.

| | | | | |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| (57) | simple | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| a. y or y ⁿ in absolute singular | | | | |
| <i>monosyllabic, oral (unnasalized)</i> | | | | |
| | sèè | sēyā-à | sēē-bī-yà | ‘fetish, animist idol’ |
| | sìì | sīyā-à | sīī-bī-yà | ‘totem’ |
| | ~ ʃì (etc.) | | | |
| | tíí | tíyá-à | tíí-bī-yà | ‘sauce’ |
| <i>monosyllabic, nasalized</i> | | | | |
| | síí ⁿ | síy ⁿ á-à | síí ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘odor, smell (n)’ |
| | sèè ⁿ | sēy ⁿ ā-à | sēē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘grass, herb, straw’ |
| | jèè ⁿ | jēy ⁿ ā-à | jēēm-bī-yà | ‘lie (n), untruth’ |
| | péé ⁿ | péy ⁿ á-à | péé ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘wrap (garment)’ |
| | gbēē ⁿ | gbèy ⁿ á-à | gbēē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘cowpea’ |
| | gbéè ⁿ | gbéy ⁿ á-à | gbéé ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘horn’ |
| | néé | néy ⁿ á-à | néé ⁽ⁿ⁾ -bī-yà | ‘ear’ |
| | sèè ⁿ | sēy ⁿ ā-à | sēē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘the bush, brousse’ |
| <i>with resyllabification of Cw to Cu</i> | | | | |
| | kwē ⁿ | kùy ⁿ -â | kwē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘ramrod’ (< /kwě ⁿ /) |
| | | | ~ kwè ⁿ -bī-yà | |
| b. w in absolute Sg | | | | |
| <i>monosyllabic, oral (unnasalized)</i> | | | | |
| | kóó | kówá-à | kóó-bī-yà | ‘bone’ |
| | póó | pówá-à | póó-bī-yà | ‘price; marketplace’ |
| | tóó | tówá-à | tóó-bī-yà | ‘hole, pit’ |
| | dùù | dūwā-à | dūū-bī-yà | ‘God’ |
| | fūū (< fùú) | fùwá-à | fūū-bī-yà | ‘death’ (tones §3.4.2.5) |
| | dúú | dúwá-à | dúú-bī-yà | ‘root’ |
| | kúú | kúwá-à | kúú-bī-yà | ‘hut (for yams or palaver), covered shed’ |
| <i>monosyllabic, nasalized</i> | | | | |
| | [none] | | | |

While there is a possibility of a phonological solution to the y/yⁿ and w examples in (57), given that the vocalism is homorganic, this approach is not possible in (58) below, where the presuffixal form has a syllable beginning in a velar, either oral g or nasal ŋ(g). Allophone [ɣ] of phoneme g occurs in the environments a_a and ɔ_ɔ (§3.2.2.2). Nasal ŋ(g) occurs after nasal stems (Cvⁿ, Nvⁿ). The velar in the absolute singular in (58) is likely the vestige of a medial consonant in a formerly bisyllabic stem. Another trace of the original velar is the stem-final w/wⁿ that survives in

occasional variants of the unsuffixed and plural forms. At the end of (58a), gbóré(w) may be treated as though monosyllabic gbré(w), disregarding the schwa.

(58) a. with g in absolute singular

| | | | |
|---|-----------|---------------|---|
| bàw | bāgā-à | bāw-bī-yà | ‘daba (hoe)’ |
| ~ bàà | | ~ bāā-bī-yà | |
| bèw | bēgā-à | bēw-bī-yà | ‘chest (body)’ |
| ~ bèè | | ~ bēē-bī-yà | |
| díí | dígá-à | díí-bī-yà | ‘wing’ |
| gbàw | gbāgā-à | gbāā-bī-yà | ‘mat’ |
| ~ gbàà | | | |
| gbáw | gbágá-à | gbáw-bī-yà | ‘body’ |
| ~ gbáá | | ~ gbáá-bī-yà | |
| gbèè | gbēgā-à | gbēē-bī-yà | ‘stick, wood’ |
| gbéw | gbégá-à | gbéw-bī-yà | ‘marriage ceremony’ |
| ~ gbéé | | ~ gbéé-bī-yà | |
| kàw | kāgā-à | kāw-bī-yà | ‘calabash’, contrast kàgá ‘file (n)’ |
| séw | ségá-à | séw-bī-yà | ‘tail’ |
| ~ séé | | ~ séé-bī-yà | |
| sìw | sīgā-à | sìw-bī-yà | ‘forehead’ |
| ~ sii | | ~ sīi-bī-yà | |
| tēē (< tèé) | tègá-à | tēē-bī-yà | ‘talk (n), words’ (tones §3.4.2.5) |
| yèw | yēgā-à | yēw-bī-yà | ‘large river’ |
| yéw | yégá-à | yéw-bī-yà | ‘village’ |
| ~ yéé | | ~ yéé-bī-yà | |
| yèw | yēgā-à | yēw-bī-yà | ‘noise, sound’ |
| <i>(pseudo-)biisyllabic with medial r</i> | | | |
| gbóréw | gbórégá-à | gbóréw-bī-yà | ‘back (body)’ |
| ~ gbóré | | ~ gbóré-bī-yà | |
| <i>g also optionally in plural</i> | | | |
| séw | ségá-à | ségú-bī-yà | ‘swimming (n)’ |

b. with ŋ in absolute singular

| | | | |
|-------------------|---------|--------------------------|------------------|
| gbów ⁿ | gbójá-à | gbów ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘foot, leg’ |
| gbò ⁿ | gbōṅā-à | gbò ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘stomach; cheek’ |
| pód ⁿ | pójá-à | pód ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘inheritance’ |
| wóó ⁿ | wójá-à | wóó ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘shade’ |
| mòò ⁿ | mōṅā-à | mòò ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘moon’ |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| sèè ⁿ | sēŋā-à | sēē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘okra’ |
| kòò ⁿ | kōŋā-à | kōō ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘hearth’ |
| mèè ⁿ | mēŋā-à | mēē ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘nose’ |
| nàw ⁿ | nāŋā-à | nāw ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘path, road’ |
| ~ nàà ⁿ | | ~ nāā ⁿ -bī-yà ~ nāŋ-bī-yà | |
| <i>optional reduction from bisyllabic</i> | | | |
| ʃéŋ | ʃéŋá-à | ʃéŋ-(g)bī-yà | ‘heat (n)’ |
| ~ ʃíyén | ~ ʃíyéná-à | ~ ʃíyén-(g)bī-yà | |
| <i>ŋ also optional in plural</i> | | | |
| tàà ⁿ | tààŋá-à | tààŋím-bī-yà | ‘forest’ |
| | | ~ tàám-bī-yà | |
| <i>multisyllabic (perhaps a frozen compound)</i> | | | |
| kùmànàw ⁿ | kūmánāŋā-à | kūmánāā ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘buttock’ |
| ~ kùmànàà ⁿ | ~ kūmánāā ⁿ -bī-yà | | |

Our primary assistant believes that the extended absolute singulars with g and ŋ in (58) are, or should be, lexically basic. In elicitation, he often pronounces g and ŋ even in premodifier forms. For example, he phrases ‘that stick’ as gbēgù yéè, based on absolute singular gbēgā-à rather than on the usual premodifier form gbèè. The tones of gbēgù yéè and similar elicited forms are unusual, since only the gu syllable is L-toned before the initial H-tone of yéè. He acknowledges that the form heard in natural speech is usually gbèè yéè.

In addition to the productive alternations seen in (57-58) above, which affect quite a few noun stems, there are a few idiosyncratic nouns with unproductive alternations (59).

(59) a. g/w alternation

| | | | |
|------|--------|------------|-------------|
| yúgú | yúwá-à | yúgú-bī-yà | ‘mouth’ |
| yùgù | yūwā-à | yūgū-bī-yà | ‘wound (n)’ |

b. extra -lā- in absolute Sg, cf. tíyé-lā-à ‘child’ (60c), gbáá-lā-à ‘big’ §5.4.1
plural -mè

| | | | |
|-----|----------|-----------|------------|
| páá | páá-lā-à | páá-mī-yà | ‘waterjar’ |
|-----|----------|-----------|------------|

plural -bè

| | | | |
|------|-----------|------------|--------|
| píyé | píyé-lā-à | píyé-bī-yà | ‘name’ |
|------|-----------|------------|--------|

c. ɔ/o alternation

| | | | |
|------|--------|------------|-------|
| sògò | sōgā-à | sōgō-bī-yà | ‘yam’ |
|------|--------|------------|-------|

- d. optional desyllabification of ɔ to w
 gbò gbw-à gbō-bī-yà ‘wooden bowl’
 ~ gbō-(w)à
- e. unusual w/g alternation (tōō < /tòó/, §3.4.2.5)
 tōō tōwá-à tōgó-bī-yà ‘chicken’
- f. medial ʃ omitted in plural (kēē- < /kèé-/, §3.4.2.5)
 kèʃí kèʃí-yà kēē-bī-yà ‘dog’
 ~ kèsí (etc.) ~ kèʃí-bī-yà
- g. optional medial g in plural
 tóóⁿ tóḡá-à tóḡ(g)-bī-yà ‘field’
 ~ tógó-mī-yà

These special presuffixal forms in nouns, notably the productive ones in (57-58) above, are similar to special presuffixal forms in transitive verbs. The relevant verb forms (§9.2.2.2) are those with 3Sg object suffixes (-è animate, -à inanimate). However, the two morphological constructions do not fully coincide morphophonologically. In particular, several long-voweled Cvv transitive verbs preserve the long vowel before -yè/-yà and -wè/-wà, making it easier to analyze the semivowel y or w as epenthetic (and harmonizing with the preceding vowel).

4.1.1.4 Nouns with irregular plurals (-mè, -mù)

The stems in (60) are high-frequency human nouns. They have irregular plurals and some other idiosyncracies. Some plurals are effectively suppletive, others reduce the form of the stem and/or replace the usual plural -bè by -mè. For ‘person’ and ‘woman’ (60a-b), the absolute ends in a short -à. For ‘person’ the premodifier plural is nīm-bè (variant nī-mè). The extra -lā- syllable in the absolute form of ‘child’ (60c) has parallels in a few other nouns, see (59b) in §4.1.1.3 above. For ‘child’ (60c), the plural táán-wè (realized as táán-wē before a nonhigh tone) is somewhat opaque, but -wè can be taken as a lenited variant of the usual plural -bè. For ‘adult woman’ (60e) the stem-final ló syllable is dropped in the plural.

(§5.1.1). Its absolute form is -mwⁿ-à. It also occurs with one underived relationship noun (62).

| | | | | | |
|------|----------|----------|----------|--------------------------|-----------|
| (62) | singular | | plural | | gloss |
| | simple | absolute | simple | absolute | |
| | déŋgò | déŋgwā-à | déŋgō-mù | déŋgō-mw ⁿ -à | ‘agemate’ |

4.1.1.5 Kin terms (inalienables)

Kin terms have regular plurals with -bè (absolute -bī-yà). Some of them (63a) do not allow absolute -à in the singular and allow it only optionally in the plural. Others regularly do take the absolute suffix (63c). In this they behave like alienable (non-kin) nouns. Kin terms are normally possessed, but may occur without a possessor in ‘have’ predicates, as in ‘I (don’t) have a cousin’.

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| (63) | gloss | ‘his/her’ (Sg) | plural |
| a. usually no absolute suffix in possessed singular | | | |
| | ‘father’ | à tó | tó-bè (-bī-yà) |
| | ‘maternal uncle’ | à kòò | kóò-bè (-bī-yà) |
| | ‘senior aunt’ | à báákòrò | báákòrò-bè (-bī-yà) |
| | ‘junior aunt’ | à báálógó | báálógó-bè (-bī-yà) |
| | ‘cousin’ | à náŋgbè | náŋgbè-bè (-bī-yà) |
| | ‘friend’ | à tógbè | tógbè-bè (-bī-yà) |
| | ‘affine’ | à síyè | síyè-bè (-bī-yà) |
| b. absolute -à not clearly present in singular | | | |
| | <i>plural as in (a)</i> | | |
| | ‘mother’ | à máà | máà-bè (-bī-yà) |
| | <i>plural as in (c)</i> | | |
| | ‘name-sharer’ | à tógómà | tógómā-bī-yà |
| c. absolute suffix -à is clearly present in possessed singular and plural | | | |
| | ‘elder sibling’ | à kúr-â | kúré-bī-yà |
| | ‘younger sibling’ | ā jèny ⁿ -â | jèné-bī-yà |
| | ‘husband’ | à fw-â | fúwé-bī-yà |
| | ‘grandfather’ | à sèg-â | sègá-bī-yà |
| | ‘nephew, niece’ | à sélw-ââ | sélw-bī-yà |
| | ‘grandmother’ | ā lāg-â | lāgā-bī-yà |

| | | |
|--------------|------------------------|-------------|
| ‘co-wife’ | ā kèny ⁿ -â | kèní-bī-yà |
| ‘grandchild’ | à náálí-yà | náálé-bī-yà |

‘Father’ extends to father’s brothers. ‘Uncle’ is the maternal uncle. ‘Aunt’ is bilateral (father’s or mother’s sisters) and distinguishes seniority relative to the linking parent (both báákòrò and báálógó are from Koro).

The nouns whose basic senses are ‘woman’ and ‘child’ can also be used with possessors as kin terms meaning ‘wife’ and ‘child (son or daughter)’.

- (64) a. à súw-â
 3Sg woman
 ‘his wife’
- b. à tíyé-lā-à
 3Sg child-Abs
 ‘his/her child’

Kin terms that do not specify sex but that are compatible with either sex can be compounded with ‘man’ or ‘woman’. Sibling and child (offspring) terms that are compounded in this way also add the ‘owner’ compound final -kò. See §5.1.13.1 for details and examples.

4.1.1.6 Pluralia tantum (plural-only noun)

The noun in (65) occurs only in plural form.

- (65) péém-bè péém-bī-yà ‘twins’

4.1.2 Composite noun stems

The subsections below describe inherently iterative nouns, along with nouns derived suffixally from other word classes. For noun-noun compounds and denominal nouns, see chapter 5.

4.1.2.1 Obligatorily iterated nouns

Some nouns occur only in an obligatorily iterated form.

| (66) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| a. | fɔ̄gɔ̄-fɔ̄gɔ̄ kārē-kārè | fɔ̄gɔ̄-fɔ̄gā-à kārē-kārī-yà | fɔ̄gɔ̄-fɔ̄gɔ̄-bī-yà kārē-kārē-bī-yà | ‘lungs’ ‘cartilage’ |
| b. | kàlé-kàlé bàrí-bàrí | kàlé-kàlé-(y)à bàrí-bàrí-yà | kàlé-kàlé-bī-yà bàrí-bàrí-bī-yà | ‘kidney’ ‘darkness’ |
| c. | gbàrèé-gbàrèé ~ gbàrèyé-gbàrèyé | gbàrèé-gbàrè(y)á-à | gbàrèé-gbàrèé-bī-yà | ‘sugar’ |

The tones of the premodifier form before an H-tone or pause show that these iterated stems are treated prosodically as compounds, with a break between the two iterations. Only the second iteration remains L-toned before an H-tone, while the first iteration is M-toned or higher. This is observed in (66a), whose two components have distinct tones in those environments, as in fɔ̄gɔ̄-fɔ̄gɔ̄ píⁿ ‘one lung’.

4.1.2.2 Deadjectival abstractive nouns

Adjectival stems may also function morphosyntactically as nouns, with possessors. The nominal in (67a-b) is really a zero-derived (i.e. unsuffixed) verbal noun from the associated adjectival verb (see the following section), not the modifying adjective as such. The verbs (in perfective aspect) and the modifying adjectives are indicated in parentheses. In (67c) the nominal is related to the postposition kòndó ‘inside’.

- (67) a. ā wòlí-yà
 3Sg long-Abs
 ‘its length/height’ (< wòlí ‘be tall’, cf. sós ‘long/deep’)
- b. ā sìn-dy-â
 3Sg deep-Abs
 ‘its depth’ (< pseudo-locative sìn-dé ‘descend’ §11.1.2.2)
 (cf. sós ‘long/deep’)
- c. ā kòndw-ââ
 3Sg inside-Abs
 ‘its width’

4.1.2.3 Verbal nouns (zero derivation or suffix -sí)

The nominals described below, unsuffixed and suffixed, all have an LH tone pattern (only the final syllable is H-toned) regardless of lexical tone melody.

Some verbs may be directly inflected as nouns, for example with an absolute suffix.

- (68) làtó-wà / ɲàṅá-à kóré
 run.VbIN-Abs / walk.VbIN-Abs be.difficult.Ipfv
 ‘Running/Walking is difficult.’

Other verbs require a derivational suffix (or compound final) -sí ~ -jí. The two variants are both common in premodifier forms. Absolute -sí-yà is usually syncopated to -ʃy-â and may further contract to -ʃ-â, but we show the full form here. For -sí in a different function, in derived adjectives, see §4.4.4.1-2.

- (69) gbòrò-sí-yà kóré
 exit(v)-VbIN-Abs be.difficult.Ipfv
 ‘Exiting is difficult.’

Array (70) presents representative verb/verbal noun pairings. Both the zero-derived (70a) and suffixed (70b) types have rising tone patterns with H-toned final mora. The verbal noun is shown in absolute singular form. Monomoraic Cv verb stems have verbal nouns of the zero-derived type, but before absolute -à the stem is extended by adding a medial syllable with g, ŋ, or w (70a). The same syllabic extensions occur with many common nouns (§4.1.1.3). For the Cv stems, the expected plural of the zero-derived verbal noun would be #Cv̄v̄-bī-yà, but as with the few comparable common nouns the rising tone of the Cv̄v̄ stem is leveled to M (§3.4.2.5). An example is s̄s̄ⁿ-bī-yà ‘acts of drinking’, plural of s̄ṅá-à (70a). The attested verbal nouns from bimoraic Cv̄v̄ have the -sí- suffix (70b). For bisyllabic and longer stems there appears to be a lexical choice between zero-derived and suffixal verbal nouns.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|------|------|---------------|
| (70) | verbal noun | verb | | gloss of verb |
| | Abs Sg | Pfv | Ipfv | |

a. no overt derivational suffix (zero-derived)

from Cv verb

- | | | | |
|--------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| yàgá-à | yá | yà | ‘come’ |
| f̄wá-à | fó | f̄o | ‘go’ |
| mìṅá-à | mí | mì | ‘enter’ |
| s̄ṅá-à | s̄ó ⁿ | s̄ò ⁿ | ‘drink’ or ‘build’ |

from bisyllabic or longer verb

| | | | |
|------------------------|--------|--------|---------------|
| látó-wà | látó | látó | ‘run’ |
| wòwí-yà | wòwú | wówú | ‘yawn’ |
| kùùní-y ⁿ à | kùùní | kùùni | ‘murmur’ |
| sògòlí-yà | sògòlí | sógólí | ‘slide, slip’ |

b. derivational suffix -sí-

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------|
| sèè ⁿ -sí-yà | sèè ⁿ | sèè ⁿ | ‘buy’ |
| wèè-sí-yà | wéé | wèè | ‘fear’ |
| gbòrò-sí-yà | gbóré | gbòrò | ‘exit (v)’ |
| pèrè-sí-yà | péré | pèrè | ‘fall’ |
| sàrò-sí-yà | sáré | sàrò | ‘pass by’ |
| ṣír ⁿ -sí-yà | ṣír ⁿ | ṣír ⁿ | ‘look at’ |
| kùlè-sí-yà | kùlè | kùlè | ‘return’ |

c. irregular lexicalized nominal

| | | | |
|--------|------|------|---------|
| tègá-à | tèlí | tèlì | ‘speak’ |
|--------|------|------|---------|

Verbs that are associated with a pseudo-dative or pseudo-locative VP-final particle (§11.1) include the particle in the verbal noun, which is otherwise unsuffixed. The particle then bears the final H-tone. The verbal nouns in (71a) from pseudo-dative lè (§11.1.2.2) are based on -lé (plus absolute suffix). Those in (71b) from pseudo-locative lè follow the same pattern and end in -ló or nasalized -ndó, before contraction with the absolute suffix. This morphology is also attested for yí ‘apart’, but some verbs have alternative verbal nouns with medial syllabic extensions (71c).

| (71) | verbal noun | verb | particle | gloss | |
|--------------------|-------------|--------|----------|-------|---|
| | | Pfv | Ipfv | | |
| a. pseudo-dative | nàà-lé-yà | náá | nàà | lè | ‘see’ |
| | ~ nàà-ly-â | | | | |
| | sìi-ly-â | síí | sìi | lè | ‘catch’ |
| | | | | | (cf. sūsū-[sìi-ly]-â “bride-catching”, i.e. wedding ceremony) |
| b. pseudo-locative | nè-ndwá-à | nè-ndó | né-ndó | ndò | ‘wake up’ |
| | nì-ndá-à | ní | nì | ndò | ‘extinguish’ |
| | | | | | (nàà- ‘fire’) |
| | là-lwá-à | lá | là | lò | ‘tear, rip’ |
| | | | | | (péé ⁿ - ‘cloth’) |

c. ‘apart’

with yí in verbal noun

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|--------|
| kò-yá-à | kó | kò | yí | ‘hit’ |
| kàà-yá-à | káá | kàà | yí | ‘shut’ |

without yí in verbal noun

| | | | | |
|--------|-----|-----|----|---------------------------------------|
| pùwá-à | pú | pù | yí | ‘pound (kernels)’ |
| sàgá-à | sáá | sàà | yí | ‘cut’ (péé ⁿ - ‘cloth’) |

Verbal nouns from transitives can readily incorporate object nouns as compound initials (§5.2.3). A verbal noun can function as the initial in a regular noun-noun compound, or in a purposive compound with a meaning like ‘drinking water’ (§5.2.3).

4.1.2.4 Agentives

Agentive nominals can be derived by adding -kò ‘owner’ (absolute singular -kw-āà) to an imperfective verb stem. A few agentives are bipartite rather than tripartite, with a single stem followed by ‘owner’. (For non-agentive ‘owner of X’ compounds, see §5.1.6.) The stem and ‘owner’ have independent prosodies.

- (72) a. làtó/làtó ‘run’ làtó-kwā-à ‘runner’
 b. yùgú/yùgú ‘steal’ yùgú-kwā-à ‘thief, robber’

For the more common tripartite agentives with incorporated object, see §5.2.1.

Examples involving VP-final particles are in (73). Compound initials, required by some transitive verbs, are represented by X-. The VP-particle, if present, is H-toned in the agentive.

- (73) a. sáá/sàà (... yí) ‘cut’ X-sāā-kwā-à ‘cutter’
 tùⁿ/tùⁿ (... yí) ‘cook (v)’ X-tùⁿ-yⁿ-kwā-à ‘cook (n)’
 b. ní/ni (... ndò) ‘extinguish’ X-nì-ndó-kwā-à ‘extinguisher’
 lá/là (... lè) ‘tear, rip’ X-là-ló-kwā-à ‘ripper’
 c. síí/sìì (... lè) ‘catch’ sùi-lé-kwā-à ‘catcher’
 sííⁿ/sììⁿ (... ndè) ‘unload’ sùi-ndé-kwā-à ‘unloader’

4.2 Pronouns

4.2.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns are presented in (74). As usual, lexically L-toned forms surface as M-toned (shown in parentheses) when not followed by an H-tone or by a pause. Independent forms occur in isolation, in the ‘it is (me, etc.)’ construction (§9.3.2.2), and under focalization (chapter 13). Fused pronominal PPs are covered in the following section.

| (74) | independent | preverbal | nonpreverbal | possessor |
|---------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1Sg | kò (kṵ) | kè (kē) | kò (kṵ) | ké |
| 1Pl | wò (wṵ) | wó | wò (wṵ) | wó |
| 2Sg | mw ⁿ ò (mw ⁿ ṵ) | mì (mī) | mù ~ mì | mí |
| 2Pl | ɲè (ɲē) | ɲì ... nì (ɲī ... nì) | ɲì (ɲī) | ɲí |
| 3Sg | yū-wà (yū-wā) | à (ā) | — | à (ā) |
| 3SgInan | — | — | -à (-ā) | — |
| 3SgAn | — | — | -è (-ē) | — |
| 3Pl | byè (byē) | bè (bē) | bè (bē) | bé |

The 3Sg independent form yū-wà is tonally composite. The second syllable (which resembles à in other 3Sg functions) varies between L- and M-tone depending on what follows, but the first syllable is always M.

A key distinction is between what we call **preverbal** and **nonpreverbal** pronouns. Preverbal pronouns are **proclitics** to verbs, postpositions, and possessed nouns. Leaving possessors aside for the moment, subject pronouns are proclitic to verbs in simple Sbj-Vb-(Obj-)... clauses. In the progressive construction Sbj-‘be’-Obj-Vb...., which has a ‘be’ auxiliary after the subject and which then positions the main verb after the object, both subject and object pronouns precede verbs and therefore both take the preverbal form. The “preverbal” pronouns also occur before most postpositions. Nonpreverbal pronouns are (postverbal) objects in inflectional categories other than the progressive. These forms also occur after the only true preposition, nì ‘with’ (§8.2). The 3Sg nonpreverbal forms are **suffixes**, and interact phonologically with the preceding stem. They also distinguish animate from inanimate, which are not elsewhere distinguished in pronominals. Other nonpreverbal pronominals (2Sg, 2Pl, 3Pl) might be analyzed as enclitics, but there is no phonological evidence one way or the other. For 1Sg and 1Pl the postverbal forms are identical to independent pronouns, suggesting that they are free forms.

The 2Pl preverbal form *nì ... nì* is unusual in combining a preverbal proclitic with a postverbal pronominal *nì*. The latter precedes even suffixed 3Sg object pronominals. The combination with inanimate 3Sg object *-à* is *nī-yà*, as in *nī sō nī-yà* ‘you-Pl give it’ (2018-08 @ 02:32). The combination with animate 3Sg object *-è* is *nīŋ-gè*, as in *nì ná nī-ŋgè* ‘you-Pl hit-Past him/her’. The suffixal morphophonology in these combinations is shared with preposition *nì* ‘with’ (§8.2).

4.2.2 Fused dative, locative, and ‘in front of’ pronominal PPs

The dative postposition, which is *lè* after nonpronominal NPs, has special pronominal forms (75). These forms are always postverbal, and are very common. The categories that show fusion (75a,c) have no unfused counterparts (1Sg #*kē* *lè*, etc.). In addition to true dative PPs, the fused dative PPs occur in pseudo-datives (except when the object is separated from the particle *lè*, as in the progressive).

The datives of type *Cā-rē* in (75a) are pronounced with variable pitch. Sometimes they are clearly higher than L-toned, other times they sound L-toned. Nonetheless, our assistant feels that 3Pl *bā-rē* has higher pitch than the particle *bàrè* ‘still’. Given their pitch range, which may be influenced by their tendency to occur clause-finally or otherwise late in clauses, we hesitantly transcribe them as M-toned. Indeed, there is a possibility that they derive diachronically from L.H-toned forms, as suggested by the anaphoric pronominal datives in (75c). If so, realization of **Cè-ré* as M-toned *Cā-rē* (with schwa barely pronounced) might be compared to the leveling of expected /*Cṽ́*/ to *Cṽ̄* (§3.4.2.5).

(75) Dative pronouns

| | category | dative |
|----|------------|---|
| a. | 1Sg | <i>kā-rē</i> |
| | 1Pl | <i>wā-rē</i> |
| | 2Sg | <i>mā-rē</i> |
| | 3Pl | <i>nā-rē</i> |
| | 3SgAn | <i>yā-rē</i> |
| | 3Pl | <i>bā-rē</i> |
| b. | 3SgInan | <i>ā</i> <i>lè</i> |
| c. | Reflexive | <i>nè-màré</i> (preceded by a pronominal) |
| | Reciprocal | <i>tèⁿ-màré</i> |

The locative postposition (which sometimes has instrumental function) is *l̥* after nonpronominal NPs. The complement of the postposition is normally inanimate and does not lend itself to pronominalization except as 3Sg *à*. However, some verbs like *ɲmó/ɲmò* ‘rescue’ and *ɲéé/ɲèè* ‘awaken’ allow fused human locative pronominal PPs ending in *-rò* (§8.3). Inanimate 3Sg *à* does not fuse (76b). One might expect these locative pronouns to have the same tones as the datives given above. That this was once the case is suggested by the anaphoric locative pronominals in (76c). However, we have not heard any nonlow tones in the *C̥-à-rò* forms in (76a).

(76) Fused locative pronouns

| | category | locative |
|----|----------|--|
| a. | 1Sg | <i>k̥-à-rò</i> |
| | 1Pl | <i>w̥-à-rò</i> |
| | 2Sg | <i>m̥-à-rò</i> |
| | 2Pl | <i>ɲ̥-à-rò</i> |
| | 3SgAn | <i>y̥-à-rò</i> |
| | 3Pl | <i>b̥-à-rò</i> |
| b. | 3SgInan | <i>ā l̥</i> |
| c. | Refl | <i>n̥-à-m̥-ró</i> (preceded by a pronominal) |
| | Recip | <i>t̥-à-m̥-bó</i> |

The other postposition that has a fused pronominal paradigm is *yí* ‘in front of’ (§8.4.5.1). This postposition has a range of functions including the dative of ‘say’ (denoting the addressee) as well as its core spatial sense. The pronominal paradigm is (77).

(77) pronoun ‘in front of X’

| | | |
|----|-----|-------------|
| a. | 1Sg | <i>k̥-í</i> |
| | 1Pl | <i>w̥-í</i> |
| | 2Sg | <i>m̥-í</i> |
| | 2Pl | <i>ɲ̥-í</i> |
| | 3Pl | <i>b̥-í</i> |
| b. | 3Sg | <i>à yí</i> |

- c. Refl nò yí (preceded by a pronominal)
 Recip tòn yí

4.2.3 Emphatic pronouns (gbú)

An emphatic pronoun, in preclausal topic position, consists of the independent pronoun (with lengthened vowel except in 3Pl) plus invariant gbú. This gbú is distinct from quantifier gbó? ‘all’.

- (78) 1Sg kòò gbú
 1Pl wòò gbú
 2Sg mòò gbú
 2Pl ɲèè gbú
 3Sg yūwàà gbú or àà gbú
 3Pl byè gbú

A textual example is kòò gbú in the context ‘I myself will go (instead of you)’, see 2018-01 @ 00:29.

gbú can also be added to nonpronominal NPs, where it can mean ‘too’.

- (79) [báá-mī-yà gbú] fó
 [sheep-Pl-Abs **Emph**] go.Pfv
 ‘The sheep went too.’

4.3 Determiners

4.3.1 Demonstratives

4.3.1.1 Demonstrative pronouns (yéè ‘this’, ‘that’)

The demonstrative pronoun is yéè as postnominal modifier. It is often shortened from C_{vv} to C_v and in that case it is heard variably as yê, yé or yē. In combinations like nààⁿ yéè ‘this road’, even the shortened pronunciation nààⁿ yē has L-toned noun, treating yē as though still H-initial.

The demonstrative is added to singular or plural nouns (with or without core modifiers), without the absolute suffix. Plural nouns have plural suffix -bè before the demonstrative (80b).

- (80) a. ɲínì yéè
 house **Dem**
 ‘this/that house’ (<ɲíní)

- b. sǎré-bè yéè
 man-Pl **Dem**
 ‘these/those men’

The apparent incompatibility of yéè with absolute -à may simply be due to the (possible) fact that yéè itself contains or formerly contained -à, perhaps in the form *yí-à or *yé-à. If so, the first element may have been cognate to demonstrative yì (§4.3.1.3). However, yì is L-toned and often follows absolute -à.

yéè is most often deictic. However, expressions like tìnì yéè ‘(at) that time’ in narrative, e.g. 2018-08 @ 03:51, show that it can also be (weakly) discourse-definite. There is no proximal/distal opposition (‘this’ versus ‘that’).

In the absence of a preceding common noun, yéè takes the form lé-yè ‘this/that (one)’ (81a). In very careful pronunciation this is lé-yê. The plural in this autonomous function is lé-bè yê ‘these/those (ones)’. When lé-yè is added to a noun, singular or plural, it is deictic (pointing) and somewhat emphatic (81b-c).

- (81) a. sò lé-yè kǎ-rē
 give.Ipfv **Dem** 1Sg-Dat
 ‘Give me that!’
- b. sǎrè lé-yè
 man **Dem**
 ‘that man (pointing, emphatic)’
- c. sǎré-bè lé-yè
 man-Pl **Dem**
 ‘those men (pointing, emphatic)’

lé-yè can also be used in narrative in the sense ‘the other (of two)’, or can be repeated in parallel to express ‘one ..., the other ...’ denoting two alter egos. In this function, lé-yè or its plural lé-bè yê can be juxtaposed appositionally to an already formed NP. See §17.3.1 for examples.

4.3.1.2 Recent-discourse-definite pronominals (à ní, bé ní)

The morpheme ní can be added to third person pronominal proclitics in subject, object, or another grammatical function. The forms are singular à ní and plural bé ní. They reactivate a referent that has been introduced in immediately preceding discourse. Textual examples involve nonhuman referents, but in elicitation the forms can have human referents as well. A translation with (nondeictic) ‘that/those’ is often

appropriate, but in some contexts a simple English pronoun like ‘it’ or ‘they’ is enough.

à ní and bé ní function as self-standing NPs in any grammatical function (e.g. subject, object, postpositional complement, possessor). When à ní functions as a postverbal direct object, à is not suffixed to the verb and does not trigger the usual morphophonemic changes in suffixed transitive verbs. For example, kɪ̃/kì̃ ‘pick up’ has a special 3Sg object suffixed forms as in (perfective) kí-ɲà ‘picked it up’ and kí-ɲ-gè ‘picked him/her up’. However, perfective kɪ̃ combines with the 3Sg demonstratives as kɪ̃ [à ní] ‘picked that up’ and kɪ̃ [bé ní] ‘picked those up’. Likewise, perfective jé ‘sell’ combines with -à as jé-gà ‘sold it’, but with à ní as jé à ní. A qualification on this point is that a small number of verbs like déé/dèè ‘eat’ and té/tè ‘say’, which raise their vowel before true 3Sg inanimate object -à (e.g. perfective dí-yà ‘ate it’, tí-yà ‘said it’), also do this before à ní as postverbal direct object. An example is wó dī [à ní] ‘we eat that’ (2018-08 @ 01:11).

Occasionally à ní and bé ní follow the coindexed noun. This can be interpreted either as demonstrative modification within an NP or as apposition.

For textual examples and further discussion see §6.5.1.2.

ní in the combination à ní (and presumably in bé ní) is replaced by nɛ̃ɲá when focalized (§13.1.5).

4.3.1.3 Postnominal discourse-definite yì

Discourse-definite demonstrative yì occurs at the end of a nonhuman NP, typically a noun with absolute marking. This L-toned morpheme, often rising to M-tone by regular rule, should be distinguished from H-toned yí. The latter can be a postposition ‘in front of’ (§8.5.4.1) or a VP-final particle ‘apart’ (§11.1.1). Both yì and yí often immediately follow NPs.

Discourse-definite yì reintroduces a previously introduced discourse referent, often after a gap. It differs from the other discourse-definite forms, 3Sg à ní and 3Pl bé ní (see the preceding section) in two respects. First, yì directly follows NPs while ní can only follow a third person pronominal. Second, while à ní and bé ní refer back to referents that have just been introduced, often in the immediately preceding clause, yì casts a longer and wider net over previous discourse.

In §4.3.1.1 above we ventured the hypothesis that demonstrative yéè may have originated as the contraction of something like *yí-à, whose initial element may have been an H-toned ancestral form or relative of the current demonstrative yì.

For textual examples and discussion, see §6.5.1.3.

4.3.1.4 Demonstrative adverbs ('here', 'there')

The two basic deictic locative adverbs are H-toned. They are optionally followed by -nà, perhaps originally a locative postposition. lógó is optionally shortened to ló except when followed by -nà. This shortening results in a phonological parallelism between wó and ló.

- (82) a. wó 'here'
 wó-nà 'here'
- b. lógó ~ ló 'over there'
 lógó-nà 'over there'

Unlike English, which uses *there* to denote a displaced deictic center, e.g. in narrative, Pere uses wó 'here' for this narrative center, adopting the spatial perspective of protagonists in the narrative. For example, in 2018-05 @ 00:10, wó 'here' denotes a narrative-internal location (at a well).

4.3.2 Definite marking absent

There is no counterpart in Pere to the functionally diverse definite marking ('that same one we were just talking about', or 'the only one', or 'the contextually obvious one') in English and some other European languages, or to the narrowly discourse-definite marking ('that same one we were just talking about') found in several West African languages.

Absolute suffix -à has a partial connection with definiteness. In particular, -à functions as a definite marker when added to numerals, and the suffix is absent in some classic indefinite frames (existential 'be', 'have' possessives). However, there are other factors influencing the usage of the suffix (§6.5.2.1-2) and the label "definite" is inappropriate for it.

4.3.3 Indefinite tí 'some' (plural túù)

tí (dialectally tógá) and its plural túù are indefinite markers that introduce discourse referents or settings. They follow otherwise complete NPs ending in absolute -à or plural -bī-yà. This morphosyntactic behavior associates them with gbó? 'all'. See §6.7.3 for details and examples.

-bè and -mù are the only important plural suffixes for nouns and adjectives. This raises the possibility that túù originated as the contraction of *tí-bè or less likely *tí-mù (the latter should have contracted as nasalized #túù). -bè has been lenited

to -wè in táán-wè ‘children’ (§4.1.1.4), making *tí-wè a plausible immediate proto-form.

4.4 Adjectives

4.4.1 Basic adjectives

Simple (noncomposite) modifying adjectives, often but not always directly related to verbs, are of two morphological types. (For composite adjectives see the sections following this one.)

The type in (83) has a plural with -mù, absolute plural -mwⁿ-à. This type includes the three most basic color adjectives and three very basic dimension (size) adjectives. The regular nominal plural with -bè, absolute -bī-yà was also recorded for these adjectives as an alternative to -mù, especially in fixed collocations with noun stems (e.g. flora-fauna terms). Only the -mù plural is shown below. Plural allomorph -mù also occurs after the very common -kò ‘owner (of X)’ (§5.1.6, §5.2.1) and after the noun ‘agemate’ (§4.1.1.4).

(83) Adjectives with plural -mù

| | singular | | plural | | gloss |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute | |
| a. color | | | | | |
| bìì | | bīyā-à | bīī-mù | bīī-mw ⁿ -à | ‘black’ |
| bòò | | bōwā-à | bōō-mù | bōō-mw ⁿ -à | ‘white’ |
| fwèlì | | fwēlā-à | fwē-mù | fwē-mw ⁿ -à | ‘red’ |
| ~ fòdòlì (etc.) | | | | | |
| b. dimension | | | | | |
| gbáá | | gbáá-lā-à | gbáá-mù | gbáá-mw ⁿ -à | ‘big’ |
| sóó | | sówá-à | sóó-mù | sóó-mw ⁿ -à | ‘long; deep’ |
| tàrè | | tār-à | tē-mù | tē-mw ⁿ -à | ‘small’ |

The adjectival type in (84) has only the regular nominal plural with -bè, absolute plural -bī-yà. This type includes all adjectives other than the six in (83).

(84) Adjectives with plural -bè

| singular | | plural | | gloss |
|-------------|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute | |
| f̄rìní | f̄rìní-yà | f̄rìní-bè | f̄rìní-bī-yà | ‘dry; smoked (fish); emaciated’ |
| gb̀r̀r̀ỳé | gb̀r̀r̀ỳá-à | gb̀r̀r̀ỳé-bè | gb̀r̀r̀ỳé-bī-yà | ‘sweet, sugary’ |
| gb̀r̀r̀ẁó | gb̀r̀r̀ẁá-à | gb̀r̀r̀ẁó-bè | gb̀r̀r̀ẁó-bī-yà | ‘old (man)’ |
| káàní | káàní-yà | káàní-bè | káàní-bī-yà | ‘fresh’ |
| kàlé | kàlé-(y)à ~ kàlí-yà ~ kàly-â | kàlé-bè | kàlé-bī-yà | ‘mean (dog); spoiled (food)’ |
| kàló | kàlw-â | kàló-bè | kàló-bī-yà | ‘fast’ |
| kùsì | kùsī-yà | kùsī-bè | kùsī-bī-yà | ‘good’ |
| làwù | làww-â | làwū-bè | làwū-bī-yà | ‘former, original’ |
| màgàyá | màgàyá-à | màgàyá-bè | màgàyá-bī-yà | ‘soft (wood, rock)’ |
| p̀è̀è̀nd̀ó | p̀è̀è̀nd̀w-â | p̀è̀è̀nd̀ó-bè | p̀è̀è̀nd̀ó-bī-yà | ‘sour’ (cf. ‘roselle’) |
| ḡòòwú | ḡòòwá-à | ḡòòwú-bè | ḡòòwú-bī-yà | ‘hot’ |
| tééné | téény-â | tééné-bè | tééné-bī-yà | ‘new’ |
| tètègè | tètègā-à | tètègè-bè | tètègè-bī-yà | ‘cool’ |
| wòlé | wòlé-(y)à ~ wòlí-yà ~ wòly-â | wòlé-bè | wòlé-bī-yà | ‘(very) cold; slow’ |
| ỳè̀è̀t̀r̀ó | ỳè̀è̀t̀r̀-â | ỳè̀è̀t̀r̀ó-bè | ỳè̀è̀t̀r̀ó-bī-yà | ‘wet’ |

làwù ‘former, original’ shows that a postnominal adjective need not be an intersective modifier, dividing the set denoted by the common noun into eligible and ineligible subsets.

4.4.2 Reduplicated intensive or superlative adjectives

Initial Cv- reduplication, sometimes with other changes, converts some adjectives to more intensive adjectives. An assistant translates the intensive forms in isolation with the French superlative (*le plus grand/petit*, etc.).

For semantically ordinary gbáá-lā-à ‘big’ and t̄r-â ‘small’, see (83b) in §4.4.1 above. More emphatic forms are in (85). For diminutives more generally, see §5.1.11. No singular equivalent of plural gbáṅgbáá-mwⁿ-â is attested, and efforts to elicit it failed.

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------------|----------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (85) | gloss | singular | | plural | |
| | | premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute |
| a. | ‘tiny’ | tē-tàrè | tē-tār-à | tē-tē-mù | tē-tē-mw ⁿ -à |
| b. | ‘huge’ | — | — | gbáṅgbáá-mù ~ gbáá-mù | gbáṅgbáá-mw ⁿ -à |

Our assistant denied that there are reduplicated forms of other adjectives (‘black’, etc.).

4.4.3 Denominal adjectives with -kò ‘owner’

An adjective characterizing a referent by means of a noun denoting something associated with the referent can be formed by adding the ‘owner’ suffix (§5.1.6).

| | | |
|------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (86) | bábà | ṅór ⁿ ṣ-kwā-à |
| | sheep | fat(n)-owner-Abs |
| | ‘a plump (fatty) sheep’ (< bábá) | |

4.4.4 Deverbal adjectives

4.4.4.1 Adjective of resulting state from transitive (zero, -sí, -nì)

A transitive verb can function as a modifying adjective, denoting the resulting state. As with other modifying adjectives, it can be made absolute or pluralized. In (87a) there is no derivational suffix or compound final. In (87b), the initial ends with verbal noun suffix -sí- ~ -jí-. Both the unsuffixed type and that with suffix -sí- ~ -jí- are common as verbal nouns, the choice between them being lexical (§4.1.2.4). In (87c), a different suffix -nì- intervenes between verb and suffix.

| | | | |
|------|----|--|------------------|
| (87) | a. | gbēē | kō-yā |
| | | wood | broken-Abs |
| | | ‘a broken stick’ (< verb kó/kò ‘break [intr]’) | |
| | b. | pèèmíí | sèè-sí-yà |
| | | peanut | roast-VblN-AbsSg |
| | | ‘roasted peanuts’ (< verb sèè/sèè) | |

- c. làtó-dēē s̄āāⁿ-nī-yà
 vehicle ruin-Ø-Abs
 ‘broken-down vehicle’ (< s̄ááⁿ/s̄ààⁿ ‘malfunction, become ruined’)

Compare s̄āāⁿ-nì ‘ruined, broken-down, out of order’ in (87c) above with s̄ààⁿ-sí-k̀ ‘nasty (person)’ in the following section.

4.4.4.2 From intransitive verb (-sí, -sí-k̀)

Array (88) presents adjectives ending in -sí-k̀, including the ‘owner’ stem -k̀, and in simple -sí. All known adjectival cases are presented. The source verb is likely intransitive, although ambi-valent (labile) verbs make this uncertain in some cases. Identification of this -sí as the verbal-noun suffix is marginally plausible for -sí-k̀ in (88a) (‘owner of being nasty’ ?), but problematic for bare -sí in (88b).

| (88) | adjective | | gloss | source |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--|
| | premodifier | absolute Sg | | |
| a. | s̄àà ⁿ -sí-k̀ | s̄àà ⁿ -sí-kwā-à | ‘nasty (person)’ | s̄áá ⁿ /s̄àà ⁿ ‘be ruined (v)’ |
| b. | ηmà-sí | ηmà-f(y)-â | ‘well-made; delicious’ | ηmá/ηmà ‘be pleasing’ |
| | tèrè-sí | tèrè-sí-yà | ‘straight’ | tórè ‘become straight’ |
| | kòrè-sí | kòrè-sí-yà | ‘hard; difficult’ | kórè/kóré ~ kòrè ‘be hard; be difficult’ |

4.4.5 Exemplars (‘yellow’, ‘green’)

For ‘yellow’ and ‘green’, as widely in West Africa, exemplars are used to specify colors. ‘Ash-colored’ (i.e. off-white, beige, etc.) has the same structure. The ‘owner’ ending -k̀ (absolute singular -kw-āà) is added to a compound consisting of the term for the exemplar plus -jísì-. Elsewhere the latter is the noun ‘face, (pair of) eyes’ but here it has the sense ‘appearance, color’. The néré tree (*Parkia biglobosa*) has bright yellow powdery pulp covering the seeds in its pods.

- (89) d̀̀n-jísī-kwā-à ‘yellow’ “having color of néré tree”
 s̀̀n-jísī-kwā-à ‘green’ “having color of (nonwoody) plants”
 tògònì-jísī-kwā-à ‘ash-colored’ “having color of ashes”

4.5 Numerals

4.5.1 ‘One’

‘One’ is pííⁿ-d́ in counting (‘1, 2, 3, 4, ...’) and as a noun. It is usually (but not obligatorily) reduced to pííⁿ as a postnominal modifier. Since it begins with an H-tone, it induces H#H-to-L#H in a preceding noun (§3.4.2.2).

- (90) noun X ‘one X’ gloss
- a. t̀̀t̀̀bù t̀̀t̀̀bù pííⁿ ‘one calf (of leg)’
 b. ń́é ń́é pííⁿ ‘one ear’

4.5.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’

These numerals are listed in (91). The same forms are used as postnominal modifiers and in the counting recitation.

- (91) ‘2’ ỳ̀ngó
 ‘3’ tà̀ngó
 ‘4’ náá (sometimes heard as nááⁿ)
 ‘5’ n̄
 ‘6’ ǹ̀sííⁿ
 ‘7’ ní-ỳ̀ngó
 ‘8’ b̀̀nóṅḁ-náá
 ‘9’ k̀̀r(ḁ)nd́
 ‘10’ gb̄rⁿì

‘7’ is a thinly disguised combination of n̄ ‘5’ plus ỳ̀ngó ‘2’. This suggests that ‘6’ was likewise originally from n̄ ‘5’ plus a variant or ancient synonym of pííⁿ ‘1’. On the other hand, b̀̀nóṅḁ-náá ‘8’ seems to end in náá ‘4’, so it could either be parsed as ‘4 times 2’ or as ‘4 plus 4’. k̀̀r(ḁ)nd́ ‘9’ is borrowed from Koro.

Numerals beginning with an H-tone (‘4’, ‘5’, and ‘7’), like the numeral ‘1’ (preceding section), induce regular H#H-to-L#H on a preceding noun (§3.4.2.2).

4.5.3 Decimal numerals (‘20’ and up)

The forms are those in (92).

| | | |
|------|-----------|-------------------------|
| (92) | ‘20’ | mw ⁿ â |
| | ‘30’ | bí-sāwà |
| | ‘40’ | bí-nāānì |
| | ‘50’ | bí-lōōlù |
| | ‘60’ | bí-wōlò |
| | ‘70’ | bí-wòrò-vlā |
| | ‘80’ | bí-sèy |
| | ‘90’ | bí-kòròndó |
| | ‘hundred’ | kèmé (see §4.5.5 below) |

All of the decimal numerals are borrowed from Koro. Those from ‘30’ up consist of Koro prefix bí- plus a Koro digit from ‘3’ to ‘9’, with minor tonal adjustments.

4.5.4 Composite decimal-plus-digit numerals (‘11’ and up)

The composite numerals consisting of a decimal term and a digit term, such as ‘11’ and ‘59’, are formed in a straightforward way. After ‘10’ and ‘20’ the linking element is néé (dropping to néè before H-tone by H#H-to-L#H). It is nì after higher decimals, with some tendency to syncopate to ñ in allegro speech. This nì can be identified with preposition nì ‘and, with’. After bí-nāānì ‘40’, which already ends in a nì syllable, the linker is inaudible except in careful pronunciation. We illustrate with the terms for ‘η1’ and ‘η2’ where η denotes a variable decimal term (multiple of 10). All other combinations merely change the final digit numeral, with no irregularities.

| | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (93) | ‘11’ to ‘19’ | ‘21’ to ‘29’ | ‘31’ to ‘39’ | ‘41’ to ‘49’ |
| | ‘η1’ | | | |
| | gbērì néè pír ⁿ | mwâ néè pír ⁿ | bí-sāwā nì pír ⁿ | bí-nāānì pír ⁿ |
| | ‘η2’ | | | |
| | gbērì néé yòṅgó | mwâ néé yòṅgó | bí-sāwā nì yòṅgó | bí-nāānì (nì) yòṅgó |

4.5.5 Large numerals (‘hundred’ and up) and their composites

The large numeral stems are in (94). All are syntactically nouns and may be directly followed by a lower numeral in multiplicative sense, e.g. kèmé yòṅgó ‘200’. pírⁿ ‘1’ is

regularly used with ‘thousand’ and ‘million’ in the senses ‘1,000’ and ‘1,000,000’, but it is generally omitted with ‘hundred’ in the sense ‘100’.

- (94) ‘hundred’ kèmé
 ‘thousand’ bòbò, wàgá (synonyms)
 ‘million’ mìlyòⁿ

If a digit term is added, the linker is nī as with decimal terms ‘30’ and up: kèmé nì pírⁿ ‘101’, kèmé yòṅgó nī yòṅgó ‘202’, and so forth.

kèmé is also the term in Koro.

bòbò (~ bōbō) ‘1000’ is also the noun ‘goat’, and the homophony is said to be not coincidental: ‘one thousand currency units’ = 5000 francs CFA was the price of a goat at one time. The synonym wàgá is from Koro. Both are in current use. In commercial contexts, bòbò can function as a secret word in conversation among Pere speakers in the presence of others.

4.5.6 Currency

The term for ‘money’ is kórówó (absolute singular kórówá-à). In precolonial times, the cowry shell gbòsó (absolute singular gbòsw-áà) functioned as a unit of currency. The present-day currency is the CFA franc. Counting in West African languages takes 5 CFA as the counting unit, except that amounts beginning with ‘million’ revert to French-type usage. The 5 CFA unit is dásí in Pere (cf. dáásí in Koro). It can be omitted in contexts where money is obviously involved, as in (95).

- (95) (dásí) kèmé yòṅgó
 (unit) hundred two
 ‘one thousand francs CFA’ (= ‘two hundred currency units’)

4.5.7 Ordinals

4.5.7.1 ‘First’ (fwé-nèṅà)

Ordinal ‘first’ is fwé-nèṅà. It is unrelated phonologically to pírⁿ ‘one’.

4.5.7.2 Higher ordinals (-mèrè)

Except for ‘first’ (see above), the ordinal suffix is -mèrè, absolute singular -mōry-ā. The suffix is added to the normal form of the numeral.

- (96) yòṅgó-mèrè ‘second’
 tààṅgó-mèrè ‘third’
 náá-mṛ(y)-ā ‘fourth’

Ordinal ‘fourth’ is illustrated in textual passage (97). Grain is pounded in a mortar several times. The ordinal is phrased appositionally, with 3Sg possessor denoting ‘pounding(s)’.

- (97) nī mì tá [[à wéé] lò],
 if 2Sg finish.Pfv [[3Sg pound.Prog] Loc],
 [ā wèè-sí kó tààṅgó], à náá-mṛy-ā,
 [3Sg pound-VblN time(s) three], 3Sg **four-Ordinal-Abs**,
 mī sṵⁿ gbàà-páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],
 2Sg set.Ipfv meal-pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 mī yṵgṵ [nā-à l=] [= áà kíṅgè],
 2Sg insert.Ipfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],
 sēnī mī tā [à náá-mṛ-ā],
 before 2Sg finish.Ipfv [3Sg **four-Ordinal-Abs**],
 sēnī yā mī tā
 before Fut 2Sg finish.Ipfv
 [à náá-mṛ-ā] wèè-sí [ā lò],
 [3Sg **four-Ordinal-Abs**] pound-VblN [3Sg Loc],
 ‘When you have finished pounding it, three poundings, (after) the fourth
 (time), you set the pot on the fire. You slide fire(-wood) under it. Eventually
 you finish the fourth one. Eventually you will finish the fourth one of
 pounding it.’ (2018-09 @ 04:08 to 04:19)

4.6 Gender and noun-class mostly absent

Pere does not mark gender or other noun-class, with two exceptions. Personal names were traditionally prefixed by bá (male) or ná (female) (§18.3). Some greetings also mark the gender of the addressee(s), with tòò- or variant to males and with nà- to females (§18.4).

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Noun-noun compounds

Typical noun-noun compounds are right-headed, as in English. The initial takes its simple premodifier form and is invariant. The final can take either premodifier or absolute form and may be pluralized. The two nouns in (98a) combine as the compound in (98b), whose combinations with an H-toned modifier and with nominal suffixes are indented.

- (98) a. $\eta\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{n}}\grave{\text{a}}$ ‘rifle’, absolute $\eta\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{n}}\text{-}\grave{\text{a}}$
 $\text{m}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$ ‘powder’, absolute $\text{m}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-y}\grave{\text{a}}$
- b. $\eta\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{n}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-m}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$ ‘gunpowder’
 $\eta\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{n}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-m}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$ $\text{p}\acute{\text{i}}\text{i}$ ‘one gunpowder’
 $\eta\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{n}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-m}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-y}\grave{\text{a}}$ (absolute singular)
 $\eta\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{n}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-m}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-y}\grave{\text{a}}$ (absolute plural)

5.1.1 Whole-part compounds

In this type, the initial denotes a complex entity, and the final specifies either a part or a secondary entity associated with the main one. An example is (99).

- (99) $\eta\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{n}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-}\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-j}\bar{\text{i}}\text{f}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-y}\grave{\text{a}}$
 rifle-shoot-place-Abs
 ‘trigger’

Further examples are in (100).

- | (100) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|-------|---|---|---|------------------|
| a. | plural -mù (cf. §4.1.1.4, §4.4.1) | | | |
| | $\text{s}\grave{\text{o}}\text{-k}\text{w}\acute{\text{o}}\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}$ | $\text{s}\grave{\text{o}}\text{-k}\text{w}\acute{\text{o}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-}\grave{\text{a}}$ | $\text{s}\grave{\text{o}}\text{-k}\text{w}\acute{\text{o}}\text{-m}\text{-w}\grave{\text{a}}$ | ‘waterjar shard’ |
| | $\text{p}\acute{\text{a}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-k}\text{w}\acute{\text{o}}\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}$ | $\text{p}\acute{\text{a}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-k}\text{w}\acute{\text{o}}\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-}\grave{\text{a}}$ | $\text{p}\acute{\text{a}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-k}\text{w}\acute{\text{o}}\text{-m}\text{-w}\grave{\text{a}}$ | ‘waterjar shard’ |

b. plural -bè

subparts of human body

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ṅòṅòmù-dúú | ṅòṅòmù-dúwá-à | ṅònòmù-dúú-bī-yà | ‘gums (of teeth)’ |
| yúgú-tògbàgà | yúgú-tògbāgā-à | yúgú-tògbāgā-bī-yà | ‘lip’ |
| bò ⁿ -bésì | bò ⁿ -bésī-yà | bò ⁿ -bésì-bī-yà | ‘finger’ |
| bò ⁿ -gbéé | bò ⁿ -gbégá-à | bò ⁿ -gbéé-bī-yà | ‘(entire) arm’ |
| bò ⁿ -kámù | bò ⁿ -kámw ⁿ -à | bò ⁿ -kámū-bī-yà | ‘fingernail’ |
| ~ bò ⁿ -ṅámù (etc.) | | | |
| bōn-nòṅó | bōn-nòṅá-à | bō ⁿ -nòṅó-bī-yà | ‘elbow’ |
| gbó ⁿ -kùṅgùlì | gbó ⁿ -kùṅgùlì-yà | gbó ⁿ -kùṅgùlì-bī-yà | ‘heel’ |
| néé-fāndìgì | néé-fāndīgā-à | néé-fāndīgì-bī-yà | ‘ear-leaf (external ear)’ |
| gbô ⁿ -kámù | gbô ⁿ -kámw ⁿ -à | gbô ⁿ -kámū-bī-yà | ‘toenail’ |
| ~ gbô ⁿ -ṅámù (etc.) | | | |
| ṅìì ⁿ -tórówó | ṅìì ⁿ -tórówá-à | ṅìì ⁿ -tórówó-bī-yà | ‘brain (object)’ |

animal parts

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------|
| gbó ⁿ -kèsé | gbó ⁿ -kèŷy-à | gbó ⁿ -kèsé-bī-yà | ‘hoof’ |
| ~ gbó ⁿ -kèsí-yà | | | |

parts of plants

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| gbēē-bò ⁿ | gbēē-bw ⁿ -à | gbēē-bō ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘tree branch’ |
| gbēē-kèsé | gbēē-kèŷy-à | gbēē-kèsé-bī-yà | ‘tree bark’ |
| ~ gbēē-kèsí-yà | | | |

parts of manufactured objects or constructions

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| ṣílé-jìṣì | ṣílé-jìṣì-yà | ṣílé-jìṣì-bī-yà | ‘handle (of kettle or pail)’ |
| ṅíní-kùù | ṅíní-kūwā-à | ṅíní-kūū-bī-yà | ‘wall of house’ |
| ṅíní-yùgù | ṅíní-yūwā-à | ṅíní-yūgū-bī-yà | ‘doorway’ (“house-mouth”) |
| ṅíní-yūgū-kà-yí | | ṅínì-yúgú-kà-yí-bī-yà | ‘door-shutter’ |
| ṅíní-yūgū-kà-ýy-à | | | |

The final in the last example (‘door-shutter’) is a suffixless verbal noun based on a verb plus VP-final particle combination káá/kàà ...yí ‘shut’ (§11.1.1).

5.1.2 Compounds whose initial denotes an environment or habitat

Another typical function of initials is to denote environment or habitat. There is no locative postposition of the sort found in some West African languages. In other words, the structure is of the type “water-bird,” rather than “[water-in]-bird.”

The slightly irregular plural noun tógó-mè ‘fields’, cf. plural absolute tógó-mī-yà, functions to distinguish (wild) terrestrial from closely related aquatic and/or domestic species, for example with canines, felines, guinea-fowl, and some plants. For ‘domestic’ the initial is yégbògò-, obscurely related to yégá-à ‘village’ (premodifier form yéé). For ‘aquatic’ the initial is séwó-, irregularly related to ségá-à ‘river’ (premodifier form séw).

- (101) a. kèjí-yà
dog-Abs
- b. [tógó-mē]-kèjí-yà
[**field-PI**]-dog-Abs
‘bush dog’ (i.e. ‘jackal’)
- c. yégbògò-sáámwⁿ-â
village-guineafowl-Abs
‘domestic guinea-fowl’
- d. séwó-nōṅā-à
river-bird-Abs
‘aquatic bird’

Further examples are in (102). The components are “village-animal” and “water-draw-thing”. Cf. verb tá/tà ‘draw (water)’.

| (102) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|-------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| | yégbògò-námù | yégbògò-námw ⁿ -â | yégbògò-námū-bī-yà | ‘domestic animal, livestock’ |
| | túmú-tāā-nòṅò | túmú-tāā-nōnw ⁿ -â | túmú-tāā-nōnō-bī-yà | ‘bag for drawing water at well’ |

In (103), the “habitat” is a body part where the entity is worn (mìndé ‘neck’).

- (103) mìndé-fēṅèṅè mìndé-fēṅēnī-yà mìndé-fēṅēnē-bī-yà ‘necklace’

5.1.3 Compounds whose initial denotes a material

In these compounds, the initial denotes a material or foodstuff from which the entity is made.

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (104) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | fɛŋɛ̀nɛ̀-páá | fɛŋɛ̀nɛ̀-páá-lā-à | fɛŋɛ̀nɛ̀-páá-mī-yà | ‘metal pot’ |
| | gbásá-gbàà | gbásá-gbā-à | gbásá-gbāā-bī-yà | ‘tô, pudding-like maize cakes’ |

5.1.4 Compounds with initial nàà- ‘fire’

The noun nàà ‘fire’ (absolute singular nā-à) occurs as initial in a broad range of contexts including illumination, hot weather, and household (for the latter, cf. *hearth* in English). In some compounds the initial is shortened to nà- (105b).

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| (105) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| a. Cvv- initial | | | | |
| | nàà-yéré | nàà-yér-â | nàà-yéré-bī-yà | ‘light (n), illumination’ |
| | nàà-sóó | nàà-sówá-à | nàà-sóó-bī-yà | ‘light (n), illumination’ |
| | nāā-sòò | nāā-sōwā-à | nāā-sōō-bī-yà | ‘flame’ |
| | nāā-ɲòŋó | nāā-ɲòŋá-à | nāā-ɲòŋó-bī-yà | ‘dry season’ |
| | nāā-kòní | nāā-kòní-yà | nāā-kòní-bī-yà | ‘extended family’ |
| b. Cv- initial | | | | |
| | nā-pòŋò | nā-pōŋ-â | nā-pōŋō-bī-yà | ‘guest, visitor’ |
| | nà-káni | nà-káni-yà | nà-káni-bī-yà | ‘charcoal; ember’ |

tògònì ‘ashes’, dòndùgù ‘smoke’, and kòòⁿ ‘hearth (stones on which pots are put)’ do not contain this initial.

5.1.5 Compounds with final -dèè ‘thing’

As an uncompounded noun, ‘thing’ has the forms in (106). The plural with -nì is irregular.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|----------|-------------|--------------|
| (106) | singular | | plural | |
| | premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute |
| | déé | dí-yà | déé-nì | déé-nī-yà |
| | | | déé-nī-bè | déé-nī-bī-yà |

As compound final, used for example with terms for vehicles and garments, it takes the L-toned form -dèè. The suffixed forms are shown in (107). In addition to the two plural endings for ‘thing’, a third option in the compounds is to add -bè directly to -dèè (producing -dēē-bè).

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (107) | singular | | plural | |
| | premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute |
| | -dèè | -dī-yà | -dēē-nì | -dēē-nī-yà |
| | | | ~ -dēē-bè | ~ -dēē-bī-yà |
| | | ~ -dēē-nī-bè | ~ -dēē-nī-bī-yà | |

The L-tones of the stem -nì and -bè rise to M-tone in the usual way when not followed by an H-tone. Some examples are in (108), using the absolute singular form. The linker -gó- in (108c) may reflect a requirement that the stem preceding -dèè (-dī-yà) be at least bisyllabic.

| | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (108) | compound | gloss | initial | gloss |
| | a. deverbial | | | |
| | lâtó-dī-yà | ‘vehicle’ | lâtó/lâtó | ‘run’ |
| | dùgù-sí-dī-yà | ‘outfit (clothing)’ | dúgú/dugù | ‘wear (garment)’ |
| | pìn-dé-dī-yà | ‘bed’ | pìn-dé/pìn-dè | ‘lie down’ |
| | b. denominal | | | |
| | ńdē-dī-yà | ‘hat’ | ńdè | ‘crown, top of head’ |
| | c. denominal with obscure linker -gó- | | | |
| | kùṅ-gó-dī-yà | ‘pants’ | (cf. kùmàràà ⁿ | ‘buttock’) |
| | gbóṅ-gó-dī-yà | ‘shoe(s)’ | gbó ⁿ | ‘foot’ |
| | ṅìṅ-gó-dī-yà | ‘hat’ | ṅìṅ ~ ṅìì ⁿ | ‘head’ |
| | d. complex compound | | | |
| | péé ⁿ -[bògò-lé]-dī-yà | ‘soap’ | péé ⁿ | ‘cloth’ |
| | | | bògò-lé | ‘turn white’ |
| | e. other | | | |
| | mìndé-dī-yà | ‘garment’ | | |

5.1.6 Compounds with final -k̀̀ ‘owner’

The term for ‘owner (of X)’ is -k̀̀. The paradigm is (109).

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|----------------|--------|-------------|-------------------------|
| (109) | | singular | plural | | |
| | premodifier | absolute | | premodifier | absolute |
| | -k̀̀ | -kwā-à ~ -kw-à | | -k̀̀-m̀̀ | -k̀̀-mw ⁿ -à |

-k̀̀ normally occurs with a compound initial or possessor, minimally 3Sg (inanimate) possessor à, as in ā kwā-à ‘its owner, the owner’. In some cases the initial is not otherwise attested. In (110), the ‘noun’ column shows premodifier forms.

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (110) | noun | gloss | ‘owner of X’ | absolute Sg | gloss |
| | kórówó | ‘money’ | kórówó-k̀̀ | kórówó-kwā-à | ‘rich person’ |
| | — | — | kōrōbē-k̀̀ | kōrōbē-kwā-à | ‘crazy person’ |
| | ɲìŋ ~ ɲì ⁿ | ‘head’ | ɲìŋ-k̀̀ | ɲìŋ-kwā-à | ‘chief (of village)’ |
| | — | — | sáánū-k̀̀ | sáánū-kwā-à | ‘enemy’ |
| | | | ~ sáánī-k̀̀ | ~ sáánī-kwā-à | |
| | túmú | ‘water’ | túmú-k̀̀ | túmú-kwā-à | ‘water owner’ |
| | námù | ‘animal’ | námù-k̀̀ | námù-kwā-à | ‘livestock owner’ |
| | làtó-dèè | ‘vehicle’ | làtó-dèè-k̀̀ | làtó-dèè-kwā-à | ‘vehicle owner’ |
| | sèèlé | ‘orphanhood’ | sèèlé-k̀̀ | sèèlé-kwā-à | ‘orphan’ |
| | ɲíní | ‘house’ | ɲíní-k̀̀ | ɲíní-kwā-à | ‘house owner’ |
| | púú | ‘laziness’ | púú-k̀̀ | púú-kwā-à | ‘lazy person’ |
| | fūū (<fūú) | ‘death’ | fūū-k̀̀ | fūū-kwā-à | ‘sorcerer’ |

In kórówó-kwā-à ‘rich person’ and its plural kórówó-k̀̀-mwⁿ-à, the trisyllabic H-toned stem is often pronounced with a pitch pattern similar to H.H.L. This appears to be prosodic rather than phonological, reflecting the heaviness of the word, and it can be undone in careful pronunciation. However, it could also be interpreted as an incipient H-toned ending -k̀̀- instead of M-toned -k̀̀-, since an H-tone would induce dropping of a preceding H to L.

-k̀̀ is also part of agentive compounds, following the verb stem (§4.1.2.5, §5.2.1).

5.1.7 Compounds with final -kéé ‘fruit’ or ‘seed’

The uncompounded noun kéé ‘fruit/seed (of a plant)’ has the paradigm in (111).

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|
| (111) | | singular | | plural |
| | premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute |
| | kée | kí-yà (~ kí-yà) | kée-bè | kée-bī-yà |

It occurs chiefly in compounds and in most cases requires at least a possessor. Its range of meanings includes small individual entities that are part of larger whole or set. Examples are in (112).

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| (112) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | jísì-kée | jísì-kí-yà | jísì-kée-bī-yà | ‘eye (single)’ |
| | gbàsà-kée | gbàsà-kí-yà | gbàsà-kée-bī-yà | ‘maize kernel’ |
| | gbèè-kée | gbèè-kí-yà | gbèè-kée-bī-yà | ‘fruit (of tree)’ |
| | gbénì-kée | gbénì-kí-yà | gbénì-kée-bī-yà | ‘rice kernels (harvested)’ |

5.1.8 Compounds with final -jìfí ~ -jìsí ‘place’

The noun ‘place, location’ is shown in (113). *ʃ* varies with *s* in all forms but is most common in the syncopated absolute singular form *jìʃy-â*. The morphology is regular. The lexical melody is /LH/.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------|
| (113) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | jìfí | jìfí-yà ~ jìʃy-â | jìfí-bī-yà | ‘place’ |

This noun is common as a compound final. Its forms are those in (114). It now has /L/ melody.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------|
| (114) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | -jìfì | -jìʃì-yà | -jìʃì-bī-yà | ‘place’ |

Examples are in (115). In (115b-c) there is an additional nominal compound initial indicating the whole or the location.

- (115) a. jōō-jīfī-yà
 spend.night-**place**-Abs
 ‘sleeping place, sleeping quarters’ (< verb jó/jò)
- b. ŋmàrⁿ-à-náá-jīfī-yà
 rifle-hit-**place**-Abs
 ‘trigger’ (< verb ná/nà)
- c. túmù-ndé-jīfī-yà
 water-sit-**place**-Abs
 ‘pond’

‘Kitchen’ (usually an outdoor roofed shed with open sides) is not expressed in this way (as ‘cooking place’). It is kòwⁿ-jíní, literally “hearth-house.”

5.1.9 Compounds with final -díí ‘village’

This compound final does not occur as an uncompounded noun, cf. the unrelated yéw ~ yéé (absolute yégá-à) ‘village’. The final -díí combines with initials denoting ethnicities. -díí is invariant in the singular (no absolute suffix is added), and is uncommon in the plural (with -bè). The compound in (116a) is in common use in the singular, as the regular term for the nearby large town Tiéningboué. The analogous (116b) was elicited but is not in use as a name for a specific settlement, so far as we know. The initial in (116b) is pluralized with -mè.

- (116) a. sôw-díí
 Koro-**village**
 ‘Koro village, Tiéningboué’
- b. [fóró-mè]-díí
 [Senufo-Pl]-**village**
 ‘(a) Senufo village’

For details on terms for ethnicities, see the section on compounds with final ‘person’ (§5.1.14).

