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## Grammaire du Kwakum

Elisabeth Njantcho Kouangang

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# Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales

École doctorale n°265

*Langues, littératures et sociétés du monde*

## THÈSE

présentée par

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pour obtenir le grade de **Docteur de l'INALCO**  
en Sciences du Langage : linguistique et didactique des langues

## **A grammar of Kwakum**

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*tfimjá*

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

The data presented in this analysis were transcribed using the IPA notation. The surface forms used in this work are their phonetic realisation. In order to present the morpho-syntactic structure of the language, word boundaries will be materialized with a space while affix boundaries will be marked with a hyphen. In addition, when necessary, the symbol # will be used to mark utterance final position. To avoid noun-verb ambiguity when glossing, verbs are indicated in brackets. Below is the list of the abbreviations used in this work. They follow Leipzig conventions and personal notations.

### List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	adjunct
ADJ	adjective
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CMPT	comparative
COMP	complementiser
CON	connective
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CSC	consecutive
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
FOC	focus

FUT1	immediate future
FUT2	crastinal (i.e. tommorrow's) future
FUT3	remote future
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
IPFV	imperfective
MID	middle
NEG	negation
NLN	nominaliser-linker
O	object
PART	participle
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present
PST1	immediate past
PST2	hodiernal (i.e. today's) past
PST3	hesternal (i.e yesterday's) past
PST4	remote past
Q	question particle
R	recipient

RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
RFL	reflexive
RVS	reversal
S	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SUB	subordinative marker
T	theme
V	verb

As concerns the representation of tones, an acute accent will be used for the level H tone (e.g. *fón* ‘wood’) and a grave accent for L tone (e.g. *bà* ‘cut up’). Following Hyman (2014), I will use a degree symbol ° for unreleased low tone (e.g. *fè°* ‘come’) and a superscript downward arrow for downstep (e.g. *fúʹljé* ‘smoke’).

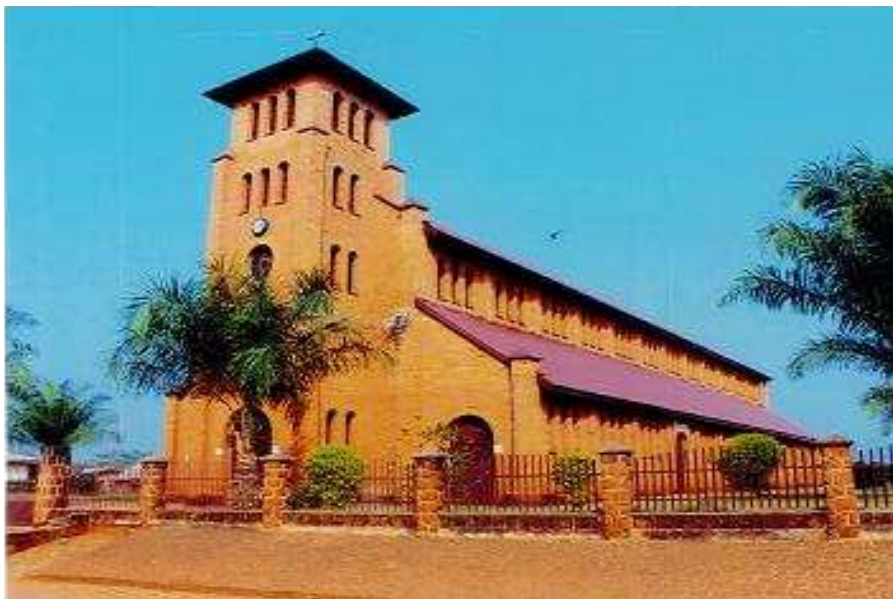
LH contours are represented by an acute+grave accent sequence on long vowels (e.g. *fěé* ‘IMMEDIATE FUTURE’) or a circumflex on short vowels (e.g. *kě* ‘if’). The HL will be transcribed with a grave+acute accent sequence with long vowels (e.g. *káà* ‘madness’) or a hatchcheck on short vowels (e.g. *kàlê* ‘sp. rhythm’).

Given the difficulty in representing some complex tone patterns on a single unit, tone patterns involving two highs or more than two tones will be represented on the vowel and the following segment (e.g. *mbéʹí* ‘door’; *kǎʹí* ‘gun’).

Finally, in underlying representations, floating low and high tones are respectively represented by the superscript letters <sup>L</sup> and <sup>H</sup> while toneless TBUs are represented by means of the absence of a tone mark.



## 1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION



The Cathedral *Sacré-Cœur* of Doumé, one of the hallmarks of the Doume Sub-division

### 1.1 The Kwakum language

#### 1.1.1 Situation

Kwakum (A91, ISO 639-3 kwu, glottocode kwak1266) is a dialect cluster spoken in the East Region of Cameroon. Ethnologue distinguishes four dialects: Baki, Beten, Til and Kwakum, which is the focus of this description. There is a high degree of intelligibility between Kwakum and Til, whereas dialectal variation is stronger between Kwakum, Baki and Beten. The Kwakum variety discussed in this chapter is spoken in the Doume sub-division. It is referred to by its speakers as *kwàkúm*, whose folk etymology for the language name is *kwàj né kúm* ‘generosity and fame/prosperity’. Outside Kwakum communities, including in formal milieus such as the administration, the language is referred to as *Bakum* or *Abakum*.

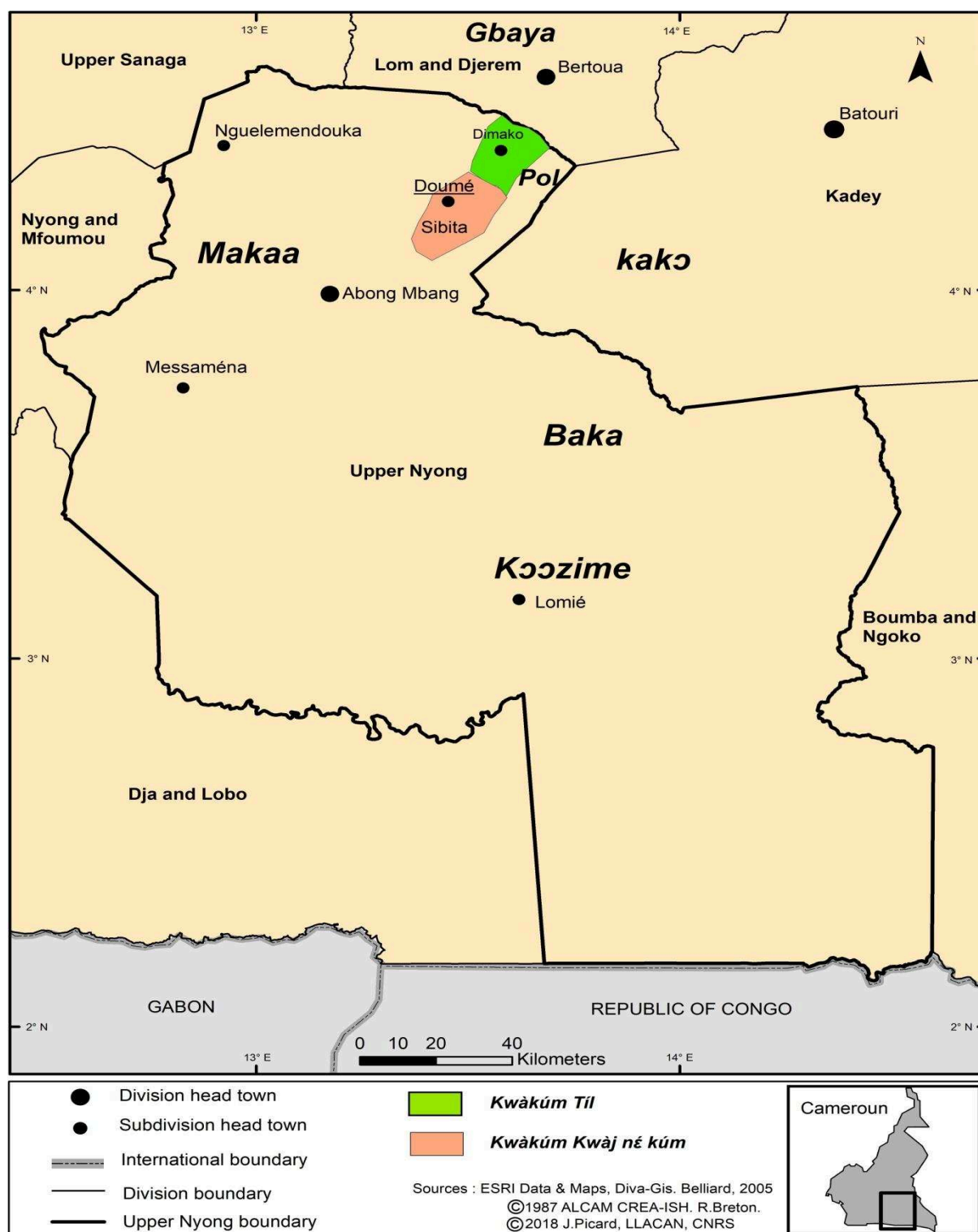
According to a 2013 census by Elecam, the *kwàkúm* dialect has about 7000 native speakers, whose villages are spread around the Doume sub-division (Grand Sibita and Petit Sibita, Grand Paki and Petit Paki, Mendim, Loumbou, Kempong, Kobila, etc.).

Map 1: Localisation of the research area



As it can be observed in Map 2, Kwakum communities share borders with communities speaking Makaa (Bantu A83), Pol (Bantu A92), Gbaya (Gbaya-Ngbaka-Manza) and Baka (Ubangi).

Map 2: Kwakum and its neighbouring languages



Moreover, Kwakum speaking settlements typically have immigrant communities speaking Kako (Bantu A93) and/or languages from the Grassfields area and northern

Cameroon. In this multilingual setting, Kwakum is mainly used in informal or traditional settings (family, market, cultural ceremonies, etc.) while communication in formal contexts (administration, school, etc.) is mostly in French. In addition to these two languages, many Kwakum speakers also speak Ewondo (Bantu A72), Kakɔ (Bantu A91) and/or Gbaya.

The Kwakum history told by its people has it that the Kwakum people came from the savanna area (i.e. toward the north-east of their actual site), where they had to flee from the threatening expansion of the people of the northern part of the country. The actual settlements of Kwakum communities allegedly reflect the different areas where they settled and parted<sup>1</sup>. Kwakum people mainly live on farming, hunting and fishing, whose products serve for personal or commercial usage.

Kwakum speakers distinguish their language, as it is presently used, from an ancient state of the language referred to as *k̀̀ng̀̀ndí*, mainly used by old people. As noted by Belliard (2005: 56-58), information gathered about *k̀̀ng̀̀ndí* is ambiguous and often contradictory. Actually, some people refer to it as the language used by the Kwakum people before they separated into the different communities they represent today, with their own dialect. For other people, *k̀̀ng̀̀ndí* is a coded language used for initiation. There are people who also use the term *k̀̀ng̀̀ndí* to refer to the *Til* dialect spoken in the Dimako subdivision (Belliard 2005: 57). Conversely, for other people, *k̀̀ng̀̀ndí*, which they qualify as the ‘authentic’ language, refers to the *kwàj né kúm* dialect spoken in the Doume area and cannot be associated to the *Til* dialect. However, where testimonies about the *k̀̀ng̀̀ndí* language converge is that it is full of symbolic and stylistic devices.

### 1.1.2 Linguistic classification

Johnston (1919/1922) cited by (Maho 1999: 32) considers Kwakum as a semi-Bantu language. The language is classified by Guthrie (1971) under the A90 group, alongside with Pol (A92) and Kakɔ (A93). I will keep Guthrie’s classification, since it is the most widely used.

---

<sup>1</sup> More on the history of the Kwakum people is discussed in Belliard (2005).

## 1.2 History, goal and method

### 1.2.1 History

This research work was carried out as part of the research projects BantuTyp (granted by USPC) and LC2 Areal phenomena in Northern sub-Saharan Africa of the Labex EFL (ANR-10-LABX-0083). The goal of this project was to carry a grammatical analysis of three typologically different north-west Bantu languages which could serve as a starting point for research in Typology and Areal Linguistics. I found the Kakɔ group (Bantu A90) particularly interesting given its location in the macro-Sudan belt, a contact zone between different language families on the one hand, and because of the innovations that the other A90 languages present on the other hand. Within the A90 group, Kwakum held my attention because it was the least described of the three A90 languages, Polri (Wega Simeu 2012) and Kakɔ (Ernst 1992, 1994, 1995) having already benefited at least from a grammatical analysis each.

Although being a Cameroonian, I had never heard about Kwakum before. I had my first contact with the language through the works of Belliard (2005, 2007) who wrote a grammatical sketch of the language, his primary research interest being an ethno-musicological study of the Kwakum people.

### 1.2.2 Goal and method

This study aims at providing a synchronic analysis of Kwakum that will (hopefully) serve as a solid base for future research on the language. The data used for this grammatical analysis were collected by me between 2014 and 2018 from Kwakum speakers living in Grand Sibita. These data consist of about 53 hours of recordings, containing elicited materials as well as a corpus of transcribed spontaneous speech (narrative and procedural texts, speeches, etc.). The recordings were made during my two field trips (which lasted 156 days for the first and 117 days for the second) and during my holidays in Cameroon. The data collected in the field were supplemented with hours of telephonic working sessions with my consultants, mainly dedicated to additional elicitation and some verification. The elicitation material included questionnaires inspired from existing ones (Max Planck Institute, Bouquiaux & Thomas 1976). The mass of data was organised into a lexical database of 1990 entries whose fields provide various information such as the part of speech, the syllable structure, the tonal behaviour, the agreement prefixes, etc.

My main consultants were Simon Charles Ndengue Ndengue, Nicolas Sibita and Paul Nargaba. The first two consultants had already worked with Belliard. This helped me carry out my field work with (relative) ease. Occasionally, I consulted other speakers in order to inquire or verify some problematic issues. Their names are listed in the section dedicated to acknowledgements.

The analyses presented in this thesis were carried out following a combination of methodologies and theories. I was influenced by various linguistic trends among which Tonology (Hyman 2014, Kisseberth & Odden 2003, Goldsmith 1976), Typology (Shopen 2007; Dryer 2007, Creissels 2006a, 2006b; Croft 2001, Steele 1978), Bantu studies (Devos & Van der Auwera 2013, Van de Velde 2013, Nurse & Philippson 2003, Maho 1999, Comrie 1976, Guthrie 1971 and 1967/1971), Constructionalization (Smirnova 2015, Traugott & Trousdale 2013), Agreement (Barlow 1992, Corbett 2006, Siewierska, A. 1999). Although most of these works were not directly related to Kwakum, they helped me to better organise my data and guided my analysis. In addition, the organisation of this work was mainly inspired by the grammar of Eton (Van de Velde 2008) and the grammar of Nzadi (Crane, Hyman & Tukumu 2011). There is an on-going research on Kwakum, carried out by Dave and Stacey Hare.

During my research, I noticed some variability in the speech of my consultants which, however, does not necessarily correlate to socio-linguistic factors such as age, origin or social status. This variability will be described using the indefinite pronouns ‘some’ and ‘others...’ (e.g. some consultants / some of them....others...).

### 1.2.3 Limitation of the study

Since this Kwakum grammar was written in a relatively short period as compared to the complexity of the language, I thought it important to point out the limitation of this work.

Most of the data analysed has come from elicitation. In order to overcome this in part, I have also collected 9 texts of different genres. Having more texts to exploit could have given more information on how speakers use Kwakum in interactional situations.

## 2. THE SOUND SYSTEM

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the segmental phonology of Kwakum. It is structured as follows: Sections 2.2 and 2.3 discuss vowels and consonants respectively, focussing on their inventory and functional opposition in (near-)minimal pairs. Syllable structure is the main concern of Section 2.4 while Section 2.5 discusses phonotactics, i.e. the distribution of segments within the syllable. Section 2.6 presents syllable combination. Finally, Section 2.7 is concerned with the phonological rules attested in the language. Tone will be discussed in Chapter 3.

### 2.2 The vowel system

#### 2.2.1 Phonemic inventory

As illustrated in Table 1, Kwakum has a seven vowel system with distinctive vowel length.

Table 1: vowel phonemes

	<b>front</b>	<b>back</b>
high	i ii	u uu
mid-high	e ee	o oo
mid-low	ɛ ɛɛ	ɔ ɔɔ
low	a aa	

/i, e, ɛ/ are front and unrounded, /u, o, ɔ/ are back and rounded, and /a/ is central and unrounded. /o/ and /ɔ/ are in free distribution in many stems (1). However, there are minimal pairs which show that /o/ and /ɔ/ also function as distinctive phonemes (2).

(1) /p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò/ ~ /p<sup>h</sup>òŋgɔ/ ‘maize’

(2) /kòl<sup>H</sup>/ ‘leg’ vs. /kəl<sup>H</sup>/ ‘rope’

This scenario is not strange within the Bantu family. As (Van de Velde 2008: 15) notes for Eton,

“[t]he opposition between the vowels of the second and the third degree carries a low functional load [...]. There exist minimal pairs, but there are many other stems in which /ɔ/ and /o/ alternate freely (...)”.

Finally, the vowel /i/ occurs in some stems. Since no minimal pair has been found so far, [i] will be analysed as an allophone of /i/.

Finally, there is an extra short /u/, represented as [ũ], which exclusively occurs in three-syllable words. [ũ] is always found in the immediate proximity of the labio-velar glide /w/ occurring either before (3) or after (4) /w/. [ũ] will be treated as an allophone of /u/.

(3) a. ì.dʒá.fǔ.wè      ‘light’  
 b. tà.tǔ.wàà      ‘implore’  
 c. dó.ndǔ.wè      ‘grow’  
 d. fí.kǔ.wàà      ‘hiccup’ (v)

(4) a. té.wǔ.lè      ‘stand’(v)  
 b. ká.wǔ.fù      ‘eyelash’  
 c. té.wǔ.fè      ‘show’ (v)  
 d. pè.wǔ.là      ‘plant’

### 2.2.2 Functional opposition

Functional opposition between vowel phonemes is illustrated by the following (near-) minimal pairs. In many cases, I couldn’t find a minimal pair with identical tones.



**/i/: short high front unrounded**

/i/ vs. /u/

/pìl/ ‘blister’

/p<sup>h</sup>ùl/ ‘hair’

/i/ vs. /ii/

/dʒì<sup>H</sup>/ ‘COPULA’/dʒì<sup>H</sup>/ ‘excrement’

/i/ vs. /e/

/ʃì<sup>H</sup>/ ‘FOCUS’/ʃè<sup>H</sup>/ ‘come’

/i/ vs. /a/

/ʃì<sup>H</sup>/ ‘FOCUS’

/ʃà/ ‘tree (sp.)’

**/u/: short high back rounded**

/u/ vs. /e/

/dùm/ ‘mosquito’

/dém<sup>L</sup>/ ‘tongue’

/u/ vs. /o/

/kùl/ ‘strength’

/kòl<sup>H</sup>/ ‘leg’

/u/ vs. /uu/

/bùùfè/ ‘gather’

/î-búfè<sup>L</sup>/ ‘ash’**/e/: short mid-high front unrounded**

/e/ vs. /o/

/fén<sup>L</sup>/ ‘handle’

/fón/ ‘wood’

/e/ vs. /ee/

/kè/ ‘what’

/kèè/ ‘say’

/e/ vs. /aa/

/pé<sup>L</sup>/ ‘indifference’

/pàà<sup>H</sup>/ ‘offspring’

**/o/: short mid-high back rounded**

/o/ vs. /u/

/kòl<sup>H</sup>/ ‘leg’

/kùl/ ‘strenght’

/o/ vs. /ɔ/

/kòl<sup>H</sup>/ ‘leg’

/kòl<sup>H</sup>/ ‘rope’

/o/ vs. /oo/

/lò/ ‘grow’ (plant)

/lòò/ ‘target something’

**/ɛ/: short mid-low front unrounded**

/ɛ/ vs. /e/

/péŋ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘side’

/péŋ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘wound’

/ɛ/ vs. /a/

/bèl/ ‘tight’

/bàl/ ‘game of chance’

/ɛ/ vs. /ii/

/dʒè<sup>H</sup>/ ‘3SG’

/dʒì<sup>H</sup>/ ‘excrement’

**/ɔ/: short mid-back back rounded**

/ɔ/ vs. /u/

/p<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃l<sup>H</sup>/ ‘leaf’/p<sup>h</sup>ùl/ ‘hair’

/ɔ/ vs. /ɔɔ/

/ɲɔ/ ‘snake’

/ɲɔɔ<sup>l</sup>/ ‘suck’**/a/: short low front unrounded tense**

/a/ vs. /e/

/pàŋ<sup>H</sup>/ ‘sp. monkey’

/pèŋ/ ‘flood’

/a/ vs. /ɛ/

/î-kàŋ/ ‘shelf’

/î-kèŋ/ ‘knives’

/a/ vs. /aa/

/kà/ ‘vertebral column’

/k<sup>h</sup>àà/ ‘traditional doctor’**/ii/: long high front unrounded**

/ii/ vs. /i/

/dʒi<sup>h</sup>/ ‘excrement’/dʒi<sup>H</sup>/ ‘COPULA’

/ii/ vs. /ɛɛ/

/lí<sup>l</sup>/ ‘go black’

/lèè/ ‘dress’ (tr.)

/ii/ vs. /aa/

/dʒi<sup>h</sup>/ ‘excrement’

/dʒàà/ ‘exaggerate’

**/uu/: long high back rounded***/uu/ vs. /u/**/bùùfè/* ‘gather’*/î-búúfè<sup>L</sup>/* ‘ash’**/ee/: long mid-high front unrounded***/ee/ vs. /e/**/î-kèè/* ‘egg’*/kèè/* ‘what’*/ee/ vs. /εε/**/kèè/* ‘say’ (v)*/kèè/* ‘shave’ (tr)*/ee/ vs. /oo/**/kèè/* ‘say’ (v)*/kòò/* ‘HESTERNAL PAST’*/ee/ vs. /aa/**/kèè/* ‘say’ (v)*/k<sup>h</sup>àà/* ‘traditional doctor’**/oo/: long mid-high back rounded***/oo/ vs. /ee/**/dòò/* ‘live’ (v)*/déé<sup>L</sup>/* ‘throw’ (v)*/oo/ vs. /ɔɔ/**/kòò/* ‘HESTENAL PAST’*/kòò/* ‘again’*/oo/ vs. /ee/**/î-dòò/* ‘live’ (v)*/î-déé<sup>L</sup>/* ‘throw’ (v)

**/εε/: long mid-low front unrounded**

/εε/ vs. /ε/

/î-ʃέε/ ‘sand’

/î-ʃè/ ‘raffia’

/εε/ vs. /ii/

/dʒέέ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘see’/dʒìì<sup>H</sup>/ ‘excrement’

/εε/ vs. /aa/

/ʃέέ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘work’/ʃáá<sup>L</sup>/ ‘do’**/ɔɔ/: long mid back rounded lax**

/ɔɔ/ vs. /εε/

/dʒóó<sup>L</sup>/ ‘graze’/dʒέέ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘see’**/aa/: long front unrounded tense**

/aa/ vs. /a/

/k<sup>h</sup>àà/ ‘traditional doctor’

/kà/ ‘vertebral column’

/aa/ vs. / ee/

/k<sup>h</sup>àà/ ‘traditional doctor’

/kèè/ ‘say’

/aa/ vs. /εε/

/ʃáá<sup>L</sup>/ ‘do’/ʃέέ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘work’

## 2.3 Consonant system

### 2.3.1 Phonemic inventory

Kwakum has twenty eight consonant phonemes, including a series of aspirated stops and a series of prenasalised stops. The consonant inventory of Kwakum is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: consonant phonemes

		labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labial-velar
oral stops	- aspirated	p b	t d	tʃ dʒ	k g	kɸ gɸ
	+ aspirated	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tʃ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
fricatives	- aspirated	f (v)		ʃ		
	+ aspirated			ʃ <sup>h</sup>		
nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
prenasalised stops		mb	nd	ɲdʒ	ŋg	ɲmɸgɸ
approximants			l	j		w

The aspirated stops are reflexes of NC clusters, of which the initial N tends to be a class 9/10 prefix that has dropped (5).

- (5) \*N-pígò (9/10) ‘kidney’ > p<sup>h</sup>í<sup>h</sup>kí ‘kidney’  
 \*N-bèdì (9) ‘front’ > p<sup>h</sup>èl° ‘in front’  
 \*N-kákà (9/10) ‘pangolin’ > k<sup>h</sup>à° ‘pangolin’  
 \*N-gáŋgà (1/2, 9/10) ‘medicine man’ > k<sup>h</sup>àà ‘medicine man’

The sequence NC, N being a homorganic nasal is analysed as a prenasalised stop, unlike non homorganic NC sequences which are treated as a string of separate units. This choice is motivated by the fact that Kwakum speakers pause before homorganic NCs unit segments when asked to divide words into syllables, unlike non-homorganic NCs sequences (e.g. *kò.mbò* ‘hill’ vs. *bìm.tàà* ‘return’).

From a historical point of view, the root initial NC “has subsequently been introduced in Bantu languages which have lost root initial \**ji* or \**ji* (...). In other cases, where the stem appears to begin with NC, the nasal may have originally been a prefix” (Hyman 2003: 50). An argument in support of this claim is that stems with initial NC are all



- c. dzàndlàà ~ dzàndràà      ‘move’ (millipede)  
 d. fíndlè ~ fíndrè            ‘knock down’  
 e. tʃéndlè ~ tʃéendrè        ‘candle’  
 f. tándrè ~ tándlè            ‘attach’

Also interesting to note is the presence of the labio-velar plosives /kp/, /gb/ and /ŋmgb/, an areal phenomenon observed in many contiguous genetically unrelated languages found in the Macro-Sudan Belt (Güldemann 2008, Clements & Rialland 2008).

When two identical nasal consonants are adjacent, they merge into one long consonant, unlike A70 Bantu languages like Eton (Van de Velde 2008) where one nasal is deleted. In (13), there is no perceptible distinction between the coda of *fén* ‘handle’ and the Present tense nasal *n*-occurring on the verb *-dètò* ‘be hard’, whose proximity results in a long alveolar nasal. Likewise in (14), the homorganic plural nasal prefix *n̄-* cannot be phonetically separated from the stem initial nasals.

- (13) /fén<sup>L</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-dètò/      →      [fén:dètò] ‘The handle is hard’
- (14) a. /n̄-mbó/              →      [m̄:bó]      ‘hands’  
 b. /n̄-n̄pòŋà/            →      [m̄:pòŋà]    ‘battle song’  
 c. /n̄-n̄náj/                →      [n̄:náj]      ‘varieties of milks’

### 2.3.2 Functional opposition

The data below illustrate functional the opposition between consonant phonemes. As reported for vowels, in many cases, I couldn’t find real contrastive pairs with same tones.

#### **/p/: voiceless bilabial stop**

/p/ vs. /b/

/ì-pàtʃé<sup>L</sup>/ ‘chisel’

/ì-bátʃé/ ‘divorce’

/p/ vs. /k/

/péŋdʒó<sup>L</sup>/ ‘run away’

/kéŋdʒó<sup>L</sup>/ ‘be fragile’



/p/ vs. /m/

/pjà/ ‘verse’

/mjá/ ‘year’

**/p<sup>h</sup>/ : voiceless bilabial aspirated stop**

/p<sup>h</sup>/ vs. /p/

/ p<sup>h</sup>ìŋgá<sup>H</sup>/ ‘groundnut’

/pìŋgá<sup>L</sup>/ ‘blanket’

**/b/: voiced bilabial stop**

/b/ vs. /mb/

/î-béŋ/ ‘downstream’

/mbéŋ/ ‘rod’

/b/ vs. /m/

/bèlò/ ‘plant’ (v)

/mèlò/ ‘swallow’

**/t/: voiceless alveolar stop**

/t/ vs. /d/

/tókìè/ ‘take’

/dókìè/ ‘drill’ (v)

/t/ vs. /l/

/pòtò/ ‘spit’

/pòlò/ ‘sp. tree’

/t/ vs. /k/

/pòtò/ ‘spit’

/pòkó/ ‘sp. fish’

**/t<sup>h</sup>/ : voiceless alveolar aspirated stop**/t<sup>h</sup>/ vs. /t//t<sup>h</sup>/ vs. /k<sup>h</sup>//t<sup>h</sup>à/ ‘COMPARATIVE’/t<sup>h</sup>àà/ ‘sp. rat’

/tà/ ‘who’ (QUESTION PARTICLE)

/k<sup>h</sup>àà/ ‘traditional doctor’**/d/ : voiced alveolar stop**

/d/ vs. /nd/

/d/ vs. /l/

/dàkì/ ‘trigger’

/dòò/ ‘live’

/ndàkì/ ‘sp. flower’

/lòò/ ‘shoot’

**/k/ : voiceless velar stop**

/k/ vs. /ŋ/

/k/ vs. /kp/

bàklè ‘keep’

kàtà ‘part of a forest’

bàŋlè ‘answer’

kpàtà ‘maize beer’

**/k<sup>h</sup>/ : voiceless velar aspirated stop**/k<sup>h</sup>/ vs. /k//k<sup>h</sup>òmbó/ ‘porcupine’

/kómbò/ ‘shallow dish’

**/g/: voiced velar stop****/g/ vs. /gb/****/ŋgáti/ ‘denial’****/gbáti/ ‘deposit’****/g. vs. /ŋg/****/gwóló<sup>L</sup>/ ‘grow’****/ŋgwóló<sup>L</sup>/ ‘tail’****/kp/: voiceless labio-velar stop****/kp/ vs. /p/****/kpófé<sup>L</sup>/ ‘scratch’ (intr)****/pófé<sup>L</sup>/ ‘overflow’ (v)****/kp/ vs. /gb/****/kpàtà/ ‘corn beer’****/gbàtà/ ‘unsuccessful action’****/kp/ vs. /k/****/kpôŋlè/ ‘pick up’ (fruit)****/kôŋlè/ ‘snore’****gb/: voiced labio-velar stop****/gb/ vs. /b/****/gbútlè/ ‘mix’****/bútlè/ ‘uncover’**

**/f/: voiceless labio-dental fricative**

/f/ vs. /ɸ/

/fílɔ̃/ 'pus'

/ɸílɔ̃/ 'menstruate'

/f/ vs. /l/

/fùkɔ̃/ 'knead'

/lùkɔ̃/ 'liven up'

**/v/: voiced labio-dental fricative**

/v/ vs. /l/

/vùkù/ 'flour'

/î-lùkú/ 'respect'

**/l/: alveolar lateral**

/l/ vs. /ɸ/

/lí/ 'go black'

/ɸí/ 'drag one's feet'

/l/ vs. /n/

/làà/ 'stick' (v)

/nàà/ 'trample'

**/ʃ/: voiceless postalveolar fricative**

/ʃ/ vs. /tʃ/

/ʃál/ 'eight'

/tʃál/ 'speed'

/ʃ/ vs. /l/

/ʃámba/ 'row'

/lámba/ 'iron'

**/ʃ<sup>h</sup>/: voiceless aspirated postalveolar fricative**

/ʃ<sup>h</sup>/ vs. /ʃ/

/ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààkò/ ‘wander’

/ʃààkò/ ‘taste’

**/tʃ/: voiceless postalveolar affricate**

/tʃ/ vs. /t/

/tʃémó<sup>L</sup>/ ‘suspect’

/témó<sup>L</sup>/ ‘clear’ (grass)

/tʃ/ vs. /dʒ/

/tʃàkí/ ‘thing’ (SG)

/dʒàʃí/ ‘thing’ (PL)

**/dʒ/: voiced postalveolar affricate**

/dʒ/ vs. /tʃ/

/dʒíkó<sup>L</sup>/ ‘get burned’

/tʃíkó<sup>L</sup>/ ‘allow’

**/tʃ<sup>h</sup>/ : voiceless postalveolar aspirated affricate**

/tʃ<sup>h</sup>/ vs. /k/

/tʃ<sup>h</sup>èè<sup>H</sup>/ ‘forest’

/kèè/ ‘say’ (v)

**/m/: bilabial nasal**

/m/ vs. /n/

/màál<sup>L</sup>/ ‘get close’

/nààlò/ ‘watch’ (v)

/m/ vs. /mb/

/màl/ ‘goiter’

/mbàl/ ‘game (sp.)’

**/n/: alveolar nasal**

/n/ vs. /ɲ/

/nààlò/ ‘watch’ (v)

/ɲààlò/ ‘friend’

/n/ vs. /ŋ/

/kòŋ<sup>H</sup>/ ‘illness’

/kòŋ/ ‘back’ (body part)

**/ɲ/: palatal nasal**

/ɲ/ vs. /n/

/ɲó/ ‘snake’

/nó/ ‘rain’ (v)

**/ŋ/: velar nasal**

/ŋ/ vs. /m/

/kòŋ/ ‘back’

/kòŋm/ ‘sp. drum’

/ŋ/ vs. /w/

/ŋkwòŋ/ ‘pipe’

/kwòŋ<sup>H</sup>/ ‘sp. fish’

**/mb/: voiced prenasalised bilabial stop**

/mb/ vs. /b/

/mb/ vs. /m/

/mbéŋ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘rod’

/kì-bààmó/ ‘salamander’

/ì-béŋ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘downstream’

/kì-bààmò/ ‘scar’

**/nd/: voiced prenasalised alveolar stop**

/nd/ vs. /n/

/nd/ vs. /d/

/bààndò/ ‘peel’

/ndáá<sup>L</sup>/ ‘sp. worm’

/bàànò/ ‘enlighten’

/dáa/ ‘lie’

**/ɲdʒ/: voiced prenasalised postalveolar affricate**

/ɲdʒ/ vs. /mb/

/ɲdʒ/ vs. /ɲ/

/dʒòɲdʒò/ ‘watch’

/kèɲdʒé<sup>L</sup>/ ‘crab’

/ì-dʒòmbó/ ‘sp. meal’

/kèɲé<sup>L</sup>/ ‘cunning’**/ŋg/: voiced prenasalised velar stop**

/ŋg/ vs. /g/

/ŋg/ vs. /nd/

/ŋgwóló<sup>L</sup>/ ‘tail’

/wúŋgà/ ‘call horn’

/gwóló<sup>L</sup>/ ‘grow’

/wúndà/ ‘window’

**/ɲmb/:** voiced prenasalised labio-velar stop

/ɲmgb/ vs /mb/

/ɲmbgɛ̃ŋga/ ‘sp. trap’

/mbɛ̃ŋgà/ ‘handle of an arrow’

**/j/:** palatal approximant

/w/ vs. /j/

/kówo/ ‘sp. tree’

/kòjɔ̃/ ‘pig’

**/w/:** velar approximant

/w/ vs. /k/

/dʒɛ̃wò/ ‘climb’

/dʒɛ̃kò/ ‘put a fetish’

## 2.4 Syllable Structure

The syllable nucleus in Kwakum is either a vowel, a syllabic nasal or lateral. The consonants clusters found in the language are CG, Cl and Cf. There is no straightforward way to identify syllable boundaries where two consonants follow each other. I will consider a complex onset only in those cases where a succession of consonants can occur in utterance initial position. Defined this way, only CG sequences occur as complex onsets. Complex onsets always consist of a consonant followed by /w/ (15) or /j/ (16). If the glide is /w/, the initial consonant has to be velar, the only exception found in my database being *fwiʔje* ‘leave’. In Cf complex onsets, a wider inventory of consonants can occur as the initial consonant, with some restrictions on velars, as the only consonant with a velar feature found



before /j/ is the labiovelar glide /w/. In the examples below, syllable boundaries are marked by a dot.

- (15) a. gwàá.ʼlɔ́ ‘get married’  
 b. kwè.lò ‘cut down (tree)’  
 c. ŋgwó.ʼlɔ́ ‘tail’  
 d. ŋwèŋ.lè ‘persist’

- (16) a. pʰjàà.lò ‘shred’  
 b. bjè.lò ‘greet’  
 c. tà.mbjè ‘good’  
 d. mjá ‘year’  
 e. fjóó ‘swing’ (v)  
 f. pú.ʼljé ‘vapour’  
 g. lá.wjè ‘male initiation’

A complex coda will be understood as a consonant sequence occurring at word boundary. Complex codas mainly occur in non-prepausal position as a consequence of a resyllabification due to synchronic vowel deletion<sup>2</sup>.

As illustrated in (17) and (18), complex codas consist of either C1 or Cʃ sequences. In C1 codas, the initial consonant can be a voiceless stop, a prenasalised stop or a consonantal sonorant (i.e glides excluded). The absence of voiced oral stops is due to the fact that they are restricted to stem initial position. Cʃ complex codas present a restricted number of consonants in the initial position, as initial consonants are either nasals or voiceless stops.

- (17) a. ì.bâml bù.pà      /î-bâmlè bùpà/      ‘to scold the animal’  
 b. ì.béʃl bù.pà      /î-béʃlè bùpà/      ‘to lift the animal’  
 c. kàŋl bú.pà      /kàŋlɔ́ bùpà /      ‘the animal’s root’  
 d. ì.ʃàtl bù.pà      /î-ʃàtlè bùpà/      ‘to divide the animal’  
 e. ì.pópl bù.pà      /î-póplè bùpà/      ‘to cuddle the animal’

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<sup>2</sup>except for *ìʃîŋl* ‘basket (sp.)’ and *kìtèkl* ‘persisting misfortune’ whose complex onset does not result from synchronic vowel deletion. See non-prepausal vowel deletion in Section 2.7.3 of this chapter.

- (18)
- |    |                      |                   |                            |
|----|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | <u>kpàkʃ</u> wàà.mbó | /kpàkʃi w-ààmbó / | ‘my fruit (sp.)’           |
| b. | ì.nùmʃ <u>bù.pà</u>  | /ì-nùmʃè bùpà/    | ‘to sniff the animal’      |
| c. | ì.kâŋʃ <u>bù.pà</u>  | /ì-kâŋʃè bùpà/    | ‘to extinguish the animal’ |
| d. | ì.pûpʃ <u>bù.pà</u>  | /ì-pûp-ʃè bùpà/   | ‘to clean the animal’      |

The list of surface syllable types attested in my Kwakum data are provided in (19), where the focussed syllable is underlined. All logically possible syllable types are attested, except onsetless syllables with a coda (V(V)C).

- (19) Surface syllables in Kwakum
- |    |          |  |
|----|----------|--|
| a. | V(V):    | <u>á</u> .lí.kì ‘whisky’                                     |
|    |          | <u>àá</u> . <sup>4</sup> dʒéé ‘he saw’                       |
| b. | N:       | <u>ɲ</u> .dʒàà° ‘joy’  |
| c. | CV(V):   | <u>tè</u> .tì ‘hundred’                                      |
| d. | Cl:      | pè <u>mí</u> kòò ‘change’ (Past 3)                           |
| e. | CGV(V):  | <u>mjá</u> ‘year’  |
|    |          | <u>ŋgwòò</u> ° ‘brain’                                       |
| f. | CV(V)C:  | ì- <u>tát</u> .lè ‘start’ (v)                                |
|    |          | ì. <u>tàán</u> ‘five’  |
| g. | CGV(V)C: | <u>fjól</u> ‘whistle’  |
|    |          | <u>pjààl</u> .kín ‘shred!’ (2PL.IMP)                         |
| h. | CV(V)CC: | kì. <u>tékl</u> ‘persistent misfortune’                      |
|    |          | ì. <u>gbùùŋl</u> tá <sup>4</sup> .mbú ‘to cultivate a field’ |

## 2.5 Phonotactics

This section looks at the distribution of vowels and consonants within the word. The analysis presented in this section accounts for base forms of stems, i.e. stem forms as they occur in isolation and to which no phonological rule has yet been applied.

### 2.5.1 Vowels

Table 3 and Table 4 present the distribution of vowels in a sample of 826  $CV_1CV_2$  and  $CV_1CCV_2$  underived stems,  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  being short or long vowels. In these tables, the symbol + is meant for regular frequencies (5 tokens and above), the bracketed (+) for marginal frequencies (less than 5 tokens) and the sign - for the absence of occurrence. These tables show that apart from /ɔɔ/ and /aa/, long vowels have a low frequency, occurring essentially as  $V_1$ . Likewise, the mid-high vowels are rare in  $V_2$  position.

In addition, every short vowel can occur as the first vowel of the stem ( $V_1$ ). However there is much restriction on the  $V_2$  position. In  $CV.CV$  stems, (Table 3), with the short mid-low /ε, ɔ/ in  $V_2$  position, every short vowel occur as  $V_1$ . In contrast, when /a/ occurs as  $V_2$ , no mid vowel is found in  $V_1$  position.

Table 3: vowel collocations in bisyllabic words ( $CV_1CV_2$ )

$V_2 \rightarrow$	i	u	e	o	ε	ɔ	a	ii	uu	ee	oo	εε	ɔɔ	aa
$V_1 \downarrow$														
i	+	(+) <sup>1</sup>	-	(+) <sup>2</sup>	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>3</sup>
u	(+) <sup>4</sup>	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
e	+	+	(+) <sup>5</sup>	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>6</sup>
o	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
ε	+	(+) <sup>7</sup>	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>8</sup>
ɔ	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>9</sup>
a	+	+	(+) <sup>10</sup>	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>11</sup>	+
ii	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>12</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
uu	-	(+) <sup>13</sup>	-	-	(+) <sup>14</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>15</sup>
oo	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>16</sup>	(+) <sup>17</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
εε	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>18</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɔɔ	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
aa	(+) <sup>19</sup>	-	-	-	+	+	(+) <sup>20</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>1</sup>*ʃí'pú* 'skirt', <sup>2</sup>*pílò* 'pillow', <sup>3</sup>*dʒìkàà* 'rather', <sup>4</sup>*i-fùmbí* 'orange' and *kùní* 'corn porridge', <sup>5</sup>*i-pèpè* 'bird (sp.)', <sup>6</sup>*fèkàà* 'think' <sup>7</sup>*i-fé'pú* 'paper', <sup>8</sup>*kètáà* 'transport' (v), <sup>9</sup>*tàkàà* 'insult', *ʃòmáà* 'accuse' and *kónáà* 'rough casting material', <sup>10</sup>*kàlè* 'musical repertoire (sp.)', <sup>11</sup>*gbàlòḍ* 'leaf (sp.)', <sup>12</sup>*bíjja* 'beer', <sup>13</sup>*tùùlù* 'donkey', <sup>14</sup>*bùùfè* 'accumulate' and *tùùlè* 'sing', <sup>15</sup>*bèètàà* 'fire' *dʒéékàà* 'wonder' (v) and *lèèʃàà* 'forget', <sup>16</sup>*dʒòḍlè* 'wash', <sup>17</sup>*kì-ʃóóló* 'Ilomba tree', <sup>18</sup>*ʃèé'tfè* 'wasp' and *ʃèèfè* 'smooth' (v), <sup>19</sup>*kì-ḡàáʃí* 'very small'; <sup>20</sup>*káàtá* 'book'.

In CV<sub>1</sub>CCV<sub>2</sub> stems (Table 4), when /ε, ɔ, a, ɔ/ occur as V<sub>1</sub>, (almost) all short vowels can be found in V<sub>2</sub> position. In addition, long vowels are also inexistent in CV<sub>1</sub>CCV<sub>2</sub> stems: only the long vowel /aa/ occurs as V<sub>2</sub> position, with a short vowel always occurring as V<sub>1</sub>.

Table 4: vowel collocations in bisyllabic words (CV<sub>1</sub>CCV<sub>2</sub>)

σ2 \ σ1	i	u	e	o	ε	ɔ	a	ii	uu	ee	oo	εε	ɔɔ	aa
i	-	-	-	-	+	(+) <sup>21</sup>	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
u	-	+	-	-	+	(+) <sup>22</sup>	(+) <sup>23</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
e	-	-	-	-	+	-	(+) <sup>24</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
o	-	(+) <sup>25</sup>	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
ε	-	-	-	(+) <sup>26</sup>	+	(+) <sup>27</sup>	(+) <sup>28</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>29</sup>
ɔ	-	+	-	-	+	+	(+) <sup>30</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>31</sup>
a	(+) <sup>32</sup>	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
ii	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
uu	-	-	-	-	(+) <sup>33</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
oo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
εε	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɔɔ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
aa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>21</sup>*i-fitlò* 'darkness', <sup>22</sup>*pùʃkò* 'mistake' and *kùmbló* 'diarrhoea', <sup>23</sup>*bútkà* 'pan' and *bùlmà* 'big raining season', <sup>24</sup>*kì-vèklà* 'statute', <sup>25</sup>*ʃómtú* 'intelligent', <sup>26</sup>*tèndbò* 'spider', <sup>27</sup>*n-lèḡlò* 'quarrel', <sup>28</sup>*tèḡʃàà* 'tree (sp.)', <sup>29</sup>*dèl'kàà* 'surpass' and *ndèklá'á* 'prayer', <sup>30</sup>*fɔʃlà* 'fishing rod', <sup>31</sup>*bàljàà* 'revenge' (v), *dʒòḡʃàà* 'consult a diviner' and *ʃòktàà* 'catch', <sup>32</sup>*kpàkʃí* 'fruit (sp.)', <sup>33</sup>*gbùùḡlè* 'plow' and *mùùḡlè* 'uproot'.

Finally, a look at the distribution of vowels in my database reveals that long vowels are rare in closed syllables. Short vowels, except /u, o, e/ are frequent in affixes. In contrast, only the long vowels /εε, ɔɔ, aa/ are found in affixes, with /ɔɔ, aa/ occurring exclusively in affixes.

### 2.5.2 Consonants

The present account is based on a sample of 1910 stems. For this sample, I decided to ignore stems which could involve reduplication (e.g. *kì-dzìdzìl* ‘gingiva’, *kì-fâfâmbú* ‘shadow’, etc.) and compound nouns.

The distribution of consonants is summarized in the tables below. The comparison between Table 5 and Table 6 shows that half of the consonant phonemes are restricted to stem-initial ( $C_1$ ) position<sup>3</sup>. These are the aspirated consonants, the labial-velar stops, the labio-dental fricatives, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the voiced oral stops (including the affricates, but excluding the prenasalised stops).<sup>4</sup> For the latter category, I found three exceptions (out of a total of 911 occurrences), including a borrowing and a historical compound: *tèndbò* ‘spider’ (cf. *\*-tândâ* ‘spider (web)’ and *\*-bùbì* ‘spider’), *fílbà* ‘cooking pot’ (< English *silver*), and *-dùgtàà* ‘become tired.’ Whenever the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ occurs outside of  $C_1$  position, it is the onset of a word final syllable *tʃe* (18 out of 88 occurrences in my database), the only exception being *ì-bètʃì* ‘chest’.

In addition, the prenasalised consonants (the labiovelar prenasalised consonant /mɲgb/ being excluded), the lateral /l/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ are more frequent in stem non-initially than stem initially. In contrast, the voiceless oral stops, the fricative /ʃ/ and the palatal nasal /ɲ/ are less frequent as non-initial onset than they are stem initially.

Stem initially, /w/ occurs more frequently as  $C_2$  in complex onsets (84 tokens out of 88) while stem internally, it mainly occurs as a single onset (52 occurrences out of 58), except in *lâwjè* ‘male initiation’ and *fâwjè* ‘cross a river’ where /w/ occupies the  $C_1$  slot of a complex onset.

<sup>3</sup> The only exception being the velar nasal /ŋ/ whose occurrence in stem initial position is limited to the verb *ɲwèɲlè* ‘persist’.

<sup>4</sup> Whenever the succession of symbols <kp> occurs outside of stem initial position, it is the orthographic representation of a succession of /k/ and /p/, as found in a small number of reduplicated stems, such as *kì-pèkpèkì* ‘end’.

Table 5: Word initial onsets (1728 stems)

		labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labial- velar
oral stops	- aspirated	p    b 157 181	t    d 163 87	tʃ    dʒ 76 114	k    g 288 43	kɸ    gɸ 43 23
	+ aspirated	p <sup>h</sup> 24	t <sup>h</sup> 14	tʃ <sup>h 1</sup> 2	k <sup>h</sup> 5	
fricatives	- aspirated	f    (v) <sup>2</sup> 88 4		ʃ 208		
	+ aspirated			ʃ <sup>h 3</sup> 2		
nasals		m 46	n 25	ɲ 48	ŋ <sup>4</sup> 1	
prenasalised stops		mb 51	nd 17	ɲdʒ 1	ŋg 8	ɲmɸɸ <sup>5</sup> 2
approximants			l 85	j 12		w 83

<sup>1</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>èè° ‘forest’, tʃ<sup>h</sup>il° ‘great-grandchild’; <sup>2</sup>vú ‘fruitfulness’, ki-vèklà ‘statue’, ì-vùkù ‘flour’, vùŋò ‘struggle’; <sup>3</sup>ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààkɔ ‘fowl’, ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààkò ‘wander about’; <sup>4</sup>ŋwèŋlè ‘persist’; <sup>5</sup>ŋmgbéngá ‘fishing net’ and ŋmgbàŋ ‘crow’.

Table 6: Word internal onsets

		labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labial- velar
oral stops	- aspirated	p 21	t 89	tʃ 13	k 182	
fricatives	- aspirated			ʃ 94		
nasals		m 52	n 34	ɲ <sup>6</sup> 2	ŋ 16	
prenasalised stops		mb 91	nd 68	ɲdʒ 51	ŋg 36	
approximants			l 301	j 21		w 52

<sup>6</sup>kèpé ‘smart’, kàpè ‘tell a story’

All consonants that are not restricted to stem-initial position are attested as the coda of a closed syllable, except /tʃ/, /ɲdʒ/ and /ŋg/ (Table 7). However, the coda of a word-final syllable has to be a sonorant (Table 8).

Table 7: Word internal codas

		labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labial-velar
oral stops	- aspirated	p 8	t d <sup>7</sup> 16 1		k g <sup>8</sup> 68 1	
fricatives	- aspirated			ʃ 21		
nasals		m 30			ŋ 7	
prenasalised stops		mb 8	nd 16			
approximants			l 7			

<sup>7</sup>*gwódlè* ‘grumble’ ; <sup>8</sup>*dùgtàà* ‘tiredness’

Table 8: Word final codas

		labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labial-velar
nasals		m 43	n 27		ŋ 107	
approximants			l 105	j 12		w 6

Only nasals and the consonants /k, l, tʃ, j, w, f, ʃ, ŋg/ are found in affixes. In reduplicated stems, the base forms a prosodic stem: *pè ~ bèlà* ‘seed’ (cf. *-bèlò* ‘plant, sow’), *pà ~ bàm* ‘disapproval’ (cf. *ì-bàá’mó* ‘reprimand’). The prosodic status of the reduplicant is somewhat ambiguous. If the base starts in a voiced oral stop, it is devoiced in the reduplicant, arguably because voiced stops are restricted to stem-initial position. However, labial-velar stops are allowed in C<sub>1</sub> position of the reduplicant, as in *kpà ~ kpá’tí* ‘scissors’, although they too are normally restricted to stem-initial position.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.6 Syllable combination

This section summarises the syllable shape of verb and noun stems. Detailed accounts of syllable patterns in nouns and verbs are provided in Chapters 4 and 6 respectively. The data in (20), (21), (22) respectively present syllable combinations into mono-, di- and trisyllabic stems. The figures provided in these tables show that disyllabic

<sup>5</sup> A possible explanation for this is that the voiceless labial-velar stop /kp/ is not restricted to stem-initial position, but that it simply has not been found elsewhere in our lexicon due to its low lexical frequency.

stems have the greatest frequency (68.92%), followed by monosyllabic stems (27.43%), the lowest frequency representing trisyllabic stems (3.56%).

The overwhelming majority (83.57%) of monosyllabic stems consist of a heavy syllable. The least frequent syllable type in monosyllabic stems is a super-heavy syllable.

(20) Syllable patterns in one-syllable stems

CVC (223)	CGV (9)
CVV (96)	CGVV (5)
CV (59)	CVVC (2)
CGVC (18)	CVCC (2)

In contrast, 66.53% of disyllabic stems and 66.07% of trisyllabic stems consist of a combination of light syllables. In disyllabic stems, the rarest syllable combinations include those with two heavy syllables, a super-heavy syllable or two syllables with a complex onset each. In contrast, in trisyllabic stems, the least frequent syllable combinations are those with an initial or internal CVV.

(21) Syllable pattern in two-syllables stems

CV.CV (615)	CVC.CCV (6)
CVV.CV (191)	CVV.CVC (4)
CCV.CV (46)	CV.CCVV (3)
CVC.CV (40)	CVV.CVV (3)
CCVV.CV (36)	CVVC.CV (2)
CV.CVV (32)	CCV.CCV (2)
CV.CCV (29)	CCVC.CV (2)
CV.CVC (15)	CCVC.CVV (1)
CVC.CVV (13)	



(22) Syllable pattern in three-syllables

CV.CV.CV (34)      CCV.CV.CV (3)

CVC.CV.CV (6)      CVV.CV.CV (1)

CV.CV.CVV (5)      CVC.CVV.CV (2)

CV.CV.CVC (4)

## 2.7 Phonological rules

### 2.7.1 Palatalisation of /w/

The labio-velar glide /w/ is pronounced [ɥ] before /i/.

(23) a. /gwí/ → [gɥí] ‘die’

b. /ʃwíjé<sup>L</sup>/ → [ʃɥí<sup>L</sup>é] ‘go’

### 2.7.2 Nasalisation

A vowel is nasalised when found before a nasal consonant. In (24) the vowel /a/ is phonetically realised with a nasalisation before the velar nasal /ŋ/.

(24) /m̀pján/ → [m̀pjá̃ŋ] ‘sauce’

### 2.7.3 Homorganic nasal assimilation

The bilabial nasal /m/ is realised as the labiodental nasal [m̥] before a labiodental consonant (25). Likewise, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is realised as the labiovelar nasal [ŋm] when followed by a labiovelar consonant (26).

(25) /m̥fɪŋ/ → [m̥fɪŋ] ‘smart’

(26) /ŋgbàŋ/ → [ŋm̥gbàŋ] ‘crow’

### 2.7.4 Non-prepausal vowel deletion

#### 2.7.4.1 General

In normal speech, there is a high tendency for stems with more than one syllable to lose their final /i/, /u/, /ɛ/ or /ɔ/ in non-prepausal position. Once deletion takes place, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are optionally replaced by epenthetic [ɪ]<sup>6</sup> or /u/ after obstruents. Their choice is determined by the roundness of the preceding vowel: [ɪ] occurs after an unrounded vowel

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<sup>6</sup>Realised as /i/ by some speakers.

(27) while /u/ is required after a round vowel (28a) or the glide /w/ (28b). Either vowel can occur after a bilabial obstruent (29).

(27) /î-bààndò kî-bùmó/ → ìbàànd(î) kibùmó ‘to peel the fruit’

(28) a. /î-bóndó<sup>L</sup> mò-mó/ → ìbónd(ú) mòmó ‘to wait for someone’

b. /î-bíwó<sup>L</sup> mò-mó/ → ìbíw(ú) mòmó ‘to beat someone’

(29) /î-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> tʃàkí/ → ìdàámb(ú) tʃàkí ~ ìdàámb(î) tʃàkí ‘to cook something’

Epenthesis is more recurrent after voiced obstruents (27-29). After a voiceless obstruent, it mainly occurs if the deleted vowel has a high tone, in which case the high tone may be realised on the epenthetic vowel<sup>7</sup> (30). Epenthesis is not allowed after nasals and the lateral /l/ (31).

(30) a. /î-pààkò nè mò-mó/ → ìpààk(î) nè mòmó ‘to fight with someone’

b. /î-dʒàákó<sup>L</sup> mò-mó/ → ìdʒàák(î) mòmó ‘to plait someone’s hair’

(31) a. /î-kààmò mò-mó/ → ìkààm mòmó ‘to love someone’

b. /î-bàklè tʃàkí/ → ìbàkl tʃàkí ‘to keep something’

As the examples above show, the tone of the deleted vowel surfaces on the available TBU, which can be an epenthetic vowel, (27-30), or a lateral (31). This non-prepausal vowel deletion, which tends to be obligatory for verbs and optional for nouns, is conditioned by three factors: the grammatical category of the word, its syllable structure and the tone of its final vowel. They will be discussed in turn.

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<sup>7</sup>The tone can be deleted as well.

## 2.7.4.2 Word class

CV.Cɔ verbs behave differently from nouns which have an identical syllable structure in that the former systematically delete their final vowel while the latter are not allowed to. In the examples below, final /ɔ/ is deleted in the verbs *tʃilò* ‘write’ (32) and *bòmò* ‘break’ (33) while it is maintained in their homophonous nominal counterparts *tʃilò* ‘gorilla’ (34) and *bòmò* ‘lineage’ (35). In addition, a comparison between (36) and (37) shows that in CV.Cɛ stems, low tone /ɛ/ can be deleted in verbs, but deletion is not possible in nouns. This grammatical factor cannot be verified with final /i/ and /u/ because these vowels do not occur as final vowels in verb stems.

- (32) jí ntʃil tʃàláàwè°  
<sup>H</sup>-jì      n-tʃilò      tʃàl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-1SG   PRS-write   be\_rapid-ADJ  
 ‘I am writing fast.’

- (33) jí mbòm fón  
<sup>H</sup>-jì      n-bòmò      fón  
 PRS-1SG   PRS-write   1.wood  
 ‘I am breaking [some] wood.’

- (34) a. tʃilò ʃàà°  
 tʃilò      ʃàà<sup>H</sup>  
 1.gorilla      village  
 ‘the village gorilla’  
 b. \*tʃil ʃàà°

- (35) a. bòmò íbíndí  
 bòmò      <sup>H</sup>-ì-bíndi  
 lineage      CON-2-boy  
 ‘The boys’ lineage’  
 b. \*bòm íbíndí

- (36) jémpàndz(ì) bùláàwè°  
<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-pàndzè      bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3PL-PRS-quarrel    be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘They quarrel a lot.’
- (37) a. tòndzè dzì tójáàwè°  
 tòndzè              dzì<sup>H</sup>      tój-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.mushroom\_sp    COP      be\_delicious  
 ‘The mushroom (sp.) is delicious.’  
 b. \*tòndz(ù) dzì<sup>H</sup> tójáàwè°

#### 2.7.4.3 Syllable structure

One thing /i/, /u/ /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ have in common is that they can all be deleted in CVC.CV nouns (38-41). However, in stems with light syllables (42-45), deletion is only possible with final /i/ and /u/ (42-43), whereas final /ɔ/ or /ɛ/ are systematically maintained (44-45).

- (38) kpàkɸ bùláàwè°  
 kpàkɸì              bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.fruit\_sp      be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘many fruits (sp.).’

- (39) ʃómt p<sup>h</sup>ààm  
 ʃómtu              p<sup>h</sup>ààm  
 intelligent      1.man  
 ‘an intelligent man.’

- (40) kìtòŋl òdètò  
 kì-tòŋlò              <sup>H</sup>-n-dètò  
 7-tree\_sp      PRS-PRS-be\_hard  
 ‘The tree (sp.) is solid.’

- (41) tʃéndlì dzì púmáàwè°  
 tʃéndlè dzì<sup>H</sup> pùm-áàwè°  
 1.candle COP be\_white-ADJ  
 ‘The candle is white.’
- (42) nè dzìk búláàwè°  
 nè dzìki bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 with 1.river be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘with many rivers’
- (43) kìfèfèmb búláàwè°  
 kì-fèfèmbù bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 7-wall be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘many walls’
- (44) a. nè pùlò búláàwè°  
 nè pùló bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 with 1.rain be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘with much rain’  
 b. \*nè pùl búláàwè°
- (45) a. lèmbè bùláàwè°  
 lèmbè bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.wizard be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘many wizards’  
 b. \*lèmb(ì) bùláàwè° ~ lèmb(ù) bùláàwè°

#### 2.7.4.4 Tone

The tone of the final vowel is also relevant in the conditioning of vowel deletion. A good example is found in nouns where low-tone final /i/ drops after voiced consonants (46). In the same context, /i/ is maintained if it surfaces with a high tone (47). In addition, verb stems containing only light syllables systematically delete and replace their final low-toned /ɛ/ with an epenthetic vowel (48-49). Conversely, high-toned /ɛ/ remains unchanged (50-51).

- (46) p<sup>h</sup>àŋg wààmbó  
 p<sup>h</sup>àŋgì                      w-ààmbó  
 1.squirrel\_sp      PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my squirrel (sp.)’
- (47) a. ndzándzì wààmbó  
 ndzándzì      w-ààmbó  
 1.fruit\_sp      PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my fruit (sp.)’  
 b. \*ndzándzì wààmbó
- (48) áŋdzòf(ù) bùpà  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzòfè                      bùpà  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-hide      1.animal  
 ‘He is hiding the animal’
- (49) ìbjàndz(ì) fááŋdzé  
 ì-bjàndzè      fááŋdzè  
 5-disobey      1.father.3SG.POSS  
 ‘to disobey one’s father’
- (50) a. áŋdzóŋé p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzóŋé<sup>L</sup>                      p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-judge      1.man  
 ‘He is judging the man’  
 b. \*áŋdzóŋú p<sup>h</sup>àâm
- (51) a. ántáŋdzé káàtà  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-táŋdzé<sup>L</sup>                      káàtà  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-read      1.book  
 ‘He is reading the book’  
 b. \*ántáŋdzé káàtà

The data presented above show that tones do have a straightforward influence on the behaviour of their host segments. An argument supporting this claim is that H-toned lexemes like *ndzándzì* ‘fruit (sp.)’, can only drop their final vowel once they take an incoming L from the left, which in (52) is the low tone of the preposition *nè* ‘with, and’. In addition, the examples (53a) and (54a) show that once vowel deletion occurs, the tone surfacing on the syllabic lateral in *kànló* ‘root’ and on the epenthetic vowel in *p<sup>h</sup>jààwó* ‘blood’ is always low, suggesting that the incoming L from the preposition *nè* ‘with, and’ creates a feeding environment for vowel deletion and epenthesis to occur. The lateral in *kànló* ‘root’ and the epenthetic vowel in *p<sup>h</sup>jààwó* ‘blood’ cannot be realised with a H tone as they are tagged ‘weird and unnatural’ by my consultants (53b) and (54b).

- (52) a. *nè ndzàndzì wààmbó*  
       *nè ndzándzì w-ààmbó*  
       with 1.fruit\_sp PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
       ‘with my fruit (sp.)’  
   b. \**ndzándzì wààmbó*

- (53) a. *nè kànlì wààmbó*  
       *nè kànló w-ààmbó*  
       with 1.root PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
       ‘with my root’  
   b. \**kànlí wààmbó*

- (54) a. *nè p<sup>h</sup>jààw(ù) wààmbó*  
       *nè p<sup>h</sup>jààwó w-ààmbó*  
       with 1.blood PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
       ‘with my blood’  
   b. \**p<sup>h</sup>jààwú wààmbó*

Another instance of tone-segment interaction is seen in (55) where the verb *dzòfè* ‘hide’ can no longer delete its final /*ɛ*/ once this verb takes the Imperative LH<sup>l</sup> tone scheme

(56). This analysis predicts that words which cannot take an incoming L like *ifùmbí* ‘orange’ and *tʃɪndʒí* ‘all’<sup>8</sup> cannot drop their final /i/ (57-58).

(55) ándʒɔ̀fù búpà

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dʒɔ̀fè                      búpà

PRS-3SG-PRS-hide      1.animal

‘He is hiding the animal.’

(56) a. dʒɔ̀fɛ́ búpà

dʒɔ̀fɛ́<sup>L</sup>      búpà

hide.IMP    1.animal

‘Hide the animal!’

b. \*dʒɔ̀fú búpà

(57) a. nè ɲfùmbí bùláàwè°

nè              ɲfùmbí<sup>L</sup>      bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>

with      6.orange      be\_many-ADJ

‘with many oranges’

b. \*nè ɲfùmb bùláàwè°

(58) a. nè tʃɪndʒí p<sup>h</sup>àâm

nè              <sup>L</sup>tʃɪndʒí<sup>L</sup>      p<sup>h</sup>àâm

with    every              1.man

‘with every man’

b. \*nè tʃɪndʒ p<sup>h</sup>àâm

The tone factor in non-prepausal vowel deletion in Kwakum constitutes a significant contribution to the debate as whether there can be some interaction between tones and segments. If in most languages studied “tones tend to not interact with other phonological

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<sup>8</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, these words are assumed to end with a floating low tone, marked by the superscript L (/î-fùmbí<sup>L</sup>/ and /<sup>L</sup>tʃɪndʒí<sup>L</sup>/), realised across word boundary which prevents these words from taking an incoming L. See Chapter 3 for discussion on tone.



features” (Liphola & Odden 2000: 177) and “tones behave differently from other features and so can be discussed in relative isolation” (Kenstowicz 1994: 312), recent research works (Manus 2003, Patin 2009) have shown that there are languages where tones trigger gliding and segments do correlate. For instance, in her analysis of Simakonde (Bantu [P23]: Tanzania), Manus (2003) shows that when a noun final vowel ( $V_1$ ) is followed by a demonstrative with initial vowel ( $V_2$ ), it undergoes gliding as a hiatus resolution strategy. However, gliding of  $V_1$  is only possible if the tone of  $V_2$  is identical to the tone of  $V_1$ . Conversely no gliding takes place if both vowels have different tones.

The role of tone in gliding is also discussed in Shingazidja (Bantu [G44a]: Comoros). Based on Cassimjee & Kisseberth (to appear) and his own data, Patin (2009) shows that a high tone may glide after an /a/. He notes that conversely, gliding does not occur when this high vowel has a high tone. Another process associated to tone-segment interaction in Shingazidja is vowel deletion. Out of the four tonal categories of disyllabic roots attested in Shingazidja, only the categories 2 and 3 can lose their final vowel, when occurring in isolation, arguably because they are underlying toneless. In contrast, category 1, which is marked by a high tone final syllable, cannot drop its final vowel.

#### 2.7.4.5 Vowel specific constraints

The previous section discussed the common characteristics of the vowels /i, u, ε, ə/ in non-prepausal vowel deletion. This section is interested in vowel-specific constraints and the exceptions found in my database. Many characteristics presented above may be repeated in this section. Vowel specific constraints are summarised in Table 9 and discussed in details in the following subsections.

Table 9: summary of vowel specific constraints

final vowel	deletes after...
/ĩ/	all consonants
/i/	a voiceless consonant
/ũ/ and /ú/	all consonants
/ɛ̃/	Noun category : a CVC-syllable
	Verb category : all syllable structures
/é/	Noun category : a CVC-syllable
	Verb category : stems with more than two moras
/ɔ̃/	Noun category : a CVC- or CVV-syllable, /w/
	Verb category : all consonants
/ɔ̄/	Noun category : a CVC-syllable
	Verb category : all consonants

## 2.7.5.1.1 The final vowel /i/

Low-toned /i/ can be deleted after every consonant (59-60). The only exception attested in my database is *pìtì* ‘dirt’ where final /i/ is always maintained (61). Conversely, high-tone /i/ can only drop after a voiceless consonant (62). It is maintained when preceded by a voiced consonant (63-64).

(59) áŋkè ðmákít(ĩ) wé

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-kè                      ð-mákitì                      w-é  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-go              LOC-LOC-1.market      PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘He is going to that market.’

(60) kìbànd(ĩ) tʃàá<sup>H</sup>mbó

kì-bàndì      tʃ-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 7-land      PP<sub>7</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my land’

(61) a. àdzì né pìtì bùláàwè°  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> nè pìtì bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-COP with 1.dirt be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘It is too dirty.’

b. \*àdzì né pìtì bùláàwè°

(62) p<sup>h</sup>ík ‘wé  
 p<sup>h</sup>íkí<sup>L</sup> w-é  
 1.kidney PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘that kidney’

(63) a. ñfùmbí bùláàwè°  
 ñfùmbí<sup>L</sup> bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 6.orange be\_many.ADJ  
 ‘many oranges’

b. \*ñfùmb(í) bùláàwè°

(64) a. tʃìndzì p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
<sup>L</sup>tʃìndzì<sup>L</sup> p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
 every 1.man  
 ‘every man’

b. \*tʃìndz(ì) p<sup>h</sup>àâm

#### 2.7.5.1.2 The final vowel /u/

Unlike final /i/, final /u/ drops in non pre-pausal position, irrespective of its tone and the phonetic characteristics of the preceding consonant (65-70). The only exception found so far is *kìkùṅgí* ‘fish (sp.)’, where vowel deletion is not allowed.

(65) áṅkèè káwɸ(ù) wèè°  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-kèè káwɸù w-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-shave 1.eyelash PP<sub>1</sub>.3SG.POSS  
 ‘He shaves eyebrows.’

(66) àdʒì né tùlù mótù°

à-dʒì<sup>H</sup> nè tùlù mótù<sup>H</sup>

3SG-COP with 1.donkey one

‘He has one donkey.’

(67) bùpá ñkètáà mbàwùt dòwéñ

bùpà <sup>H</sup>-n-kètáà mbàwùt dòw-éñ

1.animal PRS-PRS-carry 1.load be.heavy-PART

‘The animal is carrying a heavy load.’

(68) àá<sup>H</sup>dʒéé ñkút bùl-áàwè°

à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒéé ñkútu bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>

3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2 6.cloud be\_many-ADJ

‘She saw a cloud.’

(69) àá<sup>H</sup>dʒéé támb jós

à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒéé támbú<sup>L</sup> j-ós<sup>L</sup>

3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1.farm PP<sub>1</sub>.DEM

‘She saw that farm.’

(70) àá<sup>H</sup>fé kóp ðkípèpèmbù

à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fé kópú<sup>L</sup> ð-<sup>H</sup>-kì-pèpèmbù

3SG-PST2-PST2-put.PST2 1.cup LOC-LOC-7-wall

‘He put the cup on the wall.’

### 2.7.5.1.3 The final vowel /ɛ/

In the noun category, /ɛ/ can only be deleted after a heavy CVC syllable (71). Unexpectedly, deletion is not permitted when the preceding syllable is CVV (72-73) or in words which have only light syllables (74).

- (71) àdʒì kéŋw(ù) mótònó  
 à-dʒì<sup>H</sup>      kéŋwè      <sup>H</sup>-mò-òno  
 3SG-COP      smart      CON-1-child  
 ‘He is a smart child.’
- (72) a. àá<sup>H</sup>ʃéé né kòðwé dètéŋ  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-ʃéé      nè      kòðwé<sup>L</sup>      dèt-éŋ  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-work.PST2      with      1.sickle      be\_hard-PART  
 ‘He worked with a hard sickle.’  
 b. \*àá<sup>H</sup>ʃéé né kòðw(ù) dètéŋ
- (73) a. àá<sup>H</sup>dʒí kòðndè bùláàwè°  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒí      kòðndè      bùl-ààwè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-eat.PST2      1.plantain      be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘He ate too much plantain.’  
 b. \*àá<sup>H</sup>dʒí kòðnd(ù) bùláàwè°
- (74) a. àá<sup>H</sup>dʒéé ʃúké mótù°  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒéé      ʃúké<sup>L</sup>      mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2      1.mouse\_sp      one  
 ‘He saw one mouse (sp).’  
 b. \*àá<sup>H</sup>dʒéé ʃúk mótù°

In the verb category, low-toned /ɛ/ is deleted irrespective of the syllable pattern of the verb stem (75-77). In contrast, high-toned /ɛ/ can only be deleted in stems which have more than two moras. Compare examples (78)-(79) with example (80).

- (75) áɲdʒòfù bùpà  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dʒòfè                      bùpà  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-hide      1.animal  
 ‘He is hiding the animal.’
- (76) áɲtʃáà(í) gwòmó  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-tʃáà-fè                                      gwò-mó  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-be\_rapid -CAUS      2-person  
 ‘He encourages people.’
- (77) áɲ<sup>+</sup>dʒékùw(ù) tàmbjè  
<sup>H</sup>-à-ń-dʒékùwè                      tàmbjè  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-lean\_back      good  
 ‘She is leaning back correctly.’
- (78) àá<sup>+</sup>kpómí tʃáláàwè°  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-kpómle                      tʃàl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-peck.PST2      be.rapid-ADJ  
 ‘It pecked quickly.’
- (79) àá<sup>+</sup>dʒékùw(ú) tàmbjè  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒékuwè                      tàmbjè  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-lean\_back.PST2      good  
 ‘She leaned back correctly’
- (80) àá<sup>+</sup>dʒófè tàmbjè  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒófè                      tàmbjè  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-judge.PST2      good  
 ‘She judged well.’

#### 2.7.5.1.4 The final vowel /ɔ/

Like final /ɛ/, the behaviour of /ɔ/ varies from one grammatical category to another. In nouns, final /ɔ/ (regardless of its tone) is deleted when the preceding syllable is a CVC.

- (81) àfɛ́ɛ́ʃéé́ ìfítl̩ tʃɪ̀ndzɪ́  
 à-fɛ́ɛ́<sup>L</sup>      ʃéé́<sup>L</sup>      ì-fítl̩      <sup>L</sup>tʃɪ̀ndzɪ́<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-FUT1    work    5-night    every  
 ‘He will work every night’ .

- (82) bǎŋl̩ dzì té  
 bǎŋl̩<sup>L</sup>    dzì<sup>H</sup>    tɛ́<sup>H</sup>  
 1.clod    COP    there  
 ‘The clod is there.’

Still within the noun category, when the preceding syllable has a long vowel, only final /ɔ̃/ is allowed to drop (83). As discussed in Section 2.7.4.4, *p<sup>h</sup>jààwɔ́* ‘blood’ cannot drop its final /ɔ̃/ unless it takes an incoming low tone from the left.

- (83) a. áɲ<sup>+</sup>dʒéé́ p<sup>h</sup>jààw(ù) né j̀tʃíkí  
           <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dʒéé́<sup>L</sup>            p<sup>h</sup>jààwɔ́      nè      j̀tʃíkí  
           PRS-3SG-PRS          1.blood      with    6.water  
           ‘He sees blood and water.’  
 b. \*áɲ<sup>+</sup>dʒéé́ p<sup>h</sup>jààwú né j̀tʃíkí

With bimoraic disyllables (i.e. stems with two light syllables), deletion of /ɔ̃/ can only occur after the labiovelar glide /w/. In the examples (84) and (85), *kiléwɔ́* ‘baby’ and *dʒòwɔ́* ‘day’ are allowed to drop their final vowels only once they have taken a low tone. In addition, if the preceding consonant is any consonant other than /w/, no deletion is observed (86-87), the only exception in my database being *kìdɛ́<sup>4</sup>lɔ́* ‘garment’ (88).

- (84) a. àáʃè né kílèw(ù) kòòkòò  
           à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-ʃè<sup>H</sup>                              nè      kì-léwɔ́      kòòkòò  
           3SG-PST2-PST2-come.PST2    with    7-baby      yesterday  
           ‘She came with the baby yesterday.’  
 b. \*àáʃé né kíléw(ú) kòòkòò

- (85) a. òd̩zòw(ù) mákítì  
 ò-d̩zòwó      <sup>H</sup>-mákítì  
 LOC-1.day      CON-1.market  
 ‘on the market day.’  
 b. \*òd̩zòw(ú) mákítì
- (86) a. àbèkòò nè ìfót̩ kòòkòò  
 à-bè<sup>H</sup>      kòò   nè   ì-fót̩<sup>L</sup>      kòòkòò  
 3SG-be.PST3   PST3   with   5-illness\_sp   yesterday  
 ‘He suffered from an illness (sp.) yesterday.’  
 b. \*àbèkòò nè ìfót̩(ú) kòòkòò
- (87) a. àáfè né fóló mótù°  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup>      nè fóló<sup>L</sup>      mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come.PST2   with   1.bench   one  
 ‘She came with one bench.’  
 b. \*àáfé né fól mótù°
- (88) kìdél kìmóòńó  
 kì-déló<sup>L</sup>      kì-<sup>H</sup>-mò-ńó  
 7-garment      PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1-child  
 ‘the child’s garment’

It is in the verb category that deletion of final /ɔ/ takes place in the most systematic manner: /ɔ/ drops regardless of the stem syllable structure or the tone of the final vowel.

- (89) àátòmb(ù) tʃáláàwè°  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-tòmbò<sup>H</sup>      tʃál-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-recover.PST2      be\_rapid-ADJ  
 ‘He recovered quickly.’



- (90) àá'dáám̩b(ú) tʃááláàwè°  
 à<sup>H</sup>-à<sup>H</sup>-dáám̩bɔ                      tʃál-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-cook.PST2          be\_rapid.ADJ  
 'He cooked quickly.'
- (91) á̩ndzìl ìtòó 'tée  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzìlɔ̩                      ì-tòó<sup>L</sup>                      tée  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-stay      5-house                      in  
 'He stays in the house.'
- (92) kìbùmò tʃé á̩n'dzól gwòmó  
 kì-bùmó                      tʃ-é                      <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzóló<sup>L</sup>                      gwò-mó  
 7-fruit                      PP<sub>7</sub>-ANAPH                      PRS-3SG-PRS-kill                      2-person  
 'As for that fruit, it kills people.'

My database contains some lexical exceptions: the verbs *tààkò* 'take' and *bí'wó* 'beat' which lose either their final vowel or the entire syllable itself (93-94).

- (93) brík' nàá táàk 'jí dzì dówáàwè° ~ brík' nàá 'tá 'jí dzì dówáàwè°  
 bríkí<sup>L</sup>    nì<sup>H</sup>-àà                      tààkò<sup>H</sup>                      jí<sup>L</sup>                      dzì<sup>H</sup>                      dów-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.brick    1SG-PST2-PST2                      take.PST2                      SUB                      COP                      be.heavy-ADJ  
 'The brick I took is heavy.'
- (94) jém'bíwú jè° ~ jém'bí jè°  
<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-bíwó<sup>L</sup> = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3PL-PRS-beat = 3SG  
 'They are beating him.'

Likewise when occurring non-finally, the nouns *mòmó* 'person' and *tòlò* 'bed' are often realised as *mò* and *tò~tòŋ* respectively.

## 2.8 Morphophonological rule

Nasals assimilate to a following consonant in place of articulation if a morpheme boundary separates the two consonants. For example, after the deletion of the final /ɔ/ of the noun *m̀̀-̀̀nɔ* ‘child’ in (95), the final consonant of the stem assimilates the place of articulation of the following bilabial stop. In (96), the present marker *n-* is assimilated in place of articulation to the following labio-velar consonant.

- (95) *m̀̀̀̀m pʰàầm*  
*m̀̀-̀̀nɔ pʰàá̀m*  
 1-child 1.man  
 a. ‘boy’  
 b. ‘the man’s child’

- (96) *áŋmʰgbóʰndɔ*  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-gbóndɔ<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-bark  
 ‘It is barking.’

### 3. TONES

#### 3.1 Introduction

This section provides a description of the tone system which is easiest to describe when one takes the tone bearing unit (TBU) to be the mora. Although the recognition of floating tones and the identification of tone rules provide insight into much of the tonology, there are parts of the grammar where tonal processes are idiosyncratic or non-concatenative. This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 3.2 discusses the tone inventory both at the underlying and surface levels. This section also presents the distribution of tone patterns within monosyllabic and disyllabic stems. Section 3.3 deals with the two tonal processes attested in my analysis: Tone Movement (Floating tone association and Tone Spreading) and Downstep. Finally Section 3.4 addresses some puzzling tone related phenomena which require more investigation.

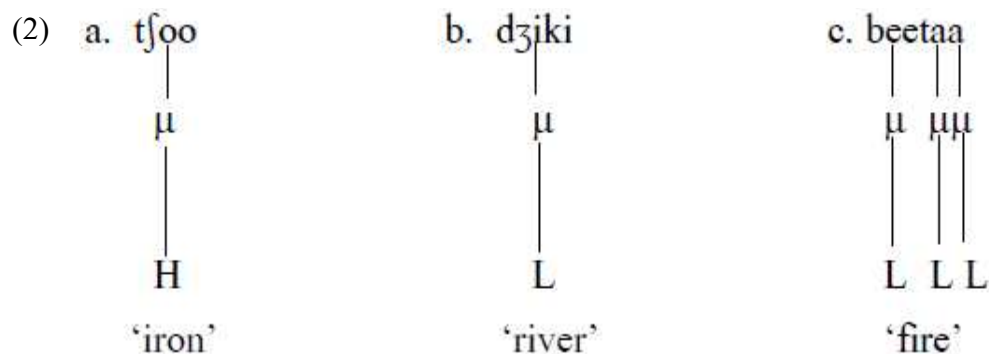
#### 3.2 Tone inventory

I will analyse the underlying tone system as having a three way opposition between high, low and zero (H vs. L vs.  $\emptyset$ ), both high and low tones being phonologically active. Some illustrations are provided in (1).

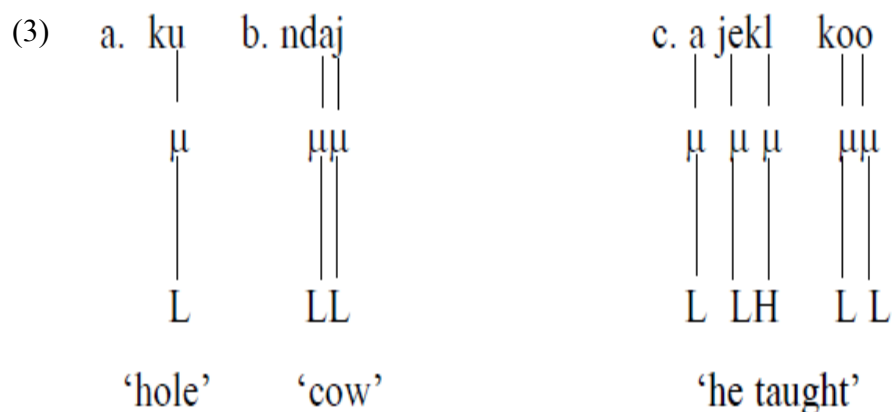
- (1) a. dɔ̌  
       |  
       μ  
       |  
       H  
       'sleep'
- b. kù  
       |  
       μ  
       |  
       L  
       'hole'
- c. mɛ̃  
       |  
       μ  
       REMOTE PAST

The need for positing underlyingly toneless TBUs is demonstrated when discussing tonal processes in Section 3.3. A stem-initial TBU must be either /H/, as in (2a, b) or /L/ as in (2c). The only exceptions found are the pronominal objects *-ɛɛ* (1SG) and *-ɔɔ* (2SG) that I

will consider as entirely toneless, given their tonal behaviour. I shall come back to them below<sup>9</sup>.



As mentioned in the introductory section, I assume that the tone bearing unit is the mora which can be associated to a vowel (3a), or a sonorant (3b-c).



There is a high tendency for syllabic nasals to lose their syllabicity when immediately preceded by a TBU (i.e. a vowel or a sonorant). Their tone is phonologically realised on the preceding TBU. In the examples below, the floating high tone of the present tense which theoretically attaches to the present tense homorganic nasal can also be realised on the preceding TBU in (4).

<sup>9</sup> Although long vowels consist of a single unit linked to two moras, I will write VV for clarity.

- (4)      b̀̀p̀̀à m̀̀b̀̀èè j̀̀ì ~ b̀̀p̀̀á m̀̀b̀̀èè j̀̀ì  
           b̀̀p̀̀à            <sup>H</sup>-n-b̀̀èè            j̀̀ì  
           1.animal    PRS-PRS-follow    1SG  
           ‘the animal is following me’

On the surface, the number of tone levels is higher, due to downstep of high tones and to the fact that there is a difference in pronunciation of pre-pausal low tones depending on whether they are followed by a floating high or not. If they are, their pronunciation is level (or unreleased). If they are not, they are realised low-falling. In addition, High and Low may combine to produce HL (falling) and LH (rising). Some illustrations are provided in (5) where floating tones are represented by superscript letters. There are no OCP restrictions in Kwakum as all combinations of H and L tones are possible.

(5) surface	underlying	gloss
a. L: b̀̀àl	/b̀̀àl/	‘game (sp.)’
b. L <sup>°</sup> : k̀̀l <sup>°</sup>	/k̀̀l <sup>H</sup> /	‘rope’
c. H: d̀̀z̀̀íkí	/d̀̀z̀̀íkí/	‘wood’
d. <sup>°</sup> H: ʃ̀̀ú <sup>°</sup> l̀̀jé	/ʃ̀̀ú <sup>L</sup> l̀̀jé/	‘frog (sp.)’
e. LH: k̀̀ì-k̀̀l̀̀	/k̀̀ì-k̀̀l̀̀ <sup>L</sup> /	‘hedgehog’
f. HL: k̀̀ùl	/k̀̀ùl/	‘wind’

The presence of the floating H also becomes apparent in non-prepausal position, where it attaches to the following TBU. Words with a final floating L exist as well. Its presence can only be observed in non-prepausal position, where the floating L attaches to the following TBU and blocks the spread of any preceding H tone. I will have more to say on this issue when discussing tonal processes in Section 3.3.

On top of lexically specified floating tones, Kwakum has an initial L boundary tone, marked by a superscript <sup>L%</sup> that can always be optionally inserted in utterance initial position as illustrated in the autosegmental representation in (6).

- (6) /<sup>L%</sup>f̀̀ón b̀̀l̀̀-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ → f̀̀ón búláàwè<sup>°</sup> ‘much wood’

The lexical function of tone is illustrated in the contrastive sets provided in (7). Example (8) shows that Kwakum has tonal morphemes such as the connective marker in (8a) or the present tense marker in (8b).

(7) a. bàl ‘game (sp.)’

bàl° ‘tree (sp.)’

b. ì-kè.tʃè ‘hang’ (tr.)

ì-ké.tʃè ‘dye’

ì-ké.ʔtʃé ‘cut oneself’

c. táŋ ‘white person’

táʔŋ ‘price’

d. ì-ɲòò.fè ‘reduce’

ì-ɲóò.fè ‘wink’

e. tʰàà.lò ‘grandchild’

táá.ló ‘nephew’

tàá.ʔló ‘dryer’

f. jépʔjé ‘believe’

jépjé ‘belief’

(8) a. búpà móòńó

búpà           <sup>H</sup>-mò-òńó

1. animal      CON-1-child

‘the child’s animal’

b. ámbènò

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-bènò

PRS-3SG-PRS-deny

‘he denies’

As mentioned above, the “unreleased” low tone (L°) is the realisation of a low followed by a floating H before a pause. This floating H might derive historically from vowel deletion (*nàn*° ‘bird’ < \**nàní*). <sup>H</sup>H contrasts with H only after another H. It can occur sentence internally as well as in prepausal position<sup>10</sup>.

Table 10-13 give a comparative overview of the distribution of tone patterns in the noun and verb stems. The number of occurrences is mentioned in brackets.

Table 10: distribution of the surface tone patterns in monosyllabic nouns (total number: 323)

tone pattern	syllable structure	example
L (128)	CV (20)	kù ‘hole’
	CVV (24)	bàà ‘plantain’
	CVC (84)	fjàl ‘daughter-in-law’
H (84)	CV (16)	ì-dzì ‘food’
	CVV (7)	jà-féé ‘work’
	CVC (61)	dzól ‘nose’
L° (75)	CV (6)	ʃà° ‘heart’
	CVV (16)	ngwòò° ‘brain’
	CVC (53)	bàw° ‘grandfather’
H <sup>H</sup> (23)	CVV (12)	ì-fó’ó ‘problem’
	CVC (11)	mbé’í ‘door’
LH <sup>H</sup> (7)	CVC	kǎ’í ‘gun’
LH (2)	CVC	kì-kùl ‘hedgehog’
HL 2	CVV (1)	káà ‘madness’
	CVC (1)	kùl’wind’
HL° (1)	CVV	ì-báá° ‘two’
LHL (1)	CVVC	p <sup>h</sup> àâm ‘man’

<sup>10</sup> See section 3.3.2 for downstep.

Table 11: distribution of the surface tone patterns in monosyllabic verbs (total number: 48)

tone pattern	syllable structure	example
H <sup>+</sup> H (20)	CVV	ʃé <sup>+</sup> é ‘work’
L (19)	CVV (12)	dòò ‘live’
	CV (6)	bà ‘cut up’
	CVC (1)	kèn ‘go
H (6)	CVC	dʒó ‘command’
L° (3)	CV	ʃè° ‘come’

Table 12: distribution of the surface tone patterns in disyllabic nouns (total number: 669)

tone pattern	syllable structure	example
L.L (234)	CV.CV (163)	bùpà ‘meat’
	CVV.CV (30)	ɲààmò ‘animal’
	CVC.CV (25)	kpàkʃì ‘fruit (sp.)’
	CV.CVV(8)	bùmbàà ‘burial’
	CVC.CVV (6)	̀n-làkʃàà
	CVV.CVV (2)	bèètàà ‘fire’
L.H (172)	CV.CV (122)	tùkó ‘suffering’
	CVV.CV (38)	pààlóló ‘paw’
	CV.CVC (5)	ʃòláj ‘snail (sp.)’
	CVC.CV (4)	n-lèŋlóló ‘quarrel’
	CV.CVV (2)	kàlálá ‘fish (sp.)’
	V.CV (1)	mò-ònló
H.H (111)	CV.CV (79)	békí ‘feast’
	CVV.CV (16)	táálóló ‘nephew’
	CVC.CV (11)	ŋgwéŋlóló ‘mongoose’
	CV.CVC (2)	mbáwáj ‘jaw’
	CVC.CV (2)	féʃlǝjé ‘thirst’
	CV.CVV (1)	kónáá ‘clay’
H.L (37)	CV.CV (22)	bíjà ‘beer’
	CVC.CV (10)	jéklè ‘teacher’
	CV.CVC (3)	ɲdzáwùl ‘opponent’
	CVV.CVC (1)	kááʃèl ‘king’
	CVC.CVV (1)	kì-tátlàà ‘origin’
H. <sup>+</sup> H (68)	CV.CV (66)	ɲó <sup>+</sup> tú ‘body’
LH. <sup>+</sup> H (29)	CVV.CV (17)	dòó <sup>+</sup> kó ‘mango’



	CV.CV (11)	pũ'ndó 'flesh'
	CVC.CV (1)	bǎŋ'ló 'clump of earth'
L.H.L (6)	CV.CV (3)	pǔpà 'game (sp.)'
	CVV.CV (1)	kòóndè 'fish (sp.)'
	CVC.CVV (1)	ń-těkjàà 'disturbance'
	CV.CVC (1)	tʃĩŋgàŋ 'fort'
L.HL (3)	CV.CVV (2)	kwàlàà 'mate'
	CV.CV (1)	kàlé 'musical repertoire (sp.)'
H.L.L (2)	CV.CV (1)	kômbè 'guts'
	CVV.CV (1)	káàtà 'book'
L.L° (2)	CV.CV	mòfè° 'sun'
L.'HH (2)	CV.CVV (1)	mbòfá'á 'idea'
	CVC.CVV (1)	ndèklá'á 'prayer'
H.HL (1)	CVC.CVV	kì-bókjàà 'resting place'
H.LH (1)	V.CV	ápě 'wasp (sp.)'
H.HL° (1)	V.CVC	ámôŋ° 'eel'

Table 13: distribution of the surface tone patterns in disyllabic verb stems (total number: 578)

tone pattern	syllable structure	example
L.L (295)	CV.CV (94)	lènò 'cry'
	CVV.CV (71)	bjààndzò 'be sour'
	CVC.CV (61)	tʃimfè 'glorify'
	CV.CVV (39)	dòkàà 'run away'
	CVC.CVV (26)	bòŋlàà 'think'
	CVVC.CV (2)	mùùŋlè 'uproot'
	CVV.CVV (2)	lèèfàà 'forget'
H.'H (95)	CV.CV	bú'kó 'break'
H.L (60)	CVC.CV (47)	tʃóplè 'grab'
	CVC.CVV (11)	tíkjàà 'go with'
	CV.CV (1)	kétfè 'dye'
	CVV.CVV (1)	dzéékàà 'wonder'
H.L.L (45)	CVC.CV (32)	tôŋfè 'fill'
	CVV.CV (11)	ɲóòfè 'wink'
	CVC.CVV (2)	nĩŋlàà 'hum'
LH.'H (49)	CVV.CV	dàá'mbó 'cook'

L.HL (31)	CV.CVV	dòwáà ‘call’
LH.L (2)	CVC.CVV (1)	dělkàà ‘surpass’
	CVC.CVV (1)	těkfě ‘spoil’
LH.HL (1)	CVC.CVV	bǔkláà ‘believe’

From the tables above, it is observed that the Low tone pattern the Low tone pattern is more common than all of the others. Another observation is that contour tones mainly occur in heavy syllables. In addition, the L° and HL° tone patterns occur (almost) exclusively in monosyllabic stems. The HL and LH contour tones are rare in monosyllabic nouns. In disyllabic stems, HL is the most frequent contour tone (46 tokens). HL° only occurs in nouns<sup>11</sup>. Another important aspect of the distribution of contour tones is that contours tend to be followed by a tone that is (almost) identical to their endpoint, as a HL syllable is generally followed by a L and a LH syllable by a °H. In affixes, the tone patterns found are L, H, LH and HL.

### 3.3 Tonal processes

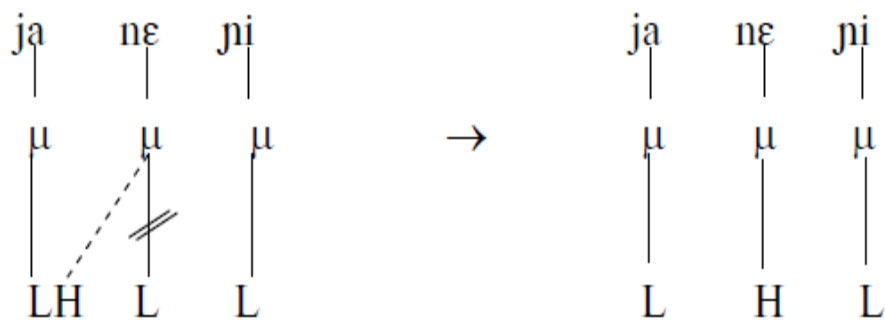
#### 3.3.1 Tonal processes involving tonal mobility

The most conspicuous tone rule involves tonal mobility, i.e. Floating Tone Attachment and Tone Spreading. Relying on Kisseberth & Odden (2003: 62), Tone Spreading will be understood as a situation where a tone “which is initially associated with a given mora is realized [...] not just on that mora, but on one or more other moras to its right”.

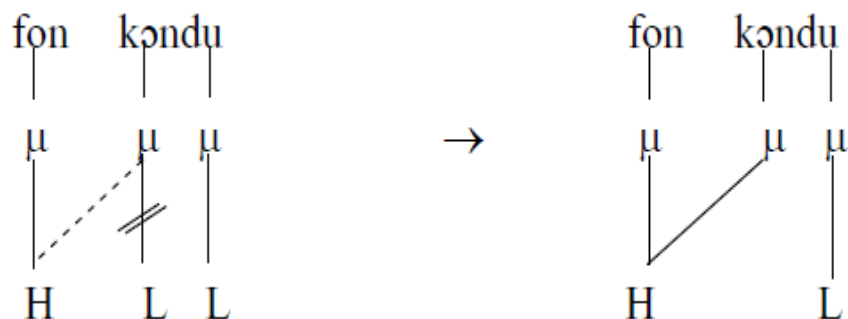
In Kwakum, every tone spreads to the right across a word boundary, where it attaches to the following TBU. The representations in (9)-(10) illustrate tone movement in Kwakum. In (9), the floating H tone of the 3PL *jǎ<sup>H</sup>* attaches to the right, delinking the L of the following TBU while in (10), the high tone of the noun *fón* ‘wood’ spreads to the following TBU and delinks its L. In this analysis, delinked tones which have no effect on the surface are assumed to be stray-erased.

<sup>11</sup> The only example with HL° *ámǎŋ*° ‘eel’, is synchronically treated here as a disyllable (cf. Chapter 3).

- (9) Floating Tone Attachment: /jà<sup>H</sup> nè jì/ → jà nè jì ‘they and I’

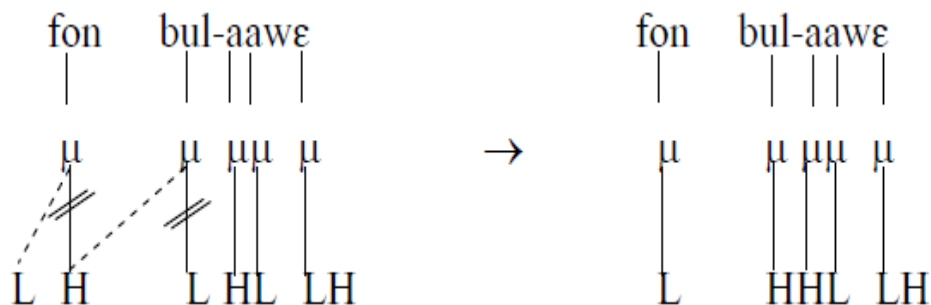


- (10) Tone Spreading: /fón kòndù/ → fón kòndù ‘the young girl’s wood’

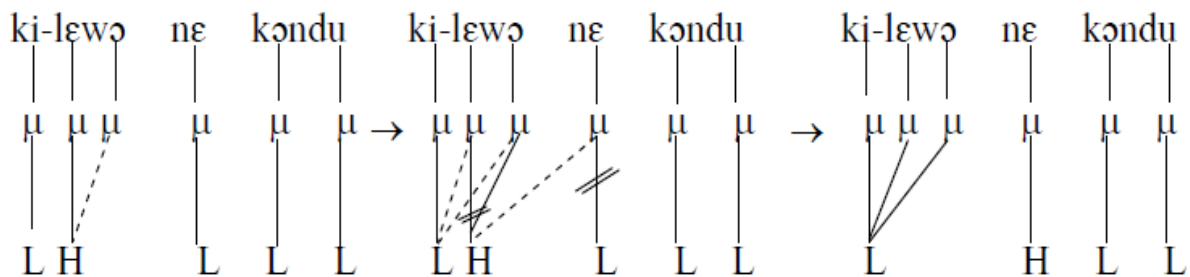


In (11), the optional boundary low attaches to the right, where it delinks the underlying high tone of *fón* ‘wood’, which itself moves across the following word boundary, where it delinks the following low. Tone Spreading also takes place from prefixes to stems as illustrated in 0.

- (11) /<sup>L%</sup>fón bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ → fòn búláàwè°

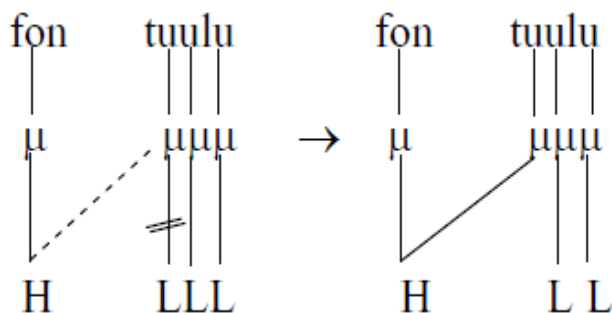


(12) /kì-léwə nə kòndù/ → kílèwə né kòndù ‘the baby and the young girl’

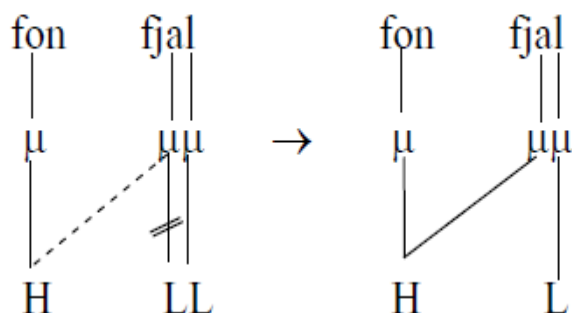


If the spreading or floating tone finds a succession of two TBUs of which one is toneless, it links to both of them. This is why the H tone of *fón* ‘wood’ links to one TBU in (13) and (14) versus two TBUs in (15).

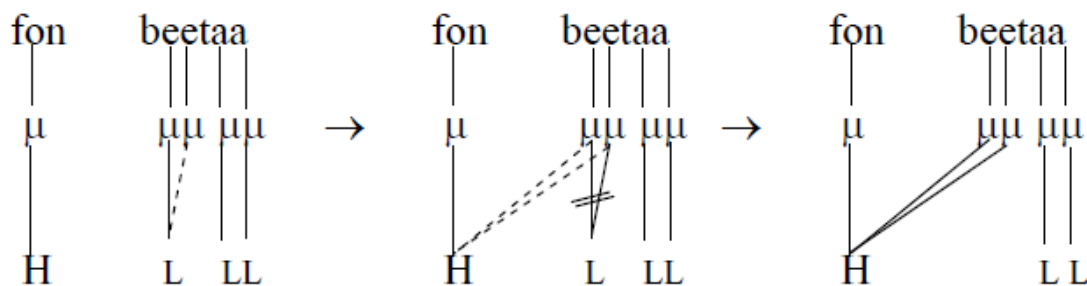
(13) /fón tùùlù / → fón túùlù ‘the donkey’s wood’



(14) /fón fjàl/ → fón fjâl ‘the daughter-in-law’s wood’

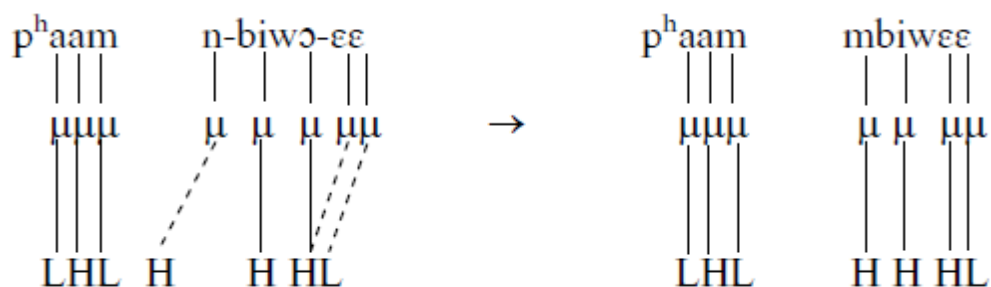


(15) /fón bèetàà/ → fón béétàà ‘firewood’



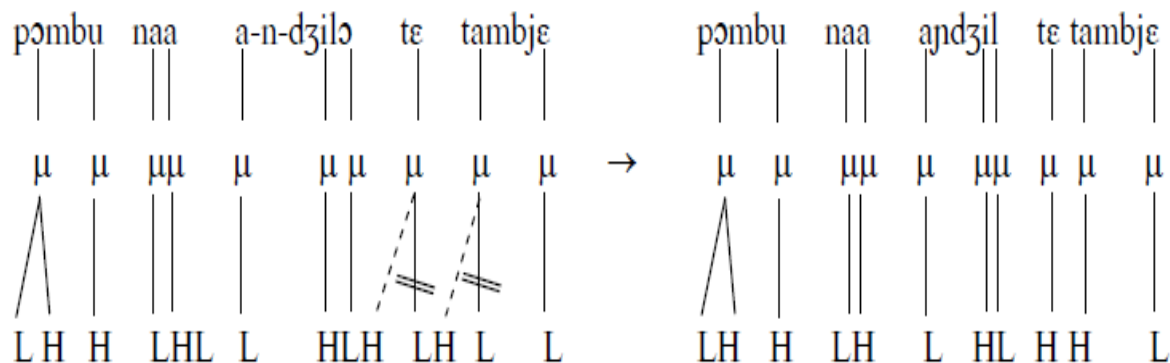
The representation provided in (16) shows that two floating tones can move to two successive toneless TBUs. After the deletion of the verb final vowel /ɔ/, its high tone and the following floating tones attach to the toneless TBUs of the 1SG pronominal object *-εε* which surfaces with a HL tone scheme.

(16) /p<sup>h</sup>ââm<sup>H</sup>-n-bíwɔ<sup>L</sup>-εε / → p<sup>h</sup>ââm míbíwéè ‘the man is hitting me’



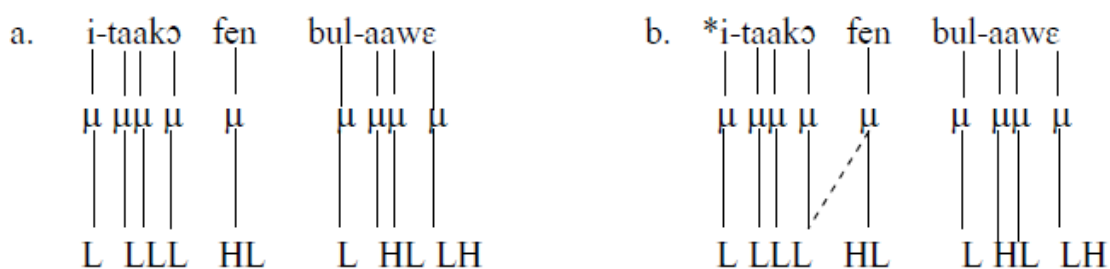
However, it is observed that the rule illustrated in (16) only applies stem internally. When the adverbial *té<sup>H</sup>* loses its linked low tone due to an incoming H, only its floating H can be realised across word boundary (17). Example (16) differs from example (17) in that in the former, V-deletion occurs at the word-level while in the latter it occurs at the phrase-level.

- (17) /pǒmbú †nàá<sup>L</sup> à-n-dzílò<sup>H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup> tàmbjè/ → pǒmbú nàá àndzil té †támbjè ‘so that he sits there correctly’



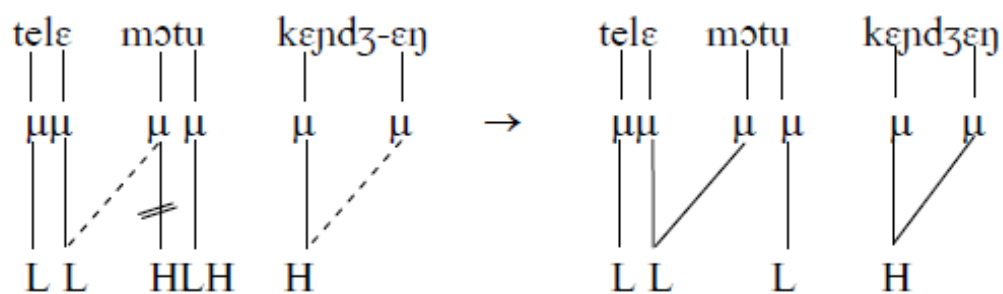
There are six contexts in which the attachment of a tone to a following TBU is blocked. The first and most recurrent one is the failure of a low to attach to a following high if the latter is immediately followed by a low tone within the same word. In (18), the spread of the low to the right is blocked by the floating low that follows the linked high of *fén* ‘handles’. The same floating low prevents the linked high from spreading to the right, so that the initial low of *bùláàwè*<sup>°</sup> ‘many, much, lots’ is preserved.

- (18) /ì-tààkò fén<sup>L</sup> bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ → ìtààkì fén bùláàwè<sup>°</sup> ‘to take many handles’



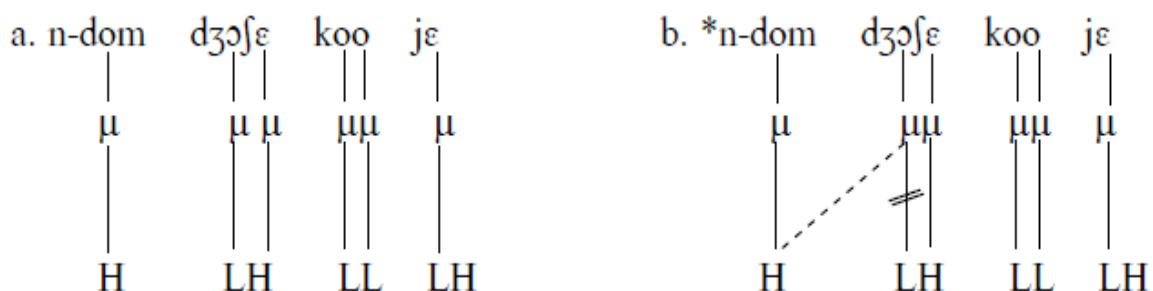
The only exception attested so far is the numeral *mòtù*<sup>H</sup> ‘one’, of which the H can be replaced by a preceding L. In the example *tèlè mòtù kérézè* ‘one fragile mat’ (19), the final L tone of *tèlè* spreads to the initial TBU of *mòtù*<sup>H</sup>, delinking its initial L. Unexpectedly, this H does not move to the second syllable whose linked low tone is preserved.

(19) /tèlè mótù<sup>H</sup> kéndz-εη/ → tèlè mətù kéηzεη ‘one fragile mat’

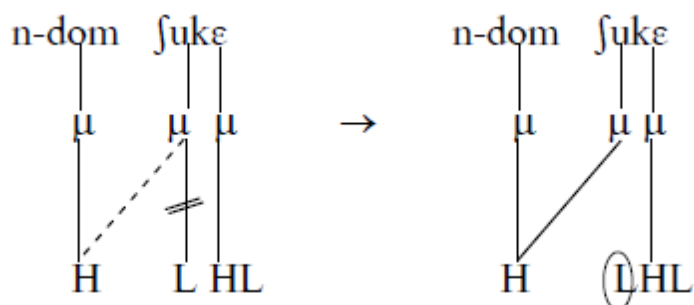


The second context in which tonal attachment is blocked is that a H cannot attach to a LH verb stem. Compare the examples (20) and (21) where the tone of *n-dóm* ‘male’ can only spread to the noun *fúkε* ‘mouse (sp.)’ and not to the verb form *dzòfε* ‘hid’ (Hesternal Past)’.

(20) /n-dóm dzòfε<sup>L</sup> kòò jε<sup>H</sup>/ → ndóm dzòfε kòò jε° ‘the husband hid it’



(21) /n-dóm fúkε<sup>L</sup>/ → ndóm fúkε ‘male mouse (sp.)’



The third situation where a tone cannot attach to the following TBU also involves LH contours, but here the relevant domain is smaller: in order to prevent attachment of a high tone on a low due to a following high, the latter must be in the same syllable and the high part should not be floating (22). Needless to say, HL contours within a single syllable also block tonal attachment to their left (23).

(22) /<sup>H</sup>-kòóndè/ → kòóndè ‘of the fish sp.’



(23) /nè káà w-èè<sup>H</sup>/ → nè káà wèè° ‘with his madness’



In addition, HH<sup>L</sup> monosyllabic stems cannot take an incoming L from the left, unlike longer stems with the HH<sup>L</sup> tone pattern. Compare (24) and (25).

(24) /nè mbéí<sup>L</sup> w-ààmbó/ → nè mbéí wààmbó ‘with that door’

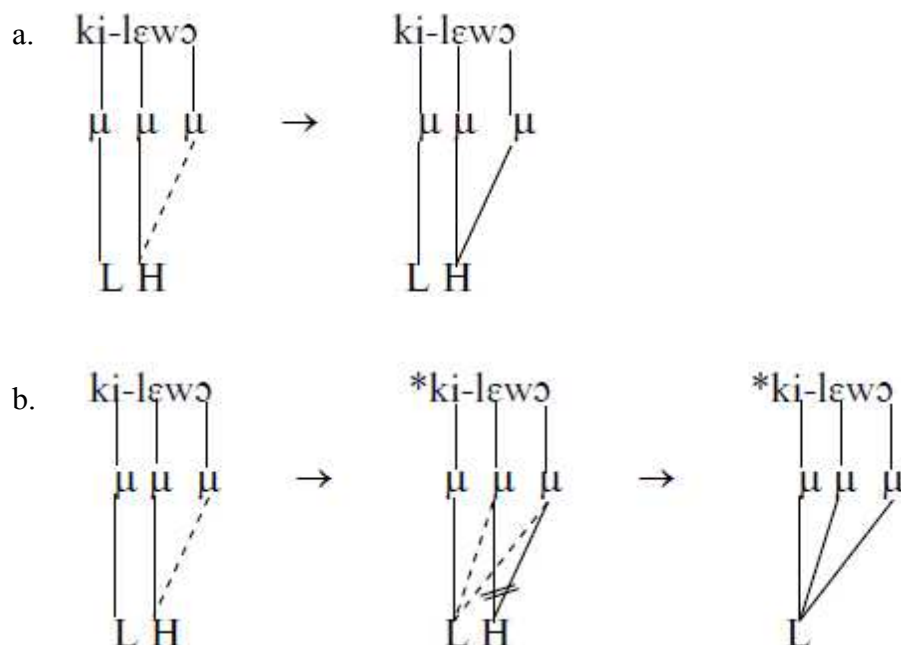
(25) /nè fùljé<sup>L</sup> w-ààmbó/ → nè fùljé wààmbó ‘with my smoke’

The fourth situation where tonal attachment is blocked is that a low tone cannot delink a H which occurs utterance finally. Compare example (26b) where the L tone of the



prefix *kì-* cannot delink the H of the stem *léwɔ* when occurring in utterance final position, with example (27) where *léwɔ* is used in non-prepausal position.

(26) /*kì-léwɔ*/ → *kìléwɔ* ‘baby’



(27) *kìlèwù ñdàál'ó*

*kì-léwɔ* <sup>H</sup>-n-dàál'ó<sup>L</sup>

7-baby PRS-PRS-sleep

‘The baby is sleeping’

Fifthly, a high tone fails to attach to some morphemes, among which some nouns (28), the Immediate Past tense marker *mè-* (29) and agreement prefixes in connective constructions (30). These morphemes all have fixed tones that are impervious to tone spreading. I will mark them with an initial floating L, except for the Immediate Past tense marker *mè-* which cannot take an incoming H for a different reason, possibly to avoid homophony with the Hodiernal Past tense marker *mé-* (<<sup>H</sup>-*mè*).

- (28) a. /mò-mó <sup>L</sup>tʃɪndʒí<sup>L</sup>/ → mòmò tʃɪndʒí ‘everyone’  
 b. /ì-kéti <sup>L</sup>tòl<sup>H</sup>/ → ìkèti tòl° ‘the colour of the scar’

(29) kílèwù mèlénò°  
 kì-léwɔ mè-lénò<sup>H</sup>  
 7-baby PST1-cry.PST1  
 ‘The baby cried.’

(30) kílèwù kíkóndù  
 kì-léwɔ kì-<sup>H</sup>kòndù  
 7-baby PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.young girl  
 ‘the young girl’s baby.’

As example (29) shows, the lexical H of the noun *kiléwɔ* ‘baby’ cannot spread to the Immediate Past tense marker *mè-* while in (30), the agreement markers in connective constructions surface with a low tone<sup>12</sup>, irrespective of the preceding tone.

Finally, a high tone cannot move across a clause boundary. Compare the behaviours of the morpheme *lèè<sup>H</sup>* in the examples below.

(31) àáǰè léè né kíléwɔ  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-à-ǰè<sup>H</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> nè kì-léwɔ  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come.PST2 so with 7-baby  
 ‘So she came with the baby.’

<sup>12</sup>The only exception is the agreement prefix of the noun *kì-fóó* ‘hat’ whose tone is always H.

- (32) àáfè léè ànlénè°  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-à-<sup>H</sup>è<sup>H</sup>                      lèè<sup>H</sup>    à-n-lénè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come.PST2    so    3SG-CSC-cry.CSC  
 ‘So she came crying.’

As the examples above show, the floating H of the morpheme *lèè<sup>H</sup>* ‘so’ can move to the following low-toned TBU, provided it belongs to the same clause (31); otherwise tone attachment fails to take place (32).

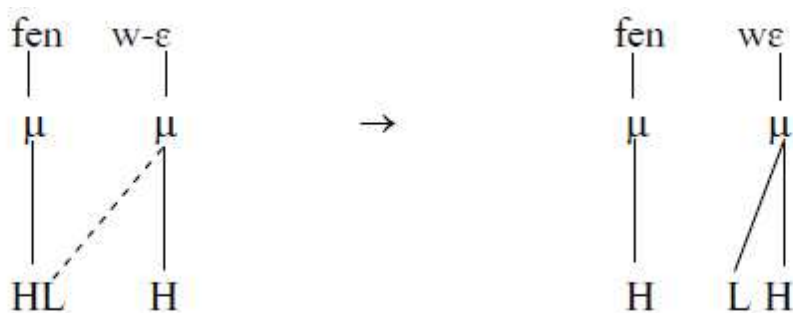
### 3.3.2 Downstep

Downstep takes place on the second high in a succession of two high tones in case of an intervening floating low that attaches to the second high. This floating low may be the result of delinking due to an incoming high from the left. In (33a), the floating high tone of the connective relator attaches to the first TBU of *mòtú* ‘head’ deleting its low tone. This low tone subsequently attaches to the following high. Instead of delinking this high (due to the constraint which bans a low from delinking an utterance final H), it combines with it to create a downstepped high. In (33b), the high of *fén* ‘handle’ cannot spread, because it is blocked by the final floating low of this noun. Since this low is trapped in between two highs, it creates downstep on the anaphorical marker *wé*.

- (33) a. /<sup>H</sup>-mòtú/ → mó<sup>t</sup>tú ‘of the head’

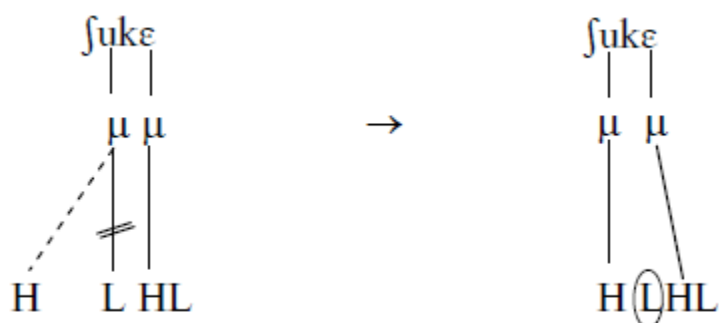


b. /fén<sup>L</sup> w-é/ → fén †wé ‘that handle’



No downstep formation takes place in (34) since within a morpheme, a low tone cannot attach to a High-toned TBU that is followed by another low tone, (as discussed in example 18a). When the connective high links to the first TBU of *fùké* ‘mouse’, it delinks the following low tone. However, this delinked low cannot attach to the following high, because it is itself followed by a low within the same morpheme.

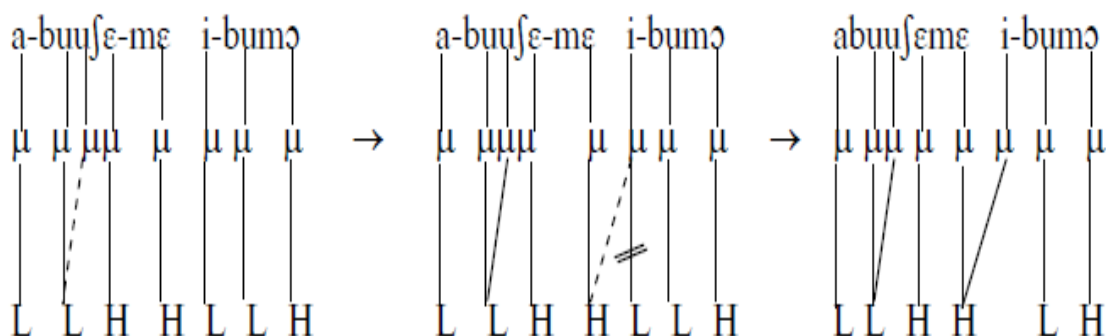
(34) /<sup>H</sup>-fùké<sup>L</sup>/ → fùké ‘of the mouse sp.’