5.1.10 Compounds with final -dèyⁿ (-dēŋā-à)

This element is not attested except as a compound final. It may be the only stem ending in yⁿ (§3.1.2.7), and a variant -dèèⁿ is used by our assistant. In (117), the

overall compound means ‘middle’. The initial is related to postposition píyè ‘between’ (§8.4.6).

| | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (117) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | píyè-dèy ⁿ | píyè-dēṅá-à | píyè-dèy ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘middle, area in between; waist’ |

-dèyⁿ occurs in tripartite body-part compounds denoting peripheral joints (118a) and middles (118b).

| | | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------------|---|------------------|
| (118) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | a. with m̀ndé ‘neck’ | | | |
| | gbó ⁿ -m̀ndé-dèy ⁿ | gbó ⁿ -m̀ndé-dēṅā-à | gbó ⁿ -m̀ndé-dèy ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘ankle’ |
| | bō ⁿ -m̀ndé-dèy ⁿ | bō ⁿ -m̀ndé-dēṅā-à | bō ⁿ -m̀ndé-dèy ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘wrist’ |
| | b. with k̀ndó ‘inside, interior’ (§8.4.1.2) | | | |
| | bō ⁿ -k̀ndó-dèy ⁿ | bō ⁿ -k̀ndó-dēṅā-à | bō ⁿ -k̀ndó-dèy ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘palm (of hand)’ |
| | gbó ⁿ -k̀ndó-dèy ⁿ | gbó ⁿ -k̀ndó-dēṅā-à | gbó ⁿ -k̀ndó-dèy ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘sole (of foot)’ |

-dèyⁿ also occurs with terms for times of day, especially when they are quantified over or when they denote specific occurrences. In (119a) and (119b), the uncompounded forms béé and t̀nífí denote pure times of day, as in ‘we always work at night/in the morning’. They are not usually modified or quantified over, cf. English *nighttime* and *daytime*. The compounded forms are usual when denoting specific nights or mornings. They are readily modified and can be quantified over.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| (119) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | a. (béé) | béé | (béé-bī-yà) | ‘night, nighttime’ |
| | béé-dèy ⁿ | béé-dēṅā-à | ~ béé-dèy ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘(a) night’ |
| | b. (t̀nífí) | t̀nífí | (t̀nífí-bī-yà) | ‘morning’ |
| | t̀nífí-dèy ⁿ | t̀nífí-dēṅā-à | t̀nífí-dèy ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘(a) morning’ |

The term for mid-day given below seems to have been partially reanalyzed. The starting point is ‘sun; day’ (120a). From this is formed a pure time-of-day compound, generally not modified or quantified over, which appears to be a contraction of

*sénì-dèyⁿ (120b). This in turn is the basis for a specific time-of-day compound that can be modified or quantified over (120c).

| | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| (120) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| a. | sénì | sénì-yà | sénì-bì-yà | ‘sun; day’ |
| b. | (sên-dé ~ sén- ^l dé) | sên-dé ~ sén- ^l dé | (sén- ^l dé-bì-yà) | ‘mid-day’ |
| c. | sên-dé-dèy ⁿ | sên-dé-dēŋā-à | sên-dé-dēy ⁿ -bì-yà | ‘(a) mid-day’ |

5.1.11 Compounds including ‘child’ and other diminutives

The regular modifying adjectives ‘small’ and ‘tiny’ are in (121).

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------|------------------|------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (121) | gloss | singular | | plural | |
| | | premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute |
| | ‘small’ | tòrè | tòr-ā | tē-mù | tē-mw ⁿ -ā |
| | ‘teeny’ | tíyèmú | tíyèmw ⁿ -ā | tíyèmú-bè | tíyèmú-bì-yà |
| | | (~ tyèèmú, etc.) | | | |

Comparison of tíyèmú ~ tyèèmú with tíyé ‘child’ (see just below) raises the possibility that *-mú or *-èímú may have once been a suffix, perhaps diminutive. However, we know of no other evidence for such a morpheme. The pairing of lààmú ‘sleep (n)’ with lààlé/lààlè ‘sleep (v)’ may point to another obsolete *-mú with an unrelated nominalizing function.

Young humans are denoted by the general term in (122a), or by the more age-specific composite terms in (122b-c). The form (122c) is based on tèwé, which however does not occur elsewhere.

| | | | | |
|-------|------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (122) | noun | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| a. | tíyé | tíyé-lā-à | táán-wā-à ~ táánd-wā-à | ‘child, young person’ |
| b. | tíyé tòrè | tíyé tòr-ā | táán-wē tē-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘child (age 2 to 18)’ |
| c. | tèwè-téénè | tèwè-téénì-y ⁿ à | tèwè-téénē-bì-yà | ‘baby’ |

Compounds with ‘child’ as final are the only way to denote juvenile animals. The suffixal paradigms are those of simple ‘child’ (123). No special lexical items like English *puppy* and *lamb* are attested.

- (123) a. t̀̀̀-t́́ýé-lā-à
 chicken-**child**-Ø-Abs
 ‘chick’
- b. bábà-t́́ýé-lā-à
 sheep-**child**-Ø-Abs
 ‘lamb’

‘Child’ may also be added to names of ethnicities. For those ethnicities whose absolute singular has an extra -wà (e.g. s̀̀w-wā-à ‘Koro person’, §5.1.14), this extra syllable is omitted in the compound (124).

- (124) s̀̀w-t́́ýé-lā-à
 Koro-**child**-Abs
 ‘young Koro person’

5.1.12 Paired objects (e.g. grindstones, mortar and pestle)

Grindstones come in a set, one being large, wide, and slightly concave on which the grain is placed, the other being small and rounded and held in the hand while grinding. The set is denoted by a compound (125). Cf. ná/nà ‘grind (v)’ and bàà ‘stone’.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (125) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl |
| | b̀̀t̀̀g̀̀- ⁿ náá-bàà | b̀̀t̀̀g̀̀- ⁿ náá-bā-à | b̀̀t̀̀g̀̀- ⁿ náá-bā-bī-yà |

When it is useful to distinguish the two stones, they may be referred to as ‘big’ (gbáá-lā-à) and ‘fruit’ (kí-yà), respectively. ‘Fruit’ here denotes a smaller associated object, like a fruit with respect to a tree. For compound final -kí-yà (premodifier -kéé) see §5.1.7.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (126) | b̀̀t̀̀g̀̀- ⁿ náá-bàà | gbáá-lā-à | ‘large grindstone’ |
| | b̀̀t̀̀g̀̀- ⁿ náá-bàà | -kí-yà | ‘small grindstone’ |

ỳ̀g̀̀ń́ ‘mortar’ and ʃ̀̀l̀̀ ‘pestle’ are unrelated in form.

5.1.13 Compounds with final ‘man’ and ‘woman’

5.1.13.1 Kin terms with final ‘man’ and ‘woman’

With nouns that are not already sex-specifying, the nouns *séré* ~ *séré* ‘man’ and *júwó* ~ *súwó* ‘woman’ may be added as compound finals. ‘Man’ is H-toned as a noun but becomes L-toned *-sàrè* in these compounds. It can then be raised to M-toned by regular tone sandhi in the usual positions. ‘Woman’ likewise becomes L-toned *-jùwò* (realized as M-toned in some contexts). Its plural is *-sé-mī-yà* (from the usual uncompounded form ‘women’) varying with *-jū-bī-yà* or *-jōō-bī-yà* ‘women’ (derived directly from the compounded singular). (127) shows the kin term ‘affine, in-law’ without (a) and with (b-c) sex-specifying finals.

- (127) a. *ké* *síyè*
 1Sg affine-Abs
 ‘my in-law’
- b. *ké* *síyē-sār-à*
 1Sg affine-**man**-Abs
 ‘my father-/brother-in-law’
- c. *ké* *síyē-jūw-à*
 1Sg affine-**woman**-Abs
 ‘my mother-/daughter-in-law’

‘Child’ becomes ‘son’ or ‘daughter’ by adding ‘man’ or ‘woman’ (in the form *-jóó-*) plus the ‘owner’ ending (§5.1.6). The ‘man’ and ‘woman’ finals are H-toned in this combination.

- (128) a. *ké* *tíyē-lā-à*
 1Sg child-Abs
 ‘my child’
- b. *ké* *tìyè-saré-kwā-à*
 1Sg child-**man**-owner-Abs
 ‘my son’
- c. *ké* *tìyè-jóó-kwā-à*
 1Sg child-**woman**-owner-Abs
 ‘my daughter’

The terms ‘elder sibling’ and ‘younger sibling’ are treated the same way. The full set of optional sex-specified kin terms are in (129).

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| (129) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | a. without ‘owner’ final | | | |
| | síyē-sàrè | síyē-sār-ā | síyē-sārē-bī-yà | ‘male in-law’ |
| | síyē-ḵòò | síyē-ḵūw-ā | síyē-ḵōō-bī-yà | ‘female in-law’ |
| | b. with ‘owner’ final | | | |
| | ḵènè-ḵóó-kò | ḵènè-ḵóó-kw-āà | ḵènè-ḵóó-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘younger sister’ |
| | ḵènè-sàré-kò | ḵènè-sàré-kw-āà | ḵènè-sàré-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘younger brother’ |
| | kùrè-ḵóó-kò | kùrè-ḵóó-kw-āà | kùrè-ḵóó-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘elder sister’ |
| | kùrè-sàré-kò | kùrè-sàré-kw-āà | kùrè-sàré-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘elder brother’ |
| | tìyè-sàré-kò | tìyè-sàré-kw-āà | tìyè-sàré-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘son’ |
| | tìyè-ḵóó-kò | tìyè-ḵóó-kw-āà | tìyè-ḵóó-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘daughter’ |

5.1.13.2 Other compounds with final ‘man’ and ‘woman’

The male/female dichotomy can be applied to inanimates. In (130), ‘male’ is correlated with angularity, ‘female’ with roundness.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (130) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | kùù-sàré-kò | kùù-sàré-kw-āà | kùù-sàré-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘rectangular (“male”) hut’ |
| | kùù-ḵóó-kò | kùù-ḵóó-kw-āà | kùù-ḵóó-kō-mw ⁿ -ā | ‘round (“female”) hut’ |

5.1.14 Ethnicity/caste compounds with final -ḵūḵ-ḵò ‘person’

Most ethnicity/caste terms require a compound final ‘person’ (or a more specific term like ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘child’) when denoting a single individual, though a few do occur in the absolute singular form. The noun ‘person’, shown below as absolute singular -ḵūḵ-ḵò, has variants -ḵūḵ-ḵà and -ḵōḵ-ḵò. The ‘person’ compound final is usually omitted in the plural, which can function in this context as a collective.

(131) noun absolute Sg with ‘person’ absolute Pl gloss

a. with extra -wā- in absolute singular

| | | | | |
|-------|------------|------------|-------------|--------|
| pèrèw | pārēw-wā-à | pārē-ṅūṅ-ḍ | pārēw-bī-yà | ‘Pere’ |
| sòw | sōw-wā-à | sōw-ṅūṅ-ḍ | sōw-bī-yà | ‘Koro’ |

b. no extra syllable in absolute singular

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| fóró ⁿ | — | fóró ⁿ -ṅūṅ-ḍ | fóró ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘Senufo’ |
| flá | flá-à | flá-ṅūṅ-ḍ | flá-bī-yà | ‘Fulbe’ |
| tó ⁿ | — | tó ⁿ -ṅūṅ-ḍ | tó ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘Baoulé’ (< ‘field’) |
| ló ⁿ | — | ló ⁿ -ṅūṅ-ḍ | lóm-bī-yà | ‘Gouro’ |
| ʃyá ⁿ | — | ʃyá ⁿ -ṅūṅ-ḍ | ʃyá ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘slave’ |
| jéé | — | jéé-ṅūṅ-ḍ | jéé-bī-yà | ‘griot’ |
| fèè ⁿ | fēy ⁿ ā-à | fèè ⁿ -ṅūṅ-ḍ | fèè ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘freeborn person’ |

Most ethnicity/caste terms do not occur the uncompounded absolute singular, hence the gaps in (131b).

5.1.15 Compounds with final -túmú (-túmwⁿ-â) ‘water’

túmú ‘water’ (absolute singular túmwⁿ-â) is the final in compounds denoting a range of liquids. The initial denotes the source (132a) or taste (132b).

(132) premodifier absolute Sg absolute Pl gloss

a. initial denotes source

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| ṅmèè-túmú | ṅmèè-túmw ⁿ -â | ṅmèè-túmú-bī-yà | ‘palm wine’ (syn kòmí) |
| ʃíyêṅ-túmú | ʃíyêṅ-túmw ⁿ -â | ʃíyêṅ-túmú-bī-yà | ‘sweat’ (“heat-water”) |
| jòmù-túmú | jòmù-túmw ⁿ -â | jòmù-túmú-bī-yà | ‘milk’ (“breast-water”) |
| tōgō-mè-túmú | tōgō-mè-túmw ⁿ -â | tōgō-mè-túmú-bī-yà | ‘honey’ (“[bee-Pl]-water”) |

b. initial denotes taste

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| gbàṅgà-túmú | gbàṅgà-túmw ⁿ -â | gbàṅgà-túmú-bī-yà | ‘ocean’ (“salt-water”) |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|

5.1.16 Compounds with final -t́ś (-t́wá-à) ‘hole’

Compounds with this final denote various orifices and topographic features. A few examples are in (133).

| (133) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. body part | | | | |
| | néè-t́ś | néè-t́wá-à | néè-t́ś-bī-yà | ‘earhole’ |
| b. topography and construction | | | | |
| | bwólì t́ś | bwólì t́wá-à | bwólì t́ś-bī-yà | ‘pond fed by underground aquifers’ |
| | túmù-t́ś | túmù-t́wá-à | túmù-t́ś-bī-yà | ‘well (n)’ |

5.1.17 Days and Muslim prayers

5.1.17.1 Days of the week with lààlì

The lexical terms for the seven days of the week, except for ‘Friday’, are from Arabic and are regionally widespread. They are compounded with lààlì ‘day’, which has a variant làà when not directly followed by absolute suffix -à.

| (134) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
| a. initial ultimately from Arabic | | | | |
| | tór ⁿ é-làà(lì) | tór ⁿ é-lāālā-à | tór ⁿ é-lāā(lì)-bī-yà | ‘Monday’ |
| | tràtá-làà(lì) | tràtá-lāālā-à | tràtá-lāā(lì)-bī-yà | ‘Tuesday’ |
| | làwá-làà(lì) | làwá-lāālā-à | làwá-lāā(lì)-bī-yà | ‘Wednesday’ |
| | mìsá-làà(lì) | mìsá-lāālā-à | mìsá-lāā(lì)-bī-yà | ‘Thursday’ |
| | síwírì-làà(lì) | síwírì-lāālā-à | síwírì-lāā(lì)-bī-yà | ‘Saturday’ |
| | lètí-làà(lì) | lètí-lāālā-à | lètí-lāā(lì)-bī-yà | ‘Sunday’ |
| b. initial not from Arabic | | | | |
| | púú-lààlì | púú-lāālā-à | púú-lāā(lì)-bī-yà | ‘Friday’ |

Since Friday is a day of rest (as well as worship) in the area, púú-lààlì is related to púú-k̀ ‘lazy person’ and púú ‘laziness’ (in the less pejorative sense ‘idleness’).

5.1.17.2 Muslim prayers

The five daily Muslim prayers are denoted by Jula borrowings in three cases (135a), and by compounds of a time-of-day term ('night' or 'morning') with the noun 'prayer' in the other two (135b). gbàndé is the general term for 'prayer' and also means 'religious holy day', i.e. the Feast of the Ram (aïd el adha) and the holy day at the end of Ramadan (aïd el fitr). The main weekly prayer, on Friday in the early afternoon, is simply 'Friday-prayer' (135c).

| (135) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|---|------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| a. Jula borrowings (forms with — are not in common use) | | | | |
| | — | séé-fārā ⁿ | — | '2 PM prayer' |
| | — | làgàzàr-â | — | '4 PM prayer' |
| | (pàrìmirì) | pārìmirìy-ā ⁿ | — | 'twilight prayer' |
| b. based on time-of-day term | | | | |
| | béé-gbàndé | béé-gbàndí-yà | béé-gbàndé-bì-yà | '8 PM prayer' |
| | tìní-gbàndé | tìní-gbàndí-yà | tìní-gbàndé-bì-yà | 'pre-dawn prayer' |
| c. based on day-of-the-week term | | | | |
| | púú-lāālì-gbàndé | | púú-lāālì-gbàndé-bì-yà | |
| | | púú-lāālì-gbàndí-yà | | 'Friday prayer' |

5.1.18 Directions

5.1.18.1 Cardinal directions

'East' and 'west' are 'sunrise' and 'sunset', respectively (cf. sénì 'sun; day'). 'North' and 'south' are combined into a single term here glossed 'north-south axis'. Its initial is pónì 'country, land, world'.

| (136) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| a. east and west | | | | |
| | sénì-pèrè | sénì-pērē-(y)à ~ sénì-pēr-(y)ā | sénì-pērē-bì-yà | 'west, sunset' |
| | sénì-sūū | sénì-sùwá-à | sénì-sūū-bì-yà ~ sénì-sùù-bì-yà | 'east, sunrise' |

b. north and south

pónī-bèrààmìrí pónī-bèrààmìrí-yà pónī-bèrààmìrí-bī-yà ‘north-south axis’

5.1.18.2 ‘Right’ and ‘left’

The terms for ‘right hand’ and ‘left hand’ are in (137). The final is ‘hand’, and the initial indicates which side. They are (seemingly) regular compounds.

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| (137) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | wāā-bò ⁿ | wāā-bw ⁿ -ā | wāā-bō ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘right hand’ |
| | bēsī-bò ⁿ | bēsī-bw ⁿ -ā | bēsī-bō ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘left hand’ |

However, ‘right leg’ and ‘left leg’, for example, do not just substitute ‘leg/foot’ for ‘hand’ in these compounds. Instead, the ‘hand’ term in (137) is included as part of the compound initial. For example, ‘(my) right foot’ is expressed as ‘(my) right-hand foot’ (138).

| | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------------------|--|------------------|
| (138) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
| | wāā-bò ⁿ -gbów ⁿ | wāā-bò ⁿ -gbóṅá-à | wāā-bò ⁿ -gbów ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘right foot/leg’ |
| | bēsī-bò ⁿ -gbów ⁿ | bēsī-bò ⁿ -gbóṅá-à | bēsī-bò ⁿ -gbów ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘left foot/leg’ |

The four sides of a house can be specified either using four cardinal directions, or the orientational expressions in (139) supplemented by cardinal-direction compounds for the lateral sides.

| | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------------|
| (139) | a. yī-dēṅā-à | ‘front side’ |
| | b. kīṅgē-dēṅā-à | ‘back side’ |

5.1.19 Compounds with final -sì

The paradigm is (140). The absolute singular is often pronounced with ʃ in the very common contracted variant.

| | | | |
|-------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| (140) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl |
| | -sì | -sī-yà, -sy-ā, -ʃy-ā | -sī-bī-yà |

Examples are in (141).

| (141) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|-------|-------------|------------------------|---------------|--|
| a. | ṅ́ṅ́-sì | ṅ́ṅ́-sy-ā ⁿ | ṅ́ṅ́-sī-bī-yà | ‘chewstick’ (initial not otherwise attested; nasalized -sy-ā ⁿ unusual) |
| b. | dógó-sì | dógó-ḟy-ā | dógó-sī-bī-yà | ‘seedstock’ (initial not otherwise attested) (further specifiable as e.g. gbásà-dógó-sì ‘maize seedstock’) |
| c. | nī-sì | nī-sī-yà | nī-sī-bī-yà | ‘piece or cord of firewood’ (initial not otherwise attested) |

L-toned -sì in these examples is distinct from the H-toned verbal noun suffix -sí ~ -jí (§4.1.2.4). Therefore nouns in verbal-noun form such as gbògò-sí ‘fatigue’, cf. verb gbògó ‘weary (sb)’, do not belong here.

5.1.20 Miscellaneous nominal compounds

Additional nominal compounds are presented in this section, without full commentary. They are fairly transparent compositionally.

| (142) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|-------|----------------|------------------|----------------------|--|
| | gbākōrōmā-bùŕ | | gbākōrōmā-bùŕ-bī-yà | |
| | | gbākōrōmā-bùŕ-à | | ‘shoulderbag’ |
| | jíí-ǹǹǹ | jíí-ǹǹǹ-wà | jíí-ǹǹǹ-bī-yà | ‘pail’ (“bathe-plastic”) |
| | túmú-kàà | túmú-kāgā-à | túmú-kāā-bī-yà | ‘tankard (drinking)’ |
| | gbàndè-páá | gbàndè-páá-lā-à | gbàndè-páá-mī-yà | ‘kettle’ (“prayer-calabash”) |
| | túmú-ǹǹǹ | túmú-ǹǹǹ-wà | túmú-ǹǹǹ-bī-yà | ‘canteen, jug’ (“water-plastic”) |
| | ńdē-gbèè | ńdē-gbēgā-à | ńdē-gbēē-bī-yà | ‘de-braiding needle’ (“head-wood”) |
| | túmú-k̀r̀ẁ | túmú-k̀r̀ẁ-à | túmú-k̀r̀ẁ-ā-bī-yà | ‘thirst’ (“water-??”) |
| | yúgú-màndé | yúgú-màndí-yà | yúgú-màndé-bī-yà | ‘sacrificial rite’ (“mouth-prayer”) |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| fitèrá ⁿ -bwòlì | fitèrá ⁿ -bwōlā-à | fitèrá ⁿ -bwōlī-bī-yà | ‘oil lamp’ |
| gbèè-káw | gbèè-kágá-à | gbèè-káw-bī-yà | ‘durable calabash’ |
| ~ -káá | | ~ -káá-bī-yà | (“wood-calabash”) |
| gbāā-kwòlì | gbāā-kwōlā-à | gbāā-kwōlī-bī-yà | ‘pebble, gravel’ |
| ~ gbārā-kwòlì | | | |
| sílì-gbàà | sílì-gbāgā-à | sílì-gbāā-bī-yà | ‘knife sheath’ |
| | | | (“knife-mat”) |
| gbèè-tí ⁿ | gbèè-tíṅá-à | gbèè-tí ⁿ -bī-yà | ‘tree’ (“wood-tree”) |
| mīi-bwòlì | mīi-bwōlā-à | mīi-bwōlī-bī-yà | ‘rumen (stomach)’ |
| | | | (“shit-container”) |
| mlâ ⁿ -gbàà | mlâ ⁿ -gbā-à | mlâ ⁿ -gbāā-bī-yà | ‘rice meal’ |
| mlâ ⁿ -kéé | mlâ ⁿ -kí-yà | mlâ ⁿ -kéé-bī-yà | ‘rice kernel(s)’ |
| nòṅṅ-gbéé | nòṅṅ-gbégá-à | nòṅṅ-gbéé-bī-yà | ‘slingshot’ |
| | | | (“plastic-wood”) |

5.2 Compounds with noun plus deverbal noun

5.2.1 Agentive compounds (‘house-builder’)

For simple ‘owner of X’ compounds with X a noun, see §5.1.6 and §4.4.3. Most deverbal agentive compounds take the form X-verb-‘owner’, where X denotes a characteristic object of the verb. X has fixed premodifier form and cannot be suffixally modified (absolute or plural). The suffixal paradigm of ‘owner’ is (143), cf. §4.4.3.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|----------|-------------|------------------------|
| (143) | singular | | plural | |
| | premodifier | absolute | premodifier | absolute |
| | -kò | -kwā-à | -kō-mù | -kō-mw ⁿ -ā |

Examples of tripartite agentive compounds (X-verb-‘owner’) are in (144), shown in absolute singular form.

- (144) a. gbõtūgū-pōō-kwā-à
‘healer’ (< gbòtùgù ‘medication’ + ‘do’ + ‘owner’)
- b. gbàndè-yí-kwā-à
‘imam’ (< gbàndé ‘prayer’ + ‘unfold’ + ‘owner’)
- c. dēē-sèní-kwā-à
‘beggar’ (< ‘thing’ + ‘ask for’ + ‘owner’)

compound may have the same form as the inflectable verb. *túmú* ‘water’ is the final in (147a-b).

- (147) a. *s̄s̄ⁿ-túmⁿ-â*
 drink.**VbIN-water**-Abs
 ‘drinking water’ (*s̄s̄ⁿ/s̄ⁿ* ‘drink’, for *s̄s̄ⁿ*- see §3.4.2.1)
- b. *jíí-túmⁿ-â*
 bathe.**VbIN-water**-Abs
 ‘water for bathing/washing’ (*jíí/jìì* ‘bathe’)

dówá ‘oil’ is the final in (148a-b). (148a) has a suffixed verbal noun as initial. (148b) has a zero-derived verbal noun plus an incorporated object noun. (148c) is a regular noun-noun compound.

- (148) a. [*s̄d̄ḡè-sí*]-*dówá-à*
 [rub-**VbIN**]-oil-Abs
 ‘oil for rubbing (on body), lotion’
- b. [*k̄s̄ⁿ-pòè*]-*dówá-à*
 [hearth-do.**VbIN**]-oil-Abs
 ‘oil for cooking’
- c. *m̄s̄ⁿt̄àrè*-*dówá-à*
 motor-oil-Abs
 ‘motor oil’

Examples involving an implement type are in (149).

- | (149) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl |
|-------|--|--|---|
| | gloss | | |
| a. | [<i>tíyè-jíí</i>]- <i>n̄n̄n̄</i> | [<i>tíyè-jíí</i>]- <i>n̄n̄n̄-wà</i> | [<i>tíyè-jíí</i>]- <i>n̄n̄n̄-bì-yà</i> |
| | ‘bathing basin for babies’ (lit. “[child-wash. VbIN]-plastic”) | | |
| b. | [<i>túmù-s̄ⁿ</i>]- <i>n̄n̄n̄</i> | [<i>túmù-s̄ⁿ</i>]- <i>n̄n̄n̄-wà</i> | [<i>túmù-s̄ⁿ</i>]- <i>n̄n̄n̄-bì-yà</i> |
| | ‘drinking trough’ (lit. “[water-drink. VbIN]-plastic”) | | |

In (150a), the initial includes the zero-derived verbal noun ‘praying’, equivalent to the noun ‘prayer’. Compare English *holy water*. The compound final is a verbal

5.3.2 Numeral bahuvrihis

Bahuvrihis may also have numerals instead of modifying adjectives.

- (153) a. sòrè jí-sì-kéé-píyⁿá-à
man eye-ball-**one**-Abs
‘a one-eyed man’ (< pííⁿ ‘one’)
- b. nūūⁿ ɲīíⁿ-yòŋgw-áà
cow head-**two**-Abs
‘a two-headed cow’ (< yòŋgó ‘two’)

6 Noun phrase structure

6.1 Linear order of NP-internal words

The noun as lexical head precedes modifiers other than possessors. The formula is (154), to which may be added (at the end) discourse-functional markers like ‘also’. The absolute suffix -à is essentially obligatory, regardless of contextual definiteness, at the end of the N(-Adj) sequence in the absence of a following demonstrative yéè or numeral. It is present in the normal citation form of a common noun, for example. Exceptions are personal names and some kin terms, which do not allow the absolute suffix. After a string ending in a numeral, the absolute suffix functions as a definite marker. The absolute suffix is incompatible with demonstratives, but the primary demonstrative yéè ‘this, that’ may have originated as a contraction of a demonstrative plus absolute suffix. Quantifiers ‘all’ and ‘some’ occur late in the NP and normally follow the absolute marker or a demonstrative.

(154) (Poss Gen) N (Adj) (Num) (Abs) (Dem) (Quant)

Leaving possessors aside for the moment, (154) reduces to (155), showing only the noun and the postnominal modifiers.

(155) N (Adj) (Num) (Abs) (Dem) (Quant)

Examples of unpossessed NPs are in (156). The demonstrative yéè is here shown in a shortened form yê whose actual pitch is variable.

- | | | |
|----------|--|---|
| (156) a. | kèsí / nàw ⁿ ~ nàà ⁿ kèsí-yà / nāṅā-à | ‘dog / road’ (premodifier) ‘dog / road’ (absolute) |
| b. | kèsí bòò kèsí bōwā-à | ‘white dog’ (premodifier) ‘white dog’ (absolute) |
| c. | kèsí tààṅó nāṅ tààṅó | ‘3 dogs’ ‘3 roads’ |
| d. | kèsí bōō tààṅó | ‘3 white dogs’ |

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| e. | kèsì yê ~ kèsí yê nàŋ yê ~ nàà ⁿ yê jìŋy-á yì | ‘this/that dog’ ‘this/that road’ ‘that (afore-mentioned) place’ |
| f. | kēē-bè yê nāā ⁿ -bè yê | ‘these/those dogs’ ‘these/those roads’ |
| g. | kēē-bè lé-yè nāā ⁿ -bè lé-yè | ‘these/those dogs’ ‘these/those roads’ |
| h. | kèsí bòdò yê | ‘this/that white dog’ |
| i. | kēē(-bē) bōō-mù yê | ‘these/those white dogs’ |
| j. | kèsí / kēē-bē tààŋgó yê kèsí tààŋgw-áà | ‘these/those 3 dogs’ ‘the three dogs’ |
| k. | kēē-bī-yà gbó? nāŋā-à gbó? | ‘all (the) dogs’ ‘all (the) roads’ |
| l. | kēē-bè yê gbó? | ‘all these/those dogs’ |
| m. | kēē-bē bōō-mū yê gbó? | ‘all these/those white dogs’ |

If there is a preposed nonpronominal possessor, as in ‘Adama’s house’, the possessor NP precedes the remainder of the NP and is followed by genitive *nì*, which may reduce to *ñ*. A possessor does not affect the distribution of the absolute suffix.

- (157) a. ādāmā ñì jíná-à ‘Adama’s house’
b. ādāmā ñì [kèsí bōwā-à] ‘Adama’s white dog’

Proclitic pronominal possessors have forms identical segmentally to subject proclitics, including [+ATR] vowels {e o}. However, all pronominal possessors except 3Sg *à* are H-toned. As a result, the non-3Sg categories (1Sg, 2Sg, 2Pl, 3Pl) that have L-toned subject proclitics switch to H-toned possessor proclitics (§4.2.1). 1Pl *wó* is already H-toned as subject proclitic so it is identical to the possessor form. Genitive *nì* does not occur after pronominal possessors.

- (158) a. ké jíná-à ‘my house’
à jíná-à ‘his/her house’

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| b. mí kèsí bōwā-à | ‘your-Sg white dog’ |
| mí kēē-bē tààṅgw-áà | ‘your-Sg three dogs’ |
| mí kēē-bī-yà gbó? | ‘all your-Sg dogs’ |
| mí kèsì/kèsí yê | ‘this dog of yours’ |
| mí jínì yê | ‘this house of yours’ |

6.2 Nouns

The morphology of nouns at word-level is described in §4.1. Nominal compounds are covered in chapter 5. The plural suffix on the noun (usually -bè) is usually but not always omitted when the noun is followed by an adjective (the adjective has its own plural marking) or by a numeral. The absolute suffix is added to most nouns (except personal names and some kin terms) if there is no following adjective, numeral, or demonstrative yêê. The absolute suffix is also present if the noun is immediately followed by a quantifier (‘all’, ‘some’) or by demonstrative yì. Further details about how nouns combine with modifiers are given in the following sections.

6.3 Adjectival modification

6.3.1 Noun plus adjective

A noun precedes a modifying adjective. Usually the noun is not separately pluralized, but we do have examples where both noun and adjective are pluralized (159b,d). The absolute suffix occurs once, on the final adjective. Regardless of contextual definiteness, the absolute suffix is normally present in N-Adj combinations that are not followed by a numeral or by demonstrative yêê.

- (159) a. kèsì gbáá-lā-à
 dog big-Abs
 ‘a/the big dog’ (< kèsí)
- b. kēē-bè gbáá-mwⁿ-ā
 dog-Pl big-Pl-Abs
 ‘(the) big dogs’
- c. jíní ƒwēlā-à
 house red-Abs
 ‘a/the red (=brown) house’

- d. níńí-bḗ ʃwē-mwⁿ-à (~ ʃōō-mwⁿ-à)
house-Pl red-Pl-Abs
‘(the) red (=brown) houses’

Combinations with nouns of different tone melodic classes are in (160). The adjective is shown here in absolute singular form. The noun takes premodifier form, and here (as usual) it is not separately pluralized. /H/- and /LH/-melody nouns regularly drop the final mora to L before an H-tone (‘big’). /L/-melody nouns are raised to M-tone (‘black’, ‘cold’) when not followed by an H-tone (‘big’). These are normal tone sandhi processes (§3.4.2.2, §3.4.2.4). The effect is that the four main tone classes of nouns are audibly distinct before an L-initial adjective (‘black’, ‘cold’), but before an H-initial adjective (‘big’) /H/ and /HL/ merge as H.L, and /LH/ and /L/ merge as L.L.

| (160) | noun | gloss | ‘black’ | ‘cold’ | ‘big’ |
|-------|------|------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------|
| /H/ | níńí | ‘house’ | níńí bīyā-à | níńí wòlí-(y)à | níńì gbáá-lā-à |
| /LH/ | kèní | ‘cat’ | kèní bīyā-à | kèní wòlí-(y)à | kènì/kèní gbáá-lā-à |
| /HL/ | pónì | ‘land’ | pónì bīyā-à | pónì wòlí-(y)à | pónì gbáá-lā-à |
| /L/ | fìlì | ‘wind (n)’ | fìlì bīyā-à | fìlì wòlí-(y)à | fìlì gbáá-lā-à |

6.3.2 ʃámá ‘many, much’ and gbìnì ‘few’

Invariant ʃámá is added to a noun (or N-Adj combination) that has no absolute suffix. Plural nouns have plural suffix -mè. Based on these facts, we classify ʃámá as an adjective rather than as a late-NP quantifier like ‘all’ and ‘some’.

- (161) a. kè nǎá [[bō-mè ʃámá] lè]
1Sg see.Pfv [[goat-Pl **many**] (Ps)Dat]
‘I saw many goats.’
- b. [túmù ʃámá] wíí lè
[water **much**] spill.Pfv PsDat
‘A lot of water was spilled.’ (< tùmú)

The antonym is gbìnì ‘few; a little (not much)’. It too can be added to nouns without absolute suffix (162a-b). However, our assistant also allowed gbìnì after an absolute-marked mass noun (162c). This suggests that gbìnì is basically an adjective but can occasionally function as a quantifier like ‘all’ and ‘some’.

- (162) a. kè ɲáá [[bō-mē gbīnī] lè]
 1Sg see.Pfv [[goat-Pl few] (Ps)Dat]
 ‘I saw few goats.’
- b. [túmú gbìnì] wíí lè
 [water a.little] spill.Pfv PsDat
 ‘A little water was spilled.’
- c. [túmwⁿ-â gbìnì] wíí lè
 [water-Abs a.little] spill.Pfv PsDat
 ‘A little water was spilled.’

ǰámá and gbìnì do not co-occur with numerals or other quantifiers.

6.3.3 Adjective sequences

Two (or, in theory, more) adjectives may be added to the head noun. Unless one of them is idiomatically colexicalized with the noun, the order of the two adjectives is generally free. The absolute marker occurs on the final adjective (163c-d).

- (163) a. bábá bīyā-à
 sheep black-Abs
 ‘a black sheep’
- b. bábà gbáá-lā-à
 sheep big-Abs
 ‘a big sheep’
- c. bábà gbáá bīyā-à
 sheep big black-Abs
 ‘a big black sheep’
- d. bábá bìì gbáá-lā-à
 sheep black big-Abs
 [=c)]

6.3.4 Lexicalized noun-adjective collocations

In these collocations, the adjective is usually either a color term (164a) or a size term (164b). A few other cases have been observed (164c). See also the ‘man’ and ‘woman’ finals in §5.1.13 and the ‘child’ finals in §5.1.11.

| (164) | premodifier | absolute Sg | absolute Pl | gloss |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| a. color | | | | |
| | gbēē ⁿ fwèlì | gbēē ⁿ fwēlā-à | gbēē ⁿ fwē-mw ⁿ -à | ‘brown cowpea’ (< /gbèé ⁿ /) |
| | gbēē ⁿ bòò | gbēē ⁿ bōwā-à | gbēē ⁿ bōō-mw ⁿ -à | ‘white cowpea’ |
| | pèèndó fwèlì | pèèndó fwēlā-à | pèèndó fwē-mw ⁿ -à | ‘red roselle’ |
| | pèèndó bòò | pèèndó bōwā-à | pèèndó bōō-mw ⁿ -à | ‘green (“white”) roselle’ |
| | tààṅí bìì | tààṅí bìyā-à | tààṅí bìi-mw ⁿ -à | ‘jungle’ (“black forest”) |
| | súmórá bìì | súmórá bìyā-à | súmórá bìi-bi-yà | ‘soumbala’ (“black spice”) |
| | dówá bòò | dówá bōwā-à | dówá bōō-mw ⁿ -à | ‘shea-butter’ (“white oil”) |
| | dówá fòòlì | dówá fwēlā-à | dówá fōō-mw ⁿ -à | ‘palm oil’ (“red oil”) |
| b. dimension (gbáá ‘big’, tère ‘small’) | | | | |
| | kàw gbáá | kàw gbáá-lā-à | kàw gbáá-mw ⁿ -à | ‘large open-mouthed gourd’ |
| | gbō ⁿ tère | gbō ⁿ tēr-à | gbō ⁿ tē-mw ⁿ -à | ‘reticulum, second stomach’ |
| | gbò ⁿ báá | gbò ⁿ báá-lā-à | gbò ⁿ báá-mw ⁿ -à | ‘rumen, main stomach’ |
| | gbàndè gbáá | gbàndè gbáá-lā-à | gbàndè gbáá-mw ⁿ -à | ‘Feast of the Ram’ (“big prayer”) |
| | déé-yèrè gbáá | déé-yèrè gbáá-lā-à | déé-yèrè gbáá-mw ⁿ -à | ‘leprosy’ (“big disease”) |
| c. with other adjectives | | | | |
| | jìsì kòndèré | jìsì kòndèrá-à | jìsì kòndèré-bi-yà | ‘flat land’ |

6.4 NPs containing numerals

6.4.1 Noun-(adjective-)numeral

When a numeral is added to a noun, the order is N-Num. The noun is optionally marked for plurality (165a). When a numeral and an adjective co-occur, the regular order is N-Adj-Num (165b,d). Our assistant allowed inverted N-Num-Adj order in some but not all cases with no change in meaning. He accepted (165c) as a variant of (165b), but did not accept an inverted version of (165d). With nonsingular numerals, the adjective is marked plural in both N-Adj-Num and N-Num-Adj orders (165b-d). Absolute -à, if present, is added to the final modifier only, whether adjective (165c) or numeral (165b). As usual, absolute -à marks definiteness when added to a numeral, but it is neutral regarding definiteness when added to an adjective (where it is virtually obligatory).

- (165) a. kèsí tààṅgó
 kēē-bē
 dog(-Pl) three
 ‘three dogs’ (< kèsí)
- b. kēē-bē ʃwē-mū tààṅgwá-à
 dog-Pl red-Pl three-Abs
 ‘the three red (=brown) dogs’
- c. kēē-bē tààṅgó ʃwē-mwⁿ-à
 dog-Pl three red-Pl-Abs
 (=b)
- d. jínì gbáṅmáá-mū tààṅgó
 house huge-Pl three
 ‘three huge houses’

6.5 NPs containing determiners

6.5.1 Noun (and inner modifiers) plus demonstrative

6.5.1.1 With yèè

The basic demonstrative (deictic ‘this’ or ‘that’, or discourse-definite ‘that’) is yèè (often heard as yê or yē). For the morphology see §4.3.1.1, and for obviative function see §17.3.1. Examples with singular and plural nouns are in (166). There is no absolute suffix in NPs preceding this demonstrative.

- (166) a. $\eta\delta\eta\delta$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘this/that person’
 $n\grave{u}\grave{u}^n$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘this/that cow’
 $\eta\acute{i}\grave{n}\grave{i}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘this/that house’
- b. $\eta\acute{i}\acute{m}$ - $b\grave{e}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘these/those people’
 $n\acute{u}\acute{m}$ - $b\grave{e}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘these/those cows’
 $\eta\acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{i}$ - $b\grave{e}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘these/those houses’

$y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ follows modifying adjectives (167b-c) and numerals (167d-e).

- (167) a. $\eta\acute{i}\grave{n}\grave{i}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘this/that house’
b. $\eta\acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{i}$ $b\grave{i}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘this/that black house’
c. $\eta\acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{i}$ $b\acute{i}\acute{i}$ - $m\grave{u}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘these/those black houses’
d. $\eta\acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{i}$ $t\grave{a}\grave{a}\eta\eta\acute{g}\acute{o}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘these/those three houses’
e. $\eta\acute{i}\acute{n}\acute{i}$ $b\acute{i}\acute{i}$ - $m\acute{u}$ $t\grave{a}\grave{a}\eta\eta\acute{g}\acute{o}$ $y\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ‘these/those three black houses’

6.5.1.2 Recent-definite 3Sg \grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$ and 3Pl $b\acute{e}$ $\eta\acute{i}$

3Sg \grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$ and 3Pl $b\acute{e}$ $\eta\acute{i}$ (see §4.3.1.2 for the morphology) are definite demonstratives that reactivate referents that were in most cases just introduced in the preceding clause or sentence. \grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$ and $b\acute{e}$ $\eta\acute{i}$ usually function as self-standing NPs rather than as NP-internal modifiers (but see below on apposition). Most textual examples reactivate nonhuman referents, but the forms can also be used for humans.

Examples of 3Sg \grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$ are in (168). In (168a) \grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$ is direct object. In (168b), \grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$ is subject. In (168c), it is again a direct object, this time referring back abstractly to the events described in preceding discourse. In (168d), the NP with $\eta\acute{i}$ functions as possessor. In (168c,e), \grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$ follows 2Pl postverbal $\grave{n}\grave{i}$.

- (168) a. \grave{a} $f\acute{o}$ [$\eta\acute{a}\acute{a}$ [\grave{a} $\eta\acute{a}\eta\acute{a}$ $l\acute{e}$ $t\grave{a}\acute{r}\acute{e}$]
3Sg go.Pfv [see.Pfv [3Sg possession] PsDat nearby],
 \grave{a} $k\acute{i}^n$ [\grave{a} $\eta\acute{i}$]
[3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg **Dem**]
‘He (=hyena) went and got his (gold) nearby. He picked that up.’
(2018-03 @ 00:57)

- b. tíyá-à, nī à tíyá-à lé,
 sauce-Abs, with 3Sg sauce-Abs Foc,
 [sèèⁿ káàní-yā] [yū-wà á] kā wō,
 [okra fresh-Abs] [3Sg SbjFoc] be or,
 [à ní] tūⁿ [ā yè]
 [3Sg Dem] be.put.Ipfv [3Sg on]
 ‘Sauce. With its (=the meal’s) sauce [focus]. Fresh okra, it [focus] may be
 it (=sauce). That (=okra sauce) is put (=served) on it.’
 (2018-08 @ 00:48)

- c. [[wèè-sí kó tàṅgó] álē wò]
 [[pound-VblN time(s) three] all.the.way or]
 [[wèè-sí kó yṅgó] álē wò],
 [[pound-VblN time(s) two] all.the.way or],
 jī pō nī [à ní], ...
 2Pl do.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem], ...
 ‘(You do) three poundings or two poundings. When you-Pl have done
 that, ...’ (2018-08 @ 03:10 and 03:15)

- d. wó pō [[à ní] bágá-à]
 1Pl do.Ipfv [[3Sg Dem] porridge-Abs]
 ‘we make the porridge of that one’

- e. kèsí yê, jì ná nī [à ní]
 dog Dem, 2Pl hit.Pfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem]
 ‘This dog, you hit that one.’

3Pl bé ní is illustrated in (169). In (169a) it functions as complement of a dative
 postposition. (169b) is modeled on (168d) above.

- (169) a. nì sáré-bī-yā wò ló,
 if man-Pl-Abs be there,
 jī sō nī [à tí] [[bé ní] lè]
 2Pl give.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg some] [[3Pl Dem] Dat]
 ‘If any men are there, you-Pl give some (of it) to those ones.’
 (2018-08 @ 02:32)

- b. wó pò [[bé ní] bágá-à]
 1Pl do.Ipfv [[3Pl Dem] porridge-Abs]
 ‘we make the porridge of those ones’

Pere à ní or bé ní may be repeated in several clauses in sequence. An extreme example is (170). In English, *that one* would be used once, followed by simple pronominal *it* in the parallel clauses.

- (170) à kɪ̃ⁿ [à ní], à fáⁿ [à ní],
 3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg **Dem**], 3Sg gather.Pfv [3Sg **Dem**],
 [à wí [à ní],
 [3Sg put.Pfv [3SgI **Dem**],
 tɛ̀ní [à ní] [[dí-yà tí] lɔ̀]
 tie.up.Pfv [3Sg **Dem**] [[thing-Abs some] Inst]
 [[jè̃y-â tí] lɔ̀],
 [[rope-Abs some] Inst],
 à bú [à ní], [ā nō mɪ̀ndé]
 3Sg put.up.Pfv [3Sg **Dem**], [3Sg Refl neck]
 ‘He picked that one up, he collected that one, he put that one (=them) together,
 and tied that one up, with something (whatchamacallit), with some rope. He
 put (strung) that one (like a necklace) around his own neck.’
 (2018-03 @ 00:16 through 00:21)

In a small number of textual passages, à ní or bé ní follows a coindexed subject NP. There is an issue whether à ní or bé ní functions as a postnominal modifier in these examples, or whether the relationship is appositional (topicalized subject NP followed by demonstrative in subject position. In favor of the appositional analysis is the fact that ‘rice meal’ is a new discourse referent in (171a) in its textual context, so in effect à ní refers back anaphorically to the immediately preceding noun. In (171b), however, an NP-internal modifying reading is possible.

- (171) a. mlâⁿ-gbā-ā [à ní] pō là
 rice-meal-Abs [3Sg **Dem**] be.made.Ipfv how?
 ‘A rice meal, how is that made?’ (3018-09 @ 05:04)
- b. tɔ̀gò-bí-yà [bé ní] déé [yū-wā à lé]
 chicken-Pl-Abs [3Pl **Dem**] eat.Pfv [3Sg ObjFoc Foc]
 ‘The chickens, it (cockroach) [focus] is what those ones ate.’
 or: ‘It (cockroach) [focus] is what those (same) chickens ate.’
 (2018-0 @ 01:10)

6.5.1.3 Postnominal discourse-definite yì

This is a nonhuman NP-final demonstrative, unlike à ní and bé ní described above which function as autonomous NPs. Unlike yéè, which is incompatible with the absolute suffix (which may once have been part of yéè), yì regularly follows the absolute suffix.

yì reintroduces a referent from previous discourse, often at some distance. For example, in text 2018-06, jòní-pōō-jìy-áā ‘recreation place’ is first introduced in segment 00:08. This compound noun recurs with yì several sentences later in (172).

- (172) [yū-wà á] fò [[[à ní] jòní-pōō-jìy-á yī] lè]
 [3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] fun-do-place-Abs **Dem.Def**] Loc]
 ‘She (=blind girl) [focus] went to that (afore-mentioned) recreation place of hers.’ (2018-06 @ 00:15)

In (173), ‘manner of making (the necklace)’ has not occurred as such in preceding discourse. However, the preceding material has been about the necklace not functioning properly, implicitly calling attention to the way it had been made.

- (173) náké [ā pèèlé-kóyá-ā yì] ḡmá
 maybe [3Sg fix-manner-Abs **Dem.Def**] be.good.Pfv
 [[kòò gbú] nàn-dè] wó?
 [[1Sg self] Poss] Neg
 (Hyena:) ‘maybe that manner of making it was not good on my part.’
 (2018-03 @ 01:40)

In texts, yì occasionally functions absolutely (i.e. as a one-word NP without a noun), as complement to an adposition. Compare English *there-* in *there-to*, *there-in*, *there-upon*, *there-with*, *there-after*. In (174), yì is the complement of preposition nì ‘with’.

- (174) [[bé nì] fáⁿ [nī yī]] [bè fò pèré],
 [[3Pl Dem] collide.Pfv [with **Dem.Def**] [3Pl go.Pfv fall.Purp],
 ‘Those ones came into contact with that (leg), they went and fell.’
 (2018-01 @ 00:43)

The phrase yī lè ‘at that time, at that point’ occurs a few times in the texts, e.g. 2018-07 @ 00:20. It consists of yì and locative postposition lè.

A difficulty in analysing the semantics of discourse-definite yì is that it interacts with focalization. The combination of yì and nonsubject focalizer lé is very common in texts, and our primary assistant frequently included yì lé in elicited nonsubject focalized sentences. For the combination yì lé, see §13.1.2-3.

Admittedly, there are some textual examples of *yì*, not followed by *lé*, where there is no apparent discourse-definite context. For example, in 2018-07 beginning at 00:38, there is a series of parallel segments as the protagonist loudly snaps several branches. Omitting extraneous material, this passage begins ‘that’s the firewood for burning my leg; that’s the firewood for burning my back; that’s the firewood for burning my eyes; (etc.)’. Each of the long compounds (e.g. ‘my foot-burn-wood’) is followed by *yì*, then by the (mainly deictic) demonstrative *yê* ‘that’. These NPs can be construed as definite in a general way, but do not refer back to preceding discourse.

6.5.2 Noun (and inner modifiers) plus absolute suffix

6.5.2.1 Linear position of absolute suffix -à

The absolute suffix -à (§4.1.1.1) may be added to otherwise unsuffixed stems at the end of core NPs (N, N-Adj), to form the absolute singular. For irregular changes in noun stems before the suffix, see §4.1.1.3. A few nouns do not allow the suffix (§4.1.1.2). The suffix is readily added to plural suffix -bè or its less common allomorph -mù, resulting in -bī-yà and -mwⁿ-à. The combination -bī-yà is sometimes heard as syncopeated -b-yà.

(175a) shows ‘stick’ and its plural in absolute form. In (175b), the absolute suffix is added only to the adjective. Both the nouns in (175a) and the N-Adj combinations in (175b) are usually absolute in form, both in citation and in most clausal contexts. In (175c), the presence of a numeral greatly reduces the frequency of the absolute suffix, which is used only in clear definite contexts. Again the suffix, when present, is added only to the final word.

- | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| (175) a. | gbēgā-à | ‘(a/the) stick, wood’ |
| | gbēē-bī-yà | ‘(Ø/the) sticks’ |
| b. | gbēē biyā-à | ‘(a/the) black stick (wood)’ |
| | gbēē bīi-mw ⁿ -à | ‘(Ø/the) black sticks’ |
| c. | gbēē tààṅgó | ‘three sticks’ |
| | gbēē tààṅgwá-à | ‘the three sticks’ |
| | gbēē bīi tààṅgó | ‘three black sticks’ |
| | gbēē bīi tààṅgwá-à | ‘the three black sticks’ |

The absolute suffix is absent when the NP ends in demonstrative *yéè*, which perhaps originally ended in the suffix (§6.5.1.1). The suffix does, however, occur before demonstrative *yì* (§6.5.1.3). It also occurs regularly before quantifiers *gbó*(?) ‘all’ and *tí* ‘some’ (§6.7.1, §6.7.3), and occasionally before *gbìnì* ‘few’ (§6.3.2).

6.5.2.2 Semantics and distribution of absolute -à

To a limited extent, the presence or absence of the suffix is connected with contextual definiteness. Key factors are the presence of a numeral or demonstrative, and clause-final versus clause-medial position.

In copular clauses with the sense ‘X is (a) Y’, when Y is a countable noun it takes unmarked rather than absolute form (§9.3.2.1). Likewise, in the ‘X have (a) Y’ construction, which is expressed as “Y be [X Poss],” Y takes unmarked rather than absolute form (§9.3.3.1). These are classic frames for indefinite NPs, denoting new referents as they are introduced into discourse.

However, the absolute form is almost always given as the citation form of common nouns. If personal names and kin terms are excluded, only a few common nouns lack an absolute form (§4.1.1.2). This suggests that the semantic range of the absolute suffix is more fluid in some respects than the already ample range of definite *the* in English. In particular, the absolute suffix is very common (though not obligatory) in clause-final NPs, even in contexts that otherwise appear to be indefinite.

In (176a), even the presence of clause-final negation wó? favors the bare form of ‘meat’. When we remove the negation, the absolute form of ‘meat’ is usually present (176b). Likewise, ‘medication’ takes absolute form in the first clause of (176c). This is especially the case with nouns like ‘meat’ and ‘medication’ that are normally treated as generic or mass nouns.

- (176) a. kē dèè námù wó?
 1Sg eat.Ipfv meat Neg
 ‘I don’t eat meat.’
- b. kē dèè námwⁿ-à
 1Sg eat.Ipfv meat-**Abs**
 ‘I eat meat.’
- c. [kè kéeé gbōtūgwā-à],
 [1Sg look.for.Pfv medication-**Abs**],
 [kè jáá tí lè wó?]
 [1Sg see.Pfv some PsDat Neg]
 ‘I looked for medicine, (but) I didn’t find any.’

In the case of countable common nouns, either the bare or the absolute form may occur clause-finally in indefinite contexts (177a-b).

- (177) a. kē sèèⁿ ɲíní / ɲíná-à
 1Sg buy.Pfv house(-Abs)
 ‘I bought a house.’
- b. yā kē sèèⁿ báá-mè / báá-mī-yà
 Fut 1Sg buy.Ipv sheep-Pl(-Abs)
 ‘I will buy some sheep-Pl.’

Terms for celestial bodies (‘sun’, ‘moon’) appear in absolute form in all positions.

- (178) mōŋā-à tá fíílè / pèrè (mérⁿè) wó?
 moon-Abs finish.Pfv get.up.Purp/fall.Purp (yet) Neg
 ‘The moon hasn’t risen/set yet.’ (< pèré)

In non-clause-final position, the presence of absolute -à tends to indicate contextual definiteness of a countable or generic noun, and its absence may suggest indefiniteness. Note that we hedge this with “tends to.” In (179a-b) the context is existential. In (179c-d) the NP in question is a specific indefinite.

- (179) a. ɲíní wò [ké nà̀n-dè]
house be [1Sg Poss]
 ‘I have a house.’
- b. ɲíní wò lógó-nà
house be over.there
 ‘There is a house there.’
- c. kē wō [[gbòtùgù kéé] l̀ò]
 1Sg be [[**medication** look.for.Prog] Loc]
 ‘I am looking for medicine.’
- d. mì ɲáá [bábá bīī] lè \
- 2Sg see.Pfv [**sheep** **black**] Dat.Q
 ‘Have you-Sg seen a black sheep (which I lost)?’

New discourse referents can also be introduced with a numeral, notably píⁿ ‘one’ (§4.5.1) if the new referent is singular.

NPs ending in numerals usually omit the absolute suffix even in clause-final position (180a). However, the suffix is compatible with numerals in discourse-definite contexts. In this case, the suffix is added to the numeral (180b).

- (180) a. kē sèèⁿ [níní tààngó]
 1Sg buy.Pfv [house **three**]
 ‘I bought three houses.’
- b. [níní tààngw-áá] wò yégá-à
 [house three-**Abs**] be village-Abs
 ‘The three houses (that I just mentioned) are in the village.’

A possessed noun other than a kin term is usually absolute in form. ‘House’ and ‘head’ are therefore absolute in (181a-b). However, several kin terms (§4.1.1.5) like ‘uncle’ omit the absolute suffix when possessed (181c). We therefore distinguish alienable from inalienable possession, the latter limited in Pere to kin terms.

- (181) a. ké níná-à
 1Sg house-**Abs**
 ‘my house’
- b. ké nīṅā-à
 1Sg head-**Abs**
 ‘my head’
- c. ké kóò
 1Sg uncle
 ‘my maternal uncle’

The absolute suffix precedes free quantifiers such as ‘all’ (182a) and the topicalizing morpheme (182b).

- (182) a. yégá-à gbó?
 village-**Abs** all
 ‘all of the village, the entire village’
- b. kèfy-â kónì
 dog-**Abs** Topic
 ‘as for the dog’

More interestingly, the absolute suffix also precedes indefinite quantifier tí ‘some’ and its plural túù (§4.3.3), and it occasionally precedes gbìnì ‘few’ (§6.3.2).

6.6 Possession

Possessors are the only noun modifiers that precede the noun. The genitive linker that occurs between a nonpronominal NP possessor and the possessum is *nì*. The structure is therefore [Poss *nì* N] where N is the possessed noun (which may have additional postnominal modifiers). Genitive *nì* is often syncopated to *̀n*. It can also be omitted entirely even after nonpronominal NP possessors as in (186) below. The result is then difficult to distinguish from a compound.

Pronominal possessors are proclitic and do not allow genitive *nì*. They clearly do not in the case of first and second person possessors, e.g. *ké jíná-à* ‘my house’, never #*ké nì jíná-à*. In some examples, 3Sg *à* and 3Pl *bé* were initially thought to be followed by *nì*, hence *ā nì* and *bé nì*. However, such examples actually involve 3Sg *à ní* and 3Pl *bé ní*, discourse-definite pronominal forms (§4.3.1.2). In other words, examples like [*à ní*] *jíná-à* ‘that one’s house’ were initially mis-parsed as [*ā nì*] *jíná-à* ‘his/her house’ with the genitive linker. In rapid speech the phonetic difference between *ā nì X* and *à ní X*, where X is a possessum, can be slight. These are high-frequency grammatical morphemes that are often slackly pronounced. Optional syncope to *̀n* and *́n* already closes much of the phonetic gap. Furthermore, *ní ~ ́n* can drop to *nì ~ ̀n* before an H-tone by tone sandhi.

6.6.1 Alienable possession

If the possessor is nonpronominal (noun-headed), genitive linker *nì* separates the possessor and possessum. As noted above it may syncopate to just *̀n*. Both possessor and possessum are full NPs and either or both may take absolute *-à* under the same conditions as when they are independent NPs.

- (183) a. *séédū nì jíná-à*
 S **Gen** house-Abs
 ‘Seydou’s house’
- b. *yéw-kwā-ā nì báá-mī-yà*
 village-owner-Abs **Gen** sheep-Pl-Abs
 ‘the chief’s sheep-Pl’
- c. *gbé-sōgā-ā nī gbēmā-gbā-à*
 cassava-Abs **Gen** cassava.tô-Abs
 ‘tô of (=made from) cassava’ (2018-08 @ 04:45)

For the default possessum see §6.6.3 below.

6.6.2 Inalienable possession

The syntax of possessor, genitive linker, and possessum for inalienables is as for alienables. However, several kin terms like ‘father’ avoid the absolute suffix (§4.1.1.5). Body-part terms like ‘head’ do have the absolute suffix and are therefore treated as alienable.

- (184) a. séédū ñ/nì tó
 S **Gen** father
 ‘Seydou’s father’
- b. séédū n(ì) jīñā-à
 S **Gen** head-Abs
 ‘Seydou’s head’

6.6.3 Default possessum (náñá ~ níñá ~ níǵáⁿ)

When the possessum is not expressed as a regular common noun, as in the second occurrence of two parallel possessed NPs, the default possessum náñá or variant (níñá, níǵáⁿ) functions as default. For example, (185a-b) may occur in a conversation about houses. See also the example in §13.1.4.

- (185) a. [ké níñá] wò wó-nà
 [1Sg **Poss**] be here
 ‘Mine is here.’
- b. [séédù náñá] wò lógó-nà
 [S **Poss**] be over.there
 ‘Seydou’s is over there.’

This construction also occurs in predicates with the meaning ‘X is Y’s, X belongs to Y’, phrased as ‘X is [Y’s possession]’ (§9.3.3.2).

The default possessum may also be used abstractly to mean ‘about X, (in) the matter of X’, for example as a tale title.

Textual examples are 2018-01 @ 00:56, 2018-02 @ 00:11 to 00:24 and 00:35, 2018-03 @ 00:57, @ 01:31 to 01:38. 2018-04 @ 00:16 to 00:25 and 00:40, 2018-06 @ 00:57, 2018-08 @ 01:16 and 04:41 and 05:54, 2018-09 @ 02:01 and 02:41 and 04:54, 2018-10 @ 00:01 and 01:13.

6.6.4 Recursive (stacked) possession

Two or more possessors may be stacked. In (186), the leftmost (hence subordinated) possessor ‘the old woman’ lacks the optional genitive *nì*, but it is a fully formed NP with absolute suffix and does not look like a compound initial.

- (186) [[*ʃòò gbáá-lā-à*] *jísì-kéé*] *nì tíyⁿ-à*
 [[woman big-Ø-Abs] eye-grain] **Gen** matter-Abs
 ‘the business about the old woman’s eye’ (2018-06 @ 00:34)

6.7 Non-numeral quantifiers

The quantifiers treated in the subsections below (‘all’, ‘some’) follow an already absolute-marked noun (or noun-headed string with modifiers). This is also the case with interrogative *yàà* ‘which?’ (§13.3.1).

6.7.1 ‘All’, ‘every’ (*gbó?*)

The universal quantifier *gbó?* is added to an otherwise complete NP, which is marked for plural (for countable nouns) and normally has an absolute suffix. Before a pause, it is pronounced *gbó?* with glottal stop, a detail shared with negative marker *wó?* (§3.1.2.9). For both morphemes, the glottal stop is absent in other positions.

- (187) a. *báá-mī-yà gbó?*
 sheep-Pl-Abs **all**
 ‘all (of) the sheep’
- b. *gbàrèé-gbàrèyá-à gbó?*
 sugar-Abs **all**
 ‘all (of) the sugar’
- c. [*bé gbó*] *fó*
 [3Pl **all**] go.Pfv
 ‘Everybody went.’
- d. *nóⁿ-bī-yà dí= [à gbó?]*
 bird-Pl-Abs eat.Pfv [3Sg **all**]
 ‘The birds ate everything.’ (< *déé*)

tí adds the sense ‘some’, i.e. unidentified (nonspecific) but presumed to exist. It can be truly indefinite, as in ‘somewhere’, or it can introduce a discourse referent or setting, as in ‘a certain place’ or (in narrative) ‘one day’. It can co-occur with common nouns other than those illustrated above, as in nūṅā-à tí ‘some cow, a certain cow’. As this shows, tí is added to an already self-standing NP such as a noun with absolute suffix, cf. (190a) above.

In (191), the paired tí phrases bisect the larger set into two subsets associated with different predicates. Each subset has at least one individual.

- (191) [bé tí] fó, [bé tí] fǎré wó
 [3Pl **some**] go.Pfv, [3Pl **some**] stay.Pfv here
 ‘Some of them went away, some of them (=the others) stayed here.’

In a number of textual passages, our assistant translated the tí phrase with ‘also, too’ (French *aussi*), see §6.9.3.2.

A variant tǎgá was used by a female speaker, e.g. 2018-07 @ 01:07.

An optional explicit plural is túù. It is added to absolute plural nouns (and N-Adj sequences). túù can combine with mass as well as countable nouns (192c). túù, like tí, lends itself to contrasts among subsets (‘some ..., others ...’).

- (192) a. bō-mī-yà túù
 goat-Pl-Abs **some.Pl**
 ‘some goats, certain goats’
- b. kè jǎá [[kēē-bī-yà túū] lè]
 1Sg see.Pfv [[dog-Pl-Abs **some.Pl**] (Ps)Dat]
 ‘I saw some dogs.’
- c. [túmwⁿ-âⁿ túù] wí lè
 [water-Abs **some**] be.spilled.Pfv PsDat
 ‘Some water spilled.’

If the domain of tí or plural túù is in preceding discourse or is otherwise contextually understood, the noun preceding it can be pronominalized: à tí ‘some of it’, à túù ‘some of it/them’. à tí ‘some of it’ occurs in 2018-09 @ 04:58. à túù ‘some of it (water)’ occurs in (194c) in the following section.

In sequences like ‘I ate an apple; after I ate the apple, ...’, the echo clause takes the relevant NP as definite by virtue of having already been introduced. In Pere, the speaker who produced many echo clauses generally copied the form of the NP in the first clause, even if marked with indefinite tí. An example is 2018-08 @ 02:15

through 02:21: ‘you put (imperfective) some cold water on it; when you have put (perfective) some cold water on it, you ...’. Both clauses have *túmú tētēgā-à tí*.

6.7.4 Combinations of quantifiers with negation

The simplest reading of (193a) is that negation scopes over ‘person’ in the indefinite sense ‘anybody’ (merged as ‘nobody’). In (193b), negation has scope over the subject including the ‘all’ quantifier (‘it is not the case that [everybody went]’).

- (193) a. *ɲ̀d̩ɲ̀d̩ f́o ẃo?*
person go.Pfv **Neg**
 ‘Nobody went.’
- b. [*bé gbó*] *f́o ẃo?*
 [3Pl **all**] go.Pfv **Neg**
 ‘Not everybody went.’

Likewise, negation scopes over indefinite *tí* in the sense ‘(not) any’ in 2018-06 @ 01:04. With *túù* ‘some’, which often occurs in contrasting parallel clauses, the quantifier scopes over negation in the available examples (194a-c).

- (194) a. *kè ɲ́áá [[kēē-bī-yà túū] lè] ẃo?*
 1Sg see.Pfv [[dog-Pl-Abs **some.PI**] PsDat] **Neg**
 ‘Some dogs I didn’t see.’ (i.e. ‘I didn’t see all the dogs’)
- b. [*túmwⁿ-â túù*] *ẃí lè ẃo?*
 [water-Abs **some.PI**] be.spilled.Pfv PsDat **Neg**
 ‘Some water didn’t spill.’ (i.e. ‘Not all of the water spilled.’)
- c. [*túmwⁿ-â túù*] *ẃí lè,*
 [water-Abs **some.PI**] be.spilled.Pfv PsDat
 [*à túù*] *ẃí lè ẃo?*
 [3Sg **much**] be.spilled.Pfv PsDat **Neg**
 ‘Some water spilled, (but) some of it didn’t spill.’

6.8 Topicalized ‘as for X’ (*kónì*)

kónì ‘as for’ is added to a topicalized NP. If this NP is subject, as is usually the case, it does not require a further resumptive subject pronominal. Tense morphemes like future that elsewhere precede the subject follow the topic phrase (195a-b).

Topicalization is typically found in discourse contexts involving a switch from one referent functioning as implicit topic to a new one (195d). The complex textual example (195e) begins with a fronted NP ‘sorghum’ establishing a new topic (previous discourse was about other crops), and later has an overt pronominal topic ‘as for us’. If a fronted and topicalized NP is a nonsubject, the clause proper contains a resumptive pronominal or demonstrative (195f). Alternatively, the nonsubject topic NP may remain in its normal postverbal position, with no resumptive pronominal (195g).

- (195) a. [kòḍò kónì] yā fò wó?
 [1Sg **Topic**] Fut go.Ipfv Neg
 ‘I for my part am not going.’
- b. [kw = àá kónì] yā fò wó?
 [1Sg SbjFoc **Topic**] Fut go.Ipfv Neg
 [= (a)] (< kò á)
- c. [séédù (á) kónì] yā fò wó?
 [S (SbjFoc) **Topic**] Fut go.Ipfv Neg
 ‘Seydou for his part is not going.’
- d. nīm-bī-yā yā fò yégá-à,
person-PI-Abs Fut go.Ipfv village-Abs,
 [kw = àá kónì] yā fārè wó
 [1Sg SbjFoc **Top**] Fut stay.Ipfv here
 ‘The people are going to the village. As for me, I’ll stay here.’
- e. kéww-â, wó sēē [à ní] wó?,
sorghum-Abs, 1Pl knead.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] Neg,
 [wó kónì] wó wēē [à ní]
 [1Pl **Topic**] 1Pl pound.Ipfv [3Sg Dem]
 ‘Sorghum. We don’t knead that one. As for us, we pound that one (in a mortar).’ (2018-08 @ 05:44)
- f. [séédù kónì] kē nā [à ní] wó?
 [S **Topic**] 1Sg hit.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] Neg
 ‘As for Seydou, I don’t hit that one (=Seydou).’
- g. kē nà [séédù kónì] wó?
 1Sg hit.Ipfv [S **Topic**] Neg
 [= (f)]

The attested forms of topicalized pronouns are in (196). Most of the 1st/2nd person forms are based on lengthened Cvv variants of the independent (not proclitic) pronouns, e.g. 1Sg kð. The long variants include what we take to be subject focus á. In allegro speech the á tends to combine with the preceding L-toned vowel as a long vowel with middling pitch, roughly 1Sg kw = āá kónì and so forth.

| | | | |
|-------|----|--------------------|-------------------|
| (196) | | long variant | short variant |
| | a. | 1Sg kw = àá kónì | kðð kónì |
| | | 1Pl w = àá kónì | wðð kónì, wó kónì |
| | | 2Sg mw = àá kónì | mðð kónì |
| | | 2Pl ny = àá kónì | ɲèè kónì |
| | b. | 3Sg yū-wà = á kónì | à kónì |
| | | 3Pl by = àá kónì | bè kónì |

6.9 Other logical markers

6.9.1 ‘Only’ (focalization, píⁿ, mää lé)

An NP or adverb can form an ‘only X’ phrase by regular focalization (chapter 13). Depending on the syntactic position of the NP or adverb, the focalizer is á (subject focus), yì lé (instrumental, adverbial, or nonhuman-object focus), or à lé (dative or human-object focus). If the focalized element denotes a single individual it is commonly accompanied by píⁿ or píⁿ-dó ‘one’. Unlike simple modifying ‘one’, in this construction píⁿ or píⁿ-dó is preceded by a NP or pronoun in its full form. That is, a noun takes absolute form, and a pronoun takes independent rather than proclitic form. Cv pronouns and 3Sg yū-wà are also lengthened (197a). The autonomous form of the noun or pronoun suggests that píⁿ or píⁿ-dó in this construction is appositional or adverbial rather than an ordinary NP-internal modifier. Plural píⁿ-mī-yⁿà ‘ones’ can be used for plurals treated as collectives, and does not require a preceding absolute form (197h).

| | | | | |
|-------|----|--|--------------------------------------|----------|
| (197) | a. | kðð / mw ⁿ ð / yū-wàà | pí ⁿ / pí ⁿ dò | |
| | | 1Sg / 2Sg / 3Sg | one | |
| | | ‘only me/you-Sg’ | | |
| | b. | [ké tó] | [pí ⁿ -dò á] | yá |
| | | [1Sg father] | [one SbjFoc] | come.Pfv |
| | | ‘ <u>Only my father</u> [focus] came.’ (or: ‘My father came alone.’) | | |

- c. kē sòⁿ túmwⁿá-à [píⁿ-dó yì lé]
 1Sg drink.Ipfv water [one Dem.Def Foc]
 ‘I drink only (=exclusively) water [focus].’
- d. ā pō tūndw-ā wó?
 3Sg do.Ipfv work-Abs Neg]
 ā pō [làmwⁿ-ā yì lé]
 3Sg do.Ipfv [sleep.Nom-Abs Dem.Def Foc]
 ‘He/She doesn’t work, he/she does sleeping [focus].’ (= just sleeps)
- e. ā sō [kèmé yòṅgó à lé] kē-rē
 3Sg give.Pfv [thousand two ObjFoc Foc] 1Sg-Dat
 ‘He/She gave me (only) two thousand (currency units) [focus].’
- f. bè ná [w = āà lé]
 3Pl hit.Pfv [1Pl ObjFoc Foc]
 ‘They hit only us [focus].’ = ‘It was us [focus] that they hit.’ (< wō à lé)
- g. kē ná [à píⁿ-dó à lé]
 3Pl hit.Pfv [3Sg one ObjFoc Foc]
 ‘They hit only him/her.’ = ‘It was him/her [focus] that they hit.’
- h. lá bē dūgū [kùṅgó-dèè píⁿ-mī-yⁿā yì lé]
 Past 3Pl wear.Ipfv [pants one-Pl-Abs Dem.Def Foc]
 ‘They used to wear (traditional) pants [focus] (only).’
 (2018-05 @ 00:32)

When ‘only’ scopes over a predicate, ‘only’ is expressed as *māà lé*, cf. *māà* ‘(just) like that’.