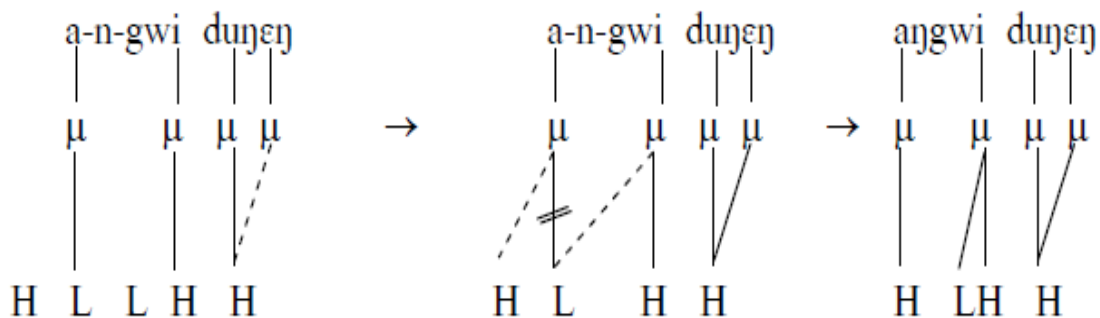
Downstep also takes place where two Hs meet across morpheme boundary (35) or at a word boundary as shown by the second downstep in (36).<sup>13</sup> Across word boundary, downstep is optional.

<sup>13</sup> The first downstep in (36) is due to an intervening L in a succession of two high tones.

(35) /à-bùùʃé-mé ì-bùmó/ → àbùùʃú<sup>+</sup>mé ìbùmó ‘She accumulated the fruits’

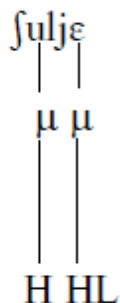


(36) /<sup>H</sup>-à-n-gwí dúŋɛŋ/ → àŋ<sup>+</sup>gwí <sup>+</sup>dúŋɛŋ ~ àŋ<sup>+</sup>gwí dúŋɛŋ ‘it dies in the morning’

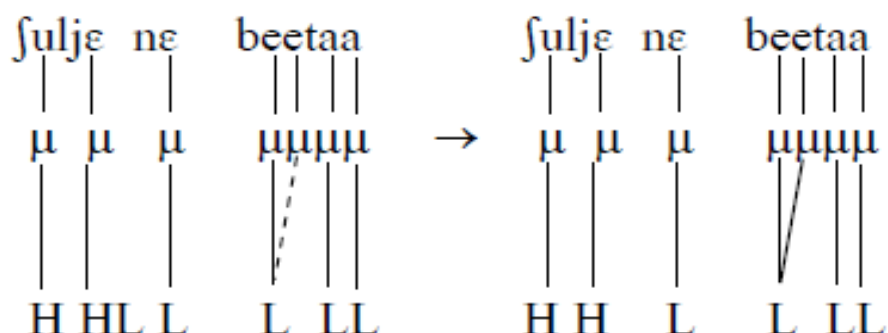


In contrast, within a morpheme two adjacent highs TBUs lead to downstep of the second high only in prepausal position (compare 37a and 37b). Finally, I never heard clear cases of downstep of the high part of a falling tone, e.g. on the *láà* syllable in example (38).

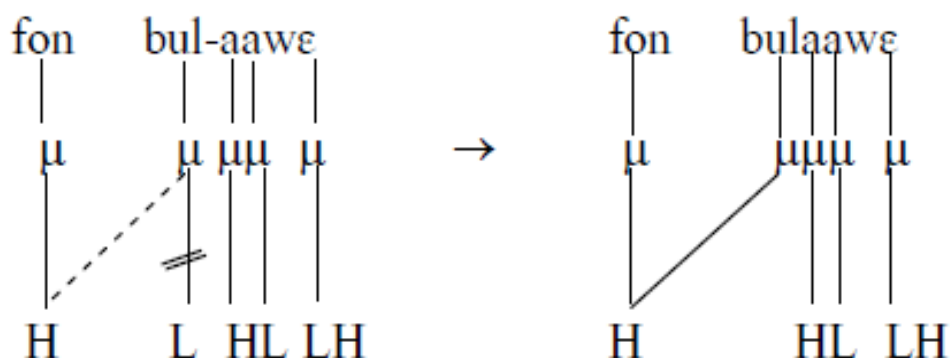
(37) a. /ʃúlǰé<sup>L</sup>/ → ʃú<sup>+</sup>lǰé ‘smoke’



b. / fúlǰé<sup>L</sup> nè bèetàà/ → fúlǰé nè bèetàà ‘smoke and fire’

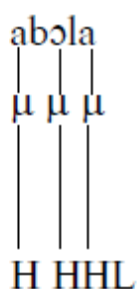


(38) /fón bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ → fón búláàwè° ‘much wood’



There is a small number of words such as ‘frog sp.’ (39), where the reflex of a prefix that is synchronically no longer morphologically separable continues to behave as a separate morpheme from a prosodic point of view. Indeed, we would only expect the first downstep in (39) if it were preceded by a morphological boundary.

(39) /ábóla<sup>L</sup>/ → á<sup>+</sup>bóla ‘frog sp.’



Since the initial vowel in *á'bólá* 'frog sp.' is an historical prefix, with probably a low tone, another option as regards example (39) could be to consider that this low tone had been delinked and attached to the initial stem syllable. This situation also shows that the initial vowel in *á'bólá* 'frog sp.' functions as a prosodic separate unit since in non-prepausal position, downstep is only expected at morpheme or word boundary.

When occurring utterance finally, CVC and CVV monosyllables whose underlying tone pattern is HH<sup>L</sup> are realised either as H<sup>H</sup>H or as H (40). The only exception noted so far is *tá'íj* 'price' which cannot be pronounced as *táj*, which means 'white person'. Conversely, CVV and CVC words with one underlying H always surface as H (41).

(40)	a.	/î-tʃóó <sup>L</sup> /	→	ì-tʃóó ~ ìtʃó <sup>ó</sup>	'to tie' (v)
		/î-ʃéé <sup>L</sup> /	→	ì-ʃéé ~ ʃé <sup>é</sup>	'to work' (v)
		/î-ʃéé <sup>L</sup> /	→	ì-ʃéé ~ ʃé <sup>é</sup>	'sand'
		/kì-lóó <sup>L</sup> /	→	kì-lóó ~ kíló <sup>ó</sup>	'snake (sp.)'
		/î-tóó <sup>L</sup> /	→	ì-tóó ~ ìtó <sup>ó</sup>	'house'
	b.	/mjéj <sup>L</sup> /	→	mjéj ~ mjé <sup>j</sup>	'fish (sp.)'
		/mbéí <sup>L</sup> /	→	mbéí ~ mbé <sup>í</sup>	'door'
(41)	a.	/tʃóó/	→	tʃóó (*tʃó <sup>ó</sup> )	'iron'
		/î-ʃéé/	→	î-ʃéé (*î-ʃé <sup>é</sup> )	'work'
		/dáá/	→	dáá (*dá <sup>á</sup> )	'lie'
	b.	/fén <sup>L</sup> /	→	fén (*fé <sup>í</sup> )	'handle'
		/ʃól <sup>L</sup> /	→	ʃól (*ʃó <sup>í</sup> )	'stream'
		/dʒól <sup>L</sup> /	→	dʒól (*dʒó <sup>í</sup> )	'nose'

Conversely, unreleased lows can be pronounced as downstepped highs, provided they are preceded by another high. However, this neutralisation is subject to some morphosyntactic constraints such as the grammatical category of the word or its syllable structure. For instance, HL<sup>°</sup> possessives can also be realised as H<sup>H</sup>H and vice versa (42).

- (42) a. /<sup>H</sup>-ðð/ → -ðð° ~ -ð<sup>+</sup>ð ‘2SG.POSS’  
           /<sup>H</sup>-èè<sup>H</sup>/ → -èè° ~ -è<sup>+</sup>é ‘3SG.POSS’
- b. /<sup>H</sup>-ùfú/ → ú<sup>+</sup>fú ~ úfù° ‘1PL.POSS’

In nouns, HL° monosyllabic nouns can optionally be realised as H<sup>+</sup>H (43). However, <sup>+</sup>H and L° are in free variation only in noun stems with more than one syllable. Compare (44) and (45).

- (43) a. /ì-báà<sup>H</sup>/ → ì-báà° ~ ì-bá<sup>+</sup>á ‘two’  
           /ámô<sup>H</sup>η<sup>H</sup>/ → ámô<sup>+</sup>η° ~ ámó<sup>+</sup>η ‘eel’
- b. /<sup>H</sup>-dʒàì<sup>H</sup>/ → dʒàì° ~ dʒá<sup>+</sup>í ‘of the village’  
           /<sup>H</sup>-ηgwòð<sup>H</sup>/ → ηgwòð° ~ ηgwó<sup>+</sup>ð ‘of the brain’
- (44) /mjé<sup>L</sup>η/ → mjé<sup>+</sup>η ~ mjé<sup>+</sup>η (~ \*mjê<sup>+</sup>η°) ‘fish (sp.)’  
       /mbé<sup>L</sup>í<sup>L</sup>/ → mbé<sup>+</sup>í ~ mbé<sup>+</sup>í (~ \*mbê<sup>+</sup>í°) ‘door’
- (45) /pú<sup>L</sup>ljé<sup>L</sup>/ → pú<sup>+</sup>ljé ~ pú<sup>+</sup>ljé° ‘vapour’  
       /dʒákí<sup>L</sup>ljé<sup>L</sup>/ → dʒákí<sup>+</sup>ljé ~ dʒákí<sup>+</sup>ljé° ‘tortoise’

In contrast, in verbs, L° can be realised as <sup>+</sup>H (46) but the reverse is not possible (47).

- (46) àmbjá<sup>+</sup>ndzè° ~ àmbjá<sup>+</sup>ndzè  
       à-n-bjá<sup>+</sup>ndzè<sup>H</sup>  
       3SG-CSC-disobey.CSC  
       ‘He disobeyed’

- (47) /ì-dʒó<sup>L</sup>fé<sup>L</sup>/ → ì-dʒó<sup>+</sup>fé (~ \*dʒó<sup>+</sup>fè°) ‘to judge’  
       /bó<sup>L</sup>ndó<sup>L</sup>/ → bó<sup>+</sup>ndó (~ \*bó<sup>+</sup>ndò°) ‘wait’  
       /dà<sup>L</sup>ám<sup>L</sup>bó<sup>L</sup>/ → dà<sup>+</sup>ám<sup>+</sup>bó (~ \*dà<sup>+</sup>ám<sup>+</sup>bò°) ‘cook’



### 3.4 Problematic cases

I earlier said that in some areas, the tonal behaviour of linguistic forms is idiosyncratic. These areas require more investigation. One of these is a number of words with an initial low tone (48-51) that becomes rising when a preceding high tone attaches to it, versus the expected high or falling tone. Many of my examples are reflexes of class 9 words, so that an explanation for the phenomenon may be sought in the historical presence of a (low?) nasal prefix. There is a similar pattern in the form of possessive pronouns (section 5.3) and Hodiernal Past tense (section 8.3.2.3).

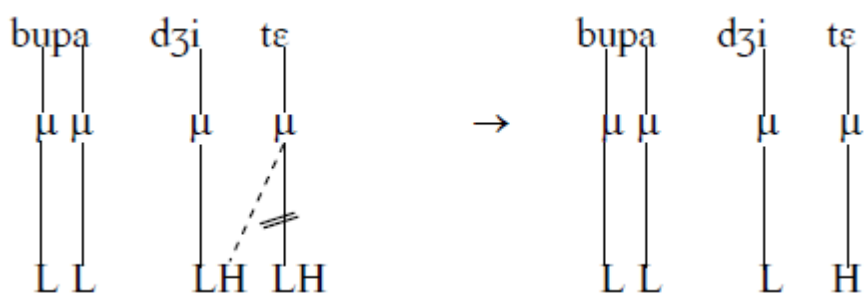
(48)	/ <sup>H</sup> -p <sup>h</sup> òŋgò/	→	p <sup>h</sup> òŋgò	‘of the maize’
	/ <sup>H</sup> -pùlà/	→	pùlà	‘of the cassava’
	/ <sup>H</sup> -t <sup>h</sup> ààlò/	→	t <sup>h</sup> àálò	‘of the grandchild’
	/ <sup>H</sup> -ʃòkù/	→	ʃòkù	‘of the elephant’
(49)	/ <sup>H</sup> -pàà/	→	pàà	‘of the offspring’
	/ <sup>H</sup> -p <sup>h</sup> òŋ/	→	p <sup>h</sup> òŋ	‘of the chief’
(50)	a. / <sup>H</sup> -p <sup>h</sup> èl <sup>H</sup> /	→	p <sup>h</sup> é <sup>í</sup>	‘of the front’
	/ <sup>H</sup> -ʃàà <sup>H</sup> /	→	ʃá <sup>á</sup>	‘of the village’
(51)	b. / <sup>H</sup> -ʃèlò/	→	ʃé <sup>í</sup> lò	‘of the path’
	/ <sup>H</sup> -tòlò/	→	tó <sup>í</sup> lò	‘of the bed’

Another problematic case is illustrated by the nouns in (52)-(53) as they can only take an incoming L. They are tonally invariable after a H.

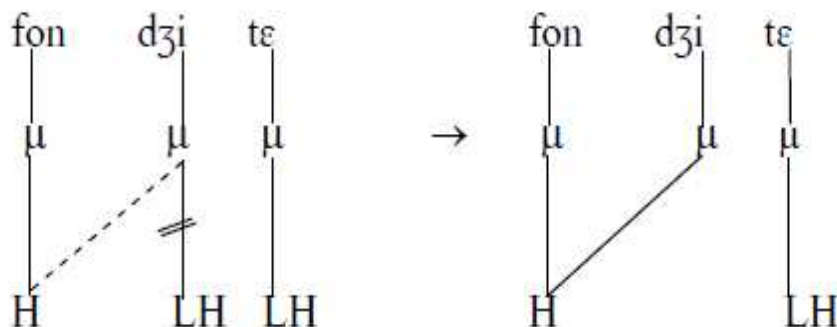
(52)	a. / <sup>H</sup> -p <sup>h</sup> ìŋgá/	→	p <sup>h</sup> ìŋgá	‘of the peanut’
	b. /nè p <sup>h</sup> ìŋgá w-ààmbó/	→	nè p <sup>h</sup> ìŋgà wáàmbó	‘with my peanut’
(53)	a. / <sup>H</sup> -t <sup>h</sup> àŋgá/	→	t <sup>h</sup> àŋgá	‘of the cocoyam’
	b. /nè t <sup>h</sup> àŋgá w-ààmbó/	→	nè t <sup>h</sup> àŋgà wáàmbó	‘with my cocoyam’

A strange situation is illustrated in (54)-(55) where there is a high tendency for the floating H in the copula  $dʒi^H/ji^H$  not to move to the following TBU when receiving an incoming H from the left. In (54), the floating H tone of the copula  $dʒi^H$  attaches to the following low-toned TBU. Unexpectedly, H Floating Tone Attachment fails to occur when the copula receives an incoming H which in (55), is the H tone of the noun *fón* ‘wood’.

(54) /bùpà dʒi<sup>H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup>/ → bùpà dʒì té ‘the animal is there’



(55) /fón dʒi<sup>H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup>/ → fón dʒí tè° ‘the wood is much’



Another idiosyncratic situation is observed in (56)-(57) where there is a tendency for  $LHH^L$  stems to surface with an entirely H tone pattern when occurring utterance non-finally.

(56) ándàámbú ndʒì° ~ án<sup>°</sup>dáámbú ndʒì°

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup>      ñ-dʒì<sup>H</sup>

PRS-3SG-PRS-cook    6-food

‘She is cooking the food.’

- (57) ándzée dðók téwùlà kóó ~ ándzée dðók téwùlà kóó  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzée<sup>L</sup>      dðók<sup>L</sup>      téwùlà      kóó<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-see    1.mango 1.table    on  
 ‘She sees the mango on the table.’

Another unresolved case is illustrated in (58)-(59) where the initial syllables of C<sup>́</sup>V<sup>́</sup>C<sup>́</sup><sup>L</sup> and C<sup>̀</sup>V<sup>̀</sup>C<sup>̀</sup><sup>L</sup> verb stems optionally occur with a L tone when these verbs are combined to the pronominal suffixes -εε (1SG) and -ɔɔ (2SG). This variation does not occur with other pronominal objects (60).

- (58) á<sup>́</sup>mbíwéè ~ ámbìwéè  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-bíwó<sup>L</sup>-εε  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-beat-1SG  
 ‘She is beating me.’

- (59) ándzàákóð ~ ándzààkóð  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzàákó<sup>L</sup>-ɔɔ  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-plait-2SG  
 ‘She is plaiting you.’

- (60) a. ándzàák jè° ~ ándzáák jè° ~ ándzáák <sup>́</sup>jé  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzàákó<sup>L</sup>      jè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-plait    3SG  
 ‘She is plaiting her.’  
 b. \* ándzààk jè°

Another tonal phenomenon that cannot be straightforwardly represented in the current description concerns a number of morphemes that change the final low tone of a preceding word to a high. This cannot be represented by means of an initial floating H, because that would be supposed to attach to the right, rather than to the left. I will mark these morphemes with an initial upward arrow in their underlying representation. Examples

are the complementiser *ˈnàáʰ*, interrogative *ˈfê* ‘where’ and the near-speaker demonstrative *ˈnéʰ*.

- (61) áŋkèé nàá...  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-kèè            ˈnàáʰ...  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-say    COMP  
 ‘He says that...’

- (62) bùpá ˈné  
 bùpà        ˈnéʰ<sup>L</sup>  
 1.animal    DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘This animal’

- (63) óŋké fê  
<sup>H</sup>-ò-n-kè            ˈfê  
 PRS-2SG-PRS-go    where  
 ‘Where are you going?’

Finally, Kwakum has some non-concatenative morphological operations in its verbal morphology, which require the definition of replacive fixed tone schemes. These will be discussed in Sections 6.4 and 8.3.2.

## 4. NOUNS

### 4.1 Introduction

The present chapter is concerned with nouns. It is organised into five main sections. Section 4.2 looks at the morphology of underived nouns, laying emphasis on both their syllable and tonal structures. Section 4.3 discusses nominal classification in Kwakum as compared to the noun class system in other A90 languages. Section 4.4 discusses borrowings. Nominal derivation is the focus of Section 4.5. Finally, Section 4.6 is concerned with compounds nouns.

### 4.2 The morphology of nouns

The analysis proposed in this section is based on a sample of 1083 underived nouns. In this sample, I didn't include stems beginning with a vowel or a syllabic nasal (Section 4.2.4), borrowings (Section 4.4), derived stems (4.5) and compound nouns (4.6).

#### 4.2.1 One-syllable stems

27.65% of underived nouns have one syllable whose structures are summarised in Table 14. This table also shows that the overwhelming majority (74%) of monosyllabic noun stems are closed syllables (CVC, CVVC and CCVC) among which some CVC and CVCV PB noun stems (*nən*° < \**nəní* 'bird'; *ì-bóŋ* < \**bóngó* 'knee'; *kəm* < \**gòmà* 'drum'; *dém* < \**dími* 'tongue'). The remaining 26% is made up of open vowels. Some PB reconstructions are possible: *ì-tɔ́* < \**túí* 'ear'; *dɔ́* < \**dó* 'sleep. There are also nouns like *nɔ́* (< \**yókà*) 'snake', *mbɔ́* (< \**bókò*) 'arm, hand' and *tʃá* (< \**cándú*) 'branch' which have undergone a diachronic syllable reduction. Marginal syllable patterns include CCV (4 tokens), CCVV (2 tokens), CVCC (2 tokens) and CVVC (1 token).

Table 14: monosyllabic nouns

CV (36)	CVVC (1) <sup>3</sup>
CVV (49)	CVC (205)
CCV (4) <sup>1</sup>	CCVC (14)
CCVV (3) <sup>2</sup>	CVCC (2) <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*kì-pjà* ‘verse’, *kì-pjè* ‘swaddling clothes’, *kwù* ‘owl’, *mjá* ‘year’; <sup>2</sup>*ngwàðð°* ‘brain’, *kwóó* ‘creels’, *mó-mjáá* ‘woman’; <sup>3</sup>*ì-tfɪŋl* ‘basket (sp.)’, *kì-těkl* ‘persisting misfortune’; <sup>4</sup>*p<sup>h</sup>ââm* ‘man’

The tone patterns surfacing on monosyllabic stems are: H, L, L°, LHL, HL, LH, H<sup>+</sup>H and LH<sup>+</sup>H. The L, H and L° patterns have the highest frequencies (36.82%, 28.57% and 23.49% respectively) while the rarest tone patterns are LH (3 tokens) HL (2 tokens) and LHL (1 token).

#### 4.2.2 Two-syllable stems

More than half (60.09%) of non-reduplicated nouns have bisyllabic stems, whose syllable structures are listed in decreasing order of frequency in Table 15. CV.CV stems have the highest frequency (65.49%), followed by CVV.CV stems (13.19%). CVC.CCV, CVC.CVV, CCVC.CV, CVV.CVC and CVV.CVV occur in a very small number (less than 12%), the rarest syllable patterns being CVV.CVV and CCV.CVV with only one occurrence each. Some PB reflexes have been identified, mostly in CV.CV stems. They are proposed in (1).

Table 15: syllable structures in two-syllable nouns

CV.CV (427)	CV.CCV (12)
CVV.CV (86)	CVC.CCV (5)
CVC.CV (41)	CVC.CVV (4) <sup>5</sup>
CCV.CV (28)	CVV.CVC (2) <sup>6</sup>
CCVV.CV (15)	CCVC.CV (2) <sup>7</sup>
CV.CVC (14)	CVV.CVV (1) <sup>8</sup>
CV.CVV (12)	CCV.CVV (1) <sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup>*kì-bókjàà* ‘resting place’, *ndèklá<sup>+</sup>á* ‘prayer’; <sup>6</sup>*kááfél* ‘king’, *kì-kèèngêj* ‘light’; <sup>7</sup>*mjàŋlð* ‘antelope’, *ngwépló* ‘mongoose’; <sup>8</sup>*bèètàà* ‘fire’; <sup>9</sup>*kwàláà* ‘mate’

## (1) a. CV.CV stems

ì-dí'nó	<	*jínà 'name'
kèmó	<	*kímà 'monkey'
kòfù	<	*kùcò 'parrot'
ì-béndí	<	*béndé 'mouse (sp.)'
ì-bùmó	<	*bùmá 'fruit'
dží'jí	<	*jícò 'eye'
ì-bàkì	<	*bàgò 'hoe'
ì-bú'kú	<	*bángá 'jaw'
kàndí	<	*gàndú 'crocodile'
kòndù	<	*gòndè 'moon'
tàtà	<	*tààtá 'father'
mòtú	<	*tùè 'head'

## b. CVV.CV stems

jààmò	<	*nyàmà 'animal'
kòòndè	<	*kòndè 'banana (plantain)'

## c. CCVV.CV stems

kwààmbè	<	*jàmbé 'God'
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There is a significant number of nouns (16 occurrences) which end in *-jɛ* whose source is unknown to me. They are as illustrated in (2).

- (2) ì-mbòmbjè 'fruit (sp.)'  
 ì-dzòmbjé 'fortune telling'  
 fú'ljé 'smoke'

The table below gives an inventory of the tonal patterns surfacing in two-syllable stems. The L.L pattern occupies the first position, followed by L.H, H and H.<sup>4</sup>H. The rarest tone patterns are L.H.L, L.HL, L.L<sup>o</sup> and L.H<sup>4</sup>H (less than 1%).

Table 16: tone patterns in two-syllable nouns

L.L (35.15%)	H.L (3.12%)
L.H (26.40%)	LH.L (0.93%)
H.H (17.81%)	L.HL (0.62%)
H.°H (10.93%)	L.L° (0.31%)
LH.°H (4.37%)	L.H°H (0.15%)

#### 4.2.3 Trisyllabic stems

Three-syllable stems constitute only 3.93% of my sample. They present 6 syllable patterns listed in Table 17. Seven surface tonal patterns are attested: L.L.L (14 tokens), L.H.°H (6 tokens), L.H.L (5 tokens), H.H.L (4 tokens), H.H.H (3 tokens), L.H.H (3 tokens), H.L.L (3 tokens), L.L.H (3 tokens) and LH.L.H (1 token).

Table 17: Syllable structures in three-syllable nouns

CV.CV.CV (32)	CVC.CV.CV (2) <sup>12</sup>
CCV.CV.CV (3) <sup>10</sup>	CV.CVV.CV (1) <sup>13</sup>
CVC.CVV.CV (3) <sup>11</sup>	CVC.CV.CVV (1) <sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup>*ì-gwòlòkú* ‘duck (sp.)’; *kwòwùlâ* ‘insect (sp.)’, *kì-bjèlèkì* ‘stick (sp.)’; <sup>12</sup>*bùklámè* ‘trust’, *kì-tòkjàákó* ‘fishing (sp.)’, *kì-tùplòkó* ‘swamp’; <sup>13</sup>*kì-kòklàmbù* ‘shell’, *kì-kpólókú* ‘skull’; <sup>14</sup>*kòklòkò* ‘mystical snake’

#### 4.2.4 Stems beginning with a vowel or a syllabic nasal

2.12% of noun stems begin in the vowel *a-*, which adds a syllable to the above patterns, giving rise to bi-, tri-, and quatrissylic stems (3). Two noun stems begin with another vowel: the noun *àńó* ‘child’ (< \**jánà* ?) and the loan noun *ínğìn* ‘engine’. Although the vowel *a-* originates from a noun class marker<sup>14</sup>, it has been integrated into the stem and can no longer be analysed as a noun class prefix (cf section 4.3 on the noun class system).

- (3) a. àbèngé ‘bell’  
       àpélé ‘jockstraps’

<sup>14</sup> probably the PB class 12. See Section 4.3.1 for partial justification.



b. áðòŋ ‘musical rhythm (sp.)’

ámó’ŋ ‘eel’

á’bó’lá ‘frog (sp.)’

ákóòkè ‘lizard (sp.)’

In addition, 67 stems (i.e. 6.17%) begin with a (low tone) syllabic nasal which is clearly identified in some nouns as a historical noun prefix (PB class 6 or 9), although it is synchronically treated as part of the stem. I shall come back to this point in section 4.3 when discussing the noun class system.

- (4)   j̀tʃíkí       ‘water’ (class 6)  
       ̀mpj́áŋ       ‘soup’  
       ̀ŋgòpù       ‘shoe’  
       ̀ŋm̀gbàŋ      ‘crow’  
       ̀ntàndà      ‘bean’

#### 4.3 Nominal classification

The noun class system of Kwakum is atypical for a Bantu language, but it is not as reduced as that of the other A90 languages (Ernst 1992; Wega Simeu 2012). Given the multiple pairings and the complex agreement rules of the Kwakum noun class system, I find it more interesting to distinguish morphological classes (sets of nouns that have the same number singular/plural marking) from noun classes proper (sets of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern) and to discuss the links between both types of nominal classification explicitly.

##### 4.3.1 Morphological classes

As introduced earlier, morphological classes are understood as sets of nouns that have the same number marking. Morphological classes are chosen on the basis of their ability to commute. In this sense, Kwakum has eight morphological classes, defined by the prefixes *mò-*, *gwò-*, *kì-*, *ì-*, *à-*, *̀n-*, *n-* and the lack of a prefix, henceforth symbolised as  $\emptyset$ -. Three of these forms, viz. *mò-*, *n-* and  $\emptyset$ - are used exclusively to mark singular nouns. Three

others, *gwò-*, *n-* and *à-*, are restricted to marking plural nouns. The prefixes *kì-* and *ì-* mark the singular of some nouns and the plural of others. They will be discussed in turn.

#### 4.3.2.1 The class *mò-*

The class *mò-*, which corresponds to Proto-Bantu class 1 \**mù-*, contains singular nouns beginning with the prefix *mò-* and its allomorphs *mó-*, *mò-* and *m-*. With only 4 members (*mò-mó* ‘person’, *mó-mjáá* ‘woman’; *mò-àńó* ‘child’; *m-jáń* ‘brother’), which all share the [+human] feature, the class *mò-* is the smallest morphological class marking singular nouns. The choice of *mò-* as the main allomorph is somehow arbitrary here given the fact that each allomorph has only one example each. I included the prefix *m-* in this class because like *mò-*, *mó-* and *mò-* it commutes with the plural prefix *gwò-*. In addition, the noun *m-jáń* ‘brother’ triggers the same agreement as the nouns beginning with the other three allomorphs (see noun classes in 4.3.2).

#### 4.3.2.2 The class *n-*

The class *n-* is marked by a non-syllabic homorganic nasal prefix. Only nine nouns in my database belong to this class (5).

- (5) *n-dóm* ‘husband’  
*n-dé’ń* ‘stranger’  
*n-dómbú* ‘old person; elder’  
*n-dí’né* ‘stranger’  
*n-lèńló* ‘quarrel’  
*n-dètè* ‘elder’  
*ń-gwál* ‘wife’  
*ń-gwàl°* ‘fruit (sp.)’  
*ń-dzál* ‘fertile woman’

It is not easy to achieve a satisfactory correspondence between this class and the Bantu noun class system. Belliard (2005:86) discusses this non-syllabic nasal as a case of prenasalisation under the section dedicated to marginal plurals. This prefix might be a reflex of the PB class 1 or 3.

## 4.3.2.3 The class Ø-

The class Ø- represents the largest morphological class in the lexicon (63.14%). This class consists of a huge number (75.34%) of nouns which have lost their original prefix (6) and nouns beginning in a syllabic nasal *ɲ* in the singular (24.66%). This nasal is always preserved in the plural, therefore does not commute and should not be analysed as a morphological class marker according to the definition of morphological class I gave earlier, even though historically it is certainly a reflex of a former class marker (PB class 6, as the near totality of nouns for liquids take *ɲ*-) (7) and synchronically it can be analysed as a derivational prefix in nouns that have a derivational relation with a verb (8). I will have more to say on this set of nouns when I discuss gender assignment. In the examples below, the bracketed figures are meant for the PB class(es).

(6) *dém* ‘tongue’ (11)

*kòm* ‘drum’ (9)

*k<sup>h</sup>òmbó* ‘porcupine’ (9)

*kòndè* ‘plantain’ (5; 7)

*kòfù* ‘parrot’ (9)

*kótú* ‘bag’ (5)

*fjètí* ‘tree’ (3)

*mòtú* ‘head’ (3)

*mbél* ‘door’ (7; 3)

*mbó* ‘hand’ (15)

*tàl* ‘bridge’ (11)

*ɲó* ‘snake’ (9)

(7) *ɲlòkù* ‘wine’ (6)

*ɲɲpjàŋ* ‘soup’ (6)

*ɲjòŋ* ‘salt’ (6)

*ɲkùtù* ‘cloud’ (5)

(8) Ø-*ɲlákjàà* / à-*ɲlákjàà* ‘question/s’ < *lákjè* ‘ask’

In addition, less than three percent of the singular nouns in my database begin with an /a/ which is preserved in the plural. They will also be treated as prefixless nouns. The fact that many of the nouns with initial /a/ refer to small size entities (*áṅgwóḡḡḡ* ‘dragonfly’; *ápě* ‘wasp’, *ákóḡkè* ‘lizard (sp.)’, *á’kpátá* ‘frog (sp.)’, *á’bó’lá* ‘frog (sp.)’, suggests that the frozen prefix *a-* might have been the class 12 prefix which was dedicated to diminutives. This correspondence is also proposed by Belliard (2005: 84).

- (9) *áṅgwóḡḡḡ* ‘dragonfly’  
*ápě* ‘wasp (sp.)’  
*ákóḡkè* ‘lizard (sp.)’  
*á’kpátá* ‘frog (sp.)’  
*á’bó’lá* ‘frog (sp.)’  
*ápúlá pjáá’ḡḡ* ‘butterfly’  
*àbèṅḡḡ* ‘bell’

#### 4.3.2.4 The class *gwò-*

Nouns belonging to the morphological class *gwò-* begin with *gwò-* or one of its variants (viz. *gwó-*; *gwò-* and *gwi-*). This morphological class functions as the plural class of nouns which have their singular in the morphological class *mò-*, except for *m-jáṅ* ‘brother’ whose plural form *àḡwíjâṅ* will be discussed later. This makes the morphological class *gwò-* the smallest morphological class with only four members: *gwò-mó* ‘persons’, *gwó-mjáá* ‘women’; *gwò-òṅ* ‘children’, *àḡwí-jáṅ* ‘brothers’. The form *gwò-* that currently has the function of a class 2 marker must be an innovation, given its formal difference with the PB class 2 prefix \**bà*.

#### 4.3.2.5 The class *ṅ-*

Many instances of Kwakum *ṅ-* correspond to PB class 6 as *ṅ-* marks the plural of nouns that take *ì-* in the singular (10a). In my database, the class *ṅ-* also serves as the plural

class for 119 nouns belonging to class  $\emptyset$ - (10b), and four nouns of class  $k\grave{i}$ - (10c). This explains the huge amount of nouns constituting this morphological class.

(10)	Singular	Plural	
a.	$\grave{i}$ -t́	$\grave{n}$ -t́	‘ear’
	$\grave{i}$ -t́óó	$\grave{n}$ -t́óó	‘house’
	$\grave{i}$ -kèŋ	$\grave{\eta}$ -kèŋ	‘well’
b.	kwàlá	$\grave{\eta}$ -kwàlá	‘cutlasses’
	péŋ	$\grave{m}$ -péŋ	‘wounds’
	mbó	$\grave{m}$ -mbó	‘hand’
c.	$k\grave{i}$ -bámbú	$\grave{m}$ -bámbú	‘plank’
	$k\grave{i}$ -bómbú	$\grave{m}$ -bómbú	‘snake (sp.)’
	$k\grave{i}$ -bèkò	$\grave{m}$ -bèkò	‘shoulder’
	$k\grave{i}$ -túl	$\grave{n}$ -túl	‘punch’

#### 4.3.2.6 The class $\grave{a}$ -

The class  $\grave{a}$ - represents the largest plural class, obviously because it marks the plural class of most of the members of class  $\emptyset$ - which is the largest singular class (11a) and class  $n$ - (11b). It also serves as the plural class for two nouns of the singular class  $\grave{i}$ - (11c). When used with mass nouns, the prefix  $\grave{a}$ - denotes different varieties of an entity (12). The  $\grave{a}$ - prefix may be a reflex of the PB class 2 prefix  $b\grave{a}$ - that generalised to become a default plural marker.

(11)	Singular	Plural	
a.	$p^{h\grave{i}\circ}$ ‘dog’	$\grave{a}$ - $p^{h\grave{i}\circ}$	‘dog’
	mbél	$\grave{a}$ -mbél	‘door’
	$\grave{n}$ t́óŋ	$\grave{a}$ - $\grave{n}$ t́óŋ	‘hole digger’
	ápě	$\grave{a}$ -ápě	‘wasp (sp.)’

b.	n-dóm	à-dóm	‘husband’
	ŋ-gwál	à-gwál	‘wife’
c.	ì-mò	à-mò	‘shed’
	ì-fùŋgá	à-fùŋgá	‘earring’
(12)	pòŋgò ‘maize’	à- pòŋgò	‘varieties of ‘maize’
	pùlà ‘cassava’	à-pùlà	‘varieties of cassava’
	mpjàŋ ‘sauce’	à-mpjàŋ	‘varieties of sauce’

#### 4.3.2.7 The class *kì-*

*kì-* is used as singular prefix for 20.13% of nouns (13a) where it commutes with the prefix *ì-* (PL). In this respect, it corresponds to the PB class 7. It also commutes with the plural prefix *ì-* in five nouns (13b). In addition, 10.55% of singular nouns, mostly of the class  $\emptyset$ , also make their plural in *kì*<sup>15</sup> (14a) as well as the three singular words beginning in *ì-*, listed in (14b).

(13)	Singular	Plural	
a.	kì-tàw	ì-tàw	‘sheep’
	kì-tfìl	ì-tfìl	‘piece’
	kì-fèfó	kì-fèfó	‘bone’
	kì-dzà	ì-dzà	‘chair’
b.	kì-bómbú	m-bómbú	‘snake (sp.)’
	kì-bèkò	m-bèkò	‘shoulder’
	kì-bámbú	m-bámbú	‘board’
	kì-túl	n-túl	‘punch’
	kì-dzìtá tʃìŋ	jà-dzìtá tʃìŋ	‘angle’

<sup>15</sup> probably originating from PB class 13 prefix \**tì*.

(14)	Singular	Plural	
a.	fjètí	kì-fjètí	‘tree’
	tùùlù	kì-tùùlù	‘donkey’
	nòn°	kì-nòn°	‘bird’
	mbé’í	kì- mbé’í	‘door’
b.	ì-pìl	kì-pìl	‘blister’
	ì-káƙjé	kì-káƙjé	‘first fruit’
	ì-dzì’nó	kì-dzì’nó	‘name’

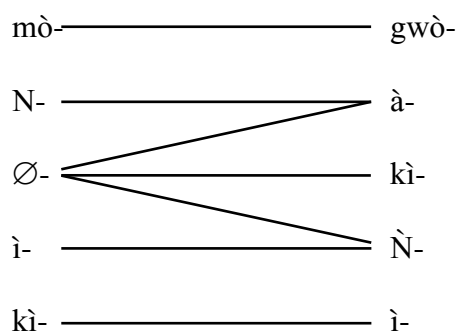
#### 4.3.2.8 The class ì-

The prefix ì- is used as a singular prefix for 164 singular nouns in my database (15), commuting with the plural prefix ì-. In this respect, it corresponds to the PB class 5. There is also another ì-, a reflex of PB class 8, which occurs as the plural marker of 145 singular nouns beginning in kì- (16a). The only exception found so far is the class Ø- noun fɔ̃flà ‘fishing rod’ (16b).

(15)	Singular	Plural	
	ì-tóó	ì-tóó	‘house’
	ì-dó’íj	ì-dó’íj	‘sleeping room’
	ì-fùmbí	ì-fùmbí	‘orange’
(16)	Singular	Plural	
a.	kì-léwó	ì-léwó	‘baby’
	kì-bùmó	ì-bùmó	‘fruit’
	kì-tówú	ì-tówú	‘bite’
b.	fɔ̃flà	ì-fɔ̃flà	‘fishing rod’

Figure 1 is a summary of the singular-plural pairings in morphological classes, excluding the small number of marginal patterns mentioned above. I did include pattern *mò-* / *gwò-* despite its very low number of members, because the three nouns it contains are important.

Figure 1: morphological class pairings



Many nouns referring to species of animals, trees and plants have unknown plurals, probably because speakers generally use them in the singular. However, those who were able to give me a plural form (after some hesitation) mostly used the prefix *à-*, which functions as the default plural prefix in the language.

The morphological class system shows a high degree of variability in that many nouns can have alternative class prefixes, mostly in the plural. This shows the instability of the Kwakum noun class system. Some examples are provided in (17). The bracketed figures in the examples below indicate the number of occurrences.

- (17) a.  $\emptyset-$  /  $\grave{a}$  ~  $\grave{n}$ - (67)
- |                    |   |                    |   |                  |        |
|--------------------|---|--------------------|---|------------------|--------|
| $\emptyset$ -mbó   | / | $\grave{a}$ -mbó   | ~ | $\grave{n}$ -mbó | ‘hand’ |
| $\emptyset$ -ᵑgòpù | / | $\grave{a}$ -ᵑgòpù | ~ | ᵑ-ᵑgòpù          | ‘shoe’ |
| $\emptyset$ -ᵑᵑáᵑ  | / | $\grave{a}$ -ᵑᵑáᵑ  | ~ | ᵑ-ᵑᵑáᵑ           | ‘milk’ |
- b.  $\emptyset-$  / *k̀-* ~ *à-* (58)
- |                    |   |                  |   |                 |         |
|--------------------|---|------------------|---|-----------------|---------|
| $\emptyset$ -fjètí | / | <i>k̀</i> -fjètí | ~ | <i>à</i> -fjètí | ‘tree’  |
| $\emptyset$ -kómó  | / | <i>k̀</i> -kómó  | ~ | <i>à</i> -kómó  | ‘slave’ |
| $\emptyset$ -tá’ᵑ  | / | <i>k̀</i> -tá’ᵑ  | ~ | <i>à</i> -tá’ᵑ  | ‘price’ |



Ø-*ɲ*ɔ̀là / kɪ-*ɲ*ɔ̀là ~ à-*ɲ*ɔ̀là            ‘cat’

c. Ø- / kɪ; à- ~ ñ- (14)

Ø-pàmbú / kɪ-pàmbú ~ à-pàmbú ~ ñ-pàmbú            ‘pimple’

Ø-mbàwáj / kɪ-mbàwáj ~ à-mbàwáj; ñ-mbàwáj            ‘jaw’

Ø-mbéɲ / kɪ-mbéɲ ~ à- mbéɲ ~ ñ-mbéɲ            ‘stick’

Ø-kótú / kɪ-kótú ~ à-kótú ~ ñ-kótú            ‘bag’

d. ì- / kɪ- ~ ñ- (2)

ì-pìl / kɪ-pìl; ñ-pìl            ‘blister’

ì-káʃkǝ́ / kɪ-káʃkǝ́; ñ-káʃkǝ́            ‘first fruit’

e. kɪ-/î- ~ ñ- (4)

kɪ-bámbú / ì-bámbú ~ ñ-bámbú            ‘board’

kɪ-bómbú / ì-bómbú ~ ñ-bómbú            ‘snake (sp.)’

kɪ-bèkò / ì-bèkò ~ ñ-bèkò            ‘shoulder’

kɪ-túl / ì-túl ~ ñ-túl            ‘fist’

Some singular nouns can occur without their noun prefix but still trigger agreement in their own class<sup>16</sup>. These nouns are mostly those whose singular noun prefix is *ì-* (18).

- (18)    ì-mò ‘shed’ ~ Ø-mò / ñ-mò ~ à-mò            ‘sheds’  
          ì-bú+kú ~ Ø-bú+kú / ñ- bú+kú            ‘jaw’  
          ì-bèlò ~ Ø-bèlò / ñ-bèlò            ‘hole (sp.)’  
          ì-fùkù ~ Ø-fùkù / ñ-fùkù            ‘stem’  
          ì-dí+nó ~ Ø-dí+nó / kɪ-dí+nó ~ ñ-dí+nó            ‘name’

Plural marking can be stacked (i.e. marked twice) or additive (i.e. added to the singular marker). I find the optional stacked plural marking *à-ñ-* in ten out of 155 nouns that have a singular in *ì-* and a plural in *ñ-* (19a). Stacked plural marking *à-gwì-* is obligatory for

<sup>16</sup> Agreement is discussed in Section 5.9 of chapter 5

the plural form of the noun *jáŋ* ‘brother’ (19b). Stacking is more generalised among younger speakers, who add an *à-* before all other plural markers. Nine out of 136 nouns with a singular prefix *kì-* and a plural *ì-* can have an alternative plural in *à-*, in which case the singular prefix *kì-* (20a) and *ì-* (20b) is preserved. Both phenomena point to a certain tendency for *à-* generalising as a plural marking.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (19) | a. <i>ì-ǰúm / ǰ-ǰúm ~ à-ǰ-ǰúm</i><br><i>ì-bèè / ì-m-bèè ~ à-m-bèè</i><br><i>ì-bóŋ / ì-m-bóŋ ~ à-m-bóŋ</i>   | ‘bracelet/s’<br>‘mirror’<br>‘knee’                                    |
|      | b. <i>m-jáŋ / à-gwì-jáŋ</i>   | ‘brother’   |
| (20) | a. <i>kì-bèkò / ì-bèkò ~ à-kì-bèkò</i><br><i>kì-tòndù / à-kì-tòndù</i><br><i>kì-bómbú / ì-bómbú ~ ì-m-bómbú ~ à-kì-bómbú</i><br><i>kì-túl / ì-túl ~ ì-n-túl ~ à-ì-n-túl</i><br><i>kì-tój / ì-tój ~ à-kì-tój</i> | ‘shoulder’<br>‘throne’<br>‘snake (sp.)’<br>‘fist’<br>‘act of charity’ |
|      | b. <i>ì-kòò / ì-ḡ-kòò ~ à-ì-kòò</i>   | ‘rock’  |

Finally, some irregular plurals are attested. These include the two reflexes of PB class 5/6 nouns with a vowel-initial stem *ǰ-í’ǰí / m-í’ǰí* ‘eye/s’ and *dí’nó (~ ì-dí’nó) / ì-mí’nó (~ ì-n-dí’nó ~ kì-dí’nó)* ‘name/s’. Also included are nouns whose reconstruction has not been possible (21).

- |      |  |            |
|------|--|------------|
| (21) | <i>fjààkó / ì-dzààkó (~ ì-dzjààkó)</i> | ‘finger’   |
|      | <i>dzíkí / míkí</i>                    | ‘river’    |
|      | <i>tʃàké / dzàǰí’ké</i>                | ‘thing’    |
|      | <i>tʃàǰí / dzàǰí</i>                   | ‘thing’    |
|      | <i>tʃètí / dzètí</i>                   | ‘medicine’ |

#### 4.3.2 Noun classes

Kwakum has five noun classes, defined as sets of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern. Agreement in noun class is restricted to a relatively small set of adnominal modifiers, almost each of which has a separate paradigm of agreement markers,

given in Table 18. These modifiers are possessive pronouns (I), demonstratives (I-V) and the connective relator (VI). For ease of reference, I have given the Kwakum noun classes a Bantu-style number, chosen somewhat arbitrarily (but see below for a partial justification). The agreement prefixes of the six paradigms will all be glossed as PP in this thesis. Nouns are assigned to noun classes on the basis of their morphological class and number as presented in Table 18.

Table 18: paradigms of noun class agreement markers.

noun class	morphological class & number	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1	mò-, n-, Ø-	w-	Ø-	jí-	Ø-	jí-	Ø-
2	à-, gwò-, ì- (PL)	j-	jí-	jí-	jí-	jí-	Ø- ~ jì-
5	ì- (SG)	lj-	Ø- ~ lí-	lí- ~ jí-	Ø-	jí-	Ø-
6	ṅ(-)	m-	mí-	mí-	mí-	mí-	Ø-
7	kì-	tʃ-	tʃí-	tʃí-	tʃí-	tʃí-	Ø- ~ kì-

I = possessives, I-V = demonstratives and IV = connective relator

Agreement class 6 has a subclass for the plural of five nouns, viz. *ì-tó/ṅ-tó* ‘ear/s’, *ì-ló/ṅ-ló* ‘intestin/s’ *mbó/ṅ-mbó* ‘hand/s’, *ì-tú/ṅ-tú* ‘day/s’ and *ṅ-féé* ‘work’, which trigger the agreement prefix *ṅ-* in paradigm VI (connectives).

The brackets around the hyphen in *ṅ(-)* are meant to show that nouns that begin in a non-commuting syllabic nasal consonant in the singular tend to be assigned to class 6, as are the plural nouns that begin in *ṅ-* and where this nasal can be straightforwardly analysed as a class prefix, because it commutes with a different singular prefix. This could be used as an extra argument to recognise *ṅ-* as a class marker in singular nouns anyway. However, a minority of 13% of singular nouns that start in *ṅ* do trigger agreement pattern of noun class 1, as if they had no prefix. Singular *ṅ-* is therefore somewhere in between a canonical class prefix and the initial syllable of a possibly derived stem.

Nouns whose plural marking is stacked or additive are assigned to the noun class associated to either morphological class they are marked with, excluding noun class 5. In clearer terms as presented in Table 19, nouns whose plural forms take the noun prefixes *à-ṅ-* agree either in class 2 or in class 6. Those marked by the prefixes *à-gwò-* can only agree in noun class 2 since both prefixes are assigned to the same noun class. In addition, plural

nouns marked by the noun prefixes *à-kì-* trigger agreement in class 2 or 7. Finally nouns whose plural is marked by addition of the plural prefix *à-* to the singular prefix *ì-* (SG), can only trigger agreement in noun class 2, which is the noun class associated to the prefix *à-*. Some examples are provided in (22)-(23)<sup>17</sup>.

Table 19: noun class assignment with stacked and additive plural marking

plural marking	noun classes
<i>à-ṅ-</i>	2 or 6
<i>à-gwò-</i>	2
<i>à-kì-</i>	2 or 7
<i>à-ì-</i> (SG)	2

- (22) a. *àmbèè jàámbó*  
*à-m-bèè j-àámbó<sup>L</sup>*  
 2-6-mirror PP<sub>2</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my mirrors’

- b. *àmbèè màámbó*  
*à-m-bèè m-àámbó<sup>L</sup>*  
 2-6-mirror PP<sub>6</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my mirrors’

- (23) a. *àìkòò jàámbó*  
*à-ì-kòò j-àámbó<sup>L</sup>*  
 2-5-rock PP<sub>2</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my rocks’

- b. *\*àìkòò ljàámbó*  
*à-ì-kòò lj-àámbó<sup>L</sup>*  
 2-5-rock PP<sub>3</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my rocks’

<sup>17</sup> See Section 5.9 of chapter 5 for a detailed discussion on agreement.

### 4.3.3 Noun classification within the A90 languages

This section aims at discussing the literature on noun classification in A90 languages. A general observation is that noun classification is almost inexistent within the A90 group, except in Kwakum where a (somewhat) fragmentary system is attested. However, the Kwakum noun class system has been described differently by past researchers. An early attempt of description of the noun class system of Kwakum [A91] is that of Guthrie (1967/1971) cited by Maho (1999: 285), who gives pairings of noun prefixes (24). However, there is no information about the actual form of the noun and agreement prefixes. Belliard (2005: 84) proposes a system of nine noun prefixes listed in Table 20.

(24) Maho (1999:285)

1/2; 3/4; 3/5; 3/9; 5/4; 5/5; 5/8; 5/9; 7/8; 7/9; 8/9; 9/4; 9/9; 10; 11; 12; 14; 19/7; INF:5

Table 20: Belliard's (2005: 84) noun class system

cl.	préf. cl.	cl.	préf. cl.
1	mò-	2	gwò-
3	∅-	4	kì-
5	ì-	6	Ñ-
7	kì-	8	ì-
		12	à-

Polri [A92] is reported to have had a system of six classes in three pairs: 1/2; 5/6; and 7/8 (Maho 1999:285). In a more recent work, Wega Simeu (2012) proposes a slightly different reconstruction (Table 21), acknowledging that noun classification in the Bantu sense is no longer attested in Polri, apart from a couple of human referents which are marked by the gender *mù-/bò-* (*mwǎn/bwǎn* 'child'; *mùtì/bùtì* 'person'). As he puts it,

Le préfixe nominal et la classe nominale tels que connus dans les langues bantu n'existent plus en pólrì. Les vestiges de préfixes |mù-|, |bò-|, |à-|, |mì|, |mè-| et |fi-| peuvent donner l'hypothèse que ces derniers ont existé en pólrì et auraient disparu avec le temps à cause du contact avec des langues non-bantu (gbaya et baka) ou encore par évolution de la langue.

(Wega Simeu 2012 : 103)

Table 21: Wega Simeu's reconstruction of Polri noun class system

historical class	PB prefix	Polri residual prefix	Realization
1	mù	mù  / Ø-	[m-] [mw-]
2	bà-	bò-  /  bè-	[bɔw-] [b-] [bò-]
5	ì-	à-	[à-]
4	mì-	mì-	[mì-], [mj-]
6	mà-	mè-	[m-], [mè]
8	bì-	bì-	[bì-]

Guthrie (1967/1971) cited in Maho (1999:285) and Ernst (1992) report that the only trace of a noun class system in Kakɔ [A93] is the distinction animate/inanimate (Ø-/be- vs. Ø/me-) in the plural. Agreement prefixes include *wɔ* and *ʃɛ* for the class Ø- (Guthrie 1967/1971)<sup>18</sup> and *bè-* (and its allomorph *bà-*) and *mè-* (and its allomorph *mà-*) for the classes *be-* and *me-* respectively (Ernst 1992).

#### 4.4 Borrowings

Thirty two nouns in my database are clearly identified as borrowings, among which 18 nouns borrowed from (Pidgin) English (*máfà* ‘master’; *wúndà* ‘window’, *ì-wòlà* ‘hour’, *táwùlà* ‘towel’). This significant number might be due to the fact that (Pidgin) English was widely used in multilingual and multicultural milieus such as markets. For the nouns *ánpɔ̀fù* ‘onion’; *ɔ̀fínà* ‘machine’ and *bíjà* ‘beer’, it is not easy to say if they come from English or French since these nouns are phonetically similar in the two languages. The source of *álíkì* ‘whisky’ is not self-evident. It is difficult to say whether it comes from English, French or from another language. *ʃí'pú* ‘skirt’ and *bùbù* ‘boubou’ probably originate from the French *jupe* and *boubou* respectively, given their phonetic resemblance. Among the remaining 10 nouns, only *máwàtì* ‘mason’ (< *maurer*), *ɲgólà* ‘town’ (< *òɲgólà*) and *ʃándálà* ‘funeral’ (< *salaka*) are reported to have been borrowed from the German, Ewondo (Bantu [A72a]) and Ffulde languages respectively. The origin of the other nouns is somehow confusing because

<sup>18</sup> As pointed in (Maho 1999: 285), Guthrie does not clearly say if there is an animate distinction.

they are widely used in many local languages in Cameroon, including non-Bantu languages like Gbaya. Some correspondences in a couple of languages are proposed in Table 22.

Table 22: Correspondences of loanwords in some languages

Kwakum	kakɔ	Ewondo	Məɗɛmba	Gbaya	Gloss
lòŋgá	lòŋgá	lùŋgá	lùŋgá	lòŋgá	‘bucket’
báŋgà	báŋgà	báŋgà	báŋgà	báŋgà	‘hemp’
kómbò	kómbò	kómbò	kúmbù	kómbò	‘deep pan’
ì-kùfá	kúsá	kùzá	kùtʃá	kúsá	‘sponge’

From a tonal point of view, the overwhelming majority of borrowed nouns in Kwakum have a HL pattern (25a). Minor tone patterns are LHL (25b), LH (25c), L (25d) and LH<sup>h</sup>H (25e). In addition, as illustrated in (26), most singular borrowed nouns are prefixless and therefore are assigned to noun class 1. They make their plural using the morphological prefixes *à-* (26a) or *kì-* (26b). Only four borrowed nouns in my database take the prefixes *ì-* in the singular and *ì-* in the plural (26c). In the list below, the question mark is meant to indicate either words whose source is still not clear or words that are found in many languages (referred to as ‘wanderwords’) such as the ones illustrated in Table 22.

(25) a. HL (23)

máfà	‘master’	(< <i>master</i> , English)
bíjǎ	‘beer’	(< <i>beer</i> , English ? or <i>bière</i> , French?)
íŋgìn	‘engine’	(< <i>engine</i> , English)
ápǎfù	‘onion’	(< <i>onion</i> , English? or <i>oignon</i> , French?)

b. LHL (4)

ǰǰínà	‘machine’	(< <i>machine</i> , English. or <i>machine</i> , French?)
ǰándákà	‘funeral’	(< <i>salaka</i> , Ffulde)
ǰtúwà	‘car’	(< <i>motor</i> , English)
bùbù	‘boubou’	(< <i>boubou</i> , French)

## c. LH (3)

ì-pòpó	‘pawpaw’	(< pawpaw, English)
ì-kùfá	‘sponge’	(< ?)
lòṅgá	‘bucket’	(< ?)

## d. L (1)

ì-wòlà	‘hour’	(< <i>hour</i> , English)
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e. LH<sup>+</sup>H (1)

ǽí'pú	‘skirt’	(< <i>jupe</i> , French)
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- (26) a. tǽéndrì / à-tǽéndrì ‘candle’ (< *candle*, English)  
 kíṣim / à-kíṣim ‘kitchen’ (< *kitchen*, English)  
 íṅgìn / à-íṅgìn ‘engine’ (< *engine*, English)
- b. wúndà / kì-wúndà ‘window’ (< *window*, English)  
 kómbò / kì-kómbò ~ à-kómbò ‘deep pan’ (< ? )  
 lójà / kì-lójà ~ à-lójà ‘law’ (< *law*, English)
- c. ì-wòlà / ñ-wòlà ~ à-ñ-wòlà ‘hour’ (< *hour*, English)  
 ì-ǽóndò / ñ-ǽóndò ‘week; sunday’ (< *Sunday*, English)  
 ì-pòpó / ìm-pòpó ‘pawpaw’ (< pawpaw, English)

## 4.5 Nominal derivation

Slightly more than seven percent of the nouns in my lexical database are clearly in a derivational relation with a verb. In many instances nouns are derived from verbs by the addition of a class prefix to the verb stem. This prefix is most often *ì-* (27a), sometimes also *kì-* (27b) or *ì-* (27c).



- (27) a. ì-fḡ'óló 'peace, coolness' < fḡ'óló 'be cool'  
           ì-dzó'kó 'respect' < dzó'kó 'understand'  
           ì-ḡòkàà 'understanding' < ḡòkàà 'understand each other'  
           ì-dùljáà 'cry of many people' < dùljáà 'shout (made by many people)'  
           ì-ló'ó 'depth' < ló'ó 'be deep'
- b. kì-bàjàà 'surgery' < bàjàà 'be operated'  
     kì-tátlè 'beginning' < tátlè 'begin' (tr.)
- c. ḡ-dzòlàà 'bath' < dzòlàà 'bathe'  
     ḡ-ḡàndlàà 'urine' < ḡàndlàà 'urinate'  
     ḡ-tèkḡàà 'disturbance' < tèkḡàà 'disturb'

In the other types of derivational relations, there is no straightforward way to decide which is derived from which. Sometimes the addition of a prefix is accompanied by a change in the stem which may be segmental (28a), tonal (28b) or both (28c).

- (28) a. kì-fém 'rest' - fé'mó 'have a rest'  
           kì-tél 'place' - té'ljé 'place'  
           ḡ-kéḡ 'cunning' - kéḡwè 'be cunning'  
           ḡ-dzòtòkù 'boiling' - dzòtò 'boil' (tr.)
- b. ì-jépjé 'religion' - jé'pjé 'believe'  
     kì-dómbó 'language' - dó'mbó 'reason'
- c. ì-lùkú 'respect' - lùkò 'respect' (v)  
     kì-bèn° 'denial' - bènò 'deny'  
     kì-kó'ljé 'cough' - kó'jlè 'cough' (v)  
     ḡ-péwú 'search' - pé'wó 'search' (v)

In some instances, there is a segmental (29a) or tonal change (29b) or both (29c) without any prefix. In other instances there is no formal difference between the noun and its related verb (30).

(29)	a.	fjél	‘thirst’	-	fjé <sup>h</sup> lós	‘dry up’
		tʃèw	‘game’	-	tʃèwò	‘play’
		pùklà	‘weeding’	-	pùklè	‘weed’
		ʃèkmà	‘sieve’	-	ʃèkò	‘sieve’ (v)
	b.	dútó	‘fullness’	-	dú <sup>h</sup> tós	‘feeling full’
	c.	lèl°	‘weakness’	-	lèlò	‘weaken (intr.)’
		mèl°	‘neck’	-	mèlò	‘swallow’
		lándá	‘row’	-	lààndò	‘align’
		tʃál	‘speed’	-	tʃàá <sup>h</sup> lós	‘be sharp, be fast’
(30)		jéklè	‘teacher’	-	jéklè	‘teach’

The only regular derivational pattern I was able to identify thus far is the derivation of instruments by means of the prefix *kì-* and the suffix *-kà*. Another instance where *-kà* occurs as a derivational suffix denoting instruments is in the noun-to-noun derivation *pùpù-kà* ‘fan’ < *kì-pùpùl* ‘wind’.