- (198) ā pō tūndò wó?,
 3Sg do.Ipfv work(n) Neg,
 ā òdè máà lé
 3Sg sit.Ipfv like.that Foc
 ‘He/She doesn’t work, he/she just sits.’

6.9.2 ‘Even’ (áì)

The widespread West African word for ‘even, all the way to’ is *áì* and variants. It precedes the NP that it has scope over.

- (199) [álì tíyé t̄rē] gbāāⁿ [pò [ā tūndw-āà]]
 [even child small] can [do.Ipfv [3Sg work-Abs]]
 ‘Even a child can do the work.’

6.9.3 ‘Also, too’

In addition to tí, described below, see also gbú (§4.2.3). A clause-final particle d̄ɛŋ ‘furthermore’, not part of an NP, occurs in example (542) repeated from text 2018-08 @ 05:02.

6.9.3.1 Indefinite tí in the sense ‘too’

tí ‘some’ is usually an indefinite particle that comes at the end of NPs (§4.3.3), like its plural form tūù. In a number of textual passages, our main assistant translated it as ‘also, too’ (French *aussi*). In some of these passages, both indefinite ‘some’ or ‘also, too’ are contextually plausible free translations. Some examples where ‘also, too’ makes better sense than indefinite ‘some’ are in (200).

- (200) a. nì déé nī [à ní],
 2Pl eat.Pfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],
 [à ní] wō [gbā-à tí] lè
 [3Sg Dem] be [meal-Abs **some**] be
 ‘When you-Pl have eaten that, that is food too.’ (2018-08 @ 05:37)
- b. mwⁿ⁵ ɣmórⁿ⁵ [[à ní] jìjy-â], àyí,
 2Sg show.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] place-Abs, well,
 [[à tí] nì té] wō [mī lè],
 [[3Sg **some**] Gen need(n)] be [2Sg Loc],
 [[à tí] nì té] wō [kē lè],
 [[3Sg **some**] Gen need(n)] be [1Sg Loc],
 ‘(Hyena:) “Show (me) the place!” (Hare:) “Well, you need some of it too?” (Hyena:) “(Yes) I need some of it too.”’ (2018-03 @ 00:36)

Given the difficulty of distinguishing the two functions of tí, we normalize the interlinear gloss as ‘some’.

6.9.3.2 Clause-final *dèŋ* ‘furthermore’

This clause-final particle ‘furthermore, moreover, in addition’ occurs in (542), copied from text 2018-08 @ 05:02.

6.10 Case marking

Subject and object are distinguished by linear position and there is no structural case marking as such. However, pronouns have distinct preverbal and nonpreverbal forms which correlate (except in the progressive construction) with subject and object. Indirect objects are dative PPs and follow the main VP.

7 Coordination

7.1 Conjunction

7.1.1 Simple constituent conjunction (X nì Y)

nì ‘and’ separates the two conjuncts and is not repeated after the second conjunct. For nì as preposition ‘with’, see §8.2. As usual cross-linguistically in conjoined NPs with just one coordinating particle, nì tends to be bracketed prosodically with the second conjunct. Pronouns take independent rather than proclitic form in the left conjunct. They may also take independent form in the right conjunct (201c-e), but alternatively the special pronominal forms for nì ‘with’ may be used, see (217) in §8.2 below. The distinction is moot for 1Sg and 1Pl.

(201) a. séré-bī-yā nì sém-bī-yà
man-Pl-Abs **and** woman-Pl-Abs
‘(the) men and (the) women’

b. séédū nī [à tó]
S **and** [3Sg father]
‘Seydou_x and his_x (own) father’
or: ‘Seydou_x and his_y/her_y father’

c. mw^{n̄5} nī kò
2Sg **and** 1Sg
‘you-Sg and me’

d. wō nī byè
1Pl and 3Pl
‘we and they’

e. yū-wā nī wò
3Sg and 1Pl
‘he/she and us’

Conjunctions do not usually allow reduction of the second conjunct by gapping (zeroing) a repeated postnominal modifier or possessum. Therefore ‘work (n)’ is repeated in (202a) and the demonstrative is repeated in (202b).

- (202) a. [sǎré-bī-yā tūndw-āā] nì [sém-bī-yā tūndwā-à]
 [man-Pl-Abs **work**-Abs] **and** [woman-Pl-Abs **work**-Abs]
 wò píⁿ wó?
 be one Neg
 ‘The work of men and that (=the work) of women are not the same.’
- b. [sǎré-bè yé] nì [sém-bè yê]
 [man-Pl **Dem**] **and** [woman-Pl **Dem**]
 ‘these men and (these) women’

Prenominal possessors are likewise not regularly gapped. A full-NP possessor is repeated as a third person pronominal (203b). However, in (203c) ‘Senufo’ cannot be pronominalized in the second conjunct and is not repeated. In this example, ‘men’ and ‘women’ are adjectival modifiers or compound finals (‘male’ and ‘female’). A conjoined NP may function as head of a relative clause, without being repeated (203d).

- (203) a. [ké báá-mī-yⁿā] nì [ké bō-mī-yⁿà]
 [1Sg sheep-Pl-Abs] **and** [1Sg goat-Pl-Abs]
 ‘my sheep-Pl and (my) goats’
- b. [séédū nì báá-mī-yⁿā] nī [ā bō-mì-yà]
 [S Poss sheep-Pl-Abs] **and** [3Sg goat-Pl-Abs]
 ‘Seydou’s sheep-Pl and his goats’
- c. fóró-mè sǎré-bī-yā nì sém-bī-yà
 Senufo-Pl man-Pl-Abs **and** woman-Pl-Abs
 ‘Senufo men and women’
- d. [[sǎré-bī-yā nì sém-bī-yà] lé] pō tūndwā-à wó
 [[man-Pl-Abs **and** woman-Pl-Abs] Rel] do.Ipfv work(n)-Abs here
 ‘the men and (the) women who work here’

7.1.2 Enumerations

Items in an extended list are separated by pauses without nì ‘and’.

- (204) ó pò gbàsà-tóḡá-à, mēlāⁿ-tóḡá-à,
 1Pl do.Ipfv maize-field-Abs, rice-field-Abs,
 sōgō-tóḡá-à, mààsérà-tóḡá-à
 yam-field-Abs, peanut-field-Abs
 ‘We do (=cultivate) maize, rice, yam, and peanuts.’

An ‘et cetera’ phrase can be added at the end of a list.

7.2 Disjunction (‘X or Y’)

Disjunction is closely related semantically to polar (yes/no) interrogation (§13.2). For willy-nilly conditional antecedents (‘whether or not’), e.g. ‘(if) it rains or (if) it doesn’t rain’, see §15.3.

7.2.1 Avoidance of overt disjunction

Disjunction of NPs (including pronouns) is often avoided by expressing the two NPs as a conjunction, topicalized (205a) or not (205b), and adding a content interrogative.

- (205) a. kō nì séédù, ḡmáá yā fō nà
 1Sg **and** S, **who?** Fut go.Ipfv Q
 ‘Who will go, Seydou or me?’
 (lit. “Me and Seydou, who will go?”)
- b. yà ó dēē [bōmwⁿ-ā nì mlāⁿ-kí-yà]
 Fut 1Pl eat.Ipfv [foutou-Abs **and** rice-grain-Abs]
 yàà lé nà
which? Foc Q
 ‘Will we eat foutou or rice?’
 (lit. “We will eat foutou and rice grain, which is it?”)

In noninterrogative contexts, another way to rephrase a disjunction is as a conditional construction (§15.1) with a negative antecedent (206).

- (206) [nī kè yá pèràⁿ wó]
 [**if** 1Sg come.Pfv today **Neg**]
 [kē yà sōgómà]
 [1Sg come.Ipfv tomorrow]
 ‘I will come back today or tomorrow.’
 (lit. “If I don’t come today, I’ll come tomorrow.”)

7.2.2 sèē→ ... bádì ‘or’

Pere does have a true disjunctive construction in spite of the tendency to use circumlocutions as indicated above. It consists of an initial complete clause ending in interrogative sèē→ (with intonation-like prolongation), followed by an NP or a reduced clause beginning with bádì ‘or else’. In (207a), both foods have been prepared and the remaining issue is the order of serving. In (207b), the question is which of two possible dishes will be served (that evening).

(207) a. yà ó dēē bōmwⁿ-à mórⁿé sèē→,
 Fut 1Pl eat.Ipfv foutou-Abs first(adv) **or.Q**,
 bádì òlâⁿ-kí-yà
or.else rice-grain-Abs
 ‘Will we eat foutou or rice first?’
 (lit. “Will we eat foutou first? Or rice?”)

b. yà ó dēē [bōmwⁿ-à lé] sèē→,
 Fut 1Pl eat.Ipfv [foutou-Abs Foc] **or.Q**,
 bádì òlâⁿ-kí-yà
or.else rice-grain-Abs
 ‘Will we eat foutou [focus], or rice?’

c. [sédù á yā sèē→] bádì [à tó]
 [S SbjFoc come.Ipfv **or.Q**] **or.else** [3Sg father]
 ‘Is it Seydou [focus] who will come, or his father?’

7.2.3 gbèè ‘or else’

This form occurred once in the recorded texts. It does not seem to be productive and our assistant rejected its use in simple ‘X or Y’ NP disjunctions. In the textual passage, it occurs at the beginning of an extended sequence. Hyena has stretched his leg across the road in order to trip travelers who are laden with food. The latter think that the obstacle is some kind of woody plant part but aren’t sure what, hence the disjunction. The context suggests a free translation ‘or else’ or ‘or maybe’.

- (208) àyí kée [[nì-sí]-gbìnì yéè],
 oh! that [[firewood]-piece Dem],
 gbēē [kòwú yéè],
or.else [liana.branch Dem],
 gbèè-dúwá-ā nì— n= =ōō yáà dyé]
 tree-root-Abs if— if 1Pl come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv]
 [wó sō [gbèè-dúú yê]] [ó pàrè]
 [1Pl bump.Ipfv [tree-root Dem]] [1Pl fall.Ipfv]
 (Travelers:) ‘Oh! That piece of tree (trunk), or else that liana branch, or
 exposed tree root, when we come and arrive (at it), we bump into that tree root
 and we fall down.’ (2018-01 @ 00:46 & 00:49)

7.2.4 Phrase-final wò ‘or’

Phrase-final wò, added to each disjunct, occurs in passages like (209) where the choice is between two closely related options.

- (209) nī mì tá [[à kúú] lò],
 if 2Sg finish.Pfv [[3SgInanObj sift.Prog] Loc],
 [[wèè-sí kó tààngó] álē wò]
 [[pound-VblN time(s) three] all.the.way **or**]
 [[wèè-sí kó yòngó] álē wò], ...
 [[pound-VblN time(s) two] all.the.way **or**], ...
 ‘When you have finished (pounding and) sifting it, three poundings or two
 poundings, ...’ (2018-08 @ 03:10)

In (210), the speaker has finished describing how tô is made. Tô is a grain-based semi-dry pudding that serves as a main meal with sauce. The speaker now considers the choice of sauces that can be served onto it. The ‘if you like’ (literally “if it pleases you”) phrase already implies that there is a choice, and wò is added directly to it in both parts.

- (210) nī [pēē-mè-míyⁿá-ā yì] ημά mī wò,
 2Sg [peanut-Pl Dem.Def] please(v).Pfv 2Sg **or**,
 nī tūⁿ nī-yā [nā-à yí]
 2Pl put.pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of]
 nī à dó ημά mī wò,
 if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Sg **or**,
 mī pō [sèèⁿ kààní-yā à lé],
 2Sg do.Ipfv [okra fresh-Abs ObjFoc Foc],
 ‘If you-Sg like peanuts, you-Pl put it (=peanuts) on the fire. Or if you-Sg like
 (=prefer), you-Sg do fresh okra [focus] (instead of peanuts).’
 (2018-08 @ 03:31 & 03:36)

8 Postpositions and adverbials

Pere has numerous postpositions and one true preposition. The preposition is *nì* ‘with’ (elsewhere also ‘and’, ‘if’, and genitive linker). *fó* ‘all the way to’ (§8.4.5.4) also precedes its complement, which however is itself a locative PP often ending in a postposition, so we do not consider *fó* to be a preposition.

When the complement of a postposition is a pronoun, with exceptions specified below the pronoun takes the same “preverbal” form as it does before verbs. The preverbal form of a pronoun is analysable as a proclitic. Examples are 1Sg *kè* and 3Pl *bè* (becoming *kē* and *bē* before a nonhigh tone).

- (211) *kē yè* ‘on me’
kē tǎré ‘beside me’
kè kíngè ‘under me’
kè níndè ‘over me’
kē kíngè ‘behind me’
kē dǎngó ‘because of me’

The exceptions are *nímò* ~ *nímbò* ‘chez’ (§8.4.3.2), *píyè* ‘between’ (§8.4.6), and *nàn-dè* (in possessive constructions, §8.6), which require possessor pronominals (mostly H-toned).

- (212) *ké ním(b)ò* ‘chez moi, at my place’
bé píyè ‘between them’
ké nàn-dè (in the ‘have’ construction)

8.1 Dative postposition (X *lè*)

The dative postposition is *lè* after nonpronominal NPs. This L-toned postposition should be distinguished from H-toned *lé*, which functions as a relative marker or as a focalizer. Pronouns except 3Sg have a special set of fused dative forms ending in *-rē*, limited to postverbal position (213). Our primary assistant makes a tonal distinction in elicitation between 3Pl *bā-rē* and the adverb *bàrè* ‘still’ (§9.4.6). The fused datives often do not sound fully H-toned, so we transcribe them as M-toned. See §4.2.2 for discussion.

(213) Dative pronouns

- | | | | |
|----|------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | 1Sg | kā-rē | |
| | 1Pl | wā-rē | |
| | 2Sg | mā-rē | |
| | 3Pl | ɲā-rē | |
| | 3SgAn | yā-rē | |
| | 3Pl | bā-rē | |
| b. | 3SgInan | ā lè | |
| c. | Reflexive | nè-màré | (preceded by a pronominal) |
| | Reciprocal | tò ⁿ -màré | |

The dative is used for the recipient of ‘give’, and for optional benefactive objects added to other verbs. The dative is not used with ‘say’, which instead uses yí ‘in front of’ (§8.4.5.1).

- (214) a. kē sō-wà [[ké tógbē] lè]
1Sg give.Pfv-3SgObj [[1Sg friend] **Dat**]
‘I gave it to my friend.’
- b. ā pò té-yà kā-rē
3Sg do.Pfv tea-Abs 1Sg-**Dat**
‘He/She made tea for me.’
- c. ā sò kórówá-ā kā-rē
3Sg give.Pfv money 1Sg-**Dat**
‘He/She gave me the money.’

We distinguish **true dative** lè from the homophonous **pseudo-dative** lè. The latter is a VP-final particle that is colexicalized with a verb stem (cf. English phrasal verbs). A sequence of NP plus lè, always postverbal, is analyzed as pseudo-dative when the object shifts to preverbal position in the progressive construction, leaving the now H-toned lé (sometimes in suffixed form -ndé) between the main verb and the locative lè of the progressive construction. The NP is then identifiable as a direct object rather than as a postpositional complement. See §11.1.2.2 for analysis and examples of the pseudo-dative.

8.2 Instrumental or comitative preposition ‘with X’ (nì X)

The ‘and, with’ preposition nì precedes the object in instrumental function.

- (215) a. kè ná kèʃy-á [nī gbēgā-à]
 1Sg hit.Pfv dog-Abs [**with** wood-Abs]
 ‘I hit-Past the dog with a stick.’
- b. ō pò tóŋá-ā [nī gbāgā-à]
 1Pl do.Ipfv field-Abs [**with** daba]
 ‘We cultivate (=work in the fields) with a daba (hoe).’
- c. sá námwⁿ-ā yí [nì ʃííḷā-à]
 cut.Imprt meat-Abs apart [**with** knife-Abs]
 ‘Cut-2Sg the meat with a knife!’

The alternative in instrumental contexts is postposition l̩ (§8.3 below).

nì may also function as comitative, with a human complement (216).

- (216) kē pō tūndwā-ā [nì séédù]
 1Sg do.Ipfv work-Abs [**with** S]
 ‘I work with Seydou.’

Combinations with pronominals are in (217). Note especially the contracted (encliticized) 3Sg combinations in (217b), where the pronominals have the same forms as postverbal direct objects after nasalized syllables.

- (217) a. nì plus regular independent pronoun
- | | |
|-----|----------------------|
| 1Sg | nī kò |
| 1Pl | nī wò |
| 2Sg | nī mw ⁿ ò |
| 2Pl | nī ɲì |
| 3Pl | nī byè |
- b. nì with special 3Sg enclitics (compare postverbal 3Sg objects)
- | | |
|---------|---------------|
| 3SgAn | nīŋ-gè |
| 3SgInan | nī-ŋà ~ nā-ŋà |

Several of these combinations differ in form from sequences of clause-initial nì ‘if’ followed by a pronominal subject proclitic, e.g. 1Sg nī kè, 3Sg n = āà and 1Pl n = ōō (§15.1.1).

8.3 Locative or instrumental postposition (X l̀)

l̀ is usually locative but sometimes instrumental. In (218a-b), it is effectively interchangeable with preposition ǹ in instrumental (but not comitative) function. The combination #ǹ X l̀ does not occur.

- (218) a. yà wó fō [l̀t́o-dí-yā l̀]
 Fut 1Pl go.Ipfv [vehicle-Abs **Inst**]
 ‘We’ll go in/with the vehicle.’
- b. k̀e sá námwⁿ-ā [ʃílā-ā l̀]
 1Sg cut.Pfv meat-Abs [knife-Abs **Inst**]
 ‘I cut-Past the meat with a knife.’

In (219), the PP with l̀ denotes a location. For a few nouns like ‘village’ the postposition is regularly omitted (219c) or a specialized locative form of the stem is used instead of a PP (§8.4.1.3).

- (219) a. ā wō [sēyⁿā-ā l̀]
 3Sg be [the.bush-Abs **Loc**]
 ‘He/She is out in the bush (=outback).’
- b. k̀e fō [sēyⁿā-ā l̀]
 1Sg go.Ipfv [the.bush-Abs **Loc**]
 ‘I am going out to the bush (=outback).’
- c. k̀e ẁd̀ yégá-à
 1Sg be village-Abs
 ‘I am in the village.’

The complement of l̀ is normally inanimate. However, in some constructions it can take human complements. This permits the postposition to combine with the full range of pronouns. A special set of fused locative pronouns is attested with ηḿ/ηm̀d̀ ‘rescue’ and ǹéé/ǹèè ‘awaken’.

(220) Fused locative pronominals

| | category | locative |
|----|----------|----------|
| a. | 1Sg | kə-rò |
| | 1Pl | wə-rò |
| | 2Sg | mə-rò |
| | 2Pl | ɲə-rò |
| | 3SgAn | yə-rò |
| | 3Pl | bə-rò |
| b. | 3SgInan | ā lə |
| c. | Refl | nə-mərə́ |
| | Recip | təm-bó |

Examples with ‘rescue’ are in (221). Our primary assistant uses *lè* (elsewhere dative) after a nonpronominal object. We suspect that there was an older stage with *lò*. The progressive is in (pseudo-)locative form (221b). (221c) shows a fused locative pronominal.

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (221) a. | kè | ɲmó | [séédù | lè] | |
| | 1Sg | rescue.Pfv | [S | Dat] | |
| | ‘I rescued Seydou.’ | | | | |
| b. | kē | wò | [séédù | ɲmə̀-ndó] | lò] |
| | 1Sg | be | [S | rescue-PsLoc.Prog] | PsLoc] |
| | ‘I am rescuing Seydou.’ | | | | |
| c. | à | ɲmó | kə-rò | | |
| | 3Sg | rescue.Pfv | 1Sg- PsLoc | | |
| | ‘He/She rescued me.’ | | | | |

Regular, unfused pronominal locative PPs occur with *púlò/pùlò* ‘scold, reprimand’ and *sú/sù* in the sense ‘resemble’. Examples with ‘scold’ are in (222). The unfused pronominal paradigm is in (223).

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|-----------|------|--------------|
| (222) a. | à | púlō | [kē | lò] |
| | 3Sg | scold.Pfv | [1Sg | Loc] |
| | ‘He/She scolded me.’ | | | |

- b. kè púlò [séédū lò]
 1Sg scold.Pfv [S **Loc**]
 ‘I scolded Seydou.’
- c. ā wō [púló ló] [kē lò]
 3Sg be [scold.Prog Loc] [1Sg **Loc**]
 ‘He/She is scolding me.’

(223) Unfused locative pronouns

| | category | locative |
|----|----------|--------------------|
| a. | 1Sg | kē lò |
| | 1Pl | wó lò |
| | 2Sg | mī lò |
| | 2Pl | jī lò |
| | 3Sg | ā lò |
| | 3Pl | bē lò |
| b. | Refl | nō lò |
| | Recip | tō ⁿ lò |

We distinguish **true locative** postposition lò from the **pseudo-locative** with lò. True PPs always stay together and are always postverbal. Pseudo-locative lò is a VP-final particle that is colexicalized with a verb stem (cf. English phrasal verbs). A sequence of NP plus lò, always postverbal, is analyzed as pseudo-locative when the object shifts to preverbal position in the progressive construction, stranding the now H-toned ló (sometimes in nasalized form -ndó) between the main verb and the unrelated locative lò that is part the progressive construction. See §11.1.2.1 for analysis and examples of the pseudo-locative. There is a close parallel with the pseudo-dative (§11.1.2.2), and with VP-final particle yí ‘apart’ (§11.1.1).

8.4 Other spatial PPs

Spatial postpositional PPs can occur in either static locative or directional (allative, ablative) contexts. Direction is specified by motion verbs rather than directly by postpositions. This applies to the basic postposition lò described in the preceding section in its locative function, and to the more specific spatial postpositions described below.

Most of the forms used as spatial postpositions can also be used adverbially without an overt landmark, for example after wò ‘be’. See §8.9.3 for a list.

Some bisyllabic postpositions and adverbs such as kòndó ‘inside’, jéndó ‘outside’, ním(b)ò ‘chez’, kíngè ‘under’, kíngè ‘behind’, níndè ‘over’, nàn-dè (possessive), and dṅgṅó ‘because of’ might be etymologically composite. For example, the endings dṅ and dè might be compared to locative dṅ and dative dè. On the other hand, the endings (ŋ)gè resembles a human 3Sg object suffix.

8.4.1 Inside and outside

8.4.1.1 ‘In/into X’ (X nù)

The postposition nù means ‘in/into X’ where X is a container or its contents. It often co-occurs with the verb wí/wì ‘put (into a container)’ as in (224a). A more abstract sense ‘therein’ is illustrated in (224b), a vague threat about future trouble.

- (224) a. mī wì [túmwⁿ-â l=] [= áā nù]
 2Sg pour.Ipfv [water-Abs Foc] [3Sg **in**]
 ‘You pour water in it (=pot).’ (2018-08 @ 01:47)
- b. nì lé pw= [= āā nū] [yā ā yūgū-sèè]
 with Rel be.done.Pfv [3Sg **in**] [Fut 3Sg meaning-know.Ipfv]
 “and what will happen therein, it will be known (=clear).”
 (2018-02 @ 00:38)

8.4.1.2 ‘In X, inside X’ (X kòndó and alternatives)

The basic postposition ‘in(side) X’, also a noun ‘interior’, is kòndó.

- (225) a. [ké tógbē] wō [látó-dī-yā kòndó]
 [1Sg friend] be [vehicle-Abs **inside**]
 ‘My friend is in the car.’
- b. kè bú gbèrèé-gbèrè(y)á-ā [būr-ā kòndó]
 1Sg put.Pfv sugar-Abs [sack-Abs **inside**]
 ‘I put-Past the sugar in the sack.’ (< bṛṛò)

If X is a house or other enclosure with a well-defined roof or similar covering, kíngè ‘under’ (§8.4.4.1) rather than kòndó follows the landmark (226).

- (226) kē wò [jíná-à kǐngè]
 1Sg be [house-Abs **under**]
 ‘I am in (“under”) the house.’

For lexicalized locatives, and cases where a noun occurs in locative function but with no overt postposition, see the next section.

8.4.1.3 Lexicalized locatives

Certain nouns have their own morphological locatives, which can be used in static locative or directional contexts. For ‘house’ the form *nân-dé* ‘(at) home’ is suppletive, compare *jíná-à* ‘house’. *nân-dé* might be ultimately related to *nàà* ‘fire’, cf. *hearth* in English and *foyer* in French. For ‘field’ the form *tóhé-è* is distinct from the usual absolute singular form *tóhá-à* ‘field’. For ‘village’ and ‘the bush, brousse’, there is no difference between the locative and absolute singular forms (227c), but a locative postposition is strikingly absent.

- (227) a. kē wò nân-dé
 1Sg be **home**
 ‘I am (at) home.’
- b. kē wò tóhé-è
 1Sg be **field-Loc**
 ‘I am at/in the field(s).’
- c. kē wò yégá-à / sēyⁿā-à
 1Sg be **village-Abs / the.bush-Abs**
 ‘I am in the village/out in the bush’.

8.4.1.4 ‘Outside’ (adverb *jéndó*)

There is an adverb *jéndó* ‘outside’ that does not occur with a complement NP. It might have originated as another lexical locative.

- (228) ā wò jéndó
 3Sg be **outside**
 ‘He/She is outside.’

‘Outside the house/village’ can be expressed as ‘behind the house/village’ (§8.4.5.2).

8.4.2 Surface spatial relationships

8.4.2.1 ‘On X’ (X yè)

‘On X’ is expressed by the postposition yè. X can be a horizontal surface like ‘mat’ (229a), or a vertical surface like ‘wall’ (229b).

- (229) a. kèsy-á wō [bāgā-ā yè]
dog-Abs be [mat-Abs **on**]
‘The dog is on the mat.’
- b. méyⁿá-ā wò [níní-kūwā-ā yè]
agama-Abs be [house-wall-Abs **on**]
‘The agama lizard is on the wall.’
- c. kē wō [ā yè]
1Sg be [3Sg **on**]
‘I am on it.’
- d. à sⁿ [à gbóṅá-ā] [kē yè]
3Sg put.up.on.Pfv [3Sg foot-Abs] [1Sg **on**]
‘He/She stepped on me.’

Pronominal combinations are regular (230).

- (230) 1Sg kē yè
1Pl wō yè
2Sg mī yè
2Pl jī yè
3Sg ā yè
3Pl bē yè

8.4.3 Proximity

8.4.3.1 ‘Next to X’ (tàré)

tàré is the postposition meaning ‘next to X, beside X, up against X (surface)’.

- (231) a. kē tàré
1Sg **beside**
‘beside me, next to me’

- b. ā n̄dē wò [níní-kūwā-ā t̀r̀é]
 3Sg sit.Pfv be [house-wall-Abs **next.to**]
 ‘He/She is sitting against the wall.’ (stative, §9.3.7)

In some contexts t̀r̀é implies contact rather than mere proximity. For example, ‘touch X’ can be expressed as t̄j́á [X t̀r̀é] (text 2018-03 @ 01:35).

t̀r̀é can also be used without a complement as an adverb ‘nearby’, as in text 2018-03 @ 00:57.

Another postposition kíng̀è ‘behind’ has somewhat similar senses when the landmark is a house or village or ‘the bush’ (§8.4.5.2).

8.4.3.2 ‘Chez X’ (ním̀ ò ~ ním̀ b̀)

X ním̀ ò means ‘at X’s place, chez X’. There is a variant ním̀ b̀.

- (232) a. ké ním̀ ò
 1Sg chez
 ‘chez moi, at my place’
- b. f̀ó→, f̀àkí—, [gb̀èná-p̀èèlé-k̀ō-mwⁿ-ā ním̀ ò l̀é]
 all.the.way jeweler—, [gold-fix-owner-Pl-Abs **chez** Foc]
 ‘... (I went) all the way to the jewelers’ place [focus].’
 (2018-03 @ 00:33)

8.4.4 Vertical relationships

8.4.4.1 ‘Under X’ (X kíng̀ è)

This postposition is kíng̀ è ‘under’, distinct from kíng̀ è ‘behind’ (§8.4.5.2).

- (233) a. b̀āgā-à kíng̀ è
 mat-Abs **under**
 ‘under the mat’
- b. l̀átó-dí-yà kíng̀ è
 vehicle-Abs **under**
 ‘under the car’

This postposition can also be used with ‘house’ in the sense ‘inside the house’, the conception being that the subject is under the roof (e.g. 2018-08 @ 00:07). It also

occurs in sēyⁿā-à kíngè ‘(out) in the bush (=outback)’ (2018-01 @ 01:01), and in sény-à kíngè ‘under the sun’ (i.e. in sunlight) (2018-08 @ 04:28).

8.4.4.2 ‘Over X, above X’ (níndè)

Position of the referent in the space above the landmark, but not on the surface of the landmark, is expressed by níndè. The postposition is optionally shortened to ndè.

- (234) a. (w)ó / kè níndè
 1Pl / 1Sg **over**
 ‘above us/me (overhead)’
- b. nōṅā-ā fiilé [yéǵá-à níndè]
 bird-Abs fly [village-Abs **over**]
 ‘The bird flew over the village.’

séǵá-à níndè ‘over the well’ (2018-05 @ 00:10) is best translated freely into English as ‘at the well’, as when someone is drawing water at the well.

8.4.5 Orientational relationships

8.4.5.1 ‘In front of X’ (X yí)

Position in front of an oriented entity such as a person or house is expressed by yí (235a).

- (235) a. à yí
 3Sg **in.front.of**
 ‘in front of him/her/it’
- b. [ké tǒǵá-á] wò [séǵá-à yí]
 [1Sg field-Abs] be [river-Abs **in.front.of**]
 ‘My field is (on) this side of the river.’

Pronominal combinations are in (236). All Cv pronominals contract as Cì-í (236a). This does not affect 3Sg (236b).

(236) pronoun 'in front of X'

- | | | |
|----|-------|--------------------|
| a. | 1Sg | kì-í |
| | 1Pl | wì-í |
| | 2Sg | mì-í |
| | 2Pl | ɲì-í |
| | 3Pl | bì-í |
| b. | 3Sg | à yí |
| c. | Refl | nè yí |
| | Recip | tò ⁿ yí |

This postposition is also used with 'say' to mark a human complement in dative function (237).

(237) à té déé kì-í wó
 1Sg say.Pfv nothing 1Sg-**in.front.of** Neg
 'He/She didn't say anything to me.'

It can also be used with human complements in some other contexts involving physical presence, e.g. 'fear X' (§16.8.9.5).

yí is the postposition that occurs with 'fire' in the context 'set (pot) on the fire' (238a), i.e. resting on the hearth stones just above the fire. Several further examples of this combination are in texts 2018-08 and -09. yí also occurs in the phrase 'on the road' (238b). Several additional examples of this combination are in text 2018-01.

(238) a. wó sō-ɲā [nā-à yí]
 1Pl set.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs **in.front.of**]
 'we set-Present it (=pot) on the fire.' (2018-08 @ 00:18)

b. bèèsì fó pín-dè,
 hare go.Pfv lie.down.Purp,
 à fó [nāɲā-à yí]
 3Sg go.Pfv [road-Abs **in.front.of**]
 'Hare went to lie down (go to bed). He went on the road.'
 (2018-01 @ 00:07)

In elicitation, yí can have the temporal sense 'before' (239). However, it means 'at (the time), on (the day)' in (435b-c) and (446d).

- (239) fētī-yà yí
 holy.day-Abs **in.front.of**
 ‘before the holy day’

Paraphrases like “when the holy day has not (yet) arrived” meaning ‘before the holy day’ are also in use.

8.4.5.2 ‘Behind X’ (X kīngè)

Position in back of an oriented entity such as a person is expressed by kīngè. This is distinct from kīngè ‘under’. The tone contour of kīngè suggests that the postposition may be treated (in part) as having two morphemes that can bear tones independently. This raises the possibility that a human 3Sg form *kīŋ-gè generalized.

- (240) a. kē kīngè
 1Sg **behind**
 ‘behind me’
- b. kē sìní wò [[ké tó] kīngè]
 1Sg stand.Pfv be [[1Sg father] **behind**]
 ‘I am standing behind my father.’
- c. [ké tóná-á] wò [ségá-ā kīngè]
 [1Sg field-Abs] be [river-Abs **behind**]
 ‘My field is beyond (=on the far side of) the river.’

‘Behind the house/village’ can be used more broadly to mean ‘outside the house’ and ‘on the edge/outskirts of the village’. The distance between landmark and referent is small, so in this context kīngè gives competition to tàré ‘next to’.

- (241) ā wò [yéǵá-ā kīngè]
 3Sg be [village-Abs **behind**]
 ‘He is outside (“behind”) the village.’

In (242), ‘behind you’ is used in a context where English might use purposive *for*.

- (242) bè yá [mwǒⁿ kīngè]
 3Pl come.Pfv [2Sg **behind**]
 ‘They came after (=in order to be with) you-Sg.’

In temporal contexts, *kīngè* means ‘after’.

- (243) a. *fēty-ā* *kīngè*
 holy.day-Abs **behind**
 ‘after the holy day’
- b. [*táán-wē* *tē-mwⁿ-ā*] *déé* *gbā-à* [[*bé* *tó*] *kīngè*]
 [child-Pl small-Pl-Abs] eat.Pfv meal-Abs [[3Pl father] **behind**]
 ‘The children ate after their father (ate).’
- c. *ménī-yà* *póré* [*nī* *kīngè*]
 rain(n)-Abs rain.fall.Pfv [2Pl **behind**]
 ‘It rained after you-Pl (were here).’

For *kīngè* as part of the ‘want’ construction, see §9.3.5. The rather fused form *ānikīngè* in ‘before ...’ clauses (§16.3.3) likely contains *kīngè* at least etymologically.

8.4.5.3 ‘To X’ (allative)

There is no specifically allative postposition. Allative ‘to X’ is expressed by a relevant locative form, combined with a motion verb.

- (244) a. *kē* *wò* [*fóó* *lō*] [*sēyⁿā-ā* *lò*]
 1Sg be [go.Prog Loc] [the.bush **Loc**]
 ‘I am on my way to the bush.’
- b. *kè* *bú* *gbàrèé-gbàrè(y)á-ā* [*būr-ā* *lò*]
 1Sg put.Pfv sugar-Abs [sack-Abs **Loc**]
 ‘I put-Past the sugar in the sack.’

‘Village’, ‘field’, and ‘home’ occur without postpositions, in allative as well as static locative contexts.

- (245) a. *bè* *fó* *yé-gá-à*
 3Pl go.Pfv **village-Abs**
 ‘They went to the village.’
- b. *ā* *látó* *tóhé-è / nân-dé*
 3Sg run.Pfv **field-Loc / home-Loc**
 ‘He/She ran to the field/ran home.’

8.4.5.4 ‘All the way to X’ and ‘until X’ (fó)

The regional word *fó* is used as an emphatic preposition before a spatial or temporal NP or PP to emphasize the extent of space or time covered.

- (246) a. *ā lâtó [fó yégá-à]*
 3Sg run.Pfv [**until** field-Loc / home]
 ‘He/She ran all the way to the village.’
- b. *yà ó pō tūndwā-à [fó [fétí-tīny-ā l̀]]*
 Fut 1Pl do.Ipfv work(n)-Abs [**until** [holy.day-time-Abs Loc]]
 ‘We will work until the holy day.’

These examples, especially (246b), show that *fó* is followed by a self-standing adverbial phrase such as a PP. We therefore do not classify *fó* as a preposition.

8.4.5.5 ‘Toward X’ (gbèly-á yè, gbèly-á l̀)

Direction toward a goal X is expressed by a composite postposition, with noun *gbèly-á* ‘direction’ and postposition *yè* ‘on’. A verb of motion, typically *fó* ‘go’, is required to indicate directed motion (247a). A location may also be specified with *gbèly-á* plus the locative postposition *l̀* (247b).

- (247) a. [*ā lâtó*] [*à fó*] [[*nín-àà gbèly-á yè*]]
 [3Sg run.Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv] [[house-Abs **direction**-Abs] **on**]]
 ‘He/She ran toward the house.’
- b. [*ké níná-á*] *ẁ* [[*bwákè gbèly-á l̀*]]
 [1Sg house-Abd] be [[B **direction**-Abs] **Loc**]
 ‘My house is on the way (from here) to Bouaké (city).’

8.4.5.6 ‘Away from/out of X’

Direction away from a landmark is expressed with *gbór̀̀/ gbòr̀̀̀* ‘exit (v)’ or *sár̀̀̀/ sàr̀̀̀̀* ‘pass, pass by, move on’. The co-occurring spatial expression (e.g. ‘under X’, ‘next to X’, etc.) does not directly specify direction of motion.

- (248) a. [*ā lâtó*] [*à gbór̀̀*] [*níná-à kíngè*]]
 [3Sg run.Pfv] [3Sg **exit(v)**.Pfv] [house-Abs under]]
 ‘He/She ran out of the house’ (lit. “(from) under the house”)

- b. [ā làtó] [à sérō [[nàṅgbà gbáá-lā-ā] t̀r̀é]]
 [3Sg run.Pfv] [3Sg **pass.Pfv** [[carnivore big-Ø-Abs] next.to]]
 ‘He/She ran away from the leopard.’

8.4.6 ‘Between X and Y’ (píyè)

Position in the space between two landmarks is indicated by píyè. The landmarks may be expressed by an NP conjunction or by a nonsingular NP or pronoun. Temporal use is exemplified in (249c).

- (249) a. ó píyè
 1Pl **between**
 ‘between us’
- b. b̀ǹó-s̀ō ẁò [bwákē nī k̀òr̀òẁò] píyè]
 B be [[B and K] **between**]
 ‘Bonosso is between Bouaké and Korhogo (cities)’ (< k̀òr̀òẁó)
- c. [t̀íní-yúgú-s̀àyy-á nì [s̀én-‘dé]-gbā-à] píyè
 [breakfast-Abs and [midday]-meal-Abs] **between**
 ‘between breakfast and lunch’

píyè in connection with a single human occurs in the context ‘set (food) at the feet of (someone)’, in serving a meal. The complement can be phrased as [X gb̀òẁⁿ] píyè ‘between X’s foot (=feet)’, with the regular noun for ‘foot’ (2018-09 @ 02:24), or as [X ỳòg̀ò] píyè with a noun ỳòg̀ò that is not otherwise attested (2018-10 @ 01:13).

8.5 Purposive and causal

8.5.1 ‘For X’ (X ñ-tíyⁿ-à, X ñ-téé l̀ò)

Purposives are phrased as ‘regarding/concerning X’ or ‘in the matter of X’. Attested combinations are X ñ-tíyⁿ-à and X ñ-téé l̀ò. The former optionally adds postposition l̀ò to become X ñ-tíyⁿ-ā l̀ò, which strengthens the case for taking tíyⁿ-à as including absolute suffix -à. The other variant always ends in l̀ò. In careful pronunciation the ñ in both combinations is syllabified as nì and is therefore identifiable as the genitive linker. However, ñ-tíyⁿ-à and ñ-téé l̀ò are rather fused and postposition-like, and we write them with ñ-.

- (250) a. *bè yá [kórówá-ā ñ-tíyⁿ-à] Ø*
 3Pl come.Pfv [[kórówá-ā ñ-tíyⁿ-ā] lò]
 [[money **Gen-matter-Abs**] (Loc)]
 ‘They came here for (the) money.’
- b. *bè yá [kórówá-à ñ-téé] lò]*
 3Pl come.Pfv [money **Gen-matter**] Loc]
 ‘They came here for (the) money.’

For *tíyⁿ-à* without *ñ-* see §8.7.2. For *-tíyⁿ-à* as compound final, with premodifier form *-tééⁿ*, see (510) in §16.9.3.

8.5.2 Causal ‘because of X’ (X *dòṅgó*)

The postposition *dòṅgó*, attested only in this construction, specifies the cause of an eventuality. Typically the landmark denotes something that preceded the focal eventuality (251a). However, in (251b) there is no sharp difference between prospective and retrospective viewpoint, or between purposive and causal.

- (251) a. *bè mí [ménī-yⁿā dòṅgó]*
 3Pl enter.Pfv [rain-Abs **because.of**]
 ‘They went inside because of the rain.’
- b. *à pééⁿ gbēgā-ā [tòwá-ā dòṅgó]*
 3Sg ascend.Pfv tree-Abs [francolin-Abs **because.of**]
 ‘He/She climbed the tree because of (=to hunt) the francolin (=partridge).’

8.6 Possessive (X *nàn-dè*)

This postposition is part of the ‘X have Y’ construction, which is phrased as ‘Y be [X *nàn-dè*]’ (§9.3.3.1). In other constructions it indicates custody, often temporary. Examples not translatable as ‘X have Y’ are in (252).

- (252) a. *kē tùⁿ [[ké bábá-ā] bòⁿ] [[ké tó] nàn-dè]*
 1Sg put.Pfv [[1Sg sheep-Abs] hand] [[1Sg father] **Poss**]
 ‘I entrusted my sheep-Sg to (“[into] the hand of”) my father.’
- b. *à sí [kórówá-à (lé)] [ké nàn-dè]*
 3Sg catch [money-Abs (Foc)] [1Sg **Poss**]
 ‘He/She took the money away from me.’

- c. kē sèní-yⁿà [[ké tó] nà̀n-dè]
 1Sg ask.Pfv-3SgObj [[1Sg father] **Poss**]
 ‘I requested it from my father.’

See also (490b) in §16.5.3.1.

In the ‘imitate’ construction, nà̀n-dè behaves syntactically like a VP-final particle (§8.8.3).

nà̀n-dè can also function as a noun meaning ‘the place of X, chez X’ with possessor X. That ké in (253a) is possessor rather than preverbal proclitic is shown by the dropping (however optional or partial) of the preceding H-tone to L.

- (253) a. zàkí yà [ké nà̀n-dè]
 Z come.Pfv [1Sg **Poss**]
 ‘Zaki came to my place.’ (< yá)
- b. [[ké nà̀n-dè] jì|y-á] wòlí
 [[1Sg **Poss**] place-Abs] be.long.Pfv
 ‘My place is far away.’

That nà̀n-dè is composite (likely ending in a nasalized variant of postposition lè) is suggested by its irregular tones in (253b), with only -dè raised to M-tone before a nonhigh tone. However, in non-raising environments the tone is always level low nà̀n-dè, not #nā̀n-dè, which would be expected if nà̀n-dè were fully segmentable.

8.7 ‘About’

8.7.1 With tè

The verb té/tè ‘say’ (perfective, with inanimate 3Sg object tí-yà) occurs in the normal postsubject position. The object of discussion is expressed by postposition tè. The person with whom the matter was discussed appears in a PP with yí ‘in front of’ (76).

- (254) a. kè té [gbèrèé-gbèrèé tè] [[ké tó] yí]
 1Sg speak.Pfv [sugar **about**] [[1Sg father] in.front.of]
 ‘I spoke with my father about sugar.’
- b. kè tí= [à tē] bì-í
 1Sg speak.Pfv [3Sg **about**] 3Pl-in.front.of
 ‘I spoke about it with them.’

Postposition *tè* is most directly related to the noun *tēē* (absolute *tègá-à*) ‘talk (n), words, speech’. For M-toned *tēē*, see §3.4.2.5.

8.7.2 With *tíyⁿ-à*

Another possibility, attested in constructions with main-clause ‘fear’ (§16.9.5), is to use the form *tíyⁿ-à* ‘the matter (of X)’. This appears to be an original singular noun with absolute singular suffix that is in the process of specializing as a postposition. It can still be followed by postposition *lò*, cf. English *on the subject of X*. However, the postposition can be omitted, making *tíyⁿ-à* itself look like a postposition ‘about, concerning’.

- (255) *kē* *wò* [*wéé* *lò*]
 1Sg be [fear(v).Prog Loc]
 [*ā* *ηmàndó* *tíyⁿ-à*] \emptyset
 [[*ā* *ηmàndó* *tíyⁿ-ā*] *lò*]
 [[3Sg survive.Nom **matter**-Abs] (Loc)]
 ‘I am afraid concerning his/her survival.’

See also *ñ-tíyⁿ-à* (§8.5.1), which is likewise on the way to fusing as a ‘for’ postposition. As compound final, *-tíyⁿ-à* has the form *-tééⁿ*. The relationship between these nasalized forms and the noun *tègá-à* (premodifier *tēē* with oral vowel) ‘talk (n), words, speech’, which is also part of the alternative ‘for’ postposition *ñ-téé lò*, is suggestive but phonologically irregular.

8.8 Similarity

8.8.1 *mámè* ‘like’

The particle *mámè* or variant precedes the NP denoting the comparandum. The latter may be a pronoun (in independent form) or a noun-headed NP.

- (256) a. *ɲòɲò* [*mámè* *mwⁿò*]
 person [**like** 2Sg]
 ‘a person like you-Sg’
- b. *ā* *tèlì* [*mámè* *ʃóó*]
 3Sg speak.Ipfv [**like** woman]
 ‘He speaks like a woman.’

The real sense of *mámè* and variants (*mám̀bè*, *mém̀bè*) is ‘thinking (that)’ or ‘wondering (whether)’. Compare French *on dirait* ‘one would say’. For example, a paraphrase of (256b) could be ‘He speaks, one would think/say a woman’.

For *mám̀bè* and *mém̀bè* in complex syntactic constructions, see §16.11.2.1-2 and §16.2.3.2.

8.8.2 Adverbs meaning ‘like that, thus’

8.8.2.1 *máà* ‘like that, thus’

This morpheme is a self-standing adverb ‘thus, like that’. In texts it combines with *pò/pò* ‘do’ in the sense ‘do thus, do as just described’. One of several textual examples of this combination is 2018-07 @ 00:31.

In other textual examples, *máà* has a more interesting sense ‘just like that’, i.e. without doing or adding anything further. Compare English (*just*) *as it is*.

- (257) *nī* *à* *dó* *ημά* *ɲì* *wó?*,
 if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Pl Neg,
ɲī *dēē* *nī-yà* *máà*
 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj **like.that**
 ‘If you-Pl don’t like it (=sugar), you just eat it (=maize *tô*) like that (=without
 sugar).’ (2018-08 @ 04:09)

Likewise 2018-08 @ 05:54. For synonymous PP *máà lè* see 2018-08 @ 00:33.

8.8.2.2 *ánáná* ‘like that, thus’

Another ‘like that, thus’ adverb is *ánáná*. Textual examples are 2018-01 @ 00:59, 2018-03 @ 00:21 & 00:48 & 01:26, 2018-07 @ 01:28, and 2018-08 @ 05:40.

8.8.3 ‘Resemble’ and ‘imitate’ (*sú/sù*)

‘X resemble Y’ and ‘X imitate Y’ are both expressed by the verb *sú/sù* ~ *ǰú/ǰù* plus different VP-final particles. The ‘resemble’ construction has a postverbal locative PP, with postposition *lè*. With pronominal complements, the pronominal takes its regular proclitic (i.e. “preverbal”) form, not the fused locative pronominals like 1Sg *kè-rò* presented in (220) in §8.3. See also (362a-b) in §11.1.2.1.

- (258) a. ā sū [kē l̥]
 3Sg **be.like**.Ipfv [1Sg **PsLoc**]
 ‘He/She resembles me.’
- b. kē sū [ā l̥]
 1Sg **be.like**.Ipfv [3Sg Loc]
 ‘I resemble him/her.’
- c. séédū wò [súú l̥] [kē l̥]
 S be [**be.like**.Prog Loc] [1Sg **Loc**]
 ‘Seydou is resembling me.’

The ‘imitate’ construction is in (259). It has a regular direct object plus *nàn-dè*. The latter is elsewhere a possessive postposition (§8.6), but in the ‘imitate’ construction it behaves morphosyntactically like a VP-final particle. In (259a) the 1Sg pronominal *kō* has nonpreverbal form *kò* as in simple postverbal direct objects. Compare possessive PP *ké nàn-dè* ‘mine’. Likewise, *nàn-dè* is stranded postverbally in the progressive where the object shifts to preverbal position (259b).

- (259) a. à sú kō nàn-dè
 3Sg **be.like**.Pfv 1Sg **Poss**
 ‘He/She imitated me.’
- b. ā wō [[kè súú] l̥] nàn-dè
 3Sg be [[1Sg **be.like**.Prog] Loc] **Poss**
 ‘He/She is imitating me.’
- c. kè sú-wē nàn-dè
 1Sg **be.like**.Pfv-3SgAnObj **Poss**
 ‘I imitated him/her.’

8.9 Adverbs

8.9.1 Extent (‘a lot’, ‘a little’, ‘very’) and quality (‘well’, ‘poorly’)

Adverbial ‘a lot’ is *kūsī lè ~ kūfī lè*, consisting of ‘good’ and dative postposition *lè*. It has two antonyms meaning ‘a little’. *séⁿ* is primarily adverbial ‘a little, somewhat’. *gb̀nì* is either adverbial ‘a little, somewhat’ competing with *séⁿ*, or nominal ‘a little, a small amount’.

- (260) a. kē làtó [kūsī lè] / séⁿ
 1Sg run.Pfv **[good Dat] / a.little**
 ‘I ran a lot / a little.’
- b. kè déé gbā-ā [kūsī lè] / gbìnì
 1Sg eat.Pfv meal-Abs **[good Dat] / a.little**
 ‘I ate a lot / a little.’

Scalar properties can be specified as high or low on the scale, beyond what the adjective or verb indicates by itself. ‘Very’ can be expressed as *kūsī lè*, ‘slightly’ by *séⁿ* (261a). ‘Very’ can be emphasized (‘extremely’) adding a second clause *à sárò* ‘it (sur)passed’ (261b). In fact, *à sárò* can mean ‘greatly, excessively, extremely’ with a wide variety of predicates.

- (261) a. túmwⁿ-á fèwú [kūsī lè] / séⁿ
 water-Abs hot **[good Dat] / slightly**
 ‘The water is very hot / a little hot.’
- b. túmwⁿ-á fèwú [à sárò]
 water-Abs hot [3Sg **pass.Pfv**]
 ‘The water is extremely hot.’

A stylistically colorful, interjection-like word *féw!* indicates completeness.

- (262) tūndw-āà tá féw!
 work(n)-Abs be.finished.Pfv **totally**
 ‘The work is completely finished.’

As with local French *bien*, physical extent and quality (‘well’, ‘poorly’) blend into each other. Thus ‘I ran a lot’ (260a) can also mean ‘I ran well.’

8.9.2 Precision

We have not been able to elicit an element meaning ‘exactly, specifically’ within an NP. In (263a), the sense of specificity is carried by a postposed adverbial phrase, containing parallel possessed ‘hand’, reminiscent of *hand to hand* in English but not limited to combat.

- (263) sò lé-yè [yéw-kw-āā lè]
 give.Pfv Dem [village-owner-Abs Dat]
 [ā bwⁿ-ā] [mī bwⁿ-ā]
 [3Sg **hand**-Abs] [2Sg **hand**-Abs]
 ‘Give-2Sg that to the chief in person.’
 (lit. “give that to the chief, his hand your hand.”)

8.9.3 Spatial

For ‘here’ and ‘there’ see §4.3.1.2. For cardinal directions and ‘right/left’ see §5.1.18.1-2 above. Nondemonstrative spatial locations relative to an unexpressed but contextually understood landmark are in (264).

- (264) a. vertical
 dùgùlé ‘on top, above’
 séré ~ séré ‘at the base’
- b. oriented direction
 yí ‘forward, in front, ahead’
 kīngè ‘backward, at the rear, behind’
- c. containment
 kòndó ‘inside’
 jéndó ‘outside’
- d. distance
 tàré ‘nearby’

8.9.4 Temporal

Some basic temporal adverbs are in (265). yéè is demonstrative ‘this/that’.

- (265) a. ηméè yéè ‘now’
 wèé ‘just now/then’ 2018-05 @ 00:53
 láà yéè ‘nowadays’
 bèbè ‘already’ 2018-08 @ 04:51
 bèrè ‘still; (not) yet’ §9.4.6, §16.5.3.1
- b. pèrⁿà ‘today’ (503a)
 sórè ‘this year’

| | | | |
|----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------|
| c. | sáà | ‘yesterday’ | |
| | ā làlè | ‘day before yesterday’ | |
| | sèlàá | ‘last year’ | |
| d. | sógómà ~ sógóm̀bà | ‘tomorrow’ | |
| | tór ⁿ íj̀m̀à | ‘day after tomorrow’ | |
| | séré-yà | ‘next year’ | (475b) |

8.10 Expressive adverbials, ideophones, onomatopoeias

Onomatopoeias can be framed by p̀ò/p̀ò ‘do’ with a resumptive inanimate 3Sg object.

| | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| (266) | ā | p̀ò-wà | “hú ⁿ →” |
| | 3Sg | do.Pfv-3SgInanObj | (sound) |
| | ‘It went “hú ⁿ →” ’ | | |

In narrative, such onomatopoeias need not be directly framed by a ‘do’ verb. For example, two different chicken vocalizations, cooing (kóró kóró kóró) and squawking (kr-r-r-r kr-r-r-r kr-r-r-r) occur at the end of text 2018-01. One of them is summarized in a separate clause as ‘if they do thus’ (nī bē p̀ò-wā nē).

Ideophone-like forms are not typical of Pere discourse. A few interjection-like, vaguely onomatopoeic, examples occur in the texts, denoting a noisy strike against a hard object. One example is gbó in (267). It is unrelated to quantifier gbó(?) ‘all’.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------|-------------|------|-------------|--------|
| (267) | bè | yáà | [sáá | [à | nóḡá] | yí] |
| | 3Pl | come.Pfv.and | [cut.Pfv | [3Sg | possession] | apart] |
| | [bè | ná-ḡà | gbó] | [ā | l̀àtó] | |
| | [3Pl | hit.Pfv-3SgInanObj | pow! | [3Sg | run.Pfv], | |
| | ‘They came and cut it. They struck it, pow! He (=hyena) ran away.’ | | | | | |
| | (2018-01 @ 00:56) | | | | | |

Another example is kpó in (268).

| | | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|------------|-----|--------|-------------|
| (268) | à | kó | [gbēgā-à | lé | yí] | kpó |
| | 3Sg | break | [stick-Abs | Rel | apart] | pop! |
| | ‘The stick that he snapped went pop!’ (2018-07 @ 00:38) | | | | | |

9 Verbs and valency

9.1 Segmental and tonal forms of verb stems

Inflectional verbal morphology at stem level consists chiefly of tonal relationships between perfective and imperfective forms of the verb stem, which is segmentally invariable. Ideally, these relationships take the form of an underlying (lexical) melody that surfaces in one form (say, perfective), plus a tone overlay that applies to the other form (say, imperfective). We use /.../ for lexical melodies, {...} for overlays, e.g. /L/ and {L}. However, the tonal relationships between perfective and imperfective depend on the segmental heaviness of the stem. For this reason we separately analyze a) Cv and Cvv stems, b) Cvy and bisyllabic stems, and c) trisyllabic and heavier stems. As always v represents a variable vowel quality.

Since the progressive ‘be VPing’ is expressed by a multi-word phrase, it is covered in a later chapter (§11.4.3). However, the verb in the progressive construction has a special form that requires careful morphophonological analysis. Another construction that has its own special form of the verb, always with a contoured tone (rising or falling depending on the verb), is the purposive construction presented in §16.4.1.2. The two basic motion verbs *yá/yà* ‘come’ and *fó/fò* ‘go’ have special lengthened and L-final forms *yáà/yàà* and *fòò/fòò* in one construction in which two originally juxtaposed clauses have partially fused (§16.3.1.2).

9.1.1 Monosyllabic verb stems (Cv, Cvv)

(For the three Cvy verbs, see the following section.)

Monosyllabic verbs are Cv or Cvv. Some verbs of these shapes have /H/ melody, others have /L/ melody. The distinction is neutralized in the imperfective, which for these verbs has a uniform {L} overlay, erasing the lexical melody. L-toned verbs, whether melodic or tone-dropped by {L} overlay, are pronounced with M-tone when not followed by an H-tone, by regular L-to-M Raising (§3.4.2.4). Transitivity is irrelevant to tone alternations for Cv (and Cvv) stems, so each ambi-valent verb is shown only once in this section.

(269) presents monomoraic Cv stems. /H/ melody is more common (269a), but several high-frequency verbs have /L/ melody (269b).

(269) perfective imperfective gloss

a. /H/ melody

intransitive

| | | |
|----|----|--------------------------|
| fó | fò | ‘go’ |
| fú | fù | ‘die’ |
| jé | jè | ‘(plant) sprout’ |
| bé | bè | ‘ripen’ |
| kó | kò | ‘take shape’ |
| má | mà | ‘laugh (v)’ |
| mí | mì | ‘enter’ |
| ná | nà | ‘be sharp’ |
| ṅá | ṅà | ‘walk’ |
| ṅí | ṅì | ‘(fire) be extinguished’ |
| só | sò | ‘shine; catch fire’ |
| tá | tà | ‘be finished, end (v)’ |
| yá | yà | ‘come’ |

transitive

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| bú | bù | ‘put in; sow’ |
| dú | dù | ‘jab’ |
| fá ⁿ | fà ⁿ | ‘gather’ |
| fé | fè | ‘sweep (a place)’ |
| gbá | gbà | ‘taste’ |
| jí | jì | ‘kill’ |
| kú ⁿ (kí ⁿ -) | kù ⁿ (kì ⁿ -) | ‘pick up, take’ |
| kó | kò | ‘break’ |
| kó ⁿ | kò ⁿ | ‘miss (target)’ |
| lá | là | ‘tear (v); separate’ |
| ṅmá | ṅmà | ‘spray’ |
| mó | mò | ‘de-feather, pluck (feathers)’ |
| ná | nà | ‘stone-grind’ |
| ṅá | ṅà | ‘hit’ |
| ṅí | ṅì | ‘extinguish’ or ‘put a roof on (house)’ |
| ṅí ~ ṅú | ṅì ~ ṅù | ‘hear’ |
| sá | sà | ‘cut; cross’ |
| sé | sè | ‘ask’ |
| só | sò | ‘ignite’ |
| só ⁿ | sò ⁿ | ‘drink’ or ‘build’ or ‘set down’ |
| sú ~ fú | sù ~ fù | ‘open’ or ‘remove’ |
| tá | tà | ‘finish (sth)’ |
| té | tè | ‘carve’ or ‘say’ |

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| té ⁿ | tè ⁿ | ‘tie’ (more often bisyllabic tèní) |
| tó | tò | ‘sow (v), plant (v)’ or ‘set (fire)’ or ‘sew’ |
| wí | wì | ‘put in’ or ‘spill’ |
| wó | wò | ‘split’ or ‘dig’ |

b. /L/ melody

intransitive

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| gbà ⁿ | gbà ⁿ | ‘can, be able’ |
| kò ⁿ | kò ⁿ | ‘be born’ |

transitive

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| jè | jè | ‘knock down; lay out (mat)’ |
| kò | kò | ‘pull’ |
| kò ⁿ | kò ⁿ | ‘give birth to, bear (child)’ |
| ηmò | ηmò | ‘uproot’ |
| pò | pò | ‘do’ |
| sà ⁿ ~ sè ⁿ | sà ⁿ ~ sè ⁿ | ‘flip, change (sth)’ |
| sò | sò | ‘give’ |
| tù ⁿ | tù ⁿ | ‘put down’ or ‘cook’ |
| wù | wù | ‘put in motion’ |

Array (270) presents bimoraic Cvv verbs. /L/ melody is attested but is rather uncommon for these verbs (270b).

(270) perfective imperfective gloss

a. /H/ melody

intransitive

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| náá | nàà | ‘be full, be sated (after eating)’ |
| péé ⁿ | pèè ⁿ | ‘ascend’ |
| sáá ⁿ | sàà ⁿ | ‘malfunction, be ruined’ |
| wéé | wèè | ‘fear (v), be afraid’ |

transitive

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|-------------------|
| báá | bàà | ‘accompany’ |
| déé | dèè | ‘eat’ |
| jíí | jìì | ‘wash’ |
| káá | kàà | ‘shut, cover’ |
| kéé | kèè | ‘look for’ |
| méé | mèè | ‘swallow (v)’ |
| ṅáá | ṅàà | ‘see’ |
| síí ~ jíí | sìì ~ fìì | ‘catch; load (v)’ |

| | | |
|-----|-----|---------------------|
| táá | tàà | ‘throw at’ |
| wéé | wèè | ‘pound (in mortar)’ |

b. /L/ melody

intransitive

[none]

transitive

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| sèè ⁿ | sèè ⁿ | ‘buy’ |
| ɲmàà | ɲmàà | ‘scratch, scrape’ |

There is no systematic correlation of /H/ versus /L/ melody with initial consonant type or with transitivity for these monosyllabics.

9.1.2 Cyv and bisyllabic verb stems

Bisyllabic verbs have a wider set of perfective-imperfective tonal pairings than the monosyllabics presented above. The attested possibilities are shown in (271). In formulae like H/L, the perfective tone pattern is on the left and the imperfective on the right. Cyv verbs pattern tonally like bisyllabics. Since there are only three Cyv stems, some blanks for that category may be accidental.

| (271) shape | H/L | L/L | LH/L | LH/H | HL/H | HL/L |
|-------------|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|
| Cyv | x | — | — | x | — | — |
| CvCv | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| CvNCv | — | x | x | x | — | x |
| CvvCv | — | — | x | x | — | x |

The immediate fact that jumps out from the array is that the imperfective is always level H or level L, while the perfective can be level H, level L, or a contoured type HL or LH. Since the perfective allows more distinctions, taking perfectives as lexically basic is an attractive option. It would entail recognizing /H/, /L/, /HL/, and /LH/ melodies for these heavy stems. For H/L and L/L types, analysis as melodic /H/ and /L/ respectively works well, and allows us to treat them in the same way as Cv and Cvv verbs. However, HL perfectives and LH perfectives can correspond either to imperfective L or H. We discuss below whether we must recognize composite, essentially descriptive types HL/L, HL/H, LH/L, and LH/H without anointing the perfective as lexically basic.

Three Cyv verbs are known to us (272). Two have /H/ melody and {L} imperfective overlay, the most common pattern seen above with Cv and Cvv. But

there is also a third with LH tones in the perfective and H tones in the imperfective. This combination is more common with bisyllabic and heavier stems, as we will see.

| | | | |
|-------|---|------------------|------------------------|
| (272) | perfective | imperfective | gloss |
| | a. /H/ melody with {L} imperfective overlay | | |
| | <i>intransitive</i> | | |
| | dyé | dyè | ‘be delivered, arrive’ |
| | byé | byè | ‘weep’ |
| | b. LH perfective, H imperfective | | |
| | byé ⁿ | byè ⁿ | ‘become big/fat’ |

We have much fuller data on bisyllabic verbs. Numbers for the various tone pairings for several bisyllabic shapes are in (273). Since there are few CwvCv, CvvCv, and CvvNCv stems, some gaps for these shapes may be accidental. There is abundant data from our working lexicon for CvCv, CvNCv, and CvvCv. Queried hapaxes shown as “(1?)” are discussed below.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|
| (273) | shape | H/L | L/L | LH/L | LH/H | HL/H | HL/L |
| | CvCv | 30 | 4 | 18 | 31 | (1?) | 6 |
| | Cw/yvCv | — | — | 1 | 2 | — | — |
| | CvNCv | — | (1?) | 6 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| | CvvCv | — | — | 16 | 6 | — | 4 |
| | CvvNCv | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — |

The /HLH/-toned adjective kààní ‘fresh, healthy’ can also be used as an apparently perfective verb ‘be fresh, healthy’, but it has no imperfective counterpart; see §9.1.6.

Among the bisyllabic types in (273), only CvCv stems can be H/L or L/L, which correspond neatly to the /H/ and /L/ melodies of Cv and Cvv stems. Two doubtful exceptions in our working lexicon can probably be disregarded or otherwise analyzed. A verb meaning ‘become straight’ was initially recorded as téré/téré ‘become straight’, with improbable H/H pairing attested for no other Pere verb. This term was later rejected by our main assistant and some other speakers as a Koro loanword. We would have liked to recheck the perfective tone, perhaps really tère, which would make this an LH/H verb (the reduction of the first vowel to a faint schwa makes tonal identification difficult). However, given the rejection of the vocabulary item by most speakers we were unable to check this form meaningfully. The approved Pere verb for this sense is yíló/yíló, a well-behaved LH/H verb.

A more serious exception is the apparent L/L pattern for the important verb *nìndè/nìndè* ‘sit’. The issue in this case is that the full CvNCv form varies freely with *ndè/ndè*, an alternation that has no parallel among other verbs. L/L is familiar for monosyllabics of the /L/ melody.

(273) also shows that the relatively heavy bisyllabic CvNCv and CvvCv verbs strongly favor contoured perfectives. The three well-attested patterns are LH/L, LH/H, and HL/L, as the array above shows. We recorded HL/H only in the deadjectival verb *pééndò/pééndó* ‘become sour’. The distinction between LH/L and LH/H is therefore the main obstacle to declaring the perfective tones to be lexically basic (i.e., melodic) for nearly all bisyllabic verbs. We return to this below, after considering trisyllabics.

9.1.3 Trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic verb stems

Trisyllabics are more likely than shorter stems to be, or to behave prosodically like, composite or suffixally derived stems. Several are of the shape CvvCvrv, which usually seems to be treated prosodically as Cvv- plus -Cvrv, even though the (prosodic) initial and final are not separately attested or meaningful. The issue is also relevant to the few attested quadrisyllabics.

Disregarding these concerns, we attempt to break down the trisyllabics into tonal categories in (274). Transparent verb-verb compounds are omitted. Since all trisyllabics are heavy, we subdivide them only into CvCvCv, CvvCvCv, and “other” (CvNCvCv, etc.).

| (274) shape | H/L | L/L | LH/L | LH/H | HL/H | HL/L |
|----------------|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|
| CvCvCv | 1 | — | 9 | 17 | — | — |
| CvvCvCv | — | — | 6 | 2 | — | — |
| CvCvNCv | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| quadrisyllabic | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |

Nearly all of these verbs are LH/L or LH/H. The only known H/L verb is *yúgúsú/yùgùsù* ‘(act, event) happen, be carried out’. The perfective form *yúgúsú* is subject to Prepausal H-to-M (§3.4.2.3) becoming *yúgúsū* (or downstepped *yúgú⁺sú*) when clause-final (its usual position). The only known noncomposite quadrisyllabic is *gòròndògò* ‘snore’ (imperfective *góróndógó*).

A curiosity is the (imperfective-only) minimal pair in (275). We refrain (indeed, recoil) from exploring any semantic connection between regurgitation and teaching.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|--------------|---------|------------|
| (275) | perfective | imperfective | gloss | tonal type |
| | a. k̀̀g̀̀ĺ | k̀̀g̀̀l̀ | ‘teach’ | LH/L |
| | b. k̀̀g̀̀ĺ | k̀̀g̀̀ĺ | ‘vomit’ | LH/H |

Because LH/L and LH/H are dominant in trisyllabic and heavier stems, the pendulum swings to the imperfective as the lexically unpredictable form, and to recognition of {LH} as a perfective overlay. But things may not be this simple, as the following section suggests.

9.1.4 Semantics of the distinction LH/H versus LH/L in verbs

We have noted above, in connection with nonmonosyllabic stems, that the distinction between LH/H and LH/L verbs is particularly resistant to an analysis in terms of perfective-based lexical melodies, although that analysis works well for Cv and Cvv verbs and for many light bisyllabics. Here we explore the possibility that the split between LH/H and LH/L can be partially motivated by semantics.

For nonmonosyllabic stems and especially heavy shapes like CvvCv and trisyllabics, there turns out to be a partial correlation of LH/H with intransitivity and especially with deadjectival intransitives (inchoatives). The oppositions in (276) are interesting in this regard. Like many other Pere verbs, the verbs are ambi-valent (labile), but the intransitive (inchoative) and transitive (factitive) forms have different imperfective tones.

| | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (276) | perfective | imperfective | gloss |
| | a. ʃ̀̀ẃ | ʃ̀̀ẃ | ‘become hot’ |
| | ʃ̀̀ẃ | ʃ̀̀ẁ | ‘heat (something)’ |
| | b. m̀̀g̀̀ý | m̀̀g̀̀ý | ‘become soft’ |
| | m̀̀g̀̀ý | m̀̀g̀̀ỳ | ‘soften (something)’ |
| | c. b̀̀g̀̀-lé | b̀̀g̀̀-lé | ‘turn white’ |
| | b̀̀g̀̀-lé | b̀̀g̀̀-l̀ | ‘whiten (something)’ |

The majority of deadjectival inchoatives of CvCv shape are LH/H, though most of them are not also attested as factitives (277a). The one Cvv verb with contoured perfective tone, mentioned previously and repeated in (277b), clearly belongs to this semantic type.

(277) LH/H deadjectival inchoatives

| | perfective | imperfective | gloss |
|----|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. | wòlé | wólé | ‘become cold, freeze’ |
| | wòlí | wólí | ‘become long(er)’ |
| | bè-lí | bé-lí | ‘turn red’ |
| | kòlò | kólò | ‘become skinny’ |
| | sèwú | séwú | ‘be many, abound’ (variants with j) |
| | yílò | yíló | ‘become straight’ |
| b. | byě ⁿ | byé ⁿ | ‘become big/fat’ |

Among LH/L verbs of CvCv shape, only kàlò/kàlò ‘be fast, speedy’ has roughly similar adjectival semantics. However, it does not denote a static quality in the fashion of the verbs in (277a-b).

Furthermore, among CvCv verbs, the LH/H subtype is predominantly intransitive (21 intransitive, 9 transitive) in our working lexicon. This ratio is reversed in the LH/L subtype (12 transitive, 5 intransitive). Therefore some combination of adjectival semantics and intransitivity somewhat reduces the opacity of the LH/H versus LH/L distinction.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from consideration of tri- and quadrisyllabics. (276b-c) above are inchoative/factitive pairs with different tones in the imperfective. In §9.1.3 above we counted a total of 15 LH/L and 21 LH/H tri- and quadrisyllabic verbs. Most of the LH/L verbs (18 out of 20) are transitive, and most of the LH/H verbs (14 out of 19) are intransitive.