(31)	kì-pètkà	‘plug, lid’	<	pètò	‘close’
	kì-ɕìwùkà	‘key’	<	ɕítlè	‘open’
	kì-tʃáلكà	‘sharp weapon’	<	tʃàá <sup>h</sup> lós	‘be sharp, be fast’
	kì-bándkà	‘pin’	<	bàá <sup>h</sup> ndós	‘tie up’

Some nouns are derived through reduplication of the verb stem (32a) or noun stem (32b). Tonal or segmental change may be involved.

- (32) a. pè ~ bèlà ‘seed’ < bèlò ‘plant’  
 pà ~ bàm ‘disapproval’ < ì-bàá’ mó ‘reprimand’  
 kà ~ kàn° ‘story’ < kàṅè ‘tell a story’
- b. kḍ~kḍn ‘patient’ < kḍn° ‘illness’  
 kì-pì~pí ‘dump’ < pí ‘calm; quietness’

In addition, reduplication is also used to form the nouns *mḍmḍḍnḍ* (SG) ‘little child’ and *gwḍgwḍḍnḍ* (PL) ‘little children’ derived respectively from *mḍ-ḍnḍ* ‘child’ and *gwḍ-ḍnḍ* ‘children’. These nouns also serve as diminutives as will be shown in the next chapter.

#### 4.6 Compound nouns

The compound nouns found in my data base (34 nouns in total) are mostly used to encode kinship terms, sex-based distinction (i.e. male vs. female), natural phenomena and some species of plants and animals. For sex-based distinction, the noun *ndóm* ‘male’ and *ṅgwál~gwè* ‘female’ are added before the base noun. As shown in the examples (33)-(35), they all have the structure ‘N<sub>1</sub> + N<sub>2</sub>’, not distinct from connective constructions when the latter is void of the connective relator<sup>19</sup>. Some of them involve unpredictable phonetic modifications (33) while others present a combination where one or both parts have not been identified (34-35).

- (33) kǎl pùlò ‘thunder’ < kǎ’í ‘gun’ + pùlò ‘rain’  
 kǎl dʒòwó ‘lightening’ < kǎ’í ‘gun’ + dʒòwó ‘day’  
 ì-bòṅ ménó ‘dawn’ < ì-bóṅ ‘knee’ + ménó ‘tomorrow’
- (34) a. mí ʃááṅdʒé ‘paternal uncle’ < m-jáṅ ‘brother’ + ʃááṅdʒé ‘father’  
 b. mḍm p<sup>h</sup>ââm ‘son’ < mḍ-ḍnḍ ‘child’ + p<sup>h</sup>ââm ‘man’  
 c. tʃ<sup>h</sup>ì bóṅ ‘great-grandchild’ < tʃ<sup>h</sup>ìl° ‘grandchild’ + ì-bóṅ ‘knee’

<sup>19</sup> As discussed in Section 5.5 of Chapter 5, the connective relator is optional in connective constructions and therefore can be omitted.

- (35) tʃɪndà bónɿ            ‘elbow’                            < tʃɪndà ‘?’                            + ì-bónɿ            ‘knee’  
 ɲǎm ʃòkò            ‘mongoose’                            < ɲààmò ‘animal’                            + ʃòkò            ‘?’  
 ʃàà dônɿ            ‘village yard’                            < ʃàà° ‘village’                            + dônɿ            ‘?’
- (36) bámbúlá gwóʹljé ‘scorpion’                            < bámbúlá ‘?’                            + gwóʹljé ‘?’  
 kàà gwòʃà            ‘grass (sp.)’                            < kàà            ‘?’                            + gwòʃà            ‘?’  
 pèl bémbú            ‘mushroom (sp.)’ < pèl            ‘?’                            + bémbú            ‘?’

## 5. THE NOUN PHRASE

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with issues related to the noun phrase. It first discusses personal pronouns (Section 5.2) and the adnominal modifiers viz. possessive pronouns (Section 5.3), demonstratives (Section 5.4), connective (Section 5.5), the nominaliser-linker *mòò/gwòòm* (Section 5.6) quantifiers (Section 5.7) and qualifiers (Section 5.8 ). It then looks at the Kwakum agreement system (Section 5.9) and ends with the word order within the noun phrase (Section 5.10).

## 5.2 Personal pronouns

Table 23 provides the paradigms of person markers in Kwakum. Based on their syntactic behaviour which will be discussed below, I distinguish between free forms (independent pronouns) and bound forms (affixes and clitics). Some person/number combinations lack a subject and/or object affix/clitic and are therefore always represented by means of an independent pronoun.<sup>20</sup>

Table 23: person markers

	free forms	bound forms		
		subject marker	object marker	
			affix	clitic
1SG	ɲì	n-	-εε	
2SG	gwè	ɔ̀-	-ɔɔ	
3SG	dʒɛ̃ <sup>H</sup>	à-		= jɛ̃ <sup>H</sup>
1PL	ʃɛ̃ <sup>H</sup>			
2PL	díne	nɛ̃ <sup>H</sup> -		
3PL	dʒà <sup>H</sup>	jɛ̃ <sup>H</sup> -		= jà <sup>H</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The terms independent and bound pronouns are respectively referred to by (Belliard, *kwakum*) as ‘pronoms forts’ and ‘pronoms faibles’.

## 5.2.1 The first and second persons singular

The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes *n-* (< PB \**n-*) and *ɔ̂-* (< PB \**ʊ-*) are restricted to subject position (1-2).

(1) jíntʃèwò

<sup>H</sup>-n-n-tʃèwò

PRS-1SG-PRS-play

‘I am playing.’

(2) óndàámbú kè jî

<sup>H</sup>-ɔ̂-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> kè jî

PRS-2SG-PRS-cook what SUB.Q

‘What are you cooking?’

The forms *-εε* and *-ɔɔ* occur with verb forms that end in a consonant. They are used immediately after verb stems whose final vowel has been deleted as a consequence of their non-prepausal position (3-4).

(3) p<sup>h</sup>àám m<sup>h</sup>bíwéè

p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-bíwó<sup>L</sup>-εε

1.man PRS-PRS-beat-1SG

‘The man is beating me.’

(4) mòmjàà mèbòndóó

<sup>L%</sup>mó-mjaa mè-bòndò<sup>H</sup>-ɔɔ

1-woman PST1-wait.PST1-2SG

‘The woman waited for you.’

The object suffixes *-εε* (1SG) and *-ɔɔ* (2SG) are also used after the 2SG.IMP suffix *-kɛ̀*.

- (5) fêkɛ̀ɛ̀ j̀tʃíkí  
 fê-kɛ̀<sup>L</sup>-εε                      j̀tʃíkí  
 give.IMP-2SG.IMP-1SG    6.water  
 ‘Give me [some] water!’

The independent forms *j̀ɪ̀* (1SG) and *gɔ̀wɛ̀* (2SG) are used in subject position, where they are interchangeable with the pronominal prefixes *n-* (1SG) and *ɔ̀-* (2SG) (6-7). There is a strong tendency for the 1SG *n-* to be deleted before another nasal.

- (6) a. j̀tʃɛ̀wɔ̀  
       <sup>H</sup>-n-n-tʃɛ̀wɔ̀  
       PRS-1SG-PRS-play  
       ‘I am playing.’
- b. j̀ɪ̀ j̀tʃɛ̀wɔ̀  
       <sup>H</sup>-j̀ɪ̀     n-tʃɛ̀wɔ̀  
       PRS-1SG PRS-play  
       ‘I am playing.’
- (7) a. ɔ̀ndàámbú kè j̀ɪ̀  
       <sup>H</sup>-ɔ̀-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup>     kè     j̀ɪ̀  
       PRS-2SG-PRS-cook    what    SUB.Q  
       ‘What are you cooking?’
- b. gɔ̀wɛ̀ ndàámbú kè j̀ɪ̀  
       <sup>H</sup>-gɔ̀wɛ̀     n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> kè     j̀ɪ̀  
       PRS-2SG    PRS-cook    what    SUB.Q  
       ‘What are you cooking?’

*ɲì* (1SG) and *gwè* (2SG) are also used as objects immediately after verbs that end in a vowel (8), as complements of a preposition (9), and in focus position (10). The independent pronouns can also be used alone, constituting a full utterance on their own (11).

(8) ámbèè gwè

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-bèè gwè

PRS-3SG-PRS-follow 2SG

‘He is following you.’

(9) p<sup>h</sup>àâm nídómbú nè gwè

p<sup>h</sup>àám n-ídómbó<sup>L</sup> nè gwè

1.man PRS-talk with 2SG

‘The man is talking to you.’

(10) gwè ʃì médòwáá p<sup>h</sup>àâm

gwè ʃì<sup>H</sup> mē-dówaa p<sup>h</sup>àám

2SG FOC PST1-call.PST1 1.man

‘It is you who called the man.’

(11) A. t<sup>h</sup>à ndàámb jî

t<sup>h</sup>à <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> jî

who PRS-PRS-cook SUB.Q

‘Who is cooking?’

B. ɲì

ɲì

1SG

‘I, me’

Finally, the independent forms *ɲì* (1SG) and *gwè* (2SG) tend to be interchangeable with the object suffixes *-ɛɛ* (1SG) and *-ɔɔ* (2SG) after verbs ending in *-dʒɛ* and *-kɛ* (12-13).



(12) a. p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> ñnòndzèè  
 p<sup>h</sup>àá<sup>m</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-nòndzè-εε  
 1.man PRS-pat-1SG  
 ‘The man is patting me.’

b. p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> ñnòndzè ñì  
 p<sup>h</sup>àá<sup>m</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-nòndzè ñì  
 1.man PRS-PRS-pat 1SG  
 ‘The man is patting me.’

(13) a. àá<sup>l</sup>ákèé  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-lákè<sup>H</sup>-εε  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-ambush.PST2-1SG  
 ‘He ambushed me.’

b. àá<sup>l</sup>ákè ñí  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-lákè<sup>H</sup> ñì  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-ambush.PST2 1SG  
 ‘He ambushed me.’

## 5.2.2 The third person

### 5.2.2.1 The prefixes à- (SG) and jé<sup>H</sup>- (PL)

The prefixes à- (SG) and jé<sup>H</sup>- (PL) only occur as subject prefixes. They are illustrated in (14) and (15).

(14) àdzì né kùl àñfè  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> nè kùl à-n-fé<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-COP with 1.strength 3SG-CSC-come.CSC  
 ‘He can come.’

- (15) jéʃè ménó  
<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-ʃè<sup>H</sup> ménó  
 FUT1-3PL-come tomorrow  
 ‘They will come tomorrow.’

The 3PL pronoun  $j\acute{e}^H$  is also used as an indefinite pronoun translated in French by the indefinite pronoun ‘on’ (16).

- (16) jémè dówáà jé nàà àjì lémbè  
<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-mè<sup>H</sup> dówáà jè<sup>H</sup> †nàá<sup>L</sup> à-jì<sup>H</sup> lémbè  
 IPFV-3PL-PST4 call 3SG COMP 3SG-COP 1.wizard  
 ‘On l’appelait sorcier’  
 ‘He was called a wizard (*literally* they called him a wizard).’

#### 5.2.2.2 The clitics = $j\acute{e}^H$ (SG) and = $j\grave{a}^H$ (PL)

The clitics = $j\acute{e}^H$  (SG) and = $j\grave{a}^H$  (PL) occur immediately after the verb (17). Consequently, with ditransitive verbs, they can only occur in first object position (18).

- (17) àá<sup>+</sup>dʒéé jé  
 à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-dʒéé = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2 = 3SG  
 ‘He saw her.’

- (18) a. p<sup>h</sup>àâm nǵ<sup>+</sup>fé já †búpà  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-fé = jà<sup>H</sup> búpà  
 1.man PRS-PRS-give = 3PL 1.meat  
 ‘The man is giving them some meat.’

- b. \*p<sup>h</sup>àâm nǵ<sup>+</sup>fé †búpà jà<sup>o</sup>

Outside the immediate postverbal position, the pronouns = $j\acute{e}^H$  (SG) and = $j\grave{a}^H$  (PL) also occur in the construction A *nè* B. ‘A and B’ with A being a pronoun and B a pronoun

or a noun different from A. In such construction,  $=j\acute{e}^H$  and  $=j\grave{a}^H$  can only occupy the A position.

- (19)  $j\grave{e}$   $n\acute{e}$   $n\grave{i}$   $j\acute{f}\grave{e}^\circ$   
 $j\grave{e}^H$   $n\grave{e}$   $n\grave{i}$   $^H\text{-n-f}\acute{e}^H$   
 3SG with 1SG PRS-PRS-come  
 ‘She and I are coming.’

### 5.2.2.3 The independent forms $d\acute{z}\acute{e}^H$ (SG) and $d\acute{z}\grave{a}^H$ (PL)

The independent forms  $d\acute{z}\acute{e}^H$  (SG) and  $d\acute{z}\grave{a}^H$  (PL) can be used alone (20). In a ditransitive clause, they can only occur in second object position (21). They can also function as topic (22) or complement of a preposition (23).

- (20) A.  $\acute{o}mp\acute{e}w\acute{u}$   $t\grave{a}$   
 $^H\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-n-p}\acute{e}w\acute{o}^L$   $t\grave{a}$   
 PRS-2SG-PRS-look\_for who  
 ‘Who are you looking for?’

- B.  $d\acute{z}\grave{a}^\circ$   
 $d\acute{z}\grave{a}^H$   
 3PL  
 ‘them’

- (21)  $p^h\grave{a}\grave{a}m$   $\acute{n}\acute{y}^f\acute{e}$   $n\acute{i}$   $^f d\acute{z}\acute{a}$   
 $p^h\grave{a}\acute{a}m$   $^H\text{-n-f}\acute{e}$   $n\grave{i}$   $d\acute{z}\grave{a}^H$   
 1.man PRS-PRS-give 1SG 3PL  
 ‘The man is giving them to me.’

- (22)  $d\acute{z}\grave{e}$   $\grave{a}\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}$   $t\grave{a}mbj\grave{e}$   
 $d\acute{z}\grave{e}^H$   $\grave{a}\text{-}^H\text{-}\acute{a}\acute{a}\text{-}d\acute{z}\acute{i}$   $t\grave{a}mbj\grave{e}$   
 3SG 3SG-PST2-PST2-eat.PST2 good  
 ‘[As for] him, he ate well.’

- (23) mòmjàà jèèkòd jè né dzà°  
 L% mó-mjaa jèè<sup>H</sup> kòd jè<sup>H</sup> nè dzà<sup>H</sup>  
 1-woman work.PST3 PST3 3SG with 3PL  
 ‘The woman worked with them’ .

In addition, only the independent forms  $dʒɛ^H$  (SG) and  $dʒà^H$  (PL) can be used in the constructions  $A nè A$  (*viz.*  $dʒɛ nè dʒɛ^\circ$  and  $dʒà nè dʒà^\circ$ ), where the two pronouns have the same antecedent. The construction  $dʒɛ nè dʒɛ^\circ$  can be interpreted as ‘if it were depending on him/her’ (24)<sup>21</sup>.  $dʒà nè dʒà^\circ$  is interpreted as ‘if it was depending on them’ in (25). It encodes a reciprocal action in (26).

- (24) dʒɛ nè dʒɛ à-fèé<sup>L</sup>-wéé<sup>L</sup> jè<sup>H</sup>  
 dʒɛ<sup>H</sup> nè dʒɛ<sup>H</sup> à-fèé<sup>L</sup>-wéé<sup>L</sup> jè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG with 3SG 3SG-FUT1-NEG come  
 ‘If it was depending on him, he would not come.’

- (25) dʒà nè dʒà jèfèé dʒì búpà tʃɪndʒí  
 dʒà<sup>H</sup> nè dʒà<sup>H</sup> jè<sup>H</sup>-fèé<sup>L</sup> dʒì<sup>H</sup> búpà tʃɪndʒí<sup>L</sup>  
 3PL with 3PL 3PL-FUT1 eat 1.meat all  
 ‘If it was depending on them, they would eat all the meat.’

- (26) nààm jɪdʒìjàà dzà nè dzà ótʃ<sup>h</sup>èè téé  
 nààmò <sup>H</sup>-n-dʒìj-àà dzà<sup>H</sup> nè dzà<sup>H</sup> ò-tʃ<sup>h</sup>èè<sup>H</sup> téé  
 1.animal PRS-PRS-eat-PASS 3PL with 3PL LOC-LOC-1.forest in  
 ‘Animals eat each other in the forest.’

Finally, as illustrated in (27),  $dʒɛ^H$  (SG) and  $dʒà^H$  (PL) are interchangeable with their respective clitic forms  $=jɛ^H$  (SG) and  $=jà^H$  (PL) in the A position of the construction  $A nè B$  discussed in Section 5.2.2.2 above. This distribution is also observed immediately after the verb  $bé$  in the expression  $běk$  ‘bé’ ‘without’ (28).

<sup>21</sup> This structure can be used with all other pronouns.

(27) a. jè né jì jífè°  
 jè<sup>H</sup> nè jì <sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG with 1SG PRS-PRS-come  
 ‘She and I are coming.’

b. dzè né jì jífè°  
 dzè<sup>H</sup> nè jì <sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG with 1SG PRS-PRS-come  
 ‘She and I are coming.’

(28) a. àáfè bĕk<sup>+</sup>bé já  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup> bĕk<sup>L</sup>-bé = já<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come NEG-be = 3PL  
 ‘He came without them.’

b. àáfè bĕk<sup>+</sup>bé dzá  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup> bĕk<sup>L</sup>-bé dzá<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come NEG-be 3PL  
 ‘He came without them.’

### 5.2.3 The first person plural

*1PL* is encoded by the independent form *fɛ<sup>H</sup>*. Some of its uses are illustrated in (29)-(33). The 1PL marker in Kwakum is monosyllabic unlike in the two other A90 languages Kakɔ and Polri where the 1PL is disyllabic: 1PL in Kakɔ is *wùsɛ* (whose reduced form is *hɛ*) and *ɔ́sɛ́* in Polri.

(29) fè téé nè pèngè  
 fè<sup>H</sup> téé<sup>L</sup> nè pèngè  
 1PL NEG with 1.money  
 ‘We don’t have money.’

- (30) àá'dʒéé ʃé kòòkòò  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒéé ʃé<sup>H</sup> kòòkòò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1PL yesterday  
 'He saw us yesterday.'
- (31) mòmjàà mé<sup>+</sup>fé ʃé máṅgòlò  
 L%<sup>L</sup>mó-mjaa <sup>H</sup>-mè-fé ʃé<sup>H</sup> máṅgòlò  
 1-woman PST2-PST2-give.PST2 1PL 1.mango  
 'The woman gave us some mangoes.'
- (32) A. tà médówáá jí jí  
 tà <sup>H</sup>-mè-dówaa jì jì  
 who PST2.PST2-call.PST2 1SG SUB.Q  
 'Who called me?'
- B. ʃé°  
 ʃé<sup>H</sup>  
 1PL  
 'We [did]'
- (33) ʃè ʃí <sup>+</sup>mé<sup>+</sup>péwóó  
 ʃé<sup>H</sup> ʃí<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-mè-péwó-óó  
 1PL FOC PST2-PST2-search.PST2-2SG  
 'It is us who looked for you.'

#### 5.2.4 The second person plural

The 2PL prefix *né<sup>H</sup>-* is found in subject position (34). It is also found in the expression *nè né nè°* 'if it was depending on you' (35). As illustrated in example (36), *né<sup>H</sup>-* is interchangeable with the form *díne* immediately after the verb. *díne* can be used everywhere except in subject position. Some examples are provided in (37)-(39).

- (34) nàá<sup>H</sup>kwáljé <sup>H</sup>dúnɛŋ  
 nè<sup>H</sup>-<sup>H</sup>àà-kwálje dúŋɛŋ  
 2PL-PST2-PST2-arrive.PST2 morning  
 ‘You arrived in the morning.’
- (35) nè né nè nèfêé dzì búpà tʃɪndzì  
 nè<sup>H</sup> nè nè<sup>H</sup> nè<sup>H</sup>-fêé<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> búpà tʃɪndzì<sup>L</sup>  
 2PL with 2PL 2PL-FUT1 eat 1.meat all  
 ‘If it was depending on you, you would eat all the meat.’
- (36) a. ní ɲkàɲè díné kákàn fókú  
<sup>H</sup>-ɲì n-kàɲè dínɛ kàkàn<sup>H</sup> fókú  
 PRS-1SG PRS-tell\_story 2PL 1.story other  
 ‘I will tell you another story.’
- b. ní ɲkàɲè nè kákàn fókú  
<sup>H</sup>-ɲì n-kàɲè nè<sup>H</sup> kàkàn<sup>H</sup> fókú  
 PRS-1SG PRS-tell\_story 2PL 1.story other  
 ‘I will tell you another story.’
- (37) búpà mbèè díné  
 búpà <sup>H</sup>-n-bèè dínɛ  
 1.animal PRS-follow 2PL  
 ‘The animal is following you.’
- (38) díné nénlààkì bùlààwè°  
 dínɛ <sup>H</sup>-nè<sup>H</sup>-n-lààkò bùl-ààwè<sup>H</sup>  
 2PL PRS-2PL-PRS-complain be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘[As for] you (PL), you complain too much.’

- (39) A. à-fɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ nɛ̀ tà jî  
 à-fɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́<sup>L</sup>      ʃɛ́ɛ́ɛ́<sup>L</sup>      nɛ̀      tà      jî  
 3SG-FUT1    work    with    who    SUB.Q  
 ‘With whom will he work?’
- B. nɛ̀ díne  
 nɛ̀      díne  
 with 2PL  
 ‘With you.’

### 5.2.5 Dual pronouns

Kwakum also has a set of four dual number pronouns summarised in Table 24.

Table 24: dual number pronouns

1SG + 2SG	díʃɔ̀ɔ̀ <sup>H</sup>
1SG + 3SG	díʃɛ̀ɛ̀ <sup>H</sup>
2SG + 3SG	díɲɛ̀ɛ̀ <sup>H</sup>
3SG + 3SG	jáɲɛ̀ɛ̀ <sup>H</sup>

The final vowels of the dual pronouns,  $-ɔ̀ɔ̀^H$  and  $-ɛ̀ɛ̀^H$ , possibly originate from the 2SG and 3SG possessive modifiers  $-ɔ̀ɔ̀^H$   $-ɛ̀ɛ̀^H$  respectively, based on their morphological resemblance and given the fact that dual pronouns that end in  $-ɛ̀ɛ̀^H$  or  $ɔ̀ɔ̀^H$  always involve the 3SG or the 2SG respectively, combined to another grammatical person. In addition to the 3SG possessive modifier  $-ɛ̀ɛ̀^H$ , the dual pronoun  $jáɲɛ̀ɛ̀^H$  (3SG + 3SG) probably contains the 3PL clitic  $=já^H$ .

Dual pronouns can take any position in the clause: subject (40), object (41), prepositional complement (42). They can also be focalised (43) or used alone (44).

- (40) díʃɔ̀ɔ̀ mɛ́ɔ̀dzí támbjɛ̀  
 díʃɔ̀ɔ̀<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-mɛ̀-dzí      támbjɛ̀  
 1SG + 2SG    PST2-PST2-eat.PST2    good  
 ‘We (you and I) ate well.’



- (41) p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé<sup>+</sup>dʒéé <sup>+</sup>díʃðð°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám̄ <sup>H</sup>-mè-dʒéé díʃðð<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1SG + 2SG  
 ‘The man saw us (you and me).’
- (42) p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé<sup>+</sup>ʃéé né díʃðð°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám̄ <sup>H</sup>-mè-ʃéé nè <sup>+</sup>díʃðð<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man PST2-PST2-work.PST2 with 1SG + 2SG  
 ‘The man worked with us (you and me).’
- (43) díʃèè ʃi mé<sup>+</sup>dʒí tàmbjè  
 díʃðð<sup>H</sup> ʃi<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-mè-dʒí tàmbjè  
 1SG + 2SG FOC PST2-PST2-eat-PST2 good  
 ‘It is I and you who ate well.’
- (44) A. jémpéwú tà jî  
<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-péwó<sup>L</sup> tà jî  
 PRS-3PL-PRS-look\_for who SUB.Q  
 ‘Who is he looking for?’  
 B. díʃnèè°  
 díʃnèè<sup>H</sup>  
 2SG + 3SG  
 ‘you (you and her).’

Where a dual pronoun can be used, the corresponding plural pronoun can normally be used too, as well as the two relevant singular pronouns linked by the preposition *nè* ‘and, with’. There is no ordering constraint in this phrasal construction (45)-(46).

- (45) a. p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé<sup>+</sup>dʒéé <sup>+</sup>díʃòò°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> H-mè-dʒéé díʃòò<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1SG + 2SG  
 ‘The man saw us (you and me).’
- b. p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé<sup>+</sup>dʒéé ʃé  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> H-mè-dʒéé ʃé<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1PL  
 ‘The man saw us.’
- (46) a. p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé<sup>+</sup>dʒéé jí nè gwè  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> H-mè-dʒéé jì nè gwè  
 1.man PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1SG with 2SG  
 ‘The man saw me and you.’
- b. p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé<sup>+</sup>dʒéé gwé nè jì  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> H-mè-dʒéé gwè nè jì  
 1.man PST2-PST2-see.PST2 2SG with 1SG  
 ‘The man saw you and me.’

Dual pronouns can also be used predicatively as illustrated in (47). The construction in (47a) and (47b) are semantically identical.

- (47) a. búpà né dʒì móò díʃòò°  
 búpà †né<sup>L</sup> dʒì<sup>H</sup> mòò H-díʃòò<sup>H</sup>  
 1.animal DEM<sub>1</sub> COP NLNK.SG CON-1SG + 2SG  
 ‘This animal is ours (mine and yours).’
- b. búpà né dʒì (móò) gwáàmb né gwè  
 búpà †né<sup>L</sup> dʒì<sup>H</sup> mòò H-gwáàmbó nè gwè  
 1.animal DEM<sub>1</sub> COP NLNK.SG CON.1SG.POSS.SG with 2SG  
 ‘This animal is mine and yours.’

However, there are some co-occurrence constraints in topic constructions between anteposed pronouns and resumptive pronouns. For instance, both cannot be dual pronouns (see Section 11.3 of Chapter 11). Another context where dual pronouns cannot replace their corresponding plural pronouns is before the particle *-tʃítʃé* (< *tʃíŋ* ‘true, truth’) used to encode a reflexive or reciprocal action (48), and as an intensifier (49).

- (48) a. *ʃé n<sup>+</sup>dʒóʃé ʃé tʃítʃé*  
<sup>H</sup>-ʃé<sup>H</sup>      n-dʒóʃé<sup>L</sup>    <sup>H</sup>ʃé<sup>H</sup>    tʃítʃé  
 PRS-1PL    PRS-judge    1PL    RFL  
 ‘We are judging ourselves’  
 ‘We are judging each other.’
- b. *ʃé n<sup>+</sup>dʒóʃé nì nè gwé tʃítʃé*  
<sup>H</sup>-ʃé<sup>H</sup>      n-dʒóʃé<sup>L</sup>    nì    nè    <sup>H</sup>gwé    tʃítʃé  
 PRS-1PL    PRS-judge    1SG    and    2SG    RFL  
 ‘We are judging ourselves’  
 ‘We are judging each other.’
- c. \**ʃé ndʒóʃé díʃòò tʃítʃé*
- (49) a. *ʃàá ʃè ʃé tʃítʃé*  
<sup>ʃ</sup>è<sup>H-H</sup>-àà      ʃè<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>ʃé<sup>H</sup>    tʃítʃé  
 1PL-PST2-PST2    come.PST2    1PL    RFL  
 ‘We came alone’
- b. *ʃàá ʃè ní nè gwé tʃítʃé*  
<sup>ʃ</sup>è<sup>H-H</sup>-àà      ʃè<sup>H</sup>      nì    nè    <sup>H</sup>gwé    tʃítʃé  
 1PL-PST2.PST2    come.PST2    1SG    with    2SG    RFL  
 ‘We came I and you alone.’
- c. \**ʃàá tʃé tʃítʃé*

The form *tʃítʃé* possibly derives from the reduplication of the noun *tʃín* ‘true, truth’. As pointed out by Heine and Kuteva (2004: 302), it is common to see lexemes associated to the meaning ‘true’ grammaticalising into intensifiers.

Finally, dual pronouns are also found after the nominal prepositions *pʰɛʰʰ* ‘in front of’, *ʃímó* ‘behind’ and *pǎmbú* ‘for’ (50a), unlike the relevant pronominal phrasal construction where the personal pronoun found immediately after the preposition must be replaced by a possessive pronoun (50b).

(50) a. pʰàám ʃʃéé pǎmb díʃðð°

pʰàám    <sup>H</sup>-n-ʃéé<sup>L</sup>                      pǎmbú    díʃðð<sup>H</sup>  
 1-man    PRS-PRS-work    for            1SG + 2SG

‘The man is working for us.’

b. pʰàám ʃʃéé pǎmb wáamb né gwè

pʰàám    <sup>H</sup>-n-ʃéé<sup>L</sup>                      pǎmbú    w-àambó            nè    gwè  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-work    for            PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS    with    2SG

‘The man is working for I and you.’

### 5.3 Possessives

I make a distinction between dependent possessive pronouns and independent possessive pronouns. The former, which correspond to the French *adjectif possessif*, can only have the attributive function of a noun modifier as in the English noun phrase *my ball*. In contrast, the latter, referred to in French as *pronom possessif*, is an independent form which can occupy any nominal function (*viz.* subject, object, predicate, etc.). A correspondence in English is the possessive *mine* in the sentence *the ball is mine*.

Dependent possessives in Kwakum have the structure AGREEMENT PREFIX + POSSESSIVE STEM, the agreement prefix being determined by the noun class of the modified noun. The stems of possessive pronouns have two allomorphs, also conditioned by the noun class of the possessed noun. These allomorphs share segmental and tonal characteristics but cannot be synchronically derived from each other. See below for justification. They are presented in Table 25.

Table 25: dependent possessive pronouns

noun class	Agreement prefix	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1	w-	ààmbó	òò <sup>H</sup>	èè <sup>H</sup>	ùfú	ùn <sup>H</sup>	àà <sup>H</sup>
2	j-	àámbó <sup>L</sup>	óó	éé <sup>L</sup>	ífí <sup>L</sup>	ín <sup>L</sup>	áa
5	l-						
6	m-						
7	tʃ-						

As Table 25 shows, the first paradigm (henceforth referred to as POSS<sub>1</sub>), consists of the forms *ààmbó<sup>H</sup>* (1SG), *òò<sup>H</sup>* (2SG), *èè<sup>H</sup>* (3SG), *ùfú* (1PL), *ùn<sup>H</sup>* (2PL) and *àà<sup>H</sup>* (3PL). It is used with nouns triggering agreement in class 1 (51). The agreement prefix for independent possessives is *w-*. It probably originates from the PB class 1 pronominal prefix *\*jù*, given their segmental and tonal resemblance.

- (51) *tèlè wààmbó*  
*tèlè*            *w-ààmbó*  
 1.mat            PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my mat’

The agreement prefix is often deleted between a stem final sonorant and the possessive (52-53).

- (52) *fjàl ààmbó*  
*fjàl*                    *w-ààmbó*  
 1.daughter\_in\_law    PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my daughter-in-law’

- (53) *fén ààmbó*  
*fén<sup>L</sup>*            *w-ààmbó*  
 1.handle        PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my handle’

The second paradigm of dependent possessives (referred to as POSS<sub>2</sub>) regroups the forms *àámbs̃* (1SG), *ɔɔ* (2SG), *éé̃* (3SG), *íí̃* (1PL), *íí̃* (2PL) and *áá* (3PL). POSS<sub>2</sub> forms is used with nouns triggering agreement in the remaining noun classes viz. classes 2, 5, 6, 7 (54-57).

(54) gwò̀̀n jàá́mbó  
 gwò̀̀-̀nó j-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 2.child PP<sub>2</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my children’

(55) ìtóó ljàá́mbó  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> lj-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 5-house PP<sub>5</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my sauce’

(56) m̀̀pjàŋ màá́mbó  
 m̀̀pjàŋ m-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 6.sauce PP<sub>6</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my sauce’

(57) k̀̀lèwò t̃jàá́mbó  
 k̀̀l-éwò t̃j-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PP<sub>7</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my baby’

From their formal resemblance, it is clear that the two paradigms have some derivational relations. POSS<sub>2</sub> probably originates from POSS<sub>1</sub> to which a H tone must have been added, coupled with other tonal and segmental changes. This H tone could be the tone of the agreement prefixes which might have been *jí-* (2), *lí-* (5), *mí-* (6) and *t̃í-* (7), by analogy with the agreement prefixes for demonstratives *ˀné̃* (near speaker) and *ké̃* (far speaker). See Section 5.4.

A possible scenario is that the agreement prefixes *jí-* (2), *lí-* (5), *mí-* (6) and *t̃í-* (7) might have lost their vowels and the high tone of the deleted vowel might have integrated

the stem of the possessives. Note the idiosyncratic realisation of the high tone on the 1SG.POSS *àá'mbɔ̂* which rather surfaces on the second mora of the initial long vowel.

The stems in POSS<sub>2</sub> might have also undergone other tonal changes resulting in the presence of a final floating L in the stems *àámbɔ̂* (1SG.POSS), *éé<sup>L</sup>* (3SG.POSS), *íí<sup>L</sup>* (1PL) and *ín<sup>L</sup>* (2PL), and the loss of the lexical low tones in *ɔɔ* (2SG), *éé<sup>L</sup>* (3SG) and *áá* (3PL) which are now realised with an entirely H tone pattern. Also note the vowel change occurring in the 1PL *íí<sup>L</sup>* (< *ùfù*).

POSS<sub>2</sub> forms have undergone so much tonal and segmental transformation that synchronically, it is no longer possible to derive them from POSS<sub>1</sub>. Table 26 compares POSS<sub>1</sub> forms with an incoming H (spread from the H of the noun *fón* ‘wood’), in the first column with POSS<sub>2</sub> forms in the second column.

Table 26: comparison between POSS<sub>1</sub> and POSS<sub>2</sub>

	fón ‘wood’ (NC 1)	m̀pjàŋ ‘soup’ (NC 6)
1SG	/fón w-àámɔ̂/ → fón wáámɔ̂	/m̀pjàŋ m-àámɔ̂ <sup>L</sup> / → m̀pjàŋ màá <sup>L</sup> mbɔ̂
2SG	/fón w-ɔ̂ɔ <sup>H</sup> / → fón wɔ̂ɔ <sup>°</sup> ~ wɔ̂ <sup>L</sup> ɔ̂	/m̀pjàŋ m-ɔ̂ɔ / → m̀pjàŋ mɔ̂ɔ̂
3SG	/fón w-éé <sup>H</sup> / → fón wéé <sup>°</sup> ~ wé <sup>L</sup> é	/m̀pjàŋ m-éé <sup>L</sup> / → m̀pjàŋ méé
1PL	/fón w-ùfù/ → fón wú <sup>L</sup> fù	/m̀pjàŋ m-íí <sup>L</sup> / → m̀pjàŋ mí <sup>L</sup> fí
2PL	/fón w-ùn <sup>H</sup> / → fón wùn <sup>°</sup> ~ wú <sup>L</sup> ń	/m̀pjàŋ m-ín <sup>L</sup> / → m̀pjàŋ mín
3PL	/fón w-àá <sup>H</sup> / → fón wáá <sup>°</sup> ~ wá <sup>L</sup> á	/m̀pjàŋ m-áá / → m̀pjàŋ máá

As shown in Table 26, the high tone of the noun *fón* ‘wood’ is realised on the first mora of the initial long vowel of the POSS<sub>1</sub> form *àámɔ̂* (1SG.POSS), unlike in the POSS<sub>2</sub> form *àámbɔ̂* (1SG.POSS). In addition, after a H the POSS<sub>1</sub> forms *ɔ̂ɔ<sup>H</sup>* (2SG.POSS) and *éé<sup>H</sup>* (3SG.POSS) are realised as *ɔ̂ɔ<sup>°</sup>~ɔ̂<sup>L</sup>ɔ̂* and *éé<sup>°</sup>~é<sup>L</sup>é* respectively, unlike their respective POSS<sub>2</sub> counterparts *ɔ̂ɔ̂* (2SG.POSS) and *éé* (3SG.POSS) which surface with an entirely high tone pattern. Finally, the POSS<sub>1</sub> forms *ùfù* (1PL) and *ùn<sup>H</sup>* (2PL) are respectively realised as *úfù<sup>°</sup> ~ ú<sup>L</sup>fù* and *ùn<sup>°</sup> ~ ú<sup>L</sup>ń*, while their respective POSS<sub>2</sub> cognates are *íí<sup>L</sup>* and *ín*.

The noun *támbú* ‘field’ which normally triggers agreement of class 1 has a special treatment with possessives as it can trigger agreement either in the class 1 (58a) or class 2 (58b).

(58) a. támb(ú) (w)ààmbó  
 támbú<sup>L</sup> w-ààmbó  
 1.field PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my field’

b. támb(ú) jàá<sup>+</sup>mbó  
 támbú<sup>L</sup> j-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 1.field PP<sub>2</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my field’

After the postpositions *kól* ‘on’, *pǎmbú* ‘for’, *římó* ‘behind’, *p<sup>h</sup>ěł* ‘in front of’, the agreement prefixes of class 1 are interchangeable with that of class 2; however, the possessive stem is always POSS<sub>1</sub>.

(59) a. kól wàà° ~ jàà° ‘on them’  
 b. pǎmb wá<sup>+</sup>á ~ pǎmb já<sup>+</sup>á ‘for them’  
 c. řím wá<sup>+</sup>á ~ římó já<sup>+</sup>á ‘behind them’  
 d. p<sup>h</sup>ěł wá<sup>+</sup>á ~ p<sup>h</sup>ěł já<sup>+</sup>á ‘in front of them’

The kinship terms listed in Table 27 have an alternative inalienable possessive construction, in which the possessive modifier is merged with their stem. The inalienable construction is the most frequently used. In the table below, this inalienable form is underlined.



Table 27: possessive constructions with some kinship terms

	ḡááṅdʒé 'father'	ṅàáṅdʒé 'mother'	mjáṅ 'brother'	bàw° 'grandfather'	kòkù 'maternal uncle'
1SG	ḡààṅ wáàmbó	ṅààṅ wáàmbó	mjáṅ (w)áàmbó	bàwáá	kòtḡáàmbò kòkù wáàmbó
2SG	ḡóṅdʒé ~ ḡààṅ wó'ó	ṅòṅdʒé ~ ṅààṅ w-ó'ó	mjóṅ ~ mjáṅ (w)ó'ó	bàw (w)óó	kòtḡó'ó kòkù wóó°
3SG	ḡááṅdʒé ~ ḡààṅ wé'é	ṅàáṅdʒé ~ ṅààṅ wé'é	mjáṅ ~ mjáṅ (w)é'é	bàw ~ bàw (w)éé	kòtḡé'é kòkù wéé°
1PL	ḡààṅ wú'fú	ṅààṅ-wú'fú	mjáṅ (w)ú'fú	bàw (w)ú'fú	kòtḡú'fú kòkù wú'fú
2PL	ḡààṅ wú'ń	ṅààṅ wú'ń	mjáṅ (w)ú'ń	bàw (w)ú'ń	kòtḡú'ń kòkù wú'ń
3PL	ḡààṅ wá'á	ṅààṅ wá'á	mjáṅ (w)á'á	bàw (w)á'á	kòtḡá'á kòkù wáá°

Independent possessives are listed in Table 28. They agree with their possessee in number, but not in gender. The forms in singular originate from the construction *gú-*+POSS<sub>1</sub>. The prefix *gú-* may be a reflex of the Proto Bantu class 17 marker. The plural forms of independent possessives have the structure *ḡ-*+POSS<sub>2</sub>.

Table 28: independent possessives pronouns

	singular	plural
1SG	ḡwáàmbó	dʒáàmbó <sup>L</sup>
2SG	ḡwóó <sup>H</sup>	dʒóó
3SG	ḡwéé <sup>H</sup>	dʒéé <sup>L</sup>
1PL	ḡúfú	dʒífí <sup>L</sup>
2PL	ḡún <sup>H</sup>	dʒín <sup>L</sup>
3PL	ḡwáá <sup>H</sup>	dʒáá

As pointed out earlier, independent possessives can occupy every nominal function. Some of them are illustrated below: subject (60), object (61-62), predicate (63) and complement of a preposition (64).

- (60) dzóó ndètò  
 dzóó                    <sup>H</sup>-n-dètò  
 2.SG.POSS.PL    PRS-PRS-be\_strong  
 ‘Yours are strong’ (your fruits).
- (61) àábómjáá gwóò kòòkòò  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-bómjaa                    gwóò<sup>H</sup>                    kòòkòò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-sell.PST2    2SG.POSS.SG    yesterday  
 ‘He sold yours yesterday’ (your sheep).
- (62) jì fêé <sup>+</sup>fé <sup>+</sup>mómjáá gwáàmbó  
 jì    fêé<sup>L</sup>   fé    mó-mjaa                    gwáàmbó  
 1SG    FUT1   give   1-woman                    1SG.POSS.SG  
 ‘I will give the woman mine’ (my mat).
- (63) gwòòò jé dzí dzáá  
 gwòòò    j-é                    dzí<sup>H</sup>    dzáá  
 2-child    PP<sub>2</sub>-ANAPH    COP    3PL.POSS.PL  
 ‘Those children are theirs’ (the children of that couple).
- (64) gwòòò jàámbí nè dzóó dzí jàáló  
 gwòòò    j-àámbí<sup>L</sup>                    nè    dzóó                    dzí<sup>H</sup>    jàáló<sup>L</sup>  
 2-child    PP<sub>2</sub>-1SG.POSS    and    2SG.POSS.PL    COP    friend  
 ‘My children and yours are friends.’

The independent possessive can occur in N<sub>1</sub> position in a N<sub>1</sub> + (CON+) N<sub>2</sub> connective construction. However, for this construction to be grammatical, N<sub>2</sub> MUST be post-modified either by a demonstrative (65) or by the anaphorical -é (66). This construction is a focalisation strategy used to place the focus on the possessor (see focalisation in Section 11.2 of Chapter 11).

- (65) dzàám̄b̄ íbùm̄ó jí<sup>1</sup>né<sup>L</sup>  
 gwáám̄b̄ó      <sup>H</sup>-ì-bùm̄ó      jí-<sup>1</sup>né<sup>L</sup>  
 1SG.POSS.SG    CON-2-fruit    PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM  
 ‘These fruits of mine (*literally* mine of fruits these).’

- (66) gwáám̄b̄ù m̄óð̄n é  
 gwáám̄b̄ó      <sup>H</sup>-m̄ò-ð̄nó      w-é  
 1SG.POSS.SG    CON-1-child    PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘that child of mine (the one we spoke about earlier).’

#### 5.4 Demonstratives

Table 29 presents demonstratives and the anaphorical modifier as well as their respective agreement markers.

Table 29: demonstratives and the anaphorical marker

noun classes	near speaker	near listener	near listener	far	anaphoric
1	<sup>1</sup> né <sup>L</sup>	j-óó <sup>L</sup>	ké <sup>L</sup>	jí-ké <sup>L</sup>	(w-)é
2	jí-né <sup>L</sup>	j-óó <sup>L</sup>	j-é <sup>L</sup>	jí-ké <sup>L</sup>	j-é
5	lí-né <sup>L</sup>	lj-óó <sup>L</sup> ~ j-óó <sup>L</sup>	ké <sup>L</sup>	jí-ké <sup>L</sup>	lj-é
6	mí-né <sup>L</sup>	m-óó <sup>L</sup>	m-é <sup>L</sup>	mí-ké <sup>L</sup>	m-é
7	tʃí-né <sup>L</sup>	tʃ-óó <sup>L</sup>	tʃ-é <sup>L</sup>	tʃí-ké <sup>L</sup>	tʃ-é

Demonstratives and the anaphorical modifier are used post-nominally as illustrated in (67)-(68). The class 1 agreement prefix can be omitted (68) after a sonorant.

- (67) ní gwáá k̄ìdél̄ né  
<sup>H</sup>-n̄ì      n-gwáá<sup>L</sup>      k̄ì-dél̄ó<sup>L</sup>      <sup>1</sup>né<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-1SG    PRS-want    7-garment    DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘I want this garment.’

- (68) m̀̀̀̀̀n é  
 m̀̀̀̀̀nó w-é  
 1-child PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘that child (the aforementioned one).’

After a noun, demonstratives can have either an attributive (69a) or a predicative interpretation (69b). The construction below is interpreted as ‘this child’ or ‘here/this is the child’.

- (69) m̀̀̀̀̀n †né  
 m̀̀̀̀̀nó †né<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 a. ‘this child’  
 b. ‘Here/this is the child.’

In contrast, demonstratives are only used predicatively after a personal pronoun.

- (70) jí †né  
 jì †né<sup>L</sup>  
 1SG DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘Here I am.’

Conversely, after the nominaliser-linker *m̀̀̀̀̀* (SG) /*gẁ̀̀̀̀m* (PL), the demonstrative only has a referential function. The nominaliser-linker *m̀̀̀̀̀* (SG) /*gẁ̀̀̀̀m* (PL) is discussed in Section 5.6.

- (71) m̀̀̀̀̀ó †né  
 m̀̀̀̀̀ò †né<sup>L</sup>  
 NLNK.SG DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘this one’

5.4.1 The near-speakers demonstrative  $\text{ʔnɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}$ 

$\text{ʔnɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}$  is used to identify referents as being close to the speaker. Its agreement prefixes are  $j\text{-}$  (class 2),  $l\text{-}$  (class 5),  $m\text{-}$  (class 6) and  $tf\text{-}$  (class 7). There is no prefix for class 1 nouns. As I mentioned in Section 3.4 of Chapter 2,  $\text{ʔnɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}$  makes immediately preceding low-toned TBU to be realised H; hence the superscript upward arrow. This tonal phenomenon is mostly observed when the demonstrative is followed by a pause (72) and tends to be optional non-prepausally (73).

- (72)  $k\text{ɔ̀n} \text{ʔnɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}$   
 $k\text{ɔ̀n}^{\text{H}} \quad \text{ʔnɛ}^{\text{L}}$   
 1.illness DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘this illness’

- (73)  $k\text{ɔ̀n} \text{nɛ} \text{jɛ̀ndòwáà} \text{jɛ̀} \text{nàá} \text{èbòlà}$   
 $k\text{ɔ̀n}^{\text{H}} \quad \text{ʔnɛ}^{\text{L}} \quad \text{ʔ-jɛ̀}^{\text{H}}\text{-n-dòwáà} \quad \text{jɛ̀}^{\text{H}} \quad \text{ʔnàá}^{\text{L}} \quad \text{èbòlà}$   
 1.illness DEM<sub>1</sub> PRS-3SG-PRS-call 3SG COMP 1.Ebola  
 ‘This illness is called Ebola.’

5.4.2 The near-listener demonstrative  $\text{ʔʔ}$ 

$\text{ʔʔ}$  is mainly used to identify referents as being close to the hearer. In this context, it is interchangeable with the demonstrative  $\text{ɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}$  (74). The agreement prefixes used with the demonstrative  $\text{ʔʔ}$  are  $j\text{-}$  (classes 1, 2 and 5),  $lj\text{-}$  (class 5),  $m\text{-}$  (class 6) and  $tf\text{-}$  (class 7). The prefixes  $j\text{-}$  and  $lj\text{-}$  are interchangeable in class 5.

- (74) a.  $\text{jí} \text{màámbú} \text{kààm} \text{bùpà} \text{fɛ̀k} \text{ìbùmò} \text{jó}^{\text{ʔ}}$   
 $^{\text{H}}\text{-jì} \quad \text{n-wàámbó}^{\text{L}}\text{-kààmò} \quad \text{bùpà} \quad \text{fɛ̀kɛ}^{\text{L}} \quad \text{ì-bùmó} \quad \text{j-}^{\text{ʔ}}$   
 PRS-1SG PRS-NEG-like 1.meat give.IMP.2SG 2-fruit PP2-DEM  
 ‘I don’t like meat; give me those fruits.’

b. jí màámbú kààm bùpà fék ìbùmò jé

<sup>H</sup>-jì      <sup>H</sup>-n-wàámbó<sup>L</sup>-kààmò bùpà      fék<sup>L</sup>      ì-bùmó j-é<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-1SG    PRS-PRS-NEG-like    1.meat    give.IMP.2SG    2-fruit    PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM

‘I don’t like meat; give [me] those fruits.’

In the examples below, the speaker uses *ǝǝ* to identify his hand, a referent that is closer to him than it is to the hearer. In this sentence, the meaning of the demonstrative *ǝǝ* is similar to the demonstrative *né*, but with different pragmatics as explained after the following examples.

(75) káálé mbò jós mí kée jì

káale<sup>L</sup>      mbó      j-ǝǝ<sup>L</sup>      mí<sup>L</sup>      kée<sup>L</sup>      jì  
 watch\_out    1.hand    PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM    AUX    pain    1SG

‘Watch out! This hand is paining me.’

(76) káálé mbò né mí kée jì

káale<sup>L</sup>      mbó      †né<sup>L</sup>      mí<sup>L</sup>      kée<sup>L</sup>      jì  
 watch\_out    1.hand    DEM<sub>1</sub>    AUX    pain    1SG

‘Watch out! This hand is paining me.’

Pragmatically, the difference between examples (75) and (76) is that in (75), the speaker draws the hearer attention about his painful hand without necessarily pointing at it. In (76), the speaker who gives a handshake to the hearer with his painful hand draws the hearer’s attention on his sick hand, as he points at the hand.

The demonstrative *ǝǝ* has an anaphorical use in the example in (77). In this context, it is interchangeable with the anaphorical marker *é* (77b).

(77) a. kàkàn jós bèmé nàá

kàkàn<sup>H</sup>    j-ǝǝ<sup>L</sup>      bè-mè<sup>H</sup>      †nàá<sup>L</sup>  
 1.story    PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM    COP.PST4-PST4    COMP

‘That story happened as follows...’

b. kàkàn wé bèmé nàá

kàkàn<sup>H</sup> w-é bè-mè<sup>H</sup> †nàá<sup>L</sup>  
 1.story PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH COP.PST4-PST4 COMP

‘That story happened as follows...’

#### 5.4.3 The near-listener demonstrative $\mathcal{E}^{\mathcal{L}}$

The demonstrative  $\mathcal{E}^{\mathcal{L}}$  identifies referents as being close to the listener. In this context, it is interchangeable with the demonstrative  $\mathcal{J}^{\mathcal{L}}$  (78). It has an allomorph,  $k\mathcal{E}^{\mathcal{L}}$  which is restricted to nouns triggering agreement in classes 1 and 5 (79). Three agreement prefixes are used with the form  $\mathcal{E}^{\mathcal{L}}$  viz.  $j-$  (class 2),  $m-$  (class 6) and  $tf-$  (class 7). The form  $k\mathcal{E}^{\mathcal{L}}$  does not take any agreement prefix.

(78) a. gwòḍḍn jé jífée tàmbyè

gwò-ḍnó j-é<sup>L</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-íéé<sup>L</sup> tàmbyè  
 2-child PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM PRS-PRS-work good

‘Those children are working well.’

b. gwòḍḍn jóó jífée tàmbyè

gwò-ḍnó j-óó<sup>L</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-íéé<sup>L</sup> tàmbyè  
 2-child PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM PRS-PRS-work good

‘Those children are working well.’

(79) p<sup>h</sup>ì ké dzì gwáàmbó

p<sup>h</sup>ì<sup>H</sup> ké<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> gwáàmbó  
 1.dog DEM<sub>1</sub> COP 1SG.POSS.SG

‘That dog is mine.’

#### 5.4.4 The demonstrative $k\mathcal{E}^{\mathcal{L}}$

$k\mathcal{E}^{\mathcal{L}}$  identifies referents as being far from both the speaker and the hearer. There are only three agreement prefixes:  $jí-$  (classes 1, 2, 5),  $mí-$  (class 6) and  $tfí-$  (class 7).

- (80) kílèwò tʃí'ké  
 kì-léwò tʃí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PP<sub>7</sub>-DEM  
 'that baby'

- (81) ìlèwò jí'ké  
 ì-léwò jí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 2-baby PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM  
 'those babies'

As illustrated in (82)-(83), the vowel of the agreement prefix might be lengthened to show the referent is out of reach. The more distant the referent is from the speaker and the hearer, the longer the vowel of the agreement prefix is.

- (82) kìfjè̀tì tʃíí'ké  
 kì-fjè̀tì tʃíí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 7-tree PP<sub>7</sub>-DEM  
 'those trees' (far)

- (83) kìfjè̀tì tʃííí'ké  
 kì-fjè̀tì tʃííí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 7-tree PP<sub>7</sub>-DEM  
 'those trees' (very far)

#### 5.4.5 The anaphorical *é*

*é* is used to refer to an aforementioned referent. The agreement prefixes are *w-* (class 1), *j-* (class 2), *lj-* (class 5), *m-* (class) and *tʃ-* (class 7). The Class 1 agreement prefix *w-* is often erased after a word final sonorant.

- (84) fjàl é  
 fjàl w-é  
 1.daughter\_in\_law PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 'that daughter-in-law'



### 5.5 Connective

The connective construction is used to link two (typically) nominal constituents. The dependency relations between these constituents are ambiguous in Kwakum, in that the head of the NP is not necessarily the semantic head, as it will be shown below. I will therefore designate them by means of the neutral terms *first relatum* ( $R_1$ ) and *second relatum* ( $R_2$ ). As in the A92 language Polri (Wega Simeu 2012: 165), the connective relator in Kwakum is a floating high tone prefixed to  $R_2$ , as in (85), where the connective construction is used to express a possessive relation. Other types of connective relations will be discussed in this section, and in the following sections. Focus in connective constructions is discussed and illustrated in Chapter 11.

- (85) b̀̀pà m̀̀ð̀̀ǹ̀ó  
 b̀̀pà           <sup>H</sup>-m̀̀ð̀̀-ð̀̀ǹ̀ó  
 1.animal    CON-1-child  
 ‘the animal of the child’

In connective constructions, the connective relator can be omitted. The sentence in (86) is semantically identical to the sentence in (85).

- (86) d̀̀z̀̀ó̀̀f̀̀ó̀̀ m̀̀ð̀̀ǹ̀ó  
 d̀̀z̀̀ó̀̀f̀̀ó̀̀<sup>L</sup>    m̀̀ð̀̀-ð̀̀ǹ̀ó  
 1.song    1-child  
 ‘the song of the child’

When the connector relator occurs, it optionally agrees in gender with the head noun (87). As shown in Table 30 only two classes have a connective agreement prefix, viz. class 2 and class 7. These agreement prefixes, respectively *jì-* and *kì-*, have a low tone.

Table 30: connective

classes	agreement prefixes
1, 5, 6	∅-
2	∅- ~ jì- ~ ì-
7	∅- ~ kì-

- (87) kìdžìmá (kì)fjâl  
 kì-džìmá kì<sup>H</sup>-fjâl  
 7-beautiful PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-daughter\_in\_law  
 ‘a beautiful daughter in law’

There are four nouns whose class 6 plural forms trigger *n* as agreement prefix. These are *ì-tó/ń-tó* ‘ear/s’, *ì-ló/ń-ló* ‘intestine/s’ *mbó/m-mbó* ‘hand/s’ and *jà-féé* ‘work’. They are illustrated in (88).

- (88) a. mbó p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
 mbó p<sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
 1.hand CON-1.man  
 ‘the man’s hand’
- b. ñmbò mp<sup>h</sup>àâm  
 ñ-mbó n<sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
 6-hand PP<sub>6</sub>-CON-1.man  
 ‘the man’s hands’

The noun *ì-tú/ń-tú* ‘day’ triggers the agreement prefix *m-* (89).

- (89) fónḁ ñtù mnéè°  
 fónḁ ñ<sup>H</sup>-tú m<sup>H</sup>-ì-néè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.week 6-CON-day PP<sub>6</sub>-CON-2-four  
 ‘Wednesday’

As example (90) shows, the connective marker is obligatory when an agreement prefix is used.

- (90) a. àndàj jìkòndù  
           à-ndàj    jì-<sup>H</sup>-kòndù  
           2-cow    PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-young\_girl  
           ‘The young girl’s cows’  
 b. \*àndàj jìkòndù

The connective marker is optional when there is no agreement marker, provided R<sub>1</sub> is a noun (91), otherwise it is obligatory. Compare (92a) with (92b). The construction in (92a) is a connective construction while the construction in (92b) has an appositional interpretation.

- (91) a. àndàj kòndù  
           à-ndàj    <sup>H</sup>-kòndù  
           2-cow    CON-1.young\_girl  
           ‘The young girl’s cows’  
 b. àndàj kòndù  
           à-ndàj    kòndù  
           2-cow    1.young\_girl  
           ‘The young girl’s cows.’

- (92) a. jì p<sup>h</sup>ǎn...  
           jì       <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>ǎn  
           1SG    CON-1.chief  
           ‘Me being the chief...’

- b.  $\text{jì p}^{\text{h}}\text{̀̀n}$   
 $\text{jì p}^{\text{h}}\text{̀̀n}$   
 1SG 1.chief  
 ‘I, the chief...’

In connective constructions expressing kinship, the kinship term occurs as  $N_1$  (93). The only exceptions attested are the nouns *jàà̀̀ndzé* ‘mother’ and *fáá̀̀ndzé* ‘father’ which MUST be used as  $N_2$  when the possessor is a proper noun. Compare (94) with (95).

- (93)  $\text{m}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n b}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀l}^{\text{̀̀}}$   
 $\text{m}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}} \text{ }^{\text{H}}\text{-b}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀l}^{\text{̀̀}}$   
 1-child CON-1.Bello  
 ‘Bello’s child’

- (94) a.  $\text{b}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀l}^{\text{̀̀}} \text{ }^{\text{H}}\text{-j}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀a}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é}$   
 $\text{b}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀l}^{\text{̀̀}} \text{ }^{\text{H}}\text{-j}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀a}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é}$   
 1.Bello CON-1.mother  
 ‘Bello’s mother’  
 b. \* $\text{j}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀a}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é b}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀l}^{\text{̀̀}}$

- (95) a.  $\text{m}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}} \text{ }^{\text{H}}\text{-j}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀a}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é}$   
 $\text{m}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}} \text{ }^{\text{H}}\text{-j}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀a}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é}$   
 1-child CON-1.mother  
 \*‘the mother’s child’  
*intended* ‘the child’s mother’

- b.  $\text{j}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀a}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é} \text{ }^{\text{H}}\text{-m}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é}$   
 $\text{j}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀a}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é} \text{ }^{\text{H}}\text{-m}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{̀̀n}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{d}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{z}^{\text{̀̀}}\text{é}$   
 1.mother CON-1-child  
 ‘the child’s mother’

Typologically, Kwakum connective constructions present some of the characteristics of the Bantu canonical connective construction, as discussed in Van de Velde (2013) in that R<sub>2</sub> can classify R<sub>1</sub> (96), or locate it in space (97) and time (98).

- (96)      mjáǰí mð̀ð̀nó  
             mjáǰí<sup>L</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-mð̀-ð̀nó  
             1.voice    CON-1-child  
             ‘a child’s voice’

- (97)      péŋ kó‘í  
             péŋ            kòl<sup>H</sup>  
             1.injury    foot  
             ‘a foot injury’

- (98)      b̀pà kóòkòò  
             b̀pà            <sup>H</sup>-kòòkòò  
             1.meat    CON-yesterday  
             ‘yesterday’s meat’

Interestingly, Kwakum connective constructions also show some departures from the Bantu canonical model discussed by Van de Velde. I will discuss four of them. The first difference is that in Kwakum, R<sub>2</sub> may have uncommon characteristics such as adjectival (99), quantifying (100), pronominal (101), or verbal characteristics (102-104).

- (99)      féŋ détààwè°  
             féŋ<sup>L</sup>            <sup>H</sup>-dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
             1.handle    CON-be\_hard-ADJ  
             ‘a strong handle’

- (100) àdʒòwù jìgúmbà  
 à-dʒòwò jì-<sup>H</sup>-gúmbà  
 2-day PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-entire  
 ‘entire days’
- (101) a. m̀d̀̀n díf̀̀d̀̀<sup>o</sup>  
 m̀-̀nó <sup>H</sup>- díf̀̀d̀̀<sup>H</sup>  
 1-child CON-1SG + 2SG  
 ‘our child’ (mine and yours)
- b. m̀d̀̀n ààmb ǹé gwè  
 m̀-̀nó ààmbó ǹè gwè  
 1-child 1SG.POSS with 2SG  
 ‘our child’ (mine and yours)
- (102) j̀f̀ínà ík̀k̀k̀àà  
 j̀f̀ínà <sup>H</sup>-ì-k̀k̀k̀àà  
 1.machine CON-INF-grind  
 ‘grinding machine’
- (103) àk̀k̀k̀àn ík̀k̀k̀è gẁd̀̀nó  
 à-k̀k̀k̀àn<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-ì-k̀k̀k̀è gẁd̀̀nó  
 2-story PP<sub>1</sub>-CON- INF-tell 2-child  
 ‘stories to tell to children’
- (104) b̀p̀à íd̀àámbó ǹè ìd̀z̀í  
 b̀p̀à <sup>H</sup>-ì-d̀àámbó<sup>L</sup> ǹè ì-d̀z̀í  
 1.animal CON-INF-cook and INF-eat  
 ‘meat to cook and eat’

Secondly, an attributive modifier in the R<sub>1</sub> position of a connective construction syntactically functions as the head of the NP by triggering agreement in R<sub>2</sub> (105-107).

- (105) kìdzì má kìmómjáá  
 kì-dzì má kì-mó-mjaa  
 7-beautiful PP<sub>7</sub>-1-woman  
 ‘a beautiful woman’
- (106) àbòfáá kòndù  
 à-bòf-áa jì<sup>H</sup>-kòndù  
 2-be<sub>bad</sub>-ADJ PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-1.young\_girl  
 ‘wicked young girls’
- (107) kìbàlá kifjé<sup>+</sup>tí  
 kì-bàlá kì<sup>H</sup>-fjètí  
 7-two PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.tree  
 ‘the two trees’

The situation observed in (105)-(107) is known as dependency reversal in connective constructions (Ross 1998, Malchukov 2000). This expression refers to constructions in which ‘the morphosyntactic head (i.e. R<sub>1</sub>) modifies the morphosyntactic dependent (R<sub>2</sub>)’ (Van de Velde 2013: 24). Dependency reversal in connective constructions has been identified as an areal phenomenon in the macrosudan belt, hence its presence in narrow Bantu languages such as Eton (see examples 108-109). More instances of Dependency reversal in connective constructions are provided in the sections on quantifiers (Section 5.7), qualifiers (Section 5.8) and agreement (Section 5.9).

- (108) Eton (Van de Velde 2008: 218)  
 ì-ηgúηgwál í = m-ôd  
 7-miserable VII.CON = 1-person  
 ‘a miserable person’

- (109) òpúm ndá  
 |N̄-púm<sup>H</sup> = ndá|  
 3-white III.CON = [9]house  
 ‘a white house’

Finally, unlike in canonical Bantu constructions, pronominals (110), numbers (107) and ideophones can occur as R<sub>1</sub> (111).

- (110) dzàámbí gwóòn jé  
 dzàámbó<sup>L</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-gwò-òńó      j-é  
 1SG.POSS.PL    CON-2-child    PP<sub>2</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘Those children of mine’ (the ones I mentioned earlier)

- (111) òáá dzókú kpémkpémkpém fjàl  
 òì-<sup>H</sup>-àà      dzóku      kpémkpémkpém      <sup>H</sup>-fjàl  
 1SG-PST2-PST2    hear.PST2    acute\_noise      CON-1.daughter\_in\_law  
 ‘I heard the acute noise of the daughter-in-law.’

## 5.6 The nominaliser-linker *mòò* / *gwòòm*

Kwakum has a marker *mòò* (PL *gwòòm*) that originates in the noun *mòmó* ‘person’ and that is used as a nominaliser or a linker used to introduce adnominal modifiers. It is used to nominalise adnominal demonstratives, e.g. *mòó* ‘né’ ‘this one’ (section 5.4) and to introduce relatives (Chapter 11). Moreover, it can head R<sub>2</sub> in connective constructions that express a possessive relation (optionally) (112) or an ordinal number (obligatorily) (113). The element that follows *mòò* takes the connective relator <sup>H</sup>-, optionally if it is a number (114), obligatorily elsewhere, including in the expression of ‘first’ and ‘last’ (115). *Mòò* can itself optionally be linked to the preceding element by the connective prefix <sup>H</sup>-.

- (112) bùpà mòò móònó  
 bùpà      <sup>H</sup>-mòò      <sup>H</sup>-mò-òńó  
 1.animal    CON-NLNK.SG    CON-1-child  
 ‘the child’s animal’



(113) *mòò íbá'á ~ mòò ìbá'á* ‘the second one’

(114) a. *mòòn mòò íbá'á*

*mò-òńó      mòò      <sup>H</sup>-ì-báà<sup>H</sup>*  
 1-child      NLNK.SG      CON-2-two  
 ‘the second child’

b. *mòòn mòò ìbá'á*

*mò-òńó      mòò      ì-báà<sup>H</sup>*  
 1-child      NLNK.SG      2-two  
 ‘the second child’

(115) *mòòn móò p<sup>h</sup>ě'í*

*mò-òńó      móò      <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>ě1<sup>H</sup>*  
 1-child      NLNK.SG      CON-1.front  
 ‘the first child’

In addition, the presence of the nominaliser-linker *mòò* is obligatory before the dual pronoun (116). However, since the initial syllable of the dual pronoun is always H, it is not possible to say if the connective relator is used in this construction. I will assume that is the case.

(116) *bùpà né dzì móò dífðð°*

*bùpà      †né<sup>L</sup>      dzì<sup>H</sup>      mòò      <sup>H</sup>-dífðð<sup>H</sup>*  
 1.animal      DEM<sub>1</sub>      COP      NLNK.SG      CON-1SG+2SG  
 ‘this animal is ours (mine and yours)’

As mentioned above, the nominaliser is optional in connective constructions expressing a possessive relation (117). In the constructions in (118)-(119) below, the distinction classification vs. possession is marked by the presence/absence of the nominaliser-linker.

- (117) b̀̀pà m̀̀ò m̀̀ò̀ǹǹ  
 b̀̀pà        <sup>H</sup>-m̀̀ò̀                      <sup>H</sup>-m̀̀ò̀-̀̀ǹǹ  
 1.animal    CON-NLNK.SG        CON-1-child  
 ‘the child’s animal’
- (118) a. à̀d̀z̀ì ǹè m̀j̀á̀f̀í m̀̀ò̀̀ǹǹ  
 à̀-d̀z̀ì<sup>H</sup>    ǹè        m̀j̀á̀f̀í<sup>L</sup>        <sup>H</sup>-m̀̀ò̀-̀̀ǹǹ  
 3SG-COP    with        1.voice        CON-1-child  
 ‘He has a child’s voice’ (classification) or ‘He has the child’s voice’  
 (possession)
- b. ǹà̀á d̀z̀ó̀k̀ú m̀j̀á̀f̀í m̀̀ò̀̀ m̀̀ò̀̀ǹǹ  
 ǹì-<sup>H</sup>-à̀à        d̀z̀ó̀k̀ú        m̀j̀á̀f̀í<sup>L</sup>        m̀̀ò̀̀        <sup>H</sup>-m̀̀ò̀-̀̀ǹǹ  
 1SG-PST2-PST2    hear.PST2    1.voice    NLNK.SG    CON-1-child  
 ‘I heard the voice of the child’ (possession)
- (119) a. ǹf̀ɔ̀m k̀ó̀j̀ò̀  
 ǹf̀ɔ̀m        <sup>H</sup>-k̀ò̀j̀ò̀  
 6.fat        CON-1.pork  
 ‘pork fat’ (classification) or ‘the pork’s fat’ (possession)
- b. ǹf̀ɔ̀m m̀̀ò̀̀ k̀ó̀j̀ò̀  
 ǹf̀ɔ̀m        m̀̀ò̀̀        <sup>H</sup>-k̀ò̀j̀ò̀  
 6.fat        NLNK.SG    CON-1.pork  
 ‘The pork’s fat’ (possession)

In addition, as illustrated in (120), the absence of the nominaliser may give the construction a general meaning while its presence makes it specific and definite.

- (120) a. péŋ kó'í  
 péŋ           <sup>H</sup>-kòl  
 1.injury   CON-1.foot  
 ‘a foot injury’
- b. péŋ mòd kó'í  
 péŋ           mòd           <sup>H</sup>-kòl  
 1.injury   NLNK.SG   CON-1.foot  
 ‘the injury located on the foot’ or ‘the foot injury’

The presence/absence of the nominaliser-linker in a connective construction may mark the distinction measure/entity as illustrated below.

- (121) a. kìpètò kífé'm  
 kì-pètò   <sup>H</sup>-kì-fém<sup>L</sup>  
 7-hour   CON-7-rest  
 ‘an hour of rest’
- b. kìpètò mòd kífé'm  
 kì-pètò   mòd           <sup>H</sup>-kì-fém<sup>L</sup>  
 7-hour   NLNK.SG   CON-7-rest  
 ‘the rest hour’
- (122) a. kópú p<sup>h</sup>òŋgè  
 kópú<sup>L</sup>   <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òŋgè  
 1.cup   CON-1.maize  
 ‘a cup of maize’
- b. kópú mòd p<sup>h</sup>òŋgè  
 kópú<sup>L</sup>   mòd           <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òŋgè  
 1.cup   NLNK.SG   CON-1.maize  
 ‘the cup used to measure maize’ or ‘the maize cup’

Finally, the pair of examples below shows a subtle pragmatic difference in the presence/absence of the nominaliser *mòò*.

- (123) sìbìtá dʒì ʃàà máàrî  
 sìbìtá dʒì<sup>H</sup> ʃàà<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-mààrî  
 1.Sibita COP 1.village CON-1.Mary  
 ‘Sibita is Mary’s [native] village.’

- (124) Context: ‘Mary had lived in Dimako. Now Sibita is her adoptive village’  
 sìbìtá dʒì ʃàà mòò máàrî  
 sìbìtá dʒì<sup>H</sup> ʃàà<sup>H</sup> mòò <sup>H</sup>-mààrî  
 1.Sibita COP 1.village NLNK.SG CON-1.Mary  
 ‘Sibita is Mary’s [adoptive] village.’

## 5.7 Quantification

### 5.7.1 Numbers

Adnominal numbers from 1 to 10 are listed in Table 31. Kwakum numbers form two subsets: numbers 1-5 have the formal characteristics of nouns and are assigned to the morphological class *kì-* (SG) / *ì-* (PL). In contrast, numbers from 6 to 10 do not have a class assignment. This organisation of numbers into subsets is common to many languages (Cresseils 2006:112). In Bantu languages, the numbers from 1 to 5 behave differently from other numbers by agreeing with the modified noun.

Numbers can be used in a variety of constructions that I will describe in turn. In cardinal adnominal use, Kwakum numbers are postposed to the noun they modify. They do not agree in class with the quantified noun. In this construction, the numeral nouns 2-5 are always in their plural form.

Table 31: adnominal numbers

	preposed	postposed
1	kì-mótù <sup>H</sup> / ì-mótù <sup>H</sup>	mótù <sup>H</sup>
2	ì-bàlá / kì-bàlá	ì-báà <sup>H</sup>
3	kì-táti / ì-táti	ì-táti
4	kì-néè <sup>H</sup> / ì-néè <sup>H</sup>	ì-néè <sup>H</sup>
5	kì-tàán / ì-tàán	ì-tàán
6		tówo
7		tàmbáljè <sup>H</sup>
8		ʃál <sup>L</sup>
9		bùjé
10		káamɔ

The quantified head noun can take either a singular (125a, 126a) or plural form (125b, 126b) except for nouns belonging to the morphological classes *mò-/gwò-* which can only occur in their plural form when quantified with a plural number (127).

- (125) a. ìtóó ìbá'á  
           ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>    ì-báà<sup>H</sup>  
           5-house    2-two  
           'two houses'

- b. ñtóó ìbá'á  
           ñ-tóó<sup>L</sup>    ì-báà<sup>H</sup>  
           6-house    2-two  
           'two houses'

- (126) a. fjàtì tówó  
           fjàtí    tówó  
           1.tree    six  
           'six trees'

b. kɪfjètì tówó  
 kɪ-fjètí tówó  
 7-tree six  
 ‘six trees’

(127) a. gwòḍḍn tówó  
 gwò-ḍnó tówó  
 2-child six  
 ‘six children’

b. \*mòḍḍn tówó

In this construction, the numbers 2-5 and 7 have a tonal peculiarity, in that they can optionally prevent a preceding high tone from attaching to their prefix (for numbers 2-5) or initial syllable (or number 7). Some examples are provided below.

(128) gwòḍḍn ìbá'á ~ gwòḍḍn í'bá'á  
 gwò-ḍnó ì-báá<sup>H</sup>  
 2-child 2-two  
 ‘two children’

(129) ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààk tàmبالjè° ~ ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààk tá'mبالjè°  
 ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààkó tàmبالjè°  
 1.chicken seven  
 ‘seven chickens’

The stem of numbers 3 (*kítátí/ítátí*), 6 (*tówó*) and 10 (*káámó*) can take an incoming L from the left.

(130) ndàj ìtátì dʒí bùláàwè°  
 ndàj ì-tátì dʒí<sup>H</sup> bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.cow 2-three COP be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘Three cows are many.’

- (131) ndàj tòwò dží bùláàwè°  
 ndàj tówo dží<sup>H</sup> bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.cow six COP be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘Six cows are many.’

*bùjé* ‘nine’ cannot take a high tone (132). Conversely, it can take an incoming Low

(133).

- (132) a. kífjèti bùjé dží bùláàwè°  
 kì-fjèí bùjé dží<sup>H</sup> bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 7-tree nine COP be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘Nine trees are many.’  
 b. \*kífjèti bújè dží bùláàwè°

- (133) ndàj bùjè dží bùláàwè°  
 ndàj bùjé dží<sup>H</sup> bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.cow nine COP be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘Nine cows are many.’

*kààgɔ* is used to express multiples of 10. As illustrated in (134), ‘twenty’ = 2 x 10, ‘thirty’ = 3 x 10, and so forth. The same principle applies for hundreds, *tètì* and thousands, *tɔ́ɔ́fín*. There is no word for ‘million’. Instead, Kwakum speakers used the French word *million* (137). High tone spreading from *kààgɔ* to the following number fails to occur as expected.

- |       |                  |                      |
|-------|------------------|----------------------|
| (134) | káág ìbá’á ‘20’  | káág tówó ‘60’       |
|       | káág ìtátí ‘30’  | káág tàmbáljè° ‘70’  |
|       | káág ìnéè° ‘40’  | káág fál ‘80’        |
|       | káág ìtáán ‘50’  | káág bùjé ‘90’       |
| (135) | tètì ìbá’á ‘200’ | tètì tówó ‘600’      |
|       | tètì ìtátí ‘300’ | tètì tàmbáljè° ‘700’ |

- (136)    *tóóḡin ìbá'á* '2000'                      *tóóḡin ìnèè°* '4000'  
              *tóóḡin ìtátí* '3000'                      *tóóḡin bùjé* '9000'
- (137)    *mìljôḡ ìbá'á* 'two millions'

Numbers falling between decades are formed by combining the construction in (134) with the numbers 1-9, using the preposition *nè* 'and'. The form *káámó* is used for numbers 11-19 (138). As observed in (134), there is no High tone spreading.

- (138)    *káámó nè mótù°* '11'                      *káámó nè tówó* '16'  
              *káámó nè ìbá'á* '12'                      *káámó nè tàmbájljè°* '17'  
              *káámó nè ìtátí* '13'                      *káámó nè jál* '18'  
              *káámó nè ìnèè°* '14'                      *káámó nè bùjé* '19'  
              *káámó nè ìtàán* '15'
- (139)    *káág ìbáà nè mótù°* '21'                      *káág ìbáà nè tówó* '26'  
              *káág ìbáà nè ìbá'á* '22'                      *káág ìbáà nè tàmbájljè°* '27'  
              *káág ìbáà nè ìtátí* '23'                      *káág ìbáà nè jál* '28'  
              *káág ìbáà nè ìnèè°* '24'                      *káág ìbáà nè bùjé* '29'  
              *káág ìbáà nè ìtàán* '25'

Numbers 1-5 can also be the first relatum in a connective construction, in which case the resulting NP has a definite interpretation. In this construction, the stem of number 2 is - *bàlá* (140). The numbers 2-5 can be used in the singular (140a) or in the plural (140b), in free variation, functioning as the head of the NP as they trigger the presence of agreement prefixes on the modified noun. This generalisation excludes nouns belonging to the morphological classes *mò-/gwò-* which can only occur in their plural form when quantified with a plural number (141).



- (140) a. *ɲàá dʒéé íbàlá jífjàl*  
 ɲì<sup>H</sup>-àà      dʒéé      ì-bàlá      jì<sup>H</sup>-fjàl  
 1SG-PST2-PST2    see.PST2    2-two      PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-1.daughter\_in\_law  
 ‘I saw the two daughters-in-law.’
- b. *ɲàá dʒéé íbàlá jìkífjàl*  
 ɲì<sup>H</sup>-àà      dʒéé      kì-bàlá      kì<sup>H</sup>-kì-fjàl  
 1SG-PST2-PST2    see.PST2    7-two      PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-7-daughter\_in\_law  
 ‘I saw the two daughters-in-law.’
- (141) a. *ɲàá dʒéé íbàlá jìgwóòńó*  
 ɲì<sup>H</sup>-àà      dʒéé      ì-bàlá      jì<sup>H</sup>-gwò-òńó  
 1SG-PST2-PST2    see.PST2    2-two      PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-2-child  
 ‘I saw the two children’
- b. \**ɲàá dʒéé íbàlá jìmóòńó*

I showed in (140) that within the noun phrase, there is no semantic agreement between the numbers 2-5 and the quantified noun as the latter can optionally take a singular or plural form. In a topic construction, the resumptive subject pronoun is always in the plural, showing semantic agreement with the subject of the NP (the semantic head of which can be a singular noun).

- (142) *kìbàlá kíp<sup>h</sup>àám wè jéɲfè°*  
 kì-bàlá    kì-p<sup>h</sup>àám    w-é      <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 7-two    PP<sub>7</sub>-1.man    PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH    PRS-3PL-PRS-come  
 ‘As for the two men, they are coming.’

The number 1 forms *kì-mótù<sup>H</sup>/ì-mótù<sup>H</sup>* are used to mean ‘the only’.

- (143) *kìmòt kífjàl*  
 kì-mótù<sup>H</sup>    kì<sup>H</sup>-fjàl  
 7-one      PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.daughter\_in\_law  
 ‘the only daughter-in-law’

- (144) ìmòt jìgwóòńó  
 ì-mótù<sup>H</sup> jì-<sup>H</sup>-gwò-òńó  
 2-one PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-2-child  
 ‘the only children’

The use numbers above 5 as first relatum in a connective construction does not make unanimity among my consultants. Some of them say that they use numbers above 5 only postnominally while others think that numbers above 5 can also be used in Dependency Reversal in Noun-Attribute constructions, where they occur with the class gender *kì/î* as it is the case with the numbers 1-5. Some examples are provided below.

- (145) a. kítóóńin kìgwóòńó  
 kì-tóóńin kì-<sup>H</sup>-gwò-òńó  
 7-thousand PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-2-child  
 ‘one thousand children’
- b. ìtóóńin jìgwóòńó  
 ì-tóóńin jì-<sup>H</sup>-gwò-òńó  
 2-thousand PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-2-child  
 ‘one thousand children’

- (146) a. kítèt kíbúpà  
 kì-tètì kì-<sup>H</sup>-bupà  
 7-hundred PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.animal  
 ‘one hundred animals’
- b. ìtèt jíbúpà  
 ì-tètì jì-<sup>H</sup>-bupà  
 2-hundred PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-1.animal  
 ‘one hundred animals’

This disagreement seems to point to a constructionalization process (Traugott & Trousdale 2013, Smirnova 2015), whereby the Dependency Reversal in Noun-Attribute

construction NUMBER + NOUN initially dedicated to numbers 1-5 is being gradually extended to other numbers.

Except for number one, ordinal numbers are expressed through a connective construction where the nominaliser *mòò* (PL *gwòòm*) precedes the number (147). For the terms *first* and *last*, the nominaliser is followed by the nouns *p<sup>h</sup>è<sup>h</sup>* ‘front’ and *ŋmó* ‘behind’ respectively (148-149).

- (147) ìtóó mòò ìtátí  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> mòò <sup>H</sup>-ì-tátí  
 5-house NLNK.SG CON-2-three  
 ‘The third house’

- (148) ìtóó mòò p<sup>h</sup>éí  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> mòò <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>éí<sup>H</sup>  
 5-house NLNK.SG CON-front  
 ‘The first house’

- (149) ìtóó mòò ŋmó  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> mòò <sup>H</sup>-ŋmó  
 5-house NLNK.SG CON-behind  
 ‘The last house’

### 5.7.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a subset of the noun category. They are used in four constructions: QUANT + CON + NOUN, QUANT + NOUN, NOUN + CON + QUANT and NOUN + QUANT. These constructions will be discussed in turn.

As reported for numbers, with most of the quantifiers, the quantified noun can occur in the singular or plural form, except for nouns belonging to the morphological classes *mò* /*gwò* which always occur in their plural forms. Exceptions will be discussed below. The special tonal behaviour of numbers 2-5 (optional blocking of <sup>H</sup>-attachment) does not apply to quantifiers.

## 5.7.2.1 The construction QUANT + CON + NOUN

Three quantifiers occur in the construction QUANT + CON + NOUN. These are *kì-pjàpjà/ì-pjàpjà*, *kì-nàá'fí* and *kòṅàá'fí*. These three quantifiers denote a small quantity of an entity. In this respect, their meaning can be opposed to *bùláàwè°* which means ‘much, many’. I couldn’t find any semantic and pragmatic difference between them. Syntactically, *kì-pjàpjà / ì-pjàpjà* differs from *kì-nàá'fí* and *kòṅàá'fí* in that the form *kì-pjàpjà* is used with uncountable nouns (150) while *ì-pjàpjà* is used for countable nouns (151).

- (150) *kìpjàpjà kíp<sup>h</sup>òṅgò*  
*kì-pjàpjà kì<sup>-H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò*  
 7-a\_bit\_of PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.maize  
 ‘a bit of maize’

- (151) *ìpjàpjà jìkí'tfá*  
*ì-pjàpjà jì-kì-tfá*  
 2-few PP<sub>2</sub>-7-tree\_sp.  
 ‘few trees (sp.)’

*kì-nàá'fí* (152) and *kòṅàá'fí* (153) are used for both countable and uncountable nouns. With countable nouns, *kòṅàá'fí* triggers agreement in class 2. This agreement pattern was confirmed by many speakers. As argued in Section 5.9, the class 2 agreement prefix *jì-* is used in this construction as a default plural prefix. Given that agreement prefixes are optional in connective constructions, they can be omitted.

- (152) a. *nàá 'dʒí kípàáf kíp<sup>h</sup>òṅgò*  
*nì<sup>-H</sup>-àà dʒí kì-nàáfí kì<sup>-H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò*  
 1SG-PST2-PST2eat.PST2 7-a\_bit\_of PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.maize  
 ‘I ate a bit of maize.’

b. àdzì né kìnàáǎí kíkítàw  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> nè kì-nàáǎí kì-<sup>H</sup>-kì-tàw  
 3SG-COP with 7-few PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-7-sheep  
 ‘He has some sheep.’

(153) a. nàá dzì kònàáǎí p<sup>h</sup>òǎǎgò  
 nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà dzì<sup>H</sup> kònàáǎí <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òǎǎgò  
 1SG-PST2-PST2eat.PST2 a\_bit\_of CON-maize  
 ‘I ate a bit of maize.’

b. àdzì né kònàáǎí jìkítàw  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> nè kònàáǎí jì-<sup>H</sup>-kì-tàw  
 3SG-COP with few PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-7-sheep  
 ‘He has some sheep.’

With countable nouns, *kì-nàá’ǎí* can also have a qualifying function. In (154), it is interpreted as ‘very small’, as opposed to the qualifier *nénén* ‘big’ (see Section 5.8 for qualifiers).

(154) àádzèé kìnàáǎí kìtǎáklà p<sup>h</sup>òǎǎgò, bǎk<sup>L</sup>+bé gwòòm nénén  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dzèé kì-nàáǎí kì-<sup>H</sup>-tǎáklà <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òǎǎgò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2 7-few PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.corncob CON-maize  
 bǎk<sup>L</sup>-bé gwòòm <sup>H</sup>-nén-én  
 NEG-COP NLNK.PL CON-be\_big-ADJ  
 ‘He saw the small corncobs, not the big ones.’

### 5.7.2.2 The construction QUANT + NOUN

The quantifiers occurring in the construction QUANT + NOUN include *gúmbà* ‘entire’ (155), *tǎǎndzì* ‘every, all’ (156), *mbjètmà~mbjèmè* ‘many’ (157). In this construction, *tǎǎndzì* means ‘every’ when used with a singular noun (156a). Conversely, it is interpreted as ‘all’ when the quantified noun is plural (156b).

- (155) *nì fêé fêé gúmbà dzòwó*  
*nì fêé<sup>L</sup> fêé<sup>L</sup> gúmbà dzòwó*  
 1SG FUT1 work entire 1.day  
 ‘I will work the whole day.’
- (156) a. *tʃɪndzì p<sup>h</sup>ààm dzì té*  
*<sup>L</sup>tʃɪndzì<sup>L</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ààm dzì<sup>H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup>*  
 every 1.man COP there  
 ‘Every man is there.’
- b. *tʃɪndzì àp<sup>h</sup>ààm dzì té*  
*<sup>L</sup>tʃɪndzì<sup>L</sup> à-p<sup>h</sup>ààm dzì<sup>H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup>*  
 all 2-man COP there  
 ‘All the men are there.’
- (157) *àdzì né kùl àṅkwél mbjémè fjètí*  
*à-dzì<sup>H</sup> nè kùl à-n-kwélì<sup>H</sup> mbjémè fjètí*  
 3SG-COP with 1.strenght 3SG-CSC-cut\_down.CSC many 1.tree  
 ‘He can cut many trees.’

### 5.7.2.3 The construction NOUN + CON + QUANT

Two quantifiers are used in the construction NOUN + CON + QUANT, viz. *gúmbà* ‘entire’ (158), and *fókú* ‘certain, other’ (159). This construction only has a plural interpretation. Unexpectedly, the quantifiers *gúmbà* ‘entire’ *fókú* ‘certain, other’ can optionally be used with class 2 agreement prefix *jì-* or without any agreement prefix. This situation seems to show that the agreement prefix *jì-* functions in this construction as a default plural agreement prefix. In the constructions in (158)-(159), it will be glossed as PL. It can thus be concluded that in the connective constructions presented in (158)-(159), *gúmbà* ‘entire’ and *fókú* ‘certain, other’ can optionally have number agreement with the modified noun, not noun class agreement. Other instances of this default plural agreement are discussed in section 5.9 on agreement.

- (158) a. *kìfjètì jìgúmbà*  
           *kì-fjètí jì<sup>H</sup>-gúmbà*  
           7-tree PL-CON-entire  
           ‘The entire trees’  
 b. \**kìfjètì kìgúmbà*

- (159) a. *kìfjètì jìfókú*  
           *kì-fjètí jì<sup>H</sup>-fókú*  
           7-tree PL-CON-other  
           ‘The other trees’  
 b. \**kìfjètì kífókú*

#### 5.7.2.4 The construction NOUN + QUANT

The construction NOUN + QUANT is seen with the quantifiers *kì-pjàpjà* / *ì-pjàpjà*, *kì-nàá’fí*, *kòṅàá’fí*, all denoting a small quantity of an entity, *bùláàwè* ‘many’, *gúmbà* ‘entire’, *tjìndzì* ‘all’<sup>22</sup>, *fú’fú* ‘other’ *fókú* ‘certain, other’.

As reported above, the distribution of *kì-pjàpjà* / *ì-pjàpjà* is based on the distinction countable vs. uncountable while *kì-nàá’fí* and *kòṅàá’fí* can be used with both countable and uncountable nouns.

- (160) *àbòmṣáá kòò bùpà ìpjàpjà*  
           *à-bòmṣáá<sup>L</sup> kòò bùpà ì-pjàpjà*  
           3SG-sell.PST3 PST3 1.animal 2-few  
           ‘He sold few animals.’

- (161) *fjètì kìṅàá’fí*  
           *fjètì kì-ṅàá’fí*  
           1.tree 7-few  
           ‘few trees’

<sup>22</sup> According to my consultant, *tjìndzì* ‘all’ can possibly take a connective preceded by an agreement prefix when postposed to the NP, but this construction is preferably avoided.

- (162) p<sup>h</sup>òngò kìnàá'fí  
 p<sup>h</sup>òngò kì-ḡàá'fí  
 1.maize 7-a\_bit\_of  
 'a bit of maize'
- (163) gwòḡn búláàwè°  
 gwò-ḡnó bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 2-child be\_many-ADJ  
 'many children'

Except for *gúmbà* 'entire', the quantifiers discussed above can be used independently, functioning as indefinite pronouns, as illustrated below.

- (164) kìnàá'f fèéwéé dzàlàà  
 kì-ḡàá'fí fèé<sup>L</sup>-wéé<sup>L</sup> dzàlàà  
 7-a\_bit FUT1-NEG be\_enough  
 'A bit [of it] will not be enough.'
- (165) búláàwè dzíkòd'wéé  
 bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> kòd-wéé<sup>L</sup>  
 be\_many-ADJ eat.PST3 PST3-NEG  
 'Many did not eat.'

For the quantifier *fókú* 'certain, other', its independent form is *áfókú* 'one; the other' (for singular antecedents) and *dzáfókú* 'some, others' the other' (for plural antecedents).

- (166) ḡàá 'dzéé fí 'áfókú  
 ḡì-<sup>H</sup>-àà dzéé fí<sup>H</sup> áfókú  
 1SG-PST2-PST2 see.PST2 FOC one  
 'I just saw one.'





other qualifiers can optionally take the default plural prefix *à-* when modifying a plural noun (169b).

(168) a. *kìtààtʃè kítóó*  
*kì-tààtʃé kì<sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>*  
 7-empty PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-5-house  
 ‘an empty house’

b. *ìtààtʃè jíntóó*  
*ì-tààtʃé jì<sup>H</sup>-h-tóó<sup>L</sup>*  
 2-empty PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-6-house  
 ‘empty houses’

(169) a. *mjéndzì ítóó*  
*mjéndzì<sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>*  
 new CON-5-house  
 ‘a new house’

b. *(à)mjèndzì (jì)ítóó*  
*à-mjéndzì jì<sup>H</sup>-h-tóó<sup>L</sup>*  
 2-new PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-6-house  
 ‘new houses’

#### 5.8.1.1.2 The construction NOUN + CON + QUAL

Except for *mbèŋ* ‘good-looking’, all the qualifiers discussed previously can occur in this construction. Five other qualifiers are added to this list viz. *dó’mjé* ‘right’ (< *n-dóm* ‘husband?’), *dzáljé* ‘left’, *tàmbjè* ‘in good shape’, *ŋvú* ‘fertile’, *mjóó* ‘severed’. The full list is provided below, followed by some examples.

(170)	<i>mjéndzì</i> ‘new’	<i>ŋmkpámákí</i> ‘new’
	<i>pàà</i> ‘in good condition’	<i>kìtààtʃé/ìtààtʃé</i> ‘empty’
	<i>bé’jí</i> ‘raw’	<i>gwó’j</i> ‘empty-handed’

kìṅàá<sup>4</sup>fí ‘very small’

dzáljé ‘left’

ṁvú ‘fertile’

dó<sup>4</sup>mjé ‘right’

tàmbjè ‘in good shape’

mjóó ‘severed’

(171) ìtóó kítààtṣé

ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-kì-tààtṣé

5-house    CON-7-empty

‘an empty house’

(172) àntúwà (jì)mjèndzì

à-ntúwà      jì-<sup>H</sup>-mjèndzì

2-6.car      PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-new

‘a new car’

(173) bàà támbjè

bàà              <sup>H</sup>-támbjè

1.plantain    CON-good

‘good plantain’

When these qualifiers are used predicatively, the presence of the copula is obligatory.

(174) bàà dzì támbjè

bàà              dzì<sup>H</sup>    támbjè

1.plantain    COP    good

‘Plantain is good.’

### 5.8.1.2 Derived dedicated qualifiers

Derived dedicated qualifiers are formed by adding one of the three suffixes *-áa*, *-áàwé<sup>H</sup>* or *-éṅ/-áṅ* to (mostly) a verb base.<sup>25</sup> The suffixes *-áa*, *-áàwé<sup>H</sup>* (glossed as ADJ) can only be used with stative verbs. In contrast, the suffix *éṅ/-áṅ* (glossed as PART) can be used to derive the participial form of any verb. Participials are discussed in Chapter 7. The suffix *-áàwé<sup>H</sup>* most probably originates in a possessive form consisting of the Proto-Bantu

<sup>25</sup> Some derived qualifiers ending in *-áṅ* originate from a noun stem. See Section 6.4.6 of Chapter 6.

connective stem *a* and a third person pronominal form. It is an instance of the possessee-like qualifiers that are common in Northern Sub-Saharan Africa (Idiatov & Van de Velde 2012). Derived dedicated qualifiers are very productive in the language. Semantically, they are interchangeable with the stative verb from which they are derived. The constructions in (175) are all interpreted as ‘the handle is solid’, with apparently no pragmatic difference.

(175) a. fén ndètò

fén<sup>L</sup>            <sup>H</sup>-n-dètò

1.handle PRS-PRS-be\_hard

‘The handle is hard.’

b. fén (dzì) dé’táá

fén<sup>L</sup>            dzì<sup>H</sup> dèt-áa

1.handle COP be\_hard-ADJ

‘The handle is hard.’

c. fén dzì dé’téŋ

fén<sup>L</sup>            dzì<sup>H</sup> dèt-éŋ

1.handle COP be\_hard-PART

‘The handle is hard.’

d. fén dzì dé’táàwè°

fén            dzì<sup>H</sup> dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>

1.handle COP be\_hard-ADJ

‘The handle is hard.’

With qualifiers ending in *-éŋ/-áŋ*, the form *-áŋ* is used to derive qualifiers from verbs ending in *-aa* (e.g. *jékláà* ‘learn’ → *jèkláŋ* ‘learned’) while the form *-éŋ* is used to derive qualifiers from other verbs, i.e. monosyllabic verbs (*màà* ‘gather’ → *màŋéŋ* ‘gathered’) and verbs whose base form ends in /ε, ɔ/ (*tʃéʎdʒé* ‘change’ → *tʃéŋdʒéŋ* ‘changed’, *dètò* ‘be hard’ → *dètéŋ* ‘hard’).

One syntactic context where the qualifiers derived by means of the suffixes *-áá*, *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* and *-éη/-ájη* behave differently is that only the forms in *-éη/-ájη* can be nominalised by means of the nominaliser-linker *mòò/gwòòm* (176). Others contexts will be provided subsequently.

- (176) a. *mòò dé<sup>+</sup>téη*  
           *mòò*           <sup>H</sup>-*dèt-éη*  
           NLNK.SG   CON-be\_hard-PART  
           ‘the hard one’  
 b. \**mòò dé<sup>+</sup>áàwè°*  
 c. \**mòò dé<sup>+</sup>áá*

Derived qualifiers are used attributively in three constructions: QUAL + CON + NOUN, NOUN + CON + QUAL and NOUN + QUAL.

#### 5.8.1.2.1 The construction QUAL + CON + NOUN

Only qualifiers derived by means of *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* or *-áá* can occur in this construction (177-180). These qualifiers can take a plural form, surfacing with the default plural marker *à-*. In this case, the modified noun can have a singular or plural form (178 and 180).

- (177) *dè<sup>+</sup>áàwè fjé<sup>+</sup>tí*  
           *dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>*   <sup>H</sup>-*fjètí*  
           be\_hard-ADJ   CON-1.tree  
           ‘a hard tree’

- (178) a. *àdè<sup>+</sup>áàwè jìfjé<sup>+</sup>tí*  
           *à-dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>*   *jì<sup>-H</sup>-fjètí*  
           2-be\_hard-ADJ   PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-1.tree  
           ‘hard trees’

b. àdètáàwè jìkífjètí  
 à-dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup> jì-<sup>H</sup>-kì-fjètí  
 2-be\_hard-ADJ PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-7-tree  
 ‘hard trees’

(179) dètáá fjé‘tí  
 dèt-áa <sup>H</sup>-fjètí  
 be\_hard-ADJ CON-1.tree  
 ‘a hard tree’

(180) a. àdètáá jìfjé‘tí  
 à-dèt-áa jì-<sup>H</sup>-fjètí  
 2-be\_hard-ADJ PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-1.tree  
 ‘hard trees’

b. àdètáá jìkífjètí  
 à-dèt-áa jì-<sup>H</sup>-kì-fjètí  
 2-be\_hard-ADJ PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-7-tree  
 ‘hard trees’

#### 5.8.1.2.2 The construction NOUN + CON + QUAL

This construction involves derived qualifiers ending in *-éŋ/-áŋ*.

(181) búpà dé‘téŋ ‘a hard tree’  
 búpà <sup>H</sup>-dèt-éŋ  
 1.meat CON-be\_hard-PART  
 ‘a hard meat’

(182) àkàkàn jìjéklán  
 à-kàkàn<sup>H</sup> jì-<sup>H</sup>-jékl-an  
 2-story PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-learn-PART  
 ‘stories learned’

## 5.8.1.2.3 The construction NOUN + QUAL

Only forms ending in *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* can occur in this construction.

(183) a. fén dètáàwè°

fén<sup>L</sup> dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>

1.handle be\_hard-ADJ

‘a hard handle’

b. kífén dètáàwè°

kì-fén<sup>L</sup> dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>

7-handle be\_hard-ADJ

‘hard handles’

## 5.8.1.2.4 Predicative use

In constructions where derived dedicated qualifiers are used as predicates, the presence of a copula is obligatory only for forms ending in *-éŋ/-áŋ* and *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* (184a-b). With those ending in *-áá*, the copula is generally omitted, although some speakers use it (184c).

(184) a. fén dzì dètéŋ

fén<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> dèt-éŋ

1.handle COP be\_hard-PART

‘The handle is hard.’

b. fén dzì dètáàwè°

fén<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>

1.handle COP be\_hard-ADJ

‘The handle is hard.’

c. fén (dzì) dètáá

fén dzì<sup>H</sup> dèt-áá

1.handle COP be\_hard-ADJ

‘The handle is hard.’

Another way in which the suffixes *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* and *-éŋ/-áŋ* differ from the suffix *-áá* is that only forms in *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* and *-éŋ/-áŋ* can be used in cleft constructions (185a), a domain where forms in *-áá* are not allowed (185b).

- (185) a. fén ŋì dzí dètáàwè°  
 fén<sup>L</sup> ŋì<sup>H</sup> dzí<sup>H</sup> dèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.handle FOC COP be\_hard-ADJ  
 ‘It is the handle which is hard.’

- b. fén ŋì dzí dètéŋ  
 fén<sup>L</sup> ŋì<sup>H</sup> dzí<sup>H</sup> dèt-éŋ  
 1.handle REL COP be\_hard-PART  
 ‘It is the handle which is hard.’

- c. \*fén ŋì dzí dètáá

### 5.8.2 Referring-qualifying nouns

Referring-qualifying nouns differ from dedicated qualifiers in that they can be used to qualify or to refer. The examples below show instances where *kì-dzì má* ‘beautiful’ and *kìtój* ‘good’ qualify (186 and 188) or refer (187 and 189). 25 nouns in my data correspond to this description. They are listed in sections 5.8.2.1 and 5.8.2.2.

- (186) p<sup>h</sup>ààm ŋkààm kìdzì má kímómjáá  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>H</sup> -n-kààmò kì-dzì má kì-<sup>H</sup>mó-mjaa  
 1.man PRS-PRS-like 7-beautiful PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1-woman  
 ‘The man likes the beautiful woman.’

- (187) p<sup>h</sup>ààm ŋkààm kìdzì má tʃéé  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>H</sup> -n-kààmò kì-dzì má tʃ-éé<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man PRS-PRS-like 7-beauty PP<sub>7</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The man likes her beauty.’

- (188) ní mpéwú ŋì kááʃèl kítój



<sup>H</sup>-ɲì n-péwó<sup>L</sup> ʃɪ<sup>H</sup> kááʃèl <sup>H</sup>-kì- -tój<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-1SG PRS-look\_for FOC 1.king CON-7-good  
 ‘I am only looking for the good king.’

- (189) ɲí mpéwú ʃɪ kí<sup>H</sup>tój <sup>H</sup>tʃóó  
<sup>H</sup>-ɲì n-péwó<sup>L</sup> ʃɪ<sup>H</sup> kì-tój<sup>L</sup> tʃ-óó  
 PRS-1SG PRS-seek FOC 7-welfare PP<sub>7</sub>-2SG.POSS  
 ‘I am only looking for your welfare.’

Used attributively, referring-qualifying nouns occur in two constructions:  
 QUAL + CON + NOUN and NOUN + CON + QUAL

#### 5.8.2.1 The construction QUAL + CON + NOUN

Twenty two nouns in my database fall under this category, including the diminutive *mòmóòńń* (PL *gwògwòńń*). They are listed in (190). Some examples are provided below.

- |       |                          |  |
|-------|--------------------------|--|
| (190) | kì-tʃɪtʃɪl ‘stammering’  | tʃɪŋ° ‘true’                                   |
|       | kì-dzì má ‘beautiful’    | kùndú ‘barren’                                 |
|       | kì-ʃèkʃèkì ‘idiotic’     | t <sup>h</sup> ǎ <sup>h</sup> ndá ‘hereditary’ |
|       | kì-tój ‘good’            | likè ‘stingy’                                  |
|       | n-dètè ‘big’             | ʃómtú ‘wise’                                   |
|       | n-dòmbú ‘old’            | lèm ‘lazy’                                     |
|       | n-dètkèlè ‘big’/ ‘elder’ | ʃɪŋ° ‘envious’                                 |
|       | mbéklè ‘talkative’       | kàà° ‘stingy’                                  |
|       | ɲtʃɪm° ‘blind’           | dáá ‘false’                                    |
|       | ɲdzál ‘fruitful’         | mòmóòńń (PL <i>gwògwòńń</i> ) ‘little’         |
|       | tòòńń ‘carnivorous’      | kèpé ‘cunning’                                 |

- (191) kítój kífjál  
 kì-tój<sup>L</sup> kì-<sup>H</sup>-fjál  
 7-good PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.daughter\_in\_law  
 a. ‘a good daughter-in-law’  
 b. ‘the welfare of the daughter-in-law’

- (192) dáá kákàn°  
 dáá <sup>H</sup>-kákàn<sup>H</sup>  
 false CON-1.story  
 a. ‘a false story’  
 b. ‘the falsehood of the story’

The diminutive *mòmóón* (PL *gwògwóón*) ‘little’ originates from the reduplication of the noun for ‘child’ *mò-òón* (PL *gwò-òón*).

- (193) mòmóón lém  
 mòmóón <sup>H</sup>-lém  
 DIM.SG CON-1.axe  
 ‘a small axe’

As reported for dedicated qualifiers, nouns modified by a plural qualifying-referring noun can take a singular or plural form.

- (194) a. gwògwóón jílém  
 gwògwóón jì-<sup>H</sup>-lém  
 DIM.PL PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-1.axe  
 ‘small axes’
- b. gwògwóón jìá<sup>1</sup>lém  
 gwògwóón jì-<sup>H</sup>-à-lém  
 DIM.PL PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-2-axe  
 ‘small axes’

## 5.8.2.2 The construction NOUN + CON + QUAL

The referring-qualifying nouns listed above can also be used in this construction, excluding *kìdzìmá* ‘beautiful’, *ndètkèlè* ‘big’ and the diminutive *mòmóònnó/gwògwòònnó*. Three other nouns occur in this construction: *ʃòòtò* ‘naked’, *pòlò* ‘yellow’ and *ɲfɪŋ*<sup>o</sup> ‘stingy, stinginess’.

- (195) *fjàl kítój*  
*fjàl*                              <sup>H</sup>-kì-tój<sup>L</sup>  
 1.daughter\_in\_law    CON-7-good  
 ‘a good daughter in law’

- (196) *kìbùmò kì<sup>H</sup>póló*  
*kì-bùmó*    *kì<sup>H</sup>-póló*  
 7-fruit    PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-yellow’  
 ‘a yellow fruit’

Like other qualifiers, referring-qualifying nouns can be used predicatively, obligatorily introduced by a copula (197-198).

- (197) *mòmjàà dzì kìdzìmá*  
<sup>L%</sup>*mó-mjaa*    *dzì<sup>H</sup>*    *kì-dzìmá*  
 1-woman    COP    7-beautiful  
 ‘The woman is beautiful.’

- (198) *kááfèl né dzì kítój*  
*kááfèl*    <sup>1</sup>*né<sup>L</sup>*    *dzì*    *kì-tój<sup>L</sup>*  
 1.king    DEM<sub>1</sub>    COP    7-good  
 ‘That king is good.’

There is a restriction on the diminutives *mòmóònnó/gwògwòònnó* in that they can only be used predicatively to modify a human referent (199).

- (199) jàál ààmbí dzí mòmóòńó  
 jàál<sup>L</sup> w-ààmbó dzí<sup>H</sup> mòmóòńó  
 1.friend PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS COP DIM.SG  
 ‘My friend is short.’

- (200) \*lè̃m dzí mòmóòńó  
<sup>L%</sup>lè̃m dzí<sup>H</sup> mòmóòńó  
 1.axe COP DIM.SG  
*Intended* ‘The axe is short.’

The status of referring-qualifying noun does not meet unanimity among native speakers. For example, for some speakers, the noun *kìtʃìtʃìl* that they translate as ‘stammering’ and ‘stammerer’ can only be used as a noun (201-202). In contrast, others also use it as a qualifier (203).

- (201) kìtʃìtʃìl méédómbú tàmbjè  
 kì-tʃìtʃìl <sup>H</sup>-n-wéé<sup>L</sup>-dómbó<sup>L</sup> tàmbjè  
 7-stammerer PRS-PRS-NEG-speak well  
 ‘A stammerer does not speak well.’

- (202) kòndù dzì né kìtʃìtʃìl  
 kòndù dzì<sup>H</sup> nè kì-tʃìtʃìl  
 1.young\_girl COP with 7-stammering  
 ‘The young girl is a stammerer’ (*literally*, ‘the lady is with stammering’).

- (203) kòndù kíʃìtʃìl  
 kòndù <sup>H</sup>-kì-tʃìtʃìl  
 1.young\_girl CON-7-stammering  
 ‘The stammering young girl.’

### 5.9 Agreement in Kwakum

This section looks at the Kwakum agreement system. Keeping with the terminology used in Corbett (2006), the ‘domain of agreement’ is either the noun phrase or the clause. There are three ‘Agreement features’. These are gender, number and, perhaps marginally, person. Unlike in most Bantu noun class systems where number is generally associated to gender, I consider number in Kwakum as an agreement feature because there are instances where a target agrees in number with its controller instead of agreeing in noun class. I shall come back to this situation subsequently. In the following paragraphs, I discuss characteristics of the Kwakum agreement system.

In Kwakum, agreement within the NP is determined by proximity as the target is generally preceded by its controller. This situation is referred to as ‘local agreement’. Local agreement is illustrated in the examples below.

- (204) kìdzìmá kìṅgwál  
 kì-dzìmá kì<sup>H</sup>-n-gwál  
 7-beautiful PP7-CON-1-wife  
 ‘a beautiful wife’

- (205) kìbàlá kítóó  
 kì-bàlá kì<sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 7-two PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-5-house  
 ‘the two houses’

In complex NPs, a target can be the controller of the following item. In (206), the noun *ṅ-gwál* ‘wife’ takes the agreement features of the preceding qualifier but determines the agreement prefix of the following possessive.

- (206) kìdzìmá kìṅgwál wáàmbó  
 kì-dzìmá kì<sup>H</sup>-n-gwál w-ààmbó  
 7-beautiful PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1-wife PP<sub>1</sub>-1.SG.POSS  
 ‘my beautiful wife’

When the complex NP involves a connective construction, agreement can only be determined by the immediately preceding controller. In (206), the 1SG possessive pronoun *ààmbó* can only agree with the immediately preceding noun, *ŋ-gwál* ‘wife’. As illustrated in (207), agreement between *ààmbó* and the qualifier *kì-dzìmá* ‘beautiful’ is not allowed.

- (207) \*kìdzìmá kìŋgwál tʃàáʼmbó  
 kÌ-dzìmá kÌ<sup>H</sup>-n-gwál tʃ-àámboʼ<sup>L</sup>  
 7-beautiful PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1-wife PP<sub>7</sub>-1.SG.POSS  
*intended* ‘my beautiful wife’

In non-connective complex NPs with numbers, speakers volunteer agreement with either the head noun, or the immediately preceding number. Compare examples (208) and (209).

- (208) a. òtòó ìbáà míʼké  
 ò-tóó<sup>L</sup> ì-báà<sup>H</sup> mí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 6-house 2-two PP<sub>6</sub>-DEM  
 ‘those two houses’

- b. òtòó ìbáà jíʼké  
 ò-tóó<sup>L</sup> ì-báà<sup>H</sup> jí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 6-house 2-two PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM  
 ‘those two houses’

- (209) a. kÌbàlá kÌntóó míʼké  
 kÌ-bàlá kÌ<sup>H</sup>-n-tóó<sup>L</sup> mí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 7-two PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-6-house PP<sub>6</sub>-DEM  
 ‘those two houses’

- b. \*kìbàlá kìntóó mí'ké  
 kì-bàlá kì-<sup>H</sup>-n-tóó<sup>L</sup> tʃí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 7-two PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-6-house PP<sub>7</sub>-DEM  
*intended* ‘those two houses’

In example (208), there are two agreement strategies: the demonstrative can agree either with the head noun *ntóó* ‘houses’ (208a) or with the number *ibá’á* ‘two’ (208b). In contrast, in the connective construction in (209), the demonstrative can only agree with the immediately preceding controller, *ntóó* ‘houses’.

Topicalised constructions can also be considered as an agreement domain in that the resumptive pronoun agrees with the antecedent (see Chapter 11). This situation is referred to as non-local agreement. In example (210), the subject marker on the verb *kòmʃè* ‘build’ has the same number and person values as the subject of the clause.

- (210) p<sup>h</sup>àám wé àfèé kòmʃù ntóó  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám w-é à-fèé<sup>L</sup> kòmʃè ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH 3SG-FUT1 build 5-house  
 ‘([As for]) that man, he will build houses’

One of the main characteristics of the Kwakum agreement system is that in most cases, the agreement feature is available from the controller, rendering agreement redundant. In the examples below, the class 1 noun *ndàj* ‘cow’ triggers the presence of the class 1 agreement prefix *w-*. When it takes the class 2 noun prefix *à-*, the class 2 agreement prefix *j-* is used.

- (211) a. ndàj wààmbó  
 ndàj w-ààmbó  
 1.cow PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 ‘my cow’

b. àndàj jàá<sup>+</sup>mbó

à-ndàj j-àámbó<sup>L</sup>

2-cow PP<sub>2</sub>-1SG.POSS

‘my cows’

However, there can be mismatches between the feature value expressed on the controller and that on the target. Agreement becomes informative in that case. The examples in (212)-(214) show that plural marking on nouns belonging to the zero-morphological class is optional in the presence of an agreeing modifier (212-213) or an anaphoric pronoun (214).

(212) (à)dʒóʃʃ jìgwòòm ʃóʃéŋ

à-dʒóʃʃ<sup>L</sup> jì-<sup>H</sup> gwòòm <sup>H</sup>-ʃóʃ-éŋ

2-song PP<sub>2</sub>-CON- NLNK.PL CON-be\_mature-PART

‘songs of elders’

(213) (kì)fjèti tʃàá<sup>+</sup>mbó

kì-fjèti tʃ-àámbó<sup>L</sup>

7-tree PP<sub>7</sub>-1SG.POSS

‘my trees’

(214) (à)p<sup>h</sup>àám jéŋfè°

à-p<sup>h</sup>àám <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-ʃè<sup>H</sup>

2-man PRS-3PL-PRS-come

‘The men are coming.’

The reverse situation (i.e. the noun is marked as a plural, but the modifier is left unmarked for number) is not acceptable. The examples below show that a controller, morphologically marked as plural, cannot trigger a singular agreement on the following modifier (215) or on its anaphoric pronoun (216).



(215) \*kìfjètì wààmbó  
 kì-fjètí w-ààmbó  
 7-tree PP<sub>1</sub>-1SG.POSS  
*intended* ‘my trees’

(216) \*àp<sup>h</sup>àám áṅfè°  
 à-p<sup>h</sup>àám <sup>H</sup>-à-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 2-man PRS-3SG-PRS-come  
*intended* ‘the men are coming.’

As mentioned above, the situation described in (212)-(214) is mostly observed with nouns belonging to the zero-morphological class. In one of my texts, I found a similar situation with the morphological class 5 noun *ì-dzòmbó* ‘packet of meal (sp.)’. In example (217), *ì-dzòmbó* which is formally singular triggers a plural agreement in class 2 which functions as the default plural agreement (glossed PL). Default agreement will be discussed subsequently.

(217) ìdzòmbò jìdzàfí íbùm  
 ì-dzòmbó jì-<sup>H</sup>-dzàfí ì-bùm  
 5-packet\_of\_meal\_sp. PL-CON-thing.PL 5-belly  
 ‘packets of meal (sp.) containing guts’

I checked the construction in (217) with several speakers. Most of them told me that they would rather avoid using a construction where a controller, morphologically marked as singular triggers a plural agreement, unless the controller belongs to the zero-morphological class (212)-(214).

I have illustrated instances of full agreement in (211), where the target surfaces with all the agreement features of the controller. The data below show that in some agreement situations, the target takes some but not all the agreement feature of the controller. This situation is referred to as partial agreement, more specially ‘Superclassing’ agreement (cf. Evans 1997: 127-140). The most common instance of partial agreement is illustrated in (218) and (219) which show that singular nouns can trigger agreement of their own class

(218a and 219a) or of class 1, which functions as the default singular noun class (218b and 219b). Default singular agreement will be glossed as SG.

(218) a. kílèwò tʃàá'mbó  
 kì-léwò tʃ-àámbo<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PP<sub>7</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 'my baby'

b. kílèwò wàámbo  
 kì-léwò w-àámbo  
 7-baby SG-1SG.POSS  
 'my baby'

(219) a. ìtóó ljàá'mbó  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> lj-àámbo<sup>L</sup>  
 5-baby PP<sub>5</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 'my house'

b. ìtóó ljàá'mbó  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> w-àámbo  
 5-baby SG-1SG.POSS  
 'my house'

Occasionally, I have found examples of this default singular agreement with a plural controller too, mostly in noun phrases that contain a numeral.

(220) a. àfjàl ìbàà jé  
 à-fjàl ì-bàà<sup>H</sup> j-é  
 2-daughter\_in\_law 2-two PP<sub>2</sub>-ANAPH  
 'the two daughters-in-law'

- b. àfjàl ìbàà wé  
 à-fjàl                    ì-bàà<sup>H</sup>            w-é  
 2-daughter\_in\_law    2-two                SG-ANAPH  
 ‘the two daughters-in-law’

I have also found two instances of a default plural agreement (glossed as PL). The first context is in a complex noun phrase, between a controller and its demonstrative modifier. Compare the data in (221) with that in (222).

- (221) a. kìbàlá kintóó mí<sup>4</sup>ké  
 kì-bàlá    ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>    mí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 7-two    6-house    PP<sub>6</sub>-DEM  
 ‘those two houses’
- b. kìbàlá kintóó jí<sup>4</sup>ké  
 kì-bàlá    kì-<sup>H</sup>ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>                jí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 7-two    PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-6-house    PL-DEM  
 ‘those two houses’
- (222) a. ìtóó mí<sup>4</sup>ké  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>    mí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 6-house    PP<sub>6</sub>-DEM  
 ‘those houses’
- b. \*ìtóó mí<sup>4</sup>ké  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>    jí-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 6-house    PL-DEM  
 ‘those houses’

The data in (221)-(222) show that the demonstrative modifier can take the default plural agreement only if the noun phrase contains more than one modifier (221), otherwise only agreement in noun class is allowed (222).

The second instance of default plural agreement is observed in the construction in (223), where the target *fɔ́kú* ‘other’ can only have semantic agreement (marked by the default plural class *jì*) with their controller, noun class agreement not being allowed.

(223) a. *kìndàj jìfɔ́kú*  
           *kì-ndàj jì<sup>H</sup>-fɔ́ku*  
           7-cow PL-CON-other’  
           ‘the other cows’

b. \* *kìndàj jìfɔ́kú*  
           *kì-ndàj kì<sup>H</sup>-fɔ́ku*  
           7-cow PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-other’  
           *intended* ‘the other cows’

With plural nouns marked by stacking or addition of noun prefixes (see Section 4.3.2 of Chapter 4), agreement is triggered by either morphological class they are marked with, excluding noun class 5. After the stacked plural in (224), the demonstrative *né* can agree either in class 2 (224a) or class 6 (224b). Likewise, in the additive plural in (225), it can agree either in noun class 2 (225a) or 7 (225b). In contrast, with the noun *à-ì-tʃíndzɛ́* ‘types of dizziness’ (226), agreement can only be triggered by the noun class 2.

(224) a. *àmbèè jí<sup>†</sup>né*  
           *à-̀-̀-bèè jí<sup>†</sup>-né<sup>L</sup>*  
           2-6-mirror PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM  
           ‘these mirrors’

b. *àmbèè mí<sup>†</sup>né*  
           *à-̀-̀-bèè mí<sup>†</sup>-né<sup>L</sup>*  
           2-6-mirror PP<sub>6</sub>-DEM  
           ‘these mirrors’

- (225) a. àkìbèkò jí'né  
 à-kì-bèkò jí-<sup>†</sup>né<sup>L</sup>  
 2-7-shoulder PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM  
 'my shoulders'
- b. àkìbèkò tʃí'né  
 à-kì-bèkò tʃí-<sup>†</sup>né<sup>L</sup>  
 2-7-shoulder PP<sub>7</sub>-DEM  
 'my shoulders'
- (226) a. à-ì-tʃíndzé jàá'mbó  
 à-ì-tʃíndzé j-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 2-5-dizziness PP<sub>2</sub>-1SG.POSS  
 'my [types of] dizziness'
- b. \*à-ì-tʃíndzé jàá'mbó  
 à-ì-tʃíndzé lj-àámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 2-5-dizziness PP<sub>5</sub>-1SG.POSS  
*intended* 'my [types of] dizziness'

## 5.10 Word order in the noun phrase

### 5.10.1 Multiple modifiers

Word order in complex noun phrases is schematised in (227). QUAL and QUANT are formal-functional notions, used for the quantifiers (including numbers) and qualifiers that are juxtaposed to the noun they modify, i.e. excluding the use of these lexemes in connective constructions.