We acknowledge, however, that some of the LH/H versus LH/L opposition is irreducible and must be classified as lexicalized.

9.1.5 L*H versus LH* tri- and quadrisyllabics

For trisyllabics and longer stem, bitonal patterns must specify where the tone break occurs. In practice, this means that we must distinguish LLH from LHH trisyllabic perfectives. We use the formula L*H for trisyllabic or longer verbs with a string of L-toned syllables followed by a singleton H, and LH* for a singleton L followed by two or more H-toned syllables.

In theory we should also distinguish LLLH from HLLL quadrisyllabics, but the only known underived quadrisyllabic (‘snore’) is LLLH, which fits the L*H formula. HLLL is also theoretically possible, but in practice it is limited to compounds (HH-LL).

Examples of the four known combinations involving bitonal tri- and quadrisyllabic perfectives are in (278). The LH* type is associated with CvvCərv stems, which are arguably treated prosodically as composite Cvv-Cərv.

| (278) | type | perfective | imperfective | gloss |
|-------------------|--------|------------|--------------|-----------|
| a. L*H perfective | | | | |
| | LLH/L | gbòròtó | gbòròtò | ‘shave’ |
| | LLH/H | gbàgàlá | gbágá lá | ‘dry off’ |
| | LLLH/H | gèròndògó | góróndógó | ‘snore’ |
| b. LH* perfective | | | | |
| | LHH/L | dèètéró | dèètə̀rò | ‘chew’ |
| | LHH/H | yèètáró | yéétáró | ‘get wet’ |

9.1.6 Tritonal perfective verbs

A small number of trisyllabic verbs diverge from those discussed above in allowing a tritonal LHL pattern on perfectives. As usual, imperfectives are level-toned L or H. These stems are of the segmental shape Cv(v)s/tə̀rə̀. For ‘disperse’, the transitivity distinction is associated with the same split of imperfective tones seen with other transitivity pairs in (276) above.

| (279) | type | perfective | imperfective | gloss |
|----------|------|------------|--------------|---|
| a. LHL/L | | | | |
| | | wààsórò | wààsə̀rò | ‘disperse (a group)’ |
| b. LHL/H | | | | |
| | | wààsórò | wáásóró | ‘disperse (intr)’ |
| | | kò̀tórò | kó̀tóró | ‘curve (something)’ or ‘become curved’ |

One CvvCv verb may also be tritonal, but with HLH rather than LHL tones: káàní ‘be fresh; be healthy’. However, it is an adjectival predicate and does not have an imperfective.

9.2 Valency of underived verbs

9.2.1 Subjects

9.2.1.1 Properties of regular subjects

There is a well-defined subject position at or near the left edge of the clause, preceded only by tense markers like future *yà* and, optionally, by setting adverbials like ‘yesterday’ (which can also occur postverbally).

There is no structural case-marking for nonpronominal NPs. Pronominal subjects take their preverbal (i.e. proclitic) form, e.g. *kè* for 1Sg subject.

9.2.1.2 Fixed subject-verb collocations

Some combinations for meteorological conditions are in (280).

(280) a. rainfall

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| (ménīy-à) pàré/pàrè | ‘rain (v), (rain) fall’ (< ‘fall down’) |
| (ménīy-ā) sìní/síní | ‘(rain) stop’ (< ‘be interrupted’) |
| (ménīy-à) sáá/sàà yí | ‘(rain) stop’ (< ‘be cut’) |

b. wind

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| (fīlā-ā) fīlélé/fīlélé | ‘(wind) arise’ (< ‘get up’, cf. (281b)) |
| (fīlā-ā) pò/pò | ‘(wind) blow’ (< ‘do; be done, happen’) |
| (fīlā-ā) sìní/síní | ‘(wind) stop’ (< ‘be interrupted’) |

c. ambient temperature

| | |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| (fèṅá-ā) wò | ‘(weather) be hot’ (< ‘heat be’) |
| (tétègâ) wò | ‘(weather) be cold’ (< ‘cold(n) be’) |

Temporal transitions are presented in (281).

(281) a. time of day

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| (tínī-yà) ḡmándò/ḡmándó | ‘(day) break’ (verb otherwise unattested) |
| (sénī-yà) kórè/kòrè ~ kóré | ‘(sun) blaze (at mid-day)’ (< ‘be hard’) |
| (bírí-bírí-yà) tó/tò | ‘(night) fall’ (< ‘appear’) |

b. celestial bodies (sun, moon)

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| (sénī-yà) fīlélé/fīlélé | ‘(sun) rise’ (< ‘get up’) |
| (sénī-yà) pàré/pàrè | ‘(sun) set’ (< ‘fall’) |

c. seasons

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (kōrā-à) dyé/dyè | ‘(wet season) approach’ (< ‘arrive’) |
| (kōrā-à) mí/mì | ‘(wet season) begin’ (< ‘enter’) |
| (kōrā-à) tá/tà | ‘(wet season) end’ (< ‘finish’) |

9.2.1.3 Subject versus addressee in deontic modals

Some West African languages (e.g. Dogon) do not allow covert second persons subjects to bind reflexive objects in imperatives. This is not so in Pere. The covert imperative and hortative subjects in (282) do require reflexive forms of coindexed objects.

- (282) a. jí [mí nɔ̀]
 kill.Pfv [2Sg **Refl**]
 ‘Kill yourself!’
- b. jí nì [jí nɔ̀]
 kill.Pfv 2Pl [2Pl **Refl**]
 ‘Kill yourselves!’
- c. nɔ̀= =ɔ̀ jì [wó nɔ̀]
 Hort 1Pl kill.Ipfv [1Pl **Refl**]
 ‘Let’s kill ourselves!’

9.2.2 Objects and transitivity

9.2.2.1 Morphosyntactic criteria for objecthood

Transitive verbs require an overt object, minimally 3Sg inanimate -(y)à or animate -(y)è. Objects are not case-marked. Pronominal objects take “nonpreverbal” form, e.g. 1Sg kè (283b), when they follow transitive verbs. Nonpreverbal pronominals occur chiefly in object function and we gloss them as “1SgObj” and so forth in interlinears. In the progressive construction, where the object follows the ‘be’ auxiliary and precedes the main verb, the “preverbal” form of a pronominal object is required, e.g. 1Sg kè (283c). The preverbal form also occurs in subject function (283a).

- (283) a. kē wɔ̀wó
 1Sg hide.Pfv
 ‘I hid (myself).’

- b. ā wòwó kò
 3Sg hide.Pfv **1SgObj**
 ‘He/She hid me.’
- c. ā wò [[kē wòwó] lò]
 3Sg be [[**1Sg** hide.Prog] Loc]
 ‘He/She is hiding me.’

The transitive verb ‘eat’ is illustrated in (284). Parsing can be confusing since *déé/dèè* ‘eat’, which has 3Sg inanimate object forms perfective *dí-yà* ‘ate it’ and imperfective *dī-yà* ‘eat(s) it’, mimics its most common object *déé* ‘thing’ (absolute *dí-yà*). Therefore combinations like (284a) sound like reduplications.

- (284) a. *nō = = ō dèè dí-yà*
 Hort 1Pl eat.Ipfv thing-Abs
 ‘Come, let’s eat!’
- b. *nō = = ō dī-yà*
 Hort 1Pl eat.Pfv-3SgInanObj
 ‘Let’s eat!’ (said when people are in position to eat)

The facts presented above, notably the relationship between progressive and nonprogressive clauses, are sufficient to characterize “object” as a morphosyntactic category.

Based on these criteria, we can show that some apparent postpositional complements are actually direct objects that are immediately followed by VP-final particles that form collocations with certain verbs. The structure is revealed in the progressive, where the direct object is placed between the ‘be’ auxiliary and the main verb, which separates the direct object from the VP-final particle (§11.1).

9.2.2.2 Form of transitive stem before 3Sg object -à or -è

We have seen that several otherwise monosyllabic nouns seemingly “grow” an extra prefixal syllable when absolute suffix -à is added (§4.1.1.3). In most such examples, a monosyllabic stem of the shape *CvV* or *CvW* (before a modifier) becomes absolute singular *Cvya-à*, *Cvwa-à*, *Cvga-à*, or *Cvŋa-à*. In the types with medial velar consonant, it is clearly necessary to posit alternative stem shapes before the absolute suffix. In the semivowel types *Cvya-à* and *Cvwa-à*, a phonological analysis might be attempted, i.e. /*Cee-à*/ → /*Cee-yà*/ → *Ceya-à*, and /*Coo-à*/ → /*Coo-wà*/ → *Cowa-à*. However, the last step in each of these putative derivations is suspect.

Transitive verbs have somewhat similar alternations before 3Sg object -à (inanimate) or -è (animate), which unlike other pronominal objects behave phonologically like suffixes (or enclitics). However, many transitive verbs of all syllable counts simply add epenthetic y or w before the vocalic suffix, see Semivowel-Insertion (§3.2.1.2).

We illustrate below with perfective verbs, but the relevant phonology is the same for imperfectives (which differ tonally). Depending on the semantics and selectional restrictions of the verb, forms with inanimate -à and/or with animate -è are shown.

For nonmonosyllabic transitives, the inserted semivowel is y regardless of the quality of the stem-final vowel. It is nasalized to yⁿ after a nasal syllable (Nv, Cvⁿ). Representative examples are in (285).

| (285) | Pfv | Pfv plus 3SgObj | | gloss |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| | | inanimate | animate | |
| a. with y | | | | |
| | fámóró | fámóró-yà | | ‘mix’ |
| | múró | múró-yà | | ‘stir’ |
| | tógó | | tógó-yè | ‘scratch’ |
| | yógó | yógó-yà | yógó-yè | ‘bury’ |
| b. with y ⁿ | | | | |
| | dáré ⁿ | dáré ⁿ -y ⁿ à | | ‘hold by pinching’ |
| | míy ⁿ á | | míy ⁿ á-y ⁿ è | ‘insult’ |
| | ɲír ⁿ í | ɲír ⁿ í-y ⁿ à | ɲír ⁿ í-y ⁿ è | ‘look at’ |

Most transitive verbs of the shape Cvv also preserve their long vowel before a 3Sg object suffix. As it happens, all known Cvv transitives have an unrounded vowel (286). It is therefore indeterminate whether the y (or yⁿ) in the suffixed forms is generalized, or is harmonic to the stem-final vowel.

| | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| (286) | Pfv | Pfv plus 3SgObj | | gloss |
| | | inanimate | animate | |
| | a. y after unrounded vowel | | | |
| | báá | | báá-yè | ‘accompany’ |
| | jíí | jíí-yà | jíí-yè | ‘wash, bathe’ |
| | kéé | | kéé-yè | ‘look for’ |
| | sèè | sèè-yà | | ‘roast’ |
| | táá | | táá-yè | ‘throw at’ |
| | wéé | wéé-yà | | ‘pound (in mortar)’ |
| | b. y ⁿ after nasal stem | | | |
| | méé ⁿ | méé ⁿ -y ⁿ à | | ‘swallow’ |
| | sáá ⁿ | sáá ⁿ -y ⁿ à | | ‘ruin, damage’ |
| | sèè ⁿ | sèè ⁿ -y ⁿ à | | ‘buy’ |

The Cvv verbs síⁿ ~ jíⁿ ‘take down’ and déé ‘eat’ are treated differently, see (288b) below.

The known monosyllabic transitive verbs with rounded vowels are all Cv with short vowel, not Cvv like the verbs shown above. Those that do not have a velar extension (see below) require w or nasalized wⁿ, rather than y or yⁿ, at the stem-suffix boundary (287).

| | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|
| (287) | Pfv | Pfv plus 3SgObj | | gloss |
| | | inanimate | animate | |
| | a. with w | | | |
| | bú | bú-wà | | ‘put in, load’ |
| | dú | dú-wà | dú-wè | ‘jab’ |
| | só | só-wà | | ‘ignite’ |
| | sú | sú-wā | sú-wē | ‘imitate’ (with nà ⁿ -dè) |
| | sú ~ jú | jú-wà | | ‘remove’ |
| | tó | tó-wà | | ‘sew’ |
| | wó | wó-wà | | ‘dig up’ |
| | b. with w ⁿ | | | |
| | jú ~ jí | jú-w ⁿ ā-ndè | | ‘hear’ |
| | tù ⁿ | tù-w ⁿ ā-ndè | | ‘put down’ |

In these forms, the vowel quality of the stem is preserved before the suffixal w/wⁿ, with the partial exception of ‘hear’, where jú-wⁿā-ndè does not have a variant

#ní-wⁿā-ndò. The final -ndò or -ndè in (287b) is a VP-final particle (§11.1) that does not affect the form of the 3Sg object suffix.

Cv transitive verbs that are parallel to those in (287) above but with unrounded vowel, and that do not have a velar extension, are few in number and their phonology is problematic (288a). wí-yà by itself is seemingly parallel to round-vowel forms shown above like bú-wà. However, té becomes tí-yà rather than the expected #té-yà, which would have been parallel to round-vowel forms like tó-wà shown above with a mid-height vowel. Furthermore, there are two unrounded Cvv verbs that also have the suffixed form Ci-yà (288b). This suggests that there is a minor suffixal template Ci-ỳ (inanimate Ci-ỳ), and that the four verbs in (288a-b) are fit into it.

| | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---|-------------|
| (288) | Pfv | Pfv plus 3SgObj | gloss |
| | | inanimate animate | |
| | a. Cv becoming Ci- | | |
| | té | tí-yà | ‘say’ |
| | wí | wí-yà | ‘place (v)’ |
| | b. Cvv becoming Ci- | | |
| | déé | dí-yà | ‘eat’ |
| | sí ⁿ ~ jí ⁿ | sí-y ⁿ ā-ndè ~ jí-y ⁿ ā-ndè | ‘take down’ |

This Ci-ỳ template for verbs is directly comparable to the irregular alternation of noun déé ‘thing’ with absolute singular dí-ỳ (§5.1.5).

The suffixal semivowels {y w} in the preceding arrays lend themselves at least in part to a simple phonological analysis (epenthesis in order to separate the stem-final and suffix-initial vowels). However, there are also numerous monosyllabic transitive verbs that have a velar extension with g or ŋ(g) before the suffixal vowel. These alternations are reminiscent of velar extensions in some monosyllabic nouns before the absolute suffix -à (§4.1.1.3). However, in the nominal examples the extension is syllabic, with e.g. tēē (< tēē) ‘talk (n)’ becoming absolute tēgá-à, the latter presumably contracted from bisyllabic stem-variant /tēǵ/ (with indeterminate final-vowel quality) plus suffix -à.

The transitive verbs with presuffixal velar extensions are in (289). Those in (289a) have g, often spirantized phonetically to [ɣ] in the environments a_a and ɔ_ɔ (§3.2.2.3). Those in (289b) have nasal stems Cvⁿ or Nv, and their velar extension has ŋ varying with ŋg.

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|
| (289) | Pfv | Pfv plus 3SgObj | | gloss |
| | | inanimate | animate | |
| | a. g before suffix | | | |
| | fé | fé-gà | | ‘sweep’ |
| | gbá | gbá-gà | | ‘taste’ |
| | jé | jé-gā lè | (jé yā-rē) | ‘knock down’ |
| | jé | jé-gà | | ‘sell’ |
| | jí | jí-gà | jí-gè | ‘kill’ |
| | sé | sé-gà | sé-gè | ‘ask’ |
| | té | té-gà | | ‘carve’ |

| | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|----------|--------|------------------------------|
| | b. ŋ ~ ŋg before suffix | | | |
| | fá ⁿ | fá-ŋà | | ‘gather’ |
| | kí ⁿ | kí-ŋà | | ‘take, pick up’ |
| | kó ⁿ | kó-ŋà | kó-ŋgè | ‘miss (target)’ |
| | ná | ná-ŋà | | ‘grind’ |
| | ɲá | ɲá-ŋà | ɲá-ŋgè | ‘hit’ |
| | ɲí | ɲí-ŋ(g)à | | ‘put a roof on’ |
| | ŋmá | ŋmá-ŋà | | ‘spray’ |
| | só ⁿ | só-ŋà | | ‘build’ or ‘set’ |
| | té ⁿ | té-ŋà | | ‘tie’ (more often tèní/téní) |
| | tù ⁿ | tū-ŋà | | ‘put’ |

The verbs lá/là ‘rip, tear; separate’ and lágá/làgà ‘divide, share’ are both transitives with pseudo-locative lè. An interesting speculation is that the two are etymologically related. Perhaps ‘divide, share’ originated as a 3Sg object form of the first verb.

9.2.2.3 Fixed verb-object collocations

As in all languages there are many collocations involving a transitive verb and an object noun. A few Pere examples will suffice here.

The invariant verb pò ‘do’ (§9.4.2) combines with many objects. Examples are pò tóróⁿ ‘cough (v)’, pō tōŋá-à ‘cultivate, do farming’ (lit. “do field”), and pō gbōtūgū ‘treat, care for (sb, medically)’. See also §8.8.2, §8.10.

The invariant verb wù, elsewhere a simple transitive ‘put in motion, start up (vehicle)’, occurs in the combination wū fēly-âⁿ ‘whistle (v)’.

tùⁿ ‘put’ occurs in tùⁿ néé ‘put ear’ in combinations like ‘X put ear [next to Y]’ meaning ‘X listened to Y.’ néé ‘ear’ in this combination is a bare noun, without the usual absolute suffix or possessor. See (297) below for an example.

jìsì ‘eye(s), face’, absolute singular jífy-à, has a special form jìsó in some collocations, as in (290).

- (290) sìrì sá [kē jìsó]
 shame(n) cut.Pfv [1Sg **face**]
 ‘I was humiliated (embarrassed, shamed).’

9.2.2.4 Ditransitives

The prototypical ditransitive is sò/sò ‘give’. In Pere it takes a direct object denoting the theme (object transferred) and a dative indirect object, in that order.

- (291) a. kē sò kórówá-à [[ké tó] lè]
 1Sg **give**.Ipfv money-Abs [[1Sg father] **Dat**]
 ‘I give the money to my father.’
- b. kē sò kórówá-ā yā-rē
 1Sg **give**.Ipfv money-Abs 3Sg-**Dat**
 ‘I give the money to him/her.’
- c. sò kórówá-ā kē-rē
give.Impert money-Abs 1Sg-**Dat**
 ‘Give me the money!’

In the progressive, only the direct object precedes the verb and postposition lè. The dative indirect object remains postverbal.

- (292) kē wò [[kórówá-à sóó] lè] [[ké tó] lè]
 1Sg be [[**money** **give**.Prog] Loc] [[1Sg father] **Dat**]
 ‘I am giving the money to my father.’

Other ditransitives include bàgá/bàgà ‘send’ and ηmórⁿó/ηmòrⁿò ‘show’. ‘Send’ has the same dative complement as ‘give’ (293a). The complement of ‘show’ is a PP with yí ‘in front of’ (§8.4.5.1) as the postposition (293b). The same ‘in front of’ postposition is used for the addressee of ‘say’, which also in effect presents something to the recipient. For a different ‘send’ construction see §9.2.4.2 below.

- (293) a. ā bàgá kórówó kē-rē
 3Sg **send**.Pfv money 1Sg-**Dat**
 ‘He/She sent money to me.’

- b. kè ηmárⁿó [ké jíná-á] bì-í
 1Sg **show.Pfv** [1Sg house-Abs] 3Pl-**in.front.of**
 ‘I showed them my house.’

9.2.3 Perception verbs (‘see’, ‘hear’)

jáá/jàà (...lè) ‘see’ is a pseudo-dative verb. For the sense ‘get, take possession of’ see §9.4.7. In non-progressive main clauses, the verb is followed by the object in what looks like dative PP form (294a). Even the special pronominal dative forms are used (294b). However, in the progressive the object is positioned between the auxiliary wò ‘be’ and the main verb, leaving the pseudo-dative morpheme postverbal. jàà-lé in the progressive does not nasalize to #jàà-ndé (294c).

- (294) a. kè jáá [ké tó] lè
 1Sg **see.Pfv** [1Sg father] **PsDat**
 ‘I saw my father.’
- b. kè jáá yā-rē
 1Sg **see.Pfv** 3Sg-**Dat**
 ‘I saw him/her.’
- c. ā wō [[kē jàà-lé] lò]
 3Sg be [[1Sg **see.Prog-PsDat**] Loc]
 ‘He/She is seeing me.’

These morphosyntactic data point to the pseudo-dative construction (§11.1.2.2).

‘Look at X’ is the regular transitive verb jírⁿí/jìrⁿì. In some contexts, it can be translated loosely as ‘see X’. It is limited to visual perception and does not mean ‘get, take possession of, receive (something sent)’. The object takes regular object form without a postposition or VP-final particle (295a). In progressive (295b), the locative morpheme is part of the regular progressive construction.

- (295) a. kè jírⁿí-yà
 1Sg **look.at.Pfv-3SgInanObj**
 ‘I looked at/saw it.’
- b. ā wò [[kē jírⁿí] lò]
 3Sg be [[1Sg **look.at.Prog**] Loc]
 ‘He/She is looking at me.’

‘Hear’, extendible to ‘listen to’, is *ní/nì* varying with *nú/nù*. The combination with an apparent dative PP denoting a human percept is attested (296a) but unidiomatic, and it was not possible to elicit a full pseudo-dative syntactic array. The regular construction is pseudo-locative. The object can be a noun like ‘noise’ or its pronominalized counterpart. If the source of the sound is a person, the person is expressed as possessor of ‘talk (n)’ (296b), or as possessor of a dummy possessum *ná-ŋá* in the case of a nonverbal sound (296c). The 3Sg inanimate object form *nú-wⁿā-ndò* is unmistakably pseudo-locative (296d).

- (296) a. *à ní k̄-rē*
 3Sg hear.Pfv 1Sg-Dat
 ‘He/She heard me.’
- b. *à nú [ké tégá-à] l̄ò*
 3Sg hear.Pfv [1Sg talk(n)-Abs] PsLoc
 ‘He/She heard me.’ (i.e. what I said)
- c. *à nú [ké ná-ŋá] l̄ò*
 3Sg hear.Pfv [1Sg Poss] PsLoc
 ‘He/She heard me.’ (e.g. the sound I made)
- d. *kè nú-wⁿā-ndò*
 1Sg hear.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc
 ‘I heard it.’
- e. *k̄ w = [[= āā nì-ndó] l̄ò]*
 1Sg be [[3Sg hear.Prog-PsLoc] Loc]
 ‘I am listening to it.’

Another ‘listen to’ expression is invariant *tùⁿ néé*, ‘put ear’, which appears with a PP complement ‘beside X’.

- (297) *ā tùⁿ néê [[ké tégá-á] t̄r̄é]*
 3Sg put.Pfv ear [[1Sg talk(n)-Abs] beside]
 ‘He/She listened to my words.’
 (lit. “...put ear next to my words”)

ní/nì ~ nú/nù ‘hear’ can also mean ‘smell (an odor)’, with noun *síyⁿá-à ~ jíyⁿá-à* ‘odor’ (298a). Alternatively, *kúⁿ/kùⁿ* ‘take, pick up’ in the sense ‘detect’ can be used (298b).

- (298) a. kè ní [námwⁿ-ā fíyⁿá-ā] (ndò)
 1Sg **hear**.Pfv [meat-Abs odor-Abs] (PsLoc)
 ‘I smelled the meat.’
- b. kè kúⁿ [námwⁿ-ā fíyⁿá-ā]
 1Sg **take**.Pfv [meat-Abs odor-Abs]
 ‘I smelled the meat.’

9.2.4 Verbs of motion and transfer

9.2.4.1 Motion verbs

Some basic motion verbs are in (299).

- (299) a. fò/fò ‘go, depart’
 yá/yà ‘come’
- b. mí/mì ‘enter’
 gbórò/gbòrò ~ gbàrò/gbàrò ‘exit (v)’
- c. péèⁿ/pèèⁿ ‘ascend’
 sìn-dé/sín-dé ~ ðìn-dé/ðín-dé ‘descend’
- d. wíílè/wìilè ‘arrive (there)’
 dyé/dyè ‘arrive, be delivered’, also ‘(rain)
 arrive/fall’
- e. sàrò/sàrò ‘pass by, go past, proceed’
 [in comparatives, ‘surpass’, §12.1.2]

sìn-dé/sín-dé ‘descend’ in (299c) is etymologically composite, probably a reanalyzed pseudo-dative, cf. transitive sí^m/sìⁿ (...lè) ‘unload, take down’. However, sìn-dé/sín-dé behaves like an unsegmentable bisyllabic stem.

Motion verbs may be accompanied by spatial adverbials. These may be full PPs (§8.4) or simple adverbs (§4.3.1.2, §8.9.4).

For combinations of a motion verb with another clause, see §16.3.1.1-2 and §16.4.1.2.

9.2.4.2 Verbs of conveyance ('bring', 'take', 'send')

'Bring X' and 'take/convey X' can be expressed as 'go/come [with X]', or as 'go/come in order to give X (to Y)' with a purposive clause (§16.4.1.2). In this construction the 'with X' phrase follows the motion verb.

(300) a. yà kē fō [nī mwⁿɔ̃] tóŋé-è
 Fut 1Sg go.Ipfv [**with** 2Sg] field.Loc
 'I will take you to the field.'

b. yá tí-yà sòó kō-rē
come.Pfv tea-Abs **give**.Purp 1Sg-Dat
 'Bring me some tea!'

'Send' is expressed by preposing the 'with X' phrase to the motion verb 'go' or 'come'.

(301) yà kē [nī tí-yā] yā / fō mō-rē
 Fut 1Sg [**with** tea-Abs] **come**.Ipfv / **go**.Ipfv 2Sg-Dat
 'I will send you-Sg the tea.'

A textual example is in 2018-03 @ 00:54. For a different 'send' construction with ditransitive bàgá 'send' see §9.2.2.4.

9.2.4.3 Verbs of putting and removing

There are three basic verbs that can loosely be translated as 'put'. (302a-b) are simple transitives with direct objects (bú-wà 'put-Past it in', só-ŋà 'set-Past it'), while (302c) is a pseudo-dative (tūⁿ-wⁿā-ndè 'put-Past it down').

(302) a. bú/bù 'put X [in Y]'
 b. sóⁿ/sòⁿ 'set, put X [on Y]'
 c. tūⁿ/tùⁿ ... lè 'put X down'

By itself, tūⁿ/tùⁿ can (appear to) be a simple transitive '(hen) lay (egg)'. However, this may actually be a different verb stem, since its form with 3Sg object has ŋ rather than wⁿ, hence tū-ŋà versus tū-wⁿā-ndè.

Verbs of removing are in (303). (303a) is a pure 'remove' verb, while (303b) denotes forceful removal in an orthogonal direction.

- (303) a. sù/sù ~ fù/fù ‘remove, take out/off, unload, draw (water)’
 b. ηm̀/ηm̀ ‘yank or pull out/off (e.g. hair); uproot’

9.2.5 Stance verbs

These verbs can be active (i.e., aspectually sensitive) or stative. In active contexts, denoting an event of change of position, they behave like ordinary intransitive verbs. Perfective and imperfective examples are in (304a-b). In stative contexts, denoting a stable position that was originally produced by a change in position, the perfective forms are followed by ẁ (304b), cf. ẁ ‘be’ (§9.3.1.1). ǹnd̀ ‘sit’ differs from ‘lie down’ and ‘stand’ in not shifting to H-tone in the imperfective. It also has a reduced variant ñd̀, especially in the progressive (304c).

- (304) a. kē p̀n-dé / ǹnd̀ / s̀nì
 1Sg lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv/stand.Pfv
 ‘I lay down/sat down/stood up.’
- b. k̀ p̀n-dé / ǹnd̀ / s̀nì
 1Sg lie.down.Ipfv/sit.Ipfv/stand.Ipfv
 ‘I (often) lie down/sit down/stand up.’
- c. kē p̀n-dé / ñd̀ / s̀nì ẁ
 1Sg lie.down.Prog/sit.Prog/stand.Prog be
 ‘I am lying down/sitting/standing (position).’

9.2.6 Ambi-valent (labile) verbs

Given the absence of valency-changing derivational morphology (§10.1), many Pere verbs are ambi-valent (labile). An example is k̀/ k̀ (... ỳ) ‘break’. It is transitive in (305a), with an agent. It is mediopassive (middle) in (305b), with no agent.

- (305) a. k̀ k̀ gb̀g̀-à ỳ
 1Sg **break**.Pfv wood-Abs apart
 ‘I broke the stick.’
- b. gb̀g̀-à k̀ ỳ
 wood-Abs **break**.Pfv apart
 ‘The stick broke.’

A few otherwise labile verbs distinguish the transitive from the intransitive tonally, but only in the imperfective. See (276) and (279).

9.2.7 Verb plus cognate object

In textual excerpt (306), the verb ‘escape’ is elaborated by a PP ‘in his escape’, based on a nominalized form of the same verb.

- (306) ā pò máà, bēēsī ηmàndó,
 3Sg did.Pfv thus, hare **escape(v)**.Pfv,
 [[à ní] ηmàndó-wā] lò],
 [[3Sg Dem] **escape.VblN-Abs]** Loc],
 ‘(When) it happened like that, hare made his escape.’ (2018-07 @ 01:21)

This stylistically colorful construction appears to be limited to occasional use in narratives. In lexical elicitation we did not find any systematic use of the schema verb plus cognate object or adpositional complement.

9.3 Key stative verbs and predicates

In addition to the stative predicatives described below, see ‘resemble’ predicates in §8.8.3.

9.3.1 Locational predicates

9.3.1.1 ‘Be (present/absent)’ (wò)

The subject is followed by wò ‘be’. A spatial expression, minimally a ‘here’ or ‘there’ adverb, is obligatory.

- (307) a. [ké tó] wò [yéǵá-ā k̀̀ndó]
 [1Sg father] **be** [village-Abs in]
 ‘My father is in the village.’
- b. à wō nà wó?
 3Sg **be** **here** Neg
 ‘He/She isn’t here.’

For nì replacing wò after a focalized subject, see §13.1.6. For wò as copula ‘be’ see §9.3.2.1 below.

9.3.1.2 Presentatives (íyè, à yê ‘here’s/there’s X!’)

Presentatives of the type ‘here’s/there’s X!’ (French *voici/voilà X*) are related to demonstrative yêè and variants (§4.3.1.1). However, they are somewhat difficult to segment morphemically. The fact that the surround language Koro has áyè in this function may be a complicating factor.

The simplest presentative is the bare form in (308). It can be used when the object in question is obvious to speaker and addressee, as when the speaker is offering something.

- (308) íyè
 Prsntv
 ‘Here!’ (French *voici!* or *voilà!*)

If a nonpronominal NP is added, the NP is followed by á (often heard as à), which we take to be the subject-focus marker. The á is sometimes inaudible after absolute suffix -à but it is clearly heard in e.g. (309c). The combination of á with íyè is pronounced [ǎj:è] or similar. It can also be reduced to á yê.

- (309) a. kèny-á / píná-à á íyè
 cat-Abs / house-Abs **SbjFoc** Prsntv
 ‘Here’s/There’s the cat.’ (< kèny-â)
- b. kèní-bī-yà á íyè
 cat-Pl-Abs **SbjFoc** Prsntv
 ‘Here/There are the cats!’
- c. séédù á íyè
 S **SbjFoc** Prsntv
 ‘Here’s/There’s Seydou!’

Pronominal presentatives are in (310). They are based on independent pronouns, but show slight contractions.

- (310) 1Sg kò á íyè ~ kw = àá íyè
 1Pl wò á íyè
 2Sg mwⁿò á íyè
 2Pl nì á íyè
 3Sg yū-wà á íyè
 3Pl bì á íyè

The combination of a preceding stem-final vowel and á results in various contractions and resyllabifications.

- (313) a. wó wò jáwòbá-b= =àá lè
 1Pl be Yacouba-Pl **Foc** be
 ‘We are Yacouba (ethnicity).’ (< jáwòbá-bè)
- b. kē wò jáwòb= =áá lè
 1Sg be Yacouba **Foc** be
 ‘I am a Yacouba (ethnicity).’ (K jáwòbá)
- c. kē wò fòró-nùŋ= =àá lè
 1Sg be Senufo-person **Foc** be
 ‘I am a Senufo (ethnicity).’ (< -nùŋò)

wò ‘be’ is replaced by nì, also glossed ‘be’, when the subject is focalized (§13.1.6).

9.3.2.2 Identificational ‘it is X’ (á kà)

When a referent has been introduced or is contextually present (as when someone telephones or knocks on the door), but is not yet identified, a construction with á kà is used. á is arguably the (weak) focalizing element mentioned in the preceding section. kà is the identificational predicate. Demonstrative yì in (314c) marks definiteness.

- (314) a. [kw= àá] kà
 [1Sg **SbjFoc**] **it.is**
 ‘It’s me!’ (< kò á)
- b. [kèsì á] kà
 [dog-Abs **SbjFoc**] **it.is**
 ‘It’s a dog.’ (< kèsí)
- c. [bòbw= àá] yī kà
 [goat-Abs **SbjFoc**] Dem.Def **it.is**
 ‘It’s the goat.’ (< bòbò)
- d. [bòbw= àá] kà wó?
 [goat-Abs **SbjFoc**] **it.is** Neg
 ‘It isn’t a goat.’ (< bòbò)

- e. [séédù á] kà
 [S **SbjFoc**] **it.is**
 ‘It’s Seydou.’
- f. [yū-wà á] kà
 [3Sg **SbjFoc**] **it.is**
 ‘It’s him/her.’

9.3.2.3 ‘That is X’ (X yêê)

Demonstrative yêê (often shortened to yê) can follow an NP (X) in the sense ‘that is X’, with no overt copula. See [yū-wà á] yê ‘that is it’ in 2018-08 @ 00:26, and the series of parallel clauses ending in yê beginning 2018-07 @ 00:38.

9.3.2.4 ‘Be different/distinct’ and ‘be apart’

‘X and Y are different’ is expressed as ‘X and Y are not one kind’. The noun dógósí ‘kind, type’ is part of the predicate.

- (315) [bábá-á nī bōbw-ā] wò [dógòsì pír^m] lè wó?
 [sheep-Abs and goat-Abs] be [**type one**] be Neg
 ‘A sheep and a goat are different.’ (< dógósí)

To indicate that two groups or individuals are in separate locations, té occurs as predicate in two parallel clauses.

- (316) [sóré-bī-yà té] [sém-bī-yà té]
 [man-Pl-Abs **apart**] [woman-Pl-Abs **apart**]
 ‘Men and woman are apart (separated).’

The two clauses in (316) can be simplified by using a single plural subject instead of a conjoined NP. In this case, néné ‘mutually’ must be added (317).

- (317) bē wò té néné (wó?)
 3Pl be **apart mutually** (Neg)
 ‘They (two groups or individuals) are (not) apart (separated).’

9.3.3 Possessive predicates

9.3.3.1 ‘X have Y’ (wò ... nà̀n-dè̀, wò ... l̀ò)

The construction meaning ‘X has (a) Y’ is of the form “Y be [X Poss]”. The subject is in bare form without absolute suffix. ‘Be’ is the same form wò used in ‘be (somewhere)’ predicates and as a copula. The possessive postposition is nà̀n-dè̀ (§8.6).

- (318) a. jíní wò [[ké tó] nà̀n-dè̀]
house be [[1Sg father] Poss]
‘My father has a house.’
- b. kèjí wò [ké nà̀n-dè̀]
dog be [1Sg Poss]
‘I have a dog.’

A variant that emphasizes the existence of Y adds indefinite tí (§4.3.3) before wò. The subject is now in absolute form (suffix -à) as usual before the indefinite morpheme (§6.7.3).

- (319) [jíná-à tí] wò [[ké tó] nà̀n-dè̀]
[house-Abs some] be [[1Sg father] Poss]
‘My father has a house.’

If the possessum is an attribute rather than an owned item, the locative postposition l̀ò may replace nà̀n-dè̀.

- (320) t̀ùgùjí-yā w = [= āā l̀ò]
power-Abs be [3Sg Loc]
‘He/She is strong.’ (< wò)

9.3.3.2 ‘Y belong to X’

One construction with this meaning ends with identificational clause-final particle kà ‘it is’. This is preceded by the possessor NP or pronoun plus default possessum náńá, sometimes níńá in careful speech (§6.6.3).

- (321) a. [jínì yéè] [ké náńá] kà
[house Dem] [1Sg Poss] it.is
‘That house is mine.’

- b. [nínì yéè] [séédù náǵá] kà
 [house Dem] [1Sg Poss] **it.is**
 ‘That house is Seydou’s.’

A second construction begins with possessor plus default possessum náǵá, then particle nì, then the possessum. The possessor is focused in this construction. nì replaces wò ‘be’ after focalized constituents (§13.1.6).

- (322) a. [ké náǵá] nì [nínì yê]
 [1Sg **possession**] **be** [house Dem]
 ‘This/That house is mine [focus].’
- b. [yū-wà náǵá] nì nínì, nī [mìndé-dèè kwólì]
 [3Sg **possession**] **be** house, with [clothing worn.out]
 ‘(Cochroach said that) the house and the worn-out clothes (in it) were his [focus].’ (2018-02 @ 00:11)

A third construction has wò ‘be’ after the subject (which denotes the possessum), and lè ‘be’ as in copular clauses instead of kà clause-finally.

- (323) [nínì yéè] wò [ké náǵá] lè
 [house Dem] **be** [1Sg Poss] **be**
 ‘This house is mine.’

A fourth construction, without ‘be’ and with genitive ní (elsewhere a linker between possessor and possessum) instead of náǵá, is also attested (324). It can be used with singular or plural NPs, like the other constructions. It is possible but not obligatory to add lè clause-finally.

- (324) [nínì yê gbó] [ké ní] (lè)
 [house Dem all] [1Sg Gen] (be)
 ‘All the houses are mine.’

9.3.4 ‘Know’ (sèè/sèè)

This transitive verb normally occurs in the imperfective form sèè in the stative sense ‘know’. Perfective sèè, identical in form to the imperfective, means ‘found out’ or ‘recognized’ (kē sēē-yè ‘I recognized him’). sèè occurs frequently with an inanimate 3Sg object (‘know it’).

- (325) a. kē sī-yà (~ fy-à)
 1Sg know.Ipfv-3SgInanObj
 ‘I know (it).’
- b. yā kē sī-yà
 Fut 1Sg know.Ipfv-3SgInanObj
 ‘I will know (it).’

The sense can be that of ‘know (a fact)’ or ‘know, be acquainted or familiar with (a person, place, etc.).’

- (326) a. kē sēē sèèdú
 1Sg know.Ipfv S
 ‘I know (=am acquainted with) Seydou.’
- b. kē sèè [yéè yé] wó?
 1Sg know.Ipfv [village Dem] Neg
 ‘I don’t know this village.’

For ‘know’ with propositional complements, see §16.11.2.1

9.3.5 ‘Want’ (with kīngè ‘after’)

‘X want Y’ is expressed as ‘Y be [behind X]’, cf. colloquial English *be after X*.

- (327) kē wò [túmⁿ-á kīngè]
 1Sg be [water-Abs **after**]
 ‘I want (=would like) some water.’ (‘á’ here <HM>)

9.3.6 ‘X like Y’ phrased as ‘Y please X’ (ηmà)

‘X like Y’ is phrased as ‘Y is good (=pleasing) to X’. The verb ηmá/ηmà, here usually in imperfective form, is followed by the object (the experiencer) and VP-particle yí ‘apart’, which combines with postverbal objects as though it were the postposition yí ‘in front of’.

- (328) a. ā ηmā kī-í wó?
 3Sg **be.good**.Ipfv 1Sg-**apart** Neg
 ‘I don’t like him/her/it.’

- b. kē ŋmā [à yí]
 1Sg **be.good.Ipfv** [3Sg **apart**]
 ‘I please him/her’ = ‘He/She likes me.’

For constructions using this and other verbs plus VP or clausal complements in the sense ‘want to VP’ or ‘want X to VP’, see §16.9.1.

9.3.7 Stative construction for stance verbs (perfective plus wò)

Static position (resulting from a change in position) is indicated by the regular change-of-position verb (‘sit’, ‘stand’, etc.) in perfective aspect, followed by wò ‘be’. For past time, a clause-initial tense morpheme may be added (329d).

- (329) a. kē pìn-dé wò
 1Sg lie.down.Pfv **be**
 ‘I am lying down (e.g. in bed).’ (< pìndè)
- b. ā ñdē wò
 3Sg sit.Pfv **be**
 ‘He/She is sitting (=seated).’ (< ñdè)
- c. kē sìní wò
 1Sg stand.Pfv **be**
 ‘I am standing (=in standing position).’
- d. kā kē pìn-dé wò
Past 1Sg lie.down.Pfv **be**
 ‘I was lying down (stative).’

9.3.8 Predicates of bodily condition

Several clause types expressing temporary bodily conditions are of the form ‘X is [in Y]’ where X is the condition (e.g. ‘hunger’) and Y is the experiencer. This superficially resembles the progressive construction (§16.5.1).

- (330) a. fǎr-âⁿ wō [kē lò]
 hunger-Abs **be** [1Sg **Loc**]
 ‘I am hungry.’ (also kó lò with independent pronoun, 2018-01 @ 00:33)

- b. túmú-kōrōwā-ā wō [kē lò]
 water-thirst-Abs **be** [1Sg **Loc**]
 ‘I am thirsty.’
- c. lààmⁿwá-ā wō [kē lò]
 sleep(n)-Abs **be** [1Sg **Loc**]
 ‘I am sleepy.’

9.3.9 Stative adjectival predicates

For present-time or temporally unbounded states, the adjective follows the subject NP without inflectional markers. Examples are in the ‘it is ADJ’ column in (331).

Dynamic predicates, mostly deadjectival inchoative verbs (§10.4), are shown for comparison in the ‘it became X’ column. The distinction is not as great in Pere as in English since e.g. ‘it became (has become) red’ can often be substituted for ‘it is red’. In fact, the dynamic predicates are generally preferred where either is possible.

| (331) | adjective | gloss | ‘it is ADJ’ | ‘it became ADJ’ |
|-------|---|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| a. | no change | | | |
| | fòwú | ‘hot’ | ā fòwú wò | ā fòwú |
| | yèètóró | ‘wet’ | ā yèètóró wò | ā yèètóró |
| | màgàyá | ‘soft’ | ā màgàyá wò | ā màgàyá |
| | gbèrè(y)é | ‘sweet, sugary’ | ā gbèrè(y)é wò | ā gbèrè(y)é |
| b. | tonal change only | | | |
| | <i>tonal change only</i> | | | |
| | wòlé | ‘cold’ | ā wòlé wò | ā wólè |
| | pèèndó | ‘sour’ | ā pèèndó wò | à péèndò |
| | kàlé | ‘bitter’ | ā kàlé wò | à kálè |
| c. | color adjectives with -lí or -lé ; see also suppletive bè-lí in (f) | | | |
| | bìì | ‘black’ | ā bìì-lí wò | ā bìì-lí |
| | bòò | ‘white’ | ā bòò-gò-lé wò | ā bòò-gò-lé |
| d. | derivational suffix omitted | | | |
| | kòrè-sí | ‘hard’ | (rejected) | à kórè |
| | tùgùsí-kò | ‘heavy’ | ā tùgùsí wò | ā tùgùsí tù ⁿ |

e. with wò ‘be’ preceding the adjective

| | | | |
|------|---------|-------------|-------------|
| tàrè | ‘small’ | ā wò tíyèmú | ā pò tíyèmú |
|------|---------|-------------|-------------|

f. suppletive stems

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| gbáá | ‘big’ | ā byě ⁿ | ā byě ⁿ |
| sós | ‘long’ | ā wòlí | ā wòlí |
| ḡwèlì | ‘red’ | ā bè-lí | bè-lí (< bé ‘be cooked/ripe’) |
| fàríní-y ⁿ à | ‘dry’ | ā gbàgàlá | ā gbàgàlá |
| kùsì | ‘good, pretty’ | à ḡmá yí | à ḡmá yí [àḡmá y ⁿ] |

Negation is by the usual negative morpheme wó?.

(332) ā mǎgàyá wò wó?
 3Sg soft be **Neg**
 ‘It isn’t soft.’

A clause-initial tense morpheme can shift the time interval to the past.

(333) lá ā byěⁿ
Past 3Sg be.big
 ‘It was big.’

For more on the dynamic predicates related to adjectives, see §10.5.

9.4 Key dynamic verbs and predicates

9.4.1 Quotative verbs (lé, té/tè)

There are two verbs that can frame quoted clauses, or (in one case) NPs including pronouns and demonstratives that can refer to spoken material.

One is lé ‘said’, which follows the subject and directly precedes quoted matter. It is not marked for aspectuality, cannot be negated, and cannot be directly followed by a PP denoting the original addressee. lé occurs only in veridical contexts (the quoted utterance is asserted to have been uttered). The quoted material is in its original spoken form, not a pronominalized substitute. Negation at the end of the quoted material is semantically part of the quoted material and does not scope over ‘say’.

The other is té/tè ‘say’, a regular verb that has perfective and imperfective forms and can occur in any inflectional context (e.g. future, progressive, negative, deontics). It can be followed immediately by a PP denoting the original addressee.

The quoted matter may be in its original spoken form, or it may be pronominalized as ‘it’, ‘that’, ‘that talk’, and so forth. Negation at the end of quoted material scopes over ‘say’.

See §16.10.1 for analysis and examples of quoted clauses.

9.4.2 ‘Do’ (pò/pò)

The basic ‘do’ verb is pò/pò. It may occur as a simple transitive, as in *ā pō-wà* ‘He/She did it’ with inanimate 3Sg object. It also occurs in many collocations with nominal objects that denote the nature of the action or activity, as in *pō tūnd(w)-āà* ‘work (v), perform work’, *pō gbòtùgù* ‘do medical work’, i.e. ‘care for, treat (sick or injured person)’, and *pò tóróⁿ* ‘cough (v)’. See also §8.8.2, §8.10, and §9.5.4.1.

9.4.3 ‘Give’ (sò/sò)

This verb is ditransitive (§9.2.2.4), requiring a direct object (the theme, usually nonhuman) and a dative indirect object (usually human).

- (334) a. *kē sò gbénì-kíy-à jō-rē*
 1Sg **give**.Pfv rice-seed-Abs 2Pl-Dat
 ‘I gave you-Pl the rice (grains).’
- b. *sō gbēgā-à [[mí tó] lè]*
give.Imprt wood-Abs [[2Sg father] **Dat**]
 ‘Give-2Sg your father the wood!’
- c. *ā wò [[kórówá-à sóó] lō] wō-rē*
 3Sg be [[money-Abs **give**.Prog] Loc] 1Pl-Dat
 ‘He/She is giving us the money.’

9.4.4 ‘Eat’ (d́éé/d̀èè) and ‘drink’ (śóⁿ/s̀òⁿ)

The verb ‘eat’ takes *dí-yà* ‘thing’ as default object (335a), as an alternative to ‘meat’ (335b), ‘meal’, or other more specific object. There is some ambiguity to (335a) since *dí-yà* is also the 3Sg object form of ‘eat’, suggesting the possibility of an alternative parsing with a reduplicated verb ‘eat’. An overt object is required with this verb, minimally 3Sg object -à (335c).

- (335) a. ò dǎ́é dí-yà
 1Pl eat.Pfv thing-Abs
 ‘We have eaten.’
- b. kè dǎ́é námwⁿ-à
 1Sg eat.Pfv meat-Abs
 ‘I ate the meat.’
- c. kè dí-yà
 1Sg eat.Pfv-3SgObj
 ‘I ate it.’

For sǎ́n ‘drink’, an object is likewise required, minimally 3Sg object -à or variant, as an alternative to ‘water’ or other beverage. (336) can be used as an answer to ‘have you drunk water?’

- (336) kè sǎ́-ŋà
 1Sg drink.Pfv-3SgObj
 ‘I have drunk (it).’

The ‘drink’ verb can also mean ‘smoke (a cigarette)’.

9.4.5 Predicates of transformation

For inchoative verbs meaning ‘become ADJ’ with an adjectival quality, see §10.4. The subsections below cover ‘become NP’, ‘remain’, and body processes.

9.4.5.1 ‘Become’, ‘turn into’ with noun/NP

This construction has pò/pò ‘do, make’, here in the intransitive sense ‘be made’, as the main verb. The clause ends with lè, as in copular constructions meaning ‘X be (a) Y’ (§9.3.2.2).

- (337) ā pō túbààbú lè
 3Sg **be.made**.Pfv white.person **be**
 ‘He/She became a white person.’

9.4.6 Predicates of continuity (‘stay, remain’, ‘still’)

The verb *fǎré/fǎrè* means ‘stay, remain’. It optionally co-occurs with a locational adverbial.

- (338) *yā kē fǎrè yégá-à*
 Fut 1Sg **remain**.Ipfv village-Abs
 ‘I will stay in the village.’

‘Still’ can be translated by the adverb *bàrè*. It is tonally distinct from 3Pl dative *bā-rē*.

- (339) *ā wō [lààlé lō] bàrè*
 3Sg be [sleep.Prog Loc] **still**
 ‘He/She is still sleeping.’

The combination of negation with *bàrè* means ‘no longer’, ‘not any more’, ‘not again’.

- (340) *à jí-gē bàrè wó?*
 3Sg kill.Pfv-3SgAnObj still Neg
 ‘He didn’t (try to) kill him again.’ (2018-07 @ 01:25)

9.4.7 Predicates of bodily processes

Diseases and other external agents ‘catch’ or ‘see’ (in the sense ‘get, find’) the sufferer, who is expressed as a dative.

- (341) a. *déé-yèry-àà sí kō-rē*
 disease-Abs **catch**.Pfv 1Sg-Dat
 ‘I caught a disease.’ (lit. “A disease caught at me.”)
- b. *tè-sáánì nǎá yō-rē*
 misfortune **see**.Pfv 3Sg-Dat
 ‘A misfortune happened to him/her.’

Bodily discharges are expressed with the substance or condition as subject. In (342a), the subject is the secreted liquid, the verb is ‘remove’ (intransitivized as ‘be removed, be expelled’), and the individual is the complement of a locative postposition. In (342b), the condition ‘nosebleed’ is subject, the verb is transitive ‘crack, shatter’, and the object is the individual’s body part (nose).

- (342) a. $\text{jàámw}^n\text{-â}$ sú $[\text{kē} \quad \text{lò}]$
 blood-Abs **be.removed.Pfv** $[\text{1Sg} \quad \text{Loc}]$
 ‘I bled.’
- b. $\text{mè}^n\text{-á}$ wògó $[\text{ké} \quad \text{mēŋā-à}]$
 nosebleed **shatter.Pfv** $[\text{1Sg} \quad \text{nose-Abs}]$
 ‘I had a nosebleed (bloody nose), my nose bled.’

10 Verbal derivation

10.1 No productive valency-changing morphology

Pere has no productive morphological mechanism to change the valency of a verb. Instead of valency-changing affixes such as causative and (medio-)passive, Pere expresses these relationships by syntactic framing (transitive versus intransitive clauses). Many verbs are typically ambi-valent (*labile*), shifting easily from intransitive to transitive frames. To make this system efficient, verbs functioning transitively generally have obligatory overt objects, minimally a 3Sg object pronominal. This frame excludes a (medio-)passive reading of the sentence. Examples with the ambi-valent verb ‘break’ are in §9.2.6.

Verbs likewise do not directly mark reflexive or reciprocal relationships. These are expressed by reflexive NPs in nonsubject function, and by a reciprocal adverbial phrase. See chapter 17 for details and examples.

10.2 No reversive morphology

There is also no reversive derivation (e.g. ‘un-tie’). There are dedicated lexical verbs with reversive senses, and they are unrelated in form to verbs denoting the presupposed primary action (‘tie’).

(343) a. *kē* *tèní* *nūṅā-à*
1Sg **tie**.Pfv cow-Abs
‘I tied up the cow.’

b. *kē* *kààwèrɔ́* *nūṅā-à*
1Sg **untie**.Pfv cow-Abs
‘I untied the cow.’

10.3 Reduplicated verbs

Several verbs can be iterated (fully reduplicated) to denote repetition or distributivity. In the progressive construction, the first iteration is L-toned and the second is H-toned (344b). In perfective and imperfective clauses, the iterated verb keeps the tones it has in uniterated perfective and imperfective clauses (344c-d). These examples involve the verb *yèlí/yèlì* ‘jump’.

speakers had difficulty with a 3Pl object form, and suggested a reduplicated variant obscurely related to the 3Sg object form. The perfective version of this is (346c).

- (346) a. síⁿ ~ ʃíⁿ ‘load’
 b. sí-yā-ndò ~ ʃí-yā-ndò ‘loaded it’
 c. ʃíⁿ-ʃíⁿ-ná-lò ‘loaded them’

10.4 Verb-stem variants with final rhotic syllable

Especially older speakers have a final rhotic syllable in a few verb stems. The verb sèè mú/séé mú has such a variant for these speakers (347). tí-yà in (347a) is the noun ‘tea’.

(347) ‘pour (tea) back and forth’

- a. ā sèè móró tí-yà ‘he/she poured the tea back and forth’
 b. ā sèè móró-yà ‘he/she poured it back and forth’
 c. ā w = [[ā sèè móró] lò] ‘he/she is pouring it back and forth’ (< wò à)

10.5 Deadjectival inchoative verbs

Stative adjectival predicates, e.g. ‘be red’, are covered in §9.3.9 above.

Deadjectival inchoative verbs denote changes in state, e.g. ‘become red’ or ‘become big(ger)’. These verbs have regular aspectual inflection. The core color terms show a derivational suffix -lé or -lí (348b).

| (348) | adjective | gloss | inchoative ‘become ADJ’ | |
|-------|---|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | | | perfective | imperfective |
| a. | inchoative related to modifying adjective | | | |
| | ʃòwú | ‘hot’ | ʃòwú | ʃówú |
| | yèètáró | ‘wet’ | yèètáró | yéétéró |
| | màgàyá | ‘soft’ | màgàyá | mágáyá |
| | gbàrè(y)é | ‘sweet, sugary’ | gbàrè(y)é | gbóréyé |
| | wólé | ‘cold’ | wólé | wólé |
| | pèèndó | ‘sour’ | péèndò | pééndó |
| | kàlé | ‘bitter’ | kálè | kálé |
| | kòrè-sí | ‘hard’ | kórè | kórè ~ kòrè |

b. with suffix -lí or -lé

| | | | |
|-------|---------|---------|---------|
| bìì | ‘black’ | bìì-lí | bíí-lí |
| bòò | ‘white’ | bògò-lé | bógó-lé |
| ƴwèlì | ‘red’ | bè-lí | bé-lí |

(cf. bé ‘be cooked, ripe’)

c. suppletive inchoatives

| | | | |
|--------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| gbáá | ‘big’ | byě ⁿ | byé ⁿ |
| sós | ‘long’ | wòlí | wólí |
| f̄ríní | ‘dry’ | gbàgàlá | gbàgàlà |
| kùsì | ‘good, pretty’ | ɲmá (... yí) | ɲmà (... yí) |

d. other constructions

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| tùgùsí-kò | ‘heavy’ | tùgùsí tù ⁿ | with tù ⁿ ‘put’ |
| tàrè | ‘small’ | pò t́yè mú | with pò ‘do; be made’ |

Many of these verbs can also be used transitively. A few of them have different imperfective tones from intransitive (inchoative) to transitive (factitive), see (276) below.

(349) a. kē ƴòwú-yà
 1Sg heat(v).Pfv-3SgInanObj
 ‘I heated it.’

b. kē bògò-lé-yà
 1Sg redden-3SgInanObj
 ‘I made it red.’

When derivational mechanisms fail to produce a transitive deadjectival verb, the alternative is to use pò/pò ‘do, make’ plus the adjective as adjunct following the object.

(350) kē pō-wā pèèndó
 1Sg make.Pfv-3SgInanObj sour
 ‘I made it sour.’

11 Verbal and clausal inflection

Verb stems are marked tonally for aspect, either perfective or imperfective (§11.4.1-2). The perfective stem also functions as positive imperative (§11.6.1.1). Either perfective or imperfective are possible in hortatives (§11.6.3). In addition to the basic perfective and imperfective forms, additional special forms of the verb occur in the prohibitive (§11.6.2), the progressive (§11.4.3), and in certain subordinated clauses that are covered in a later chapter: purposive (§16.4.1.2) and ‘not yet’ (§16.3.5).

Future, two past-time categories, hortative, and negative (including prohibitive) are marked by separate particles or clause-final enclitics.

11.1 VP-final particles and their lexical associations

Of special interest at clause-level is the use of VP-final particles that are phonologically identical to certain basic Cv-shaped postpositions (§11.1). This is comparable in some ways to the English phrasal-verb construction (*bring it up*, etc.). There appears to be increasing optionality among younger speakers in the appearance of some of these VP-final particles after postverbal nonpronominal objects. The VP-final postposition is more reliably present in the progressive (where it is physically separated from the object NP), and in combinations with postverbal human pronominal objects. The progressive construction is also crucial in distinguishing VP-final particles from homophonous postpositions.

These particles are “VP-final” in the sense that they follow verbs and objects and are therefore often clause-final. However, they may be followed by adjuncts such as adverbs, and by the negative marker *wóʔ*. In the progressive construction, they follow the object and verb but they are in turn followed by the final locative postposition *lò*.

11.1.1 VP-final particle *yí* ‘apart’

A number of verbs, mostly transitive action verbs, are associated with VP-final particle *yí*. An etymological connection with postposition *yí* ‘in front of’ is quite possible, but there is no close semantic relationship synchronically.

Some verbs take VP-final *yí* in certain senses but not in others, so the presence of *yí* is relevant to verb semantics as with English phrasal verbs. If the verb is transitive, as it usually is, it is separated from the particle by an object NP, except in

constructions (the progressive, and some subordinated clause types) where the object precedes the main verb. The sequence verb-object-yí sequence looks superficially like verb plus a PP, just as with English *I took in the refugee*.

Transitive verbs that require VP-final yí in the senses indicated are listed in (351). Separation (351a) is intuitively related to shutting and (re-)opening (351b), so we gloss yí in VP-final particle function as ‘apart’. However, this gloss fits some other combinations poorly (353c).

(351) Verbs that require VP-final yí

a. verbs of forceful separation

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| kó/kò ... yí | ‘break, snap (sth)’ |
| pú/pù... yí | ‘pound (maize kernels, to separate the skin from the inner seed)’ |
| sá/sà ... yí | ‘cut’ |
| sààlíí/sààlìì ... yí | ‘cut up’ |

b. verbs of opening and shutting

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| sú/sù ~ fú/fù ... yí | ‘open (door, eye, mouth)’ |
| káá/kàà ... yí | ‘shut, cover’ |
| tó/tò ... yí | ‘lock (v)’ |

c. other

| | |
|---|------------------|
| tù ⁿ \tù ⁿ ... yí | ‘cook (sth)’ |
| máá/màà ... yí | ‘build (a fire)’ |

sú/sù and tùⁿ\tùⁿ also occur without yí. Without a VP-final particle, sú/sù means ‘remove, take out’ (352a). With the particle it means ‘open’ (352b-c).

(352) a. à sú-wà
 3Sg remove.Pfv-3SgInan
 ‘He/She took it out/away.’

b. à sú-wà yí
 3Sg open.Pfv-3SgInan **apart**
 ‘He/She opened it.’

c. jì sú nī-yà yí
 2Pl open.Pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj **apart**
 ‘You-Pl opened it.’

tùⁿ\tùⁿ is the common ‘put down’ verb when it combines with pseudo-dative VP-final *lè* instead of with *yí* (§9.2.4.3). Without any particle, *tùⁿ* is a transitive verb ‘lay (egg)’.

- (353) a. *ā* *tū-wⁿà* *yí*
 3Sg cook-3SgInanObj **apart**
 ‘He/She cooked it.’
- b. *ā* *tū-wⁿā-ndè*
 3Sg put.down-3SgInanObj-PsDat
 ‘He/She put it down.’
- c. *tòwá-ā* *tūⁿ* *kùùnì-yⁿà*
 chicken-Abs lay.Pfv egg-Abs
 ‘The hen laid an egg.’

Some of the transitive verbs illustrated above can also function as intransitives with mediopassive (middle) function, reflecting the typical ambi-valent (labile) quality of verbs in Pere. In the intransitives, *yí* immediately follows the verb and tends to encliticize and desyllabify as =*ý* when not followed by the negative marker.

- (354) a. *gbēgā-à* *kó* =*ý* *sáà*
 stick-Abs snap.Pfv **apart** yesterday
 ‘The stick snapped yesterday.’
- b. *ɲíná-à* *káá* *yí* *wó?*
 house-Abs shut.Pfv **apart** Neg
 ‘The house (=door of house) did not close.’

yí also occurs with adjectival predicate *ɲmá/ɲmà* ‘be good; be pretty; be well-made (food, artifact)’ and with its antonym *sááⁿ/sààⁿ* ‘be bad; be ugly; be ruined’. In positive clauses (355a-b), *yí* is encliticized and reduced to a semivowel. In negative clauses (355c-d), the syllabic form *yí* reappears. That *yí* is tightly bound to these stems is shown by our assistant’s inability to add the second (postverbal) part of 2Pl subject *ɲì...nì* in (355e).

- (355) a. *à* *ɲmá* =*ý*
 3Sg be.good.Pfv **apart**
 ‘It is good, pleasing (well-made, well-cooked); He/She is pretty.’

- b. à sááⁿ =yí
 3Sg be.bad.Pfv **apart**
 ‘It is bad (ruined); He/She is ugly.’
- c. à ñmá yí wó?
 3Sg be.good.Pfv **apart** Neg
 ‘It is not good.’
- d. à sááⁿ yí wó?
 3Sg be.bad.Pfv **apart** Neg
 ‘It is not bad.’
- e. ñì ñmá yí wó?
 2Pl be.good **apart** Neg
 ‘You-Pl are not good.’

The syntactic position of VP-final yí in various clause types is illustrated in (356). The particle follows the verb and the object in perfective, imperfective, and imperative clauses, and is therefore often clause-final (356a-c). In the progressive, the particle follows the object and main verb, but it precedes the locative postposition that is part of the progressive construction (356d). This progressive construction, which places the main verb between the object and the particle, distinguishes VP-final particle yí from true ‘in front of’ postposition yí. The latter is never separated from its complement NP. The VP-final particle can be followed by postverbal adjuncts such as datives and adverbs, and by the negative marker (356e-g).

- (356) a. kè sá námwⁿ-ā yí
 1Sg cut.Pfv meat-Abs **apart**
 ‘I cut-Past the meat.’
- b. yā kē sà námwⁿ-ā yí
 Fut 1Sg cut.Ipfv meat-Abs **apart**
 ‘I will cut the meat.’
- c. sá námwⁿ-ā yí
 cut.Imprt meat-Abs **apart**
 ‘Cut-2Sg the meat!’
- d. kē wò [[námwⁿ-ā sà yí] lè]
 1Sg be [[meat-Abs cut.Ipfv **apart**] Loc]
 ‘I am cutting the meat.’

- e. à sá námwⁿ-ā yí kē-rē
 3Sg cut.Pfv meat-Abs **apart** 1Sg-Dat
 ‘He/She cut the meat for me.’
- f. kè sá námwⁿ-ā yí sáà
 1Sg cut.Pfv meat-Abs **apart** yesterday
 ‘I cut-Past the meat yesterday.’
- g. kē sà námwⁿ-ā yí wó?
 1Sg cut.Ipfv meat-Abs **apart** Neg
 ‘I will not cut the meat.’

The transitive verbs that take VP-final *yí* happen to be verbs (‘cut’, ‘shut’, etc.) that do not normally take animate objects. Therefore they combine at best awkwardly with first or second person pronominal objects. However, the verb ‘cut’ can take a human object. When this object is a first or second person pronoun, there are two options. One is to eliminate *yí* and use the simple postverbal form of the pronoun as object (357a). In elicitation, our primary assistant preferred this trimmed output, but he also reluctantly accepted a variant with a PP identical to ‘in front of X’ (357b), see §8.4.5.1. Since younger speakers such as our assistant tend to drop VP-final particles (such as pseudo-locative *lè*), we suspect that (357b) would fare better with older speakers who generally preserve the particles.

- (357) a. à sáá kò
 3Sg cut.Pfv 1Sg
 ‘He/She/It cut me.’
- b. à sáá kì = í
 3Sg cut.Pfv 1Sg=**apart**
 [= (a)]

11.1.2 VP-final particles *lò* (-ndò) and *lè* (-ndè)

The VP-final particles *lò* and *lè* occur in syntactic positions similar to those of *yí* in its VP-particle function. They too are colexicalized with specific verbs. They are distinct (in the relevant functions) from locative postposition *lò* and dative postposition *lè*, though etymological connections are likely. We label the VP-final particles “pseudo-locative” and “pseudo-dative” (interlinear abbreviations **PsLoc** and **PsDat**).

The distinction between VP-particle and postposition is clearest in the progressive. Aside from this, the nasalized suffixal variants pseudo-locative -ndò and

pseudo-dative -ndè, which occur after suffixed inanimate 3Sg objectsuffix -à, also point to the VP-particles.

Pseudo-dative lè and pseudo-locative lò contrast when paired with the verb síⁿ/sìⁿ ~ jíⁿ/jìⁿ ‘load’. Pseudo-locative transitive síⁿ ...lò means ‘load X (up into Y)’ and pseudo-dative transitive síⁿ ...lè means ‘receive X’ or more specifically ‘unload X (down from Y)’. This is the only such pairing opposition that we know of.

11.1.2.1 VP particle lò and suffix -ndò (pseudo-locative)

This morpheme, glossed PsLoc in interlinears, has the form lò as free particle. In some of the relevant verbs, it remains lò in the rather fused 3Sg object form, and has H-toned form -lò in the progressive (before locative lò). Verbs with a nasal consonant, or with a nasalized vowel in the stem, have -ndò in the inanimate 3Sg object form and -ndó in the progressive. Elicitation was difficult since our primary assistant omitted lò in examples like (358a), and merged it into lè in examples like (358d). However, he made systematic use of suffixed -ndò and -ndó in examples like (358b-c). Older speakers allow optional lò in examples like (358a) and (358d). The final lò in (358c) is not the VP particle lò, rather the locative postposition lò that is part of the progressive construction. The verb síⁿ/sìⁿ has variants with ʃ.

- (358) a. kè síⁿ nīṅā-ā (lò)
 1Sg load.Pfv baggage-Abs (**PsLoc**)
 ‘I loaded the baggage.’ (~ jíⁿ)
- b. kè síⁿ-yⁿā-ndò
 1Sg load.Pfv-3SgInanObj-**PsLoc**
 ‘I loaded it.’ (~ jíⁿ-yⁿā-ndò)
- c. kē wò nīṅā-ā sī-ndó lò
 1Sg be baggage-Abs load.Prog-**PsLoc** Loc
 ‘I am loading the baggage.’
- d. à síⁿ nīṅā-ā (lò) kē-rē
 3Sg load.Pfv baggage (**PsLoc**) 1Sg-Dat
 ‘He/She loaded the baggage for me.’

Although lò is in some syntactic senses a free particle, it does combine with pronominal objects in a manner consistent with true locative PPs. For example, in (359a) the 1Sg pronominal is kè (kē), the proclitic (“preverbal”) form used in most PPs, rather than kò, which would be the simple postverbal direct object form. For

pronominalized 3Pl plural, a speaker initially offered (359b), which was confirmed by other speakers. However, the first speaker then retracted it and instead proposed the unusual reduplication (359c), which likely has distributive sense.

- (359) a. à nú kē lò
 3Sg hear.Pfv 1Sg PsLoc
 ‘He/She heard me.’
- b. kè sííⁿ bē lò
 1Sg load.Pfv **3Pl** **PsLoc**
 ‘I loaded them.’
- c. ké jīⁿ-jīíⁿ bē lò
 1Sg **Rdp**-load.Pfv 3Pl **PsLoc**
 ‘I loaded each of them.’ or ‘I loaded them (one by one).’

For a fused locative 3Pl pronominal *bè-rò* see (364) below.

Verbs that occur with postverbal pseudo-locative *lò* are listed in (360). One intransitive (‘shine’) is tentatively included, since the tones of perfective *só lò* and imperfective *sō lò* are compatible with an analysis including a separate particle *lò*. This verb is also related to transitive *só/sò* ‘light (a fire)’. Most verbs in (360) are transitive. X represents the object, which is normally inanimate. *lá* and *lágá* in (360a) may be distantly related etymologically. The progressive sequence *-lò lò* in the progressive is VP-final *lò* (raised to *-lò*) followed by the locative *lò* that is part of the progressive construction. This is inferred by analogy to progressives with other VP-final particles, pseudo-dative *-lé lò* and ‘apart’ *yí lò*.

| (360) | perfective | Pfv 3SgObj | progressive | gloss |
|-------|---|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | progressive with pseudo-locative <i>-lò</i> | | | |
| | <i>intransitive</i> | | | |
| | <i>só lò</i> | — | <i>wō sò-lò lò</i> | ‘shine’ |
| | <i>transitive</i> | | | |
| | <i>lá X lò</i> | <i>lá [ā lò]</i> | <i>wò X là-lò lò</i> | ‘tear, rip X; separate X’ |
| | <i>lágá X lò</i> | <i>lágá [ā lò]</i> | <i>wò X làgà-lò lò</i> | ‘share X’ |
| | <i>sé X lò</i> | <i>sé-gā lò</i> | <i>wò X sè-lò lò</i> | ‘set out X (to dry)’ |
| | <i>tó X lò</i> | <i>tóg-ā lò</i> | <i>wò X tò-lò lò</i> | ‘oversaw X’ |
| | ~ <i>tógó X lò</i> | | | |
| | <i>fóré X lò</i> | <i>fóré-yā lò</i> | <i>wò X fèrè-lò lò</i> | ‘leave, abandon X’ |

b. progressive with pseudo-locative -ndó after nasal syllable

transitive

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| ɲú X lə | ɲú-wā-ndə | wə X ɲù-ndó lə | ‘hear’ |
| ɲí X lə | ɲí-yā-ndə | wə X ɲì-ndó lə | ‘extinguish (fire)’ |
| sè ⁿ X lə | sē-ŋā-ndə | wə X sè-ndó lə | ‘flip X (to dump out)’ |
| | | ~ sè-ndé lə | [also variants with sá ⁿ] |
| sí ⁿ X lə | sí-yā-ndə | wə X sù-ndó lə | ‘load, fill X’ |
| | | | [also variants with ʃɪ] |

Without lə, só/sò means ‘catch fire, be lit’, and fǎré/fǎrè is intransitive ‘stay’.