- (227) HN - {QUAL, QUANT, POSS, ANA, CON} - REL - DEM

The abbreviation *HN* stands for the head noun from a morphosyntactic point of view: the nominal element that is not used to modify any other element in the noun phrase. Needless to say, this is not necessarily the semantic head, which happens to come at the very end of the NP in (228).

- (228) ìbàlá jìdétáá tʃìndzì wèè dʒó<sup>↓</sup>wó<sup>26</sup>  
 ì-bàlá jì<sup>H</sup>-dèt-áa <sup>H</sup>-<sup>L</sup>tʃìndzì<sup>L</sup> w-èè<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-dʒòwó  
 2-two PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-be\_hard-ADJ CON-all PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS CON-1.day  
 ‘all his two difficult days’

The only restriction I found so far concerns the quantifier *tʃìndzì*, as it cannot be followed by a possessive at the beginning of an NP. Compare example (229), where the quantifier *gúmbà* ‘entire’ is used at the beginning of the construction, and the ungrammatical construction in (230), where *tʃìndzì* ‘all’ occurs phrase-initially.

- (229) gúmbà wèè kítój kíbàlá dʒó<sup>↓</sup>wó  
 gúmbà w-èè<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-kì-tój<sup>L</sup> <sup>H</sup>-kì-bàlá kì<sup>H</sup>-dʒòwó  
 entire PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS CON-7-good CON-7-two PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.day  
 ‘his entire two good days’

- (230) \*tʃìndzì wèè kítój kíbàlá dʒó<sup>↓</sup>wó  
*Intended* ‘all his two good days’

For the quantifier *tʃìndzì* to be used in a correct construction, it has to occur non-initially as illustrated in (231).

- (231) a. kítój kíbàlá tʃéé dʒówò tʃìndzì  
 kì-tój<sup>L</sup> <sup>H</sup>-kì-bàlá tʃ-éé<sup>L</sup> <sup>H</sup>-dʒòwó <sup>L</sup>tʃìndzì<sup>L</sup>  
 7-good CON-7-two PP<sub>7</sub>-3SG.POSS CON-1.day all  
 ‘all his two good days’

<sup>26</sup> Although *tʃìndzì* ‘all’ is reported to occur in non-connective constructions, the presence of the connective relator in this construction is theoretically possible since the preceding qualifier *dètáá* ‘difficult’ triggers the use of connective marker on the following item. However, it is difficult to verify such assumption since *tʃìndzì* cannot take an incoming H, hence its initial floating L.

b. kítój kíbàlá tʃéé tʃɪndzɪ dzòwó

kì-tóʃ<sup>L</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-kì-bàlá    tʃ-éé<sup>L</sup>    <sup>H,L</sup>tʃɪndzɪ<sup>L</sup> dzòwó  
 7-good    CON-7-two    PP<sub>7</sub>-3SG.POSS    CON-all    1.day

‘all his two good days’

c. kítój kíbàlá dzówò tʃɪndzɪ jéé

kì-tóʃ<sup>L</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-kì-bàlá    <sup>H</sup>-dzòwó    <sup>L</sup>tʃɪndzɪ<sup>L</sup> j- éé<sup>L</sup>  
 7-good    CON-7-two    CON-1.day    all    PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG.POSS

‘all his two good days’

### 5.10.2 Conjunction within the NP

NPs are conjoined by means of *nè*. There seems not to be any ordering restriction in coordinated NPs involving two pronouns or a pronoun and a noun.

- (232) a. jì nè gwè ‘me and you (SG)’                      gwè nè jì ‘you (SG) and me’  
       b. ʃè né dzè° ‘us and him/her (SG)’                dzè né ʃè° ‘him/her and us’
- (233) a. jéklè nè jì ‘the teacher and me’                    jì nè jéklè ‘me and the teacher’  
       b. jéklè nè ʃè° ‘the teacher and us’                ʃè né jéklè ‘us and teacher’

## 6. VERBS

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to uninflected verb forms. It starts with outlining the general characteristics of uninflected verbs. Section 6.3 and Section 6.4 are concerned with the segmental and tonal structures of underived verb stems and derived verb stems, respectively. Given their tense-specific characteristics, auxiliaries will be discussed in Chapter 8, dedicated to verb inflexion.

### 6.2 General

In their citation forms, verbs take the nominal prefix *ì-* as a marker of the infinitive. The same prefix is used to derive action nouns.

- (1) a. *ì-dàá'mbó* 'to cook' or 'the act of cooking'  
 b. *ì-kèn* 'to go' or 'the act of going'

Verb roots have different allomorphs, the choice of which depends on whether they occur utterance finally or not (Chapter 2), on whether they occur in a root or not (Section 6.4) and on the tense of the verb form in which they occur (Chapter 8). The citation form can be considered as the basic form because it has the widest distribution: it occurs utterance finally in the present and future tenses and after the conjugated verb of a serial verb construction. An example is provided in Table 32 with the verb *bàá'ndó* 'tie'. In this table, the F is meant for utterance final position while NF refers to utterance non-final position. This chapter will discuss only basic allomorphs.



Table 32 : allomorphs of *bàá'ndó* 'tie up'

derived stem	bànd-áà	'tie each other'
present and future	F: bàá'ndó #	'tie up'
	NF: bàánd(ɛ)...	
Immediate Past and Hodiernal Past	F: báándó# ~ báándé#	'tied up'
	NF : bàànd(ɪ) <sup>H</sup> ...	
Remote Past	F: báánd-mɛ#	'tied up'
	NF: bànd <sup>H</sup> -mɛ...	
Imperative 2PL	bàànd-kín	'tie up!'
Consecutive	F: báándè°# ~ báándĩ°# or báàndé# ~ báàndí#	'tie up'
	NF: báándĩ <sup>H</sup> ... ~ báàndí...	

Verb stems (i.e. derived and underived) are mostly disyllabic (91%). Monosyllabic stems represent 8.60% of the verb database and trisyllables the remaining 4.30%. All verb stems end with an open syllable, except for *kèn* 'go' whose citation form is CVC. There are strong phonotactic constraints on the final vowel of verb roots: only /ɛ, ə, aa/ occur in disyllabic stems and /ɛ, aa/ in trisyllabic stems.

### 6.3 Underived verbs

The analysis presented in this section is based on a total of 558 verbs contained in my lexicon at the moment of writing. Morphologically, underived verb stems consist of a simple root, whose number of syllables ranges from one to three.

#### 6.3.1 Monosyllabic verb roots

Monosyllabic verb roots have the widest variety of vowels. As shown in (2), 68.75% of monosyllabic verb roots consist of a heavy syllable.

- (2) a. CV (13)    bɛ        ‘be’  
       b. CCV (2)    kwɛ      ‘fall’  
       c. CVV (30)   kɛɛ      ‘say’  
       d. CCVV (2)   fjóó      ‘swing’  
       e. CVC (1)    kɛn      ‘go’

Monosyllabic verb roots surface with three tone schemes: H (55.31%), L (39.58%) and L° (2.08%). They are illustrated below. The rarest tonal pattern is L° with three occurrences. Note that only CV̇ verb roots can spread their high tone to the right. Those with a long vowel cannot. Underlyingly, they will be marked by a root final floating L.

- (3) a. H    bɛ                    /bɛ/                    ‘be’  
           dzó                    /dzó/                    ‘command’  
           dzí ~ dzì°            /dzí ~ dzì<sup>H</sup>/            ‘eat’  
           dzéé ~ dzé°é        /dzéé<sup>L</sup>/                    ‘see’  
           gwáá ~ gwá°á        /gwáá<sup>L</sup>/                    ‘want’
- b. L    bà                    /bà/                    ‘cut up’  
           kwɛ                    /kwɛ/                    ‘fall’  
           lɛɛ                    /kɛɛ/                    ‘dress’ (tr.)
- c. L°    ʃɛ°                    /ʃɛ<sup>H</sup>/                    ‘come’  
           dzì°                    /dzì<sup>H</sup>/                    ‘be’  
           dzì° ~ dzí            / dzì<sup>H</sup> ~ dzí/            ‘eat’

### 6.3.2 Disyllabic verb roots

Disyllables represent the great majority of verb roots (87.09%). They all end with either a mid-low vowels /ɛ, ə/ or the long low vowel /aa/. The only exception found in my

database is the verb *fí'já* 'arrive' whose final vowel is the short /a/.<sup>27</sup> Disyllabic verb roots present 14 syllable structures, listed in decreasing order of frequency in (4). The most recurrent syllable patterns are CV.CV (33.74%), CVC.CV (22.42%) and CVV.CV (20.16%). Rare syllable patterns include CV.CCVV, CVVC.CV, CVV.CVV, CVC.CCVV and CCV.CCV with less than 4 occurrences each.

(4) Syllable patterns in disyllabic verb roots

CV.CV (164)	bè.nò	'deny'	CCV.CV (15)	bjè.lò	'greet'
CVC.CV (109)	tík.lè	'stay'	CCVC.CV (5)	gwák.lè	'snatch'
CVV.CV (98)	dʒàà.lò	'spread out'	CV.CCVV (3)	tʃi.ljàà	'signify'
CVC.CVV (27)	kpáp.làà	'blink'	CVVC.CV (2)	gbùùŋ.lè	'plow'
CV.CVV (26)	dò.jàà	'vomit'	CVV.CVV (2)	dʒéé.kàà	'wonder'
CCVV.CV (18)	p <sup>h</sup> jàà.lò	'shred'	CVC.CCVV (1)	tʃɪŋ.ljàà	'turn around'
CV.CCV (15)	pó. <sup>h</sup> mjé	'swell'	CCV.CCV (1)	kwá. <sup>h</sup> ljé	'arrive'

At the tonal level, disyllabic verb roots surface with eight tonal patterns classified into two sets: low-toned verbs and non-low verbs. The former constitute half of the disyllabic verb roots while the latter, understood as the group of verbs whose tone pattern contains at least one H, occupies the other half. They are exemplified in (5)-(6). As will be shown in Section 6.4, the categorization of verbs into low and non low-verbs is important to understand how tone schemes are assigned in derivation and in tense marking. Within the non-low group, the most recurrent tonal patterns are: H.<sup>h</sup>H (18.86%), H.L (11.56%) and LH.<sup>h</sup>H (9.93%) while the least frequent tone schemes are LH.L and LH.HL with less than one percent each.

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<sup>27</sup>Another particularity of this verb is that it doesn't have an infinitive form and can only be used in the present tense (see Chapter 8).

- (5) low verbs (51.11%)
- a. dʒilò ‘stay’
  - b. dùgtàà ‘be tired’
  - c. bààndò ‘peel’
  - d. lèèfàà ‘forget’
- (6) non-low verbs
- a. H<sup>+</sup>H (18.86%): dʒí<sup>+</sup>kó ‘burn’ (intr.)
  - b. H.L (11.56%): jéklè ‘teach’
  - c. LH.<sup>+</sup>H (9.93%): dàá<sup>+</sup>mbó ‘cook’
  - d. HL.L (6.08%): gwôŋlè ‘drink’
  - e. L.HL (1.82%): dówáà ‘call’
  - f. LH.L (0.40%): tǎkfè ‘disturb’
  - g. LH.HL (0.20%) bǔkláà ‘believe’

### 6.3.3 Trisyllabic verb roots

Twenty four verb roots (i.e 4.30%) in my lexical database have three syllables. Except for *ŋgààndò* ‘deny’, trisyllabic verb roots consist of three open syllables. Only /ɛ/ or /aa/ can occur as final vowel. In addition, only /l, w, ʃ/ occur before final /ɛ/ (7a) while only /w/ is found before final /aa/ (7b). Another phonotactic constraint is that only the extra short vowel [ǔ] occurs in the penultimate syllable.

- (7) Three-syllable underived verbs stems
- a. CV.CV.CV (16)
  - dó.ndú.wè ‘have grown’
  - té.wú.lè ‘stand’
  - kò.wù.fè ‘hang’

- b. CV.CV.CVV (7)      jí.kú.wàà ‘hiccough’  
    tà.tũ.wàà ‘beseech’
- c. N.CVV.CV (1)      ñgàànò ‘deny’

Trisyllabic verb roots present three tone patterns regrouped into low and non-low verbs, with the former having the lowest frequency.

(8) low-toned trisyllables (36%)

- a. ʃèkũwè      ‘stagnate’  
 b. dzìkũwàà      ‘sweat’

(9) non low-toned trisyllables

- a. H.H.L (36%): dóndũwè ‘grow’  
 b. H.L.L (28%): fé.wũ.lè ‘stand’

## 6.4 Derived verbs

### 6.4.1 General

Derived verbs represent 14% of my database. They all have a disyllabic structure and they originate from either monosyllabic or disyllabic roots. Only disyllabic roots ending in /ɛ/ or /ɔ/ are involved in derivation. There is no verb derived from a root ending in /aa/. Finally, I have no examples of verbs derived from a trisyllabic root.

The structure of derived verbs is stem + suffix. Kwakum has four verb-to-verb derivational suffixes. One is valency increasing (causative *-fè*), two are valency reducing (middle voice *-jè* and reciprocal *-àà*) and one can either increase or decrease the valence (*-lè*). They are discussed in turn below.

These suffixes almost always attach to a base with CVC-shape, usually obtained by the addition of /j/ to CV roots<sup>28</sup> (10a) and /ŋ/ to CVV roots<sup>29</sup> (10b) or by the deletion of the

<sup>28</sup> The only examples I have in my lexical database consist of CV verbs derived by means of *-àà*. I don’t know whether /j/ will also occur in coda position if the verb is derived with other suffixes.

<sup>29</sup> Some exceptions include *ʃáá* ‘do’ and *ʃéé* ‘work’ where the inserted consonant is /l/ (*ʃáá*<sup>l</sup> ‘do’ < *ʃàláà*, ‘be done’; *ʃéé*<sup>l</sup> ‘work’ > *ʃèláà* ‘be worked’) and *dʒéé* ‘see’ where it is /n/ (*dʒéé*<sup>n</sup> ‘see’ > *dʒènáà* ‘see each

last vowel of CVC.CV and CV(V)CV roots (10c-d). In addition, CV(V)CV roots shorten the vowel of their initial syllable if that happens to be long<sup>30</sup> (10d). If their second consonant is a prenasalised consonant, only the nasal part is preserved (10e). CV.CV roots with an oral alveolar second consonant drop their last syllable and lengthen their first vowel in front of the suffix *-fɛ̀* (10f).

(10) a.	bà	‘operate’	>	bàj-àà	‘be operated’
b.	líí	‘go dark’	>	líŋ-fɛ̀	‘darken’
c.	tíkól	‘leave’	>	tík-lè	‘stay’
d.	dʒàálól	‘give birth’	>	dʒál-jé <sup>L</sup>	‘be born’
e.	tòmbò	‘recover’	>	tòm-fɛ̀	‘heal’
f.	dètò	‘be strong’	>	dèè-fɛ̀	‘strengthen’

As will be shown when discussing each suffix, verbs derived from roots that aren’t entirely low (non-low roots) have a fixed tone pattern determined by the derivational suffix, while verbs derived from low-tone roots always surface with a low tone scheme.

#### 6.4.2 The suffix *-fɛ̀*

The suffix *-fɛ̀* (which is a reflex of the PB causative suffix *\*-ici*) mainly encodes causative, except in one verb: *fèk-fɛ̀* ‘shake’ (< *fèkò* ‘sieve’). Some typical causative examples are provided in (11) and illustrated in (12). *-fɛ̀* occurs as *-fɔ̀* in the verb *màà-fɔ̀* ‘end’ (tr.), derived from *mààlò* ‘end’ (intr.).

(11) a.	líŋ-fɛ̀	‘darken’	<	líí	‘get dark’
	púp-fɛ̀	‘clean’	<	pú <sup>+</sup> pó	‘recover’
	ɲíŋ-fɛ̀	‘let in’	<	ɲíŋlè	‘enter’

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other’). For this verbs, the inserted consonant /l/ is possibly the historical root-final consonant that re-emerges here: *\*-cád-* ‘work’, *\*-jén-* ‘see’.

<sup>30</sup> The only exception in my database is *dʒòlòlè* ‘bathe’ (> *dʒòlè* ‘bathe (tr.)’) where shortening of the initial long vowel fails to occur.

b. dáàfɛ̀ ‘put to bed’	<	dàá¹lɔ̀ ‘sleep’
dèè-fɛ̀ ‘strengthen’	<	dètò ‘be strong’
màà-fɔ̀ ‘end’ (intr.)	<	mààlò ‘end’ (tr.)

## (12) mòmjàà ndáàfɛ̀ m̀d̀nɔ̀

<sup>L%</sup> mó-mjaa	<sup>H</sup> -n-dáà-fɛ̀	m̀d̀-ɔ̀nɔ̀
1-woman	PRS-PRS-sleep-CAUS	1-child

‘The woman is putting the child to sleep’

At the tonal level, non-low verbs derived by means of -fɛ̀ have a HL.L tone scheme

(13) while low-toned surface with an entirely low tone scheme (14).

## (13) non-low verbs

a. lɪŋ-fɛ̀ ‘blacken’	<	lí¹ ‘get black’
b. béè-fɛ̀ ‘cook’	<	béló¹ ‘be cooked’
c. dzáà-fɛ̀ ‘make someone give birth’	<	dzàáló¹ ‘give birth’

## (14) low-toned verbs

a. dèè-fɛ̀ ‘strengthen’	<	dètò ‘be strong’
b. màà-fɔ̀ ‘end’ (intr.)	<	mààlò ‘end’ (tr.)

## 6.4.3 The suffix -lè

The suffix -lè has a causative meaning in one verb, namely *béf-lè* ‘raise’ (<*bé¹fɛ̀* ‘rise’). In *dít-lè* ‘open’ (<*dí¹tɔ̀* ‘close’), it encodes reversal. Its function is decausative in *tfík-lè* ‘stay’ (<*tfí¹kɔ̀* ‘abandon, leave something’) and perhaps intensive or repetitive in *bòm-lè* ‘hammer’ (<*bòmɔ̀* ‘break’). Some examples are provided below.

## (15) ámbéjì b̀pà

<sup>H</sup> -à-n-béj-lè	b̀pà
PRS-3SG-PRS-rise-CAUS	1.animal

‘He lifts up the animal.’

- (16) ìdítl̩ mbéí  
 ì-dìt-lè mbéí<sup>L</sup>  
 5-open-RVS 1.door  
 ‘to close the door’

Verbs in *lè-* derived from non-low roots have a H.L tone scheme (17). No tonal change is observed on those derived from low-toned verbs (18).

- (17) non-low verbs
- |                  |   |                          |
|------------------|---|--------------------------|
| a. béf-lè ‘lift’ | < | béí <sup>L</sup> ‘rise’  |
| b. tík-lè ‘stay’ | < | tík <sup>L</sup> ‘leave’ |

- (18) low-toned verbs
- |                 |   |              |
|-----------------|---|--------------|
| bòm-lè ‘hammer’ | < | bòmò ‘break’ |
|-----------------|---|--------------|

#### 6.4.4 The suffix *-àà*

Out of 43 verbs derived by means of *-àà* (<PB *\*-an*), 16 express a reciprocal action (19a). Other meanings associated to this suffix are reflexive (14 occurrences) (19b), passive (12 occurrences) (19c) and middle (8 occurrences) (19d). In two verbs, *-àà* serves to express collective actions (*dùljáà* ‘shout together’ < *dú’lɔ* ‘shout’ and *kàw-àà* ‘share among many people’ < *kààwò* ‘share’) and in one verb it has an autocasative meaning (*pàndz-àà* ‘scatter (intr.)’ < *pàndzè* ‘separate’).

- (19) a. Reciprocal
- |                          |   |              |
|--------------------------|---|--------------|
| dzèn-àà ‘see each other’ | < | dzéé ‘see’   |
| kàm-àà ‘love each other’ | < | kààmò ‘love’ |
- b. Reflexive
- |                        |   |                   |
|------------------------|---|-------------------|
| kèŋ-àà ‘shave’ (intr.) | < | kèè ‘shave’ (tr.) |
| fíj-àà ‘cover oneself’ | < | fí’jò ‘cover’     |



## c. Passive voice

bàj-àà ‘be operated’	<	bà ‘operate’
ʃàl-àà ‘be done’	<	ʃáá ‘do’
kèk-àà ‘be circumcised’	<	ké‘kó ‘circumcise’
màṅ-àà ‘gather (intr.)’	<	màà ‘gather (tr.)’

## d. Middle-voice

màṅ-àà ‘gather (intr.)’	<	màà ‘gather (tr.)’
bànd-àà ‘bend (intr.)’	<	bàà‘ndó ‘fold’

As illustrated in example (20) in a passive construction, the agent is introduced by the preposition *nè*.

- (20) àdḍók màmàṅàà nè p<sup>h</sup>àám  
 à-dḍók<sup>L</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-n-màṅ-àà                      nè    p<sup>h</sup>àám  
 2-mango    PRS-PRS-gather-PASS    with    1.man  
 ‘The mangoes are gathered by the man.’

At the tonal level, verbs derived from non-low roots surface with a L.HL tone scheme (21) while the tone scheme remains unchanged (22).

## (21) non-low verbs

fèj-àà ‘receive’	<	fé ‘give’
dʒèn-àà ‘see each other’	<	dʒéé <sup>L</sup> ‘see’
bìw-àà ‘beat each other’	<	bíwó <sup>L</sup> ‘beat’
gwàl-àà ‘get married’	<	gwàáló <sup>L</sup> ‘marry’

## (22) low-toned verbs

kèṅ-àà ‘shave’ (intr.)	<	kèè ‘shave’ (tr.)
bàj-àà ‘be operated’	<	bà ‘operate’
kàm-àà ‘love each other’	<	kààmò ‘love’

The reciprocal meaning is often reinforced by the phrases *jè né dʒè°* and *jà né dʒà°* both meaning ‘each other’. The former is used when the subject involves two conjoined singular nouns (23) while the latter is used when the subject is a plural noun or pronoun (24).

(23) *pôl jè né mààrí ñkàmàà já né dʒà°*

*pôl jè<sup>H</sup> nè mààrí <sup>H</sup>-n-kàm-àà = jè<sup>H</sup> nè dʒè<sup>H</sup>*

1.Paul 3SG and 1.Mary PRS-PRS-love-CAUS = 3SG with 3PL

‘Paul and Mary love each other’ (reciprocal).’

(24) *jéñkàmàà já né dʒà°*

*<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-kàm-àà = já<sup>H</sup> nè dʒà<sup>H</sup>*

PRS-3PL-PRS-love-CAUS = 3PL with 3PL

‘They love each other’ (reciprocal).’

In contrast, a pronoun preceded by a floating high tone and followed by *tʃítʃé* ‘oneself’ is used to specify a reflexive meaning (25).

(25) *jéñkàmàà dʒá tʃítʃé*

*jè<sup>H</sup>-<sup>H</sup>-n-kàm-àà <sup>H</sup>dʒà<sup>H</sup> tʃítʃé*

3PL-PRS-PRS-love-CAUS 3PL REFL

‘They love themselves (reflexive).’

Verbal derivation is not productive in Kwakum in that derivational suffixes cannot be used with most verbs. As a remedy to this situation, causation can be expressed by means of a biclausal construction, where the verb *ǰáá* ‘do’ is used in the main clause and the subordinate clause is introduced by the complementiser *ʔnàá* (26).

- (26) àfěé ʃáá nàá ðʃûm ìtóó  
 à-fěé<sup>L</sup> ʃáá<sup>L</sup> †nàá<sup>L</sup> ð-ʃûmð ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-FUT1 do COMP 2SG-build.SBJV 5-house  
 ‘He will make you build a house.’

Periphrastic passives are productively formed with a copula and a participial form of the verb derived by means of the suffix *-éŋ/-áŋ*. As with derived passive verbs, the agent is introduced by the preposition *nè*. Participials are discussed in Section 6.4.6.

- (27) ìtóó dzì ʃú<sup>h</sup>méŋ né p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> ʃûm-éŋ nè p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup>  
 5-house COP build-PART with 1.man  
 ‘The house is built by the man.’

#### 6.4.5 The suffix *-jè*

The use of *-jè* is very marginal. Only five occurrences were found and these verbs are all derived from a disyllabic stem. Verbs derived by means of *-jè* all encode middle voice. The derivational suffix *-jè*, might correspond to the PB neuter suffix *\*-ik*, mostly used in forming intransitive “verbs of destruction” (Schadeberg 2003: 75). An argument in support of this claim is the presence of “verbs of destruction” such as *ʃá<sup>h</sup>n-jé* ‘be torn’ (< *ʃàá<sup>h</sup>nó* ‘tear’) and *bòm-jè* ‘burst’ (intr.) (< *bòmð* ‘burst’ (tr.)), all formed with this suffix.

- |   |   |                                   |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| (28) ʃá <sup>h</sup> n-jé ‘split (intr.)’ | < | ʃàá <sup>h</sup> nó ‘split (tr.)’ |
| pém- <sup>h</sup> jé ‘change (intr.)’     | < | pémlè ‘change (tr.)’              |
| dzál- <sup>h</sup> jé ‘be born’           | < | dzàá <sup>h</sup> ló ‘give birth’ |
| ʃá <sup>h</sup> n-jé ‘be torn’            | < | ʃàá <sup>h</sup> nó ‘tear’        |
| bòm-jè ‘burst (intr.)’                    | < | bòmð ‘burst (tr.)’                |

- (29) kíbùmò fêé bòmjà  
 kì-bùmó fêé<sup>L</sup> bòm-jè  
 7-fruit FUT1 burst-MID  
 ‘The fruit will burst.’

At the tonal level, non-low verb roots derived with the suffix *jè-* have the tone scheme H.H<sup>L</sup> (30). While low-tones roots keep their tone scheme (31).

- (30) dzál-jé<sup>L</sup> ‘be born’ < dzàáló<sup>L</sup> ‘give birth’  
 fán- jé<sup>L</sup> ‘split’ (intr.) < f`áánó<sup>L</sup> ‘split’ (tr.)  
 pé-m- jé<sup>L</sup> ‘change’ (intr.) < pémlè ‘changer’ (tr.)

- (31) bòm-jè ‘burst (intr.)’ < bòmò ‘burst (tr.)’

I have found only one example of stacked derivational suffixes, viz. the verb *bómśáà* ‘sell’ (< *bòó‘mó* ‘buy’), which is formed by means of the suffixes *-fè* and *-àà*.

There is no applicative derivation. Beneficiaries are marked by means of the preposition *pǒmbú*.

- (32) áñfùm ìtóó pǒmb p<sup>h</sup>àâm wé  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-fùmò ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> pǒmbú p<sup>h</sup>àám w-é  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-work 5-house for 1.man PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘He is building a house for the man.’

#### 6.4.6 Participials

Participials are formed by adding the suffix *-éŋ* / *-áŋ* to a base, which is mostly a verb root and sometimes a noun root as will be shown below. The form *-éŋ* is used after monosyllabic verb stems (33) and verbs whose basic stem allomorphs end in a mid-low vowel (34). The form *-áŋ* occurs after stems ending in /aa/ (35). Monosyllabic verb stems mostly take the form CVŋ, except for some verbs which are listed in (33b-c). Longer verbs lose their final vowel.

- (33) a. bé ‘be’ > bέη-έη  
 màà ‘gather’ (tr.) > màη-έη
- b. dzí ‘eat’ > dzín-έη  
 kwè ‘fall’ > kwèn-έη  
 dzéé ‘see’ > dzén-έη
- c. ʃáá ‘do’ > ʃál-έη  
 ʃéé ‘work’ > ʃél-έη
- (34) a. bènò ‘deny’ > bèn-έη  
 dàá¹lò ‘sleep’ > dáál-έη
- b. tʃé¹ndzè ‘change’ > tʃéηdz-έη  
 bàklè ‘keep’ > bàkl-έη  
 bùùʃè ‘accumulate’ > bùùʃ-έη  
 téwùlè ‘stand’ > téwùl-έη
- (35) dówáà ‘call’ > dów-άη  
 bómfáà ‘sell’ > bómf-άη  
 dzìkùwàà ‘sweat’ > dzìkùw-άη

As observed in the examples above, non-low stems occur with an entirely H tone scheme (*dzí* → *dzínέη*) while low-toned verb stems surface with a LH tone scheme (*bènò* → *bέη*).

I earlier mentioned that participials are mainly formed out of verb stems. Some participials ending in *-άη* originate from deverbal action nouns stems with final *-aa*. I have noticed that these nouns always have a verb cognate ending in /ε/, whose participials take the form *-έη*. Some examples are provided below.

- (36) a. tókʃ-έη ‘emptied’ (<tókʃè ‘empty a river’)

b. tókʃ-áj ‘emptied by a stranger’ (< tókʃàà ‘the action of emptying a river’)

(37) a. ʃàwl-éŋ ‘removed’ (< ʃáwlè ‘remove something from a liquid’)

b. ʃàwl-áj ‘removed in the absence of the owner’ (< action of removing something  
from a liquid)

## 7. OTHER GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses various grammatical categories such as adpositions (Section 7.2), adverbs (Section 7.3), conjunctions (Section 7.4), the morpheme *lèè<sup>H</sup>* (Section 7.5), the locative marker (Section 7.6) and ideophones (Section 7.7).

### 7.2 Adpositions

Dryer (2007: 81-2) defines prototypical instances of adposition as “words that combine with noun phrases and that indicate the semantic relationship of that noun phrase to the verb, as exemplified by the English word *with* in *He opened the door with a key.*” In this perspective, Kwakum adpositional constructions can be considered as prototypical instances of adposition.

Eight prepositions are attested. Their full list is provided in (1) and exemplified in (2)-(4). The last two *kwèfáá* and *tʃɪndzi*<sup>o</sup> both meaning ‘because of’ are interchangeable. The preposition *pǎmbú* ‘for’ can also be used in this context (4).

(1) prepositions

*nè* ‘with, by’

*pǎmbú* ‘for’

*p<sup>h</sup>èl<sup>H</sup>* ‘in front of’

*ʃimó* ~ *ʃim* ‘behind’

*lémé lémé* ‘between’

*pákláá* ‘among’

*kwèfáá* ‘because of’

*tʃɪndzi*<sup>o</sup> ‘because of’

- (2) p<sup>h</sup>àám dzì né pèngè bùláàwè°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám dzì<sup>H</sup> nè pèngè bùl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man COP with 1.money be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘The man has much money.’
- (3) áŋfée pǒmb mómjáá  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-féé<sup>L</sup> pǒmbú mó-mjaa  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-work for 1-woman  
 ‘He works for the woman.’
- (4) a. àá<sup>h</sup>ké kwèfáá gwé  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> kwèfáá gwè  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 because\_of 2SG  
 ‘She went because of you.’
- b. àá<sup>h</sup>ké tʃɪndzì gwé  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> tʃɪndzì<sup>H</sup> gwè  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 because\_of 2SG  
 ‘She went because of you.’
- c. àá<sup>h</sup>ké pǒmb ʹgwé  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> pǒmbú gwè  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 for 2SG  
 ‘She went because of you’/ ‘She went for you.’

Kwakum also has three “ambipositions”, listed in (5). They are postposed with nominal complements (6a) and (7a) and preposed with pronominal complements (6b) and (7b). The form *kóʔ* is obligatory in prepositional use, i.e. with a pronominal complement (7b).



## (5) ambipositions

ʃɪ<sup>H</sup> ‘under’kóó<sup>L</sup> ~ kól<sup>L</sup> ‘on’

téé ~ tétéé ‘in’

## (6) a. tààṅgè dʒì téwùlà ʃɪ°

tààṅgè dʒì<sup>H</sup> téwùlà ʃɪ<sup>H</sup>

1.ball COP 1.table under

‘The ball is under the table.’

b. tààṅgè dʒì ʃɪ wé<sup>4</sup>étààṅgè dʒì<sup>H</sup> ʃɪ<sup>H</sup> w-èè<sup>H</sup>1.ball COP under PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS

‘The ball is under it.’

## (7) a. tààṅgè dʒì téwùlà kóó ~ tààṅgè dʒì téwùlà kól

tààṅgè dʒì<sup>H</sup> téwùlà kóó<sup>L</sup>

1.ball COP 1.table on

‘The ball is on the table.’

## b. tààṅgè dʒì kól jèè°

tààṅgè dʒì<sup>H</sup> kól<sup>L</sup> j-èè<sup>H</sup>1.ball COP on PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG.POSS

‘The ball is on it.’

## c. \*tààṅgè dʒì kóó jèè°

Except for the comitative-instrumental-agentive preposition *nè*, adpositions in Kwakum all originate from nouns in a connective construction, which is synchronically evidenced by the fact that they take possessive pronouns as pronominal complements (8). Only the preposition *pǎmbú* ‘for’ has a clear source of grammaticalisation which is *pǎmbú* ‘face’. The ambiposition *ʃɪ<sup>H</sup>* ‘under’, whose origin can no longer be traced in Kwakum,

probably comes from the noun *tʃí* ‘ground’ found in many Bantu languages. For the other adpositions, it is difficult to identify their origin.

*Kwèʃáá* ‘because of’ can optionally take a possessive pronoun or a personal pronoun (8f). On their pronominal complements, they take the agreement pattern of the nouns from which they originate, which is in all cases class 1. However, the pronominal complements of the prepositions *pǎmbú* ‘for’, *p<sup>h</sup>ěʃ<sup>h</sup>* ‘in front of’, *ʃímó* ‘behind’ and *kóó<sup>l</sup> ~ kól<sup>l</sup>* ‘on’ can alternatively have the *j*- prefix of class 2, in which case they do still have the tone pattern of possessives of class 1 (9).

- (8) a. *lèmè lèmè wá’á* ‘in the middle of them’  
 b. *pàklàà wá’á* ‘among them’  
 c. *ʃí wá’á* ‘under them’  
 d. *tètèè wá’á* ‘in them’  
 e. *tʃɪndzì wá’á* ‘because of them’  
 f. *kwèʃàà wá’á ~ kwèʃàà dzà°* ‘because of them’
- (9) a. *kól wàà° ~ jàà°* ‘on them’  
 b. *pǎmb wá’á ~ pǎmb já’á* ‘for them’  
 c. *ʃím wá’á ~ ʃím já’á* ‘behind them’  
 d. *p<sup>h</sup>ěʃl wá’á ~ p<sup>h</sup>ěʃl já’á* ‘in front of them’

Example (10) shows that adpositional phrases with a locative meaning can be optionally introduced by a locative marker. The locative marker is discussed in Section 7.6.

- (10) a. *tààŋgè dzì (ɔ<sup>+</sup>)téwúlà ʃí°*  
*tààŋgè dzì<sup>H</sup> ð-téwúlà ʃí<sup>H</sup>*  
 1.ball COP LOC-1.table under  
 ‘The ball is under the table.’

- b. tààngè dzì (ó)fi wé'é  
 tààngè dzì<sup>H</sup> ò-ŋ<sup>H</sup> w-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 ball COP LOC-under PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 'The ball is under it.'

In order to disambiguate between the adpositional and the nominal use of these lexemes, the nominaliser-linker *mòò* can be used in the nominal use.

- (11) p<sup>h</sup>èl (mòò) tóó  
 p<sup>h</sup>èl<sup>H</sup> mòò <sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 1.front NLNK.SG CON-5-house  
 'the front of the house'

As discussed in Chapter 11, the complements of all Kwakum adpositions are accessible to relativisation (12 and 14) and focalisation (13 and 15), but only *nè* can be stranded (12a and 13a). The other adpositions require a resumptive pronoun (14a and 15a). The complement of an adposition is not accessible to passivisation.

- (12) a. p<sup>h</sup>àâm jí n<sup>l</sup>ŋéé nè \_\_\_\_\_jí  
 p<sup>h</sup>àâm <sup>H</sup>-ŋì n-ŋéé<sup>L</sup> nè jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man PRS-1SG PRS-work with SUB  
 'the man I am working with...'
- b. p<sup>h</sup>àâm jí n<sup>l</sup>ŋéé nè dzè jí  
 p<sup>h</sup>àâm <sup>H</sup>-ŋì n-ŋéé<sup>L</sup> nè dzè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man PRS-1SG PRS-work with 3SG SUB  
 'the man I am working with...'

- (13) a. kááʃèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé †ʃéé nè \_\_\_\_\_  
 kááʃèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃéé<sup>L</sup> nè  
 1.king 1.man FUT1 work with  
 ‘[As for] the king, the man will work with him.’
- b. kááʃèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé †ʃéé nè dzè°  
 kááʃèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃéé<sup>L</sup> nè dzè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.king 1.man FUT1 work with 3SG  
 ‘[As for] the king, the man will work with him.’
- (14) a. p<sup>h</sup>àám ní n†ʃéé pǒmb jéè jí  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám <sup>H</sup>-ní n-ʃéé<sup>L</sup> pǒmbú j-èè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man PRS-1SG PRS-work for PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG SUB  
 ‘the man I am working for’
- b. \*p<sup>h</sup>àám ní nʃéé pǒmb \_\_\_\_\_ jí
- (15) a. kááʃèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé †ʃéé pǒmb jé†é  
 kááʃèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃéé<sup>L</sup> pǒmbú j-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.king 1.man FUT1 work for PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG  
 ‘[As for] the king, the man will work for him.’
- b. \*kááʃèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé †ʃéé pǒmbú\_\_\_\_\_

### 7.3 Adverbs

This section provides an inventory of the adverbs found in my corpora. The placement of adverbs within the clause is discussed in Chapter 9.

#### 7.3.1 Temporal adverbs

Below are the temporal adverbs attested in my database, followed by some illustrations.

- (16) Time adverbs
- a. kòòkòò ~ kòòkòl ‘yesterday’<sup>31</sup>
  - b. mòjé ‘today’
  - c. ménó ‘tomorrow’
  - d. dúḡéḡ ‘in the morning’
  - e. tóló‘pú ‘at noon’
  - f. kòkljé ‘in the evening’
  - g. pùm ‘at midnight’
  - h. lóndú ‘since’
  - i. íḡûné ‘now’
  - j. ḡtḡî ‘regularly’

- (17) àá‘ké pùm  
 à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> pùm  
 3SG-PST2.PST2-go.PST2 at\_midnight  
 ‘He went at midnight.’

Except for the loans *móndì* ‘Monday’ and *ḡóndò* ‘Sunday’, days of the week are expressed with reference to their position as they occur before *ḡóndò* ‘Sunday’, which represents the last day of the week. They are encoded by means of the construction *ḡóndò ì-tú/ḡ-tú* CON-NUM, the numeral representing their position as they occur before *ḡóndò* ‘Sunday’. For example, Saturday is interpreted as ‘one day before Sunday’ and Friday as ‘two days before Sunday’, and so forth. The noun *ì-tú* (PL *ḡ-tú*) means ‘day/s’. There is no connective relator between *ḡóndò* and *ì-tú/ḡ-tú*.

- (18) Days of the week
- a. ḡóndù ‘Sunday’
  - b. móndì ‘Monday’
  - c. ḡóndò ntù mtàán ‘Tuesday’
  - d. ḡóndò ntù mnéè° ‘Wednesday’

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<sup>31</sup> which has a derivational link with the Hesternal Past marker *kòò*.

- e. ʃóndò ntù mtátí ‘Thursday’
- f. ʃóndò ntù mbá‘á ‘Friday’
- g. ʃóndò ìtù mótù° ‘Saturday’

(19) pùlò nòkòò ʃóndò ntù mnéè°

- <sup>L%</sup>pùlò nò<sup>H</sup> kòò ʃóndò ò-tú m-<sup>H</sup>-ì-néè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.rain rain.PST3 PST3 Sunday 6-day PP<sub>6</sub>-CON-2-four  
 ‘The rain fell on Wednesday.’

Likewise, months of the year are encoded through a connective construction involving numerals: *kòndù p<sup>h</sup>èl<sup>H</sup>/NUM mjá*. *kòndù* means ‘month’, *p<sup>h</sup>èl<sup>H</sup>*, ‘front’ and *mjá* ‘year’ However, unlike days of the weeks, months are counted in increasing order. They are listed in (20) and illustrated in (21). No connective marker is used between the different elements of the construction.

(20) Months

- a. *kòndù p<sup>h</sup>èl mjá* ‘January’
- b. *kòndù ìbàà mjá* ‘February’
- c. *kòndù ìtátí mjá* ‘March’
- d. *kòndù ìnéè mjá* ‘April’
- e. *kòndù ìtáán mjá* ‘May’
- f. *kòndù tówó mjá* ‘June’
- g. *kòndù tàmbájlè mjá* ‘July’
- h. *kòndù ʃál mjá* ‘August’
- i. *kòndù bùjé mjá* ‘September’
- j. *kòndù kààmò mjá* ‘October’
- k. *kòndù kàṅ mótù mjá* ‘November’
- l. *kòndù kàṅ ìbàà mjá* ‘December’

- (21) pùlò fêé 'nó kòndù fál mjà fjà jí  
<sup>L%</sup>pùlò fêé<sup>L</sup> nó kòndù fál<sup>L</sup> mjá fjà jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.rain FUT1 rain 1.month eight 1.year arrive SUB  
 'The rain will fall next August.'

### 7.3.2 Locative adverbs

I found six adverbs of place. They are listed in (22). The distinction in meaning between the first five adverbs is not always very clear. However, the examples contained in my database suggest that they can be classified into three categories (22a-c).

- (22) a. near-speaker adverbs: 'here'

féné<sup>L</sup> (~ wéné<sup>L</sup>)

- b. near-listener adverbs: 'there'

gwè<sup>H</sup>, tè<sup>H</sup>, gúké<sup>L</sup>

- c. far adverbs: 'over there'

fâáké<sup>L</sup> ~ wâáké<sup>L</sup> ~ fáá

- d. tán 'outside'

The forms *gúké<sup>L</sup>* and *fâáké<sup>L</sup> ~ wâáké<sup>L</sup>* contain the near-listener demonstrative *ké<sup>L</sup>*. The initial syllable in *fâáké<sup>L</sup> ~ wâáké<sup>L</sup>* may be a reflex of a class 16 (*\*pà*) or 18 (*\*mù*) while *gú* in *gúké<sup>L</sup>* and *gw* in *gwè<sup>H</sup>* could be a reflex of a class 17 marker (*\*kù*).

- (23) jépdzìl gwè°

<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-dzìlò gwè<sup>H</sup>

PRS-3PL-PRS-seat there

'They are sitting there.'

## 7.3.3 Manner adverb

Two adverbs of manner are found in my corpus: *nóó* ~ *núú* ‘like this, like that’ and *nén<sup>L</sup>* ‘like this, like that’. The semantic difference between them is not very clear. In the example proposed in (24), *nén<sup>L</sup>* can be used interchangeably with *nóó*.

- (24) a. bĕk péml nóó  
       bĕk<sup>L</sup> pémlè nóó  
       NEG turn like\_that  
       ‘Don’t turn [it] like that!’
- b. bĕk péml nén  
       bĕk<sup>L</sup> pémlè nén<sup>L</sup>  
       NEG turn like\_that  
       ‘Don’t turn [it] like that!’

*nóó* ~ *núú* ‘like this, like that’ and *nén<sup>L</sup>* ‘like this, like that’ can also be used as clause linking device where they are interchangeable with the form *jóó<sup>L</sup>*<sup>32</sup> ‘like this, like that’ (25).

- (25) a. ìtóó mèmáàl jó’ó  
       ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> mèmáàl<sup>H</sup> jóó<sup>L</sup>  
       5-house PST1-finish.PST1 like\_this  
       ‘The house is therefore finished’ (*literally* the house is finished like this).
- b. ìtóó mèmáàl nóó  
       ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> mèmáàl<sup>H</sup> nóó  
       5-house PST1-finish.PST1 like\_this  
       ‘The house is therefore finished’ (*literally* the house is finished like this).

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<sup>32</sup> This form results from the combination of the class 2 agreement prefix *j-* to the demonstrative *ó’ó*.



c. ìtóó mèmáàl nén

ì-tóó<sup>L</sup> mèm-máàl<sup>H</sup> nén<sup>L</sup>

5-house PST1-finish.PST1 like\_this

‘The house is therefore finished’ (*literally* the house is finished like this).

Syntactically, *nén* differs from the two others in that it can occur in the initial position of focus-neutral constructions (26), unlike *jóó* and *nóó* which are found clause initially only in focussed constructions (27-28).

(26) a. nén àáfè jí

nén<sup>L</sup> à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>

like\_that 3SG-PST2-PST2-come.PST2 SUB

‘She came like that.’

(27) a. núú jí àáfè jí

núú jí<sup>H</sup> à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>

like\_that FOC 3SG-PST2-PST2-come.PST2 SUB

‘It is like that that she came.’

b. \*núú àáfè jí

(28) a. jóó jí àáfè jí

jóó<sup>L</sup> jí<sup>H</sup> à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>

like\_that FOC 3SG-PST2-PST2-come.PST2 SUB

‘It is like that that she came.’

b. \*jóó àáfè jí

Manner can also be encoded by means of the underived qualifier *tàmbjè* and the ones derived by means of the suffix *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* (see qualifiers in Chapter 5). Some examples are provided below.

- (29) kòndù wé nʃèmbì tàm bjè  
 kòndù w-é <sup>H</sup>-n-ʃèmbò tàm bjè  
 1.young\_girl PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH PRS-PRS-intone well  
 ‘That young girl intones well.’
- (30) kòndù wé nʃèmbì tʃàláàwè°  
 kòndù w-é <sup>H</sup>-n-ʃèmbò tʃàl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.young\_girl PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH PRS-PRS-intone be\_fast-ADJ  
 ‘That young girl intones quickly.’

When expressing manner, derived qualifiers ending in *-áa* can be combined to those in *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* to encode intensification. In this construction, the form in *-áa* precedes that in *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* and the order cannot be reversed.

- (31) kòndù wé nʃèmbì tʃàláá tʃàláàwè°  
 kòndù w-é <sup>H</sup>-n-ʃèmbò tʃàl-áa tʃàl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.young\_girl PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH PRS-PRS-intone be\_fast-ADJ be\_fast-ADJ  
 ‘That young girl intones too quickly.’

## 7.4 Conjunctions

‘Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses’ (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 45). Following these authors, I will distinguish between coordinating and subordination conjunctions.

### 7.4.1 Coordinating conjunctions

Three morphemes in my database can be used as coordinating conjunctions. These include the preposition *nè* ‘and, with’, the form *jàá<sup>L</sup>* and the morphemes *ké<sup>L</sup>* ‘or, either...or’ and *<sup>L</sup>tòò* ‘or, either...or’. The last two can function as a coordinating conjunction, as well as a subordinating conjunction. They all occur between the elements that they conjoin, forming structural units with the conjuncts that they precede.

#### 7.4.1.1 *The comitative-instrumental-agentive nè*

*nè* can be used to joint NPs or clauses as illustrated below.

- (32) mòmjàà né p<sup>h</sup>ààm jéŋfè°  
<sup>L%</sup>mó-mjaa nè p<sup>h</sup>ààm <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 1-woman and 1.man PRS-3SG-PRS-come  
 ‘The woman and the man are coming.’

- (33) jéntúùl nè jéŋdžé<sup>l</sup>mbó  
<sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-<sup>H</sup>-n-túùlè nè <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-<sup>H</sup>-n-džémbó<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-3PL-PRS-sing and PRS-3PL-PRS-dance  
 ‘They are singing and dancing.’

#### 7.4.1.2 *jàá<sup>l</sup>*

The form *jàá<sup>l</sup>*, interpreted as ‘3SG + with’, occurs in NP coordination.

- (34) jáá dzàkljé lèé mpààkò  
 jáá<sup>L</sup> dzàkljé<sup>L</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-pààkò  
 3SG.with 1.tortoise so PRS-PRS-fight  
 ‘So, the tortoise and him are fighting.’

#### 7.4.1.3 *kě<sup>l</sup>* and *<sup>L</sup>tòò*

*kě<sup>l</sup>* and *<sup>L</sup>tòò* are used interchangeably to link noun phrases or clauses.

- (35) a. ò fèé <sup>l</sup>fé gwé <sup>l</sup>bíjà ké òlòkù  
 ò fèé<sup>L</sup> fé gwè bíjà ké<sup>L</sup> òlòkù  
 1SG FUT1 give 2SG 1.beer or 6.wine  
 ‘I will give you beer or wine.’
- b. ò fèé <sup>l</sup>fé gwé <sup>l</sup>bíjà tòò òlòkù  
 ò fèé<sup>L</sup> fé gwè bíjà <sup>L</sup>tòò òlòkù  
 1SG FUT1 give 2SG 1.beer or 6.wine  
 ‘I will give you beer or wine.’

- (36) a.  $\text{ʃɛ}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{dʒi}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{nɛ}$   $\text{kùl}$   $\text{ʃɛ}$   $\text{ndʒi}$   $\text{kɛ}$   $\text{ʃɛ}$   $\text{ŋgwôŋlɛ}$   
 $\text{ʃɛ}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{dʒi}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{nɛ}$   $\text{kùl}$   $\text{ʃɛ}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{n-dʒi}^{\text{L}}$   $\text{kɛ}^{\text{L}}$   $\text{ʃɛ}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{n-gwôŋlɛ}$   
 1PL COP with 1.strength 1PL CSC-eat.CSC or 1PL CSC-drink.CSC  
 ‘We can [either] eat or drink.’

- b.  $\text{ʃɛ}$   $\text{dʒi}$   $\text{nɛ}$   $\text{kùl}$   $\text{ʃɛ}$   $\text{ndʒi}$   $\text{tɔ̀}$   $\text{ʃɛ}$   $\text{ŋgwôŋlɛ}$   
 $\text{ʃɛ}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{dʒi}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{nɛ}$   $\text{kùl}$   $\text{ʃɛ}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{n-dʒi}^{\text{L}}$   $\text{tɔ̀}$   $\text{ʃɛ}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{n-gwôŋlɛ}$   
 1PL COP with 1.strength 1PL CSC-eat.CSC or 1PL CSC-drink.CSC  
 ‘We can [either] eat or drink.’

*kɛ* and *tɔ̀* can be used as correlative conjunctions as illustrated in (37).

- (37) a.  $\text{tɔ̀}$   $\text{p}^{\text{h}i}$   $\text{tɔ̀}$   $\text{ikɛlɔ́}$   $\text{mɛtɔ̀twɛɛ}$   
 ${}^{\text{L}}\text{tɔ̀}$   $\text{p}^{\text{h}i}$   ${}^{\text{L}}\text{tɔ̀}$   $\text{ì-kɛlɔ́}$   ${}^{\text{H}}\text{-mɛ-tòt}^{\text{H}}\text{-wɛɛ}^{\text{L}}$   
 either 1.dog or 5-goat PST2-PST2-return.PST2-NEG  
 ‘Neither the dog nor the goat has returned.’

- b.  $\text{kɛ}$   $\text{p}^{\text{h}i}$   $\text{kɛ}$   $\text{ikɛlɔ́}$   $\text{mɛtɔ̀twɛɛ}$   
 $\text{kɛ}^{\text{L}}$   $\text{p}^{\text{h}i}$   $\text{kɛ}^{\text{L}}$   $\text{ì-kɛlɔ́}$   ${}^{\text{H}}\text{-mɛ-tòt}^{\text{H}}\text{-wɛɛ}^{\text{L}}$   
 either 1.dog or 5-goat PST2-PST2-return.PST2-NEG  
 ‘Neither the dog nor the goat has returned.’

#### 7.4.2 Subordinating conjunctions

Like coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions occur between the two conjuncts. They will be divided into two categories: complementizers and adverbializers. They are discussed in turn. Subordinate clauses are discussed in Chapter 10.

##### 7.4.2.1 Complementizers

The complementizer *nàá* is used to mark a clause as the complement of a verb (38) or a noun (39) or a qualifier (40). Clausal complements are discussed in Chapter 10.

(38) áṅgwáá nàá pùlò nó

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-gwáá<sup>L</sup>      †nàá<sup>L</sup>    pùlò    nó<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-want    COMP    1.rain    fall.SBJV  
 ‘He wants the rain to fall.’

(39) áméébǔkláà kàṣí nàá pùlò mé<sup>+</sup>nó

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-wéé<sup>L</sup>-bǔkláà      kàṣí    †nàá<sup>L</sup>    pùlò    <sup>H</sup>-mè-nó  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-NEG-believe    1.story    COMP    1.rain    PST2-PST2-rain.PST2  
 ‘He does not believe the story that it rained.’

(40) àjì tǒjáàwé nàá gwè ṅḡé

à-jì<sup>H</sup>      tǒj-áàwè<sup>H</sup>      †nàá<sup>L</sup>    gwè    n-ḡé<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-COP    be\_good-ADJ    COMP    2SG    CSC-come.CSC  
 ‘He is happy that you came.’

#### 7.4.2.2 Adverbializers

Adverbializers give an adverbial function to the clause they introduce. The adverbializers attested in my corpus are listed in (41).

(41)	bòkú ‘when’	bè ‘so that’
	mò <sup>H</sup> ‘when’	tél ‘since’
	tén <sup>L</sup> ‘when’	<sup>L</sup> tòò ‘despite of; although’
	jàà <sup>H</sup> ‘because’	kèkí <sup>L</sup> ‘how’

The first two (*bòkú* ‘when’ and *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’) are interchangeable (42). However, the semantic difference between them and *tén<sup>L</sup>* ‘when’ is not clear. In (42a) and (42b) where *bòkú* ‘when’ and *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’ are used interchangeably, the second action occurs while the first is still going on. According to my consultants, *tén<sup>L</sup>* cannot be used in a context such as (42c). In contrast, in example (43) where *tén<sup>L</sup>* is used, the second action occurs when the first action is completed. When I asked my consultants whether *bòkú* ‘when’ and *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’

can also be used in the context illustrated in (43), their answers were not consistent. Some answered yes and others no.

(42) a. m̀́òn m̀́édókàà b̀́òk àád̀́zée p̀́hì jí

m̀́-̀́nó <sup>H</sup>-m̀́-̀́dókàà<sup>H</sup>                      b̀́ókú    à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-d̀́zée                      p̀́hì<sup>H</sup>    jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child    PST2-PST2-run\_away.PST2    when    3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2    1.dog    SUB  
 ‘The child ran away when he saw the dog.’

b. m̀́òn m̀́édókàà m̀́ò àád̀́zée p̀́hì jí

m̀́-̀́nó <sup>H</sup>-m̀́-̀́dókàà<sup>H</sup>                      m̀́ò<sup>H</sup>    à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-d̀́zée                      p̀́hì<sup>H</sup>    jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child    PST2-PST2-run\_away.PST2    when    3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2    1.dog    SUB  
 ‘The child ran away when he saw the dog.’

c. \*m̀́òn m̀́édókàà tén àád̀́zée p̀́hì jí

m̀́-̀́nó <sup>H</sup>-m̀́-̀́dókàà<sup>H</sup>                      tén<sup>L</sup>    à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-d̀́zée                      p̀́hì<sup>H</sup>    jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child    PST2-PST2-run\_away.PST2    when    3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2    1.dog    SUB  
*intended* ‘the child ran away when he saw the dog.’

(43) gẁ́òn m̀́éké tén nàá kwáljé

gẁ́-̀́nó    <sup>H</sup>-m̀́-̀́ké<sup>L</sup>                      tén<sup>L</sup>    nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà                      kwáljé  
 2-child    PST2-PST2-go.PST2    when    1SG-PST2-PST2    arrive.PST2  
 ‘The children had gone when I arrived.’

Syntactically, *tén<sup>L</sup>* differs from *b̀́ókú* ‘when’ and *m̀́ò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’ in that *tén<sup>L</sup>* cannot be used sentence initially (44). Conversely, clauses introduced by *b̀́ókú* ‘when’ and *m̀́ò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’ can occur as the first (45) or second clause of the sentence (42a-b). See Chapter 9 for the description of adverbial clauses.

(44) \*tén nàá kwáljé jí gwòòn méké

tén<sup>L</sup>    nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà            kwáljé            jí<sup>L</sup>            gwò-òónó    <sup>H</sup>-mè-ké<sup>L</sup>  
 when    1SG-PST2-PST2 arrive.PST2    SUB    2-child    PST2-PST2-go.PST2

‘When I arrived, the children had gone.’

(45) a. bók mòòn médzéé p<sup>h</sup>ì jí

bókú    mò-òónó    <sup>H</sup>-mè-dzée            p<sup>h</sup>ì<sup>H</sup>            jí<sup>L</sup>  
 when    1-child    PST2-PST2-see.PST2    1.dog    SUB

àádókàà°

à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dókàa<sup>H</sup>

3SG-PST2-PST2-run\_away.PST2

‘When the child saw the dog, he ran away.’

b. mò mòòn médzéé p<sup>h</sup>ì jí àádókàà°

mò<sup>H</sup>    mò-òónó    <sup>H</sup>-mè-dzée            p<sup>h</sup>ì<sup>H</sup>            jí<sup>L</sup>            à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dókàa<sup>H</sup>  
 when    1-child    PST2-PST2-see.PST2    1.dog    SUB    3SG-PST2-PST2-run\_away.PST2

‘When the child saw the dog, he ran away.’

Below are some examples with other adverbializers.

(46) ní màámb fèηl kě àfèé fè°

<sup>H</sup>-nì            n-wàámbó<sup>L</sup>-fèηlê    kě<sup>L</sup>            à-fèé<sup>L</sup>            fè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-1SG    PRS-NEG-know    if            3SG-FUT1 come

‘I don’t know if she will come.’

(47) ántó nàá òndzì bè ògwól

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-tó                            †nàá<sup>L</sup>    ò-n-dzì<sup>L</sup>                            bè            ò-gwól  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-be.good    COMP    2SG-CSC-eat.CSC    so.that    2SG-grow.SBJV

‘You should eat so that you will grow.’

- (48) tɛ̀l gwóòn mèkè ʃùkùl jí nàá jì bóndú jà°  
 L%tɛ̀l gwò-òno H-mè-kè ʃùkùl jí<sup>L</sup>  
 since 2-child PST2-PST2-go.PST2 1.school SUB  
 jì-H-àà jì bóndó<sup>L</sup> = jà<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG-PST2-PST2 IPFV.PST2 wait = 3PL  
 ‘Since the children went to school, I have been waiting for them.’

- (49) jì fêé tààk jè tòò àdzì bòòl-éŋ  
 H-jì fêé<sup>L</sup> tààkò jè<sup>H</sup> tòò à-dzì<sup>H</sup> bòòl-éŋ  
 PRS-1SG FUT1 take 3SG although 3SG-COP get.rotten-PART  
 ‘I will take it although it is rotten.’

The complementizer *ʔnàá<sup>L</sup>* can be combined to the prepositions *pǎmbú* ‘for’, *ʃím* ‘after, behind’, *pèpè<sup>H</sup>* (< *p<sup>H</sup>è<sup>H</sup>* ‘in front of’) ‘before’ and the participial form *kwáljéŋ* (< *kwáljé<sup>L</sup>* ‘arrive’) to introduce adverbial clauses.

- (50) ántáwl òtʃíkì pǎmbú nàá jèŋgwòŋlé  
 H-à-n-táwlè jòtʃíkì pǎmbú ʔnàá<sup>L</sup> jè<sup>H</sup>-n-gwòŋlé  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-fetch 6.water for COMP 3PL-CSC-drink.CSC  
 ‘She fetches water for them to drink.’

- (51) àdzì kóò ʃím nàá òó kwáljé  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> kòò ʃím ʔnàá<sup>L</sup> ò-H-àà-kwáljé  
 3SG-eat.PST3 PST3 after COMP 2SG-PST2-PST2-arrive.PST2  
 ‘He ate after you had arrived.’

- (52) àáké pèpèl nàá mòòn dzèmjé  
 à-H-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> pèpèl ʔnàá<sup>L</sup> mò-òno dzèmjé<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 before COMP 1-child wake\_up.SBJV  
 ‘She had gone before the child woke up.’