Most pseudo-locative intransitives fuse the particle to the verb in the form ló or ndó. The H-tone is attributable (historically) either to extrapolation from the progressive, or to adoption of H-final tone patterns for perfective and imperfective forms of heavy verbs. Because of the H-tone, this syllable can no longer be clearly identified as the particle lə. The sequence therefore functions essentially as a simple verb stem. It is likewise not possible to insert the second part of 2Pl subject ɲì...ɲì between the stem and ló ~ ndó for these intransitives; either ɲì is omitted (as it usually is in statements) or it follows lə as in ɲì ɲè-ndó (ɲì) ‘you-Pl woke up’, which is most typical of questions. Where we have at least some evidence of separability (i.e. when there is a transitive counterpart), as in (361a), we hyphenate the intransitive while acknowledging that segmentation is not sharp. Nonmonosyllabic verbs ending in ló or ndó for which we have no evidence of separability are in (361b). If these are indeed frozen pseudo-locatives, the (L.)L.H tones in the perfectives may have originated in the progressive. Analogues to these forms but with pseudo-dative -ndé are given in the following section.

| (361) | perfective | imperfective | gloss | transitive with 3Sg object |
|-------|------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | ɲmð-ndó | ɲmó-ndó | ‘escape’ | ɲmó yə-rə ‘rescued him/her’ |
| | ɲè-ndó | ɲé-ndó | ‘wake up’ | ɲéé yə-rə ‘woke him up’ |
| | sèn-dó | sén-dó | ‘change, flip’ | sé-ŋā-ndə ‘changed/flipped it’ |
| b. | kàrəndó | kàrəndə | ‘bend’ | kàrəndó-yà ‘bent it’ |
| | kəló | kəló | ‘waste away’ | — |
| | pəgəló | pəgələ | ‘help (sb)’ | pəgəló-yə ‘helped him/her’ |

The construction with pseudo-locative lə is distinct from that with true locative postposition lə after an intransitive verb like sú/sù in the sense ‘resemble’ (362a), see §8.8.3. For verbs like ‘resemble’, the PP always remains intact in postverbal position, even in the progressive (362a-b).

- (362) a. \bar{a} wò [súú l̩] [kē l̩]
 3Sg be [be.like.Prog Loc] [1Sg **Loc**]
 ‘He/She is resembling me.’
- b. kē wò [súú l̩] [=] [= $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ l̩]
 1Sg be [be.like.Prog Loc] [3Sg **Loc**]
 ‘I am resembling him/her/it.’ (< l̩ \bar{a} l̩)

The verb púl̩/pùl̩ [X l̩] ‘scold X’ has the same syntax as ‘resemble’.

Of the verbs in (360) above, lá/là in the sense ‘separate’ can readily take an animate plural object (363).

- (363) à lá [[táán-wē tē-mwⁿ-ā] Ø]
 tē-mwⁿ-ā] (l̩)]
 3Sg **separate**.Pfv [[child-**PI** small-**PI**-Abs] (PsLoc)]
 ‘He/She separated the children.’

The transitive versions of the verbs in (361a) above also allow animate objects (364).

- (364) kē ɲm̩-dó / ɲè-dó / sèn-dó [séédù Ø]
 [séédū l̩]
 1Sg rescue.Pfv/awaken.Pfv/change.Pfv [S (Loc)]
 ‘I rescued/awakened/changed Seydou.’

If the postverbal object of a transitive ‘separate’, ‘rescue’, ‘awaken’, or ‘flip, change’ is pronominal, fused locative pronominal forms are used. They are similar in segmental form to fused dative pronominals like 3Pl $\bar{b}\bar{a}$ -rē, but they end in ð. Inanimate 3Sg \bar{a} l̩ does not fuse. The locative PP paradigm is (365), repeated from §4.2.2. These forms behave tonally as unsegmentable words and therefore remain fully L-toned (rather than M.L-toned) when clause-final. For ‘separate’, only plural objects are in common use for semantic reasons, but for ‘rescue’ and ‘wake’ up both singular and plural objects are common.

(365) Fused locative pronouns

| | category | locative |
|----|----------|----------|
| a. | 1Sg | kə-rò |
| | 1Pl | wə-rò |
| | 2Sg | mə-rò |
| | 2Pl | ɲə-rò |
| | 3SgAn | yə-rò |
| | 3Pl | bə-rò |
| b. | 3SgInan | ā lə |
| c. | Refl | nəm-ərə́ |
| | Recip | təm-bó |

Illustrating with ‘separate’, these pronominal PPs occur postverbally in (366a-b). In the progressive, simple object pronominals precede the verb, which is followed by the pseudo-locative *lə* in H-toned form -lɔ́ before the regular *lə* of the progressive construction (366c).

- (366) a. à lá wə-rò / ɲə-rò / bə-rò
 3Sg separate.Pfv 1Pl-Loc/2Pl-Loc/3Pl-PsLoc
 ‘He/She separated us/you-Pl/them.’
- b. yā kē lā ɲī təm-bó
 Fut 1Sg separate.Ipfv 2Pl **Recip-Loc**
 ‘I will separate you-Pl from each other.’
- c. ā wō [[wō / ɲī / bē làà-lɔ́] lə]
 3Sg be [[1Pl / 2Pl / 3Pl separate.Prog-**PsLoc**] **Loc**]
 ‘He/She is separating us/you-Pl/them.’

Some verbs usually drop the final *lə* with first and second person objects. This is the case with *séⁿ ~ sáⁿ* ‘flip’ in (367), which shows the simple object pronominal (identical to the independent pronoun) instead of fused *kə-rò*.

- (367) à sáⁿ kə
 3Sg flip.Pfv 1SgObj
 ‘He/She flipped me over/changed me.’

If the verb stem is nonnasal, the 3Sg pronominal object form is -à (or variant) plus *lè*. We write this as *-ā* *lè* (369) but would not object to an all-suffixal transcription *-ā-lè*. Our main assistant could find no acceptable way to express 3Pl object with this verb; he produced (369b) but said it was ungrammatical (symbol #).

- (369) a. *kè wí-yā lè*
 1Sg spill.Pfv-3SgInanObj **PsDat**
 ‘I spilled it.’
- b. #*kè wí bā-rē*
 1Sg spill.Pfv 3Pl-(Ps)Dat
 intended sense: ‘I spilled them.’

Verbs illustrated above like ‘unload’ and ‘spill’ take inanimate objects. By contrast, *ɲáá/ɲàà ...lè* ‘see’, *féé/fèè ...lè* ‘let go, release’, *jè/jè ...lè* ‘knock down’, and for some speakers *séhé/sèhè ...lè* ‘put pressure on’, allow a wider range of human, animate, or inanimate complements. We illustrate the morphosyntax with ‘see’.

In main clauses other than the progressive, human as well as inanimate objects follow the verb, with optional pseudo-dative *lè* after nonpronominal NPs. The optional particle *lè* is usually present after a human object (370a), but (especially among younger speakers) it is often omitted after an inanimate (370b).

- (370) a. *kè ɲáá [séédū lè]*
 1Sg see.Pfv [S **(Ps)Dat**]
 ‘I saw Seydou.’
- b. *kè ɲáá gbēgā-à Ø*
gbēgā-ā lè
 1Sg see.Pfv tree-Abs **(PsDat)**
 ‘I saw the tree.’

If the object is pronominal, with the exception of inanimate 3Sg, it is expressed by one of the fused dative pronominal forms ending in *-rē* (371a-b).

- (371) a. *kè ɲáá yā-rē*
 1Sg see.Pfv 3Sg-(Ps)Dat
 ‘I saw him/her/it (animal).’
- b. *kè ɲáá bā-rē*
 1Sg see.Pfv 3Pl-(Ps)Dat
 ‘I saw them (human, animal, inanimate).’

| | | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| (374) | perfective | Pfv 3SgInanObj | progressive | gloss |
| | a. progressive with lé | | | |
| | <i>transitive</i> | | | |
| | wí X lè | wí-yā-lè | wò X wì-lé lò | ‘spill X; shave (head)’ |
| | jè X lè | jē-gā-lè | wò X jè-lé lò | ‘knock down’ or ‘lay out (mat etc.)’ |
| | síí X lè | sí-yā-lè | wò X sù-lé lò | ‘catch, take hold of X’ |
| | jàá X lè | jà-ā-lè | wò X jàà-lé lò | ‘see’ |
| | féé X lè | fí-yā-lè | wò X fèè-lé lò | ‘let go, release’ |
| | b. progressive with -ndé | | | |
| | <i>transitive</i> | | | |
| | tù ⁿ X lè | tū-w ⁿ ā-ndè | wò X tù-ndé lò | ‘put X down’ |
| | sé ⁿ X lè | sé-ŋā-ndè ~ sá-gā-ndè | wò X sè ⁿ -ndé lò | ‘flip X and put it down’ (also variants with sá ⁿ) |
| | sí ⁿ X lè | sí-yā-ndè | wò X sù-ndé lò | ‘unload, take down X’ (also variants with ʃ) |
| | séŋé X lè (~ ségé ⁿ , etc.) | séŋé-ndè | wò X sèŋè-ndé lò | ‘put pressure on’ |

As with the pseudo-locative, intransitives tend to fuse with an originally following pseudo-dative lè. This syllable then becomes H-toned -lé or nasalized -ndé, either due to extrapolation from the progressive or due to the adoption of perfective and imperfective tone patterns ending with H. The fused combination then can be reanalyzed as an unsegmentable verb. In (375) the internal hyphens, if present, are synchronically questionable.

| | | | | |
|-------|------------|--------------|---------------------|---|
| (375) | perfective | imperfective | gloss | related forms |
| | a. | | | |
| | sìn-dé | sín-dé | ‘descend’ | sí ⁿ -y ⁿ ā-ndè ‘took it down’ |
| | bògò-lé | bógó-lé | ‘whiten’ | bòò ‘white’, bògò-lé-yà ‘whitened it’ |
| | wùlé | wúlé | ‘(heart) get angry’ | |
| | pìn-dé | pìn-dè | ‘lie down’ | pí ⁿ yā-rē ‘put him/her to bed’ (marginal form) |

| | | | |
|----|--------|--------|---------------|
| b. | gbàndé | gbándé | ‘pray’ |
| | tòlé | tólé | ‘be patient’ |
| | wòlé | wólé | ‘become cold’ |
| | sògòlé | sógólé | ‘slip, slide’ |

The second part of 2Pl subject *nī ... nì* follows the fused verb if it is present at all: *nī sìn-dé nì* ‘you-Pl went down’.

Rarely, even a transitive verb is fused with an original pseudo-dative particle. ‘Fix’ is expressed either by *pé* (perfective only) plus pseudo-dative *lè*, or by *pèlèlé* (imperfective *péélé ~ pèlèlè*). The latter is followed by an object, e.g. *pèlèlé-yà* ‘fixed it’.

11.1.3 Rare use of *nàn-dè* as VP-final particle

nàn-dè is normally a postposition in possessive and similar contexts (§8.6). It functions as a VP-final particle in the ‘imitate’ construction with verb *sú/sù*. The form of postverbal pronominal objects differs from that with the three main VP-final particles described above. For examples and discussion see §8.8.3.

11.2 Polarity

11.2.1 Clause-final negative *wó?*

Negation of an indicative main clause is expressed by clause-final *wó?*. In most cases the preceding string is identical to the corresponding positive clause. The final glottal occurs, by itself or as part of a negative particle, in negative clauses in several languages of the zone.

- (376) a. *kè fò pówá-à sàà*
 1Sg go.Pfv market-Abs yesterday
 ‘I went to the market yesterday.’
- b. *kè fò pówá-à sàà wó?*
 1Sg go.Pfv market-Abs yesterday **Neg**
 ‘I didn’t go to the market yesterday.’

The glottal stop is omitted when the negative marker is nonfinal within a clause. This happens in negative polar interrogatives with *wó* followed by interrogative *nà*. See 2018-03 @ 01:15 (‘it doesn’t do anything to you?’).

For scope issues when negation combines with a quantifier, see §6.7.3.

11.2.2 Post-subject deontic negative lé ... wó? and ... lè wó?

Another negative particle is lé. Unlike clause-final wó?, it immediately follows the subject. It occurs in deontic modals, in combination with clause-final wó?. In the hortative negative it has the uncontracted form lé, see §11.6.4. In the prohibitive (imperative negative), it contracts with a 2Sg or 2Pl subject pronominal, hence 2Sg m = ēē and 2Pl n = ēē, see §11.6.1.2.

lé also occurs, again in combination with wó?, in ‘lest’ clauses that function as complements of the verb ‘fear’, compare French *ne* in similar complements. See §16.9.5 for examples.

11.2.3 Negative polarity items

There is no well-developed system of negative polarity items. For ‘any-/no-thing’ and ‘any-/no-body’, the bare nouns ‘thing’ and ‘person’ are used (377a-b). For ‘any/no X’ with some common noun X, the numeral píⁿ ‘one’ may be added (377c).

- (377) a. kè nǎá déé lè wó?
 1Sg see.Pfv **thing** PsDat Neg
 ‘I didn’t see anything.’
- b. kè nǎá nōŋō lè wó?
 1Sg see.Pfv **person** PsDat Neg
 ‘I didn’t see anyone.’
- c. kè nǎá [kèsì píⁿ] lè ló wó?
 1Sg see.Pfv [dog **one**] PsDat there Neg
 ‘I didn’t see one dog (=any dogs) there.’

For ‘any-/no-where’, the noun jìsì ‘place’ is modified by tégélé, which is not attested elsewhere in any similar sense. As noun, tégélé means ‘ant(s)’. The corresponding positive has tí, the productive indefinite ‘some’ quantifier, which requires an absolute-marked noun.

- (378) a. kè fó [jìsì tégélé] wó?
 1Sg go.Pfv [place **any**] Neg
 ‘I didn’t go anywhere.’
- b. à fó [[jìsì-yà tí] lò]
 3Sg go.Pfv [[place-Abs **some**] Loc]
 ‘He/She went somewhere.’

11.2.4 Emphatic negation (dó)

An indicative or deontic clause can be emphatically negated, as in a strong denial or refusal, by adding invariant emphatic particle *dó* following the subject, in addition to the regular clause-final negative *wó?*.

- (379) a. *yā* *kè* *dó* *fò* *wó?*
Fut 1Sg **Emph** go.Ipfv Neg
'I will not go!'
- b. *kè* *dó* *fó* *wó?*
1Sg **Emph** go.Pfv Neg
'I did not go!'
- c. *m=* = *ēē* *dó* *fò* *wó?*
2Sg Proh **Emph** go.Proh Neg
'Do not go!'

Post-subject *dó* also occurs in positive clauses (§18.1.2.1), suggesting an adversarial relationship to the interlocutor.

11.3 Stativity

Certain verbal meanings are intrinsically stative, e.g. 'be', 'resemble'. They lend themselves only marginally, if at all, to aspectual marking. Stance verbs like 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie down' occur in both dynamic (aspect-marking) and stative predicates, compare English *X stood up* and *X is standing*. Adjectives likewise can occur in both contexts, compare English *X turned white* and *X is white*.

Verbs and predicative constructions with intrinsically stative sense, including locational 'be (present)', copula 'be (someone/something)', 'have', and 'want', are presented in §9.3. *sèè/sèè* 'know' is a bit different since in addition to its stative function (imperfective aspect) it can have an active sense 'find out' or 'recognize' (perfective aspect) (§9.3.4).

11.4 Aspect

Perfective versus imperfective aspect is marked by the tonal form of the verb. For example, some verbs are H-toned in the perfective and L-toned in the imperfective. There are several tonal classes, some of which have identical perfective and imperfective forms (§9.1.1-6). The sections below focus on the semantics of aspect.

11.4.1 Perfective

The perfective is the normal form for reporting events that have already taken place at the time of speaking, or some other reference time. Positive perfectives like (380a) are negated simply by adding clause-final *wó?* (380b).

- (380) a. *kè* *ɲáá* *nūŋā-ā* *lè*
1Sg see.Pfv cow-Sg PsDat
'I saw the cow.'
- b. *kè* *ɲáá* *nūŋā-ā* *lè* *wó?*
1Sg see.Pfv cow-sg PsDat Neg
'I didn't see the cow.'

The perfective is regular in conditional antecedent clauses denoting potential future events that would precede the consequent event if both are realized (§15.1.1, §15.1.3). This includes the use of conditional antecedents as echo clause in narrative (§16.3.2.1-2). Antecedents of counterfactual conditions are also perfective (§15.2).

For the use of the perfective stem in positive imperatives, see §11.6.1.

11.4.2 Imperfective

The imperfective is the aspect for clauses that denote events that are not completed at the time of the speech event. The events may be recurring (habitual), may be in the future, or may be hypothetical.

- (381) a. *kē* *fō* *ségá-à*
1Sg go.Ipfv village-Abs
'I (will) go to the village.'
- b. *ā* *dèè* *námwⁿ-ā*
3Sg eat.Ipfv meat-Abs
'He/She eats meat.'

The imperfective is also usual in conditional consequent clauses (§15.1.1, §15.2).

More precise non-perfective aspectual constructions are the progressive ('be VPing') and the future ('will VP'). The progressive is a distinct formation (see the following section), while the future simply adds a tense particle to an otherwise imperfective verb.

11.4.3 Progressive (wò ... l̀)

The progressive is marked by wò ‘be’ following the subject. The form of the verb is described below. The verb-phrase takes what appears to be the form of a locative PP ending in postposition l̀. The verb might therefore be analyzed as a nominalized verb. However, other than being followed by an apparent postposition, there is no morphological or syntactic evidence of the verb being nominalized. In particular, the direct object does not have possessor form.

Intransitive examples are in (382).

- (382) a. kē wò [yáá l̀]
 1Sg be [come.**Prog** **Loc**]
 ‘I am coming.’ (< yá)
- b. ā wō [yèlí l̀]
 3Sg be [jump.**Prog** **Loc**]
 ‘He/She is jumping.’

In transitive clauses, the object follows wò ‘be’ and precedes the main verb. It can be a full NP including modifiers, and it can be focalized (413c) or relativized on (445a-b). It can be a pronoun in preverbal form. There is no morphosyntactic indication of possessive marking.

- (383) a. kē wō [[jìy-â féé] l̀]
 1Sg be [[place-Abs sweep.**Prog**] **Loc**]
 ‘I am sweeping (the place).’ (< fé)
- b. kē wò [[námwⁿ-ā sàà-líí] l̀]
 1Sg be [[meat cut.up.**Prog**] **Loc**]
 ‘I am cutting up the meat.’
- c. ā wō [[kè j́áá] l̀]
 3Sg be [[1Sg hit.**Prog**] **Loc**]
 ‘He/She is hitting me.’ (< j́á)
- d. kē wò [[[ké sōgā-à gbó] j́éé] l̀]
 1Sg be [[[1Sg yam-Abs all] sell.**Prog**] **Loc**]
 ‘I am selling all my yams.’ (< j́é)

Examples showing the relationship between perfective, imperfective, and progressive forms are in (384). The progressive form is predictable from the perfective. If the

perfective is level-toned (H or L), the progressive form is H-toned. A perfective HL-toned stem like ‘go past’ flattens to H.H, and LHL flattens partially to L.H.H. A perfective LH-toned stem like ‘run’, ‘sleep’, ‘tilt’, or ‘shake’ is unchanged. In other words, an H-tone in the perfective spreads rightward to the end of the stem to form the progressive, but it does not spread leftward. Monomoraic Cv stems are lengthened to C’v’.

(384) Relationship of progressive to other verb forms

| Pfv | Ipfv | progressive | gloss |
|---|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| a. intransitive | | | |
| <i>perfective with level H or L</i> | | | |
| yá | yà | wò yáá lè | ‘come’ |
| jíí | jìì | wò jíí lè | ‘bathe (intr)’ |
| kò ⁿ | kò ⁿ | wò kós ⁿ lè | ‘be born’ |
| <i>perfective with contour tone pattern</i> | | | |
| sárò | sàrò | wò sáró lè | ‘go past’ |
| gbórò | gbòrò | wò gbóró lè | ‘exit (v)’ |
| làtó | látó | wò làtó lè | ‘run’ |
| lààlé | lààlè | wò lààlé lè | ‘sleep’ |
| ḡn-dé | ḡí-ndé | wò ḡn-dé lè | ‘descend’ |
| sègèlé | ségéle | wò sègèlé lè | ‘tilt’ |
| wààsàrò | wáásàró | wò wààsàró lè | ‘disperse’ |
| b. transitive (X = object) | | | |
| <i>perfective with level H or L</i> | | | |
| jé | jè | wò X jée lè | ‘sell’ |
| báá | bàà | wò X báá lè | ‘accompany’ |
| pò | pò | wò X póó lè | ‘do’ |
| kù | kù | wò X kúú lè | ‘sift’ |
| sèè ⁿ | sèè ⁿ | wò X séé ⁿ lè | ‘buy’ |
| ḡmàà | ḡmàà | wò X ḡmáá lè | ‘scrape’ |
| <i>perfective with contour tone pattern</i> | | | |
| cìḡá | cíḡá | wò X cìḡá lè | ‘shake’ |
| pèè-lé | pèè-lè | wò X pèè-lé lè | ‘fix’ |

The combination of a verb plus pseudo-locative VP-final particle lè ~ -ndò takes the form -lólè or -ndólè, preceded by an L-toned form of the verb, e.g. wò X là-lólè ‘is tearing up X’, compare perfective lá. Likewise, a verb plus pseudo-dative VP-final

particle *lè* ~ *-ndè* takes the form *-lé lò* or *-ndé lò* after an L-toned form of the form. The *nd* variants occur after nasal syllables. See §11.1.2.1-2 for more examples.

11.5 Tense

Most clauses have no tense marking as such.

11.5.1 Recent past (*kà*)

Clause-initial particle *kà* (*kā*), preceding the subject, shifts the time perspective to the past. The particle is absent in ordinary clauses that denote a past event, since perfective aspect marking in the verb is sufficient to locate the event prior to the time of speaking. However, past markers are non-redundant with stative predicates (‘be’, ‘have’, etc.). *kà* is glossed as recent past, and it contrasts with the remote past particle (see the following section).

- (385) a. *kā* *kē* *wò* *wó*
 RecPast 1Sg be here
 ‘I was here.’
- b. *kā* *kē* *pìndé* *wò*
 RecPast 1Sg lie.down.Pfv be
 ‘I was lying down (stative).’
- c. *kà* [*níni* *píⁿ*] *wò* [*ké* *nàn-dè*]
 RecPast [house one] be [1Sg Poss]
 ‘I had a house.’

The recent past can also reset the reference time against which an eventuality is compared. This is the case in the past imperfective (386a) and in the past perfect (386b).

- (386) a. *kā* *bē* *wō* [*yèlí* *lò*]
 RecPast 3Pl be [jump.Prog Loc]
 ‘They were jumping.’
- b. *kā* *kè* *déé* *gbā-à*
 RecPast 1Sg eat.Pfv meal-Abs
 ‘I had already eaten (a meal).’

In texts, *kà* is associated with prior speech from relatively recent times, or with recent activities of the current speaker or listener. See 2018-03 @ 00:53 (‘the gold that you had spoken of’), 2018-06 @ 00:27 (‘the one to whom you gave the eye’), and 2018-07 @ 01:17 (‘what I said a while ago, it won’t happen’).

11.5.2 Remote past (*lá*)

Another clause-initial past marker is *lá*. The time differential versus the present is generally greater than with *kà*. However, *lá* could alternatively be labeled unmarked past. (387a) illustrates the past perfect (*lá* plus perfective), while (387b) illustrates the past form of a stative construction that does not mark perfectivity.

(387) a. *lá* *ó* *fó* *píⁿ* *gbèké-dī*
RemPast 1Pl go.Pfv one Bouaké
 ‘We had gone together to Bouaké.’

b. *lá* [*níⁿ* *píⁿ*] *wò* [*ké* *nàn-dè*]
RemPast [house one] be [1Sg Poss]
 ‘I had a house.’

Textual examples are 2018-01 @ 00:02 (‘there was famine’), 2018-03 @ 01:26 (‘what I had sent and came and gave you’), 2018-05 @ 00:28 (‘in the old days, girls didn’t use to ...’) and 00:32, and 2018-06 @ 01:06 (‘I had told you ...’).

11.5.3 Future (*yà*)

The future particle *yà*, realized as *yā* by regular tone sandhi before a nonlow tone, occurs in pre-subject position. It occasionally occurs right after the apparent subject, which however may in this case really be a preclausal topic. The verb after *yà* is imperfective in form. The future particle is not obligatory when the event in question is in the future. Therefore (388a) with *yā* competes with (388b) without it (both versions make use of imperfective verbs). Of course the use of ‘tomorrow’ makes the future tense redundant.

(388) a. *sógómā* *yā* *kē* *fò* *yégá-à*
tomorrow **Fut** 1Sg go.Ipfv village-Sg
 ‘Tomorrow I will go to the village.’

- b. sógómā kē fò yégá-à
tomorrow 1Sg go.Ipfv village-Sg
 [= (a)]

The regular negator wó? may combine with the future morpheme.

- (389) a. yā kē sā-gē mǐndé wó?
Fut 1Sg cut.Ipfv-3SgAnObj neck **Neg**
 ‘I will not slaughter it (sheep).’
- b. sógómā yā kē fò yégá-à wó?
 tomorrow **Fut** 1Sg go village-Sg **Neg**
 ‘Tomorrow I will not go to the village.’

11.6 Deontic moods

11.6.1 Imperative positive

The imperative distinguishes singular from plural addressee (subject). The singular-addressee form has no overt pronominal. The plural-addressee form has nì following the verb.

- (390) a. singular addressee
 yá ‘come!-2Sg’
 fó ‘go!-2Sg’
- b. plural addressee
 yá nì ‘come!-2Pl’
 fó nì ‘go!-2Pl’

If the verb is transitive, the object follows 2Pl nì.

- (391) a. dí-yà
 eat-3SgObj
 ‘Eat-2Sg it!’
- b. déé nī yà
 eat 2PlSbj 3SgObj
 ‘Eat-2Pl it!’

- c. déè / sá námwⁿ-à
 eat.Imprt / cut.Imprt meat-Abs
 ‘Eat-/Cut-2Sg the meat!’

The **perfective** form of the verb is the basis for the imperative, as shown by the array in (392a). For the few verbs with L-toned perfective and imperfective, the question is moot (392b).

| (392) | Imprt | Pfv | Ipfv | gloss |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| a. imperative = Pfv ≠ Ipv | | | | |
| | yá | yá | yà | ‘come’ |
| | fó | fó | fò | ‘go’ |
| | péé ⁿ | péé ⁿ | pèè ⁿ | ‘ascend, go up’ |
| | fíyé | fíyé | fíyè | ‘be quiet’ |
| | yóré | yóré | yèrè | ‘call’ |
| | yèlí | yèlí | yèlì | ‘jump’ |
| | làtó | làtó | látó | ‘run’ |
| | gbórò | gbórò | gbòrò | ‘exit (v), go out’ |
| | kàná | kàná | kànà | ‘push’ |
| | tífyó | tífyó | tífyó | ‘sneeze’ |
| b. imperative = Pfv = Ipv | | | | |
| | sò | sò | sò | ‘give’ |
| | sèè ⁿ | sèè ⁿ | sèè ⁿ | ‘buy’ |

We were unable to elicit an imperative from the construction with yàà ‘came and (VPed)’ or fódò ‘went and (VPed)’ plus a second VP. This is not surprising given the likely origin of this construction as a fusion of two indicative clauses (§16.3.1.2).

11.6.2 Imperative negative (prohibitive)

The prohibitive (‘don’t VP!’) begins with overt 2Sg and 2Pl pronouns ending in H-toned é. For 2Sg the form is m = ēē. For 2Pl the form is n = ēē preceding the verb, followed by the verb and then nì (as in other 2Pl subject clauses). The nì is sometimes omitted in our data, but our assistant states that it should be present. We transcribe = ē as a phonological enclitic with = as boundary. It is undoubtedly a reduced variant of preverbal lé in the hortative negative (§11.6.4) and in ‘lest’ complements to the verb ‘fear’ (§11.2.2).

Taking the pronominal element as based on 2Sg *mì* and 2Pl *nì*, forms that occur elsewhere in subject function, the contractions should ideally be #*mè* = *é* and #*nè* = *é* with rising tones. We have seen other cases of flattening of *v́* to a stable level mid tone (§3.4.2.5).

In the prohibitive, the verb is followed by the regular negative marker *wó?*.

(393) a. singular addressee

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>m</i> = <i>ēē yà wó?</i> | ‘don’t-2Sg come!’ |
| <i>m</i> = <i>ēē fò wó?</i> | ‘don’t-2Sg go!’ |
| <i>m</i> = <i>ēē pìn-dè wó?</i> | ‘don’t-2Sg lie down!’ |

b. plural addressee

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>n</i> = <i>ēē yā nì wó?</i> | ‘don’t-2Pl come!’ |
| <i>n</i> = <i>ēē fō nì wó?</i> | ‘don’t-2Pl go!’ |
| <i>n</i> = <i>ēē pīn-dē nì wó?</i> | ‘don’t-2Pl lie down!’ |

The tones of the verb have a complex relationship to those of the perfective and imperfective. Verbs of tonal types H/L (Pfv/Ipfv), L/L, and HL/L have L-toned forms, suggesting a connection with the imperfective. However, other tonal types (mostly for heavier stems) do not correlate nicely with the imperfective. Data are given in (394). The forms are fairly close to those found in the ‘not yet’ construction after verb *tá* (§16.3.5), but there are some differences in detail. In transitive clauses, objects follow the prohibitive but precede the ‘not yet’ second verb. Monomoraic Cv verbs may keep this form (as shown in the array below) but are sometimes lengthened to Cv_v in this construction.

| (394) | perfective | imperfective | prohibitive | gloss |
|-----------------|--|--------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| a. intransitive | | | | |
| | <i>Cv</i> | | | |
| | <i>yá</i> | <i>yà</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē yà wó?</i> | ‘come’ |
| | <i>fó</i> | <i>fò</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē fò wó?</i> | ‘come’ |
| | <i>mí</i> | <i>mì</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē mì wó?</i> | ‘enter’ |
| | <i>Cvv</i> | | | |
| | <i>jíí</i> | <i>jìì</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē jìì wó?</i> | ‘bathe’ |
| | <i>Cyv</i> | | | |
| | <i>byé</i> | <i>byè</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē byè wó?</i> | ‘weep’ |
| | <i>light bisyllabic (CvCv and CvNCv)</i> | | | |
| | <i>gbórò</i> | <i>gbòrò</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē gbòrò wó?</i> | ‘exit (v)’ |
| | <i>wòwó</i> | <i>wówó</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē wówó wó?</i> | ‘hide (oneself)’ |
| | <i>làtó</i> | <i>làtó</i> | <i>m</i> = <i>ēē làtó wó?</i> | ‘run’ |

| | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| pàré | pàrè | m = ēē pàrè wó? | ‘fall; (sun) set’ |
| pìn-dé | pìn-dè | m = ēē pìn-dè wó? | ‘lie down’ |
| <i>heavy (CvVCv and trisyllabic)</i> | | | |
| fìlé | fílé | m = ēē fìlè wó? | ‘get up’ |
| lààlé | lààlè | m = ēē lààlè wó? | ‘sleep (v)’ |
| yèètáró | yéétáró | m = ēē yèètáró wó? | ‘take a walk’ |
| b. transitive | | | |
| <i>Cv</i> | | | |
| nó | nò | m = ēē nò X wó? | ‘bite’ |
| sú | sù | m = ēē sù X wó? | ‘remove, take out’ |
| <i>CvV</i> | | | |
| déé | dèè | m = ēē dèè X wó? | ‘eat’ |
| <i>light bisyllabic (CvCv and CvNCv)</i> | | | |
| sógó | sògò | m = ēē sògò X wó? | ‘rub’ |
| yógó | yògò | m = ēē yògò X wó? | ‘bury’ |
| wòwó | wówó | m = ēē wówó X wó? | ‘hide (someone)’ |
| <i>heavy (CvVCv and trisyllabic)</i> | | | |
| yèèlí | yèèlì | m = ēē yèèlì X wó? | ‘pick out’ |
| pèè-lé | pèè-lè | m = ēē pèè-lé X wó? | ‘fix’ |
| tèètáré | téétáré | m = ēē tèètáré-yà wó? | ‘peel’ |
| yèètáró | yéétáró | m = ēē yèètáró wó? | ‘moisten’ |
| c. intransitive with VP-final particle | | | |
| ηmò-ndó | ηmó-ndó | m = ēē ηmò-ndò wó? | ‘escape’ |
| sìn-dé | sín-dé | m = ēē sìn-dè wó? | ‘descend’ |
| d. transitive with VP-final particle | | | |
| tó (... yí) | tò (... yí) | m = ēē tò X wó? | ‘lock’ |
| káá (... yí) | kàà (... yí) | m = ēē kàà X yí wó? | ‘shut’ |
| lá (... lò) | là (... lò) | m = ēē là X lò wó? | ‘tear (v), rip’ |
| jàá (... lè) | jàà (... lè) | m = ēē jàà X lè wó? | ‘see’ |

11.6.3 Hortative positive (nì plus subject)

The hortative, used with any subject NP or pronominal but especially with 1Pl in inclusive sense and with third persons, begins with *nì* and is followed by the subject. Clause-initial *nì* elsewhere is the ‘if’ particle and occurs in various constructions with subjunctive-like function. The pronominal combinations are in (395), using imperfective *fò* ‘go’ (for perfectives see below). 1Pl subject *nō = ò* is evidently the

contraction of /nì wó/. The expected rising tone is usually phonetically leveled to [n̄:], cf. §3.4.2.5. Before an H-tone, n̄ = ̄ does not drop to #n̄ = ̄ by H#H-to-L#H (§3.4.2.3), as in (398a) below.

- (395) 1Sg nī kē fò
 1Pl n̄ = ̄ fò (singular addressee)
 n̄ = ̄ fò nì (plural addressee)
 2Sg nī mī fò
 2Pl nī nī fò ~ nī nī fò nì
 3Sg nī ā fò
 3Pl nī bē fò

- (396) a. singular addressee
 n̄ = ̄ fò ‘let’s-2Sg go!’
 n̄ = ̄ p̄ndè ‘let’s-2Sg lie down!’
- b. plural addressee
 n̄ = ̄ fò nì ‘let’s-2Pl go!’
 n̄ = ̄ p̄ndē nì ‘let’s-2Pl lie down!’

A direct object follows the verb as in indicative clauses.

- (397) n̄ = = ̄ jè bábá-à
Hort **1Pl** sell.Ipfv sheep-Abs
 ‘Let’s-2Sg sell the sheep-Sg!’

The previous examples have imperfective verbs. However, our assistant produces both imperfective and perfective versions for the same verbs.

- (398) a. n̄ = = ̄ déé námwⁿ-ā
 Hort **1Pl** eat.Pfv meat-Abs
 ‘Let’s eat the meat!’
- b. n̄ = = ̄ dèè námwⁿ-ā
 Hort **1Pl** eat.Ipfv meat-Abs
 ‘Let’s eat the meat!’

The imperfective (398b) is preferred when proposing a regular or repetitive action extending into the future. In contexts involving a single proposed act, the distinction between perfective and imperfective is more subtle. In elicitation, our assistant

preferred the perfective for immediate action. For example, the food is laid out and the guests are seated at table, and perfective ‘let’s eat!’ sets the eating in motion.

11.6.4 Hortative negative (n̄ = ̄ lé)

The 1Pl inclusive hortative negative differs from the imperfective version of the corresponding hortative positive by adding post-subject deontic negative lé (§11.2.2), in addition to the usual clause-final negator wó?. n̄ = ̄ is not dropped to L before an H-tone by H#H-to-L#H (§3.4.2.2).

(399) a. singular addressee

| | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------|---------|-----|
| n̄ = | = ̄ | lé | fò | wó? |
| Hort | 1Pl | Neg | go.Ipfv | Neg |
| ‘Let’s-2Sg not go!’ | | | | |

b. plural addressee

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|------------|---------|-----|-----|
| n̄ = | = ̄ | lé | fò | nì | wó? |
| Hort= | =1Pl | Neg | go.Ipfv | 2Pl | Neg |
| ‘Let’s-2Pl not go!’ | | | | | |

12 Comparison

12.1 Asymmetrical comparison

12.1.1 With adjectival predicate

A normal adjectival predicate ('be tall', 'be black', etc.) can be extended by adding a PP with *yè* 'on' as a 'than' postposition, specifying the comparandum (400a-c). With nonpronominal human nouns, dative *lè* occurs instead (400d).

- (400) a. séédū wòlí [kṵ/kē yè]
S be.long.Pfv [1Sg **on**]
'Seydou is taller than I am.'
- b. séédū b̀̀l̀̀-lí [kṵ yè]
S black-Inch.Pfv [1Sg **on**]
'Seydou is blacker than I am.'
- c. áb́́j́́áⁿ byěⁿ [bwákē yè]
A be.big.Pfv [B **on**]
'Abidjan is bigger than Bouaké (city).'
- d. [mí tó] wòlí / byěⁿ [[ké tó] lè]
[2Sg father] be.long.Pfv/be.big.Pfv [[1Sg father] **Dat**]
'Your-Sg father is taller/bigger (fatter) than my father (is).'

12.1.2 With verbal predicate (*s̀̀r̀̀d̀̀/s̀̀d̀̀r̀̀d̀̀* 'surpass')

A regular predicate, intransitive or transitive, can be followed by a second clause with *s̀̀r̀̀d̀̀/s̀̀d̀̀r̀̀d̀̀* 'pass, surpass' and the comparandum in an 'on X' PP. If the main clause is perfective or imperfective, the aspect of *s̀̀r̀̀d̀̀/s̀̀d̀̀r̀̀d̀̀* harmonizes with it (401a-b). Perfective *s̀̀r̀̀d̀̀* is used with stative main clauses (401c). The comparandum phrase ('than X') is a PP with *yè* 'on', except locative when the complement is a nonpronominal human NP (401c).

- (401) a. séédū dēē gbā-ā [ā sārō [kē yè]]
 S eat.**Ipfv** meal [3Sg **pass.Ipfv** [1Sg **on**]]
 ‘Seydou eats more than I do.’
- b. sàà séédù déé gbā-ā [à sārō [kē yè]]
 yesterday S eat.**Pfv** meal [3Sg **pass.Pfv** [1Sg **on**]]
 ‘Yesterday Seydou ate more than I did.’
- c. [mí tó] wò gbóró-wō lè
 [2Sg father] be old.person be
 à sárò [[ké tó] lè]
 3Sg **pass.Pfv** [[1Sg father] **Loc**]
 ‘Your-Sg father is older than my father.’

12.1.3 ‘Be better’ (pómógó)

The adjective pómógó ‘better’ is followed by wò ‘be’ (cf. §9.3.7) and the comparandum with the usual postposition yè ‘on’ (=‘than’).

- (402) a. bōmwⁿ-ā pómógó wò [námwⁿ-ā yè]
 foutou-Abs **better** be [meat **on**]
 ‘Foutou (yam-based dish) is better than meat.’
- b. kè pómógó w = [= āā yè]
 1Sg **better** be [3Sg **on**]
 ‘I am better than he/she (is).’ (< wō [ā yè])

12.1.4 ‘Be more’ (jèwú ~ sèwú)

The regular ‘X is many/much’ (403a) can be elaborated by adding a comparandum with the usual yè postposition (403b).

- (403) a. kēē-bī-yā jèwú
 dog-Pl-Abs **be.many.Pfv**
 ‘Dogs are many.’ (= ‘There are a lot of dogs.’)
- b. kēē-bī-yā jèwú [kèní-bī-yā yè]
 dog-Pl-Abs **be.many.Pfv** [cat-Pl-Abs **on**]
 ‘There are more dogs than cats.’

12.1.5 Superlatives

An approximation of the superlative is formed by taking the simple predicate in (404a) and adding ‘big’ to the adjective (404b).

- (404) a. k̄= ẁ gb́ŕẃ l̀
1Sg be old be
‘I am old.’ (< k̄ ẁ)
- b. k̄= ẁ [gb́ŕẁ gb́áá-l̄-ā] l̀
1Sg be [old **big-Ø-Abs**] be
‘I am the oldest.’

12.2 Symmetrical comparison

12.2.1 Stative ‘be equal’

Numeral píⁿ ‘one’ as nominal predicate after copula ẁ expresses equality.

- (405) [ẃ níḡá-ā] ẁ píⁿ
[1Pl head-Abs] be **one**
‘We are equally tall.’ [(lit. “Our head[s] are one [=equal].”)]

12.2.2 Expression of the domain of comparison

The domain of comparison is best expressed as a possessum in subject function.

- (406) [[b̀ gb́] ǹ t̀g̀j́-yà] ẁ píⁿ
[[3Pl all] Gen power-Abs] be **one**
‘They are equally strong.’ (lit. “The strength of them all/both is one.”)

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Constituent focalization

Many of the examples in §13.1.1-4 below are from elicitation. There is a potential problem in using French cues, since focalization risks confusion with relativization. However, we did set up the focalization examples with adequate context to forestall such confusion.

Focalization is marked by adding a particle *á*, *lé*, or *yì*, or a pair of particles (*yì lé*, *à lé*), at the end of the focalized constituent. The choice depends on the grammatical function of the constituent, as detailed below. Pronouns take independent rather than proclitic form before such markers.

In textual examples, 3Sg independent pronoun *yū-wà* is sometimes morphologically “focalized” (subject *yū-wà á*, object *yū-wā à lé*) in contexts that do not seem to favor true focalization (i.e. picking out one referent from a pool of potential ones). In other words, these 3Sg forms may be in the process of generalizing as neutral (unfocalized) forms. Examples occur in the following passage. Three times the pronoun denoting the blind girl, who has already been established as a central protagonist in the narrative, is “focalized.” Here it seems that the machinery of focalization is used opportunistically as a referential indexing mechanism (§17.3.2).

- (407) *ā* *sò* *yǎ-rē*,
 3Sg give.Pfv 3Sg-Dat,
 [*yū-wà á*] *fó* [[[*à ní* *jòní-pōō-jìfy-á* *yī*] *lò*],
 [3Sg **SbjFoc**] go.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] fun-do-place-Abs Dem.Def] Loc],
 [[*yū-wà á*] *fó*]
 [[3Sg **SbjFoc**] go.Pfv]
 [*à* *déngǔ-mwⁿ-ā* *gbó*] *yá* [*yégá-ā* *lò*],
 [3Sg agemate-Pl-Abs all] come.Pfv [village-Abs Loc],
bè *fóré* [*yū-wā* *à* *lé*] *lò*
 3Pl leave.Pfv [3Sg **ObjFoc Foc**] PsLoc
 ‘She (=old woman) gave (it) to her (=blind girl). She (=blind girl) went to that recreation place. She (=blind girl) went. All of her agemates came to the village. They left her (there).’ (2018-06 @ 00:15ff.)

However, the great majority of occurrences of the particles mentioned above do occur in contexts compatible with focalization.

13.1.1 Subject focalization (á)

Example (408a), with no focalized constituent, corresponds to the subject-focalized (408b). Both examples have future *yà* and an imperfective verb. Future *yà* is normally clause-initial, preceding an unfocalized and untopicalized subject, as in (408a). Its position in (408b) suggests that the focalized subject has shifted leftward, as a topic.

- (408) a. *yā* *kē* *yà* *sógómà*
 Fut 1Sg come.Ipfv tomorrow
 ‘I will come tomorrow.’
- b. [*kw = = àá*] *yā* *yà* *sógómà*
 [1Sg **SbjFoc**] Fut come.Ipfv tomorrow
 ‘It’s I [focus] who will come tomorrow.’ (< *kò á*)

The subject focalization marker is *á*. Its interlinear abbreviation is **SbjFoc**. Nonpronominal NPs have their usual form when focalized. Pronouns take independent instead of proclitic (preverbal) form when focalized (§4.2.1)

- (409) 1Sg *kw = àá* (< /*kò á*/)
 1Pl *wò á, w = àá*
 2Sg *mw = ǎ*
 2Pl *ɲè á*
 3Sg *yū-wà á*
 3Pl *bì = á, by = ǎ*

The H-tone of *á* is primary, and our assistant uses it in carefully pronounced elicited examples. It can drop as far as L before another H-tone by regular tone sandhi (H#H-to-L#H, §3.4.2.2), although we normalize transcription as *á*. In allegro speech the actual pitch is variable even before nonhigh tones.

Perfective clauses with subject focus are in (410). See also examples with ‘only X’ as subject in §6.9.1.

- (410) a. [*séédù* *á*] *fó*
 [S **SbjFoc**] go.Pfv
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who went.’
- b. [*kw = = àá*] *yá*
 [1Sg **SbjFoc**] come.Pfv
 ‘It was I [focus] who came.’ (< *kō á*)

- c. [séédù á] wō [yèlí l̩]
 [S **SbjFoc**] be [jump.Prog Loc]
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who is jumping.’

While the distinction between subject focus á and object focus à lé is generally valid, there is one textual example of à lé in subject focus function with a stative predicate (411). This is the only such example in our corpus. It is spoken by an animal character in a tale.

- (411) [[kw = =àà lé] nì [gbórò gbáá-lā-ā] lè]
 [[1Sg **SbjFoc Foc**] be [elder.sib big-Ø-Abs] be]
 ‘(Hyena:) “It’s I [focus] who am the elder brother.”’ (2018-01 @ 00:26)

13.1.2 Direct object focalization

13.1.2.1 Simple direct object without VP-final particle (à lé, yì lé)

Focalized direct objects remain in their regular position. In addition to the examples below, see the ‘only X’ object examples in §6.9.1. Object focalization is usually expressed by adding à lé at the end of the relevant NP. The preceding section described subject-focus á. The à in à lé is presumably the same morpheme, here dropping to L before another H-tone. In artificially slow pronunciations, our primary assistant did pronounce á lé. The phrase-final particle lé also occurs under adverb and PP focus, described in later sections.

Pronouns take independent form in focalized object as in focalized subject function. The forms (412) show minor contractions.

- (412) 1Sg kw = āà lé < /kò à lé/
 1Pl wō à lé
 2Sg mw = āà lé
 2Pl nī à lé
 3Sg yū-wā à lé
 3Pl bī = à lé

à lé is also added to focalized nonpronominal NPs. à lé is the only possibility for human objects. Nonhuman objects including animals can use either à lé or an alternative form yì lé. Elsewhere yì is a discourse-definite demonstrative (§4.3.1.3), but the frequency of yì lé even in the absence of an apparent discourse-definite context suggests that yì lé is now simply a morphemic collocation associated with nonhuman-object focus. We will see in later sections that yì lé also marks some types of adverb focus.

The à morpheme contracts with the final vowel of the object. For example, in (413a-b), 1Sg k̀ combines with à lé as kw = ā̀à lé. In the progressive (413c), the direct object precedes the verb, with à but without lé. (413d) shows a focalized nonpronominal direct object.

- (413) a. à ńá [kw = = ā̀à lé]
 3Sg hit.Pfv [1Sg **ObjFoc** **Foc**]
 ‘It was me [focus] that he/she hit.’ (< k̀ō à lé)
- b. yā ā nā [kw = = ā̀à lé]
 Fut 3Sg hit.Ipfv [1Sg **ObjFoc** **Foc**]
 ‘It’s me [focus] that he/she will hit.’
- c. ā wō [[[kw = ā̀à] ńáá] l̀ò]
 3Sg be [[[1Sg **ObjFoc**] hit.Prog] Loc]
 ‘It’s me [focus] that he/she is hitting.’
- d. k̀è ńá [séédū à lé]
 1Sg hit.Pfv [S **ObjFoc** **Foc**]
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who I hit.’
- e. t̀òg̀ò-bí-yà [bé ní] déé [yū-wā à lé]
 chicken-Pl-Abs [3Pl Dem] eat.Pfv [3Sg **ObjFoc** **Foc**]
 ‘The chickens, it (cockroach) [focus] is what those ones ate.’
 (2018-0 @ 01:10)

Examples of ỳ lé with nonhuman objects are in (414).

- (414) a. k̀ē s̀èèⁿ [gbēgā-ā ỳì lé]
 1Sg buy.Pfv [S **ObjFoc.Nonh** **Foc**]
 ‘It was the stick [focus] that I bought.’
- b. k̀è ńá [ǹùṅá-ā ỳì lé]
 1Sg hit.Pfv [cow-Abs **ObjFoc.Nonh** **Foc**]
 ‘It was the cow [focus] that I hit.’

13.1.2.2 Direct object with a VP-final particle

When the direct object co-occurs with a VP-final particle (yí ‘apart’, pseudo-dative lè, or pseudo-locative lò, see §11.1.1-2), there is competition between focalizer lé and the VP-final particle for the final position in the VP.

In (415a), the VP-final particle yí ‘apart’ that is elsewhere colexicalized with ‘cut’ appears to be pre-empted by focalizing lé. Conversely, (415b) shows pseudo-locative lò, which is colexicalized with ‘tear, rip’, pre-empting focalizing lé. Since VP-final particles are sometimes omitted after postverbal direct objects even in the absence of focalization, one way to interpret (415a-b) is that when the (optional) VP-final particle is absent from a focalized object, lé is invoked to mark the focalization. Alternatively, the common use of discourse-definite yì in penultimate position may discourage addition of final VP-final particle yí. In support of this, yí ‘apart’ is more strongly associated with inanimate objects than are the two other VP-final particles.

- (415) a. kè sáá [gbēgā-ā yì lé]
 1Sg cut.Pfv [stick-Abs **ObjFoc.Nonh** **Foc**]
 ‘It was the stick [focus] that I cut.’
- b. kè lá [péyⁿá-ā yī lò]
 1Sg rip.Pfv [cloth-Abs **ObjFoc.Nonh** **PsLoc**]
 ‘It was the cloth [focus] that I ripped.’

It is more difficult to distinguish focalizing lé from pseudo-dative lè, since tones can be indistinct in prepausal position. However, in examples (416a-c) with a verb that regularly co-occurs with pseudo-dative lè, our assistant generally pronounces lè rather than lé when the object is focalized. Therefore the preceding ā (human or nonhuman) or yī (nonhuman only) is the only indicator of focalization.

- (416) a. kè náá [bábá-ā yī] lè
 1Sg see.Pfv [sheep-Abs **ObjFoc.Nonh** **PsDat**]
 ‘It was the sheep-Sg [focus] that I saw.’
- b. kè náá [sédū ā] lè
 1Sg see.Pfv [S **ObjFoc** **PsDat**]
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who I saw.’
- c. kè náá [gbēgā-ā yī] lè
 1Sg see.Pfv [stick-Abs **ObjFoc.Nonh** **PsDat**]
 ‘It was the stick [focus] that I saw.’

13.1.2.3 Focus particle linking object NP and following PP

In texts, *lé* or *yì* occurs after a postverbal object NP that is itself immediately followed by a spatial PP with 3Sg pronominal *à* as the postpositional complement. Here *lé* seems to have a linking (or separating) rather than clearly focalizing function, although some degree of focusing may be present. In interlinears we gloss *lé* as the “Foc” morpheme in spite of the apparent lack of focalizing quality. *lé à* contracts as *l=áà*. Some examples are: [túmwⁿ-à l=] [= áà yè] ‘(scoop/put) water onto it’ 2018-08 @ 02:08 and 2018-09 @ 00:51; [nā-à l=] [= áà kíngē] ‘(slide) fire under it’ 2018-08 @ 03:18 and 2018-09 @ 00:51 and 04:14; [sēṅā-à l=] [= áà níndè] ‘(gather) okra over (=onto) it’ 2018-09 @ 01:32; [kúruwá-à l=] [= áà kíngè] ‘(insert) a stirring-stick under it’ 2018-09 @ 03:40); [gbàrèé-gbàrèyá-à l=] [= áà nù] ‘(put) sugar in it’ 2018-09 @ 04:07. *yì à* contracts as *y=āà*, as in [nā-à y=] [= āà kíngè] ‘(build) fire under it’ 2018-10 @ 00:21.

The “focus” marker is included in (mostly perfective) echo clauses that follow the original clause of this type. Since there is no good reason to focalize anything in an echo clause, this strengthens the case for a linking function. In 2018-09 @ 02:08 the echo has *lé* even though the final *ā yè* ‘on it’ is omitted.

13.1.3 PP and adverb focalization (*lé*, *yì lé*, *à lé*)

An adverb like ‘yesterday’ or ‘here’ can be focalized by adding *lé*.

(417) a. *à yá [sáà lé]*
 3Sg come.Pfv [yesterday **Foc**]
 ‘It was yesterday [focus] that he/she came.’

b. *yà wó jò [wó-nà lé]*
 Fut 1Pl spend.night.Ipfv [here **Foc**]
 ‘It’s here [focus] that we will spend the night.’

An instrumental prepositional phrase is focalized by *yì lé*. It seems that postverbal focalizer *lé* favors a buffering morpheme between it and the NP, compare *à lé* and *yì lé* with postverbal direct objects. We label *yì* as “InstFoc” in interlinears for the relevant examples. *yì lé* also occurs optionally for inanimate object focus (§13.1.2).

(418) *wó pō tūndwā-ā [nī bāgā-ā] yì lé]*
 1Pl do.Ipfv work(n)-Abs [with daba-Abs] **InstFoc Foc**
 ‘It’s with a daba [focus] that we cultivate.’

A locative postpositional phrase is focalized by adding lé after the postposition (419a), or after a lexicalized locative form of a noun (419b).

- (419) a. yà wó pō tūndwā-ā [[gbēgā-à kíngè] lé]
 Fut 1Pl do.Ipfv work(n)-Abs [[tree-Abs under] **Foc**]
 ‘It’s under the tree [focus] that we will work.’
- b. yà wó pō tūndwā-ā [tójé-è lé]
 Fut 1Pl do.Ipfv work(n)-Abs [field-Loc **Foc**]
 ‘It’s in the field [focus] that we will work.’

Dative lè is focalized as à lé. Morphological parsing is difficult since focalizer lé is segmentally identical to dative postposition lè, and since the tonal distinction is often indistinct prepausally. Since à lé also occurs as a focalizer of postverbal objects (especially but not exclusively human ones), we suggest that (postverbal) human direct object and dative are merged into a single **oblique** category under focalization. Consistent with this, pronominal datives (like postverbal objects) are focalized using independent pronouns plus à lé (420b), not the special pronominal datives (§4.2.2) like 1Sg kō-rē. We therefore gloss à lé as “ObjFoc” plus “Foc” (not “Dat”).

- (420) a. kē sō-wà [[mí tó à] lé]
 1Sg give.Pfv-3SgObj [[2Sg father **ObjFoc**] **Foc**]
 ‘It was your-Sg father [focus] who I gave it to.’
- b. ā sō-wā [[kw = =āà] lé]
 3Sg give.Pfv-3SgObj [[1Sg **ObjFoc**] **Foc**]
 ‘It was me [focus] who he/she gave it to.’

13.1.4 Possessor focalization

We have not been able to elicit a focalized possessor as such. The entire possessed NP ‘my cow’ is focalized in (421), although the possessum is a cow in both parts. náǵá is the default possessum (§6.6.3), avoiding repetition of the noun ‘cow’ in the second occurrence.

- (421) bè jé [ké nūǵā-ā yì lé],
 3Pl sell.Pfv [1Sg cow-Abs **Dem.Def** **Foc**]
 [[mí náǵá] yì] wó?
 [[2Sg possession] Dem.Def] Neg
 ‘It was my cow [focus] that they sold, not yours-Sg.’

13.1.5 Third person demonstrative ní focalized as nẹ́hà

The forms 3Sg à ní ‘that one’ and 3Pl bé ní ‘those ones’ denote referents that have just been introduced into the discourse (§4.3.1.2). The subject-focalized form of ní is nẹ́hà. This is tonally distinct from nẹ́hà, a variant of default possessum náhà.

- (422) [ā nì] sẹ́gá-à, jórⁿá-bè gbògòlá-à, [ā nẹ́hà]
 [3Sg Dem] well-Abs, djinn-Pl girl-Abs, [3Sg **Dem.SbjFoc**]
 sìní wó] [[[à ní] sẹ́gá-à] nìndè]]
 stop.Pfv here] [[[3Sg Dem] well-Abs] over]]
 ‘(At) that well, a young djinn girl, it was she [focus] who stood there at
 (=beside) the top of the well.’ (2018-05 @ 00:10)

13.1.6 nì replacing copular wò ‘be’ after focalized subject

Copular wò ‘be’ (69.3.2.1) is replaced by nì when the subject is focalized. Clause-final lè is absent.

- (423) a. [kw = = àá] nì yé-kwā-à
 [1Sg SbjFoc] **be** village-owner-Abs
 ‘I [focus] am the chief.’
- b. [sẹ́édù á] nì yé-kwā-à
 [S SbjFoc] **be** village-owner-Abs
 ‘Seydou [focus] is the chief.’
- c. à lé hẹ̀ⁿ→ mwōⁿ [jènέ bèèsì],
 3Sg said hmm 2Sg [younger.sib hare],
 [[kw = = àà lé] nì [gbórò gbáá-lā-ā] lè]
 [[1Sg SbjFoc Foc] **be** [elder.sib big-Abs] be]
 ‘He (hyena) said: “hmm, you, (my) younger brother hare, it’s I [focus]
 who am the elder brother.”’ (2018-03 @ 00:26)
- d. [ánàhà nī [à ní] wó?]
 [like.that **be** [3Sg Dem] Neg]
 (Hare:) ‘that way [focus] isn’t (how) that one is.’

This replacement does not apply to content interrogatives.

- (424) ɲmáá wò yé-kwā-ā lē nà
 who? **be** village-owner-Abs be Q
 ‘Who is the chief?’

The replacement of wò by nì is limited to copular clauses. wò in locational clauses is not replaced when the subject is focalized. Instead, the output is á wò with the regular subject-focus particle á.

- (425) [kw = = áá] wò yégá-à
 [1Sg SbjFoc] **be** village-Abs
 ‘It’s I [focus] who am in the village.’

13.2 Polar interrogation

13.2.1 Yes/no questions

Polar interrogatives are regular indicative sentences plus either clause-final nà (2018-02 @ 00:28), or more often a terminal intonational effect. The final syllable is prolonged, with higher than modal intensity, and tracks down to low pitch (symbol ↘). Interlinears have “.Q” after the final word.

- (426) a. yā mī yà sógómà ↘
 Fut 2Sg come.Ipv tomorrow.Q
 ‘Will you-Sg come tomorrow?’
- b. ménī-yⁿā wò yégá-à ↘
 rain-Abs be village-Abs.Q
 ‘Is it raining in the village?’

13.3 Content (WH) interrogation

WH words (‘who?’, ‘what?’, etc.) remain *in situ*, i.e. in their regular syntactic slot within the clause. There is no fronting to clause-initial position, except optionally for ‘why?’. Clause-final interrogative nà is present in most content interrogative clauses except with ‘how?’ and ‘where?’.

13.3.1 ‘Which?’ (yàà)

This interrogative modifier follows a noun in absolute form. yàà is therefore classifiable as a quantifier of the same syntactic type as gbó(?) ‘all’ and tí or tùù

‘some’. The combination of noun plus *yàà* is an NP, and it can function as an argument or as complement of a PP. *yàà* rises to M-tone except when followed by an H-tone as in (427c).

- (427) a. [níná-ā yāā] wò [mí níńá] lē nà
 [house-Abs **which?**] be [2Sg Poss] be Q
 ‘Which house is yours-Sg?’
- b. mī fò [[yéǵá-ā yāā] lǝ] nà
 2Sg go.Ipvf [[village-Abs **which?**] Loc] Q
 ‘Which village are you-Sg going to?’
- c. [níná-ā yàà] yí nà
 [house-Abs **which?**] in.front.of Q
 ‘in front of which house?’

The etymological relationship between *yàà* ‘which?’ and *yá* ‘what?’ is unclear.

13.3.2 ‘Who?’ (ɲmáá)

ɲmáá ‘who?’ asks for the identity of a human referent.

- (428) a. mí wò [ɲmáá lē] nà
 2Sg be [**who?** Foc] Q
 ‘Who are you?’
- b. ɲmáá ká nà
who? it.is Q
 ‘Who is it?’
- c. ɲmáá yā yà sóǵómā nà
who? Fut come.Ipvf tomorrow Q
 ‘Who will come tomorrow?’
- d. mì ńáá ɲmáá lè [pówá-ā lǝ] nà
 2Sg see.Pfv **who?** PsDat [market-Abs Loc] Q
 ‘Who(m) did you see in the market?’

- e. [ɲínì yê] [ɲmáá n=] = āā kā nà
 [house Dem] [**who?** Poss] 3Sg it.is Q
 ‘That house is whose?’ (< ɲmáá nī)
- f. [ɲmáá yí] nà
 [**who?** in.front.of] Q
 ‘in front of whom?’
- g. mì yéré ɲmáá nà
 2Sg call.Pfv **who?** Q
 ‘Who(m) did you-Sg call?’

13.3.3 ‘What?’ (yá)

yá ‘what?’ asks for the identity of a nonhuman referent.

- (429) a. m= ɔ̀̀ [[yá póó] lɔ̀] nà
 2Sg be [[**what?** do.Prog] Loc] Q
 ‘What are you-Sg doing?’ (< mī ẁ̀)
- b. yá ẁ̀ ló nà
what? be there Q
 ‘What’s going on?’ (local Fr *il y a quoi?*)
- c. yá ɲá mɔ̀-rē nà
what? hit.Pfv 2Sg-Dat Q
 ‘What has happened to you?’
- d. yá yé nà
what? Dem Q
 ‘What’s that?’ (< yê)
- e. [yá yí] nà
 [**what?** in.front.of] Q
 ‘in front of what?’

yá is also part of ‘why?’ (see just below).

The simple form *là* occurs before clause-final *dó*. The latter also occurs clause-finally in some ‘where?’ constructions (see the following subsection) and in echo clauses (§16.3.2.3).

- (432) á! kùré [mwⁿ̄ pò [[mí náṅá] lē] là dó
 oh! elder.sib [2Sg do.Pfv [[2Sg possession] Dat] **how? Q**
 ‘(Hare:) “Oh, elder brother! What in the world did you do to yours (=your necklace)?” (2018-03 @ 01:38)

13.3.6 ‘Where?’ (*bé*, *dó*)

bé asks for a location. It is normally clause-final, but can be followed by a setting adverbial in one possible constituent order. When clause-final it appears either as *bé* *nà* with the clause-final interrogative particle, or as *bé* ↘ with falling pitch.

- (433) a. [mí jíná-ā] wò bé ↘
 [2Sg house-Abs] be **where?.Q**
 ‘Where is your house?’
- b. mī fò bé ↘
 2Sg go.Ipfv **where?.Q**
 ‘Where are you going?’
 (also: mī fò bé *nà*)
- c. [táán-wē tē-mwⁿ-ā] pō jóní-yà bé ↘
 [child-Pl small-Pl-Abs] do.Ipfv fun-Abs **where?.Q**
 ‘Where do the children play?’
- d. mī fó bé sáà
 2Sg go.Pfv **where?** yesterday
 ‘Where did you-Sg go yesterday?’
 (with alternative order: sáà mī fó bé ↘)

Another relevant form is clause-final *dó*. By itself *dó* can function as a ‘be where?’ predicate (434a). It can also be combined with *bé* ‘where?’ (434b), with *là* ‘how?’ as in (432) above. In these combinations, *dó* functions as a clause-final interrogative particle similar to *nà* in ‘who?’, ‘what?’, and ‘which?’ questions. Less clear is *yá dó* *dòṅgó* ‘why?’ (2018-05 @ 00:56).

(434) a. séédù dó
 S **be.where?**
 ‘Where’s Seydou?’

b. mī fò bé dó
 2Sg go.Ipfv **where?** Q
 ‘Where are you going?’

13.3.7 ‘When?’

The most general interrogative for time is *tīnī-yā yāā* ‘which time?’ In adverbial function it is followed by spatial postposition *lè*. Other temporal nouns (‘day’, ‘year’, etc.) can replace *tīnī-yā* ‘time’ for greater specificity. They can be followed by focus marker *à* and spatial postposition *yí* in the sense ‘at, on’ (not ‘before’). *yí* elsewhere means ‘in front of’ but has a range of extended senses (§8.4.5.1). Clause-final *nà* is present.

(435) a. yā mī kùlē [[tīnī-yā yāā] l̩] nà
 Fut 2Sg return.Ipfv [[time-Abs which?] Loc] Q
 ‘When will you-Sg come back?’

b. [[séré yāā à] yí]
 [[year which? Foc] in.front.of]
 lá à yá nà
 RemPast 3Sg come.Pfv Q
 ‘In which year did/had he/she come?’

c. [[lāālā-ā yāā] à yí] yā ā yā nà
 [[day which?] Foc in.front.of] Fut 3Sg come.Ipfv Q
 ‘On which day will he/she come?’

13.3.8 ‘How many?’ and ‘how much?’ (*jòlá* or *jùwèlá*)

jòlá ~ *jùwèlá* asks for a specification of quantity. A preceding bare noun denoting a set occurs without plural or absolute marking. The noun may be countable (436a) or mass (436b).

(436) a. [kèsí jòlá] wè [mí nān-dē] nà
 [dog **how.many?**] be [2Sg Poss] Q
 ‘How many dogs do you-Sg have?’

- b. mī sèè" [námū jòlá] lē nà
 2Sg buy.Pfv [meat **how.much?**] Foc Q
 ‘How much meat did you-Sg buy?’

The quantified noun may be possessed (437).

- (437) [[mí nūm-bē] jòwèlá] wò wó-nā nà
 [[2Sg cow-Pl] **how.many?**] be here Q
 ‘How many of your cows are here?’

13.4 Subordinated interrogatives

13.4.1 Complement of ‘(not) know (that/whether)’

A higher ‘not know’ clause creates a dubitative modal context for the doubtful proposition, which is expressed as a question. The ‘(not) know’ clause may precede (438a) or follow (438b) the interrogative clause. Negative wó? occurs at the end in either case, though logically it belongs with ‘know’. mémbě ~ mémě ‘whether’ precedes the interrogative clause with optional nì ‘if’ in between. There is no distinction between factive ‘that’ (presupposing the truth of the lower clause) and dubitative ‘whether’. mémbě ~ mémě ‘whether’ can also occur initially in a simple clause, adding a dubitative modal frame (438c).

- (438) a. [ā sī-yà] [mémbě kē wò wó] wó?
 [3Sg **know**.3SgInanObj] [**whether** 1Sg be here] Neg
 ‘He/She doesn’t know that/whether I am here.’
- b. [kē sī-yà] [mémbě (nī) à yá] wó?
 [1Sg **know**.3SgInanObj] [**whether** (if) 3Sg come.Pfv] Neg
 ‘I don’t know whether he has come.’
- c. [mémbě à yá]
 [**whether** 3Sg come.Pfv]
 ‘(I wonder) whether he/she has come.’

A content question clause is phrased as a relative clause. mémbě or variant occurs when the ‘not know’ clause precedes the content relative and adds a dubitative note, but it is not translatable as ‘whether’ in this case.

- (439) a. kē sī-yà
 1Sg **know**.Ipfv-3SgInanObj
 [mémē ɲ̀ɲ̀ɲ̀ lé k̀ yá] wó?
 [**whether** person.Abs Rel owner come.Pfv] Neg
 ‘I don’t know (the person) who came.’
- b. [kē w̄ [[jìsì lé] l̀]]
 [1Sg be [[place Rel] Loc]]
 [kē sī-yà wó?]
 [1Sg **know**.Ipfv-3SgInanObj Neg]
 ‘I don’t know (the place) where I am.’

13.4.2 Quoted interrogatives

In (440), a simple question asked by an original speaker is quoted. The content interrogative (‘who?’ or ‘where?’) in these examples has its usual form.

- (440) a. ā p̄ sēgā-à, ɲmáá yá nà
 3Sg do.Pfv question-Abs, **who?** come.Pfv Q
 ‘He/She asked, who came?’
- b. [à sé k̄] [kē f̀ b́]
 [3Sg ask.Pfv 1SgObj] [1Sg go.Ipfv **where?**]
 ‘He/She asked (me) where I was going.’

14 Relativization

14.1 Basic syntax of relatives

The relative marker is *lé* at the beginning of the relative clause or internally, following the external head noun. When the head NP is plural, *lé* is optionally pluralized as *lé-bè*. This plural marking is redundant since the noun itself may be morphologically pluralized. Therefore *lé-bè* is absent in some of our examples that involve plural heads.

lé (but not *lé-bè*) also occurs as a focalizer with some non-subject focalized constituents (preceding chapter). Confusion is unlikely since focalizing *lé* is part of a morpheme complex *yì lé* or *à lé* after an object NP, and it occurs by itself as *lé* only after adverbs.

14.1.1 Position and form of head

The head noun is normally in bare form without the absolute suffix, though it is semantically definite in most cases. If the head noun is plural, it usually has suffix *-bè*.

14.1.2 Pronouns as heads

Independent pronouns occasionally function as relative heads.

- (441) a. [kò lé] wò wó-nà
[1Sg Rel] be here-Loc
'I who am here'
- b. [wò lé] wò
[1Pl Rel] be
'we who are (here)' (2018-02 @ 00:24)

14.1.3 Headless relatives

lé may occur by itself as a relative head, without a preceding noun. In (442) it implies a covert inanimate head 'thing'. See also (224b) in §8.4.1.1 ('what will happen')

- (442) lé wò [ké kòndó]
Rel be [1Sg inside]
 ‘What is inside me, ...’ (2018-08 @ 06:03)

Clause-initial bare relative lé can alternatively imply a covert adverbial head ‘time’ or ‘situation’, see (454) in §15.1.3 (‘as soon as’).

14.2 Examples of relatives by function of head

Many of the elicited examples below are of the type ‘[relative clause], where is he/she/it’. We used this as an elicitation frame to make sure that the native speakers understood that a relative clause was at hand.

14.2.1 Subject relatives

The subject in bare (non-absolute) form is followed by relative marker lé and the verb. When a pre-subject tense morpheme like future yà is present, it may follow lé, showing that the subject has been fronted, but there is no resumptive subject pronominal (443f-g). The tense particle may alternatively precede the head, which is therefore not fronted (443h). The optional plural form lé-bè is exemplified in (443i).

- (443) a. [[lāāli-bè lé] sárò
 [day-Pl **Rel** pass.Pfv]
 ‘the days that have passed’
- b. [[[tíyé tārè] lé] póré] ā wò bé (nà)
 [[[child small] **Rel**] fall.Pfv] 3Sg be where? (Q)
 ‘Where is the child who fell?’
- c. [[gbāā-kwòlì lé] póré] ā wò bé (nà)
 [[stone **Rel**] fall.Pfv] 3Sg be where? (Q)
 ‘Where is the rock that fell?’
- d. [[fòò lé] sēē gbēē-bī-yà] ā wò bé (nà)
 [[woman **Rel**] know.Pfv tree-Pl-Abs] 3Sg be where? (Q)
 ‘Where is the woman who knows the trees?’
- e. [[sém-bè lé] sēē gbēē-bī-yà] bē wò bé (nà)
 [[woman-Pl **Rel**] know.Pfv tree-Pl-Abs] 3Pl be where? (Q)
 ‘Where are the women who knows the trees?’

- e. mī sīi [gbàà lé] [bē nān-dē]
 2Sg catch.Ipfv [meal Rel] [3Pl Poss]
 [mī dī-yà]
 [2Sg eat.Ipfv-3InanSgObj]
 ‘The food of theirs that you grab, you (will) eat it.’ (2018-01 @ 00:29)

Progressive examples are in (445).