- (53) jàáké mbààkè kwáljéŋ nàá jàálélè°  
 jè<sup>H-H</sup>-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> mbààkè kwálj-éŋ †nàá<sup>L</sup> jè<sup>H-H</sup>-àà-lélè<sup>H</sup>  
 3PL-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 1.race arrive.PART COMP 3PL-PST2-PST2-get\_tired.PST2  
 ‘They ran until they they got tired.’

### 7.5 The morpheme *lèè<sup>H</sup>*

The morpheme *lèè<sup>H</sup>* is interpreted either as an adverb, meaning ‘so, therefore’ (54). It can also be analysed as a coordinating conjunction used to join clauses interpreted as ‘and’ (55). Its status is somehow ambiguous since its distribution is different from that of the preceding coordinating conjunctions. Although *lèè<sup>H</sup>* mainly appears clause finally, it is observed that its distribution may also vary according to tenses/moods. In the present and future tenses and in the Consecutive mood, *lèè<sup>H</sup>* behaves like an auxiliary as it takes tense markers (54b). In the Consecutive mood it even surfaces with the HL<sup>H</sup> tone scheme associated to CVV stems in the Consecutive (55b). In the past tenses and the Imperative and Subjunctive moods, it occurs in post-verbal position (56b and 57). Alternatively, in the past tenses, *lèè<sup>H</sup>* can also be used between the nominal subject and the tense marker if the subject is nominal (56a).

- (54) a. ʃikàʃò mbèn lèè°  
 ʃikàʃò <sup>H</sup>-n-bènò lèè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.Chicacho PRS-PRS-deny therefore  
 ‘Chicacho therefore denies.’

- b. ʃikàʃò nílèè bènò  
 ʃikàʃò <sup>H</sup>-n-lèè<sup>H</sup> bènò  
 1.Chicacho PRS-PRS-therefore deny  
 ‘Chicacho therefore denies.’

- (55) a. jàá dzí búpà, jì ngwôŋl nílòkù lèè°  
 jì<sup>H</sup>-àà dzí búpà jì n-gwôŋl<sup>H</sup> nílòkù lèè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG-PST2-PST2 eat.PST2 1.meat 1SG CSC-drink.CSC 6.wine and  
 ‘I ate some the meat and I drank some wine.’

b.  $\text{jàá dzí búpà, jì nléè gwòᅇl lòkù}$

$\text{jì}^{\text{H}}\text{-àà} \quad \text{dzí} \quad \text{búpà} \quad \text{jì} \quad \text{n-léè}^{\text{H}} \quad \text{gwòᅇl} \quad \text{̀lòkù}$   
 1SG-PST2-PST2 eat.PST2 meat 1SG CSC-and.CSC drink 6.wine  
 ‘I ate some the meat and I drank some wine.’

(56) a.  $\text{jikàfò lèè mèbénò}^{\circ}$

$\text{jikàfò} \quad \text{lèè}^{\text{H}} \quad \text{mè-bénò}^{\text{H}}$   
 Chicacho therefore PST1-deny.PST1  
 ‘Chicacho therefore denied.’

b.  $\text{jikàfò mèbên léè}^{\circ}$

$\text{jikàfò} \quad \text{mè-bénò}^{\text{H}} \quad \text{lèè}^{\text{H}}$   
 Chicacho PST1-deny.PST1 therefore  
 ‘Chicacho therefore denied.’

(57)  $\text{àgwòᅇl lèè}^{\circ}$

$\text{à-gwòᅇl} \quad \text{lèè}^{\text{H}}$   
 3SG-drink.SBJV  
 ‘So, let him drink!’

## 7.6 The locative $^{\text{H}}\text{-}\dot{\text{à}}\text{-}^{\text{H}}$

Locative phrases are introduced by the structure  $^{\text{H}}\text{-}\dot{\text{à}}\text{-}^{\text{H}}$ , the three particles of the construction all being optional as illustrated in below.

(58) a.  $\text{ántéwúl ótélè kóó}$

$^{\text{H}}\text{-à-n-téwúlè} \quad \text{^{\text{H}}-}\dot{\text{à}}\text{-}^{\text{H}}\text{-tèlè} \quad \text{kóó}^{\text{L}}$   
 PRS-3SG-PRS-stand LOC-LOC-LOC-1.mat on  
 ‘She is standing on the mat.’

b. ántéwǔl ótèlè kóó

<sup>H</sup>-à-n- téwúlè      <sup>H</sup>-ò-tèlè      kóó<sup>L</sup>

PRS-3SG-PRS-stand    LOC-LOC-1.mat on

‘She is standing on the mat.’

c. ántéwǔl òtèlè kóó

<sup>H</sup>-à-n- téwúlè      ò-<sup>H</sup>-tèlè      kóó<sup>L</sup>

PRS-3SG-PRS-stand    LOC-LOC-1.mat on

‘She is standing on the mat.’

d. ántéwǔl òtèlè kóó

<sup>H</sup>-à-n- téwúlè      ò-tèlè      kóó<sup>L</sup>

PRS-3SG-PRS-stand    LOC-1.mat on

‘She is standing on the mat.’

e. ántéwǔl télè kóó

<sup>H</sup>-à-n- téwúlè      <sup>H</sup>-tèlè      kóó<sup>L</sup>

PRS-3SG-PRS-stand    LOC-1.mat on

‘She is standing on the mat.’

f. ántéwǔl tèlè kóó

<sup>H</sup>-à-n- téwúlè      tèlè      kóó<sup>L</sup>

PRS-3SG-PRS-stand    1.mat on

‘She is standing on the mat.’

The locative <sup>H</sup>-ò-<sup>H</sup>- is interchangeable with the preposition *nè* before the adverbial nouns *ì-ké'kí* ‘upstream’ and *ì-béŋ* ‘downstream.’

(59) a. ní ñkè ðbéñ  
<sup>H</sup>-ñì      n-kè      ð-ì-béñ  
 PRS-1SG   PRS-go   LOC-5-upstream  
 ‘I am going upstream.’

b. ní ñkè nè péñ  
<sup>H</sup>-ñì      n-kè      nè      ì-béñ  
 PRS-1SG   PRS-go   with      5-upstream  
 ‘I am going upstream.’

### 7.7 Ideophones

Creissels (2006a: 21) defines ideophones as “mots présentant des caractéristiques phonologiques exceptionnelles qui soulignent le caractère particulièrement expressif de leur signifié”. As Meeussen (1967: 115-116) describes, ideophones in Bantu languages “show little or no morphemic structure except reduplication, and not much derivational relationship with other forms (except with verbs) or with each other”. The seven ideophones found in my database match this description (at least at the structural level). These are listed in (60). They will be glossed as IDEO. The last two ideophones are realised with an extra long vowel materialised at the surface representation with a succession of three short vowels.

(60) kpémkpémkpém ‘high-pitched sound’  
 gbèngbèngbèng ‘low-pitched sound’  
 gbààgbàà ‘claps of thunder marking the end of the big raining season’  
 pólópóló ‘very well’,  
 bímbímbím ‘repeatedly’  
 wòòò ~wòòò ‘intensification’  
 ðùùù ‘inserting slowly’

The first four ideophones have nominal characteristics in that they can take a plural prefix and trigger agreement. They are illustrated in (61)-(64). In their singular form, they trigger agreement in class 1 (61) while in their plural form, they surface with the class 2

plural prefix *à-*, therefore triggering agreement in class 2 (64). These characteristics contrast with typical ideophones which cannot take any inflexional marker (Creissels 2006b: 21).

On the functional level, the ideophones *kpémkpémkpém* ‘high-pitched sound’, *gbèmbèmbèmbèm* ‘low-pitched sound’ and *gbààgbàà* ‘claps of thunder marking the end of the big raining season’ behave as typical nouns as they can occupy every nominal function within a sentence (61-63) unlike *pólópóló* ‘very’, which is restricted to attributive and predicative qualification (64).

- (61) *kpémkpémkpém wèè nítěfèè*  
*kpémkpémkpém<sup>L</sup> w-èè<sup>H</sup>                      <sup>H</sup>-n-těfè-εε*  
 1.IDEO                      PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS      PRS-PRS-1SG  
 ‘Its high-pitched sound is disturbing me’

- (62) *ní jídzók gbààgbàà*  
<sup>H</sup>-nì              n-dzókó<sup>L</sup>      gbààgbàà  
 PRS-1SG    PRS-hear    1.IDEO  
 ‘I am hearing claps of thunder (sp.)’

- (63) *àfètéé gbèmbèmbèmbèm, gwàá dzòkùwéé tàmbjè*  
*à-fètéé<sup>L</sup>              gbèmbèmbèmbèm      gwè-<sup>H</sup>-àà              dzòkù-wéé<sup>L</sup>              tàmbjè*  
 3SG-COP.NEG    1. IDEO                      2SG-PST2-PST2      hear.PST2-NEG      well  
 ‘It is not a low-pitched sound, you didn’t hear well’

- (64) *àpòlòpòlò íkèη*  
*à-pólòpòlò      jì-<sup>H</sup>-ì-kèη*  
 2-IDEO              PP<sub>2</sub>-CON-2-knife  
 ‘very sharp knives’

The last three ideophones viz. *bímbímbím* ‘repeatedly’ *wòò ~ wòò* ‘for a long period of time, intensification’ and *fùùùm* ‘inserting slowly’ do not have nominal characteristics. *bímbímbím* is used to show that an action is used repeatedly (65). *wòò ~ wòò* is used to express intensification (66). Finally, *fùùùm* is used to express a slow and gradual process (67).

(65) jàábí jé káfí ntà bímbímbím

jè<sup>H</sup>-àà-bíwɔ = jè<sup>H</sup> bímbímbím

3PL-PST2-PST2-beat.PST2 = 3SG IDEO

‘They beat him repeatedly.’

(66) ààmáàf lèè gwómò bìwèη nó wòòò

à-àà-máà-ʃɔ<sup>H</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> gwò-mó bíw-εη nó wòòò

3SG-PST1-finish-CAUS.PST1 so 2-person beat-PART like\_that IDEO

‘So he ended up beating up people violently’

(67) dzákljé n-éè bàándí jè ʃùùùm

dzákljé<sup>L</sup> n-n-éè<sup>H</sup> bàándí<sup>B</sup> = jè<sup>H</sup> ʃùùùm

1.tortoise CSC-AUX attacher = 3SG IDEO

‘First, the tortoise ties him up slowly’

## 8. TENSE, MOOD AND NEGATION

### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to verbal inflection. The Kwakum tense-aspect system presents very little correspondences with the Proto-Bantu tense-aspect. These correspondences are mainly observed either at the tonal level (as concerns Imperative and Subjunctive) or at the segmental level (as concerns Infinitive). Verbal inflection is marked segmentally and/or tonally. When discussing the structure of conjugated verbs, subject prefixes will be indicated in brackets since they are omitted in the presence of nominal subject. I will discuss Infinitive forms first (Section 8.2), then aspect (Section 8.3.1), tenses of the Indicative mood (Section 8.3.2), non-indicative moods (Section 8.4). Some tense-specific verbs (i.e. verbs that can only appear in certain tenses) are presented in Section 8.5. In Section 8.6, I give a brief comparison between the Kwakum TAM system and that of other A90 languages. Negation is the concern of Section 8.7. The remaining sections look at the auxiliaries used to encode modality (Section 8.8), phase polarity (Section 8.9) and other aspectual notions (Section 8.10). In most sections, semantic function will precede the formal description.

### 8.2 Infinitive forms

Infinitive forms are marked by the prefix *ì-* (PB class 5). These forms are used as the citation form of verbs (1). They can also be used as the complement of a preposition (2) or as  $R_2$  of a connective construction (3).

- (1) a. *ìdàá'mbó*      'to cook'  
      b. *ì-bé*            'to be'  
      c. *ì-dzí*            'to eat'

- (2) *kópú pǎmb ígwôŋlè*  
*kópú<sup>l</sup> pǎmbú ì-gwôŋlè*  
 l.cup      for      INF-drink  
 'a drinking cup' (*literally* 'a cup for to drink')

- (3) ḡḡínà íkòkàà  
 ḡḡínà           <sup>H</sup>-ì-kòkàà  
 1.machine   CON-INF-grind  
 ‘a grinding machine’

The only verbs found not to have an infinitive form are *dʒíʰ/jíʰ* ‘be’ and *víʰjá* ‘arrive’. Both verbs are mainly used in the present tense, where they occur without tense makers.

### 8.3 Tense and aspect in the Indicative mood

The basic aspectual opposition observed in Kwakum is the opposition Perfective-Imperfective. Like in many Bantu languages (Nurse 2003: 94), the Perfective is unmarked in Kwakum and will not be glossed in this analysis. In contrast, the Imperfective is expressed by means of the copula *ǰíʰ/jíʰ*. The opposition Perfective-Imperfective in Kwakum is illustrated in Table 33 which presents the 14 tense-aspect combinations of the Indicative mood.

Table 33: Perfective and Imperfective verb forms

TENSES	TEMPORAL REFERENCE	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
Remote Past (PST4)	remote	STEM- <i>mɛ</i>	<i>ǰíʰ/jíʰ-mɛ</i> STEM
Hesternal Past (PST3)	yesterday	STEM <i>kòò</i>	<i>ǰíʰ/jíʰ kòò</i> STEM
Hodiernal Past (PST2)	today	<sup>H</sup> - <i>mè</i> -STEM	<sup>H</sup> - <i>mè-jíʰ</i> STEM
Immediate Past (PST1)	immediate	<i>mè</i> -STEM	
Present	now		<sup>H</sup> - <i>n</i> -STEM <i>jòkùʰ</i> STEM <i>ǰíʰ/jíʰ</i> STEM
Immediate Future (FUT1)	immediately/today	<i>fèéʰ</i> STEM	<i>fèéʰ bɛ</i> SM- <i>ǰíʰ/jíʰ</i> STEM
Crastinal Future (FUT2)	tomorrow	<i>fòòʰ</i> STEM	<i>fòòʰ bɛ</i> SM- <i>ǰíʰ/jíʰ</i> STEM
Remote Future (FUT3)	remote	<i>fòòʰ-ŋgèʰ</i> STEM	<i>fòòʰ-ŋgèʰ bɛ</i> SM- <i>ǰíʰ/jíʰ</i> STEM



## 8.3.1 The use of Perfective and Imperfective

The Perfective expresses bounded actions and states while Imperfective encodes unbounded actions and states. In example (4), the speaker expresses the process of sending (the finger), giving the sentence a Progressive reading. In contrast, in the Perfective sentence in example (5), the speaker means that the action took place and was completed in the past.

- (4) ʃàtòŋgè méjì kẹ́ʃè ʃààk mótù°  
 ʃàtòŋgè        <sup>H</sup>-mè-jì<sup>H</sup>        kẹ́ʃè ʃààkó        mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 1.Chatongue PST2-PST2-IPF send 1.finger one  
 ‘Chatongue was sending a finger.’

- (5) ʃàtòŋgè mèkẹ́ʃè ʃààk mótù°  
 ʃàtòŋgè        <sup>H</sup>-mè-kẹ́ʃè<sup>H</sup>        ʃààkó        mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 1.Chatongue PST2-PST2-send.PST2 1.finger one  
 ‘Chatongue sent a finger.’

A widespread difference between the Perfective and the Imperfective is seen in the expression of Habitual. Compare example (7) with example (6), where my consultant Mr Ndengue Simon explains to his son how circumcision was performed during his childhood.

- (6) jèjìmè dʒóól nè p<sup>h</sup>ùl ʃààkó  
 jè<sup>H</sup>-jì-mè<sup>H</sup>        dʒòòlè nè p<sup>h</sup>ùl ʃààkó  
 3PL-IPFV.PST4-PST4 bathe with 1.hair 1.hen  
 ‘They used to bathe [people] with feathers.’

- (7) jèdʒòòlmè né p<sup>h</sup>ùl ʃààkó  
 jè<sup>H</sup>-dʒòòl-mè<sup>H</sup>        nè p<sup>h</sup>ùl ʃààkó  
 3PL-bathe.PST4-PST4 with 1.hair 1.hen  
 ‘They bathed [people] with feathers.’

Drawn from the story ‘Chatongue’ (See text 1 in the appendices) told by one of my consultants Mr Nargaba Paul, the sentence proposed in (8) is used to describe the stealing habit of Chatongue, the thief. Therefore, it receives a Habitual reading.

- (8) àjì dʒíwú p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò àjì ké nè àjì ké dʒì°  
 à-jì<sup>H</sup> dʒíwó<sup>L</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò à-jì<sup>H</sup> kè nè  
 3SG-IPFV steal 1.maize 3SG-IPFV go with  
 à-jì<sup>H</sup> kè dʒì<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-IPFV go eat  
 ‘He steals corn and goes with it to eat it’

In (9), the Imperfective encodes Simultaneity with the action of entering whereas the Perfective expresses Consecutive (10a) and Antecedence (10b).

- (9) mò nàá kwàljè jí, àjì dàá<sup>†</sup>ló  
 mò<sup>H</sup> jì<sup>-H</sup>-àà kwàlje<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup> à-jì<sup>H</sup> dàáló<sup>L</sup>  
 when 1SG-PST2-PST2 arrive.PST2 SUB 3SG-IPFV sleep  
 ‘When I arrived, she was sleeping.’

- (10) mò nàá kwàljè jí, àádáálé  
 mò<sup>H</sup> jì<sup>-H</sup>-àà kwàlje<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup> à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-dáale  
 when 1SG-PST2-PST2 arrive.PST2 SUB 3SG-PST2-PST2-sleep.PST2  
 a. ‘When I arrived, she slept’ (I arrived then she slept).  
 b. ‘When I arrived, she had slept.’

As in Eton (Van de Velde 2008), in the presence of an iterative adverbial, Iterative is preferably expressed by means of the Perfective. The example in (11) is extracted from an argument between two brothers who were asked to watch over their sick younger brother.

(11)

A: kilèwò mékóʃí kélò mótù°  
 kì-léwó<sup>H</sup>-mè-kóʃle kèlò mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 7-baby PST2-PST2-cough.PST2 1.time one  
 ‘The baby coughed once.’

B: dèjé àákóʃí kélò nè kèlò  
 dèjé<sup>L</sup> à-<sup>H</sup>-àà- kóʃle kèlò nè kèlò  
 no 3SG-PST2-PST2-cough.PST2 1.time with 1.time  
 ‘No, he coughed many times.’

When an Imperfective verb form co-occurs with an iterative adverbial, the sentence receives a habitual reading (12), whereas this is not necessarily the case with the Perfective aspect (11).

(12) àájì bíwú jè kélò nè kèlò  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-jì bíwó<sup>L</sup>=jè<sup>H</sup> kèlò nè kèlò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-IPFV.PST2 beat=3SG 1.time with 1.time  
 ‘He used to beat her several times.’

With time adverbials encoding boundness, only the Perfective form can be used (13). Using the Imperfective in this context sounds weird (14).

(13) ànàmbì kòò bùpà òíwòlà mótù°  
 à-nàmbì<sup>H</sup> kòò bùpà ò-<sup>H</sup>-ì-wòlà mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-chew.PST3 PST3 1.meat LOC-LOC-5-hour one  
 ‘He chewed the meat for an hour.’

(14) \*àdzì kòò nàámbí bùpà òíwòlà mótù°  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> kòò nàámbí<sup>L</sup> bùpà ò-<sup>H</sup>-ì-wòlà mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-IPFV.PST3 PST3 chew 1.meat LOC-LOC-5-hour one  
*Intended* ‘He was chewing for an hour.’

Another domain where the Imperfective differs from the Perfective is in the expression of Durativity. Verbs expressing non-durative situations have a Perfective form (15) while activities and accomplishments with a certain duration tend to be used in the Imperfective (16).

(15) *nàá dúljé ò-kípètò àákwaljé*

*nì<sup>H</sup>-àà                      dúljé                      ò<sup>H</sup>-kì-pètó à<sup>H</sup>-àà-kwáljé*

1SG-PST2-PST2    shout.PST2    LOC-LOC-7-time    3SG-PST2-PST2-arrive.PST2

‘I shouted when she arrived.’

(16) *nàá jì bóndú tóó téé òkípètò àájì dàámbó*

*nì<sup>H</sup>-àà                      jì                      bóndó<sup>L</sup> ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>                      téé                      ò<sup>H</sup>-kì-pètó<sup>H</sup>*

1SG-PST2-PST2    IPFV.PST2 wait    5-house    in    LOC-LOC-7-time

*à<sup>H</sup>-àà-jì                      dàámbó<sup>L</sup>*

3SG-PST2-PST2-IPFV    cook

‘I was waiting in the house while she was cooking.’

In addition, like in Eton (Van de Velde 2008), achievement verbs receive a durativity or progressive reading when they have an Imperfective form.

(17) *àdzìmè kùm pèngè dzòwò tʃɪndzì*

*à-dzì-mɛ<sup>H</sup>                      kùmò pèngè                      dzòwó                      <sup>L</sup>tʃɪndzì<sup>L</sup>*

3SG-IPFV-RP    find    1.money 1.day    all

‘She was finding money everyday.’

Conversely, unlike in Eton, stative verbs in Kwakum are preferably conjugated in the Perfective (18a) as their Imperfective form sounds strange (18b).

- (18) a. ñlòkù fɔlmé  
           ñlòkù fɔl-mé  
           6.wine be.cold.PST4-PST4  
           ‘The wine was cold’  
 b. \*ñlòkù dzìmè fɔs’lɔ

### 8.3.2 Tense and aspect combinations

As mentioned earlier, the Perfective is unmarked in Kwakum. Imperfective verb forms are construed by means of an auxiliary and the stem of the lexical verb. Interestingly, past imperfective forms involve the Present tense stem of the auxiliary ‘be’ with past tense morphology. In some TA-forms, this stem has a weakened form, *jiʰ*, suggesting that it is prosodically evolving towards an affix status.

The expression of tense distinctions is morphologically unusually complex for a Bantu language in that tense marking is non-compositional. A tense value may be expressed by more than one element found in different positions within the verb form. The different past tense forms involve extensive allomorphy of verb stems on top of segmental and tonal affixes. Patterns of allomorphy of verb stems are regular. They are determined by tense and mood, by the position of the verb in the utterance (final versus non-final) and by the tone (low-toned verbs vs. non-low verbs), the syllable structure and the final segment of the basic verb stem allomorph. Non-basic verb stem allomorphs involve the superimposition of a fixed tone scheme as well as segmental changes. A full description of the patterns of allomorphy is provided in the following sections. Tense suffixes are treated as part of the verb stem or not, depending on the application of fixed tone schemes in non-basic stem allomorphs.

Verbs in Kwakum can be organised into verb classes, defined as groups of verbs that have the same tone schemes. Following this definition, 15 verb classes are attested. In Table 34, they are represented by the syllable of the basic verb allomorph. The verb classes CVC(́).Cè (line m) and Ć.(Ć).Cáá (line o) include all non-low verbs which have the same syllable structure. F is meant for utterance final and NF utterance non-final. Examples will be provided when discussing each tense.

Table 34: verb classes

	PST1	PST2	PST3	PST4	IMP.2SG	IMP.2PL	SBJV	CSC
a. CṼ	F: H	H <sup>L</sup>	L <sup>H</sup>	F: LH	L	L	H <sup>L</sup>	H <sup>L</sup>
	NF: L			NF: L <sup>H</sup>				
b. CṼ	F: H	F: H	L <sup>H</sup>	F: H	L	L	H <sup>L</sup>	H <sup>L</sup>
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>		NF: L <sup>H</sup>				
c. CṼ <sup>H</sup>	L <sup>H</sup>	L <sup>H</sup>	L <sup>H</sup>	F: LH	L	L	H <sup>L</sup>	H <sup>L</sup>
				NF: L <sup>H</sup>				
d. CṼṼ	HL <sup>H</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>	L <sup>H</sup>	F: LH	L <sup>H</sup>	L	HL	HL <sup>H</sup>
				NF: L <sup>H</sup>				
e. CṼṼ	F: H	F: H	L <sup>H</sup>	F: H	F: H	L	HL	HL <sup>H</sup>
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>		NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: L <sup>H</sup>			
f. CṼ.Cḁ	HL <sup>H</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>	L <sup>H</sup>	F: LH	F: LH	L	HL	HL <sup>H</sup>
				NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: L <sup>H</sup>			
g. CṼ. <sup>†</sup> Cḁ	F: H	F: H	L <sup>H</sup>	F: H	F: H	L	HL	HL <sup>H</sup>
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>		NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: L <sup>H</sup>			
h. CṼṼ.Cḁ	HL <sup>H</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>	L <sup>H</sup>	F: LH	F: LH	L	HL	HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH
				NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: L <sup>H</sup>			
i. CṼṼ. <sup>†</sup> Cḁ	F: H	F: H	L <sup>H</sup>	F: H	F: H	L	HL	HL <sup>H</sup> ~ LHL
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>		NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: L <sup>H</sup>			
j. CṼ.Cè	HL <sup>H</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>	LH <sup>L</sup>	LHH	LH <sup>L</sup>	LH	LH <sup>L</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>
k. CṼ. <sup>†</sup> Cé	F: H	F: H	LH <sup>L</sup>	LHH	LH <sup>L</sup>	LH	LH <sup>L</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>						
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè/CṼṼ.Cè	HL <sup>H</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>	LH <sup>L</sup>	LHH	LHH <sup>L</sup>	LH	F: LHH	HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH
							NF: LH <sup>L</sup>	
m. CṼC(v).Cè	F: H	F: H	LH <sup>L</sup>	LHH	LHH <sup>L</sup>	LH	F: LHH	HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>					NF: LH <sup>L</sup>	
n. CṼ.(CṼ).Càà	HL <sup>H</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>	LH <sup>L</sup>	LHH	LHH <sup>L</sup>	LH	LH <sup>L</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>
o. CṼ.(CV).Caa	F: H	F: H	LH <sup>L</sup>	LHH	LHH <sup>L</sup>	LH	LH <sup>L</sup>	HL <sup>H</sup>
	NF: LH	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>						

## 8.3.2.1 The Remote Past (PST4)

The Remote Past is used to express events located in the furthest past. That is why it is used to introduce narrative texts in a bid to set the time frame (19).

(19) ní ñkàṅè díne kàkàn fókú bèmé nàà...

<sup>H</sup>-ṅì n-kàṅè díne kàkàn<sup>H</sup> fókú bè-mé †nàà<sup>L</sup>...

PRS-1SG PRS-tell 2PL story certain be.PST4-PST4 COMP

‘I tell you a story which happened as follows...’

## 8.3.2.1.1 The Perfective Remote Past

The Perfective Remote Past forms have the structure (SM-)STEM-*me*. The suffix *-me* is treated as part of the verb stem with respect to the application of fixed tone schemes in non-basic stem allomorphs (see Table 34). Verbs ending in /ɔ/ systematically shorten their initial long vowels, when there is any.

Non-basic stem allomorphs surface with four tone schemes in Perfective Remote Past viz. H, LH, L<sup>H</sup> and LHH. They are summarised and illustrated in Table 35, with the 3SG pronoun *à-* used as subject. F is short for (utterance) final and NF for non-final.

Table 35: conjugation in the Perfective Remote Past

STEM	TONE SCHEME		EXAMPLE	
	F: LH	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àbàmé	NF: àbàmè <sup>H</sup>
a. CṼ bà ‘cut up’	F: LH	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àbàmé	NF: àbàmè <sup>H</sup>
b. CṼ gwí ‘die’	F: H	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àgwímé	NF: àgwimè <sup>H</sup>
c. CṼ° ʃè° ‘come’	F: LH	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àʃèmé	NF: àʃèmè <sup>H</sup>
d. CṼṼ dòò ‘live’	F: LH	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àdòòmé	NF: àdòòmè <sup>H</sup>
e. CṼṼ ʃéé ‘work’	F: H	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àʃéémé	NF: àʃèèmè <sup>H</sup>
f. CṼ.Cḁ tʃìlḁ ‘write’	F: LH	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àtʃìlmé	NF: àtʃìlmè <sup>H</sup>
g. CṼ.°Cḁ dó°mbó ‘speak’	F: H	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àdómbúmé	NF: àdòmbùmè <sup>H</sup>
h. CṼṼ.Cḁ bààndḁ ‘peel’	F: LH	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	F: àbàndìmé	NF: àbàndimè <sup>H</sup>
i. CṼṼ.°Cḁ bàá°ndó ‘tie’	F: H	NF: LH	F: àbándímé	NF: àbàndimè <sup>H</sup>
j. CṼ.Cè dʒḁʃè ‘hide’	LHH		àdʒḁʃé°mé	
k. CṼ.°Cé dʒó°ʃé ‘judge’	LHH		àdʒḁʃé°mé	
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè / CṼṼ(C).Cè bùùʃè ‘accumulate’	LHH		àbùùʃú°mé ~ àbùùʃ°mé	

m. CVC(V).Cè báklè ‘separate’	LHH		àbàklí+mé ~ àbăklí+mé
n. CṼ.(CṼ).Càà bòljàà ‘revenge’	LHH		àbòljáá+mé
o. CṼ.(CV).Caa dòwáà ‘call’	LHH		àdòwáá+mé

The H tone scheme occurs in final position. It surfaces on non-low monosyllabic verbs and non-low verbs ending in /ɔ/ (e.g. *gwí* ‘die’ → *gwí-mé#*; *dàá+mbó* ‘cook’ → *dám-mé#*). In Table 35 they are illustrated in lines b, e, g and i.

Like the H tone scheme, the LH tone scheme is found in utterance final position. It occurs on CṼ(Ṽ), CṼ° and CṼ.Cò verbs (e.g. *bà* ‘cut up’ → *bà-mé#*; *fè* ‘come’ → *fèmé*; *tɕìlò* ‘write’ → *tɕìl-mé#*). See lines a, c, d, f and h of Table 35.

The L<sup>H</sup> tone scheme is used non-finally with monosyllabic verb stems and verbs ending in /ɔ/ (e.g. *gwí* ‘die’ → *gwìmè<sup>H</sup>...*; *tɕìlò* ‘write’ → *tɕìl-mè<sup>H</sup>...*). See lines a-i of Table 35.

Finally, the LHH tone scheme (with the final H realised as a downstep H) occurs on verbs ending either in /ɛ/ or in /aa/ (e.g. *dʒòfè* ‘hide’ → *dʒòfè-‘mé*; *bòljàà* ‘revenge’ → *bòljáá-‘mé*). See lines j-o of Table 35.

As Table 35 shows, some contrastive pairs of verbs are neutralised in the Perfective Remote Past, resulting in ambiguous verb forms. For instance, in non-final position, *bàánd<sup>A</sup>* ‘tie’ (line 4) vs. *bààndò* ‘peel’ (line 8) have identical non-basic allomorphs. The same situation is observed in the pair *dʒòfè* ‘hide’ (line 9) vs. *dʒòfè<sup>A</sup>* ‘judge’ (line 10). In order to prevent misinterpretations, some native speakers tend to shorten the initial long vowel of the non-low verbs only (20) while vowel length is preserved in low-toned verbs (21).

- (20) p<sup>h</sup>ààm bàndmè kídé<sup>l</sup>l  
p<sup>h</sup>àám bànd-mè<sup>H</sup> kì- dél<sup>L</sup>  
1.man tie.PST4-PST4 7-garment  
‘The man tied the garment.’



- (21) p<sup>h</sup>ââm bààndmè kíbùmó  
 p<sup>h</sup>âám bàand-me<sup>H</sup> kî-bùmó  
 1.man peel.PST4-PST4 7-fruit  
 ‘The man peeled the fruit.’

Another strategy used by few speakers, is to mark the 1SG subject twice with non-low verbs, using both the free pronominal form *ɲì* and the 1SG homorganic nasal (22 and 24). Conversely, this strategy does not apply to low-toned verbs (23 and 25). This strategy is only used when the subject is 1SG.

- (22) ɲì mbàndmè kí'dé'ló  
 ɲì n-bànd-me<sup>H</sup> kî- dé'ló<sup>L</sup>  
 1SG 1SG-fold.PST4-PST4 7-garment  
 ‘I tied the garment.’

- (23) ɲì bàndmè kíbùmó  
 ɲì bàand-me<sup>H</sup> kî-bùmó  
 1SG peel.PST4-PST4 7-fruit  
 ‘I peeled the fruit.’

- (24) ɲì ɲdʒòʒé'mé fjàl  
 ɲì n-dʒòʒé-mé fjàl  
 1SG 1SG-judge.PST4-PST4 1.daughter\_in\_law  
 ‘I judged the daughter-in-law.’

- (25) ɲì dʒòʒé'mé fjàl  
 ɲì dʒòʒé-mé fjàl  
 1SG judge.PST4-PST4 1.daughter\_in\_law  
 ‘I hid the daughter-in-law.’

#### 8.3.2.1.2 The Imperfective Remote Past

With nominal subjects, the Imperfective Remote Past is expressed by means of the construction (SM-)*ɕʒ<sup>H</sup>/jɪ<sup>H</sup>-mɛ* stem. The forms *ɕʒ<sup>H</sup>/jɪ<sup>H</sup>* can occur with pronominal subjects

(26) while  $\text{ɔʒ}^{\text{H}}$  is preferably used with nominal subjects (27). Like the Perfective Remote Past forms of CV-verbs in non-final position, the Imperfective marker  $\text{ɔʒ}^{\text{H}}/\text{jɪ}^{\text{H}}$  and its tense marker surface with a L<sup>H</sup> tone scheme ( $\text{ɔʒ}^{\text{H}} \rightarrow \text{dʒi-mè}^{\text{H}}\dots$ ) (26-28a). Alternatively, some speakers also use the LH tone scheme as illustrated in (28b).

(26) a. àdʒimè bɛl p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò

à-dʒi-mɛ<sup>H</sup>                      bɛlò    p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 3SG-IPFV.PST4-PST4    plant    1.maize  
 ‘He was planting some maize.’

b. àjìmè bɛl p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò

à-jì-mɛ<sup>H</sup>                      bɛlò    p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 3SG-IPFV.PST4-PST4    plant    1.maize  
 ‘He was planting some maize.’

(27) p<sup>h</sup>ààm dʒimè bɛl p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò

p<sup>h</sup>àám    dʒi-mɛ<sup>H</sup>                      bɛlò    p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 1.man    IPFV.PST4-PST4    plant    1.maize  
 ‘The man was planting some maize.’

(28) a. àdʒimè bé ‘máwàti

à-dʒi-mɛ<sup>H</sup>                      bé        máwàti  
 3SG-IPFV.PST4-PST4    be        1.mason  
 ‘He was a mason.’

b. àdʒimé ‘bé ‘máwàti

à-dʒi-mé                      bé        máwàti  
 3SG-IPFV.PST4-PST4    be        1.mason  
 ‘He was a mason.’

With pronominal subjects, the Imperfective marker  $dʒi^H/ji^H$  can be replaced by a floating H which merges with the pronominal subject, resulting in the forms listed in Table 36.

Table 36: the Imperfective Remote Past combined to pronominal subjects

1SG	$\eta i m e^H$
2SG	$g w e m e^H \sim \partial m e^H$
3SG	$\partial m e^H$
1PL	$\int e m e^H \sim \int e m e^H$
2PL	$n e m e^H \sim n e m e^H$
3PL	$j e m e^H \sim j e m e^H$

- (29)  $\eta i m e^H k e^H g w e^H$   
 $\eta i - m e^H \quad k e^H \quad g w e^H$   
 1SG-PST4.IPFV go there  
 ‘I used to go there.’

### 8.3.2.2 The Hesternal Past (PST3)

The time frame of the Hesternal Past starts from the previous day and it can be extended to a year before the time of utterance (30). A time adverb can be used to give more precision about the time of event.

- (30)  $p u l \partial n \partial k o \partial k o \partial k o$   
 ${}^L p u l \partial n \partial k o \partial k o$   
 1.rain rain. PST3 PST3 yesterday  
 ‘It rained yesterday.’

#### 8.3.2.2.1 The Perfective Hesternal Past

The Perfective Hesternal Past is encoded by the structure (SM-)STEM  $k o \partial$ . Unlike the Remote Past suffix  $-m e$ , the Hesternal Past morpheme (clitic?)  $k o \partial$  is treated as a free form, given its tonal behaviour which suggests that it does not form a prosodic unit with the verb stem unlike the Remote Past suffix  $-m e$  which is prosodically related to the verb stem. Like

in the Perfective Remote Past, verbs ending in /ɔ/ shorten their initial long vowel, if there is any.

The tone scheme of non-basic stem allomorphs is either L<sup>H</sup> or LH<sup>L</sup>, summarised and exemplified in Table 37, with the 3SG pronoun à- in subject position. The L<sup>H</sup> tone scheme is used with monosyllabic verbs and verbs ending in /ɔ/ (*bà* ‘cut up’ → *bà<sup>H</sup>*; *tʃilò* ‘write’ → *tʃil<sup>H</sup>*). See lines a-i of Table 37.

The LH<sup>L</sup> tone scheme occurs on verbs whose basic allomorphs end in /ɛ/ or /aa/ (*dʒɔʃɛ̀* ‘hide’ → *dʒɔʃɛ̀<sup>L</sup>*; *bɔ̀ljàà* ‘revenge’ → *bɔ̀ljáá<sup>L</sup>*). See lines j-o of Table 37.

Table 37 : conjugation in the Perfective Hesternal Past

Stem	Tone scheme	Example
a. CṼ bà ‘cut up’	L <sup>H</sup>	àbà kóò
b. CṼ gwí ‘die’	L <sup>H</sup>	àgwì kóò
c. CṼ° ʃè° ‘come’	L <sup>H</sup>	àʃè kóò
d. CṼṼ dòò ‘live’	L <sup>H</sup>	àdòò kòò
e. CṼṼ ʃéé ‘work’	L <sup>H</sup>	àʃèè kòò
f. CṼ.Cò tʃilò ‘write’	L <sup>H</sup>	àtʃil kóò
g. CṼ.°Có dó°mbó ‘speak’	L <sup>H</sup>	àdòmb(ù) kóò
h. CṼṼ.Cò bààndò ‘peel’	L <sup>H</sup>	àbànd(ì) kóò
i. CṼṼ.°Có bàá°ndó ‘tie’	L <sup>H</sup>	àbànd(ì) kóò
j. CṼ.Cè dʒɔʃɛ̀ ‘hide’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àdʒɔʃɛ̀ kòò
k. CṼ.°Cé dʒó°ʃé ‘judge’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àdʒɔʃɛ̀ kòò
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè / CṼṼ(c).Cè bùùʃè ‘accumulate’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àbùùʃú kòò ~ àbùùʃ kòò
m. CṼC(v).Cè báklè ‘separate’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àbàklí kòò
n. CṼ.(CṼ).Càà bɔ̀ljàà ‘revenge’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àbɔ̀ljáá kòò
o. CṼ.(CṼ).Caa dòwáà ‘call’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àdòwáá kòò

There is neutralisation of some contrastive pairs of verbs, as reported for the Perfective Remote Past. Some examples are provided in (31)-(32). Solutions used to distinguish one verb from the other are identical to those used in the Perfective Remote Past (i.e. shortening of the initial vowel or use of both the 1SG nasal and the 1SG free form *nì* for non-low verbs only).

(31) a. p<sup>h</sup>àâm bànd kòò jè°

p<sup>h</sup>àám bànd<sup>H</sup> kòò = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man tie.PST3 PST3 = 3SG  
 ‘The man tied it.’

b. p<sup>h</sup>àâm bàand kòò jè°

p<sup>h</sup>àám bàand<sup>H</sup> kòò = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man peel. PST3 PST3 3SG  
 ‘The man peeled it.’

(32) a. nì ndzòfɛ́ kòò jè°

nì n-dzòfɛ́<sup>L</sup> kòò = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG 1SG-judge.PST3 PST3 = 3SG  
 ‘I judged him.’

b. nì dzòfɛ́ kòò jè°

nì dzòfɛ́<sup>L</sup> kòò = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG hide.PST3 PST3 = 3SG  
 ‘I hid him.’

#### 8.3.2.2.2 The Imperfective Hesternal Past

In the Imperfective Hesternal Past, the structure is (SM-)*ɕɪ<sup>H</sup>/jɪ<sup>H</sup>* kòò STEM, the distribution of *ɕɪ<sup>H</sup>/jɪ<sup>H</sup>* being identical as in the Imperfective Remote Past (*jɪ<sup>H</sup>* is preferably used with pronominal subject while *ɕɪ<sup>H</sup>* can freely occur after nominal or pronominal subjects).

- (33) p<sup>h</sup>àâm dzì kóò bèl pòngò  
 p<sup>h</sup>áám dzì<sup>H</sup> kòò bèlò p<sup>h</sup>òngò  
 1.man IPFV.PST3 PST3 plant 1.maize  
 ‘The man was planting some maize.’

- (34) a. àjì kóò bèl pòngò  
 à-jì<sup>H</sup> kòò bèlò p<sup>h</sup>òngò  
 3SG-IPFV.PST3 PST3 plant 1.maize  
 ‘He was planting some maize.’

- b. àdzì kóò bèl pòngò  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> kòò bèlò p<sup>h</sup>òngò  
 3SG-IPFV.PST3 PST3 plant 1.maize  
 ‘He was planting some maize.’

### 8.3.2.3 The Hodiernal Past (PST2)

Basically, the Hodiernal Past is used to refer to the time located hours before the time of utterance (35). Its time scope can be extended to the previous day, where it is interchangeable with the Hesternal Past (36). However, in this context, the use of a time adverb is required.

- (35) pùlò ménó  
 L% pùlò H-mè-nó  
 1.rain PST2-PST2-rain.PST2  
 ‘It rained’ (some hours ago).

- (36) a. nàá dáámbú kòòndè kòòkòò  
 nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà dáambo kòòndè kòòkòò  
 1SG-PST2-PST2 cook.PST2 1.plantain yesterday  
 ‘I cooked some plantain yesterday.’

- b. *nì dàm̩b kòò kòòndè kòòkòò*  
*nì dàm̩b<sup>H</sup> kòò kòòndè kòòkòò*  
 1SG cook.PST3 PST3 1.plantain yesterday  
 ‘I cooked some plantain yesterday.’

### 8.3.2.3.1 The Perfective Hodiernal Past

Formally, the Perfective Hodiernal Past presents two structures: <sup>H</sup>-*mè*-STEM and SM-<sup>H</sup>-*àà*-STEM. The former is used with nominal subjects only while the latter is restricted to pronominal subjects. The combination of the Hodiernal Past tense markers and pronominal subjects results in the forms listed in Table 38. In these constructions, the Hodiernal Past tense floating H is realised on the second mora of the long vowel.

Table 38: combination of the Hodiernal Tense markers and pronominal subjects

1SG	/nì <sup>-H</sup> -àà/	nàá
2SG	/gwè <sup>-H</sup> -àà/ /ð <sup>-H</sup> -àà/	gwàá òó
3SG	/à <sup>-H</sup> -àà/	àá
1PL	/ʃè <sup>H</sup> -àà/	ʃàá
2PL	/nè <sup>H</sup> -àà/	nàá
3PL	/jè <sup>H</sup> -àà/	jàá

The SM-<sup>H</sup>-*àà*-STEM structure cannot be used with coordinated subjects.

- (37) a. *nì nè gwè mèké*  
*nì nè gwè <sup>H</sup>-mè-ké<sup>L</sup>*  
 1SG with 2SG PST2-PST2-go.PST2  
 ‘I and you went.’  
 b. \**nì nè gwàá mèké*

Table 39 lists and illustrates the four tone schemes occurring on the non-basic verb allomorphs in the Perfective Hodiernal Past, with the 3SG pronoun *à-* and the noun *p<sup>h</sup>ââm* ‘man’ used as subjects. These tone schemes are H<sup>L</sup>, H, L<sup>H</sup> and HL<sup>H</sup>.

The H<sup>L</sup> tone scheme is restricted to monomoraic low-toned verbs (*bà* ‘cut up’ → *bá<sup>L</sup>*). See line a of Table 39.

The H tone scheme is required in final position for non-low verbs which have at least two moras; i.e. CVV-like verbs ( $f\acute{e}\acute{e}^{\#}$  ‘work’  $\rightarrow f\acute{e}\acute{e}\#$ ) and CV.CV-like verbs ( $d\acute{z}\acute{o}f\acute{e}^{\#}$  ‘judge’  $\rightarrow d\acute{z}\acute{o}f\acute{e}\#$ ). In utterance final position, verbs ending in /ɔ/ systematically change their final vowel into /ɛ/ ( $d\acute{o}mb\acute{o}$  ‘speak’  $\rightarrow d\acute{o}mb\acute{e}\#$ ). See lines b, e, g and i of Table 39. In non-final position, these verbs are realised with either the H or the L<sup>H</sup> tone scheme ( $f\acute{e}\acute{e}^{\#}$  ‘work’  $\rightarrow f\acute{e}\acute{e}... \sim f\acute{e}\acute{e}^{\#}...;$   $d\acute{z}\acute{o}f\acute{e}^{\#}$  ‘judge’  $\rightarrow d\acute{z}\acute{o}f\acute{e}... \sim d\acute{z}\acute{o}f\acute{e}^{\#}...$ ). C $\acute{V}$ <sup>H</sup> stems do not change their tone scheme in the Perfective Hodiernal Past ( $f\acute{e}^{\#}$  ‘come’  $\rightarrow f\acute{e}^{\#}$ ). See line c of Table 39.

Finally, the HL<sup>H</sup> tone scheme is used with low-toned verbs which do not have a CV structure ( $b\acute{e}\acute{e}$  ‘follow’  $\rightarrow b\acute{e}\acute{e}^{\#};$   $d\acute{z}\acute{o}f\acute{e}$  ‘hide’  $\rightarrow d\acute{z}\acute{o}f\acute{e}^{\#}$ ). See lines d, f, h, j, l and n of Table 39.

Table 39: conjugation in the Perfective Hodiernal Past

Stem	Tone scheme	Example	
a. C $\acute{V}$ bà ‘cut up’	H <sup>L</sup>	àá <sup>+</sup> bá <sup>L</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> bá
b. C $\acute{V}$ gwí ‘die’	F: H	àá <sup>+</sup> gwí	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> gwí
	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>	àá <sup>+</sup> gwí ~ àágwí <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> gwí ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mégwí <sup>H</sup>
c. C $\acute{V}$ <sup>°</sup> fè <sup>°</sup> ‘come’	L <sup>H</sup>	àá <sup>+</sup> fè <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> fè <sup>H</sup>
d. C $\acute{V}$ $\acute{V}$ dòò ‘live’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àádóò <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> dóò <sup>H</sup>
e. C $\acute{V}$ $\acute{V}$ f\acute{e}\acute{e} ‘work’	F: H	àá <sup>+</sup> f\acute{e}\acute{e}	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> f\acute{e}\acute{e}
	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>	àá <sup>+</sup> f\acute{e}\acute{e} ~ àáf\acute{e}\acute{e} <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> f\acute{e}\acute{e} ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm méf\acute{e}\acute{e} <sup>H</sup>
f. C $\acute{V}$ .Cò t\acute{f}ìl\grave{o} ‘write’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	àá <sup>+</sup> t\acute{f}ìl\grave{o}	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> t\acute{f}ìl\grave{o}
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	àá <sup>+</sup> t\acute{f}ìl <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> t\acute{f}ìl <sup>H</sup>
g. C $\acute{V}$ . <sup>+</sup> Có d\acute{o}mb\acute{o} ‘speak’	F: H	àá <sup>+</sup> d\acute{o}mb\acute{e}	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> b\acute{o}nd\acute{e}
	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>	àá <sup>+</sup> d\acute{o}mb\acute{u} ~ àád\acute{o}mb\grave{u}	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> d\acute{o}mb(ú) ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> d\acute{o}mb(ù) <sup>H</sup>
h. C $\acute{V}$ $\acute{V}$ .Cò b\grave{a}\grave{a}nd\grave{o} ‘peel’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	àáb\grave{a}\grave{a}nd\grave{o}	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> b\grave{a}\grave{a}nd\grave{o}
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	àáb\grave{a}\grave{a}nd(ì) <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>+</sup> b\grave{a}\grave{a}nd(ì) <sup>H</sup>



i. CṼV.⁴Cṵ bàá⁴ndṵ ‘tie’	F: H	àá⁴báándé	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴báándé
	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>	àá⁴báánd(ɨ) ~ àábàànd(ɨ)	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴báánd(ɨ) ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mébàànd(ɨ) <sup>H</sup>
j. CṼ.Cè dʒṵfè ‘hide’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	àá⁴dʒṵfè°	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴dʒṵfè°
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	àá⁴dʒṵfù <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴dʒṵfù <sup>H</sup>
k. CṼ.⁴Cé dʒṵ⁴fè ‘judge’	F: H	àá⁴dʒṵfè	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴dʒṵfè
	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>	àá⁴dʒṵfè ~ àádʒṵfè <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴dʒṵfè ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm médʒṵfè <sup>H</sup>
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè / CṼṼ(C).Cè bùùfè ‘accumulate’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	àábùùfè°	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mébùùfè°
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	àábùùf(ù) <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mébùùf(ù) <sup>H</sup>
m. CṼC(V).Cè báklè ‘separate’	F: H	àá⁴báklè	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴báklè
	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>	àá⁴bákl̩ ~ àábàkl̩ <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴bákl̩ ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mébàkl̩ <sup>H</sup>
n. CṼ.(CṼ).Càà bòljàà ‘revenge’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àá⁴bòljàà <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴bòljàà <sup>H</sup>
o. CṼ.(CṼ).Caa dòwàà ‘call’	F: H	àá⁴dòwàá	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴dòwàá
	NF: H ~ L <sup>H</sup>	àá⁴dòwàá~ àádòwàà <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé⁴dòwàá~ ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm médòwàà <sup>H</sup>

### 8.3.2.3.2 The Imperfective Hodiernal Past

The Imperfective Hodiernal Past is expressed by the structures <sup>H</sup>-*mè-j<sup>H</sup>* STEM if the subject is nominal and SM-<sup>H</sup>-*àà-j<sup>H</sup>* STEM if the subject is pronominal. Some examples are provided below. Unlike other CṼ<sup>H</sup> verbs, the Imperfective marker *j<sup>H</sup>* takes the L tone scheme in the Hodiernal Past.

- (38) p<sup>h</sup>ââm méjì bèl p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 p<sup>h</sup>ââm <sup>H</sup>-mè-jì bèlò p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 1.man PST2-IPFV.PST2 plant 1.maize  
 ‘The man was planting some maize.’

- (39) àájì bèl p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-jì<sup>H</sup> bèlò p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-IPFV.PST2 plant 1.maize  
 ‘He was planting some maize.’

### 8.3.2.4 The Immediate Past (PST1)

The Immediate Past is used to express events and actions performed immediately before the time of utterance. A good example is seen in a narrator's or a speaker's conclusive statement at the end of a story or a speech. It is illustrated in (40).

- (40) kàkàn mèmáàlò°  
 kàkàn<sup>H</sup> mè-máàlò<sup>H</sup>  
 1.story PST1-end.PST1  
 'The story is over.'

The Immediate Past can also be used to encode an action that will be performed in the Immediate Future. In example (41), the speaker is already standing, ready to leave. The Immediate Past does not have an Imperfective form.

- (41) dzìl gwé jì jàà ké  
 dzìlò<sup>H</sup> gwè<sup>H</sup> jì jì-àà ké<sup>L</sup>  
 stay.IMP there 1SG 1SG-PST1 go.PST1  
 'Stay there, as for me, I am gone.'

Verbs in the Perfective Immediate Past have the form *mè*-STEM or *SM-àà*-STEM, the former occurring with nominal subjects while the latter is required when the subject is pronominal.

Pronominal subjects combined to tense markers result in the forms listed in Table 40. As reported for the Hodiernal Past tense, these forms cannot be used with coordinated pronominal subjects (42).

Table 40: combination of the Immediate Past tense markers and pronominal subjects

1SG	/ɲì-àà/	ɲàà
2SG	/gwè-àà/ /ò-àà/	gwàà òò
3SG	/à-àà/	àà
1PL	/ʃè <sup>H</sup> -àà/	ʃàà
2PL	/nè <sup>H</sup> -àà/	nàà
3PL	/jè <sup>H</sup> -àà/	jàà

(42) a. ɲì nè gwè mèkéké

ɲì nè gwè mè-kéké<sup>L</sup>

1SG with 2SG PST1-go.PST1

‘I and you went.’

b. \*ɲì nè gwàà mèkéké

In the Perfective Immediate Past, verbs ending in /ɔ/ optionally change their final vowel into /ɛ/ in utterance-final position, unlike in the Perfective Hodiernal Past where this change is obligatory.

The four tone schemes occurring in non-basic verb stem allomorphs in the Perfective Immediate Past are listed and illustrated in Table 41. These are H, L, L<sup>H</sup> and HL<sup>H</sup>.

The H tone scheme is restricted to final position. It is used with monomoraic low-toned verbs (*bà* ‘cut up’ → *bá#*) and non-low verbs CV.CV stems (*dʒɔʃé<sup>L</sup>* ‘judge’ → *dʒɔʃé#*). In non-final position, the former surface with the L tone scheme (*bà* ‘cut up’ → *bà...*) while the latter is realised with the L<sup>H</sup> tone scheme (*dʒɔʃé<sup>L</sup>* ‘judge’ → *dʒɔʃé<sup>H</sup>...*). See lines a, b, e, g, i, k, m and o of Table 41.

Like in the Perfective Hodiernal Past, CV verbs with a L<sup>H</sup> tone scheme keep their tone pattern (*ʃé<sup>H</sup>* ‘come’ → *ʃé<sup>H</sup>*). See line c of Table 41.

Finally, low-toned verbs which do not have a CV-like structure occur with the HL<sup>H</sup> tone scheme (*dʒɔʃè* ‘hide’ → *dʒɔʃé<sup>H</sup>*). See lines d, f, h, j, l and n of Table 41.

Table 41: conjugation in the Perfective Immediate Past

Stem	Tone scheme	Example	
a. C <sup>̇</sup> V bà ‘cut up’	F: H	ààbá	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbá
	NF: L	ààbà	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbà
b. C <sup>̇</sup> V gwí ‘die’	F: H	ààgwí	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mègwí
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	ààgwí <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mègwí <sup>H</sup>
c. C <sup>̇</sup> V <sup>°</sup> jè <sup>°</sup> ‘come’	L <sup>H</sup>	ààjè <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèjè <sup>H</sup>
d. C <sup>̇</sup> V <sup>̇</sup> dòò ‘live’	HL <sup>H</sup>	ààdóò <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèdóò <sup>H</sup>
e. C <sup>̇</sup> V <sup>̇</sup> jéé ‘work’	F: H	ààjéé	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèjéé
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	ààjèè <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèjèè <sup>H</sup>
f. C <sup>̇</sup> V.C <sup>̇</sup> tjílè ‘write’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	ààtjílè <sup>°</sup> ~ àà <sup>+</sup> tjílè <sup>°</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mètjílè <sup>°</sup> ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèt <sup>+</sup> tjílè <sup>°</sup>
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	àà <sup>+</sup> tjíl <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mètjíl <sup>H</sup>
g. C <sup>̇</sup> V. <sup>+</sup> C <sup>̇</sup> dó <sup>+</sup> mbó ‘speak’	F: H	ààbóndó ~ ààdómbé	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèdómbó ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèdómbé
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	ààdòmb(ù) <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèdòmb(ù) <sup>H</sup>
h. C <sup>̇</sup> V <sup>̇</sup> .C <sup>̇</sup> bààndò ‘peel’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	ààbáàndò <sup>°</sup> ~ ààbáàndè <sup>°</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbáàndò <sup>°</sup> ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbáàndè <sup>°</sup>
	NF : HL <sup>H</sup>	ààbáànd(ì) <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbáànd(ì) <sup>H</sup>
i. C <sup>̇</sup> V <sup>̇</sup> . <sup>+</sup> C <sup>̇</sup> báá <sup>+</sup> ndó ‘tie’	F: H	ààbáándó ~ ààbáándé	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbáándó ~ p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbáándé
	NF:L <sup>H</sup>	ààbáànd(ì) <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbáànd(ì) <sup>H</sup>
j. C <sup>̇</sup> V.C <sup>̇</sup> d <sup>3</sup> òjè ‘hide’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	ààd <sup>3</sup> òjè <sup>°</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèd <sup>3</sup> òjè <sup>°</sup>
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	ààd <sup>3</sup> òjù <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèd <sup>3</sup> òjù <sup>H</sup>
k. C <sup>̇</sup> V. <sup>+</sup> C <sup>̇</sup> d <sup>3</sup> ó <sup>+</sup> jé ‘judge’	F: H	ààd <sup>3</sup> ójé	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèd <sup>3</sup> ójé
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	ààd <sup>3</sup> ójè <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèd <sup>3</sup> ójè <sup>H</sup>
l. C <sup>̇</sup> V(C).C <sup>̇</sup> / C <sup>̇</sup> V <sup>̇</sup> (C).C <sup>̇</sup> bùùjè ‘accumulate’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	ààbùùjè <sup>°</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbùùjè <sup>°</sup>
	NF : HL <sup>H</sup>	ààbùùj(ù) <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbùùj(ù) <sup>H</sup>
m. C <sup>̇</sup> V(C)(V).C <sup>̇</sup> báklè ‘separate’	F: H	ààbáklé	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbáklé
	NF : L <sup>H</sup>	ààbàklì <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mèbàklì <sup>H</sup>

n. CṼ.(CṼ).Càà bòljàà ‘revenge’	HL <sup>H</sup>	ààbóljàà <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mēbóljàà <sup>H</sup>
o. CṼ.(CV).Caa dòwáà ‘call’	F: H	ààdówáá	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mé <sup>h</sup> dówáá
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	ààdòwàà <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ââm mēdòwàà <sup>H</sup>

Strangely, after a surface H, the Immediate Past marker *mè-* is optionally realised higher than a low tone and lower than a downstepped high or a level high. This tone will be represented by a mid tone. This situation is mainly observed when the verb occurs in final position. Some examples are provided in (43)-(44). The only exception observed in my database is *á‘ká‘ndá* ‘lawn’ after which the Immediate Past marker *mè-* remains low (45).

- (43) fén mēbútʃé ~ fén mēbútʃé  
 fén<sup>L</sup>            mē-bútʃé  
 1.handle      PST1-get.broken.PST1  
 ‘The handle got broken.’

- (44) mómjáá mēbénè° ~ mómjáá mēbénè°  
 mó-mjaa      mē-bénè<sup>H</sup>  
 1-woman      PST1-deny.PST1  
 ‘The woman denied.’

- (45) a. á‘kándá mēló  
       ákándá    mē-ló  
       1.lawn    PST1-grow.PST1  
       ‘The lawn has grown.’  
 b. \*á‘kándá mēló

### 8.3.2.5 The Present (PRS)

The Present tense, which is inherently imperfective, is primarily used to refer to the time of utterance where it encodes a continuous activity (46) or express habitual events (47).

- (46) ní ñkè mákìtì  
<sup>H</sup>-nì n-kè <sup>H</sup>-mákítì  
 PRS-1SG PRS-go LOC-1.market  
 ‘I am going to the market.’

- (47) fjàl ñkè òmákítì dzòwò tʃɪndzì  
 fjàl <sup>H</sup>-n-kè ò-mákítì dzòwò <sup>L</sup>tʃɪndzì<sup>L</sup>  
 1.daughter\_in\_law PRS-PRS-go LOC-1.market 1.day all  
 ‘The daughter-in-law goes to the market everyday.’

The Present tense forms can also be used to encode future events. In (48), the narrator introduces the story he is about to tell. Likewise, in (49), a man tells his wife what he and his friends intend to do the following day, a context where English will use the simple future tense or the present continuous tense.