- (445) a. [kē wō [[[gbèè lé] sáá] lò]] [ā kòrè]
 [1Sg be [[[wood **Rel**] cut.Prog] Loc]] [3Sg be.hard.Ipfv]
 ‘The wood that I am chopping is hard.’
- b. [gbèè lé] [kē w = [[=āà sáá] lò] [ā kòrè]
 [wood **Rel**] [1Sg be [[3Sg cut.Prog] Loc] [3Sg be.hard.Ipfv]
 [= (a)] (< kē wō à sáá)

14.2.3 PP-complement relatives

Relative lé remains at the end of the head noun (or NP) functioning as complement of the postposition.

- (446) a. [bō = wō [jìsì lé] lò] [à wólí]
 [3Pl be [place **Rel**] **Loc**] [3Sg be.long.Ipfv]
 ‘The place where they are is far away.’ (< bē wō)
- b. [bō = wò [níní-bè lé] lò] [[ā jìsì] wólí]
 [3Pl be [house-Pl **Rel**] **Loc**] [[3Sg place] be.long.Ipfv]
 ‘The houses that they live in are far away.’
- c. [[lāālà lé] yí] mì yá]
 [[day **Rel**] **in.front.of**] 2Sg come.Pfv]
 [lá kē wò wó wó?]
 [Past 1Sg be here Neg]
 ‘On the day you-Sg came, I wasn’t here.’
- d. [[[lāālà lé] yí] yā mī yà]
 [[[day **Rel**] **in.front.of**] Fut 2Sg come.Pfv]
 [yā kē wò wó wó?]
 [Fut 1Sg be here Neg]
 ‘On the day you-Sg will come, I won’t be here.’

14.2.4 Possessor relatives

Relative *lé* is added to the possessor, preceding genitive *nì*. This relativizes on the possessor only, not the entire possessed NP.

(447) a. [[[sǎrè lé] nì bábá-à] fò] [ā wò bé (nà)]
[[[man **Rel**] **Poss** sheep-Abs] go.Pfv] [3Sg be where? (Q)]
'Where is the man whose sheep-Sg ran away?'

b. [[[nīm-bè lé] nì báá-mī-yà] fò] [bē wò bé (nà)]
[[[person-Pl **Rel**] **Poss** sheep-Pl-Abs] go.Pfv] [3Pl be where? (Q)]
'Where are the people whose sheep-Pl ran away?'

14.3 'Whatever ...' (má ..., má ...)

A relative clause containing relative morpheme *lé* in any grammatical function may combine with doubled *má* morpheme to produce a 'whatever ...' relative. *má* precedes the subject, and also precedes the remainder of the clause.

(448) [má yū-wà] má pò [tíyⁿ-à lé] bèèsì ló,
[whatever 3Sg] whatever do.Ipfv [matter-Abs **Rel**] hare there,
[à ní] yúgúsú bèrè wó?
[3Sg Dem] happen.Pfv again Pl
'Whatever he (=hyena) was going to do to hare there, that didn't (ever) happen.' (2018-04 @ 00:45)

15 Conditionals

15.1 Hypothetical conditionals

15.1.1 Regular ‘if/when’ antecedents (nì)

The antecedent and consequent denote potential but as-yet unrealized eventualities, normally in the future. If the antecedent eventuality is realized, the consequent eventuality will likewise be realized (if the consequent clause is indicative), or it should be (if the consequent is a deontic modal). A causal relationship between the two eventualities is normally implied.

The ‘if’ particle is clause-initial *nì*. Aside from this, both antecedent and consequent have normal independent clause form. The antecedent is in perfective aspect if it denotes an event that precedes the consequent eventuality, as is usually the case. The consequent may be in imperfective, future, or a deontic modal form.

- (449) a. [nì mény-à póré pōrāⁿ] [kē fò tóhé-è wó?] [if rain-Abs fall.Pfv today] [1Sg go.Ipfv field-Loc Neg] ‘If it rains today, I won’t go to the field.’
- b. [nì ménī-yⁿà póré] [m= =ēē fò tóhé-è wó?] [if rain-Abs fall.Pfv] [2Sg =Proh go.Proh field-Loc Neg] ‘If it rains, don’t-2Sg go to the field!’

In texts, conditional antecedents can often be translated as ‘when ...’ or ‘after ...’, where the veridicality of the event denoted is not especially in doubt. This is the case in descriptions of recurrent everyday action sequences, such as the various steps in preparing a meal. Clauses beginning with *nì* are common in echo clauses in such descriptions (§16.3.2.1).

nì also occurs in some constructions with **subjunctive**-like modal force. This is the case in subject-switched purposive clauses (§16.4.1.3), in subject-switched complements of ‘accept, allow’ (§16.9.4), and in reported imperatives (§16.11.1.3). *nì* is also part of exhortations (§11.6.3), though in the very common 1Pl hortative *nō = ̄* ... ‘let’s ...!’ its identity is disguised by contraction.

Indeed, even in simple conditionals *nì* ‘if/when’ often contracts with vowel-initial pronominal subjects 1Pl (w)ó and 3Sg à. The full set of combinations with (unfocalized) pronominal subjects is (450). They differ considerably from combinations of preposition *nì* ‘with, and’ plus a pronominal (§8.2). The verb is *fó*

‘go’ (perfective). Importantly, 1Pl n = $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ is distinct in vowel quality from 1Pl hortative $n\bar{o} = \bar{o}$.

(450) a. regular preverbal proclitic forms

| | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------|
| 1Sg | nī kè fó | ‘if I went’ |
| 2Sg | nī mī fó | ‘if you-Sg went’ |
| 2Pl | nī jì fó nì | ‘if you-Pl went’ |
| 3Pl | nī bè fó | ‘if they went’ |

b. optional contracted forms

| | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1Pl | n = $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ fó | ‘if we went’ |
| 3Sg | n = $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ fó | ‘if he/she/it went’ |

The full forms nī (w) \bar{o} fó ‘if we went’ and nī à fó ‘if he/she/it went’ are also possible. Contracted 1Pl n = $\bar{o}\bar{o}$, from nì (w)ó can remain M-toned even before an H-tone, where true M-tone would not occur (§3.4.2.5).

nì is sometimes omitted, or inaudible, especially before the nasals in the 2Sg and 2Pl forms. This is often the case when the ‘if’ clause is an echo of an immediately preceding clause (‘we winnow it; when we have winnowed it, ...’). The shift from imperfective to perfective aspect in the verb is often enough to mark the second clause as an ‘if/when’ echo clause.

15.1.2 ‘Even if’ antecedents (álì nì)

In this type, there is a presupposition that the realization of the antecedent eventuality would ordinarily prevent that of the consequent eventuality. The speaker asserts that, contrary to this expectation, the consequent eventuality will be realized anyway.

álì ‘even’ is added before nì ‘if’.

(451) [álì nì mény-à péré p̄rāⁿ] [kē fò tóŋé-è]
 [even if rain-Abs fall.Pfv today] [1Sg go.Ipfv field-Loc]
 ‘Even if it rains today, I will go to the field.’

15.1.3 ‘As soon as’ antecedents

In this construction, both antecedent and consequent can begin with nì ‘if’ in parallel (452). The antecedent is perfective, the consequent is imperfective. Recall that nì also means ‘and’ (conjoining NPs) and ‘with’ (preposition).

- (452) [nì [ké tó] yá] [nī kē dēē gbā-à]
 [if [1Sg father] come.Pfv] [if 1Sg eat.Ipfv meal]
 ‘As soon as my father comes, I will eat.’

See also §16.3.2.3.

In another version, the parallelism linking antecedent to consequent is that both are in the progressive construction. Only the antecedent is marked with nì ‘if’.

- (453) [nì [ké tó] wò [yáá lò]]
 [if [2Sg father] be [come.Prog Loc]]
 [kē wò [fóó lò]]
 [1Sg be [go.Prog Loc]]
 ‘As soon as my father comes, I will go.’
 [lit. “If my father is coming, I am going.”]

The combination of clause-initial headless relative lé (common in ‘when ...’ clauses) plus clause-final dó, or just dó without lé, can also mean ‘as soon as’.

- (454) [lé wó tá [à tíyⁿ-ā] lò dó]
 [Rel 1Pl finish.Pfv [3Sg matter-Abs] PsLoc **as.soon.as**]
 à fò
 3Sg go.Pfv
 ‘As soon as we finished (with) the problem, he/she went away’

For clause-initial lé without final dó, see §16.3.2.2.

15.2 Counterfactual conditionals (má)

In a counterfactual conditional construction, both antecedent and consequent clauses have the morpheme má in pre- or post-subject position. The antecedent optionally also has nì ‘if’. If both clauses have normal (aspectually flexible) verbs, the antecedent clause is perfective and the consequent is imperfective.

- (455) a. (nì) ménì-yà má péré sáà,
 (if) rain(n)-Abs **Counterf** fall.Pfv yesterday,
 má kē fò wó?
Counterf 1Pl go.Ipfv Neg
 ‘If it had rained yesterday, I would not have gone.’

- b. (nì) má mì yáré kò,
 (if) Counterf 2Sg call 1SgObj,
 [or: (nī) mì má yáré kò]
 má kē yà
 Counterf 1Sg come.Ipfv
 ‘If you-Sg had called me, I would have come.’

15.3 Willy-nilly conditionals

In a willy-nilly conditional, the antecedent is repeated with inverted polarity. The point is that the realization of the antecedent eventuality (in either polarity) does not affect the realization of the consequent. The initial *nì* ‘if’ is optionally present in both antecedents but is often omitted. Clause-final disjunctive *wò* ‘or’ (§7.2.4) is added to both antecedents. Clause-final intonation modifications apply. The last syllable of the first clause has lower than modal pitch (symbol ↓), while the last syllable of the second clause has higher than modal pitch (symbol ↑).

- (456) [(nì) ménīyⁿ-à pàré wò↓] [(nī) à pàré wó wò↑],
 [(if) rain-Abs fall.Pfv or] [(if) 3Sg fall.Pfv Neg or],
 [yā kē fò tóṅé-è]
 [Fut 1Sg go.Ipfv field-Loc]
 ‘Whether the rain falls or it doesn’t fall, I will go to the field.’

16 Multiverb constructions

This chapter covers constructions that combine two clauses or two VPs. Some of the constructions specify temporal relationships between two events. Others are hierarchical, with a matrix verb and a subordinated clause or VP.

16.1 Verb-verb compounds largely absent

There is no productive system for combining two verbs into a compound that is then treated morphologically and syntactically as a single verb stem. In general, multiverb constructions in Pere involve two clauses or VPs, though some compression may occur.

The most compound-like combination described below is that for ‘begin’ (§16.8.1), but even there the two elements can be separated.

16.2 Setting adverbial clauses

16.2.1 Temporal ‘(at) the time/day/year when ...’

A simple backgrounded temporal adverbial clause can be constructed by relativizing on a head noun like ‘time’. A locative postposition is present (457).

- (457) [[tìni lé] l̀] [séédū wō [[tūndw-āà póó] l̀]]
[[**time Rel**] **Loc**] [S be [[work(n)-Abs do.Prog] Loc]]
[bē lààlè]
[3Pl sleep.Ipfv]
‘During the time when Seydou is working, they sleep.’

For headless relatives with implied but covert temporal head, see (454) in §15.1.3 and texts 2018-04 @ 00:33 and 2018-05 @ 00:46.

16.2.2 Spatial ‘(at) the place where ...’

A spatial adverbial clause (or NP) can be formed in the same way, with ‘place’ as the head of the relative (458).

- (458) wó fò [wó fǎré làtó-dī-yà [[[jì]î lé] lǎ]]
 1Pl go.Ipfv [1Pl leave.Pfv vehicle-Abs [[[place Rel] Loc]]]
 ‘We will go to (the place) where we left the vehicle.’

It is more usual to topicalize and foreground the entire relative clause (‘where we left the vehicle, we will go there’ with final wó fò lǎ).

16.2.3 Manner clauses

16.2.3.1 ‘(In) the way that ...’

The ‘manner’ noun is kóyá, absolute kóyá-à. A manner adverbial clause can be constructed by relativizing on this noun. The full form would therefore have [kóyá lé] lǎ ‘the manner in which...’ or ‘in the way that ...’, including relative lé and locative postposition lǎ (cf. English *in the way that ...*). The examples in our data are trimmed versions of this ideal sequence. First, it may be reduced to just the ‘manner’ noun, with its adverbial function implicit. In this case, the ‘manner’ noun shows up as kóyá-à with absolute suffix (459).

- (459) yà wó pò tūndw-āà [[séédù náǵá] pò kóyá-à]
 Fut 1Pl do.Ipfv work-Abs [[S Poss] do.Ipfv manner-Abs]
 ‘We will work the way Seydou does.’

Another version of this construction is a headless PP relative lé lǎ with implied but covert head noun ‘manner’; see 2018-07 @ 01:28.

In an alternative construction, the manner expression is an object focus construction (§13.1.2.2), functioning as object of ‘do’.

- (460) yā kē pò
 Fut 1Sg do.Ipfv
 [[séédū nī tūndw-āā] pò kóyá-ā yì lé]
 [[S Poss work-Abs] be.done.Ipfv manner-Abs **ObjFoc.Nonh Foc]**
 ‘I will do (work) the way Seydou’s work is done [focus].’

16.2.3.2 ‘As though ...’

má or mámbè may introduce an ‘as though’ clause (461).

- (461) [ā pò tūndw-āà]
 [3Sg do.Ipfv work-Abs]
 [má(mbē) ā wō bōⁿ-lòmógòní lè]
 [**whether** 3Sg be pauper be]
 ‘He/She works as though he was poor.’

For mámbè in ‘whether’ complements, see §16.11.2.2. For má in counterfactuals, see §15.2. All of these constructions are nonassertive (the speaker does not assert the truth of the proposition), as with “subjunctive” clauses in many languages.

16.3 Sequential constructions

In addition to the material in the following sections, see chapter 15 on conditionals. Conditional antecedents (‘if’ clauses) denote events that normally precede the events denoted by the consequent clauses.

16.3.1 Two clauses or two VPs with same subjects

16.3.1.1 Motion-verb clause plus same-subject second clause

If the first clause has a simple predicate consisting only of a motion verb like ‘come’ or ‘go’, the default option for a two-clause construction is to add a second clause with coindexed pronominal subject (462). The two clauses may be run together prosodically.

- (462) a. [séédù yá] [ā yèlí]
 [S **come**.Pfv] [3Sg jump.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou_x came and (he_x) jumped.’
- b. [séédù fó] [ā yèlí]
 [S **go**.Pfv] [3Sg jump.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou_x went and (he_x) jumped.’

This construction competes with an alternative that has a subjectless VP instead of the full second clause (§16.3.1.2 below).

If the motion verb is followed within its clause by one or more other constituents, such as a locative adverbial phrase, the second clause is usually set off prosodically rather than run together with the first clause.

(463) a. [à fó pówá-à] [ā sèèⁿ [bábà píⁿ]]
 [3Sg go.Pfv market-Abs] [3Sg buy.Pfv [sheep one]]
 ‘He/She went to the market and (he/she) bought a sheep.’

b. [kè fó pówá-à] [kē sēēⁿ bòbò]
 [1Sg go.Pfv market-Abs] [1Sg buy.Pfv goat]
 ‘I went to the market and bought/sold a goat.’

16.3.1.2 Extended motion verb (yáà/yà, fódò/fò) plus VP

When yá/yà ‘come’ or fó/fò ‘go’ is immediately followed by a VP (with covertly coindexed subject) denoting a subsequent action without a purposive relationship, one construction expands perfective yá as yáà and fó as fódò, and similarly imperfective yà as yàà and fò as fò. The imperfectives are subject to raising to M-tone before a nonhigh tone. We gloss with “.and” after the motion verb in interlinears. The construction is fairly common in texts but is difficult to elicit (and therefore study in detail) in informant sessions.

(464) a. nī gbāā-kō-mwⁿ-ā bè yáà dyé
 if meal-owner-Pl-Abs 3Pl **come.Pfv.and** arrive.Pfv
 ‘when the food owners came and arrived, ...’ (2018-01 @ 00:19)

b. mwⁿò fò
 2Sg **go.Pfv.and**
 [nāá [gbògòlá-ā sìní] lè [ségá-à nín-dè]]
 [see.Pfv [girl-Abs stop.Nom] PsDat [well-Abs over]]
 ‘You-Sg went and saw the girl’s stopping on top of the well.’
 (2018-05 @ 00:24)

c. mē =è ké [mī yāā]
 2Sg said that [2Sg **come.Ipfv.and**]
 [sō kō-rē] wó?
 [give.Ipfv 1Sg-Dat] Neg
 ‘You said (=decided) that you would not come and give (it) to me.’
 (2018-06 @ 01:08)

The combination yáà dyé ‘came and arrived’ is common in texts, but yáà and fódò can combine with any VP, e.g. bè yáà [fáⁿ bè] ‘they came and gathered them’ (2018-02 @ 01:07). A direct object (like bè ‘them’ in this example) and other nonsubject constituents follow the second verb in their normal position.

We were unable to elicit an imperative version of this construction.

This construction likely originated as *yá/yà* ‘come’ at the end of the first clause followed by the very common 3Sg subject pronominal *à* at the beginning of the second clause. Examples of the full, uncontracted version were given in (462a-b) in the preceding section. Schematically, the historical transition can be modeled as (465a) morphing into (465b). ‘Come’ may be either perfective or imperfective.

- (465) a. [X *yá/yà*] [*à* VP]
 [3Sg **come**] [3Sg VP]
 ‘X came/comes and (he/she) VPed/VPs.’
- b. [X *yá/yà=à*] [VP]
 [3Sg **come.and**] [VP]
 [= (a)]

The construction in (464a-c) above likely originated with combinations like (465a) where *yá/yà* ‘come’ and 3Sg *à* contracted to perfective **yá=à* and imperfective **yā=à*. Then perfective *yá=à* was reanalysed as a word unit *yáà*, understood by a new set of native speakers to be the result of applying morphophonological lengthening and final L-tone to the regular perfective *yá*. This reanalysis was then extended to the imperfective, converting **yā=à* (already pronounced **yā-ā* before a nonhigh tone) to *yàà* (still pronounced *yāā* before a nonlow tone, as before). Since the original 3Sg subject pronominal **à* was no longer recognizable, the construction spread to other subjects. The final step was to extend this pattern analogically from ‘come’ to the antonym *fó/fò* ‘go’.

The form of this construction (lengthened vowel of verb with final L-tone, followed by a subjectless VP) may be compared to that of the ability construction (‘can VP’), which likely had a similar biclausal origin (§16.6).

‘Come’ as first verb in a two-verb construction need not denote actual centripetal motion, either toward the ‘here’ of the current speech event or toward a reference location presented in prior discourse (e.g. a narrative ‘here’). Often ‘come and VP’ is best translated freely without the ‘come’. ‘Come and’ may function simply as a foregrounder or focalizer for VPs, which otherwise lack a readily available focalization construction, cf. similar comments in §16.4.1.2 below. Compare English *went and VP*, as in *he went and died on me*, though the pejorative sense in the English construction is absent from the Pere construction.

The constructions discussed above are distinct from a superficially similar one where a motion verb is followed by a same-subject VP, often in purposive function, with either a rising or falling tone on the verb, and with a direct object (if present) intervening between the motion verb and the second verb (§16.4.1.2). However, the

purposive element is not always clear in that construction, and to some extent the two constructions are interchangeable in discourse.

16.3.1.3 ‘Go and come back’, ‘come and go back’

For round-trip trajectories, the clauses containing the two opposing directional verbs are juxtaposed without a conjunction or other linking morpheme. The second clause always has a pronominal subject. The two clauses can be uttered as a single intonational phrase, or with a weak prosodic boundary. Future morpheme *yà* and other extras are usually not repeated in the second clause. Usually the two verbs are in the same aspectual category (466a-d). However, a perfective-imperfective sequence is required when the two motion events are separated by the moment of speaking (466e). The two clauses are independently negated; in (466f) the final negation has narrow scope over the second clause.

- (466) a. [sédù fó] [à yá]
 [S go.Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou went and (he) came (back).’
- b. [à yá] [ā kùlè]
 [3Sg come.Pfv] [3Sg return.Pfv]
 ‘He/She came and went back.’
- c. [kē fō] [kē yà]
 [1Sg go.Ipfv] [1Sg come.Ipfv]
 ‘I will go and come (back).’
- d. [sédū yā fō] [ā yà]
 [S Fut go.Ipfv] [3Sg come.Ipfv]
 ‘Seydou will go and come (back).’
- e. [sédù fó] [ā yà]
 [S go.Pfv] [3Sg come.Ipfv]
 ‘Seydou has gone, (and/but) (he) will come (back).’
- f. [yā kē fō] [kē yà wó?]
 [Fut 1Sg go.Ipfv] [1Sg come.Ipfv Neg]
 ‘I will go and will not come (back).’

16.3.1.4 ‘Take’ plus VP

An alternative to a single clause containing an instrumental or comitative PP, as in ‘He/She hit the dog with a stick’, is a two-clause construction with ‘take’ as the first verb. The two clauses are juxtaposed, with a pronominal subject in the second clause (467a-b).

- (467) a. [à kɪ̃ⁿ gbēw] [à ɲá kèʃy-â]
 [3Sg **take**.Pfv stick] [3Sg hit.Pfv dog-Abs]
 ‘He/She took a stick and he/she hit the dog.’
- b. [kè kɪ̃ⁿ bāgā-ā] [kè fó tóŋé-è]
 [1Sg **take**.Pfv daba] [1Sg go.Pfv field-Loc]
 ‘I took a daba and I went to the field.’

16.3.1.5 VP plus fɔré/fɔrè ‘leave/abandon’ or ‘be left, remain’

A verb of transfer like ‘put’ can combine with a second clause containing fɔré/fɔrè (... lɔ) either as transitive ‘leave, abandon (sth)’ with same subject (468a), or as intransitive ‘remain; be left’ with the theme as second subject (468b). The latter seems to be more idiomatic. The ‘leave’ or ‘remain’ clause can often be omitted in a free English translation.

- (468) a. [kē tū-wⁿā-ndē] [kè fɔré-yā lɔ]
 1Sg **put**.Pfv-3Sg-Dat] [1Sg **leave**.Pfv-3SgInanObj PsLoc]
 ‘I put it down (and left it) there.’
- b. [kē tū-wⁿā-ndē] [à fɔré lɔ]
 1Sg **put**.Pfv-3Sg-Dat] [3Sg **remain**.Pfv PsLoc]
 ‘I put it down (and it was left) there.’

For a different construction with fɔré/fɔrè as first verb (‘keep VPing’), see §16.5.3.2.

16.3.2 Backgrounded echo clauses in event sequences

In narratives, and in descriptions of habitual complex action sequences, a sub-event may be described in a foregrounded clause, then repeated as background setting up another foregrounded event. In narratives, the foregrounded clause is normally perfective. In descriptions of habitual action sequences, the foregrounded clause is

imperfective. In both contexts, the backgrounded echo clause that follows is perfective. Three types of echo clause are described in the following subsections.

16.3.2.1 Echo clause with *nì* ‘if’ and/or with final ‘at that time’

In the texts about habitual cooking techniques, the speaker regularly introduces a new sub-event with an imperfective clause. This is followed by a backgrounded echo clause in the form of a perfective conditional antecedent beginning with *nì* ‘if’, here better translated freely as ‘after ...’. The echo clause itself is then followed by another new foregrounded imperfective. The sequence is therefore of the type ‘we sift the flour; after we have sifted the flour, we add it to the pot; after we have added it to the pot, ...’. Texts 2018-08 and the first part of 2018-09 consist largely of such sequences.

This construction can be varied by adding *tìnì yéè* ‘that time’ at the end of the perfective echo clause. There is no other change in the form of the clause, which sometimes begins with *nì* ‘if’. This suggests that the construction is not a true relative adverbial of the type ‘at the time when ...’ with ‘time’ as relative head. *tìnì yéè* is better analyzed as adverbial ‘at that time ...’ and is logically grouped with the following clause. However, *tìnì yéè* always occurs at the end of the echo clause, and it is often followed by a pause before the new foregrounded clause. In other words, there is a mismatch between prosodic and syntactic-semantic bracketing. Several examples of this construction with *tìnì yéè* occur in the cooking texts, e.g. 2018-08 @ 00:15.

Another speaker used *yī lǝ* ‘at that time, at that point’ in the same way. It consists of discourse-definite demonstrative *yì* and locative postposition *lǝ*. As with *tìnì yéè*, it occurs at the end of the backgrounded clause, but it functions as a setting adverbial for the following clause. See 2018-07 @ 00:20 & 00:26.

16.3.2.2 Echo clause with initial *lé*

In (469), the backgrounded echo clause begins with *lé*, presumably the relative morpheme with covert abstract head noun (‘time’, ‘situation’, or the like) in adverbial function. All clauses in (469) are perfective.

- (469) *bèèsì yá,*
 hare come.Pfv,
lé bèèsì yá, jélǝgǝ náŋ-gè
Rel hare come.Pfv, hyena hit.Pfv-3SgAnObj
 ‘Hare came. When hare came (=had come), hyena hit him.’

For clause-initial lé combined with clause-final dó, see §15.13.

16.3.2.3 Echo clause with final dó

Clause-final dó ‘when, as soon as’ can also occur in backgrounded echo clauses (cf. §15.1.3). A textual example is (470).

- (470) bè só [à náǵá] yǝ-rē,
 3Pl give.Pfv [3Sg possession] 3Sg-Dat,
 bè só [à náǵá] yǝ-rē [[jìsí yê] dó],
 3Pl give.Pfv [3Sg possession] 3Sg-Dat [[place Dem] **as.soon.as**],
 bèèsì fǎré wó
 hare stay.Pfv here
 ‘They showed him (=hare) his portion (of the road). Once they had showed him his portion (of the road), hare stayed there.’ (2018-05 @ 00:21/00:25)

16.3.3 Subject switch in sequential constructions

Two closely spaced events with different agents may be expressed by clause juxtaposition, like the same-subject sequences described above. The two clauses may be prosodically merged. The future particle in (471b) occurs only in the first clause.

- (471) a. [bè déé gbā-ā] [kè fó]
 [3Pl eat.Pfv meal-Abs] [1Sg go.Pfv]
 ‘They ate and (then) I left.’
 b. [yā bē dēē gbā-à] [wó fò]
 [Fut 3Pl eat.Ipfv meal-Abs] [1Pl go.Ipfv]
 ‘They will eat and (then) we will leave.’

16.3.4 ‘Before ...’ clauses (ānikīngè, sèni)

In (472a-b), ānikīngè ‘before’ is perhaps obscurely derivable from [à ní] kīngè ‘behind that (one)’, but it functions as a unit. This form is used when the ‘before’ eventuality is in the past. For postposition kīngè ‘behind’ see §8.4.4.2.

- (472) a. [ó mí] [ānikīngè ménī-yⁿà péré]
 [1Pl enter.Pfv] [**before** rain(n)-Abs fall.Pfv]
 ‘We went in before it rained.’

- b. wó tá [[déé dèyá-à] lɔ̃]
 1Pl finish.Pfv [[thing eat-Abs] Loc]
 [ānikɪŋgè [ké tó] yá]
 [before [1Sg father] come.Pfv]
 ‘We finished eating before my father came.’

When the ‘before’ clause is in the future, a different form *sɛ̀nì ~ sání* ‘before’ is used.

- (473) a. [nɔ̃ = =ɔ̃ mí] [sɛ̀nì ménì-yⁿā yà]
 [Hort 1Pl enter.Pfv] [before rain-Abs come.Ipfv]
 ‘Let’s go in before it rains!’
- b. [wó pō tūnd(w)-āā] [sání [wó tó] yà]
 [1Pl do.Ipfv work(n)-Abs] [before [1Pl father] come.Ipfv]
 ‘We work before our father comes.’

16.3.5 ‘Not yet’ (tá)

The perfective verb *tá* ‘finish’ (§16.8.2) is part of the ‘not yet’ construction. The negative marker follows the second VP, but has broad scope including *tá*. A direct object precedes the second verb if transitive. A Cv verb like *yá/yà* ‘come’ is lengthened to Cv_v (474a). We add “yet” to the interlinear glosses.

- (474) a. à tá yàà wó?
 3Sg **finish.Pfv** come.yet **Neg**
 ‘He/She hasn’t come yet.’ (2018-05 @ 00:30)
- b. wó tá pín-dè wó?
 1Pl **finish.Pfv** lie.down.yet **Neg**
 ‘We haven’t yet gone to bed.’
- c. wó tá [gbā-ā dèè] wó?
 1Pl **finish.Pfv** [meal-Abs eat.yet] **Neg**
 ‘We haven’t yet eaten (a meal).’
- d. bè tá [yàà [wó nà]] wó?
 3Pl **finish.Pfv** [come.yet [here Loc]] **Neg**
 ‘They haven’t yet come here.’

| | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| e. | túm ⁿ -â | tá | ḡwú / wòlé | wó? |
| | water-Abs | finish .Pfv | become.hot/cold. yet | Neg |
| | ‘The water hasn’t gotten hot/cold yet.’ | | | |

The form of the second verb, in comparison to its regular perfective and imperfective forms, is shown in (475). Keep in mind that intransitive second verbs immediately follow tá while transitives follow the intervening object.

| | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| (475) | perfective | imperfective | ‘not yet’ | gloss |
| a. intransitive | | | | |
| <i>Cv</i> | | | | |
| | yá | yà | tá yàà wó? | ‘come’ |
| | mí | mì | tá mìì wó? | ‘enter’ |
| | kò ⁿ | kò ⁿ | tá kòò ⁿ wó? | ‘give birth’ |
| <i>Cvv</i> | | | | |
| | séé | sèè | tá sèè wó? | ‘know’ |
| | jíí | jìì | tá jìì wó? | ‘bathe’ |
| <i>Cyv</i> | | | | |
| | byé | byè | tá byè wó? | ‘weep’ |
| <i>light bisyllabic (CvCv and CvNCv)</i> | | | | |
| | wógò | wògò | tá wògò wó? | ‘crack (intr)’ |
| | gbórè | gbòrè | tá gbòrè wó? | ‘exit (v)’ |
| | wówó | wówó | tá wówó wó? | ‘hide (oneself)’ |
| | látó | látó | tá látò wó? | ‘run’ |
| | péré | pèrè | tá pèrè wó? | ‘fall; (sun) set’ |
| | pìn-dé | pìn-dè | tá pí-ndè wó? | ‘lie down’ |
| | gbògò ⁽ⁿ⁾ | gbògò ⁽ⁿ⁾ | tá gbògò ⁽ⁿ⁾ wó? | ‘get tired’ |
| <i>heavy (CvvCv and trisyllabic)</i> | | | | |
| | lààlé | lààlè | tá lààlé wó? | ‘sleep (v)’ |
| | fìilé | fìílè | tá fìílè wó? | ‘get up’ |
| | yúgúsù | yùgùsù | tá yúgúsù wó? | ‘happen’ |
| | gbòròtó | gbòròtò | tá gbòròtó wó? | ‘shave’ |
| | yèètáró | yéètàrò | tá yéètàrò wó? | ‘take a walk’ |
| <i>deadjectival</i> | | | | |
| | ḡwú | ḡwú | tá ḡwú wó? | ‘get hot’ |
| | wólé | wólé | tá wólé wó? | ‘get cold’ |

b. transitive

Cv

| | | | |
|----|----|--------------|--------------------|
| nó | nò | tá X nòò wó? | ‘bite’ |
| sú | sù | tá X sùù wó? | ‘remove, take out’ |

Cvv

| | | | |
|-----|-----|----------------|-------|
| déé | dèè | tá ... dèè wó? | ‘eat’ |
|-----|-----|----------------|-------|

light bisyllabic (CvCv and CvNCv)

| | | | |
|------|------|-----------------|------------------|
| sógó | sògò | tá ... sògò wó? | ‘rub’ |
| yógó | yògò | tá ... yògò wó? | ‘bury’ |
| wòwó | wówó | tá ... wówò wó? | ‘hide (someone)’ |

heavy (CvvCv and trisyllabic)

| | | | |
|---------|---------|--------------------|------------|
| yèèlí | yèèlì | tá ... yèèlí wó? | ‘pick out’ |
| pèè-lé | pèè-lè | tá ... péé-lè wó? | ‘fix’ |
| tèètéré | téétaré | tá ... téétèrè wó? | ‘peel’ |
| yèètáró | yéétáró | tá ... yèètáró wó? | ‘moisten’ |

c. intransitive with VP-final particle

| | | | |
|---------|---------|----------------|-----------|
| ηmò-ndó | ηmó-ndó | tá ηmó-ndò wó? | ‘escape’ |
| sìn-dé | sín-dé | tá sìn-dè wó? | ‘descend’ |

d. transitive with VP-final particle

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| tó (... yí) | tò (... yí) | tá ... tò-yí wó? | ‘lock’ |
| lá (... lè) | là (... lè) | tá ... là-ló wó? | ‘tear (v), rip’ |
| ɲáá (... lè) | ɲàà (... lè) | tá ... ɲàà-lé wó? | ‘see’ |

The data in (475) show mixed relationships between the ‘not yet’ form (second verb in the ‘not yet’ construction) and the perfective and imperfective of the same stems. H/L and L/L toned monosyllabic and CvCv stems have L-toned ‘not yet’ forms. This connects the ‘not yet’ form with the imperfective, except that Cv is also lengthened to Cvv. For the heavier stems, no overall correlation with either perfective or imperfective is observed. One observation about the heavier stems is that their ‘not yet’ form is never level L or level H. This avoidance of monotonal stems is also typical of perfectives of these heavy stems, whose imperfectives are monotonal. However, the actual tones of perfective and ‘not yet’ verbs do not regularly coincide for the heavy stems.

16.3.6 ‘Already’ (tá lè)

In this construction, perfective tá ‘finish’ is immediately followed by lè (presumably pseudo-locative), then by a VP in the same form as in the progressive construction

that ends in locative postposition *lò* (§11.4.3). A direct object precedes the second verb, as in the progressive. Compare (476a) with progressive *X wò [Y nàà-lé] lò* ‘X is seeing Y’.

(476) a. *bâ* [yū-wà á] tá lò
 as [3Sg SbjFoc] **finish.Pfv** **PsLoc**
 [[jísì-kí-yā nàà-lé] lò]
 [[eye-grain-Abs see.**Prog**-PsDat] **Loc**]
 ‘As she had already gotten the eye.’ (2018-05 @ 00:30)

b. *à* tá lò [yáá lò]
 3Sg **finish.Pfv** PsLoc [come.**Prog** **Loc**]
 ‘He/She has already come.’

c. *kè* tá lò [[túmⁿ-á ʃòwú] lò]
 1Sg **finish.Pfv** PsLoc [[water-Abs heat(v).**Prog**] **Loc**]
 ‘I have already heated (=boiled) the water.’

16.4 Purposive and causal clauses

16.4.1 Purposive clauses

16.4.1.1 Simple juxtaposition of same-subject clauses

French translation cues with purposive complementizers (*pour*, *afin de*) were sometimes rendered as juxtapositions of clauses with no overt purposive marker.

(477) [*à* pɛ́ɛⁿ gbɛ̀gā-à]
 [3Sg ascend.Pfv tree-Abs]
 [*ā* wɔ̃ [[nìrⁿì-sy-âⁿ póó] lò]]
 [3Sg be [[look-VblN-Abs do.Prog] Loc]]
 ‘He/She climbed the tree, he/she is looking.’
 (cue: ‘... in order to look around’)

16.4.1.2 Motion verb plus bitonal same-subject purposive verb

An initial motion verb (‘go’, ‘come’, etc.) in its normal form may combine with a subjectless VP complement expressing an event that followed the motion. The context often (but not always) suggests that the motion event was undertaken in order to perform the second event. If the second verb is transitive, the object NP precedes the second verb. This suggests an infinitive-like complement similar to that found in the

progressive construction. However, the verb takes a special purposive form with either rising or falling tone pattern. The main clause may be perfective (478a), imperfective (478b), or a deontic modal such as imperative (478c).

- (478) a. à fò [[bábà píⁿ] séèⁿ / jèw / ònì / sòó]
 3Sg go.Pfv [[sheep one] buy./sell./see./give.**Purp**]
 ‘He/She went and bought/sold/saw/gave a sheep.’ (< bábá)
- b. wó fw = [[= āā ní] sòó]
 1Pl go.Ipfv [[3Sg Dem] give.Purp]
 ‘We go and give that (to them).’ (2018-09 @ 01:57)
 [*< wó fō à ní*]
- c. yá kèfy-á òáá
come.Pfv [dog-Abs eat.**Purp**]
 ‘Come-2Sg and hit the dog!’

When the first verb is ‘come’, the construction sometimes functions to focalize the second VP, as when something unexpected or surprising occurs. That this is so is shown by the fact that ‘come’ may occur in both parts of the construction (479a), or it may occur before the antonym ‘go’ (479b). These sequences make no sense when read literally as centripetal motion plus purposive (or even sequence). With other second verbs, as in (479c), the construction can be read either in this fashion or more literally. See also similar comments about ‘come’ in §16.3.1.2 above.

- (479) a. à yá yáá
 3Sg **come.Pfv** **come.Purp**
 ‘He/She came (surprising).’ (2018-04 @ 00:21)
- b. à yá fòó
 3Sg **come.Pfv** **go.Purp**
 ‘He/She went (surprisingly).’
- c. à yá pín-dè
 3Sg **come.Pfv** **lie.down.Purp**
 ‘He/She came and lay down.’ or ‘He/She lay down (surprisingly).’

The form of the second (i.e. purposive) verb, compared with its perfective and imperfective forms, is presented in (480). The forms of the purposive verb that are shown are clause-final. Cv verbs are lengthened to Cvv, and all verbs have either a

rising or a falling tone pattern. Contrast the progressive, which requires either level-H or rising tone on the verb preceding locative *lò*.

(480) perfective imperfective ‘came to ...’ gloss

a. intransitive (immediately follows motion verb)

rising tone pattern

| | | | |
|--------|--------|-----------|-------------|
| mí | mì | yá mǐí | ‘enter’ |
| jíí | jìì | yá jǐí | ‘bathe’ |
| byé | byè | yá byě | ‘weep’ |
| látó | látó | yá làtó | ‘run’ |
| péré | pèrè | yá pèré | ‘fall’ |
| gbòrò | gbòrò | yá gbòró | ‘exit (v)’ |
| lààlé | lààlè | yá lààlé | ‘sleep (v)’ |
| ηmììní | ηmììní | yá ηmììní | ‘rest (v)’ |

falling tone pattern

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| kò ⁿ | kò ⁿ | yá kòò ⁿ | ‘give birth’ |
| pìn-dé | pìn-dè | yá pín-dè | ‘lie down’ |
| nìndè ~ òndè | nìndè ~ òndè | yá òndè | ‘sit’ |
| wòwó | wówó | yá wówò | ‘hide’ |
| gbògò ⁽ⁿ⁾ | gbògò ⁽ⁿ⁾ | yá gbógò | ‘get tired’ |
| yèètáró | yéètáró | yá yéètàrò | ‘take a walk’ |

b. transitive (immediately follows object)

rising tone pattern

| | | | |
|----|----|-------------|--------|
| ᵐá | ᵐà | yá ... ᵐàá | ‘hit’ |
| jé | jè | yá ... jèwú | ‘sell’ |
| sò | sò | yá ... sòó | ‘give’ |

falling tone pattern

| | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| sèè ⁿ | sèè ⁿ | yá ... sèè ⁿ | ‘buy’ |
| kéé | kèè | yá ... kéè | ‘look for’ |

Array (481) shows that the domain of falling or rising tone is the combination of a verb stem with a VP-final particle if the latter is present. Cv verbs are not lengthened in this case.

(481) perfective imperfective ‘came to ...’ gloss

a. intransitive with VP-final particle

with lò (pseudo-locative), falling tone pattern

| | | | |
|---------|---------|------------|----------|
| ηmò-ndó | ηmó-ndó | yá ηmó-ndò | ‘escape’ |
|---------|---------|------------|----------|

b. transitive with VP-final particle

with yí, rising tone pattern

tùⁿ tùⁿ yá ... tùⁿ-yí ‘cook (v)’

with lè (pseudo-dative), rising tone pattern

wí wì yá ... wì-lé ‘spill’

féé fêè yá ... fêè-lé ‘let go, release’

with lè (pseudo-dative), falling tone pattern

jè jè yá ... jé-lè ‘lay out’ (2018-01 @ 00:29)

síí sîì yá ... síí-lè ‘catch’

tùⁿ tùⁿ yá ... tú-ndè ‘put’

with lè (pseudo-locative), rising tone pattern

lá là yá ... là-ló ‘tear (v)’

ṅáá ṅàà yá ... ṅàà-lé ‘see’

sé sè yá ... sè-ló ‘set out to dry’

sííⁿ sîìⁿ yá ... sîì-ndó ‘load (v)’

Likewise, when a Cv verb stem is followed by another postverbal constituent, such as a dative PP, the verb is not lengthened. What should be rising-toned C^v and C^vv are realized as L-toned verbs.

- (482) à yá [túmwⁿ-á sò kō-rē]
 3Sg come.Pfv [water-Abs **give.Purp** 1Sg-Dat]
 ‘He/She came and gave water to me.’

16.4.1.3 With subject switch

The ‘if’ particle nì can be used in subjunctive-like function to express ‘in order that’ with a different subject.

- (483) [à pééⁿ gbēgā-à]
 [3Sg ascend.Pfv tree-Abs]
 [nī ṅīm-bī-yā ṅàà yō-rē]
 [if person-Pl-Abs see.Ipfv 3Sg-Dat]
 ‘He/She climbed the tree so the people might see him/her.’

Example (484) has a negative purposive clause. Post-subject lé in such a clause is a negative marker that also occurs, as lé or contracted = ē in negative deontics (§11.6.2, §11.6.4).

- (484) [à pḗḗⁿ gbēgā-à]
 [3Sg ascend.Pfv tree-Abs]
 [nī ɲòŋò lé sí yǎ-rē wóʔ]
 [if person.Abs **Neg** catch.Pfv 3Sg-Dat Neg]
 ‘He/She climbed the tree so nobody will catch him/her.’

16.4.2 Causal clauses (‘because ...’)

‘Because of X’, where X is an NP, is expressed as [X dḥŋó] (§8.5.2). ‘Because’ with a propositional (sentential) complement can be expressed with a resumptive ‘that’s why ...’ (485a).

- (485) [[à tó] púl = [= āā lḥ]],
 [[3Sg father] scold.Pfv [3Sg Loc]],
 [ánájá dḥŋó] à fó
 [like.that **because.of** 3Sg go.Pfv]
 ‘His_x father scolded him_x, that’s why he_x went away.’ (< púlḥ)

The ubiquitous French *parce que* is now widely used, as in all languages of the region. It is clause-initial and is followed by a regular main clause.

16.5 Simultaneity constructions

16.5.1 Imperfective and progressive adverbial clauses

16.5.1.1 Same subject ‘while VPing’ (tó ‘during’)

A backgrounded ‘while’ clause ends in tó and is preceded by an L-toned verb (regardless of tone class). This verb is nominalized, so a preceding pronoun has possessor form (e.g. 1Sg ké). tó therefore functions somewhat as a postposition, cf. English *during*, but see below on its nominal functions.

The linear order of the two clauses is variable. In (486a), the ‘while’ clause follows the main (foregrounded) clause. In (486b), two variants are presented (one above the other) where the ‘while’ clause precedes the foregrounded clause. In this combination, a nonpronominal subject NP may occur either in the fronted ‘while’ clause or in the following foregrounded clause. When the ‘while’ clause follows the foregrounded clause (not shown), the ‘while’ clause always has a pronominal subject coindexed to that of the foregrounded clause.

- (486) a. [kē bū pèsy-â] [ké yà / làtò tó]
 [1Sg put.Ipfv song-Abs] [1Sg come.Nom/run.Nom **while**]
 ‘I sing while I come.’ (lit. “during my coming/running”)
- b. [ā yà tó] [séédū bū pèsy-â]
 [séédū yà tó] [ā bū pèsy-â]
 [3Sg/S come.Nom **while**] [S/3Sg put.Ipfv song-Abs]
 ‘While he_x/Seydou_x comes, he_x/Seydou_x sings.’
- c. [ā nà tó] [ā bū pèsy-â]
 [3Sg walk.Nom **while**] [3Sg put.Ipfv song-Abs]
 ‘He/She is/was walking along singing.’
- d. [à fó] [ā pèsí bù tó]
 [3Sg go.Pfv] [3Sg song put.Nom **while**]
 ‘He/She went away singing.’

tó can also take the form of an absolute noun, as twá-à. This may occur by itself (487a), or the locative postposition lò can be added, resulting in twá-ā lò (487b). In these constructions, the subject is not overtly repeated, compare English *while working* or *during/at work*.

- (487) a. [kē bū pèsy-â] [(kē) tūndō-pò twá-à]
 [1Sg put.Ipfv song-Abs] [(1Sg) work(n)-do.Nom **while**]
 ‘I sing while I work.’
- b. [kē bū pèsy-â] [[(kē) tūndō-pò twá-ā] lò]
 [1Sg put.Ipfv song-Abs] [[(1Sg) work(n)-do.Nom **while**] **Loc**]
 [= (a)]

16.5.1.2 With subject switch

The ‘while’ construction with tó or twá-à is also used when the two clauses have different subjects.

- (488) a. [ké yà / làtò tó] [bē làlè]
 [1Sg come.Nom/run.Nom **while**] [3Pl sleep.Ipfv]
 ‘They sleep while I come/run.’

- b. [ké tūndō-pò twá-ā] [bē lààlé]
 [1Sg work(n)-do.Nom **while**] [3Pl sleep.Pfv]
 ‘They slept while I worked.’
- c. [ké námū-dèè twá-ā] [bē lààlè]
 [1Sg meat-eat.Nom **while**] [3Pl sleep.Ipfv]
 ‘They sleep while I eat meat.’

16.5.2 ‘See/hear X VPing’

In (489a), the ‘see’ clause and the progressive clause have their respective main-clause forms (‘I saw them, they were fighting’). In (489b), ‘hear’ takes a nominalized object rather than a full clause.

- (489) a. [kè nǎá bō-rē]
 [1Sg see.Pfv 3Pl-Dat]
 [bē wò [[félā-à póó] lǒ]]
 [3Pl be [[fight(n)-Abs do.Prog] Loc]]
 ‘I saw them fighting.’
- b. kè nú [bé fèlì-póó-yēgā-à]
 1Sg **hear**.Pfv [3Pl fight(n)-do-sound-Abs]
 ‘I heard them fighting.’ (lit. ‘... the sound of their fighting’)

16.5.3 ‘Keep VPing’

Prolongation of an activity can be indicated by adding an adverb ‘still’ to a simple clause, or by means of a biclausal construction with ‘remain, stay’.

16.5.3.1 Adverb bərə ‘still’

Continuity of an activity or process can be indicated by adding bərə ‘still’ clause-finally. This is tonally distinct from dative bō-rē ‘for them’ (but see comments in §4.2.2). This adverb links the time interval of the activity to the present (490a). In other temporal contexts, the negation ‘X not stop’ is used (490b).

- (490) a. [tíyé tār-ā] wò [byé lǒ] bərə
 [child small-Abs] be [weep.Prog Loc] **still**
 ‘The child is still weeping.’

- b. sáā bìyè-ʃy-á síní [ā nà̀n-dè] wóʔ
 yesterday weep-VblN-Abs stop.Pfv [3Sg Poss] Neg
 ‘Yesterday his weeping didn’t stop.’ (= ‘... he kept weeping.’)

16.5.3.2 fǎré/fǎ̀rè ‘remain in ‘keep VPing’ construction

A ‘keep VPing’ construction can be cobbled together with fǎré/fǎ̀rè ‘remain, stay’ as the first verb, followed by a locative PP with nominalized verb (such as a verbal noun) as complement. Including a direct object, the full formula is ‘X stay [[[Obj) Vb.Nom] Loc]. This resembles the basic progressive construction ‘X be [[[Obj) Vb.Prog] Loc], which however has a special progressive tonal form of the second verb.

- (491) bè fǎré [[[à ní] yǒʃí-yā] l̀ò] áli ...
 3Pl remain.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] dance(n)-Abs] Loc] until ...
 ‘They continued (dancing) that dance, until ...’ (2018-04 @ 00:36)

For a different construction with fǎré/fǎ̀rè in the sense ‘leave’ or ‘be left, remain’ as second verb, see §16.3.1.5.

16.5.4 ‘Re-VP’ (téèné ‘again’)

The adverb téèné ‘again’ is added at the end of a clause.

- (492) yā bē s̀òⁿ níná-à téèné
 Fut 3Pl build.Ipfv house-Abs again
 ‘They will rebuild the house.’

Adverb dè̀è-só ‘again’ is attested in 2018-04 @ 00:02.

‘Not again, no longer’ can be expressed by b̀è̀rè ‘still’ and negation. See textual example ‘He refused to go to the village again’ (513c) in §16.9.4.

16.6 Ability (gb̀àⁿ ~ gb̀ā̀àⁿ ‘can/be able to VP’)

In isolation (without a complement), ‘can, be able’ is gb̀àⁿ, as in kē gb̀àⁿ ‘I can’. In combination with a subjectless VP, it is gb̀ā̀àⁿ, presumably contracted from gb̀àⁿ and a morpheme à̀. This may have originated as a two-clause construction with 3Sg subject à̀ in the second clause that has now been absorbed by the first verb. An object, if present, follows the second verb.

- (493) a. kē gbāāⁿ ɲà
 1Sg **can** walk.Ipfv
 ‘I can walk.’
- b. ā gbāāⁿ [lètò lètò-dī-yà]
 3Sg **can** [make.run.Ipfv vehicle-Abs]
 ‘He/She can drive the car.’
- c. kē gbāāⁿ [dèè bólá-à] wó?
 1Sg **can** [eat.Ipfv eggplant-Abs] Neg
 ‘I cannot eat African eggplant.’

In form (lengthening of the final vowel of the first verb, VP rather than clausal complement), this construction resembles those with lengthened ‘come’ or ‘go’ plus VP (§16.3.1.2), and probably originated in the same way.

Further combinations are in (494). The forms of the second verb resemble those in some other constructions. Prosodically light H/L and L/L verbs take L-toned form, matching the imperfective. Other verb types have forms that may match the perfective, the imperfective, or neither.

- (494) a. gbāāⁿ fò ‘can go’ fó/fò
 gbāāⁿ jì ‘can bathe’ jí/jì
 gbāāⁿ pìn-dè ‘can lie down’ pìn-dé/pìn-dè
 gbāāⁿ wówò ‘can hide’ wòwó/wówó
 gbāāⁿ yéètàrò ‘can take a walk’ yèètáró/yèètàrò
- b. gbāāⁿ jì kō ‘can kill me’ jí/jì
 gbāāⁿ jè bábá-à ‘can sell the sheep’ jé/jè
 gbāāⁿ pòòtáró-yà ‘can inflate it’ pòòtáró/pòòtàrò
 gbāāⁿ pógóló kò ‘can help me’ pògòló/pógóló
- c. gbāāⁿ ɲàà kē-rē ‘can see me’ ɲáá/ɲàà (...lè)

16.7 Causation

Many primarily intransitive verbs can also function (without derivational affixation) transitively with causative-like sense. This is the case with ‘jump’. Notice the semantic difference between English *they jumped me* and (495a). Where this fails, a bipartite construction with bú/bù ‘put X (in Y)’ is used, as in (495b). The enforced action is expressed in a PP with spatial postposition lè. (495b) is therefore literally ‘I put him/her [in run(ning)]’.

- (495) a. bē yèlí kò
 3Pl jump.Pfv 1SgObj
 ‘They made me jump.’ (not: #‘They jumped me.’)
- b. kè bú-wē [látó lò]
 1Sg put.Pfv-3AnSgObj [run.Nom Loc]
 ‘I made him/her run.’

16.8 Endpoints

16.8.1 ‘Begin to VP’ (kùm-bú/kùm-bù)

The verb ‘begin’ is perfective kùm-bú, imperfective kùm-bù. It takes a verbal-noun complement, with or without an object. It can also be used as a simple intransitive without complement (496d).

- (496) a. yà wó kùm-bù [níní sòṅá-à] sòṅómà
 Fut 1Pl **begin**.Ipfv [house build.VblN-Abs] tomorrow
 ‘We will begin to build the house tomorrow.’
- b. ā kùm-bú bìyè-fy-â
 3Sg **begin**.Pfv weep-VblN-Abs
 ‘He/She began to weep.’
- c. ā kùm-bú [ké ṅàṅá-à]
 3Sg **begin**.Pfv [1Sg hit.VblN-Abs]
 ‘He/She began to hit me.’
- d. ménī-yⁿā kùm-bú
 rain(n)-Abs **begin**.Pfv
 ‘It began to rain.’ (lit. “rain began”)

We hyphenate kùm-bú and kùm-bù since the two morphemes can be separated and reordered. bú/bù is a verb with various meanings (e.g. ‘toss’, ‘load’, ‘carry on back’). In (497a) it is followed by a possessed noun (or a PP). In the alternative (497b-c), a possessed form of kùⁿ (possessor now denoting the agent) functions as subject. In the progressive, possessed kùⁿ is the preverbal object (497d-e).

- (497) a. [ké bú [ā / bé kùⁿ]
 [1Sg **begin**.Pfv] [3Sg / 3Pl **beginning**]
 ‘I began it.’

- b. [ké kùⁿ] bú-wà
 [1Sg **beginning**] **begin.Pfv-3SgInanObj**
 ‘I began it.’
- c. [ké kùⁿ] bú bè
 [1Sg **beginning**] **begin.Pfv** 3Pl
 ‘I began them.’
- d. kē wō [[[ā kùⁿ] búú] lə]
 1Sg be [[3Sg **beginning**] **begin.Prog**] Loc]
 ‘I am beginning it.’
- e. kē wō [[[bé kùⁿ] búú] lə]
 1Sg be [[3Pl **beginning**] **begin.Prog**] Loc]
 ‘I am beginning them.’

16.8.2 ‘Finish VPing’ (tá/tà)

The verb ‘finish’ is tá/tà (...lə) with pseudo-locative morphosyntax. Younger speakers may use pseudo-dative lè instead of lə after postverbal object NPs (498a).

- (498) a. tūndw-āà tá lè
 work(n)-Abs **be.finished.Pfv** PsDat
 ‘The work is finished.’
- b. kè tá tūndwā-ā lə
 1Sg **finish.Pfv** work(n)-Abs PsLoc
 ‘I finished the work.’

This verb can alternatively take a verbal-noun complement (499a-b). It can also occur as an active intransitive with object omitted (499c).

- (499) a. wó tá [dèé dèyá-à]
 1Pl **finish.Pfv** [thing eat.VblN-Abs]
 ‘We have finished eating.’
- b. yā bē tà [níní sòḡá-à] sógómà
 Fut 3Pl **finish.Ipfv** [house build-Abs] tomorrow
 ‘They will finish building the house tomorrow.’

16.8.4 ‘Since’ clauses (bà-lá)

The particle *bà-lá* occurs in pre-subject position to form a ‘since’ clause. ‘Since’ in the free translations has temporal rather than causal sense. There is a variant *bà-kà-lá*. Since *kà* and *lá* are known elsewhere as pre-subject past time markers, it may be that *bà* is the original ‘since’ morpheme.

- (502) a. [bà-lá bē yá], [ménī-yⁿà yá wóʔ]
 [**since** 3Pl come.Pfv], [rain-Abs come.Pfv Neg]
 ‘Since they came here, it hasn’t rained.’
- b. bà-lá mwⁿə dó fó [mí fò-jí{y-à},
 since 2Sg Emph go.Pfv [2Sg go-place-Abs],
 [[mì dó wō [tèlí lə]]]
 [[2Sg Emph be [speak.Prog Loc]]]
 ‘Since you-Sg went to the place where you went to, you are (=have been) talking (to somebody).’ (2018-07 @ 01:01)

16.9 Control verbs with VP or clausal complement

In these constructions, the higher clause contains a verb that requires a subordinated clause or VP as complement.

16.9.1 ‘Want’ and ‘intend’ with VP or clausal complement

16.9.1.1 ‘Would like to VP’ and ‘would like X to VP’ (fé)

fé ‘want, would like, wish’ typically implies that permission is needed from a superior or some other hurdle, as opposed to simple intention to do something under one’s own control. Whether the lower subject is coindexed (503a) or disjoint (503b) to the higher subject, the complement is a full clause with at least a pronominal subject. The lower clause begins with *nì* (*nī*), elsewhere ‘if’, but has no other complementizer. The main clause has *wō* ‘be’ as post-subject auxiliary, then a pro forma 3Sg object *à* resuming the subordinated clause, then *fé*. This is the stative construction described for stance verbs in §9.3.7.

- (503) a. [kē w = = āà fé]
 [1Sg be 3Sg **wish**(v)]
 [nī kē dèè [gbásá-gbā-ā à lé] pèrⁿà]
 [**if** 1Sg eat.Ipfv [maize-meal ObjFoc Foc] today]
 ‘I would like (for me) to eat tô [focus] today.’ (< *wō à*)

- b. [kē w = = āà fě]
 [1Sg be 3Sg wish(v)]
 [nī mī kēē [gbēè yê]]
 [if 2Sg look.for.Ipfv [tree Dem]]
 ‘I would like for you to look for that tree.’ (< wō à)

16.9.1.2 ‘Intend to VP’ and ‘intend for X to VP’ (lé)

With a VP complement, ‘intend (to VP)’ or ‘decide (to VP)’ is lé ‘said’ in the sense ‘thought, intended’, followed immediately by an imperfective verb and the remainder (if any) of the VP. An object, if present, follows the verb. lé is an invariant ‘said’ verb-like form that reports an actual utterance or thought (§9.4.1). The construction ‘X intend [to VP]’ differs most obviously from the simple indicative quotative ‘X say [(that) X (will) VP]’ by the omission of the subject X from the subordinated clause. ‘Intend’ examples are in (504a-c).

- (504) a. bè lé [jī kò]
 3Pl said [kill.Ipfv 1SgObj]
 ‘They intend to kill me.’
- b. nī-mī-yà lé [fò yégá-à]
 person-Pl-Abs said [go.Ipfv village-Abs]
 ‘The people intend to go to the village.’
- c. à lé [sòⁿ jíná-à]
 3Sg said [build.Ipfv house-Abs]
 ‘He/She intends to build a house.’

This construction can often be translated idiomatically with ‘want’ as long as a more or less immediate intention is present. Ordinarily the subject of ‘intend/want’ has the power to carry out the action.

The subjects of the two clauses are normally coindexed. However, it is possible to have a different-subject complement. This takes the form of nī (elsewhere ‘if’) and a full clause, as in (503a-b) above. In (505a) the lower subject is focalized, in (505b) it is not. The second verb is imperfective.

- (505) a. yéé-kwā-ā lé [nī [kw= àá] fò bíjà]
 village-owner-Abs **said** [if [1Sg SbjFoc] go.Ipfv Ab]
 ‘The chief of the village wants (=intends for) me [focus] to go to Abidjan.’
 (< kò à fò)
- b. à lé [nī kē fò ábíjà]
 3Sg **said** [if 1Sg go.Ipfv A]
 ‘He wants me to go to Abidjan.’

16.9.1.3 ‘Like to VP’ (ɲmà)

‘X like(s) to VP’ is expressed with a verbal noun phrase as subject, the imperfective verb ɲmà ‘be pleasing’, and a PP with yí ‘in front of’. The verbal noun phrase may include an incorporated object or a possessor.

- (506) a. bōmū-dèè-ſy-á ɲmā kì-í
 foutou-eat-VblN-Abs **be.pleasing**.Ipfv 1Sg-in.front.of
 ‘I like to eat foutou.’
- b. kèsí-ɲàɲá-ā ɲmà [[tíyé t̄r-à] yí]
 dog-hit.VblN-Abs **be.pleasing**.Ipfv [[child small-Abs] in.front.of]
 ‘The child likes to hit the dog.’
- c. [ké ɲàɲá-ā] ɲmà [[tíyé t̄r-à] yí]
 [1Sg hit.VblN-Abs] **be.pleasing**.Ipfv [[child small-Abs] in.front.of]
 ‘The child likes to hit me.’

16.9.2 ‘Dare to VP’ (ā kùⁿ)

Something like ‘X (not) dare [to VP]’ is expressed by an impersonal main clause ā kùⁿ, roughly ‘it is acceptable, normal’ followed by a PP with locative postposition l̄ò, then an imperfective clause whose subject is coindexed with the complement of the postposition. In (507), the final negation has broad scope including over ā kùⁿ. A similar construction with kùⁿ occurs in Koro. This kùⁿ is likely unrelated to a homophonous kùⁿ in the ‘begin’ construction (§16.8.1).

- (507) [ā kùⁿ [bē l̄ò]] [bē yà wó-nà] wó?
 [3Sg **be.acceptable** [3Pl Loc] [3Pl come.Ipfv here] Neg
 ‘They don’t dare to come here.’
 (Koro equivalent: [á tì kùⁿ] álà ká ná yà?)

16.9.3 ‘Forget to VP’ (pèèndé/pééndé)

The same-subject complement of ‘forget’ in the relevant sense, in a past-time (i.e. already realized) context, is either a perfective clause (with repeated subject) as in (508a-b), or a verbal noun (without repeated subject) as in (508c). The verb ‘forget’ is pèèndé/pééndé, and variants with n for nd.

- (508) a. [kē pèèné] [kè jé tíyá-à]
 1Sg **forget**.Pfv] [1Sg sell.Pfv tea-Abs]
 ‘I forgot to buy tea.’
- b. [kē pèèné] [kē tēní nūṅā-à]
 [1Sg **forget**.Pfv] [1Sg tie.Pfv cow-Abs]
 ‘I forgot to tie up the cow.’
- c. [kē pèèné] fōwá-à / làtwá-à
 1Sg **forget**.Pfv] go.Nom-Abs / run.Nom-Abs
 ‘I forgot to go/to run.’ (< làtó)

In future and hypothetical contexts, only verbal-noun complements are attested.

- (509) a. m = = ēē pééné námū-jègá-à wó?
 2Sg Proh **forget**.Proh meat-sell.VbIN-Abs Neg
 ‘Don’t forget to sell the meat!’
- b. m = = ēē pééné [ké kórówó-kàà-sí-yà] wó?
 2Sg Proh **forget**.Proh [1Sg money-pay-VbIN-Abs] Neg
 ‘Don’t forget to pay my money!’ (i.e. to pay me)

However, in some examples the primary verb of the complement is compounded to -tíyⁿ-à ‘(abstract) matter, issue, fact’ (510). In these compounds, the premodifier form is -tééⁿ. Cf. noun-like postpositions ñ-tíyⁿ-à ‘for’ (§8.5.1) and tíyⁿ-à (§8.7.2).

- (510) a. kē pèèné nūⁿ-tēní-tíyⁿ-à
 1Sg **forget**.Pfv] cow-tie.Pfv-matter-Abs
 ‘I forgot to tie up the cow.’
- b. yā kē péènè námù-jé-tíyⁿ-à
 Fut 1Sg **forget**.Ipfv meat-sell.Pfv-matter-Abs
 ‘I will forget to sell the meat.’

- c. m = = ēē péénè námù-jé-tíyⁿ-à wó?
 2Sg Proh **forget**.Proh meat-sell.Pfv-**matter**-Abs Neg
 ‘Don’t forget to sell the meat!’

16.9.4 ‘Agree to VP’ (mándò/màndò)

The verb ‘agree, consent’ is mándò (perfective), màndò (imperfective). It can take a complement in the form of a regular main clause with the same subject (expressed as a pronoun). The complement is perfective if the event it denotes has already occurred (511a-b), and imperfective or future if the event has not yet taken place (511c-d). In other words, the “complement” is essentially a juxtaposed sentence with independent truth conditions.

- (511) a. [yí-kwā-à mándò] [à yá]
 [chief-Abs **accept**.Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv]
 ‘The chief agreed to come here.’ (and he has already come)
- b. [kè mándò] [kè jé [kè bábá-à]]
 [1Sg **accept**.Pfv] [1Sg sell.Pfv [1Sg sheep-Abs]]
 ‘I agreed to sell my sheep-Sg.’ (and I have already sold it)
- c. [yā ā māndò] [ā jē [à bábá-à]]
 [Fut 3Sg **accept**.Ipfv] [3Sg sell.Ipfv [3Sg sheep-Abs]]
 ‘He/She will agree to sell his/her sheep-Sg.’
- d. [yí-kwā-à mándò] [yā ā yà]
 [chief-Abs **accept**.Pfv] [Fut 3Sg come.Ipfv]
 ‘The chief has agreed to come.’ (but he has not yet come)

When the subject of the complement is disjoint to that of the main clause, the best translation is ‘allow’ (512). The complement may be finite or nominalized. A finite complement begins with *nì* ‘if’ in subjunctive-like sense, optionally preceded by *kē* ‘that’ (512a). A nominalized complement occurs with postposition *yè* ‘on’ and expresses a pronominal subject as possessor (512b).

- (512) gòròndà mándò [(kē) nì wó yà wó-nà]
 government **accept**.Pfv [(that) **if** 1Pl come.Ipfv here]
 ‘The government has allowed us to come here.’

to the perfective and does not have a verbal-noun suffix. Transitive verbs are preceded by their objects. The examples in (516) have the same beginning as in (515) above.

(516) *kē wò wéé lò ...*
 ‘I am afraid ...’

a. intransitive

... *pìn-dé tíyⁿ-à* ‘of lying down’
 ... *wòwó tíyⁿ-à* ‘of hiding’
 ... *yèètéró tíyⁿ-à* ‘of taking a walk’

b. transitive

... *námù déé tíyⁿ-à* ‘of eating meat’
 ... *mī pògòlò tíyⁿ-à* ‘of helping you’

‘X is afraid [(that/lest) Y may VP], has clause-initial *nì* ‘if’ in subjunctive function, plus post-subject particle *lé* ‘lest’, and a final negation *wó?* that is not translated in English (but cf. French *j’ai peur qu’ils ne se perdent*).

(517) a. *kē wò [wéé lò]*
 1Sg be [**fear(v)**.Prog Loc]
 [*nī bè lé ηmèènè wó?*]
 [if 3Pl **lest** get.lost.Ipfv **Neg**]
 ‘I am afraid lest I/they (might) get lost.’

b. *kē wò [wéé lò]*
 1Sg be [**fear(v)**.Prog Loc]
 [*nì bè lé jī kò wó?*]
 [if 3Pl **lest** kill.Ipfv 1SgObj **Neg**]
 ‘I am afraid lest they (might) kill me.’

If the second clause is semantically negative, the only change is that *lé* ‘lest’ is omitted (518).

(518) a. *kē wò [wéé lò]*
 1Sg be [**fear(v)**.Prog Loc]
 [*nì wó nāā jìfy-á lè wó?*]
 [if 1Pl see.Ipfv place-Abs PsDat **Neg**]
 ‘I am afraid that we won’t find the place.’

- b. [yā bè pógóló kō]
 Fut 3Pl **help**.Ipfv 1SgObj]
 [kē sòⁿ níḡá-à]
 [1Sg build.Ipfv house-Abs]
 ‘They will help me build a house.’

- c. yā bè pógóló kō níní-sòḡá-à
 Fut 3Pl **help**.Ipfv 1SgObj house-build.**VblN**-Abs
 [= (b)]

16.10 Obligation (‘must’)

Obligation can be expressed by adding káḡgálò as an adjunct, following all other constituents except negation. káḡgálò sounds like a locative PP (postposition lò). No Pere noun #káḡgá with a sense like ‘obligation’ is known to us, so segmentation as PP káḡgá lò is not clear. However, Koro káḡá-ná ‘force (v), compel’ is clearly related (there may be other forms in its word family), and current Pere speakers are bilingual in Koro. We therefore transcribe as a PP káḡgá lò.

- (521) a. kē fḡrè wó-nà [káḡgá lò]
 1Sg remain.Ipfv here [**obligation** Loc]
 ‘I must stay here.’

- b. wó kāā [gōrōnōmā nì kórówá-à] [káḡgá lò]
 1Pl pay.Ipfv [government Poss money] [**obligation** Loc]
 ‘We must pay taxes.’

Negation has scope over káḡgá lò. (522) does not mean ‘must not’, rather ‘does not have to’.

- (522) kē fḡrè wó-nà [káḡgá lò] wó?
 1Sg remain.Ipfv here [**obligation** Loc] **Neg**
 ‘I don’t have to stay here.’

16.11 Propositional complements

16.11.1 Quoted clauses

The ‘say’ verbs are lé and té/tè. The two differ morphosyntactically. lé is invariant and a pure quotative. té/tè is a transitive ‘say’ verb that occurs in a full set of frames.

16.11.1.1 Quoted indicatives with lé

lé is immediately followed by the quoted material (523). It cannot be inflected for aspect and cannot be negated. It does not allow a PP specifying the original addressee. It occurs only in veridical (i.e. perfective positive) contexts. Negation can occur only after the quoted material, with scope limited to the quoted material.

- (523) a. à lé [ā kààní wíílè]
 3Sg **said** [3Sg well arrive.Pfv]
 ‘He_x said that he_x arrived there well (safely).’
- b. à lé [mì náŋ-gè]
 3Sg **said** [2Sg hit.Pfv-3SgAnObj]
 ‘He_x said that you-Sg hit him_x.’
- c. à lé [yā ā yà]
 3Sg **said** [Fut 3Sg come.Ipfv]
 ‘He_x said that he_x will come.’
- d. à lé [yā ā yà wó?]
 3Sg **said** [Fut 3Sg come.Ipfv Neg]
 ‘He_x said that he_x will not come.’

A morpheme ké, presumably French *que* ‘that’, may be added after lé. The two clauses can be fused prosodically (524a), or ké may be prolonged as kée with incompleteness intonation and optional pause (524b).

- (524) a. à lé ké [ā kààní wíílè]
 3Sg **said that** [3Sg well arrive.Pfv]
 ‘He_x said that he_x arrived there well (safely).’
- b. à lé kée(,) [ā kààní wíílè]
 3Sg **said that(,)** [3Sg well arrive.Pfv]
 [= (a)]

16.11.1.2 Quoted indicative with té/tè

té/tè is a regular transitive verb. It occurs in all inflectional (aspectual, polarity) environments, and may be followed by a PP ‘in front of X’ meaning here ‘to X’ specifying the original addressee. té/tè requires an object, minimally 3Sg -à, hence tí-yà ‘said (it)’. This can then be followed by the quoted material, with optional ké

‘that’. *té/tè* may also take a nominal or adverbial complement like ‘thus’ or ‘anything’ without quoted matter.

- (525) a. *à tí [à ní] (wó?)*
 3Sg **say** [3Sg Dem] (Neg)
 ‘He/She did (not) say that.’
- b. *à té déé wó?*
 3Sg **say.Pfv** thing Neg
 ‘He/She didn’t say anything.’
- c. *yā tī-yà [ké mì nán-gè]*
 Fut **say.Ipfv-3SgInanObj** [**that** 2Sg hit.Pfv-3SgAnObj]
 ‘He_x will say that you hit him_{xy}/her.’
- d. *à tí-yà kì-í [ā kààní wíílè]*
 3Sg **say.Pfv-3SgInanObj** 1Sg.in.front.of [3Sg well arrive.Pfv]
 ‘He/She told me that he/she arrived safely.’

16.11.1.3 Quoted deontics

When the quoted deontic modal is asserted to have been uttered (i.e. in veridical contexts), *lé* may be used as the ‘say’ verb. When the quoted deontic was an imperative (positive or negative), its quoted form begins with *nì* ‘if’ in subjunctive-like function. The quoted verb is imperfective in form in positive clauses (526a-b), and prohibitive in form in negative ones (526c).

- (526) a. *à lé [nī kē yà]*
 3Sg **said** [**if** 1Sg come.Ipfv]
 ‘He/She told me to come.’
- b. *à lé [nī kē jè báá-mī-yⁿà]*
 3Sg **said** [**if** 1Sg sell.Ipfv sheep-Pl-Abs]
 ‘He/She told me to sell the sheep-Sg.’
- c. *à lé [nī kè lé jè báá-mī-yⁿà wó?]*
 3Sg **said** [**if** 1Sg Neg sell.Proh sheep-Pl-Abs Neg]
 ‘He/She told me not to sell the sheep-Pl.’

When the quoted deontic is a hortative, which already begins in *nì*, no additional *nì* is added (527a). If the quoted deontic is hortative negative, post-subject negative *lé* is optionally present (527b-c).

- (527) a. *à lé [n̄ = =̄ f̄]*
 3Sg said [Hort 1Pl go.Pfv]
 ‘He/She said, let’s go.’
- b. *à lé [n̄ = =̄ lé f̄ w̄?]*
 3Sg said [Hort 1Pl Neg go.Ipfv Neg]
 ‘He/She said, let’s not go.’
- c. *à lé [n̄ = =̄ f̄ w̄?]*
 3Sg said [Hort 1Pl go.Ipfv Neg]
 ‘He/She said, let’s not go.’

16.11.2 Factive complements

16.11.2.1 ‘Know that/whether ...’ (*sèè/sèè, mémbě*)

‘Know’ is the verb *sèè/sèè*. It is transitive and requires at least a 3Sg object. When followed by a propositional complement, it has an inanimate 3Sg object resuming the complement. This accounts for *sī-yà ~ ĩ-yà ~ ĵy-ā* in the examples below. The ‘know it’ verb is in turn followed by dubitative *mémbě* ‘whether’ and the lower proposition, in regular main clause form. Final negation may have scope over either the lower proposition or the ‘know’ verb, as indicated by the distinct bracketing in the otherwise identical (528b) and (528c).

There is no distinction between ‘know that’ and ‘know whether’. In other words only the subject’s state of belief is overtly indicated, with no added presupposition of the truth of the lower proposition from the perspective of the current speaker.

- (528) a. *ā ĩ-yà mémbě [kè yá]*
 3Sg know-3SgInanObj **whether** [1Sg come.Pfv]
 ‘He/She knows that I have come.’
- b. *ā ĩ-yà mémbě [kè yá] w̄?*
 3Sg know-3SgInanObj **whether** [1Sg come.Pfv] Neg
 ‘He/She doesn’t know that/whether I have come.’

- c. ā ʃī-yà mémbē [kè yá wóʔ]
 3Sg know-3SgInanObj **whether** [1Sg come.Pfv Neg]
 ‘He/She knows that I have not come.’
- d. kē ʃī-yà mémbē [à yá] wóʔ
 1Sg know-3SgInanObj **whether** [3Sg come.Pfv] Neg
 ‘I don’t know whether he/she has come.’

mémbè is obscurely related to mámbè which occurs in semantically similar complements after ‘forget’ or ‘remember’, see the following section.

16.11.2.2 ‘Forget/remember that/whether ...’ (mámbè)

‘X forget’ is perfective pèèndé/péééndé, with the rememberer as subject. ‘X remember (it)’ is expressed as ‘it be.put [inside X]’. Both ‘forget’ and ‘remember’ can take propositional complements in regular main-clause form, preceded by dubitative mámbè ‘whether’, which does not assert the truth of the proposition.

- (529) a. kē pèèndé mámbē [mì jé bábá-à]
 1Sg **forget.Pfv** **whether** [2Sg sell.Pfv sheep-Abs]
 ‘I forgot that/whether you sold the sheep-Sg.’
- b. à bú [ké kòndó]
 3Sg **be.put** [1Sg **inside**]
 [mámbē [mì jé bábá-à]]
 [**whether** [2Sg sell.Pfv sheep-Abs]]
 ‘I remembered that you sold the sheep-Sg.’

Compare mémbè ‘whether’ (preceding section and §13.4.1). For ‘forget to VP’, see §16.9.3.

16.11.2.3 ‘See/find/hear that ...’

In this construction, ‘see’ takes the form *ná-ā-lè/nā-ā-lè* ‘see it’ (pseudo-dative), and ‘hear’ takes the form *ní-yā-ndò/nī-yā-ndò* with variant *nú-wā-ndò/nū-wā-ndò* ‘hear it’ (pseudo-locative). ‘Hear’ but not ‘see’ is followed by *ké* ‘that’ (< French *que*), which is strongly correlated with quoted speech and thought. The lower proposition has regular main-clause form. Clause-final negation has scope limited to the lower proposition.

17 Anaphora

This chapter covers specifically anaphoric elements, those which are coindexed to a specific antecedent. It does not cover ordinary third-person pronominals.

Pere has reflexive and reciprocal forms, but no logophorics. In narrative it can make use of informal indexing devices.

17.1 Reflexives

Reflexives occur as object and postpositional complements. Possessors of nonsubject NPs usually do not mark reflexivity. The reflexive is coindexed with the clausemate subject. The reflexive consists of a pronominal possessor and *ǹ*.

- (534) a. *à jí [ā ǹ]*
3Sg kill.Pfv [3Sg **Refl**]
'He killed himself.'
- b. *k̀ sá [ké ǹ] yí*
1Sg cut.Pfv [1Sg **Refl**] apart
'I cut-Past myself.'

The pronominal paradigm is (535). The tones show that the pronominals are possessors.

- (535) 1Sg *ké ǹ*
1Pl *ó ǹ*
2Sg *mí ǹ*
2Pl *jí ǹ*
3Sg *ā ǹ*
3Pl *bé ǹ*

Example (536) illustrates an idiomatic verb-reflexive combination. We know of no other verbs that occur in this frame.

- (536) *kē k̀ [ké ǹ]*
1Sg pull.Pfv [1Sg **Refl**]
'I stretched out (after waking).' (lit. "I pulled myself.")

- c. [ɲɛnyⁿ-â lé-yè] fǎré [lógó nà]
 [younger.sib **Dem** stay.Pfv [there Loc]
 lé-yè yá [wó nà]
Dem come.Pfv [here Loc]
 ‘One brother stayed there, the other (brother) came here.’

17.3.2 Focalization as referential indexing

In one textual passage, presented as (407) in §13.1, the speaker used subject-focalized 3Sg pronoun *yū-wà á* and object focalized *yū-wà à lé* a total of three times to denote the same human referent. Two other human referents occur in the same passage and are not marked in this way. This indicates that the speaker used focalization here as a referential indexing device.

We did not observe this in any other textual passages in our corpus.

17.4 Reciprocity

17.4.1 Reciprocal (*tòⁿ*)

The noun *tòⁿ* occurs, without modification, in object position. The subject is plural (or collective). The verb is transitive. The construction indicates that multiple one-on-one, nonreflexive actions occurred involving members of the group.

- (539) a. *bè* *ɲá* *tòⁿ*
 3Pl hit.Pfv **Recip**
 ‘They hit-Past each other.’
- b. *bē* *wō* [*tòⁿ* *ɲáá* *lò*]
 3Pl be [**Recip** hit.Prv Loc]
 ‘They are hitting each other.’

The fused reciprocal dative is invariant *tòⁿ-mèré*, ending in dative *-ré* ~ *-rē* used as in fused dative pronominals (540a-b).

- (540) a. *bè* *ɲáá* *tòⁿ-mèré*
 3Pl see.Pfv **Recip-Dat**
 ‘They saw each other.’

- b. wó jáá t̀̀n-m̀̀ré
 1Pl see.Pfv **Recip-Dat**
 ‘We saw each other.’

The fused reciprocal locative (corresponding to postposition l̀̀) is t̀̀m-b́́ (§4.2.2).
 Examples are (366b), and text 2018-08 @ 00:54.

17.4.2 ‘Together’

Adverbial ‘together’ can be expressed by pí́n ‘one’ in adverbial function.

- (541) a. yà wó f̀̀ pí́n
 Fut 1Pl go.Ipfv **one**
 ‘We will go together.’

- b. wó p̀̀ t̀̀ndw-ā̀̀ pí́n
 1Pl do.Ipfv work-Abs **one**
 ‘We work together.’

18 Discourse and grammar

Topicalization (‘as for X’), ‘only X’, ‘even X’, and ‘X too’ are covered in the chapter on NPs, see §6.8 and §6.9.1-3. Focalization is covered in chapter 13. The present chapter begins with various discourse particles, both preclausal and clause-final. It concludes with personal names and greetings, both of which are unusual for Pere in allowing overt reference to addressee gender.

18.1 Preclausal particles

18.1.1 ‘Well, ...’

French *bon*, ... as a preclausal ‘well, ...’ particle occurs widely in West African languages. It occurs only once in the Pere recordings.

- (542) *bon*, gbéndì-kí-yà, [à ní] wò ló dèn
 well, rice-grain-Abs, [3Sg Dem] be there furthermore
 ‘Well, rice, that too is there.’ (2018-08 @ 05:02)

18.1.2 ‘But ...’ (adversative particles)

18.1.2.1 Adversative *dó* following subject

In this function, the particle *dó* occurs immediately following the subject. There is always some adversative element in the context. The combination of postsubject *dó* with clause-final negator *wó?* produces an emphatic denial of something suggested by the interlocutor, or an emphatic prohibition (§11.2.4).

dó can also express a mild adversative relationship between two propositions both uttered by the speaker, roughly in the fashion of English *but*. The *dó* clause does not necessarily refute the content of the paired clause, but it does refute a possible inference.

- (543) a. *yā* *kē* *yà* *sógómbà*,
 Fut 1Sg come.Ipfv tomorrow,
 kè *dó* *yā* *fàrè* *wó* *wó?*
 1Sg **Emph** Fut stay.Ipfv here Neg
 ‘I will come tomorrow, but I won’t stay here.’

- b. séédù yá, [à tó] dó yá wó?
 S come.Pfv, [3Sg father] **Emph** come.Pfv Neg
 ‘Seydou came, but his father didn’t come.’

The subject need not be the focus of the adversative relationship, and we therefore refrain from bracketing *dó* with the subject in transcriptions. In (544) the difference between the two propositions focuses on the direct objects, but *dó* still follows the subject.

- (544) kè nàà [séédū lè]
 1Sg see.Pfv [S Dat]
 kè dó nàá [à tó] lè wó?
 1Sg **Emph** see.Pfv [3Sg father] PsDat Neg
 ‘I saw Seydou but I didn’t see his father.’

Several examples of post-subject *dó* occur in the texts, like (545).

- (545) kò dó wō [[mìndé-dèè kwólā-ā] lè]
 1Sg **Emph** be [[clothing worn.out-Abs] Loc]
 mw^{n̄} nāā kō lè lá↘,
 2Sg see.Ipfv 1Sg PsDat how?
 (Cockroach, to chicken:) ‘I am (buried) in the worn-out clothing. (So) how will you find (and get) me?’ (2018-02 @ 00:43)

See also the extended passage (546) below, and 2018-07 @ 01:01.

There is no obvious semantic connection between postsubject *dó* and clause-final *dó*, which can mean ‘when/as soon as’ (§15.1.3).

18.1.2.2 Clause initial *yí* ‘although ...’

The adversative element of *dó* (preceding section) can be strengthened by adding *yí* at the beginning of the (nonadversative) clause that gives the background (546). *yí* can be glossed ‘although’ or ‘even though’. All three clauses in (546) also have *dó*.

(546) à lé [mwⁿ⁵ gbèná-à] dó w⁵ là
 3Sg said [2Sg gold] **Emph** be how?
 yí à dó w⁵ [mwⁿ⁵ m̀ndé] nè,
although 3Sg **Emph** be [2Sg neck] like.that,
 à dó pò déé [mī l̀] wó nà
 3Sg **Emph** do.Ipfv thing [2Sg Loc] Neg Q
 (Hyena to hare:) ‘your gold is how (=like what?)? Even though it is (on) your
 neck, it doesn’t do anything to you?’ (2018-03 @ 01:12 & 01:15)

18.1.3 ‘So ...’

Leaving aside the French borrowing *donc*, a similar sense can be conveyed by the PP *ā d̀ngó* ‘because of it’ (§8.5.2), often preclausal in the fashion of English *that’s why ...*

(547) [ml-âⁿ tá] [[ā d̀ngó] wó d̀è bōmwⁿ-ā]
 [rice-Abs finish.Pfv] [[3Sg **because.of**] 1Pl eat.Ipfv foutou-Abs]
 ‘The rice is used up, so we’ll eat foutou.’

18.2 Clause-final emphatics

18.2.1 dé

Clause-final *dé*, ubiquitous in West African languages (and often heard in popular West African French), has a mildly warning or contradicting note. It was heard in conversation but did not occur in the recordings.

18.2.2 wâ

This clause-final morpheme occurred four times in the texts. In (550) and (551), the latter essentially repeated in (552), one protagonist is complaining to the other about the latter’s betrayal. In (551-552), *wâ* is associated with post-subject *dó*, which has adversative functions (§18.1.2.1). The function of *wâ* in (553) is unclear, since it does not occur elsewhere in about 12 minutes of talk about cooking techniques by the same speaker. The apologetic tone suggested by the broken-off ‘what (little) I know is ...’ is possibly relevant.

- (550) kō sò [ké jísi-kí-yà] yū-wà wâ,
 1Sg give.Pfv [1Sg eye-grain-Abs] 3Sg **Emph**,
 [yū-wà á] pèèndé— fó [f̄aré lè]
 [3Sg SbjFoc] forget.Pfv— go.Pfv [stay.Purp PsLoc]
 [nī [kò jísi-kí-yà]]
 [with [1Sg eye-grain-Abs]]
 ‘(Old woman:) “I gave my eye (to her). She forgot— went and stayed with
 (=kept) my eye.’ (2018-06 @ 00:44)
- (551) bèèsì lé é!, wó dó f̄arⁿē t̄òⁿ [wó yá] wâ,
 hare said oh!, 1Pl **Emph** agree.Pfv Recip [1Pl come.Pfv] **Emph**,
 mwⁿ⁵ jī kò lé
 2Sg kill.Ipfv 1Sg Foc
 Hare) ‘Oh! We made an agreement to come here, and now you will kill me!’
 (2018-07 @ 00:11)
- (552) à yá yàá [yī lè],
 3Sg come.Pfv come.Purp [Dem.Def Loc],
 à lé á!, kéē ó dó f̄arⁿē wâ
 3Sg said oh!, that 1Pl **Emph** agree.Pfv **Emph**
 ‘He (=hare) came. At that point, he said: “Ah! We made an agreement.”’
 (2018-07 @ 00:26)
- (553) kō sēē— [wó bōmwⁿ-ā] pò [máā lè] wâ,
 1Sg know— [1Pl foutou-Abs] be.done.Ipfv [like.that Inst] **Emph**,
 [wó tíi-bōmwⁿ-ā] pò [máā lè]
 [1Pl sauce-foutou-Abs] be.done.Ipfv [like.that Inst]
 ‘(What) I know—. Our foutou is made like that. Our foutou with sauce is
 made like that.’ (2018-09 @ 01:11)

18.2.3 sáⁿ

There is one textual occurrence of an apparent emphatic clause-final particle sáⁿ. See 2018-03 @ 00:21.

18.2.4 nè

This particle occurs clause-finally in texts. Our assistant usually translated it (in isolation) as ‘comme ça’, i.e. ‘like that, thus’. However, máà is the regular manner adverb in this sense, and the textual examples of nè do not point clearly to a manner

adverb. The examples are 2018-02 @ 00:53 & 01:16, 2018-03 @ 01:15, and 2018-05 @ 00:36 & 00:40.

18.2.5 ínà

A clause-final particle occurs at 2018-06 @ 00:53, in an imperative sentence. It appears to indicate the speaker's anger at the addressee's refusal to act.

18.3 Personal names (bá, ná)

bá can precede any male personal name, and ná can precede any female personal name. It is said that these were formerly obligatory prefixes for personal names. They are still included in names given during formal name-giving events (*baptêmes*). However, in current practice they are limited to respectful address. Names of Arabic origin drop initial vowel a, if present, to accommodate bá or ná (464b).

- (464) a. bá-kòfí
 ‘Kofi’ (man’s name)
- b. ná-mìnátá
 ‘Aminata’ (woman’s name)

18.4 Greetings

18.4.1 Time-of-day greetings

The morning greetings in (465a-b), uttered between sunrise and around 10 AM, are respectful and are addressed to older people. (465a) begins with L-toned forms of tó ‘father’. (465b) begins with an L-toned form of ná, which can precede a female name in vocatives (it can be thought of as a vocative form of ‘mother’).

- (465) a. tò tóó-gbà
 (to man) good.morning
 ‘good morning’ (respectful, to a man or group or men)
- b. nà tóó-gbà
 (to woman) good.morning
 ‘good morning’ (respectful, to a woman or group of women)

A more informal morning greeting, addressed to a young person, is (466a). *sú/sù* is a verb that is conjugated for subject/addressee, so it is flanked by the two-part 2Pl subject pronoun in (466b). Elsewhere *sú/sù* occurs in constructions meaning ‘resemble’, ‘imitate’, ‘open’, and ‘take away, remove’, but its literal sense in (466) is obscure. Elsewhere *máà* means ‘like that’.

(466) a. *mī sù máà*
 2Sg (verb)
 ‘good morning!’ (to one person)

b. *ḡī sū ñì máà*
 2Pl (verb) 2Pl
 ‘good morning!’ (to a group)

A man’s response to ‘good morning!’ and most other greetings, from either a man or a woman, is *m̄báà→*, often protracted. A woman’s response is *àntíí tò* (to a man) or *àntíí nà* (to a woman). These are also the responses to other greetings later in the day. They are usually followed by a reciprocating greeting such as ‘good morning!’ adjusted for the time of day.

The morning greetings may continue with (467a) and the response (467b). *wó* is related to *wòlè* ‘become cold’, and reflects the association (widespread in the region) of coolness with well-being. *hé-è→* is pronounced with a syllabic break (hiatus) but no discernible epenthetic consonant.

(467) a. *à wó jòò-jìjy-â*
 3Sg be.all.right spend.night-place-Abs
 ‘Is everything all right at (your) sleeping place?’

b. *hé-è→*
 yes!

Mid-day greetings, used between approximately 11 AM and 2 PM, are in (468). (468a) and (468b) are respectful greetings for older men and women. (468c) is the informal counterpart. *sándè* looks like a frozen PP based on *séni* ‘sun; day’. *tòò* and *nòò* in (468a-b) may be expansions of *tò* and *nà* as in ‘good morning’. The *wó* in (468c) is understood by native speakers to be the 1Pl pronoun.

(468) a. *tòò sándè*
 (to man) good.day
 ‘good day!’ (to man or group of men)

- b. wó tùgbá
 1Pl
 (reply to the preceding)

On either of the two major Muslim holy days, after the collective prayer, villagers wish each other well with (475a) followed by the response (475b).

- (475) a. dūū ʃī-yā-lè
 God accept-3SgInanObj-Dat
 ‘May God accept (our prayer).’
- b. àmínà→ dūū sò [sóré-yà dēṅā-ā] wā-rē
 amen God give.Ipfv [next.year middle] 1Pl-Dat
 ‘Amen! May God give us (=let us live until) next year!’

Texts

2018-01 “Hyena and hare (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Koko, former hunter (born c. 1960)

(00:02) jélògò, fàⁿéⁿ-tīnī-yⁿà,
hyena, hunger-time-Abs,
fàⁿ-â lá wō [[tīnī-yⁿà tí] lò],
hunger-Abs RemPast be [[time-Abs some] Loc],
‘Hyena. A time of famine. There was hunger (=famine) in a certain period
of time.’

[remote past, §11.5.2; indefinite tí, §4.3.3, §6.7.3]

(00:07) jélògò nī bèèsì, jélògò fó→,
hyena and hare, hyena go.Pfv,
bèèsì fó pín-dè, [à fó [nāṅā-à yí]]
hare go.Pfv lie.down.Purp, [3Sg go.Pfv [road-Abs in.front.of]]
‘Hyena, hare. Hyena went. Hare went to lie down (go to bed). He went on
the road.’

[purposive verb with bitonal (here H.L) form after motion verb, §16.4.1.2;
postposition yí, §8.4.5.1]

(00:13) à fó pín-dè [nāṅā-à yí],
3Sg go.Pfv lie.down.Purp [road-Abs in.front.of],
gbāā-kō-mwⁿ-ā bē yà ló,
meal-owner-Pl-Abs 3Pl come.Ipfv there,
‘He went to lie down on the road. Some food owners (people carrying
food for their children) were coming there.’

[‘owner’ compound, §5.1.6; here an optional resumptive 3Pl subject
pronoun after plural ‘owners’ compound, as also @ 00:19 and 00:41]

(00:17) à dyé, ā tēní [jēsī-yà lé]
3Sg arrive.Pfv, 3Sg tie.Pfv [rope-Abs Foc]
[nāṅā-à yí]
[road-Abs in.front.of]

‘He arrived (at the road). He tied a rope on (=across) the road.

[< jēsī-yà ~ jèsy-â ; focus lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3]

(00:19) nī gbāā-kō-mwⁿ-ā bè yáà dyé,
 if meal-owner-Pl-Abs 3Pl come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv,
 [bé ní] fáⁿ [nī [jèsí-yà yī]]
 [3Pl Dem] gather.Pfv [with [rope-Abs Dem.Def]]
 [bē fō pàré],
 [3Pl go.Ipfv fall.Purp],

‘When the food owners came and arrived, those ones came into contact with that rope, they would go and fall down (=be tripped).’

[nì ‘if/when’, §15.1.1; yáà ‘came and’, §16.3.1.2; bé ní ‘those ones’, §4.3.1.2; demonstrative yì, §4.3.1.3; pàré bitonal (here L.H) verb after motion verb, §16.4.1.2]

(00:22) [bè póre] [gbā-à wíí lè],
 [3Pl fall.Pfv] [meal-Abs spill.Pfv PsDat],
 [yū-wà á] déé gbā-à],
 [3Sg SbjFoc] eat.Pfv meal-Abs],

‘They fell down and the food dropped out. He (=hare) ate the food.’

[pseudo-dative, §11.1.2.2; subject focalization with á, §13.1.1]

(00:26) [jélògò yá [[ā ò] téé] sèé],
 [hyena come.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] matter] know.Purp],
 à lé hèⁿ→ mw^o [nèné bèèsì],
 3Sg said hmm 2Sg [younger.sib hare],
 [[kw = =āà lé] nì [gbórò gbáá-lā-ā] lè]
 [[1Sg SbjFoc Foc] be [elder.sib big-Ø-Abs] be]

‘When hyena came and knew (=found out) about that one’s (=hare’s) situation, he (=hyena) said “Hmm, you, (my) younger brother hare, it’s I [focus] who am the elder brother.”’

[ā ní ‘that one’, §4.3.1.2; invariant lé ‘said’, §9.4.1; à lé (in kw = āà lé) usually object focus but here subject focus, §13.1.1; nì replacing wò ‘be’ after focalized subject, §13.1.6; meaningless augment -lā- after ‘big’, (59b); clause-final lè in copular ‘be’ construction, §9.3.2.1]

(00:29) mwɔ̃ⁿ fō [gbāā dɛ́é [nāŋā-à yí]]
 2Sg go.Ipfv [meal eat.Purp [road-Abs in.front.of]]
 mī fō [nīm-bī-yà jé lè [nāŋā-à yí]]
 2Sg go.Ipfv [person-Pl knock.down.Purp PsDat [road-Abs in.front.of]]
 mī sī [gbàà lé] [bē nān-dē]
 2Sg catch.Ipfv [meal Rel] [3Pl Poss]
 [mī dī-yà],
 [2Sg eat.Ipfv-3InanSgObj],

‘(Hyena:) “You-Sg [focus] (will) go to eat food on the road. You (will) go and knock people down on the road. The food of theirs that you grab, you (will) eat (it).” ’

[2Sg independent pronoun mwⁿɔ̃, §4.2.1; relative lé, §14.1; possessive postposition nān-dē, §8.6]

(00:33) fɔ̃ⁿ-ā wɔ̃ [kɔ̃ lɔ̃] wó, fīlé wó,
 hunger-Abs be [1Sg Loc] here, get.up.Pfv here,
 [kɔ̃ gbú] yā fò [nín-dè [nāŋā-à yí]],
 [1Sg self] Fut go.Ipfv [sit.Purp [road-Abs in.front]],
 ‘I am hungry here. Get up here (and go away)! I myself will go and sit on the road.’

[‘be hungry’, §9.3.8; perfective verb form fīlé as imperative, §11.6.1; emphatic pronoun ‘myself’, §4.2.3; future particle, §11.5.3]

(00:37) [yū-wà á] fò [nín-dè [nāŋā-à yí]],
 [3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv [sit.Purp [road-Abs in.front]],
 ñjá, ā bàrà-mèrí [à gbóŋá-à] [nāŋā-à yí],
 oh!, 3Sg put.across.Pfv [3Sg foot-Abs] [road-Abs in.front]
 ‘He [focus] went and sat on the road. Lo, he stuck his leg out over the road.’

(00:41) ā tūŋ [ā bōŋā-ā] [nīm-bī-yà yí],
 3Sg put.Pfv [3Sg foot-Abs] [person-Pl-Abs in.front.of],
 gbāā-kɔ̃-mwⁿ-ā bè yáà dyé,
 meal-owner-Pl-Abs 3Pl come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv,

‘He put his leg out in front of the people. The food owners came and arrived.’

[tùⁿ ‘put’ → tūŋ before 3Sg à as in 3Sg object tū-ŋà, (289b)]

(00:43) [[bé nì] fáⁿ [nī yī]] [bè fó pàré],
 [[3Pl Dem] collide.Pfv [with Dem.Def] [3Pl go.Pfv fall.Purp],
 ‘Those ones came into contact with that (leg), and they went and fell.’
 [< bé ní]

(00:46) àyí kée [[nì-sí]-gbìnì yéè],
 oh! that [[firewood]-piece Dem]
 gbèè [kòwú yéè],
 or.else [liana.branch Dem],
 ‘Oh! That piece of tree (trunk), or else that liana branch, ...’
 [bèè for bádì ‘or’; gbèè ‘or else’ (only textual example), §7.2.3]

(00:49) gbèè-dúwá-a nì— n= = òò yáà dyé]
 tree-root-Abs if— if 1Pl come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv]
 [wó sò [gbèè-dúú yê]] [ó pàrè],
 [1Pl bump.Ipfv [tree-root Dem]] [1Pl fall.Ipfv],
 ‘(Or) exposed tree root, when we come and arrive (at it), we bump into
 that tree root and we fall down.’
 [n= òò ‘if we’ < nì wó, (450)]

(00:52) [fó nī] [tòngbw-áā kùúⁿ]
 [go.Pfv 2Pl] [ax-Abs take.Purp],
 bè fó [tòngbw-áā kùúⁿ],
 3Pl go.Pfv [ax-Abs take.Purp],
 ‘“You-Pl go take (=get) an ax.” They went and got an ax.’
 [plural-addressee imperative with postverbal nì §11.6.1]

(00:56) bè yáà [sáá [à nḡḡ] yí]
 3Pl come.Pfv.and [cut.Pfv [3Sg possession] apart]
 [bè ná-ḡà gbó] [ā làtó],
 [3Pl hit.Pfv-3SgInanObj pow!] [3Sg run.Pfv],
 ‘They came and cut its (thing). They struck it, pow! He (=hyena) ran
 away.’
 [default possessum nḡḡ and variants, §6.6.3; yí as VP-final particle,
 §11.1.1; interjection-like gbó, §8.10]

(00:59) à bú [sēyⁿā-ā lò],
 3Sg be.thrown.Pfv [the.bush-Abs Loc],
 à kíⁿ [ánḡḡ yê]
 3Sg take.Pfv [like.that Dem]
 ‘He rushed headlong into the bush (=outback). He took (it) like that.’

(01:01) [à mándō [ā yà yégá-à b̀̀r̀̀] wó?]
 [3Sg consent.Pfv [3Sg come.Ipv village.Abs still] Neg]
 à f̀̀r̀̀ [sēyⁿā-à kíngē] ló,
 3Sg stay.Pfv [the.bush under] there,
 ‘He refused to go to the village again. He stayed there out in the bush.’
*[negative wó? with wide scope over ‘consent’, (513); ‘no longer, not
 again’, (340)]*
 [pause, while speaker waits for linguist to stop recording]

(01:06) [à f̀̀r̀̀ [sēyⁿā-à kíngē] ló],
 [3Sg stay.Pfv [the.bush under] there],
 à mándō [ā yà yégá-ā b̀̀r̀̀] wó?
 3Sg consent.Pfv [3Sg come.Ipv village.Abs still] Neg
 ‘He stayed there out in the bush. He refused to go to the village again.’
[kíngè ‘under’, §8.4.4.1]

2018-02 “Chicken and cockroach (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Koko, former hunter (born c. 1960)

(00:07) dɛ́nˀsí, è t̩ṵ nì jáŋ,
whatchamacallit, uh chicken and cockroach,
‘Whatchamacallit, uh, chicken and cockroach.’
*[animal terms used in tales as personal names lack the absolute suffix,
§4.1.1.1]*

(00:11) jáŋ lé kéé, [yū-wà nɛ́ŋá] nì jíní,
cockroach said that, [3Sg possession] be house
nī [mìndé-dèè kwólì],
and [clothing worn.out],
‘Cockroach said that the house and the worn-out clothes (in the house)
were his [focus].’
*[predicate yū-wà nɛ́ŋá ‘(be) his’ is fronted; nì ‘be’ replacing wò after
focalized constituent, §9.3.3.2]*

(00:18) t̩ṵ lé kéé [mwˀṵ nɛ́ŋá] nì [mìndé-dèè kwólì]
chicken said that [2Sg possession] with [clothing worn.out]
nì, jíní, [mwˀṵ w̩ [jìs̩ bī-yā] lè]
and, house, [2Sg be [alive black-Abs] be]
‘Chicken said, “the old clothing and the house are yours? You are a human
being?”’

(00:24) [w̩ lé] w̩, jíní-s̩ˀn̩-{k̩-mwˀn̩-à},
[1Pl Rel] be, house-build.Pfv-owner-Pl-Abs,
[j̩m̩-bè lé-bè] s̩ˀn̩ jíná-à,
[person-Pl Rel-Pl] build.Pfv house-Abs,
w̩ w̩ [[bé nì] nɛ́ŋá] lè,
1Pl be [[3Pl Dem] possession] be,
‘(Chicken:) “We who are (here), the house-builders, the people who built
the house, we belong to those ones.’
*[w̩ lé pronominal as relative head, §14.1.2; jíní-s̩ˀn̩-{k̩-mwˀn̩-à} cut off
and rephrased as a relative clause; plural relative lé-bè, §14.1]*

(00:28) ā pō lā [mwⁿḏ nǎá níná-ā lē]
 3Sg be.done.Pfv how? [2Sg see.Pfv house-Abs PsDat]
 [nī [mìndé-dèè kwólā-ā]] lè,
 [and [clothing worn.out-Abs]] PsDat,
 mì fǒré [wò lé] nà
 2Sg leave.Pfv [1Pl Foc] Q

‘How did it happen that you have seen (=acquired) the house, and the old clothes, and you left us [focus] (behind)?’

[‘how?’, §13.3.5; independent pronoun mwⁿḏ in subject position; clause-final interrogative nà, §13.2.1]

(00:35) mē =é, [mí nóǰá] nī [mìndé-dèè kwólā-à]
 2Sg said, [2Sg possession] with [clothing worn.out-Abs]
 n= =ōō nǎá tⁿ-mèré [[kòò pííⁿ] lò],
 if 1Pl see.Pfv Recip-Dat [[open.space one] Loc],

‘“You-Sg said that the old clothing is yours. If we see each other in one (and the same) place, ...”’

[< mì lé ‘you said’; < nī wó ‘if we’; (pseudo-)dative reciprocal tⁿ-mèré, §17.4.1]

(00:38) nī lé pw= [=āā nū] [yā ā yūgū-sèè],
 and Rel be.done.Pfv [3Sg in] [Fut 3Sg meaning-know.Ipfv],
 ‘“and what will happen therein, it will be known (=clear).”’
 [a vague threat; lé headless relative]

(00:40) à lé kéé [[mwⁿḏ nī kò] lé],
 3Sg said that [[2Sg and 1Sg] Foc],
 à lé héè,
 3Sg said yes,

‘He (=cockroach) said, “you and me [focus]?” He (=chicken) said, “yes!”’

(00:43) à lé báási té,
 3Sg said trouble not.be
 kò dó wō [[mìndé-dèè kwólā-ā] lè]
 1Sg Emph be [[clothing worn.out-Abs] Loc]
 mwⁿ jāā kō lē là,
 2Sg see.Ipfv 1Sg PsDat how?,
 ‘He (=cockroach) said, “no problem. I however am (buried) in the worn-out clothes. So how will you see (=find, get) me?” ’
 [báási té ‘no trouble’ < *Jula*; adversative post-subject dó, §18.1.2.1; PP kō lè with independent pronoun kō indicating mild focus, compare fused dative kō-rē]

(00:47) [là tí] níni-kwā-à,
 [day some] house-owner-Abs
 [à ní] kíⁿ— jāá, yū-wā à lé,
 [3Sg Dem] take.Pfv— see.Pfv, 3Sg ObjFoc Foc,
 [ā mìndé-dèè kwólā-ā] à jāá [yū-wā à lé],
 [3Sg clothing worn.out-Abs] 3Sg see.Pfv [3Sg ObjFoc Foc],
 [[à ní] [mìndé-dèè kwólā-à]],
 [[3Sg Dem] [clothing worn.out-Abs]],
 ‘One day, the home-owner, that one took (his clothing)—, he saw it (=cockroach). His old clothing, it [focus] is what he saw, (in) that old clothing.’
 [rather broken sequence in the recording]

(00:53) kéé jám-bī-yā [by = =àá] wò
 that cockroach-Pl-Abs [3Pl SbjFoc] be
 [[[ké mìndé-dēē lāww-ā] déé] lō] nè,
 [[[1Sg clothing former-Abs] eat.Prog] Loc] thus,
 ‘He (=home-owner) said, “cockroaches, it’s they [focus] who are eating my old clothing like that.” ’
 [< byē á ; a superfluous bè audible on the recording before déé lō is omitted; progressive construction, §11.4.3; nè, §18.2.4]

(00:58) [à ní] kíⁿ [mìndé-dī-yā à lé]
 [3Sg Dem] take.Pfv [clothing-Abs ObjFoc Foc],
 à yéré [by = =āā lé], tōgò-bī-yā lé,
 3Sg call.Pfv [3Pl ObjFoc Foc], chicken-Pl-Abs Foc,
 ‘That one (=home-owner) picked up the clothing [focus]. He called them [focus], the chickens.’
 [< bē ā lè]

2018-03 “Hare and the gold (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Koko, former hunter (born c. 1960)

(00:02) àà, bèèsì lé, gbèná-à,
oh!, hare said, gold-Abs,
[yū-wà á] fō [gbèná-à séèⁿ],
[3Sg SbjFoc] go.Ipfv [gold-Abs buy.Purp],
‘“Oh,” said hare. Gold, he will go to buy gold.’

(00:10) bèèsì fó [[à ní] [gbèná-ā yì] séèⁿ],
hare go.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] [gold Dem.Def] buy.Purp],
à fóò [náá [sènnéjéné] ʃōōlì] lè],
3Sg go.Pfv.and [see [chili.pepper red] PsDat]
‘When hare was on his way to buy his gold, he saw some red chili
peppers.’
[fóò ‘went and’, §16.3.1.2]

(00:16) à kíⁿ [à ní], à fáⁿ [à ní],
3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg Dem], 3Sg gather.Pfv [3Sg Dem],
à wí [à ní],
3Sg put.Pfv [3Sg Dem],
‘He picked that one up, he collected that one, he put that one (=them)
together, ...’
[à ní ‘that one’ used opportunistically (continuing into the next segment)
as a referential index, comments on (170)]

(00:19) tèní [à ní] [[dí-yà tí] lò]
tie.up.Pfv [3Sg Dem] [[thing-Abs some] Inst]
[[jèŷy-â tí] lò],
[[rope-Abs some] Inst],
‘...and tied that one up, with something (whatchamacallit), with some
rope.’
[lò as instrumental postposition, §8.3]

(00:21) à bú [à ní], [[ā nō] m̀ndé],
 3Sg put.up.Pfv [3Sg Dem], [[3Sg Refl] neck],
 ā nì ánáǵá yà ló sáⁿ,
 3Sg with like.that come.Ipfv there Emph,
 ‘He put (strung) that one (like a necklace) around his own neck. He was coming there like that.’

[*reflexive possessor, §17.1; sáⁿ, otherwise unattested, is apparently another clause-final emphatic, §18.2.3*]

(00:25) [gbóró-wó jélògò] lé, é! [j̀nèné bèèsì],
 [old hyena] said, oh! [younger.sib hare],
 mwⁿ [nī gbènà yê] sú bé nà,
 2Sg [and gold Dem] exit.Pfv where? Q,
 ‘Old hyena said “Hey! Younger brother hare, you and that gold have come from where?”’

[*i.e., ‘(from) where did you get that gold?’*]

(00:29) à lé é kúré [ā lààlé]
 3Sg said oh! elder.sib [day.before.yesterday]
 kò fó [[gbènà yê] sèèⁿ],
 1Sg go.Pfv [[gold Dem] buy.Purp],
 ‘He (=hare) said, “oh, elder brother! A couple of days ago I went to buy gold, ...”’

(00:33) f̀s→, j̀àkí—, [gbènà-pèèlé-kō-mwⁿ-ā nímò lé],
 all.the.way jeweler—, [gold-fix-owner-Pl-Abs chez Foc],
 ‘... (I went) all the way to the jewelers’ place [focus].”’
 [j̀àkí ‘jeweler’ in Koro, immediately rephrased with a Pere compound;
 postposition nímò ‘chez, at the place of’; lé focalizer with adjunct, §13.1.3]

(00:36) mwⁿ ñmórⁿó [[à ní] j̀ìjy-â], àyí,
 2Sg show.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] place-Abs, well,
 [[à tí] nì té] wō [mī l̀ò],
 [[3Sg some] Gen thought] be [2Sg Loc],
 [[à tí] nì té] wō [kē l̀ò],
 [[3Sg some] Gen thought] be [1Sg Loc],
 ‘(Hyena:) “Show (me) the place!” (Hare:) “Well, you need some of it too?” (Hyena:) “(Yes) I need some of it too.”’

[*cf. [kórówó ñ té] wò [X l̀ò] ‘X needs/craves money’, cf. té ‘thought’*]

(00:54) kè f= [[= áà tí] kèè]]
 1Sg go.Pfv [[3Sg some] look.for.Purp]]
 [kē nā-ṅà yá mǎ-rē],
 [1Sg with-3SgInan come.Pfv 2Sg-Dat],
 ‘... “I went to look for some (gold), I sent it to you.” ’
 [*< kè fó à ; ‘send’ construction with ‘with X’ phrase preposed to motion verb, §9.2.4.2; nā-ṅà, (217b)*]

(00:57) à fó [ṅáá [à náṅá] lē tǎré]
 3Sg go.Pfv [see.Pfv [3Sg possession] PsDat nearby],
 [à kíⁿ [à ní]
 [3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg Dem]
 ‘He (=hyena) went and got his (gold) nearby. He picked that up.’

(00:59) à lé é! [ké gbèná-à] [ké gbèná-à] [ké gbèná-à]
 3Sg said oh! [1Sg gold-Abs] (repetitions)
 [kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè]
 [1Sg drop-3SgInanObj PsDat] (repetitions)
 ‘He (=hyena) said, “oh! My gold! My gold! My gold! I have dropped it! I have dropped it! I have dropped it!”
 [*Hyena takes some of the chilis in his hand and they feel hot so he drops them; jé/jè also means ‘sell’*]

(01:04) à lé [à ṅṅó yǎ-rē]
 3Sg said [3Sg burn.Pfv 1Sg-Dat]
 [kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè],
 [1Sg drop-3SgInanObj PsDat] (repetitions)
 ‘He (=hyena) said, “it has burned me! I have dropped it! I have dropped it! I have dropped it!” ’

(01:07) [ṅèné bèè{sì}—] [ā làtó]
 [younger.sib hare—] [3Sg run.Pfv]
 [à sááⁿ [ā bōṅ-kòndó-dēṅā-à]]
 [3Sg ruin.Pfv [3Sg palm.of.hand-Abs]]
 ‘(Hyena said:) “Younger brother hare—” He ran away. It (=chilis) had hurt the palm of his hand.’
 [*“hand-interior-...” with compound final -dèyⁿ, §5.1.10*]

(01:12) [à làtó] à lé [jèné bèsì],
 [3Sg run.Pfv] 3Sg said [younger.sib hare],
 à lé [mwⁿ gbèná-à] dó wō là
 3Sg said [2Sg gold] Emph be how?
 ‘He ran away. He said, “Younger brother hare, your gold is how (=like what?)” ’

(01:15) yí à dó wō [mwⁿ mǐndé] nè,
 although 3Sg Emph be [2Sg neck] like.that,
 à dó pò déé [mī lǒ] wó nà,
 3Sg Emph do.Ipfv thing [2Sg Loc] Neg Q,
 kéé ā pō là,
 that 3Sg be.done.Pfv how?,
 ‘(Hyena to hare:) “Although it is (on) your neck, it doesn’t do anything to you?” (Hyena) said, how is that?” ’
[clause-initial yí ‘although’ (only textual example), §18.1.2.2; post-subject adversative dó (twice), §18.1.2.1; negative wó without glottal stop before clause-final interrogative, §11.2.1]

(01:20) kéé jèné [á làlélé] mwⁿ [nī [gbèná lé]]
 that younger.sib [day.before.yesterday] 2Sg [with [gold Rel]]
 yá [kō lè]] [kè bú-wà [ké mǐndé]]
 come.Pfv [1Sg Dat]] [1Sg put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [1Sg neck]]
 ‘(Hyena to hare:) “Younger brother, the gold that you brought (=sent to) me a few days ago, I (tried to) put it on my neck (as a necklace), ...” ’
[PP complement relative, §14.2.3]

(01:24) [kè kí-ṣà]
 [1Sg take.Pfv-3SgInanObj]
 [à nǒṣó [ké bwⁿ-ā gbó lé]]
 [3Sg burn.Pfv [1Sg palm.of.hand all Foc]]
 ‘(Hyena to hare:) “I picked it up. It burned my whole hand [focus].’

(01:26) á kúré, lá kō [nì lé] yá
 oh! elder.sib, RemPast 1Sg [with Rel] come.Pfv
 [kè yāā [sò mō-rē]]
 [1Sg come.Pfv.and [give.Pfv 2Sg-Dat]]
 [ánáná nī [à ní] wó?],
 [like.that be [3Sg Dem] Neg],
 ‘(Hare:) “Oh, elder brother! What I had sent and came and gave you, that way [focus] isn’t (how) that one is.” ’
[nì replacing wò ‘be’ after focalized subject, §13.1.6]

(01:31) à lé [[yū-wà á] kà],
 3Sg said [[3Sg SbjFoc] it.is],
 à lé kée yá
 3Sg said that come.Pfv
 [tíṅà [[ké náná] tère]] gbá,
 [touch.Purp [[1Sg possession] beside]] taste.Pfv,
 ‘(Hyena:) “It is that.” He (=hare) said, “Come touch mine (=my gold necklace) and test (it)!”
[identificational kà ‘it is’, §9.3.2.2; perfective stems yá and gbá in imperative function]

(01:35) ā tìṅá [[bèèsì náná] tère],
 3Sg touch.Pfv [[hare possession] beside],
 [à ní] pò déé [ā lè] wó?,
 [3Sg Dem] do.Pfv thing [3Sg Loc] Neg,
 ‘He (=hyena) touched hare’s (necklace). That didn’t do anything to him.’

(01:38) á! kúré [mwⁿō pò [[mí náná] lē] là dó
 oh! elder.sib [2Sg do.Pfv [[2Sg possession] Dat] how? Q
 ‘(Hare:) “Oh, elder brother! What in the world did you do to yours (=your necklace)?” ’
[là dó, §13.3.5-6]

(01:40) à lé á! náké [ā pèlèlé-kóyá-ā yì] ṅmá
 3Sg said oh! maybe [3Sg fix-manner-Abs Dem.Def] be.good.Pfv
 [[kòḍò gbú] nàndè] wó?
 [[1Sg self] Poss] Neg
 ‘He (=Hyena) said, “Oh, maybe that manner of making it was not good on my part.” ’

2018-04 “Hare and hyena (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

- (00:02) kē bw= ā kūⁿ dèè-só
1Sg begin.Ipfv 3Sg begin again
‘I will begin again.’
[restarted since the first attempt didn’t record well; < kē bũ , §16.8.1]
- (00:04) kòkó bèèsì, ā nù kòkó kòmòwó,
elder.sib hare, 3Sg and elder.sib hyena,
‘(My) older brother hare. He and older brother hyena.’
[kòkó for kè kùré ‘my elder brother’, likewise kóó later’; nù variant of nì
‘and, with’]
- (00:08) bè sá nàṅ-péé-lāā-lī
3Pl cut.Pfv road-fix-day-Ø
‘They set the date for repairing the road.’
- (00:11) bè sá [[à ní] nàṅ-péé-lāā-lā-ā yì lé],
3Pl set.time [[3Sg Dem] road-fix-day-Ø Dem.Def] Rel],
[kòkó bèèsì] fǒré kīṅgè,
[elder.sib hare] stay.Pfv behind,
‘(On) that day that they had set for clearing that road, older brother hare
stayed behind.’
[they planned to clear invasive vegetation from the road]
- (00:16) kòmòwó fǒré wó, kée nō= =ō pē nī nāṅā-à,
hyena stay.Pfv here, that Hort 1Pl fix.Ipfv 2Pl road-Abs,
ó fǒrē [bèèsì náṅá] lò,
1Pl leave.Ipfv [hare possession] PsLoc,
‘Hyena stayed here (with the people). (He said:) “let’s-2Pl clear the road!
We’ll leave (=reserve) hare’s portion (of the road).” ’
[hortative with plural addressee, §11.6.3]

- (00:21) bèèsì yá yàá,
hare come.Pfv come.Purp,
bè só [à náǵá] yā-rē,
3Pl give.Pfv [3Sg possession] 3Sg-Dat,
‘Hare showed up (surprisingly). They showed him his portion (of the road).’
[first ‘come’ verb focalized the following VP, here the purposive form of the same verb ‘come’, §16.4.1.2]
- (00:25) bē sō [à náǵá] yā-rē [[jìsí yê] dó],
3Pl give.Pfv [3Sg possession] 3Sg-Dat [[place Dem] as.soon.as],
bèèsì fǒré wó,
hare stay.Pfv here,
‘Once they had showed him his portion (of the road), hare stayed there.’
[‘here’ used for narrative center, §4.3.1.4; clause-final dó in echo clause, §16.3.2.3]
- (00:29) à lé wǎrénì,
3Sg said (songword),
kṑnèrⁿá—, gbém-bī-yà tá yàà wó?,
agouti—, agouti-Pl-Abs yet come.Prog Neg,
‘He (=hare) said, “wǎrénì! The agoutis (=marsh cane rats) have not come yet.” ’
[wǎrénì is a songword that attracts the others; ‘agouti’ expressed in Koro then quickly in Pere; ‘not yet’, §16.3.5]
- (00:33) lé à bú [ā ní],
Rel 3Sg sing.Pfv [3Sg Dem]
kéé gbém-bī-yà tá yàà wó?,
that agouti-Pl-Abs yet come.Ipfv Neg,
‘When he sang that, that the agoutis had not yet come, ...’
[headless temporal adverbial relative, §16.2.1]
- (00:36) bè fǒré [[[à ní] yō̃fī-yā] l̀]
3Pl stay.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] dance(n)-Abs] Loc]
áli bè fó [m̀ [yéǵá-ā l̀],
until 3Pl go.Pfv [enter.Ipfv [village-Abs Loc],
‘They continued (dancing) that dance, until they went and entered the village.’
[the animals dance as they clear the road all the way to the village, while hare just sings; fǒré ‘stay’ in ‘keep VPing’ construction, §16.5.3.2]

(00:40) bèèsì náṅá, bè yá [wíí [bēēsī yè]],
 hare possession, 3Pl come.Pfv [add.Purp [hare on]],
 bè pé [à náṅá lé], bè tá-gà,
 3Pl fix.Pfv [3Sg possession Foc], 3Pl finish-3SgInanObj,
 ‘(As for) hare’s portion, they came and added (themselves) on (=helped)
 hare. They cleared his portion (for him).’
[yè postposition ‘on’, §8.4.2.1]

(00:45) [má yū-wà] má pò [tíyⁿ-à lé] bèèsì ló,
 [whatever 3Sg] whatever do.Ipfv [matter-Abs Rel] hare there,
 [à ní] yúgúsú bèrè wó?
 [3Sg Dem] happen.Pfv still Pl
 ‘Whatever he (=hyena) was going to do to hare there, that didn’t (ever)
 happen.’
[‘whatever ...’ relative, §14.3; bèrè ‘still’, §16.5.3.1]

(00:50) [ā ní] fǒré [[[à ní] jìy-á] lò] ló
 [3Sg Dem] remain.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] place-Abs] Loc] there
 ‘That one (=tale) has stayed in (=gone back to) that one’s place.’
[standard tale ending, abbreviated]

2018-05 “Djinn girl (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

(00:02) kòkó jàrá-bè, bè sú ségá-à,
 elder.sib leopard-Pl, 3Pl remove.Pfv well-Abs,
 [[à nì] ségá-à] sú,
 [[3Sg Dem] well-Abs] exit(v)-Abs,
 ‘Older brothers (the) leopards. They dug a well. (When) that well had been dug, ...’
 [jàrá ‘leopard’ (< Koro)]

(00:10) [à nì] ségá-à, jérⁿá-bè gbògòlá-à, [ā nèḡá]
 [3Sg Dem] well-Abs, djinn-Pl girl-Abs, [3Sg Dem.SbjFoc]
 sìní wó] [[[ā nì] ségá-à] nínḡè]],
 stop.Pfv here] [[[3Sg Dem] well-Abs] over]],
 à fó sìnì [ségá-à nínḡè] [jìsì yê],
 3Sg go.Pfv stop.Purp [well-Abs over] [place Dem],
 ‘(At) that well, a young girl of the djinns, it was she [focus] who stood there at (=beside) the top of that well. She went (=had gone) and stopped at the top of the well in that place.’
 [djinn (genie, sprite); ā nèḡá subject focus for à ní §13.1.5; wó as narrative ‘here’]

(00:17) nī [nòḡò lé kò] fó,
 if [person Rel owner] go.Pfv,
 [[ā ní] kò] fó [tá túmwⁿ-â], ā fò,
 [[3Sg Dem] owner] go.Pfv [draw.water.Purp water-Abs], 3Sg go.Ipfv,
 ‘If the person who went there, if that fellow went to draw water (at the well) and (then) leave, ...’
 [kò ‘owner’ as generic human noun resuming relative head (cf. English *the fellow*); plural nī jì-mè lé fó without kò-mù ; tà < tǎ]

(00:21) nì [lé kò] fó, [à ní] tà túmwⁿ-â,
 if [Rel owner] go.Pfv, [3Sg Dem] draw.water.Ipfv water-Abs,
 ā fò,
 3Sg go.Ipfv,
 ‘When the person went, (and) that one was going to draw water, and he would (then) leave, ...’
 [perfective fó, imperfective tà]

(00:24) mwⁿ⁵ kòmòwó, mwⁿò fòò
 2Sg hyena, 2Sg go.Pfv.and
 [náá [gbògòlá-ā sìní] lè [ségá-à níndè]],
 [see.Pfv [girl-Abs stop.Pfv] PsDat [well-Abs over]],
 ‘You (the) hyena, you went and saw the girl’s stopping on top of the well.’
[hyena as protagonist is addressed by the narrator]

(00:28) mì náá [gbògòlá-ā sìní] lè [ségá-à níndè]]
 2Sg see.Pfv [girl-Abs stop.Pfv] PsDat [well-Abs over]]
 kórókóró gbògò-mí-yⁿā dó lá,
 in.old.days girl-Pl-Abs Emph RemPast,
 sà pééⁿ lò wó?,
 wrap.Ipfv wrap(n) PsLoc Neg,
 ‘You (=hyena) saw that the girl had stopped on top of the well. In the old
 days, girls didn’t use to wrap on wraps (outer garments).’
[i.e. young women used to be bare-breasted]

(00:32) lá bē sà pééⁿ— lá bē sà—
 RemPast 3Pl wrap.Ipfv wrap(n)— RemPast 3Pl wrap.Ipfv—
 lá bē dūgū [kùṅgò-dèè pírⁿ-mī-yⁿā yì lé]
 RemPast 3Pl wear.Ipfv [pants one-Pl-Abs Dem.Def Foc]
 ‘They did (not) use to tie on wraps. They used to wear (traditional) pants
 [focus] (only).’
*[emend cut-off first sentence as lá bē sà pééⁿ lò wó? as in preceding
 segment; ‘pants’ here means garments that cover the body from the waist
 down]*

(00:36) [yū-wà á] fòò [náá [à ní] lè], à lé
 [3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv.and [see.Pfv [3Sg Dem] PsDat], 3Sg said
 mémbè nī kē pō-wā nē, ā jōmwⁿ-ā lò,
 whether if 1Sg do.Ipfv-3SgInanObj thus, 3Sg breast-Abs Loc,
 ‘He (=hyena) went and saw that one. He was wondering whether “I might
 do like this, to her breast(s).” ’
*[definite demonstrative [à ní] lè varying with 3Sg dative yā-rē, cf. 3Pl
 object ... [bé ní] lè or dative bē-rē ; no #[X ní] lè with 1st/2nd person
 pronominals; 1Sg kē in “logophoric” function within quoted thoughts]*

(00:40) à lé mémbē nī kē pō-wā nē,
 3Sg said whether if 1Sg do.Ipfv-3SgInanObj thus,
 à lé mémbē nī kē pō-wā nē,
 3Sg said whether if 1Sg do.Ipfv-3SgInanObj thus,
 ‘He was thinking whether he might do like this, he was thinking whether
 he might do like this.’
*[hyena keeps thinking this as he approaches the girl; mémbē (§16.11.2.1-
 2) sounds like reduced mbè on recording]*

(00:42) hálē [yū-wā bwⁿ-ā] fòò
 until [3Sg hand-Abs] go.Pfv.and
 [nórⁿó, [[bògòlá-ā jōmwⁿ-ā] lò]],
 [adhere.Pfv, [[girl-Abs breast-Abs] Loc]],
 ‘Until eventually his paw went and was pressed against her breast(s).’
[short prosodic break after nórⁿó]

(00:46) lé [yū-wā bwⁿ-ā] nórⁿó [[bògòlá-ā jōmwⁿ-ā] dó,
 Rel [3Sg hand-Abs] adhere.Pfv [[girl-Abs breast-Abs] as.soon.as,
 [yū-wā nī bògòlá-ā] kō tòⁿ,
 [3Sg and girl-Abs] pull.Pfv Recip,
 ‘As soon as his paw was pressed against her breasts, they tugged at each
 other.’
[clause-final dó ‘as soon as’]

(00:50) hálī nīm-bī-yà, bè fó—
 until person-Pl-Abs, 3Pl go.Pfv—
 bè fòò [nàá [bē sìní] lè],
 3Pl go.Pfv.and [see.Pfv [3Pl stop.Pfv] PsDat],
 ‘Until the people, they went—. They went and saw that they (girl and
 hyena) had stopped (there).’

(00:53) bē =ē wèé,
 3Pl said just.now,
 [ó tō-bī-yà gbó] dó tà túmwⁿ-â lé,
 [1Pl other-Pl-Abs] all] Emph draw.water.Ipfv water-Abs Foc,
 ‘They (said) just then, “the rest of us all draw water (there).” ’
[variant of bè lé wèé, cf. 3Sg à lé wèé yū-wā à fó wèé ‘he just left’]

(00:56) wó sé [mwⁿḡ lé] wóʔ.
 1Pl ask.Pfv [2Sg Foc] Neg,
 [[yá dó] dḡḡgḡ], mwⁿḡ dó tá túmwⁿ-â,
 [[what? Emph] because.of], 2Sg Emph draw.water.Pfv water-Abs,
 ‘“We didn’t ask (=invite) you-Sg (=hyena) [focus]. Why did you draw
 water (here)?”’
 [yá dó §13.3.6]

(00:59) mwⁿḡ, [mì tá] [mì bú],
 2Sg [2Sg finish.Pfv] [2Sg put.in.Pfv],
 [mí bwⁿ-ā à lé], [[gbḡḡlá-ā jḡmwⁿ-āⁿ] nà],
 [2Sg hand-Abs ObjFoc Foc], [[girl-Abs breast-Abs] Loc],
 ‘You, you finished (drawing water), you put your hand [focus] on the
 girl’s breast.’
 [emended at speaker’s request from [[gbḡḡlá-ā bwⁿ-ā] nà] ‘on the girl’s
 hand’ on the recording; tá ‘finish’ refers back to ‘draw water’ not forward to
 ‘put in’]

(01:04) [ā ní] dāāⁿ [ā dāāⁿ-jì|y-â]
 [3Sg Dem] be.bounded.Pfv [3Sg be.bounded-place-Abs]
 ‘That one (=tale) is bounded (=back) in its place.’
 [variant of standard tale ending; dàāⁿ < Koro, cf. Pere fáré/fâre ‘leave’]

2018-06 “Blind girl (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

- (00:01) [gbògòlò tərè pííⁿ], jísì mwⁿᵔ nàà wó?,
 [girl small one], eye 2Sg see.Ipfv Neg,
 mī bīi-tərè,
 2Sg be.blind,
 ‘A young girl. (Your) eye, you (=girl) cannot see. You are blind.’
[narrator addresses a protagonist; bīi-tərè is the predicate for the subject ‘eye’; jísì ‘(pair of) eye(s)’, collective]
- (00:06) mì fó [jóò gbáá-lā-ā kíngè],
 2Sg go.Pfv [woman big-Ø-Abs behind],
 ‘You went to (visit) an old woman.’
[jóò common premodifier form of súwó ~ júwó ‘woman’]
- (00:08) sō mì— ó lé [[ké déngᵔ-mwⁿ-ā] wò [fóó lò]]
 give 2Sg— 1Pl said [[1Sg agemate-Pl-Abs] be [go.Prog Loc]]
 [jòní-pᵔᵔ-jìy-áā lò]
 [fun-do-place-Abs Loc]
 ‘We said, “my agemates are going to the recreation place.”’
[for cut-off sō mì— see the following segment]
- (00:11) sō [mì jísì-kí-yā] kē-rē,
 give.PPfv [2Sg eye-grain-Abs] 1Sg-Dat,
 [kē fᵔ [jòní-yà pᵔᵔ]] [kē yà],
 [1Sg go.Ipfv [fun-Abs do.Purp]] [1Sg come.Ipfv],
 ‘(Girl, to old woman:) “Give me your eye. I will go to have fun, and I will come back.”’
[jísì-kí-yà ‘eyeball, (a single) eye’; purposive clause with object preceding purposive verb, §16.4.1.2]
- (00:15) [[à nì] jísì-kí-yà] kúⁿ, ā sō yē-rē,
 [[3Sg Dem] eye-grain-Abs] be.taken.Pfv, 3Sg give.Pfv 3Sg-Dat,
 [yū-wà á] fᵔ [[[à ní] jòní-pᵔᵔ-jìy-á yī] lò],
 [3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] fun-do-place-Abs Dem.Def] Loc],
 ‘That one’s (=old woman’s) eye came out (was taken out). She gave (it) to her (=blind girl). She (=blind girl) [focus] went to that recreation place.’

(00:18) [[yū-wà á] fó]
 [[3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv]
 [à déngō-mwⁿ-ā gbó] yá [yéǵá-ā lò],
 [3Sg aǵemate-Pl-Abs all] come.Pfv [village-Abs Loc],
 ‘She (=blind girl) [focus] went. All of her aǵemates came to the village.’

(00:21) bè fǒré [yū-wā à lé] lò
 3Pl leave.Pfv [3Sg ObjFoc Foc] PsLoc
 ‘They left her [focus] (there).’
[pseudo-locative lò following focalized object]

(00:23) bē [à déngō-mwⁿ-ā] yáà wíílè
 3Pl [3Sg aǵemate-Pl-Abs] come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv
 [[ǵò gbáá-lā-à] lé á! mǵǵómá dó,
 [woman big-Ø-Abs] said oh! so.and.so where?,
 ‘They, her aǵemates, came and arrived (there). The old woman said, “Oh, where is So-and-so?”’
[‘So-and-So represents the name of the girl; plural is mǵǵómá-bè ; dó ‘be where?’ , §13.3.6]

(00:27) kée á, kā mī sò [[ǵísi-kí-yà lé] lè]
 that oh!, RecPast 2Sg give.Pfv [[eye-grain-Abs Rel] Dat]
 à lé hée!,
 3Sg said yes!,
 ‘(They said) “oh! The one to whom you-Sg gave the eye?” She said, “yes!”’
[headless dative PP relative, §14.2.3]

(00:30) kée à tá yàà wó?,
 that 3Sg finish.Pfv come.Ipv Neg,
 báà [yū-wà á] tá lò,
 like [3Sg SbjFoc] finish.Pfv PsLoc,
 [[ǵísi-kí-yà nàà lé] lò],
 [[eye-grain-Abs see.Prog PsDat] Loc],
 ‘(They said), “She hasn’t come yet.” As she had already gotten the eye, ...’
[‘not yet’, §16.3.5; ‘already’, §16.3.6]

- (00:34) [yū-wà á] pèèndé
 [3Sg SbjFoc] forget.Pfv
 [[[fòò gbáá-lā-à] jísi-kéé] nì tíyⁿ-à],
 [[[woman big-Ø-Abs] eye-grain] Gen matter-Abs],
 ‘...she had forgotten the business about the old woman’s eye.’
- (00:36) [yū-wà á] fǎré [nī [à jísi-kí-yà]],
 [3Sg SbjFoc] stay.Pfv [with [3Sg eye-grain-Abs]],
 ‘She remained with (=kept) her eye.’
 [nì ‘with’ (comitative), §8.2]
- (00:38) [à fǎré lǎ] [à fǎré lǎ] [à fǎré lǎ] [à fǎré lǎ]
 [3Sg stay.Pfv PsLoc] (repetitions)
 ‘She remained (in that situation) for a long time.’
 [multiple repetitions of clause to denote passage of time]
- (00:40) [[fòò gbáá-lā-à] yá tée,
 [woman big-Ø-Abs] come.Pfv say.Purp,
 [[fó nì] [mògòmá kéè],
 [[go.Pfv 2Pl] [so.and.so look.for.Purp],
 ‘The old woman came and said, “go-2Pl and look for So-and-So.’
- (00:44) kō sò [ké jísi-kí-yā] yū-wà wā,
 1Sg give.Pfv [1Sg eye-grain-Abs] 3Sg Emph,
 [yū-wà á] pèèndé— fó [fǎré lǎ]
 [3Sg SbjFoc] forget.Pfv— go.Pfv [stay.Purp PsLoc]
 [nī [kò jísi-kí-yà]],
 [with [1Sg eye-grain-Abs]],
 ‘(Old woman:) “I gave my eye (to her). She forgot— went and stayed with (=kept) my eye.”’
- (00:48) [yū-wà á] yá,
 [3Sg SbjFoc] come.Pfv,
 [yū-wà á] lé [ā yà wó?],
 [3Sg SbjFoc] said [3Sg come.Ipfv Neg],
 ā fǎrē lǎ [nì jísi-kí-yà],
 [3Sg stay.Ipfv PsLoc] [with eye-grain-Abs],
 ‘She (=girl) [focus] came. She [focus] said she would not come. She remained with (=held onto) the eye.’

(00:53) yū-wà yá wìilé ló, jóò gbáá-lā-à,
 3Sg come.Pfv arrive.Purp there, woman big-Ø-Abs,
 à lé [sò [ké jísi-kí-yà] kǎ-rē ínà],
 3Sg said [give.Pfv [1Sg eye-grain-Abs] 1Sg-Dat Emph],
 ‘She came and arrived there, the old woman. She said, “give me my damn eye!”’

[ínà emphatic expressing impatience (only attestation), §18.2.5]

(00:57) mī sī [mí nǎǎ]
 2Sg receive.Ipfv [2Sg possession]
 ‘(Old woman:) “(and) you-Sg will take yours.”’

(01:00) ŋmá-ʃyⁿ-ā, nī à lábá wǎ—
 good.deed-Abs, if 3Sg finish.Pfv be—
 [dǔgǔsí yē yì lé],
 [manner-Abs Dem ObjFoc Foc],
 ‘(Old woman:) “A good deed, if it ends— (if it) is that way, ...”’
 [lábá (Koro) for tá ‘finish’; somewhat broken, function of yì unclear;
 assistant suggests emending to nì ŋmá-ʃyⁿ-ā wǎ dǔgǔsí yē]

(01:04) yā kǎ pò [ŋmá-ʃyⁿ-ā tí]
 Fut 1Sg do.Ipfv [good.deed-Abs some]
 [mwⁿǎ lē] bǎrè wó?,
 [2Sg Dat] still Neg,
 ‘(Old woman:) “... I won’t do any more good deeds for you-Sg.”’

(01:06) lá kǎ lé
 RemPast 1Sg said
 fó [[mí déngǔ-mwⁿ-ā] [by = = āā] kǐngè],
 go.Pfv [[2Sg agemate-Pl-Abs] [3Pl Foc] behind]
 ‘“I had told you to go behind (=along with) your friends.”’
 [3Pl pronoun byè, focalized, resuming ‘your agemates’]

(01:08) [nī mwⁿǎ dó fóò [dyé ló] [kǎ jísi-kí-yà]
 [if 2Sg Emph go.Pfv.and [arrive.Pfv there] [1Sg eye-grain-Abs]
 mē = ē ké [mī yāā] [sǎ kǎ-rē] wó?
 2Sg said that [2Sg come.Ipfv.and] [give.Ipfv 1Sg-Dat] Neg
 ‘“When however you went and arrived there, my eye, you said (=decided)
 that you would not come and give (it) to me.”’
 [post-subject dó, as also in the following segment; ‘my eye’ could be
 topicalized or it could represent elision of nì ‘with’; < mī lé ké]

(01:12) ημά-ʃy-ā, à dó tá
 good.deed-Abs, 3Sg Emph be.finished.Pfv
 [[kō nī mwⁿò] píyè],
 [[1Sg and 2Sg] between],
 ‘Doing good (=helping), it’s over between you-Sg and me.’

(01:17) [ā ní] dààⁿ [ā dāāⁿ-jìʃy-â]
 [3Sg Dem] be.bounded [3Sg be.bounded-place-Abs]
 ‘It (=tale) is bounded (=back) in its place.’

2018-07 “Hyena and hare (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

(00:02) [kòmòwó nī [kòkó bèèsì]] bè sá lààli,
hyena and [elder.sib hare]] 3Pl cut.Pfv day,
bè fó tónjé-è,
3Pl go.Pfv field-Loc,
‘Hyena and elder brother hare, they set a date (=made an appointment).
They went to the field(s).’

(00:08) [yū-wà á] lé ā jī bèèsì,
[3Sg SbjFoc] said 3Sg kill.Ipfv hare,
‘He (=hyena) said (to hare) that he would kill hare.’

(00:11) bèèsì lé é!, wó dó fārⁿē tòn [wó yá] wâ,
hare said oh!, 1Pl Emph agree.Pfv Recip [1Pl come.Pfv] Emph,
mw^{n̄} jī kò lé, à lé [báási té],
2Sg kill.Ipfv 1Sg Foc, 3Sg said [trouble not.be],
‘Hare said, “Oh! We made an agreement to come here, and now you will
kill me!” He (=hare) said, “No problem!” ’
*[function of lé in kò lé is unclear, possibly focalizes the whole event; báási
té is in Koro]*

(00:18) [kw = =àá] sēē [[à ní] tūwēlā-à]
[1Sg SbjFoc] know.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] stratagem-Abs]
‘(Hare:) “I know a way out of that one (to avoid being killed).” ’

(00:20) bè yá [ánáná pòò],
3Pl come.Pfv.and [like that do.Purp],
bè yá tēè [yī lò],
3Pl come.Pfv.and say.Purp [Dem.Def Loc],
‘They came and did like that. They came and said at that point, ...’
[ánáná treated as a direct object]

(00:23) bèèsì yá fòò látò, à fó,
hare come.Pfv go.Purp run.Purp, 3Sg go.Pfv,
‘Hare (came and) went and ran. He went (away).’
*[double purposive complement, §16.4.1.2, < yá fòó látò ; cf. à fó látò ‘he
went and ran’; ‘come’ here indicates surprise (event focalization), §16.4.1.2]*

(00:26) à yá yàá [yī lò],
 3Sg come.Pfv come.Purp [Dem.Def Loc],
 à lé á!, kée ó dó fêrⁿè wâ,
 3Sg said oh!, that 1Pl Emph agree.Pfv Emph,
 ‘He (=hare) came. At that point, he said: “Ah! We made an agreement.” ’
[again first ‘come’ verb indicates surprise (event focalization)]

(00:31) à yá [pòd {ji tɔ̃ⁿ—} [tòⁿ-jí-té lè]],
 3Sg come.Pfv [be.done.Purp [Recip-kill-matter Dat]],
 ā pò máà, kòmòwó fàré wó, bèsì fàré wó,
 3Sg do.Pfv thus, hyena stay.Pfv here, hare stay.Pfv here,
 ‘ “He (=hyena) came to engaged in (mutual) killing.” He did thus. Hyena
 stayed there— (or rather,) hare stayed there.’
[disregard false start in {...}.]

(00:38) nī à kó [gbēgā-à lé yí] kpó,
 if 3Sg break.Pfv [stick-Abs Rel apart] pop!,
 à lé [[ké gbóná-à] nónó gbēgā-ā yì] yê],
 3Sg said [[my foot-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem],
 ‘When the stick that he snapped went pop!, he said, “that’s the firewood
 for burning my leg.” ’
*[false start omitted at beginning of this segment; for the parallelistic
 sequence (here and in following segments) ending in gbēgā-ā yì yê, see
 discussion at the end of §6.5.1.3; yê (=yéè) after X meaning ‘that is X’,
 §9.3.2.3]*

(00:42) à kó lé yí,
 3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,
 à lé [[ké gbérégá-à] nónó gbēgā-ā yì] yê],
 3Sg said [[1Sg back-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem],
 ‘The (second) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for
 burning my back.” ’
[headless object relative, omitting ‘stick’]

(00:47) à kó lé yí,
 3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,
 à lé [[ké jí|y-à] nónó gbēgā-ā yì] yê],
 3Sg said [[1Sg eye-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem,
 ‘The (third) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning
 my eye(s).” ’

(00:50) à kó lé yí,
 3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,
 à lé [[ké bwⁿ-ā] jónó gbēgā-ā yì] yê],
 3Sg said [[1Sg hand-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem,
 ‘The (fourth) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning
 my hand(s).” ’

(00:52) à kó lé yí,
 3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,
 à lé [[ké píyé-dēṅā-à] jónó gbēgā-ā yì] yê],
 3Sg said [[1Sg hand-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem,
 ‘The (fifth) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning
 my arm(s).” ’

(00:55) kòmòwò fǒré wó, é! [jèné bèèsì],
 hyena stay.Pfv here, oh! [younger.sib hare],
 [mwⁿò nì ṅmáá] dó wō [tèlí lò] máā nà
 [2Sg and who?] Emph be [speak.Prog Loc] thus Q
 ‘Hyena stayed there. (He said:) “Oh, younger brother hare, who are you
 talking with like that?” ’

(01:01) bà-lá mwⁿò dó fó [mí fò-jíjy-à],
 since 2Sg Emph go.Pfv [2Sg go-place-Abs],
 [[mì dó wō [tèlí lò]]
 [[2Sg however be [speak.Prog Loc]]
 [mwⁿò nì ṅmáá] wō tégá-ā nà,
 [2Sg and who?] be talk(n)-Abs Q,
 ‘(Hyena to hare:) “Since you-Sg went to the place where you went to, you
 are (=have been) talking. It’s your and whose talk?” ’
[i.e. who have you been talking to?; lit. “you went to your going-place”]

(01:04) à lé àyó, kō [nī jònṅò] wó?,
 3Sg said no!, 1Sg [with person.Abs] Neg,
 ‘He (=hare) said, “No, I’m not with anyone (else).” ’
[this mistaken segment can be deleted (at speaker’s request)]

(01:07) [ɲ̀ɲ̀ɲ̀ tógá] dyé [ké yè] wó-nà,
 [person.Abs some] arrive.Pfv [1Sg on] here,
 à lé kée ā wō [[[kòmòwó gbóŋ-gbìnì] kée] l̀],
 3Sg said that 3Sg be [[[hyena foot-a.little] look.for.Prog] Loc],
 ‘(Hare:) “Someone appeared to me here. He said, he is looking for a hyena
 with an incomplete (cut-off) leg.” ’
*[i.e. like a hyena whose leg was injured in a metal trap; tógá variant of tí
 ‘some’]*

(01:11) éè, ā pò máà kòmòwò lé [bèèsì yí] kée
 oh!, 3Sg do.Pfv thus hyena said [hare in.front.of] that
 f̀oré ǹsì-kée-tíⁿ-âⁿ l̀
 leave.Pfv bundle-look.for-matter-Abs PsLoc
 ‘“Oh!” he did thus, hyena said to hare, “stop looking for a bundle (of
 firewood)!” ’

(01:17) [kā kè téé lé]
 [RecPast 1Sg say.Pfv Rel],
 ā yùgùsù wó?,
 3Sg happen.Ipfv Neg.
 ‘(Hyena:) “What I said a while ago, it won’t happen.” ’

(01:18) [kā kè téé lé]
 [RecPast 1Sg say.Pfv Rel],
 ā yùgùsù wó?,
 3Sg happen.Ipfv Neg.
 ‘(Hyena:) “What I said a while ago, it won’t happen.” ’

(01:19) [kā kè téé lé]—
 [RecPast 1Sg say.Pfv Rel]—
 [yū-wà á] l̀tò,
 [3Sg SbjFoc] run.Pfv,
 ‘(Hyena:) “What I said a while ago—.” He (=hyena) [focus] ran (away).’

(01:21) ā pò máà, bēēsī ŋmàndó,
 3Sg did.Pfv thus, hare escape(v).Pfv,
 [[[à ní] ŋmàndó-wā] l̀],
 [[[3Sg Dem] escape.Nom-Abs] Loc],
 ‘(When) it happened like that, hare made that one’s (=his) escape.’
[cognate nominal: ‘he escaped in his escape’]

(01:25) à jí— à jí-gē bərə wó?
 3Sg kill.Pfv— 3Sg kill.Pfv-3SgAnObj still Neg
 à dó nḡḡ-yē bərə wó?
 3Sg however burn.Pfv-3SgAnObj again Neg
 ‘He (=hyena) didn’t (try to) kill him any more, he didn’t (try to) burn him again.’

(01:28) bèèsì {ḡmá—} kē sēē tūwèlí,
 hare {...} 1Sg know.Pfv strategem,
 à ḡmá [ā nḡ-mḡrḡ] [lé lḡ], ánáná yê
 3Sg save.Pfv [3Sg Refl-PsLoc] [Rel Loc], be.that Dem
 ‘Hare (said), “I knew a stratagem.” The way in which he saved himself, that was it.’

[< ḡmḡ; reflexive locative §4.2.2, §17.1; headless manner adverbial relative, §16.2.3.1]

2018-08 “Preparing meals 1”

speaker: Fofana Nasaniya

(00:03) kē kūⁿ [sōgā-à lé] yégá-à,
 1Sg take.Ipfv [yam-Abs Foc] village-Abs,
 nī kè lé pò bōmw-ā,
 if 1Sg say do.Ipfv foutou-Abs,
 ‘I will take a yam in the village. If I want to make foutou, ...’
[on the recording, Seydou’s voice is heard prompting Nasaniya’s second clause; focus marker lé in linking function]

(00:07) kē kūⁿ sōgā-à [níná-à kíngè],
 1Sg take.Ipfv yam-Abs [house-Abs under],
 kē tēētōrī-yà, nī kē tētōrī-yà,
 1Sg peel.Ipfv-3SgInanObj, if 1Sg peel.Pfv-3SgInanObj,
 kē sāsī-yà túmwⁿ-â,
 1Sg rinse.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,
 ‘I take a yam in the house, I peel it. When I have peeled it, I rinse it in water.’
[first of many echo clauses in this and the next text: ‘I peel (imperfective) ...; when I have peeled (perfective), ...’, §16.3.2.1]

(00:15) nī kē sāsī-yà túmwⁿ-â,
 if 1Sg rinse.Pfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,
 kē yōgō-yà páá-lā-ā,
 1Sg insert.Ipfv-3SgInanObj pot-Ø-Abs,
 ‘When I have rinsed it in water, I put it (=yam) into a pot.’
[yógó/yògò ‘bury; insert (knife) into sheath; put (yams) into a sack or a pot’]

(00:18) nī =ì yógó-yà páá-lā-ā,
 if 1Sg put.in.Pfv-3SgInanObj pot-Ø-Abs,
 wó sō-ŋā [nā-à yí],
 1Pl set.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 ‘When I have put it into a pot, we set it (=pot) on the fire.’
[< nī kè ; yí postposition with ‘fire’, (238a)]

(00:20) [nī à són [nā-à yí]] [nī à bé],
 [if 3Sg be.set.Pfv [fire-Abs in.front.of]] [if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv],
 wó kún yᵒᵒᵒnī-yà, wó wēē-yà,
 1Pl put.Pfv mortar-Abs, 1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When it has been set on the fire, when it is done (=fully cooked), we put a mortar (out) and we pound it (yam).’
[pounding with a pestle; variation on the echo clause construction with the second clause passivized ‘when it has been set’]

(00:26) n= =ōō wéé-yà, wó fā-ᵒā-ndò,
 if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj, 1Pl collect-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
 séré-bī-yā nì pín, wò sém-bī-yā nì pín,
 man-Pl-Abs Gen one, 1Pl woman-Pl-Abs Gen one,
 [yū-wà á] yê,
 [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,
 ‘When we have pounded it, we collect it (removing it from the mortar). One for the men, one for us the women. That [focus] is it.’
[< nì wó]

(00:33) kē pō bōmwⁿ-à [māā lè],
 1Pl do.Ipfv foutou-Abs [like.that Inst],
 ‘I make foutou that way.’

(00:35) nī ā wò mémbè sógá-ā sèè= wó?,
 if 3Sg be whether yam-Abs be.many.Pfv Neg,
 wó kún gbé-sōgā-à, wó tū-ᵒā [ā yè],
 1Pl take.Ipfv cassava-Abs, 1Pl put-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],
 wó wēē-yà pín,
 1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj one,
 ‘If it happens that there aren’t many yams, we take some cassava and we put (=add) it cassava onto it (=yam). We pound it (=them) together.’
[sèè = wó? contracted from sèwú wó?]

(00:41) n= =ōō wéé-yà pín,
 if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj one,
 séré-bī-yā nì pín, wò sém-bī-yā nì pín,
 man-Pl-Abs Gen one, 1Pl woman-Pl-Abs Gen one,
 [yū-wà á] yê,
 [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,
 ‘When we have pounded it together, one for the men, one for us women. That is it.’

(00:48) tíyá-à, nī [à tíyá-à] lé,
 sauce-Abs, with [3Sg sauce-Abs] Foc,
 [sèèⁿ káàní-yā] [yū-wà á] ká wò,
 [okra fresh-Abs] [3Sg SbjFoc] it.is or,
 [à ní] tūⁿ [ā yè],
 [3Sg Dem] be.put.Ipfv [3Sg on],
 ‘Sauce. With its (=the meal’s) sauce [focus]. Fresh okra, it [focus] may be it (=sauce). That is put (=served) on it.’

(00:54) [dáásá-à á] ká wō,
 [nian.nian-Abs SbjFoc] be or,
 [à ní] tūⁿ [ā yè],
 [3Sg Dem] be.put.Ipfv [3Sg on],
 wó fāmbōrō-yā tòm-bó,
 1Pl mix.Ipfv-3SgInanObj Recip-Loc,
 ‘It may be nian-nian seeds. That is put on it. We mix it (=them, nian-nian seeds and okra) into each other (=together).’

[nian-nian sauce is widely known in Côte d’Ivoire; the red seeds are from the bush Solanum anomalum, which grows wild but can also be cultivated]

(00:59) wó fāmbóró-yā tòm-bó, [wó wēē-yā [nī yōgōnī-yà]]
 1Pl mix.Pfv Recip-Loc, [1Pl pound.Ipfv [with mortar-Abs]]
 [nī à bé] [tìni yéè]
 [if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv] [time Dem]
 wó tū-ŋā [bōmwⁿ-ā yè],
 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [foutou-Abs on],
 ‘When we have mixed it together, we pound it in a mortar. If it is done, at that time we put (=serve) it on the foutou.’

(01:03) nì ó tū-ŋā [bōmwⁿ-ā yè], nī à bé,
 if 1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [foutou-Abs on], if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv,
 ó wī-yā yōgōnī-yà, ó wēē-yà,
 1Pl put.in.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs, 1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When we have put it on the foutou, when it is done, we put it in a mortar and we pound it.’

(01:07) n= =ōō wéé-yà,
 if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj,
 ó wī-yà páá-lā-à,
 1Pl put.in.Ipfv-3SgInanObj pot-Ø-Abs
 tî-páá-lā-à, ā bē tòm-bó,
 sauce-pot-Ø-Abs, 3Sg be.cooked.Ipfv Recip-Loc,
 ‘When we have pounded it, we put it in a pot, a sauce pot. It is cooked together.’

(01:11) nī [à ní] bé tòm-bó,
 if [3Sg Dem] be.cooked.Pfv Recip-Loc,
 wó dī [à ní], [à ní] wō bòmù-tíyá-à,
 1Pl eat.Ipfv [3Sg Dem], [3Sg Dem] be foutou-sauce-Abs,
 ‘When it is done (=fully cooked), we eat that. That is foutou sauce.’
 [*< wó dēē à ní*]

(01:16) [à ní] wō bòmù-tíyá-ā lè,
 [3Sg Dem] be foutou-sauce-Abs be,
 nī [bōmwⁿ-ā náǵá],
 with [foutou possession],
 ‘That is foutou sauce, and foutou’s (part).’
 [*i.e. that’s all I have to say about foutou*]

(01:20) nì gbéndì-kí-yā [yū-wà á] kà,
 if rice-grain-Abs [3Sg SbjFoc] it.is,
 wó wēē [à ní], yōgōnī-yà,
 1Pl pound.Ipfv [3Sg Dem], mortar,
 ‘If it’s rice (kernels), we pound that in a mortar.’

(01:26) n= =ōō wéé-yà yōgōnī-yà,
 if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj mortar,
 nī ā pòmòlò [tìnì yéè], wó fíítóró-yà,
 if 3Sg be.shelled.Pfv [time Dem], 1Pl winnow.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 nì sáálá-à,
 with van-Abs,
 ‘When we have pounded it in a mortar, when it (=rice) has been shelled, at that time we winnow it, with a (winnowing) van.’

(01:31) [n = = ɔ̄ɔ kúⁿ sáálá-à] [n = = ɔ̄ɔ fìtóró-yà],
 [if 1Pl take.Pfv van-Abs] [if 1Pl winnow.Pfv-3SgInanObj],
 ‘When we have taken out the van and have winnowed it (=rice), ...’

(01:33) nī ā b̀̀g̀̀d̀̀l̀̀í, [nī à ηmá mī]
 if 3Sg be.cleaned.Pfv, [if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg]
 [mī wēē-yà], wèè-sí kó tà̀̀ὴ̀g̀̀ó,
 [2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj], pound-VblN time(s) three,
 ‘... when it is clean (of impurities removed by winnowing), if you-Sg like,
 you pound it, three poundings.’

(01:37) nī à ηmá mì, mī wēē-yà,
 if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg, 2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 wèè-sí kó ỳ̀ὴ̀g̀̀ó,
 pound-VblN time(s) two,
 ‘If you like (=prefer), you pound it, two poundings.’

(01:40) nī ā b̀̀g̀̀d̀̀l̀̀í [tìni yéè],
 if 3Sg be.cleaned.Pfv [time Dem],
 mī fìtóró-yà,
 2Sg winnow.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When it is cleaned, at that time you-Sg winnow it (again).’

(01:43) nī mī fìtóró-yà,
 if 2Sg winnow.Pfv-3SgInanObj,
 mī s̀̀d̀̀ⁿ páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],
 2Sg set.Ipfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 ‘When you have winnowed it, you set the pot on the fire.’

(01:47) nī mì s̀̀d̀̀ⁿ páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],
 if 2Sg set.Pfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 mī wì [túmwⁿ-â l=] [=áā nù],
 2Sg pour.Ipfv [water-Abs Foc] [3Sg in],
 ‘When you have set the pot on the fire, you pour water in it.’

(01:51) mī yō{gō}— [nī-siy-à lé]
 (false start) [firewood Foc]
 [mī kīⁿ nī-siy-à],
 [2Sg take.Ipfv firewood-Abs],
 [mī yōgō-yā [à kíngè]],
 [2Sg insert.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg under]],
 ‘You ins[ert]—, firewood, you take firewood and you slide it (=wood)
 under it (=pot).’
*[focus marker lé may really have object-PP linking function, anticipating
 ‘under it’]*

(01:55) mī fō [nà-kány-à sùú],
 2Sg go.Ipfv [ember-Abs remove.Purp]
 mī [w= [[=āà ní] lò],
 2Sg [put.Ipfv [[3Sg in] Loc],
 mī [w= [[=āà ní] lō] [kōṅā-ā lò],
 2Sg [put.Ipfv [[3Sg Dem] Loc] [hearth-Abs Loc],
 ‘You go and take out some hot coals. You put (them) on that (=firewood),
 you put (them) on that in the hearth.’
[< wī à ní]

(01:59) mī yāà [wí kōṅā-ā] [tìni yéè],
 2Sg come.Pfv.and [put.Pfv hearth-Abs] [time Dem],[
 mī sòⁿ [páá-lā-ā] lò],
 2Sg set.Ipfv [pot-Ø-Abs Loc],
 ‘At the time when you have come and put (it in) the hearth, you put the pot
 on.’

(02:02) nì túmwⁿ-â wíyè, kē sàsì gbénì-kíy-à,
 if water-Abs stir.Pfv, 1Sg rinse.Ipfv rice-Abs,
 mī wī-yā [ā nù],
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg in],
 ‘When the water stirs (just before boiling), I rinse the rice (grains), I put it
 (=rice) in it (=water).’

(02:08) nī ā sèlí, nī à wíyē [tìni yèè],
 if 3Sg boil(v).Pfv, if 3Sg stir.Pfv [time Dem],
 kùrú-dùù-dú-wà,
 metal.ladle-Abs,
 mī tà [túm^w-â 1=] [=áā yè],
 2Sg draw.water.Ipfv [water-Abs Foc] [3Sg on],
 ‘When it boils, when it stirs, at that time, a metal ladle, you scoop water
 onto it (=rice).
 [kùrú-dùùdú ‘metal ladle’ < Koro, cf. Pere tógósí-[dù-dúúlí] ‘metal ladle’;
 < à lé ā yè, with lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3]

(02:15) nī mī tá [túm^w-â lé],
 if 2Sg draw.water.Pfv [water-Abs Foc],
 nī jísì-kíy-ā w= [=āā yè],
 if eye-grain-Abs be [3Sg on],
 mī wì [túmú tētēgā-à tí],
 2Sg put.Ipfv [water cold-Abs some],
 mī wī-yā [ā yè],
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3InanSgObj [3Sg on],
 ‘When you have scooped water onto it, if eyeballs are on it (=if the grains
 are still hard), you put some cold water, you put it (=water) on it.’
 [< wō ā yè]

(02:21) nī mī wí [túmú tētēgā-à tí],
 if 2Sg put.Pfv [water cold-Abs some],
 [mī wī-yā [ā yè]], mī kāā-à yí,
 [2Sg put.Pfv [3Sg on]], 2Sg shut.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,
 ‘When you have put some cold water, you have put it on it, you shut it
 (=put the lid on the pot).’

(02:25) nī mī káá-à yí,
 if 2Sg shut.Pfv-3SgInanObj apart,
 [nī à bé [tìni yèè],
 [if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem],
 [nī fā-ŋā-ndò],
 [2Pl gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc],
 ‘After you have shut it, when it is done (=cooked), at that time, you collect
 it (from the pot).’

- (02:30) nī jì fá-ŋā-ndò,
if 2Pl gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
jī lāgā nī [ā lè],
2Pl divide.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg PsLoc],
‘When you have collected it, you divide it up.’
- (02:32) nì sáré-bī-yā wò ló,
if man-Pl-Abs be there,
jī sō nī [à tí] [[bé ní] lè],
2Pl give.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg some] [[3Pl Dem] Dat],
‘If any men are there, you-Pl give some to those ones.’
- (02:36) jè sém-bī-yà, jī dēē nī [à tí],
2Pl woman-Pl-Abs, 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg some],
‘You-Pl women, you-Pl eat some (too).’
- (02:38) nī à dó wò gbásá-gbā-à, mī pù gbásá-à,
if 3Sg Emph be maize-meal-Abs, 2Sg pound.Ipfv maize-Abs,
‘If on the other hand it is *tô* of maize, you pound it (to remove the skin of the grains),’
[tô is a cake made from maize (or millet) in the form of a fairly hard pudding, on which sauce is served; pù/pù (... yí) ‘pound (maize kernels) to separate the skin from the inner grain’]
- (02:41) nī mī pú gbásá-ā [tìni yéè], yōgōnī-yà,
if 2Sg pound.Pfv maize-Abs [time Dem], mortar-Abs,
pùù kó yòṅgó,
pound(v) time(s) two,
‘When you have pounded the maize, at that time, in a mortar, (you do) two poundings.’
- (02:45) mī yà [túmwⁿ-á ʃòwú],
2Sg come.Ipfv [water-Abs heat.Purp],
mī fāⁿ tōgōnī-yā à lé,
2Sg gather.Ipfv ashes-Abs ObjFoc Foc,
mī wī-yā [ā yè],
2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],
‘You come and heat water. You gather ashes [focus], and you put it (=ashes in water) on it (=maize).’

- (02:50) [nī mī kúⁿ tōgōnī-yà], mī kūⁿ tēmyⁿ-â,
 [if 2Sg take.Pfv ashes-Abs], 2Sg take.Ipfv sieve-Abs,
 mū kū-wà,
 2Sg sift.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When you have taken some ashes, you take a sieve and you sift it.’
 [< mī kū-wà]
- (02:52) nī mī kū-wà, mī yà [túmwⁿ-á ʃòwú],
 if 2Sg sift.Pfv-3SgInanObj, 2Sg come.Ipfv [water-Abs heat.Purp],
 mī wī-yà [gbásá-ā yè],
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on],
 ‘When you have sifted it, you come and heat some water. You put it
 (water) on the maize.’
- (02:56) [nī mī ʃòwú túmwⁿ-â]
 [if 2Sg heat(v).Pfv water-Abs]
 [nī mī wī-yà [gbásá-ā yē]] [tìni yéè],
 [if 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on]] [time Dem],
 ‘When you have heated the water and put it on the maize, at that time, ...’
 [two juxtaposed clauses backgrounded as an echo]
- (02:58) nī sény-à dyé [[jì]y-â tí] lò],
 if sun-Abs arrive.Pfv [[place-Abs some] Loc],
 {mī fā-ŋā —} mī ʃū-wà túmwⁿ-â,
 (false start) 2Sg remove.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,
 ‘When the sun has reached a certain point (in the sky), you remove it
 (=maize) from the water.’
- (03:02) nī mī ʃú-wà túmwⁿ-â,
 if 2Sg remove.Pfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,
 mī yā [ā wí yōgōnī-yà],
 2Sg come.Ipfv [3SgInanObj put.Purp mortar-Abs],
 nī wēē nī-yà,
 2Pl pound.Pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When you-Sg have removed it from the water, you-Sg come and put it in
 the mortar. You-Pl (all the women) pound it.’

(03:07) [nī à wéé] [nī ā pòmèlól]
 [if 3Sg be.pounded.Pfv] [if 3Sg be.well.pounded.Pfv]
 [tìni yéè], mī kū-wà,
 [time Dem], 2Sg sift.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When it is pounded (in the mortar) and has been pounded into bits, at that time, you-Sg pound it.’

(03:10) nī mì tá [[à kúú] lò],
 if 2Sg finish.Pfv [[3SgInanObj sift.Prog] Loc],
 [[wèè-sí kó tààngó] álē wò]
 [[pound-VblN time(s) three] all.the.way or]
 [[wèè-sí kó yòngó] álē wò],
 [[pound-VblN time(s) two] all.the.way or],
 ‘When you have finished (pounding and) sifting it, three poundings or two poundings, ...’

(03:15) nī pō nī [à ní],
 2Pl do.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],
 mī sòⁿ páá-lā-à [nā-à yí],
 2Sg set.Pfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 ‘When you-Pl have done that, you-Sg set the pot on the fire.’

(03:18) mī yōgō [nā-à l=] [=àà kíngè],
 2Sg insert.Ipfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],
 ‘You slide the fire(-wood) under it.’
 [*< nā-à lé à, with lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3*]

(03:19) mì yógó [nā-à l=] [=àà kíngē] [tìni yéè],
 2Sg insert.Pfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under] [time Dem],
 nī kíⁿ nī gbāāⁿ-gbēgā-à, nī sēē-yà,
 2Pl take.Ipfv 2Pl kneading.stick-Abs, 2Pl knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When you-Sg have slid the fire(-wood) under it, you-Pl take the kneading stick, and you-Pl knead it (=maize dough).’
 [*lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3 ; sēē variant for ‘knead’ is typical of this speaker*]

- (03:25) nī séé-yā [tìni yéè],
 2Pl knead.Pfv-3SgInanObj [time Dem],
 nī à yá bèé, mī fā-ḡā-ndò,
 if 3Sg come.Pfv be.cooked.Purp, 2Sg gather-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
 ‘When you-Pl have kneaded it, when it is done (=cooked), you collect it
 (from the pot).’
- (03:29) nī à fá-ndò, tíyá-à bé,
 if 3Sg be.gathered.Pfv-PsLoc, sauce-Abs be.cooked.Pfv,
 ‘When it has been collected, the sauce is done (=cooked).’
- (03:31) nī à dó ḡmá mī,
 if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Sg,
 nī [pēē-mè-míyⁿá-ā yì] ḡmá mī wò,
 2Sg [peanut-Pl Dem.Def] please(v).Pfv 2Sg or,
 nī tūⁿ nī-yà [nā-à yí],
 2Pl put.pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 ‘If you like, or if you-Sg like peanuts, you-Pl put it (=peanuts) on the fire.’
- (03:36) nī [à ní] dó ḡmá mī wò,
 if [3Sg Dem] Emph please(v).Pfv 2Sg or,
 mī pō [sèèⁿ kààní-yā à lé],
 2Sg do.Ipfv [okra fresh-Abs ObjFoc Foc],
 ‘Or if you like (=prefer), you do fresh okra [focus] (instead of peanuts).’
- (03:39) nī tūⁿ nī [à ní [ā yè],
 2Pl put.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem] [3Sg on],
 mī sōⁿ [à ní] [nā-à yí]
 2Sg set.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] [fire-Abs in.front.of]
 ‘You-Pl put that (okra) onto it (=sauce). You set that on the fire.’
- (03:41) [nī à ḡmá mī] [mī wēē-yà]
 [if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg] [2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj]
 [mī wēē-yà],
 [2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj],
 ‘If you like, you pound it (=okra). You pound it.’
*[optional pounding of okra after cooking it; first mī wēē-yà is unclear on
 the recording]*

(03:43) nī mī wéé-yà,
 if 2Sg pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj,
 mī wī [gbàṅgá-à tógá] [ā nù],
 2Sg put.Ipfv [salt-Abs some] [3Sg in],
 ‘When you have pounded it, you put some salt in it.’

(03:46) nī mī wí [gbàṅgá-à tógá] [ā nù],
 if 2Sg put.Ipfv [salt-Abs some] [3Sg in],
 mī kũⁿ-kùⁿ [séṅ-â tí], mī tũ-ṅā [ā yè]
 2Sg Rdp-take.Ipfv [soda.ash some], 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],
 [à ní] jī-gà,
 [3Sg Dem] kill.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When you have put some salt in it, you keep taking some soda ash, you put it (=soda ash) on it (=okra). That (=soda ash) kills it (=okra).’
[‘kill’ here means ‘reduce the stickiness of’ (the okra sauce); bú/bù ‘toss’ is preferable to tũⁿ/tùⁿ ‘put’ with regard to soda ash]

(03:51) nī [à ní] jí-gā [tìni yéè],
 if [3Sg Dem] kill.Pfv-3SgInanObj [time Dem],
 ā bē tòm-bó,
 3Sg be.cooked.Ipfv Recip-Loc,
 ‘When that has killed it (=okra), it (=okra sauce and soda ash) is cooked together.’

(03:53) nī à bé tòm-bó,
 if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv Recip-Loc,
 nī dēē nì gbásá-gbā-à, [yū-wà á] yê,
 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl maize-meal-Abs, [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,
 ‘When it has been (fully) cooked together, you-Pl eat the maize tô. That’s how it is.’

(03:58) [à déémíⁿ-ā] [yū-wà á] kā wò,
 [3Sg sifting.residue-Abs] [3Sg SbjFoc] it.is or,
 nī dēē nī [à déémíⁿ-à],
 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg sifting.residue-Abs],
 ‘Or if it (=the topic) is its sifting residue, you-Pl eat its sifting residue.’
[larger grain bits that do not pass through the sieve]

- (04:01) [nī à ηmá jì]
 [if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Pl]
 jī sⁿ nīy [à ní] [nā-à yí],
 2Pl set.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem] [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 [à ò] déémíyⁿ-à,
 [3Sg Dem] sifting.residue-Abs,
 ‘If you-Pl like, you set that on the fire, that sifting residue.’
- (04:05) nī à ηmá mì,
 if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg,
 nī [à ní] bé [tìni yéè],
 if [3Sg Dem] be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem],
 ‘If you-Sg like, when that is done (=cooked),’
- (04:07) jī wī nì, [gbàrèè-gbàrèyá-à l=] [=áā nù],
 2Pl put.Ipfv 2Pl, [sugar-Abs Foc] [3Sg in],
 ‘You-Pl put (=mix) sugar into it.’
- (04:09) nī à dó ηmá jī wó?,
 if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Pl Neg,
 jī dēē nī-yà mää,
 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj like.that,
 ‘If you-Pl don’t like it (=sugar), you just eat it like that (=without sugar).’
- (04:12) [à gbó] pò mää,
 [3Sg all] be.done.Ipfv like.that,
 [à ní] wō [gbā-à tí] lè,
 [3Sg Dem] be [meal-Abs some] be,
 ‘Everything is done like that. That (=sifting residue) is food too.’
- (04:14) {à déé} gbásá-gbā-à, {à ní—,}
 (false start) maize-meal-Abs, (false start)
 [à déémíyⁿ-ā] wò ló,
 [3Sg sifting.residue-Abs] be there,
 wó dī [à ní]
 1Pl eat.Ipfv [3Sg Dem]
 ‘Maize tô, its sifting residue is there. We eat that.’
 /dī < dèè/

- (04:19) [gbé-sōgā-ā lē] wò, nī à ñmá mī,
 [cassava-Abs be] or, if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg,
 mī pō [à bóréwy-áà],
 2Sg do.Ipfv [3Sg porridge-Abs],
 ‘Or (if) it’s cassava, if you like, you make its porridge.’
 [bóréwé ‘porridge (of yam or cassava)’]
- (04:23) nī [à bóréwy-áà] ñmá mī wó?
 if [3Sg porridge-Abs] please(v).Pfv 2Sg Neg,
 nī fāⁿ nī [ā kààní-yà] tónjé-è,
 2Pl gather.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg freshness-Abs] field-Loc,
 ‘If you-Sg don’t like its porridge, you-Pl gather it fresh in the fields.’
- (04:27) mī sālī-yà yí,
 2Sg cut.up.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,
 ‘You-Sg cut it (=cassava) up into pieces.’
- (04:28) nī sàà-líí nī-yà yí [tìni yéè],
 2Pl cut.up.Pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj apart [time Dem],
 mī sā-gā lò, [sény-à kíngè],
 2Sg dry.Ipfv-3SgInanObj PsLoc, [sun-Abs under],
 ‘(When) you-Pl have cut it up, you-Sg dry it out, under the sun.’
- (04:32) nī mī sá-gā lò [sény-à kíngè], [tìni yéè]
 if 2Sg dry.Pfv-3SgInanObj PsLoc [sun-Abs under], [time Dem]
 nī ā gbàgàlá [tìni yéè],
 if 3Sg dry.Pfv [time Dem],
 ‘When you-Sg have dried it out in the sun, when it has dried off, ...’
- (04:37) é! [ké gbé-sōgā-ā] gbàgàlá, mī fā-ñà,
 oh! [1Sg cassava-Abs] dry.Pfv, 2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 [mī nā-ñā] yà yégá-à,
 [2Sg with-3InanSg] come.Ipfv village-Abs,
 ‘(You say:) “Oh! My cassava has dried.” You gather it, you bring it to the village.’

- (04:41) [mī yāā] [wēē-yā yōgōnī-yà],
 [2Sg come.Ipfv.and] [pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs],
 bē tē [à náǵá] lé, gbēmā-gbā-à,
 3Pl say.Ipfv [3Sg possession] Rel, cassava.tô-Abs,
 ‘You-Sg come and pound it in a mortar. (It’s) what they call “cassava
 tô.”’
- (04:45) gbé-sōgā-ā nī gbēmā-gbā-à lé, [à ní] gbēmā-gbā-à,
 cassava-Abs and cassava.tô-Abs Foc, [3Sg Dem] cassava.tô-Abs,
 nī sēēgā nī [à ní],
 2Pl knead.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem]
 ‘Cassava and tô of cassava. That tô of cassava, You-Pl knead that.’
 [bisyllabic variant for ‘knead’, cf. sēē for this speaker elsewhere]
- (04:51) bēbē-kō-mwⁿ-ā, nī à ŋmá mì,
 already-owner-Pl-Abs, if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg,
 mī wì [dówá ʃōōlā-ā l=] [=áā yè],
 2Sg pour.Ipfv [oil red-Abs Foc] [3Sg on],
 ‘(Among) the people of olden times, if you liked, you would pour red palm
 oil on it.’
 [bēbē ‘already’; cf. fwé-kō-mwⁿ-ā ‘people of old’; oil from oil palm]
- (04:54) nī à dó ŋmá mì,
 if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Sg,
 mī wì [dówá ʃōōlā-ā l=] [=áā yè] wó?,
 2Sg pour.Ipfv [oil red-Abs Foc] [3Sg on] Neg,
 nī dēē nī-yà,
 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,
 ‘If you-Sg liked (=preferred), you-Sg didn’t pour red palm oil on it. You-
 Pl ate it.’
- (04:59) nī déé nī [à ní],
 2Pl eat.Pfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],
 [à ní] wō [gbā-à tí] lè,
 [3Sg Dem] be [meal-Abs some] be,
 ‘(When) you had eaten that, that (too) was food.’

- (05:02) *bon,* gbéndì-kí-yà, [à ní] wò ló dèn,
 well, rice-grain-Abs, [3Sg Dem] be there furthermore,
 nī à ñmá mì, mī sēēgā-yà,
 if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg, 2Sg knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘Well, rice, that too is there. If you like, you knead it.’
- (05:07) nì gbéndì-kí-yā nī à bé [tìni yéè],
 if rice-grain-Abs if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem],
 mī sēēgā-yà, [nī gbāāṅ-gbēgā-à],
 2Sg knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj, [with kneading.stick-Abs],
 ‘When the rice, when it has been cooked, you-Sg knead it, with a kneading stick.’
- (05:12) mī fā-ṅā-ndò, nī kāgā-à,
 2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc, with calabash.Art,
 ‘You collect it (from the pot), with (=into) a calabash.’
- (05:14) nī mì fá-ṅā-ndō [nī kāgā-à lé],
 if 2Sg gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc [with calabash Foc],
 mī tīṅā-yà, mámbè bōmwⁿ-ā sí,
 2Sg shake.Ipfv-3SgInanObj, whether foutou-Abs like,
 ‘When you have collected it with a calabash, you shake it, as though it were (a ball of) foutou.’
[mámbè X sí ‘like X, as though X’]
- (05:19) nī à wí [tōⁿ yè] [tìni yéè],
 if 3Sg be.put.Pfv [Recip on] [time Dem],
 mī bū-wā [tàsáⁿ-ā kòndó],
 2Sg toss.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [bowl-Abs inside],
 ‘When it (=they) have been put (=mixed) together, you toss it (=them) into the (eating) bowl.’
- (05:23) nī mì bú-wā [tàsáⁿ-à kòndó],
 if 2Sg toss.Pfv-3SgInanObj [bowl-Abs inside],
 mī yà [tíyá-à péèⁿ],
 2Sg come.Ipfv [sauce-Abs stir.Purp]
 ‘When you have tossed it into the bowl, you come and stir the sauce.’
[stiring with a stirring stick held vertically, turned by the hands like an eggbeater]

(05:26) mī pèèⁿ tíyá-à [tî-míny-á yī] kâ wò,
 2Sg stir.Pfv sauce-Abs [sauce-powder-Abs Foc] be or,
 mī pēēⁿ [à ní],
 2Sg stir.Ipfv [3Sg Dem],
 ‘(When) you have stirred the sauce, or (=for example) it’s “sauce powder,”
 you stir that.’
[“sauce powder” is dried powdered okra]

(05:28) mī pèèⁿ tî-míny-ā [tîni yēē],
 2Sg stir.Ipfv sauce-powder-Abs [time Dem],
 mī fā-ŋā-ndò,
 2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
 ‘When you have stirred sauce powder, you collect it.’

(05:32) mī fā-ŋā-ndò, [ŋi pwólí nī-yà]
 2Sg gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc, [2Pl divide.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj]
 [ŋi pwólí nī-yà], [ŋi dēē nī-yà],
 [2Pl divide.Pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj], 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,
 ‘(When) you-Sg have collected it, you-Pl share it. (When) you-Pl have
 shared it, you-Pl eat it.’

(05:37) ŋi déé nī [à ní],
 2Pl eat.Pfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],
 [à ní] wò [gbā-à tí] lè,
 [3Sg Dem] be [meal-Abs some] be,
 ‘When you-Pl have eaten that, that is food too.’

(05:40) [à ní] wò— gbénì-kí-yà, à gbásá-gbā-à,
 [3Sg Dem] be— rice-grain-Abs, 3Sg maize.tô-Abs,
 ánáńá yê,
 thus Dem,
 ‘That is—, rice. Maize tô. That is like that.’

(05:44) kéww-â, wó sēē [à ní] wó?,
 sorghum-Abs, 1Pl knead.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] Neg,
 [wó kónì] wó wēē [à ní],
 [1Pl Topic] 1Pl pound.Ipfv [3Sg Dem],
 ‘Sorghum. We don’t knead that one. As for us, we pound that one (in a
 mortar).’
[other speakers pronounce wó sēgā à ní ; kónì topicalizer]

(05:48) nì ó wéé [à ní],
 if 1Pl pound.Pfv [3Sg Dem],
 wó pō [à bágá-à],
 1Pl do.Ipfv [3Sg porridge-Abs],
 ‘When we have pounded that, we make its porridge.’

(05:51) [nì ó pō [à bágá-à]] [nī à ḡmá mī],
 [if 1Pl do.Pfv [3Sg porridge-Abs]] [if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg],
 mī wī [gbàrèé-gbàrèyá-ā 1=] [= áā nù],
 2Sg pour.Ipfv [sugar-Abs Foc] [3Sg in],
 ‘When we have made its porridge, if you-Sg like, you pour sugar into it.’

(05:54) nī à ḡmá mī, mī sō-ḡà máà,
 if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg, 2Sg set.Ipfv-3SgInanObj like.that,
 [à ní] wò [kéww-â náḡá],
 [3Sg Dem] be [sorghum-Abs possession],
 ‘If you like (=prefer), you set it (on the fire) just like that (=without sugar).
 That is the account of sorghum.’

(06:00) à tá, [yū-wà á] yê,
 3Sg finish.Pfv, [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,
 sèndú [yū-wà á] yê,
 S [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,
 ‘It’s finished. That’s it. Seydou, that’s it.’

(06:03) lé wò [ké kòndó] [yū-wà á] yê,
 Rel be [1Sg inside] [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,
 ‘What is inside me (=what I know), that’s it.’
 [headless subject relative]

2018-09 “Preparing meals 2”

speaker: Fofana Nasaniya

(00:06) kée bōmwⁿ-ā pō là
that foutou-Abs be.done.Ipfv how?
(Seydou:) ‘(Say) how is foutou made?’

(00:09) bōmwⁿ-ā, nī sōgā-à sú tóŋé-è,
foutou, if yam-Abs be.removed.Pfv field-Loc,
wó kùⁿ sílā-à, wó tēētēri-yà,
1Pl take.Ipfv knife-Abs, 1Pl peel.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
‘Foutou. When yams are brought from the fields, we take a knife and we peel it (=them).’

(00:18) n= =ōō tēētēri-yà,
if 1Pl peel.Pfv-3SgInanObj,
wó wī-yà túmwⁿ-á tàsáⁿ-à,
1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs bowl-Abs,
‘When we have peeled it, we put it in water in a large bowl.’

(00:24) nī à wí tàsáⁿ-ā [tìni yéè],
if 3Sg be.put.Pfv bowl-Abs [time Dem],
wó sālī-yà yí,
1Pl cut.up.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,
‘When it has been put in the bowl, we cut it up.’

(00:29) n= =ōō sālī-yà yí,
if 1Pl cut.up.Pfv-3SgInanObj apart,
wó sāsī-yà,
1Pl rinse.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
‘When we have cut it up, we rinse it.’

(00:34) n= =ōō sàsī-yà,
if 1Pl rinse.Pfv-3SgInanObj,
wó kùⁿ páá-lā-à, wó wī-yā [ā nù],
1Pl take.Ipfv pot-Ø-Abs, 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg in],
‘When we have rinsed it, we take a pot and we put it (=yam) into it.’

(00:40) n = = ɔ̄ɔ wí-yā [ā nū] [tìni yéè],
 if 1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg in] [time Dem],
 wó sɔ̄-ŋā [nā-à yí],
 1Pl set.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 ‘When we have put it into it, we set it (=pot) on the fire.’

(00:45) n = = ɔ̄ɔ sɔ̄-ŋā [nā-à yí],
 if 1Pl set.Pfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of]
 wó tà túmwⁿ-â, wó wí-yā [ā yè],
 1Pl draw.water.Ipfv water-Abs, 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],
 ‘When we have set it on the fire, we draw some water, we put (=add) it onto it (=yam).’

(00:51) n = = ɔ̄ɔ wí [túmwⁿ-â l =] [= áā yē] [tìni yéè],
 if 1Pl put.Pfv [water-Abs Foc] [3Sg on] [time Dem],
 wó māā [nā-à l =] [= áà kíngè],
 1Pl build.fire.Ipfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],
 ‘When we have added the water onto it (=yam), we build a fire under it (=pot with yam).’

[lé in linking function (twice here and once in the following segment), §13.1.2.3]

(00:56) n = = ɔ̄ɔ máá [nā-à l =] [= áà kíngè],
 if 1Pl build.fire.Pfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],
 wó kā-à yí,
 1Pl shut.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,
 ‘When we have built a fire under it, we cover it (=pot, with lid).’

(01:01) [sèèⁿ káàní-yà], wó fāⁿ [à ní]
 [okra fresh-Abs], 1Pl gather.Ipfv [3Sg Dem]
 wó sāālī [ā nīŋā-ā] nī [ā mēŋā-à],
 1Pl cut.up.Ipfv [3Sg head-Abs] and [3Sg nose-Abs],
 wó tū-ŋā [bōmwⁿ-ā yè],
 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [foutou-Abs on],
 ‘Fresh okra. We gather that. We cut off its head and its nose. We put it on the foutou.’

[‘head’ = top end, ‘nose’ = bottom end; ‘on the foutou’ slightly misspoken for ‘on the yam’ since it has not yet become foutou (cf. 01:14 below)]

(01:11) kō sēē—
 1Sg know.Ipfv—
 [wó bōmwⁿ-ā] pò [māā lè] wâ,
 [1Pl foutou-Abs] be.done.Ipfv [like.that Inst] Emph,
 [wó tíi-bōmwⁿ-ā] pò [māā lè],
 [1Pl sauce-foutou-Abs] be.done.Ipfv [like.that Inst],
 ‘(What) I know—. Our foutou is made like that. Our foutou with sauce is made like that.’
 [māā lè ‘like that’, §8.8.2.1]

(01:14) n = [= āà ní]—
 if [3Sg Dem]—
 n = = ōō tūⁿ [à ní] [sōgā-ā yè],
 if 1Pl put.Pfv [3Sg Dem] [yam-Abs on],
 ‘When that—, when we have put that on the yam, ...’

(01:17) nī bōmwⁿ-ā bé, wó kīⁿ-yⁿā
 if foutou-Abs be.cooked.Pfv, 1Pl take.Pfv-3SgInanObj
 [à yí], wó ŋmééné-yā yōgōnī-yà,
 [3Sg in.front.of], 1Pl bring.near.Ipfv-3InanSgObj mortar-Abs,
 ‘..., when the foutou (=yam) is cooked, we take it off of it (=fire). We bring it to a mortar.’

(01:24) [sōlī yōŋg = = áá] kā wò,
 [pestle two SbjFoc] be or,
 [sòlì pírⁿ-d = = áá] kā wò,
 [pestle one SbjFoc] be or,
 ‘It may be (with) two pestles, or it may be (with) one pestle.’
 [clause-final wò in disjunctions, §7.2.4]

(01:28) nī ŋmééné nī [à ní],
 2Pl bring.near.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],
 nī sāsī [à ní]— nī sāsī nī [à ní],
 (false start) 2Pl rinse.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],
 ‘You-Pl bring it (=pestle) up. You-Pl rinse—, you-Pl rinse that (=pestle).’
 [the pestle is washed off briefly]

- (01:32) n= =ōō sàsí-yà,
 if 1Pl rinse.Pfv-3SgInanObj,
 wó fāⁿ [sēŋā-à l=] [=áà nínḁè],
 1Pl gather.Ipfv [okra-Abs Foc] [3Sg over],
 ‘When we have rinsed it, we gather okra onto it.’
[lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3]
- (01:37) wó wī [à ní] [yōgōnī tār-ā],
 1Pl put.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] [mortar small-Abs],
 [tíí-[wèè-ló] [yōgōnī tār-ā] lò,
 [sauce-[pound-PsLoc.VblN] [mortar small-Abs]] Loc,
 ‘We put it (=okra) in a small mortar, in a small mortar (used) for pounding
 sauce (ingredients).’
[purposive compound, §5.2.3]
- (01:40) n= =ōō wí [à ní]
 if 1Pl put.Pfv [3Sg Dem]
 [tíí-wèè-ló [yōgōnī tār-ā]],
 [sauce-pound-Purp [mortar small-Abs]],
 wó fāⁿ bōmwⁿ-ā, wó wī-yā yōgōnī-yà,
 1Pl gather.Ipfv foutou-Abs, 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs,
 ‘When we have put it (=okra) in a small mortar for pounding sauce, we
 gather (=take out) the foutou (=the yam) and we put it in a mortar.’
- (01:47) n= =ōō sú sōgā-à
 if 1Pl remove.Pfv yam-Abs
 wó wí-yà [yōgōnī-yā lò],
 1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [mortar-Abs Loc],
 wó wēē-yà,
 1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When we have taken the yam out and have put it in the mortar, we pound
 it.’
- (01:51) n= =ōō tá [[à wéé] lò],
 if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[3Sg pound.Prog] Loc],
 [nè sóre-bī-yā] wò ló,
 [2Pl man-Pl-Abs] be there,
 ‘When we have finished pounding it, (if) you men are there, ...’
[‘finish VPing’ with progressive complement, §16.8.2]

(01:57) wó sù [sǎré-bī-yà náǵà lé] té,
 1Pl remove.Ipfv [man-Pl-Abs possession Foc] aside,
 wó fw= [[=āà ní] sòó]
 1Pl go.Ipfv [[3Sg Dem] give.Purp]
 ‘... we put the men’s portion [focus] to the side. We go and give that (to them).’
 [*< wó fò ; té adverbial ‘aside, separate’, cf. @ 04:54*]

(02:01) n= =ōō tá [[à ní] sóó] lǎ,
 if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] give.Prog] Loc],
 wó yà [[wó náǵá] wèé],
 1Pl come.Ipfv [[1Pl possession] pound.Purp],
 ‘When we have finished giving that (to them), we come and pound our portion.’
 [*‘finish VPing’ with progressive complement, §16.8.2*]

(02:06) wó fā-ŋā-ndò, [[wó sé-mbī-yā] ŋmééné],
 1Pl gather-3SgInanObj-PsLoc, [[1Pl woman-Pl-Abs] approach.Ipfv,
 [wó dī [à ní],
 [1Pl eat.Ipfv [3Sg Dem],
 ‘We collect it. We women approach (=come together), we eat that.’
 [*< dēē à ní*]

(02:13) n= =ōō tá [[[à ní] déé] lǎ],
 if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] eat.Prog] Loc],
 sǎré-bī-yà lé nà-másy-à, ēē-tàà-másy-à,
 man-Pl-Abs said woman-thanks-Abs, (reply),
 sé-mbī-yà, tòò-másy-à, ēē-nà-másy-à,
 woman-Pl-Abs, man-thanks-Abs, (reply),
 ‘When we have finished eating that, the men say “nà-másy-à.” (Women’s reply:) “ēē-tàà-másy-à.” Women (say) “tòò-másy-à.” (Men’s reply:) “ēē-nà-másy-à.”’

[*Archaic phrases to give thanks for food, after eating. Prefixes distinguish nà-másy-à ‘thanks for food’ (to women) from tòò-másy-à ‘thanks for food (to men)’. The responses are likewise ēē-nà-másy-à ‘you’re welcome (to women)’ and with o/a shift ēē-tàà-másy-à ‘you’re welcome (to men)’*]

(02:26) wó wààsǎrǎ, [wó gbó] fò [wó nà-n-dè],
 1Pl disperse.Ipfv, [1Pl all] go.Ipfv [1Pl Poss],
 ‘We disperse. We all go home.’

(02:30) nì [sǎré gbáá-lā-ā]— [ʃóó gbáá-lā-ā] wò ló,
 if [man big-Ø-Abs]— [woman big-Ø-Abs] be there,
 nī fō nì [[ʃóó gbáá-lā-ā wāā] tǎré],
 2Pl go.Ipfv 2Pl [[woman big-Ø-Abs 3Sg(?)] beside],
 ‘If an old man— (or rather) an old woman is there, you-Pl go up next to
 the old woman.’

[wāā is obscure, possibly contracted from 3Sg pronoun yū-wā ; repeated in the
 following segment]

(02:34) wó ñmééné [gbā-à gbó],
 1Pl bring.near.Ipfv [meal-Abs all],
 [ʃóó gbáá-lā-ā wāā] tǎré,
 [woman big-Ø-Abs 3Sg(?)] beside,
 wó dēē [gbā-ā à lé],
 1Pl eat.Ipfv [meal-Abs ObjFoc Foc],
 ‘We bring all of the food to the side of the old woman. We eat the meal
 [focus].’

(02:41) sǎré-bī-yà náná, [à ní] wò máà,
 man-Pl-Abs possession, [3Sg Dem] be like.that,
 ‘(As for) the men’s, that is like that (=similar).’

(02:44) gbórówá-ā wò ló, gbā-ā fō
 old.man-Abs be there, meal-Abs go.Ipfv
 [sòóⁿ [gbórówá-à yí]]— [gbówⁿ pìyè],
 [be.set.Purp [old.man, in.front.of]]— [foot between],
 nī dēē nī-yà,
 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-SgInanObj,

‘(If) an old man is there, the meal goes and is set down in front of the old
 man— between (=at) the feet. You-Pl (=men) eat it.’

[slightly broken, repair as sòóⁿ [[gbórówá-à gbówⁿ] pìyè] ‘is set down
 between (=at) the old man’s feet’]

(02:50) n= =ōō tá [[[à ní] dèè-sí-yā] lò],
 if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] eat-VblN-Abs] Loc],
 wó tè á-másy-à á-másy-à, wó wààsèrò,
 1Pl say.Ipfv thanks.for.food thanks.for.food, 1Pl disperse.Ipfv,
 [à ní] tá,
 [3Sg Dem] be.finished.Pfv,
 ‘When we have finished eating that, we say “thanks for food!” We
 disperse. That (text segment) is finished.’
 [tá ‘finish’, here with verbal-noun complement, §16.8.2]

(02:55) (Seydou: gbásá-gbā-à)
 (maize.tô-Abs)
 gbásá-gbā-à, n= =ōō lé
 maize.tô-Abs, if 1Pl said
 [nō= =ō pò gbásá-gbā-à yí],
 [Hort 1Pl do.Ipfv maize.tô-Abs apart],
 (Seydou: ‘maize tô’)
 Speaker: ‘Maize tô. If we say, “let’s make maize tô, ...”’
 [< nì ó ‘if we’; yí is superfluous]

(03:00) wó kùⁿ gbásá-à,
 1Pl take.Ipfv maize-Abs,
 wó wí-yā yōgōnī-yà,
 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs,
 ‘... we take some maize and we put it in a mortar.’

(03:04) n= =ōō wí-yā yōgōnī-yà,
 if 1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs,
 wó pū-wà,
 1Pl pound.maize.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When we have put it (=maize) in the mortar, we pound it.’

(03:08) n= =ōō pú gbāsā-à,
 if 1Pl sift.Pfv maize-Abs,
 wó fíítóró [ā lò],
 1Pl winnow.Ipfv [3Sg PsLoc],
 ‘When we have sifted the maize, we winnow it.’
 [‘winnow’ here with pseudo-locative complement (likely archaic)]

(03:11) [n= =ōō kɪⁿ sáálá-à]
 if 1Pl take.Pfv van-Abs]
 [n= =ōō fɪ̀táró-yà],
 [if 1Pl winnow.Pfv-3SgInanObj],
 [ā wèè-sí] kó ỳngó, ā b̀gòlì,
 [3Sg pound-VblN] time(s) two, 3Sg be.cleaned.Ipfv,
 ‘When we have taken a winnowing van and have winnowed it, (after) two poundings (and winnowings), it (=maize) is cleaned (of impurities).’

(03:17) nī ā b̀gòlì [tìni ỳèè],
 if 3Sg be.cleaned.Pfv [time Dem],
 wó fɪ̀táró-yà,
 1Pl winnow.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When it has been cleaned, we winnow it.’

(03:21) n= =āā fɪ̀táró, mī kūⁿ— t̀g̀onī-yà,
 if 3Sg be.winnowed.Pfv, 2Sg take.Ipfv— ashes-Abs,
 mī kɪⁿ t̀emyⁿ-â, mī kū-wà,
 2Sg take.Ipfv sieve-Abs, 2Sg sift.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 mī wī-yà [gbásá-ā ỳè],
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on],
 ‘When it has been winnowed, you-Sg take—, (some) ashes. You-Sg take a sieve and you sift it (=ashes). You put (=add) it on the maize.’

(03:32) nī m̀i tá [[à kúú] l̀ò]
 if 2Sg finish.Pfv [[3Sg sift.Prog] Loc]
 [m̀i wī-yà [gbásá-ā ỳè]],
 [2Sg put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on]],
 ‘When you have finished sifting it and have added it on the maize, ...’

(03:35) mī yà [[túmú ʃ̀owwá-ā] kùúⁿ],
 2Sg come.Ipfv [[water hot-Abs] take.Ipfv],
 mī wī-yā [ā ỳè],
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],
 ‘You-Sg come and take some hot water. You put it (=hot water) on it (=maize).’

(03:40) nī mī kúⁿ [[túmú ʃòwwá-ā] [mī wí [ā yè]],
 if 2Sg take.Pfv [[water hot-Abs] [2Sg put.Pfv [3Sg on]],
 mī yògò [kúruwá-à l=] [=āā kíngè],
 2Sg insert.Ipfv [stirring.stick-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],
 ‘When you-Sg have taken hot water and put (=added) it on it, you immerse
 a stirring stick at the bottom.’

*[the business end of the eggbeater-like stirring stick goes down to the
 bottom of the mix; lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3]*

(03:45) [túmú ʃòwwá-à] n= =āā ʃí—
 [water hot-Abs] if 3Sg catch.Pfv—
 à ʃí-yā lè,
 3Sg catch.Pfv-3SgInanObj PsDat,
 n= =āā ʃí-yā lē [tìni yèè],
 if 3Sg catch.Pfv-3SgInanObj PsDat [time Dem],
 ‘When the hot water catches— when it catches (=absorbs) it (=maize),

(03:51) nī bè tá [sée-fōrāⁿ]-gbàndí-yà,
 if 3Pl finish.Pfv [2PM.prayer]-prayer-Abs,
 nī làgàzèrá wò [yáá lò],
 if 4PM.prayer be [come.Prog Loc],
 mī fā-ṅā-ndō,
 2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
 mī sū-wà túmwⁿ-â,
 2Sg remove.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,

‘When you have finished the 2PM prayer, and the 4PM prayer is coming,
 you collect (=take out) it (=maize), you remove it from the water.’

*[sée- is pronounced séré on the recording; Muslim afternoon prayers used
 as temporal landmarks]*

(04:00) nī mī sú-wà túmwⁿ-á [tìni yèè],
 if 2Sg remove.Pfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs [time Dem],
 nī túmwⁿ-â fáⁿ [ā nù],
 if water-Abs be.gathered.Pfv [3Sg in],
 mī ṅmééné yōgōnī-yà, mī wēē-yà,
 2Sg bring.near.Ipfv mortar-Abs, 2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When you have removed it from the water, when the water has been
 collected (=removed) from in it, you bring a mortar near and you pound it.’

(04:08) nī mī tá [à wéé] lò],
 if 2Sg finish.Pfv [3Sg pound.Prog] Loc],
 [ā wèè-sí kó tààngó], à náá— à náá-mōry-ā,
 [3Sg pound-VblN time(s) three], (false start) 3Sg four-Ordinal-Abs,
 ‘When you have finished pounding it, three poundings, (after) the fourth
 (time), ...’
[ordinal adjective, §4.5.7.2]

(04:14) mī sⁿ gbàà-páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],
 2Sg set.Ipfv meal-pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 mī yōgō [nā-à l=] [= áà kíngè],
 2Sg insert.Ipfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],
 ‘..., you set the pot on the fire. You slide fire(wood) under it.’
[cf. ké kíngè ‘under me’; lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3]

(04:19) sēnī mī tā [à náá-mōr-ā],
 before 2Sg finish.Ipfv [3Sg four-Ordinal-Abs],
 sēnī yā mī tā [à náá-mōr-ā] wèè-sí
 before Fut 2Sg finish.Ipfv [3Sg four-Ordinal-Abs] pound-VblN
 [ā lò], túmwⁿ-á wìyè,
 [3Sg Loc], water-Abs boil.Ipfv,
 ‘Eventually you finish the fourth one. Eventually you will finish the fourth
 one of pounding it. The water comes to a boil.’
[sēnī ‘before’, §16.3.3]

(04:25) nī túmwⁿ-ā wíyē [tìni yéè],
 if water-Abs boil.Pfv [time Dem],
 mī ŋmééné gbāāŋ-gbēgā-à,
 2Sg bring.near.Ipfv kneading.stick-Abs,
 mī tà [túmú ʃòwá-à tí],
 2Sg draw.water.Ipfv [water hot-Abs some],
 ‘When the water has come to a boil, you draw (=get) some of the hot
 water.’

(04:33) mī wī-yā [ā yè], mī tīŋā-yà,
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on], 2Sg stir.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 nī mī fāmóró-yà, mī kī-ŋà,
 if 2Sg mix.Pfv-3SgInanObj, 2Sg take.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘You put (=pour) it (=hot water) on it (=maize). You stir it. When you
 have mixed it (together), you take it.’

(04:39) mī wī-yā [nā-à yí],
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 mī kūⁿ gbāāṅ-gbēgā-à, mī sēēgā-yà,
 2Sg take.Ipfv kneading.stick-Abs, 2Sg knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘You take it and you put it (in the pot) on the fire. You take the kneading
 stick and you knead it (maize).’

(04:44) nī à bé [tìni yéè], mī kīⁿ kāgā-à,
 if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem], 2Sg take.Ipfv calabash-Abs,
 mī— wó fā-ṅā-ndò,
 2Sg— 1Pl gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
 ‘When it is done (=cooked), you take a calabash, and you— we collect
 (the maize, in the calabash).’

(04:50) n = = oō kúⁿ kāgā-à
 if 1Pl take.Pfv calabash-Abs
 [wó fā-ṅā-ndò],
 [1Pl collect.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc],
 wó wī-yā tàsáⁿ-à,
 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj bowl-Abs,
 ‘When we have taken the calabash and we have collected it, we put it into
 the (eating) bowl.’

(04:54) [sóré-bī-yà náná] wò té,
 [man-Pl-Abs possession] be aside,
 [sém-bī-yà náná] wò té,
 [woman-Pl-Abs possession] be aside,
 ‘The men’s portion is separate, the women’s portion is separate.’
*[i.e. the food is divided into collective men’s and women’s portions;
 adverb té apart, separate’ in two parallel clauses]*

(04:58) nī à ṅmá [ṅṅò lé] yí,
 if 3Sg please(v).Pfv [person.Abs Rel] apart,
 [à ní] sēnī [à tí],
 [3Sg Dem] ask.for.Ipfv [3Sg some],
 ‘(If there is) someone who likes (=prefers), that one asks for some of it
 (too).’

- (05:01) wó sō [à tí] [[à ní] kō] lè]
 1Pl give.Ipfv [3SgInanObj some] [[3Sg Dem] owner-Abs] Dat]
 jì pwólí ní-yà,
 2Pl divide.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,
 ‘We give some to that person. You-Pl share it’
 [*its owner* = ‘the fellow’, a generic referent previously introduced, cf. Fr
 l’intéressé]
- (05:04) Seydou: mlâⁿ-gbā-ā [à ní] pō là
 rice-meal-Abs [3Sg Dem] be.made.Ipfv how?
 (Seydou:) ‘A rice meal, how is that made?’
- (05:05) mlâⁿ-gbā-ā ...
 rice-meal-Abs ...
 (Speaker:) ‘A rice meal, ...’
 [recording is cut off at this point, resumes with 2018-10]

2018-10 “Preparing meals 3”

speaker: Fofana Nasaniya

(00:01) gbéndì-kí-yà náná, gbéndì-kí-yà,
 rice-grain-Abs possession, rice-grain-Abs,
 ò bē sò, séré-bī-yā sō [mláⁿ lé] wō-rē,
 if 3Pl give.Pfv, man-Pl-Abs give.Ipfv [rice Rel] 1Pl-Dat,
 ‘About rice (grain). Rice (grain). When they give—. Men give rice to us
 (women).’

[wō-rē sounds like wō-lē on recording]

(00:08) wó wī [à ní] yōgōnī-yà,
 1Pl put.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] mortar-Abs,
 wó wēē-yà,
 1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘We put that in the mortar. We pound it.’

(00:12) n= =ōō tá [[à wéé] lō] [tìni yéè],
 if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[3Sg pound.Prog] Loc] [time Dem],
 wó fítáró [ā lō],
 1Pl winnow.Ipfv [3Sg PsLoc],
 ‘When we have finished pounding it, we winnow it.’

(00:17) [n= =āā fítáró] [à tá],
 [if 3Sg be.winnowed.Pfv] [3Sg finish],
 mī sòⁿ páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],
 2Sg set.Ipfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 ‘When it is winnowed and it (=winnowing) is finished, you-Sg set the pot
 on the fire.’

(00:21) mī māā [nā-à y=] [=āā kíngè],
 2Sg build.fire.Ipfv [fire-Abs ObjFoc] [3Sg under],
 ‘You build a fire under it (=pot).’
 [yì in linking function, § 13.1.2.3]

(00:24) nī [à túmwⁿ-â] wíyē [tìni yéè],
 if [3Sg water-Abs] boil.Pfv [time Dem],
 mī sàsì gbéndì-kí-yà,
 2Sg rinse.Ipfv rice-grain-Abs,
 mī wī-yā [nā-à yí],
 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 ‘When its (=the pot’s) water has come to a boil, you rinse the rice grain
 and you put it on the fire.’

(00:31) nī mī wí-yā [nā-à yí],
 if 2Sg put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],
 nī ā sèlí [tìni yéè],
 [if 3Sg boil.Pfv [time Dem],
 ‘When you have put it on the fire, when it has boiled well, you take a
 metal ladle, ...’

(00:35) mī kūⁿ kùrú-dùù-dú-wà,
 2Sg take.Ipfv metal.ladle-Abs,
 mī tā [à túmwⁿ-â],
 Sg draw.water.Ipfv [3Sg water-Abs],
 ‘... you take a metal ladle, you draw (=get) some (“its”) water.’

(00:40) nī mī tá [à túmwⁿ-á] [tìni yéè],
 if 2Sg draw.water.Pfv [3Sg water-Abs] [time Dem],
 mī jírⁿī [à jísi-kí-yà],
 2Sg look.at.Ipfv [3Sg rice-grain-Abs],
 ‘When you have drawn (=gotten) its water, you look at its rice grains.’
[i.e. to see whether it’s done]

(00:44) nī mī jáá lè jísi-kéé w = [= āā yè]
 if 2Sg see PsDat rice-grain be [3Sg on]
 mī tà [túmú tētēgā-à],
 2Sg draw.water.Ipfv [water cool-Abs],
 ‘If you see that there are (uncooked) grains on it, you draw (=get) some
 cold water.’
[< wō ā yè]

(00:48) mī wī [à tí] [ā yè],
 2Sg put.Ipfv [3Sg some] [3Sg on],
 mī kāā à yí,
 2Sg shut.Ipfv 3SgInanObj apart,
 ‘You put (=pour) it (=water) on it. You cover it (with a lid).’

(00:52) nī mī káá [à yí] [tìni yéè],
 if 2Sg shut.Pfv [3SgInanObj apart] [time Dem],
 nī nàà-yí-yà fiìl = [=áā yè], mī jírⁿi-yà,
 if steam-Abs get.up.Pfv [3Sg on], 2Sg look.at.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,
 ‘When you have covered it, when the steam rises on (=over) it, you look at
 (=check) it.’
 [*< fiìlé ā yè*]

(00:59) nī à bé, mī fā-ŋā-ndò,
 if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv, 2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
 ‘When it is done (=cooked), you collect (=remove) it (from the pot).’

(01:02) nī mī fā-ŋā-ndò,
 if 2Sg gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,
 sóre-bī-yà nī wò ló,
 man-Pl-Abs if be there,
 sé-m-bī-yā nī wò ló,
 woman-Pl-Abs if be there,
 ‘When you have collected (=remove) it (from the pot), (suppose that) men
 are there, (and) women are there.’
 [*nì ‘if’ unusually following topicalized subjects without resumptive
 pronouns*]

(01:08) jì ñmééné nì, [ʃòò gbáá-lā-ā] tère,
 2Pl approach.Ipfv 2Pl, [woman big-Ø-Abs] beside,
 jī dēē nī-yà,
 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,
 ‘You-Pl approach, next to an old woman. You eat it.’

(01:13) séré-bī-yà náǵá, [gbórò gbáá-lā-ā] wò ló,
 man-Pl-Abs possession, [old.man big-Ø-Abs] be there,
 ɲī fō n= [=āā sòóⁿ], [[ā ní] yògò] píyè,
 2Pl go.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg set.Purp], [[3Sg Dem] side] between,
 ɲī fō [ā dèé],
 2Pl go.Ipfv [3Sg eat.Purp],

‘The men’s portion. (Suppose) an old man is there. You-Pl go and set it (=food) at the side (=feet) of that one. You-Pl go and eat it.’

[[X yògò] píyè ‘in front of, at the feet of X (a person)’, noun yògò not otherwise attested]

(01:21) n= =ōō tá [à ní] lò, wó wààsàrò
 if 1Pl finish.Pfv [3Sg Dem] PsLoc, 1Pl disperse.Ipfv
 ‘(When) you-Pl have finished that, we disperse.’

References

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| mw ⁿ ḁ | 2Sg independent pronoun, §4.2.1. |
| ḁ | variant of <i>nì</i> as possessive linker, §8.5.1. |
| na | |
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| ní | in third person demonstratives (Sg à <i>ní</i> , Pl <i>bé ní</i>), §4.3.1.2, §6.5.1.2. |
| níndè | postposition ‘over, above’, §8.4.3.4. |
| ínà | clause-final emphatic, §18.2.5. |
| nò | in reflexives, §17.1. |
| nɔɔ | |
| | <i>nō = ̄</i> hortative, contraction of <i>nì</i> and 1Pl <i>wó</i> , §11.6.3. |
| | <i>nō = ̄ lé</i> hortative negative, §11.6.4. |
| | <i>nòdò</i> in greeting addressed to a woman, (468b), cf. <i>nà, nàà</i> . |
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| n-tíy ⁿ -à | purposive postposition <i>n-tíyⁿ-à</i> , §8.5.1; cf. <i>tíyⁿ-à</i> . |
| ŋmáá | ‘who?’, §13.3.2. |
| náá/nàà | ‘see’ in affliction predicates, §9.4.7. <i>ná-ā-lè</i> ‘saw it’, §16.11.2.3 |
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| nè | 2Pl independent, §4.2.1. |
| nì | |
| ní | 2Pl possessor, §4.2.1. |
| nì | 2Pl nonpreverbal pronominal, §4.2.1. |
| nì ... nì | 2Pl preverbal pronominal, §4.2.1. |
| ní/nì | ‘hear’, see <i>nú/nù</i> . |
| nōŋ-ò | variant of <i>nūŋ-ò</i> ‘person’. |
| nú/nù | ‘hear’, variant <i>ní/nì</i> . forms: §9.1.1, §9.2.2.2. <i>nú-wā-ndò</i> ‘heard it’ with complement, §16.11.2.3. |

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| -rò | in fused locative pronominal forms, §4.2.2. |
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| sàà-líí/sàà-lì | ‘cut up’, §10.3. |
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Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|---|
| Abs | absolute |
| Adj | adjective |
| An | animate |
| ATR | advanced tongue root |
| C | consonant (in formulae like CvCv) |
| Dat | dative |
| Def | definite (demonstrative) |
| Dem | demonstrative |
| Emph | emphatic |
| Foc | focus |
| H | high (tone) |
| Hort | hortative |
| Hum | human |
| Inan | inanimate |
| Imprt | imperative |
| Inst | instrumental |
| Ipfv | imperfective |
| L | low (tone) |
| Loc | locative |
| M | mid (tone) |
| N | a) noun (e.g. in N-Adj) b) nasal consonant (e.g. in CvNCv) |
| Neg | negative |
| Nom | nominalization |
| Nonh | nonhuman |
| NP | noun phrase |
| O | object (e.g. in SVO) |
| Obj | object |
| Ord | ordinal |
| Pfv | perfective |
| Pl | plural |
| Poss | possessive |
| PP | postpositional phrase; prepositional phrase |
| Prog | progressive |
| Proh | prohibitive (negative imperative) |
| Prsntv | presentative (§9.3.1.2) |

| | |
|-------|------------------------|
| PsDat | pseudo-dative |
| PsLoc | pseudo-locative |
| Purp | purposive |
| Rdp | reduplication |
| Recip | reciprocal |
| Refl | reflexive |
| Q | question |
| S | subject (in SVO, etc.) |
| Sbj | subject |
| Sg | singular |
| v | vowel (e.g. in CvCv) |
| V | verb (in SVO, etc.) |
| Vb | verb |
| VblN | verbal noun |
| VP | verb phrase |

Symbols

| | |
|------------|---|
| * | reconstructed (preceding a form) |
| # | ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested (preceding a form) |
| á, à, â, ã | tones on vowels (or syllables) |
| <...> | contour tones on a single syllable, e.g. <HL> or <LH> |
| /.../ | a) lexical tone melody, e.g. /LH/, /H/ b) underlying or lexical representation |
| {...} | a) tone overlay, e.g. {HL}, {H}, {L} b) enclosing any set, e.g. {u a i} c) in text transcriptions, interpolations (additions) |
| [...] | a) phonetic (IPA) representation, e.g. [bǔ:] b) phrasal grouping (syntactic) |
| ↓ | downstep |
| = | clitic boundary, or tone sandhi across boundary |
| → | prolongation |