- (48) ní ñkàpè díne kàkàn fókú  
<sup>H</sup>-nì n-kàpè díne kàkàn<sup>H</sup> fókú  
 PRS-1SG PRS-tell 2PL 1.story other  
 ‘I will tell you another story.’

- (49) ʃé mbómʃàà kòòndè ménó  
<sup>H</sup>-ʃè<sup>H</sup> n-bómʃàà kòòndè ménó  
 PRS-1PL PRS-sell 1.plantain tomorrow  
 ‘We are selling the plantain tomorrow.’

Verb forms in the Present have the structure <sup>H</sup>-(SM)n-STEM. As example (50) shows, the 1SG prefix *n-* tends to be deleted in Present.

- (50) ñkè mákìtì  
<sup>H</sup>-n-n-kè <sup>H</sup>-mákítì  
 PRS-1SG-PRS-go LOC-1.market  
 ‘I am going to the market.’

I mentioned above that the Present tense has an inherent Imperfective meaning. Imperfective events in the Present tense can also be encoded by means of the auxiliary *jòkù<sup>H</sup>* in the construction (SM-)*jòkù<sup>H</sup>* STEM. As seen in example (51), there is no tense marker. The semantic difference between the construction in (51) (where there is *jòkù<sup>H</sup>*) and the one in (52) is not clear and still requires further investigation.

(51) àjòkù dzáàndò  
 à-jòkù<sup>H</sup> dzáàndò  
 3SG-IPFV walk  
 ‘He is walking.’

(52) ándzààndò  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzààndò  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-walk  
 ‘He is walking.’

The structure (SM-)*ǵí<sup>H</sup>/jí<sup>H</sup>* STEM is also used to encode an imperfective event in the Present tense. The construction (SM-)*ǵí<sup>H</sup>/jí<sup>H</sup>* STEM differs from the constructions presented in (51) and (52), in that in real-life context (as opposed to narrative texts), it is used when the verb is on focus. Some examples are provided below where a woman comes back and finds her baby crying while her son, who was supposed to watch over the baby, is sleeping’. In (53), the context is overtly expressed while in (54), the context is implied. No tense marker is used here.

(53) kílèwò n-lènò òjì dàá’lò  
 kì-léwò n-lènò ò-jì<sup>H</sup> dàá’lò<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PRS-cry 2SG-IPFV sleep  
 ‘The baby is crying and you are sleeping!’

- (54) àjì dàá¹ló  
 à-jì<sup>H</sup> dàá¹ló<sup>L</sup>  
 2SG-IPFV sleep  
 ‘You are sleeping [while the baby is crying]!’

In narrative texts, the structure (SM-)ǫǫ<sup>H</sup>/jì<sup>H</sup> STEM is focus-neutral. It is used as a narrative Present.

- (55) àjì dzíwú p<sup>H</sup>òṅgò àjì ké nè àjì ké dzì°  
 à-jì<sup>H</sup> dzíwó<sup>L</sup> p<sup>H</sup>òṅgò à-jì<sup>H</sup> kè nè  
 3SG-IPFV eat 1.maize 3SG-IPFV go with  
  
 à-jì<sup>H</sup> kè dzì<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-IPFV go eat  
 ‘He used to steal corn and go with it to eat it’

The construction (SM-)ǫǫ<sup>H</sup>/jì<sup>H</sup> can also be used as a relative tense as the following example shows.

- (56) mò nàá kwàljè jí, àjì dàá¹ló  
 mò<sup>H</sup> nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà kwàljè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup> à-jì<sup>H</sup> dàá¹ló<sup>L</sup>  
 when 1SG-PST2-PST2 arrive.PST2 SUB 3SG-IPFV sleep  
 ‘When I arrived, she was sleeping’.

### 8.3.2.6 The Immediate Future (FUT1)

The Immediate Future refers to a short moment after the time of utterance (57). However, it can be extended to the following day and even go to some months later (58).

- (57) pùlò fèé nó  
<sup>L%</sup>pùló fèé<sup>L</sup> nó  
 1.rain FUT1 rain  
 ‘It will rain’ (very soon).



- (58) pùlò fêé nó ménó  
<sup>L%</sup>pùlò fêé<sup>L</sup> nó ménó  
 1.rain FUT1 rain tomorrow  
 ‘It will rain tomorrow.’

### 8.3.2.6.1 The Perfective Immediate Future

The future tense markers can be treated as auxiliaries, since the negative marker attaches to them as it does to auxiliaries (see negation in Section 8.7 and auxiliaries from Section 8.8 to Section 8.10). Another context which shows that the future tense markers should be given a different status from other tense markers is that in future tenses, the morpheme *lèé<sup>H</sup>* ‘so, then’ can occur between the future tense marker and the verb stem. Such use of *lèé<sup>H</sup>* is not possible in past tenses (see Chapter 7, Section 7.5).

Verb forms in the Perfective Immediate Future have the structures (SM-)*fêé<sup>A</sup>* STEM or <sup>H</sup>-SM STEM. The former can be used with nominal and pronominal subjects (59-60) while the latter is restricted to pronominal subjects (61). The floating H tone is often realised as a LH by some speakers.

- (59) fjàl fêé bà bùpà  
 fjàl fêé<sup>L</sup> bà bùpà  
 1.daughter\_in\_law FUT1 cut\_up 1.animal  
 ‘The daughter-in-law will cut up the animal.’

- (60) àfêé bà bùpà  
 à-fêé<sup>L</sup> bà bùpà  
 3SG-FUT1 cut\_up 1.animal  
 ‘She will cut up the animal.’

- (61) ábà bùpà ~ ǎbà bùpà  
<sup>H</sup>-à bà bùpà  
 FUT1-3SG cut\_up 1.animal  
 ‘She will cut up the animal.’

The tense marker  $f\acute{e}\acute{e}^A$  has an allomorph  $w\acute{e}^A$  with which it is interchangeable (62).

- (62) a.  $fj\grave{a}l\ w\acute{e}\ b\grave{a}\ b\grave{u}p\grave{a}$   
 $fj\grave{a}l\ \quad\quad\quad w\acute{e}^L\ b\grave{a}\ \quad\quad\quad b\grave{u}p\grave{a}$   
 1.daughter.in.law FUT1 cut\_up 1.animal  
 ‘The daughter-in-law will cut up the animal.’

- b.  $\grave{a}w\acute{e}\ b\grave{a}\ b\grave{u}p\grave{a}$   
 $\grave{a}-w\acute{e}^L\ \quad\quad\quad b\grave{a}\ \quad\quad\quad b\grave{u}p\grave{a}$   
 3SG-FUT1 cut\_up 1.animal  
 ‘She will cut up the animal.’

#### 8.3.2.6.2 The Imperfective Immediate Future

Imperfective forms in the future tenses involve the combination of two ‘be’ auxiliaries. The first one is inflected for tense and may take a pronominal or nominal subject. The second one is a stem conjugated in the Present tense and preceded by a subject pronoun. The structures of the Imperfective Immediate Future are as follows: (SM-) $f\acute{e}\acute{e}^A\ b\acute{e}$  SM- $\acute{c}j\acute{i}^H/j\acute{i}^H$  STEM and  $^H$ -SM  $b\acute{e}$  SM- $\acute{c}j\acute{i}^H/j\acute{i}^H$  STEM. Some examples are provided below.

- (63)  $\grave{a}k\acute{i}-p\grave{e}t\grave{o}\ \acute{a}f\acute{e}\acute{e}^L\ j\acute{i},\ m\grave{o}m\grave{j}\acute{a}\grave{a}\ f\acute{e}\acute{e}^L\ b\acute{e}\ \grave{a}\ j\grave{i}\ d\grave{a}\acute{a}^L\ m\acute{b}\acute{o}$   
 $\acute{a}^H-k\acute{i}-p\grave{e}t\acute{o}\ \quad\quad\quad \acute{a}-f\acute{e}\acute{e}^L\ \quad\quad\quad \int\acute{e}^H\ j\acute{i}^L$   
 LOC-LOC-7-time 2SG-FUT1 come SUB  
  
 $m\acute{o}-m\grave{j}\acute{a}\acute{a}\ f\acute{e}\acute{e}^L\ b\acute{e}\ \acute{a}-j\grave{i}^H\ d\grave{a}\acute{a}m\acute{b}\acute{o}^L$   
 1-woman FUT1 be 3SG-IPFV cook  
 ‘When you will come, the woman will be cooking.’

#### 8.3.2.7 The Crastinal Future (FUT2)

The time frame of the Crastinal Future goes from the following day (64) to one year after the time of utterance (65).

- (64) pùlò ʃòò nó ʹménó  
 L%pùlò ʃòò<sup>H</sup> nó ménó  
 1.rain FUT2-FUT2 rain tomorrow  
 ‘It will rain tomorrow.’
- (65) p<sup>h</sup>ààm wé ʃòò ʃéé mjà fǐjá ʹjí  
 p<sup>h</sup>ààm w-é ʃòò<sup>H</sup> ʃéé<sup>L</sup> mjà fǐjá<sup>L</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH FUT2-FUT2 work 1.year arrive SUB  
 ‘That man will work next year.’

#### 8.3.2.7.1 The Perfective Crastinal Future

The Perfective Crastinal Future has the structure (SM-)/ʃòò<sup>H</sup> STEM, as illustrated in examples (66)-(67).

- (66) àʃòò báàndì kìbùmó  
 à-ʃòò<sup>H</sup> báàndò kì-bùmó  
 3SG-FUT2-FUT2 peel 7-fruit  
 ‘She will peel the fruit.’
- (67) àʃòò dòwáà m̀̀̀nó  
 à-ʃòò<sup>H</sup> dòwáà m̀̀̀-̀̀nó  
 3SG-FUT2-FUT2 call 1-child  
 ‘She will call the child.’

#### 8.3.2.7.2 The Imperfective Crastinal Future

The Imperfective Crastinal Future is encoded by the structure (SM-)/ʃòò<sup>H</sup> b́é SM-  
 ǝʃ<sup>H</sup>/jí<sup>H</sup> STEM.

(68) òmjà fìjà jí, àfḡḡ b́é àjì máàfì nḡf́éé mí+né

ò-mjá fìjál jí<sup>L</sup>  
LOC-year arrive SUB

à-fḡḡ-<sup>H</sup> b́é à-jì<sup>H</sup> màà-fḡ ḡ-f́éé mí-né<sup>L</sup>  
3SG-FUT2-FUT2 be 3SG-IPFV finish-CAUS 6-work PP<sub>6</sub>-DEM  
'Next year, she will be finishing that work.'

### 8.3.2.8 The Remote Future (FUT3)

The time scope of the Remote Future starts from one year after the time of utterance and can be extended to a remote period (69).

(69) àfḡḡḡḡḡḡ báàndḡ kìbùmó

à-fḡḡ-ḡḡḡ-<sup>H</sup> báàndò kì-bùmó  
3SG-FUT3-FUT3-FUT3 peel 7-fruit  
'She will peel the fruit.'

#### 8.3.2.8.1 The Perfective Remote Future

Structurally, the Perfective Remote Future is realised as follows: (SM-)fḡḡ-ḡḡḡ-<sup>H</sup> STEM as examples (69) and (70) illustrate.

(70) àfḡḡḡḡḡḡ d̀òwáà m̀ḡḡnó

à-fḡḡ-ḡḡḡ-<sup>H</sup> d̀òwáà m̀ḡ-ḡnó  
3SG-FUT3-FUT3-FUT3 call 1-child  
'She will call the child.'

#### 8.3.2.8.2 The Imperfective Remote Future

The Imperfective Remote Future has the structure (SM-)fḡḡ-ḡḡḡ-<sup>H</sup> b́é SM-ḡḡ<sup>H</sup>/jì<sup>H</sup> STEM. Some examples are provided below.

(71) àfḡḡḡḡḡḡ b́é àḡḡì dàá+mbó

à-fḡḡ-ḡḡḡ-<sup>H</sup> b́é à-ḡḡ<sup>H</sup> dàámbó<sup>L</sup>  
3SG-FUT3-FUT3-FUT3 be 3SG-IPFV cook  
'She will be cooking.'

## 8.4 The Non-indicative moods

The three non-indicative moods attested in Kwakum are the Imperative, the Subjunctive and the Consecutive. They all involve non-basic allomorphs of verb stems marked with a specific tone scheme and some segmental changes.

### 8.4.1 The Imperative (IMP)

#### 8.4.1.1 The Imperative singular

Apart from the selection of a non-basic allomorph, the Imperative singular has no extra marking, except with CV-stems, where it takes the suffix  $-k\acute{e}^L$ . Thus in the Imperative singular, the structure is either STEM- $k\acute{e}^L$  (72) or STEM (73).

- (72)  $b\grave{a}k\acute{e}^L\ b\grave{u}p\grave{a}$   
 $b\grave{a}-k\acute{e}^L\ \quad\quad\quad b\grave{u}p\grave{a}$   
 cut\_up.IMP-2SG.IMP 1.meat  
 ‘Cut up (SG) the meat!’

- (73)  $b\grave{e}\grave{e}\ m\acute{o}\grave{d}\acute{n}\acute{o}$   
 $b\grave{e}\grave{e}^H\ \quad\quad\quad m\grave{d}\text{-}\acute{n}\acute{o}$   
 follow.IMP 1-child  
 ‘Follow the child!’

Five tone schemes are identified. These are L, H,  $L^H$ ,  $LH^L$  and  $LHH^L$ . They are summarized and exemplified in Table 42. The L tone scheme occurs on CV-stems ( $gw\acute{i}$  ‘die’ →  $gw\grave{i}$ ). See lines a-b of Table 42.

The  $L^H$  tone scheme is found on low-toned CVV-stems, both in utterance final and non-final position ( $d\acute{o}\acute{o}$  ‘live’ →  $d\acute{o}\acute{o}^H$ ). It is also found non-finally with non-low CVV-stems and verbs ending in /ɔ/ ( $f\acute{e}\acute{e}^L$  ‘work’ →  $f\acute{e}\acute{e}^H\dots$ ;  $d\acute{o}mb\acute{s}$  ‘speak’ →  $d\acute{o}mb\grave{u}^H\dots$ ). In final position, non-low CVV-stems and non-low verbs ending in /ɔ/ surface with the H tone scheme. The latter systematically change their final vowel into /ε/ ( $f\acute{e}\acute{e}^L$  ‘work’ →  $f\acute{e}\acute{e}\#\$ ,  $d\acute{o}mb\acute{s}$  ‘speak’ →  $d\acute{o}mb\acute{e}\#\$ ). See lines d, e, g and i of Table 42.

The LH tone scheme is used in final position with low-toned verbs ending in /ɔ/ ( $t\acute{s}\grave{i}l\acute{o}$  ‘write’ →  $t\acute{s}\grave{i}l\acute{e}\#\$ ). Non-finally, the tone scheme of these verbs is  $L^H$ . See lines f and h of Table 42.

The LH<sup>L</sup> tone scheme also occurs with CV.Cε verbs (*dʒɔ̃ʒɛ̃* ‘hide’ → *dʒɔ̃ʒɛ̃*). See lines j-k of Table 42.

Finally the LHH<sup>L</sup> tone scheme is realised on verb stems with final /ε/ which do not have a CV.CV structure and verbs ending in /aa/ (*báklè* ‘separate’ → *bǎklé̃*; *dòwáà* ‘call’ → *dòwáá̃*). The final H is realised as a dowstepped H in utterance final position. See lines l-o of Table 42.

Table 42: conjugation in the Imperative singular

Stem	Tone scheme	Example
a. CṼ bà ‘cut up’	L	bàké <sup>L</sup>
b. CṼ gwí ‘die’	L	gwìké <sup>L</sup>
c. CṼ° dʒì° ‘eat’	L	dʒìké <sup>L</sup>
d. CṼṼ dòò ‘live’	L <sup>H</sup>	dòò <sup>H</sup>
e. CṼṼ ʒéé ‘work’	F: H	ʒéé
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	ʒèè <sup>H</sup>
f. CṼ.Cò tʃilò ‘write’	F: LH	bèné
	NF : L <sup>H</sup>	bèn <sup>H</sup>
g. CṼ.°Có dó°mbó ‘speak’	F: H	dómbé
	NF: L <sup>H</sup>	dòmbù <sup>H</sup>
h. CṼṼ.Cò bààndò ‘peel’	F : LH	bààndé
	NF : L <sup>H</sup>	bàànd(ɪ) <sup>H</sup>
i. CṼṼ.°Có bàá°ndó ‘tie’	F: H	bááandé
	NF:L <sup>H</sup>	bàànd(ɪ) <sup>H</sup>
j. CṼ.Cè dʒɔ̃ʒɛ̃ ‘hide’	LH <sup>L</sup>	dʒɔ̃ʒɛ̃ <sup>L</sup>
k. CṼ.°Cé dʒó°ʒé ‘judge’	LH <sup>L</sup>	dʒóʒé <sup>L</sup>
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè / CṼṼ(C).Cè bùùʒè ‘accumulate’	LHH <sup>L</sup>	bùùʒé <sup>L</sup>
m. CṼC(V).Cè báklè ‘separate’	LHH <sup>L</sup>	bǎk°lé <sup>L</sup>

n. C̀V.(C̀V).Càà b̀ljàà ‘revenge’	LHH <sup>L</sup>	b̀ljà’á <sup>L</sup>
o. C̀V.(CV).Caa d̀wáà ‘call’	LHH <sup>L</sup>	d̀wá’á <sup>L</sup>

Three verbs have a suppletive Imperative form: *kèn* ‘go’ (74), *dʒí ~dʒì*° ‘eat’ (75) and *fè<sup>H</sup>* ‘come’ (76). For the verb *dʒí<sup>H</sup>*, the suppletive form *dʒó’kʃ* is interchangeable with the regular form *dʒiké*.

(74) kèè° ‘go!’

(75) a. dʒó’kó ‘eat!’

b. dʒiké ‘eat!’

(76) ʃ̀d̀’kó ‘come!’

#### 8.4.1.2 Imperative plural

The suffix of the Imperative plural is *-kín<sup>L</sup>*, used in the structure STEM-*kín<sup>L</sup>*.

(77) bàkín bùpà

bà-kín<sup>L</sup>                      bùpà

cut\_up.IMP-2PL.IMP    1.animal

‘Cut up the animal!’

As Table 43 shows, non-basic verb stem allomorphs surface with only two tone schemes: L and LH. The L tone scheme surfaces with monosyllabic verb stems and verbs ending in /ɔ/ (*féé<sup>L</sup>* ‘work’ → *fèè*; *bààndò* ‘peel’ → *bààndî*). See lines a-i of Table 43.

The LH tone scheme is found on other verbs i.e. verbs ending in /ɛ/ and /aa/ (*dʒ̀̀fè* ‘hide’ → *dʒ̀̀fè*; *d̀wáà* ‘call’ → *d̀wáá*). See lines j-o of Table 43.

Table 43 : Conjugation in the Imperative plural

	Tone scheme	Example
a. CṼ bà ‘cut up’	L	bàkín <sup>L</sup>
b. CṼ gwí ‘die’	L	gwìkín <sup>L</sup>
c. CṼ° dʒì° ‘eat’	L	dʒìkín <sup>L</sup>
d. CṼṼ dòò ‘live’	L	dòòkín <sup>L</sup>
e. CṼṼ ʃéé ‘work’	L	ʃèèkín <sup>L</sup>
f. CṼ.Cò tʃìlò ‘write’	L	tʃìlkín <sup>L</sup>
g. CṼ.°Có dó°mbó ‘speak’	L	bònd(ù)kín <sup>L</sup>
h. CṼṼ.Cò bààndò ‘peel’	L	bàànd(ì)kín <sup>L</sup>
i. CṼṼ.°Có bàá°ndó ‘tie’	L	bàànd(ì)kín <sup>L</sup>
j. CṼ.Cè dʒòʃè ‘hide’	LH	dʒòʃékín <sup>L</sup>
k. CṼ.°Cé dʒó°ʃé ‘judge’	LH	dʒòʃékín <sup>L</sup>
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè / CṼṼ(C).Cè bùùʃè ‘accumulate’	LH	bùùʃkín <sup>L</sup> ~ bùùʃúkín <sup>L</sup>
m. CṼC(V).Cè báklè ‘separate’	LH	bàkíkín <sup>L</sup>
n. CṼ.(CṼ).Càà bòljàà ‘revenge’	LH	bòljáákín <sup>L</sup>
o. CṼ.(CV).Caa dòwàà ‘call’	LH	dòwáákín <sup>L</sup>



## 8.4.2 Subjunctive (SBJV)

The Subjunctive mood is used in subordinate clauses (78-80).

(78) àbé jí nàá àfɛ́

à-bɛ́<sup>L</sup> jí<sup>H</sup> †nàá<sup>L</sup> à-fɛ́<sup>L</sup>

3SG-be.SBJV only COMP 3SG-come.SBJV

‘I hope he comes.’

(79) àáké mbààkè kwáljéŋ nàá àdùmáŋ

à-<sup>H</sup>àà-kɛ́<sup>L</sup> mbààkè kwálj-ɛŋ †nàá<sup>L</sup> à-dùmáŋ<sup>L</sup>

3SG-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 1.race arrive-PART COMP 3SG-fall.SBJV

‘He ran until he fell.’

(80) mòmjàà métáwí jítfíkí pǒmbú nàá mǒ̀n dzòoláŋ

mó-mjáa <sup>H</sup>-mè-táwɛ jítfíkí pǒmbú †nàá<sup>L</sup>

1-woman PST2-PST2-draw.PST2 6.water for COMP

mǒ̀-̀nó dzòoláŋ<sup>L</sup>

1-child bathe

‘The woman drew water for the child to bathe.’

It is also used to express hortative modality (81-83). Example (82) is drawn from a procedural speech where the speaker explains how to build a house. According to my consultants, the use of the Imperative instead of the Subjunctive in this context is avoided otherwise the sentence is interpreted as a command.

- (81) ántó nàá gwè fễm ò té òdám̀bù  
 H-à-n-tó                      ↑nàá<sup>L</sup> gwè fễm ò<sup>-H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-be.good COMP 2SG rest.SBJV LOC-LOC there

ò-dám̀bù

2SG-cook.SBJV

‘You should rest then you will cook.’

- (82) mò gwàá láánd p<sup>h</sup>î̃jí jí òtãnd<sup>L</sup>lé  
 mò<sup>H</sup> gwè<sup>H</sup> àà láándò p<sup>h</sup>î̃jí jí<sup>L</sup> ò-tãndlé<sup>L</sup>  
 when 2SG PST2-PST2 align.PST2 1.post SUB 2SG-tie.SBJV  
 ‘After having aligned the posts, tie them.’

- (83) ʃè báà ìtáá<sup>↓</sup>mbó  
 ʃè<sup>H</sup> báà ì-táámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 1PL set.SBJV 5-trap  
 ‘Let us set the trap!’

Subjunctive is formed by means of a non-basic allomorph of the verb stem and a subject prefix; hence the structure (SM-)STEM.

- (84) a. ʃè báà ìtáá<sup>L</sup>mbó  
 ʃè<sup>H</sup> báà ì-táámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 1PL set.SBJV 5-trap  
 ‘Let us set the trap!’

- b. p<sup>h</sup>àám báà ìtáá<sup>L</sup>mbó  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám báà ì-táámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man set.SBJV 5-trap  
 ‘Let the man set the trap!’

Four tone schemes occur on non-basic stem allomorphs in the Subjunctive: H<sup>L</sup>, HL, LH<sup>L</sup> and LHH<sup>L</sup>. They are summarised and illustrated in Table 44.

The H<sup>L</sup> tone scheme occurs on CV-stems (*gwí* ‘die’ → *gwí<sup>L</sup>*). See lines a-c of Table 44. CVV-stems and verbs ending in /ɔ/ take the HL tone pattern. CVV-stems occur either as CVV or CVC, where the coda is the velar nasal /ŋ/<sup>33</sup>. Irrespective of their position in the utterance, verbs ending in /ɔ/ systematically reduce their initial long vowel and delete their final vowel. The deleted vowel is replaced with an epenthetic vowel unless the preceding consonant is a sonorant (*ǰéé<sup>L</sup>* ‘work’ → *ǰél*; *bàánd<sup>L</sup>* ‘tie’ → *bándɪ*). See lines d-i of Table 44.

The LH<sup>L</sup> tone pattern is realised on CV.CV verb stems ending in /ɛ/ and all verbs ending in /aa/, with the latter reducing its final vowel to /aŋ/ (*dʒɔǰsè* ‘hide’ → *dʒɔǰsé<sup>L</sup>*; *dòwáà* ‘call’ → *dòwáǰ<sup>L</sup>*). See lines j, k, n and o of Table 44.

With verbs ending in /ɛ/ with an initial heavy syllable, the LH<sup>L</sup> tone scheme is only realised in non-final position (*bùùǰè* ‘accumulate’ → *bùùǰí<sup>L</sup>* ~ *bùùǰí<sup>L</sup>...*). In utterance final position, these verbs surface with the LHH tone pattern, with the second H surfacing as a downstep H (*bùùǰè* ‘accumulate’ → *bùùǰí<sup>L</sup>ǰé#*). See lines l-m of Table 44.

Table 44: conjugation in the Subjunctive

	Tone scheme	Example
a. C <sup>̣</sup> V bà ‘cut up’	H <sup>L</sup>	àbá <sup>L</sup>
b. C <sup>̣</sup> V gwí ‘die’	H <sup>L</sup>	àgwí <sup>L</sup>
c. C <sup>̣</sup> V <sup>°</sup> ǰè <sup>°</sup> ‘come’	H <sup>L</sup>	àǰé <sup>L</sup>
d. C <sup>̣</sup> V <sup>̣</sup> V dòò ‘live’	HL	àdóò ~ aàdôŋ
e. C <sup>̣</sup> V <sup>̣</sup> V ǰéé ‘work’	HL	àǰéè ~ àǰél
f. C <sup>̣</sup> V.C <sup>̣</sup> ò tǰìlò ‘write’	HL	àtǰìl
g. C <sup>̣</sup> V. <sup>̣</sup> C <sup>̣</sup> ó dó <sup>̣</sup> mbó ‘speak’	HL	àdómbù

<sup>33</sup> except for the CVC allomorphs of *kèè* ‘say’, *ǰáá<sup>L</sup>* ‘do’, and *ǰéé<sup>L</sup>* ‘work’ where the coda is /l/ (Table 44: line e) and *dʒéé<sup>L</sup>* ‘see’ where it is rather /n/.

h. CṼṼ.Cò bààndò ‘peel’	HL	àbándì
i. CṼṼ.⁴Có bàá⁴ndó ‘tie’	HL	àbándì
j. CṼ.Cè dʒɔ̀ʒè ‘hide’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àdʒɔ̀ʒé <sup>L</sup>
k. CṼ.⁴Cé dʒɔ̀ʒé ‘judge’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àdʒɔ̀ʒé <sup>L</sup>
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè / CṼṼ(C).Cè bùùʒè ‘accumulate’	F: LHH	àbùùʒé <sup>L</sup>
	NF: LH <sup>L</sup>	àbùùʒ <sup>L</sup> ~ àbùùʒú <sup>L</sup>
m. CṼC(V).Cè báklè ‘separate’	F: LHH	àbák <sup>L</sup> lé
	NF: LH <sup>L</sup>	àbák <sup>L</sup> l <sup>L</sup>
n. CṼ.(CṼ).Càà bòljàà ‘revenge’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àbòljáŋ <sup>L</sup>
o. CṼ.(CṼ).Caa dòwáà ‘call’	LH <sup>L</sup>	àdòwáŋ <sup>L</sup>

#### 8.4.3 The Consecutive (CSC)

The Consecutive mood has a wide array of uses. In its consecutive use it functions as a relative tense form indicating that an event takes place after a previously mentioned event as illustrated in (85). Another example is seen in (86) where a child lists the activities his sister was involved in during the whole day.

- (85) ò mjá tàmbáljè mè kwàljè jí,  
 ò-<sup>H</sup>-mjá                      tàmbáljè<sup>H</sup>    mè-kwàljè<sup>H</sup>                      jí<sup>L</sup>,  
 LOC-LOC-1. year        seven                      PST1-arrive.PST1    SUB
- jèntóklóò jèŋké nè gwè  
 jè<sup>H</sup>-n-tóklè<sup>H</sup>-òò                      jè<sup>H</sup>-n-ké<sup>L</sup>                      nè    gwè  
 3PL-CSC-take.CSC-2SG        3PL-CSC-go.CSC        with 2SG  
 ‘Once you are seven, they take you and they go with you.’

- (86) mò àátót jí àṅké ò kíḿn, àndáàmbí kòṅndè, àṃfé jì  
 mò<sup>H</sup> à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-tóto jí<sup>L</sup> à-n-ké<sup>L</sup> ò-kíḿn  
 when 3SG-PST2-return.PST2 SUB 3SG-CSC-go.CSC LOC-1.kitchen  
 à-n-dáàmbó kòṅndè à-n-fé<sup>L</sup> jì  
 3SG-CSC-cook.CSC 1.plantain 3SG-CSC-give.CSC 1SG  
 ‘When she came back, she went into the kitchen, she cooked some plantain and she gave me.’

The Subjunctive can encode simultaneity as seen in example (87) where a woman describes the agitated behaviour of her ill child.

- (87) mḍḍn wé jídzì, àṅímblàà°, ànlé<sup>+</sup>né  
 mḍ-ḍnó w-é <sup>H</sup>-n-dzì<sup>H</sup> à-n-ṅímblàà<sup>H</sup>  
 1-child PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH PRS-PRS-eat 3SG-CSC-writhe.CSC  
 à-n-lénè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-CSC-cry.CSC  
 ‘That child eats, writhing in pain and crying.’

Second, like the Subjunctive, it is used to give instructions about how a task should be performed and cannot be replaced with the Imperative otherwise the sentence is interpreted as a command (88).

- (88) mò gwàá láánd p<sup>h</sup>ṅ jí, òntàndlé  
 mò<sup>H</sup> gwè-<sup>H</sup>-àà láando p<sup>h</sup>ṅ jí<sup>L</sup> ò-n-tàndlé  
 when 2SG-PST2-PST2 align-PST2 1.post SUB 2SG-CSC-align.CSC  
 ‘After having aligned the posts, tie them.’

Third, it can function as a general present, typically in proverbs (89).

- (89) mòmjàà mbé t<sup>h</sup>à kìbàpù  
 mó-mjaa n-bé<sup>L</sup> t<sup>h</sup>à kì-bàpù  
 1-woman CSC-COP.CSC CMPT 7-horsefly  
 ‘A woman is like a horsefly.’

Fourth, it can be used in either or both the apodosis and the protasis of conditional clauses (90-93).

- (90) kě̀ nì ndzì àdòók 'jí+né nì fě́ kòmbjè  
 kě̀ nì n-dzì<sup>L</sup> à-dòók<sup>L</sup> jí-né<sup>L</sup> nì fě́<sup>L</sup> kòmbjè  
 if 1SG SCS-eat.CSC 2-mango PP<sub>2</sub>.DEM 1SG FUT1 be\_ill  
 'If I eat these mangoes, I will be ill.'
- (91) nì mbàkà dzì ádòók 'jí+né nì ñkómbjè°  
 nì n-bàkà dzì à-dòók<sup>L</sup> jí-né<sup>L</sup> nì n-kómbjè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG CSC-COND eat.CSC 2-mango PP<sub>2</sub>.DEM 1SG CSC-be.ill.CSC  
 'If I eat these mangoes, I will be ill.'
- (92) nàá 'dzì ádòók 'jí+né, nì ñkómbjè°  
 nì<sup>H</sup>-àà dzì à-dòók<sup>L</sup> jí-né<sup>L</sup> nì n-kómbjè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG-PST2-PST2 eat.PST2 2-mango PP<sub>2</sub>.DEM 1SG CSC-be\_ill.CSC  
 'Had I eaten these mangoes, I would have been ill.'
- (93) nì ndzì àdòók 'jí+né, nì ñkómbjè°  
 nì n-dzì<sup>L</sup> à-dòók<sup>L</sup> jí-né<sup>L</sup> nì n-kómbjè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG CSC-eat.CSC 2-mango PP<sub>2</sub>.DEM 1SG CSC-be.ill.CSC  
 'If I eat these mangoes, I will be ill.'

Finally, it can be used in subordinate clauses instead of the Subjunctive (94-98).

- (94) àdzì né kùl àndzòólàà támbjè  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> nè kùl à-n-dzòólàa<sup>H</sup> támbjè  
 3SG-COP with 1.strength 3SG-CSC-bathe-CSC good  
 'He can bathe well.'

- (95) àbé jí nàá àṅfḗ  
 à-bḗ<sup>L</sup>                    jí<sup>H</sup>    †nàá<sup>L</sup>    à-n-fḗ<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-COP.SBJV    FOC    COMP    3SG-CSC-come.CSC  
 ‘I wish he comes!’
- (96) á<sup>†</sup>ntó nàá gwè ṁfḗṁ, òté †ón<sup>†</sup>dámbè<sup>°</sup>  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-tó                                    †nàá<sup>L</sup>    gwè    n-fémò<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-be.good    COMP    2SG    CSC-rest.CSC  
  
 ò-<sup>H</sup>-tè<sup>H</sup>                    ò-n-dámbè<sup>H</sup>  
 LOC-there    2SG-CSC-cook.CSC  
 ‘You should rest then you will cook.’
- (97) ààké mbààkè kwáljḗṅ nàá àndúmàà<sup>°</sup>  
 à-àà-ké<sup>L</sup>                    mbààkè    kwálj-ḗṅ    †nàá<sup>L</sup>    à-n-dúmàà<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST1-go.PST1    1.race    arrive-PART    COMP    3SG-CSC-fall.CSC  
 ‘He ran until he fell.’
- (98) mòmjáà métáwí jíṯḗkí pǒmbú nàá mǒṅ ṅdzóólàà<sup>°</sup>  
 mó-mjáa                    <sup>H</sup>-mè-táwle                    jíṯḗkí    pǒmbú    †nàá<sup>L</sup>  
 1-woman    PST2-PST2-draw.PST2    6.water    form    COMP  
  
 mǒ-ṅṅó                    n-dzóólàà<sup>H</sup>  
 1-child                    CSC-bathe.CSC  
 ‘The woman fetched water for the child to bathe.’

As the examples above show, verb forms in the Consecutive have the structure (SM-)n-STEM. Three tone schemes surface on non-basic verb allomorphs viz. H<sup>L</sup>, HL<sup>H</sup> and HLH. They are summarised and illustrated in Table 45.

The H<sup>L</sup> tone scheme surfaces on CV-stems (*bà* ‘cut up’ → *bá*). See lines a-c of Table 45. The HL<sup>H</sup> tone scheme is used with the remaining verbs stems viz. CVV-stems, and longer verbs. For CVV-stems the CVC form is used and verbs ending in /ɔ/ shorten

their initial long vowel and change their final vowel into /ɛ/, when occurring utterance finally. (*ʃéé* ‘work’ → *ʃéí*; *bàándá* ‘tie’ → *bándé*). See lines-d-o of Table 45.

Alternatively verbs ending either in /ɛ/ or in /ɔ/ which have an initial heavy syllable take the tone scheme HLH. Unlike with the HL<sup>H</sup> tone scheme, shortening of the initial long vowel is not allowed (*bàklé* ‘keep’ → *báklé*; *bàándá* ‘tie’ → *bàándé*). See lines h, i, l and m of Table 45.

Table 45: Conjugation in the Consecutive

	Tone scheme	Example
a. CṼ bà ‘cut up’	H <sup>L</sup>	àmbá <sup>L</sup>
b. CṼ gwí ‘die’	H <sup>L</sup>	àṅgwí <sup>L</sup>
c. CṼ° ʃè° ‘come’	H <sup>L</sup>	àṅʃé <sup>L</sup>
d. CṼṼ dòò ‘live’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àndóò <sup>H</sup> ~ àndôn <sup>H</sup>
e. CṼṼ ʃéé ‘work’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àṅʃéé <sup>H</sup> ~ àṅʃéí <sup>H</sup>
f. CṼ.Cò tʃílò ‘write’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	àtʃílè° ~ àtʃíl°
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	àtʃíl <sup>H</sup>
g. CṼ.°Có dó°mbó ‘speak’	F: HL <sup>H</sup>	àndómbè° ~ àndómbù°
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup>	àndómbù <sup>H</sup>
h. CṼṼ.Cò bààndò ‘peel’	F: HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH	àmbándè° ~ àbándí° or àmbáàndé ~ àmbáàndí
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH	àbándí <sup>H</sup> or àmbáàndí
i. CṼṼ.°Có bàá°ndó ‘tie’	F: HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH	àmbándè° ~ àbándí° or àmbáàndé ~ àmbáàndí
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH	àbándí <sup>H</sup> or àmbáàndí
j. CṼ.Cè dʒòʃè ‘hide’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àṅdʒòʃè <sup>H</sup>
k. CṼ.°Cé dʒó°ʃé ‘judge’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àṅdʒóʃè <sup>H</sup>
l. CṼC(Ṽ).Cè / CṼṼ(C).Cè bùùʃè ‘accumulate’	F: HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH	àmbùùʃè° ~ àmbùùʃù° or àmbùùʃé ~ àmbùùʃú
	NF: HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH	àmbùùʃù <sup>H</sup> or àmbùùʃú



m. CVC(V).Cè báklè ‘separate’	F : HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH NF: HL <sup>H</sup> ~ HLH	àmbáklè° ~ àmbáklì° or àmbáklé ~ àmbâkí àmbáklì <sup>H</sup> or àmbâkí
n. CË.(CË).Càà bòljàà ‘revenge’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àmbóljàà <sup>H</sup>
o. CË.(CV).Caa dòwàà ‘call’	HL <sup>H</sup>	àndówàà <sup>H</sup>

### 8.5 Some tense-specific verbs

The verb *fǐjá* ~ *vǐjá* ‘arrive’ (> PB \**jij* ‘come’ ?) can only have an Imperfective Present interpretation, although no tense or aspect marker is used.

- (99) àfí<sup>H</sup>já  
à-fǐjá<sup>L</sup>  
3SG-arrive.IMP.PRS  
‘He is arriving.’

This verb often occurs with a completely low tone scheme when used in non-prepausal position.

- (100) p<sup>h</sup>àám fǐjà jí  
p<sup>h</sup>àám fǐjà jí<sup>L</sup>  
1.man arrive SUB  
‘the man who is arriving...’

Likewise, the verb *dʒì*/*ji*° ‘be’ can only be used in the Present tense (101), the form *bé* ‘be’ being used in past and future tenses (102-103).

- (101) p<sup>h</sup>àám dʒì té  
p<sup>h</sup>àám dʒì<sup>H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup>  
1.man COP there  
‘The man is there.’

- (102) p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> mé<sup>+</sup>bé <sup>+</sup>té  
 p<sup>h</sup>àá<sup>m</sup> <sup>H</sup>-mè-bé t<sup>è</sup><sup>H</sup>  
 1.man PST2-PST2-COP.PST2 there  
 ‘The man was there.’

- (103) p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> fêé<sup>+</sup>bé <sup>+</sup>té  
 p<sup>h</sup>àá<sup>m</sup> fêé<sup>L</sup> bé t<sup>è</sup><sup>H</sup>  
 1.man FUT1 COP there  
 ‘The man will be there.’

#### 8.6 The Kwakum TAM system as compared to that of other A90 languages

Comparatively, the Kwakum TAM system presents some resemblance with Kakɔ and Polri. For instance, from a tonal point of view, the tone schemes of verb forms in Kakɔ may vary according to their position within the sentence, as it is the case in Kwakum. As the examples below show, the past tense suffix *-ma* is realised with a H tone in non-final position (104a) and with a low tone when occurring utterance finally (104b). In addition the Remote Future markers *ŋgè<sup>-H</sup>* echoes the Polri high tone Remote Future suffix *ŋgé* whose high tone might have shifted to the right in Kwakum.

- (104) Kakɔ (Ernst 1995b: 17).  
 a. wùsé béŋmá nyé ‘nous l’avons vu’  
 b. wùsé béŋmà ‘nous avons vu’

At the segmental level, it is observed that the vowel harmony operating on verb stem final vowels is also found in Kakɔ, where the vowel of the tense suffix assimilates the roundness feature of the vowel of the radical. An example is provided in (105) where the vowel of the Relative tense (glossed as AT) harmonises in roundness with the stem vowel.

- (105) Kako (Ernst 1995b: 7)
- |    |             |   |            |
|----|-------------|---|------------|
| a. | ḃè          | → | ḃε...ki    |
|    | semer (INF) |   | semer (AT) |
| b. | wó          | → | wo...ku    |
|    | tuer (INF)  |   | tuer (AT)  |

## 8.7 Negation

This section concerns negation in Kwakum. Negation in this language is marked by a single morpheme, unlike in Polri and Kako where there are discontinuous negative markers. In addition, the distribution of negative markers mainly varies according to tenses/moods.

### 8.7.1 Negation in the Indicative mood

The forms of the negative marker used in the Indicative mood originate in possessive pronouns, a source of grammaticalization that is not unusual in Bantu languages (Devos & van der Auwera 2013). It is not yet clear if the negative markers in Kwakum should be treated as affixes like in many Bantu languages or as free forms. I choose to analyse them as affixes, in accordance with the Bantuist tradition.

Negation in the Indicative mood is encoded by the forms *téé<sup>l</sup>~fètéé<sup>l</sup>*, *wéé<sup>l</sup>* (all derived from the 3SG possessive *éé<sup>l</sup>*), *wóó<sup>l</sup>* (originating from the 2SG possessive pronoun *óó<sup>l</sup>*), *wàám<sup>l</sup>* and *tàám<sup>l</sup>* (both derived from the 1SG possessive pronoun *àám<sup>l</sup>*). The form *téé<sup>l</sup>* is the negative form of the copula *dʒ<sup>h</sup>~j<sup>h</sup>* ‘be’ (106). When the subject of the copula is the first person singular, some speakers also use the form *tàám<sup>l</sup>* (107).

- (106) pèŋgè téé<sup>l</sup> tʃàk bóó<sup>l</sup>ʃéŋ  
 pèŋgè téé<sup>l</sup> tʃàkí bòɔʃ-éŋ  
 1.money NEG.COP 1.thing.SG be\_bad-PART  
 ‘Money is not a bad thing.’

- (107) nì tàám<sup>l</sup>bú nè pèŋgè  
 nì tàám<sup>l</sup>bú nè pèŋgè  
 1SG COP.NEG with 1.money  
 ‘I don’t have money.’

The form *wéé<sup>d</sup>* occurs with the other verbs (108). *wàámb<sup>d</sup>* (109) and *wó<sup>d</sup>* (110) can be used interchangeably with *wéé<sup>d</sup>*, when the subject is the 1SG or the 2SG, respectively.

- (108) àábênwéé  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-bên<sup>H</sup>-wéé<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-deny.PST2-NEG  
 ‘He didn’t deny.’

- (109) ɲàá bènwàá’mbó  
 ɲì-<sup>H</sup>-àà bèn<sup>H</sup>-wàámbó<sup>L</sup>  
 1SG-PST2-PST2 deny.PST2-NEG  
 ‘I didn’t deny.’

- (110) gwàá bènwóó  
 gwè-<sup>H</sup>-àà bèn<sup>H</sup>-wóó<sup>L</sup>  
 2SG-PST2-PST2 deny.PST2-NEG  
 ‘You didn’t deny.’

Negation in the Indicative mood is summarised and illustrated in Table 46, with the 3SG pronoun *à-* as subject prefix. In the Perfective past tenses, the negative marker occurs post-verbally (e.g. *àáḡèèwéé* ‘he didn’t work’). In Imperfective past and present forms, it appears pre-verbally, after the Imperfective auxiliary (*àájìwéé* ‘*ḡéé*’ ‘he was not working’; *àjòkùwéé* ‘*ḡéé*’ ‘he is not working’).

With the present tense structure <sup>H</sup>-n-STEM and in the future tenses, the negative marker is also found in pre-verbal position, immediately after the tense marker (*áméé<sup>d</sup>ḡéé* ‘he does not work’<sup>34</sup>; *àḡééwéé* ‘*ḡéé*’ ‘he will not work’). In this respect, the future tense markers can be treated as auxiliaries, since the negative marker attaches to them as it does with auxiliaries (see other auxiliaries from Section 8.8 to Section 8.10).

<sup>34</sup>In Perfective Present Tense, the negative marker merges with the nasal tense marker (<sup>H</sup>-à-n-wéé<sup>d</sup>-ḡéé<sup>d</sup>/ → *áméé<sup>d</sup>ḡéé* ‘he is not working’).

Table 46: Negation in the Indicative mood

tense	structure	example : <i>bènò</i> ‘deny’
Perfective Remote Past	(SM-)STEM- <i>mɛ</i> -NEG	àbèmèwéé
Imperfective Remote Past	(SM-) <i>ɔ̃ʰ/jʰ</i> - <i>mɛ</i> -NEG STEM	àjìmèwéé bènò
Perfective Hesternal Past	(SM-)STEM <i>kòò</i> -NEG	àbèn kóòwéé
Imperfective Hesternal Past	(SM-) <i>ɔ̃ʰ/jʰ</i> <i>kòò</i> NEG-STEM	àjì kóòwéé bènò
Perfective Hodiernal Past	<sup>H</sup> - <i>mɛ</i> -STEM-NEG	p <sup>h</sup> ààm mébènwéé
	SM- <sup>H</sup> - <i>àà</i> -STEM-NEG	àábènwéé
Imperfective Hodiernal Past	<sup>H</sup> - <i>mɛ</i> - <i>jʰ</i> NEG-STEM	p <sup>h</sup> ààm méjìwéé bènò
	SM- <sup>H</sup> - <i>àà</i> - <i>jʰ</i> -NEG STEM	àájìwéé bènò
Perfective Immediate Past	<i>mɛ</i> -STEM-NEG	p <sup>h</sup> ààm mèbènwéé
	SM- <i>àà</i> -STEM-NEG	ààbènwéé
Present	<sup>H</sup> -(SM)n-NEG-STEM	áméé bènò
	(SM) <i>jòkùʰ</i> -NEG STEM	àjòkùwéé bènò
	(SM-) NEG STEM	àtéé bènò
Perfective Immediate Future	(SM-) <i>fɛɛʰ</i> -NEG STEM	àfɛéwéé bènò
	<sup>H</sup> -SM-NEG STEM	áwéé bènò
Imperfective Immediate Future	(SM-) <i>fɛɛʰ</i> -NEG <i>bɛ</i> SM- <i>ɔ̃ʰ/jʰ</i> STEM	àfɛéwéé ‘bé àjì bènò
	SM- <sup>H</sup> -NEG <i>bɛ</i> SM- <i>ɔ̃ʰ/jʰ</i> STEM	áwéé ‘bé àjì bènò
Perfective Crastinal Future	(SM-) <i>ʃòò</i> - <sup>H</sup> -NEG STEM	àʃòòwéé bènò
Imperfective Crastinal Future	(SM-) <i>ʃòò</i> - <sup>H</sup> -NEG <i>bɛ</i> SM- <i>ɔ̃ʰ/jʰ</i> STEM	àʃòòwéé ‘bé àjì bènò
Perfective Remote Future	(SM-) <i>ʃòò-ɲgɛ</i> - <sup>H</sup> -NEG STEM	àʃòòɲgèwéé bènò
Imperfective Remote Future	(SM-) <i>ʃòò-ɲgɛ</i> - <sup>H</sup> -NEG <i>bɛ</i> SM- <i>ɔ̃ʰ/jʰ</i> STEM	àʃòòɲgèwéé ‘bé àjì bènò

### 8.7.2 Negation in non-indicative moods

In non-indicative moods, negation is marked by means of the auxiliary *bɛkʰ*. The Imperative plural and the Consecutive do not have negative forms. Negative forms in the non-indicative moods are summarised and illustrated in Table 47.

Table 47: Negation in the non-indicative moods

tense	structure	example : <i>bènò</i> ‘deny’
Imperative (SG)	NEG STEM	běk bènò
Subjunctive	(SM-)NEG STEM	àbék bènò

## 8.8 Modality

This section presents auxiliaries and structures used to encode modality. Auxiliaries will be glossed as AUX.

### 8.8.1 *bóndɔ̄* (< *bóndɔ̄* ‘wait’)

*bóndɔ̄*, which is only found in the future, is used to when the speaker is sure that an event will happen but does not know the exact time of the future event. The tense marker is used to delimit the time frame of the event. In example (111), the speaker knows that his relatives who live abroad will return one day, even though he does not know when exactly. In the sentence proposed in (112), the speaker is sure that the overripe fruits to fall in a very short period, that is, any moment from the time of utterance.

(111) jèʃɔ̄ngè bóndú tòtò

jè<sup>H</sup>-ʃɔ̄ngè-<sup>H</sup>                      bóndú<sup>L</sup>      tòtò  
 3PL-FUT3-FUT3-FUT3      AUX              return  
 ‘They will return [one day].’

(112) ìbùmò fêé bóndú kwè

ì-bùmó      fêé<sup>L</sup>      bóndú<sup>L</sup>      kwè  
 2-fruit      FUT1      AUX              fall  
 ‘The fruits will fall (any moment from now).’

### 8.8.2 *<sup>L</sup>jàkà<sup>H</sup> and péé<sup>L</sup>*

*<sup>L</sup>jàkà<sup>H</sup>* and *péé<sup>L</sup>* are both used to say that an event is likely to happen. However, the former is used when there is a high probability for the event to happen while the latter expresses uncertainty. *<sup>L</sup>jàkà<sup>H</sup>* and *péé<sup>L</sup>* can only be expressed in the Present Tense. The form *<sup>L</sup>jàkà<sup>H</sup>* does not take any tense marker (113) while the form *péé<sup>L</sup>* requires the use of the tonal tense marker only (114).

(113) m̀̀̀n j̀̀̀k̀̀̀à d̀̀̀m̀̀̀àà

m̀̀̀-̀̀̀ǹ̀̀ó <sup>L</sup>j̀̀̀k̀̀̀à<sup>H</sup> d̀̀̀m̀̀̀àà

1-child AUX fall

‘The child is likely to fall’ (the probability is high).

(114) m̀̀̀n péé d̀̀̀m̀̀̀àà

m̀̀̀-̀̀̀ǹ̀̀ó péé<sup>L</sup> d̀̀̀m̀̀̀àà

1-child AUX fall

‘The child is likely to fall’ (the probability is low).

Both auxiliaries can be stacked to express the very high probability for an event to occur. However, there is restriction in the ordering, as *<sup>L</sup>jàkà<sup>H</sup>* MUST precede *péé<sup>L</sup>*.

(115) m̀̀̀n j̀̀̀k̀̀̀à péé d̀̀̀m̀̀̀àà

m̀̀̀-̀̀̀ǹ̀̀ó <sup>L</sup>j̀̀̀k̀̀̀à<sup>H</sup> péé<sup>L</sup> d̀̀̀m̀̀̀àà

1-child AUX AUX fall

‘The child is likely to fall’ (the probability is very high).

### 8.8.3 *d̀̀̀z̀̀̀à̀̀̀l̀̀̀àà*

The auxiliary *d̀̀̀z̀̀̀à̀̀̀l̀̀̀àà* (< *d̀̀̀z̀̀̀à̀̀̀l̀̀̀àà* ‘be enough’) expresses an obligation. The main verb is introduced with the preposition *nè*.

- (116) m̀̀̀n dzàl̀̀̀ ǹ̀̀ d̀̀̀̀l̀̀̀  
 m̀̀̀-̀̀nó <sup>H</sup>-n-dzàl̀̀̀ ǹ̀̀ d̀̀̀̀l̀̀̀<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child PRS-PRS-NEG with sleep  
 ‘The child must sleep.’

#### 8.8.4 *k̀̀̀m ~ k̀̀̀m*

*k̀̀̀m ~ k̀̀̀m* means ‘really’.

- (117) m̀̀̀n ɲ̀̀̀k̀̀̀̀m ʃéé̀̀̀ b̀̀̀̀l̀̀̀̀ààwè̀̀̀  
 m̀̀̀-̀̀nó <sup>H</sup>-n-k̀̀̀̀m ʃéé̀̀̀ <sup>L</sup> b̀̀̀̀l̀̀̀̀-ààwè̀̀̀<sup>H</sup>  
 1-child PRS-PRS-AUX work be\_many-ADJ  
 ‘The child really works hard.’

The Remote Past tense form of *k̀̀̀m~k̀̀̀m* ‘really’ is realised either as LHH (118a) or as L<sup>H</sup> (118b).

- (118) a. ɲ̀̀̀ k̀̀̀̀m̀̀̀m̀̀̀é bá b̀̀̀̀p̀̀̀à  
 ɲ̀̀̀ k̀̀̀̀m̀̀̀-m̀̀̀é bà b̀̀̀̀p̀̀̀à  
 1SG AUX.PST4-PST4 cut\_up 1.meat  
 ‘I really cut up the meat.’

- b. ɲ̀̀̀ k̀̀̀̀m̀̀̀m̀̀̀è bá b̀̀̀̀p̀̀̀à  
 ɲ̀̀̀ k̀̀̀̀m̀̀̀-m̀̀̀e<sup>H</sup> bà b̀̀̀̀p̀̀̀à  
 1SG AUX.PST4-PST4 cut\_up 1.meat  
 ‘I really cut up the meat.’

#### 8.8.5 *d̀̀̀́* and *b̀̀̀̀nd̀̀̀̀àà*

The auxiliaries *d̀̀̀́* and *b̀̀̀̀nd̀̀̀̀àà* (< *b̀̀̀̀nd̀̀̀̀àà* ‘tie each other’?) are used when a (relatively) long awaited event finally takes place. Both auxiliaries are interchangeable as illustrated below.

- (119) a. k̀̀̀̀l̀̀̀̀ẁ̀̀̀ ǹ̀̀́d̀̀̀̀́ d̀̀̀̀̀l̀̀̀̀  
 k̀̀̀̀-l̀̀̀̀ẁ̀̀̀ <sup>H</sup>-n-d̀̀̀̀́ d̀̀̀̀̀l̀̀̀̀<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PRS-PRS-AUX sleep  
 ‘The child is finally sleeping.’



- b. kílèwù mbàndáà dàá'íó  
 kì-léwɔ <sup>H</sup>-n-bàndáà dàáíó<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PRS-PRS-AUX sleep  
 'The child is finally sleeping.'

Both auxiliaries can be stacked to lay emphasis. There is no ordering constraint here.

- (120) a. kílèwù ní'dú bàndáà dàá'íó  
 kì-léwɔ <sup>H</sup>-n-dú bàndáà dàáíó<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PRS-PRS-AUX AUX sleep  
 'The child is finally sleeping.'

- b. kílèwù mbàndáà dù dàá'íó  
 kì-léwɔ <sup>H</sup>-n-bàndáà dú dàáíó<sup>L</sup>  
 7-baby PRS-PRS-AUX AUX sleep  
 'The child is finally sleeping.'

In the Remote Past, *dú* and the tense marker *-mɛ* take a H tone scheme both in utterance final and non-final positions.

- (121) fjàl dúmé bènò  
 fjàl dú-mɛ bènò  
 1.daughter\_in\_law AUX.PST4-PST4 deny  
 'The daughter-in-law finally denied.'

#### 8.8.6 The structure (SM-)COP *nè kùl*

The structure (SM-)COP *nè kùl* (*literally* 'be with the strength') is used to express a possibility or an ability.

- (122) àdzì né kùl àndzòólàà támbjè  
 à-dzì<sup>H</sup> nè kùl à-n-dzòólàà<sup>H</sup> támbjè  
 3SG-COP with 1.strenght 3SG-CSC-bathe-CSC good  
 'He can bathe well.'

## 8.9 Phasal polarity auxiliaries

Phasal polarity auxiliaries are the concern of this section. They will be glossed as AUX.

### 8.9.1 $míʔ \sim míŋʔ \sim míʃʔ$

The forms  $míʔ$  ( $\sim míŋʔ^{35} \sim míʃʔ$ )<sup>36</sup> whose use is restricted to the Present tense, can be used as a copula to express the phasal polarity ‘already’. In this context, no tense marker is used.

- (123) àmíŋ máwàtì  
 à-míŋ<sup>L</sup> máwàtì  
 3SG-AUX 1.mason  
 ‘He is already a mason.’

$míʔ \sim míŋʔ \sim míʃʔ$  can also be used to describe an ongoing event. In this context, it is interchangeable with the Imperfective marker  $jòkùʰ$  (see Section 8.3.2.5). As example (124) shows, only the tonal tense marker is used.

- (124) ámíí lènò  
<sup>H</sup>-à-míí<sup>L</sup> lènò  
 PRS-3SG-AUX cry  
 ‘He is crying.’

### 8.9.2 $fílaʔ \sim láʔ$

$fílaʔ \sim láʔ$ , only occurring in the Present and the Remote Past tenses, is used to express the phasal polarity ‘still’(125).

<sup>35</sup>  $Míŋ$  is realised as  $mín$  by some speakers.

<sup>36</sup> All the forms are interchangeable.

- (125) àfílá máwàtì  
 à-fíla<sup>L</sup> máwàtì  
 3SG-AUX 1.mason  
 ‘He is still a mason.’

It can also be used to describe a persistive action. In (126), *fíla<sup>L</sup> ~ lá<sup>L</sup>* is interchangeable with the auxiliaries *mí<sup>L</sup>* and *jòkù<sup>H</sup>*.

- (126) àfílá lènò  
 à-fíla<sup>L</sup> lènò  
 3SG-AUX cry  
 ‘He is crying.’

*fíla<sup>L</sup> ~ lá<sup>L</sup>* does not have a negative form. However, it can be used with a negative complement introduced with the negative auxiliary *běk<sup>L</sup>*. In this construction, *běk<sup>L</sup>* is interpreted as ‘never’.

- (127) àlámè bĕk ìdžàál mòòńó  
 à-lá-mĕ<sup>H</sup> bĕk<sup>L</sup> ì-džàáló<sup>L</sup> mò-òńó  
 3SG-AUX.PST4-PST4 NEG 5-give\_birth 1-child  
 ‘he had never had children.’

In the Remote Past tense, the tone scheme of *fíla<sup>L</sup>* is either HH (128a) or LHH (128b).

- (128) a. àfílá<sup>H</sup>mé kómǰù ìtóó  
 à-fíla-mé kómǰĕ ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-still.PST4-PST4 build 5-house  
 ‘He was still building a house.’

- b. àfílá<sup>H</sup>mé kómǵù ìtóó  
 à-fílá-mé kòmǵè ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-still.PST4-PST4 build 5-house  
 ‘He was still building a house.’

### 8.9.3 *móǵ<sup>H</sup>, bóǵ<sup>H</sup> and bò*

These three forms are used to express phasal polarity. In the sentence in (129), its meaning can be opposed to ‘never’ or ‘not yet’. Sentences where they are used may also receive a Perfect reading (129b), showing that a past situation has a continuing present relevance (Comrie 1976: 52)<sup>37</sup>.

- (129) m̀̀̀n m̀̀̀ kè gwè°  
 m̀̀̀-̀̀nó m̀̀̀<sup>H</sup> kè gwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1-child AUX go there  
 a. ‘The child has already gone there’  
 b. ‘The child has gone there’ (He is still there).

The form *móǵ<sup>H</sup>*, which can only have a Hodiernal Past tense interpretation, cannot be used with a pronominal subject. This form does not take any tense marker.

- (130) a. m̀̀̀n m̀̀̀ kè  
 m̀̀̀-̀̀nó m̀̀̀<sup>H</sup> kè  
 1-child AUX go  
 ‘The child has already gone.’  
 b. \*à̀m̀̀ kè  
*intended* ‘he has already gone.’

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<sup>37</sup> Perfect in Kwakum is discussed in Hare (forthcoming).

The form *bɔɔ<sup>H</sup>* occurs after nominal (131a) or a pronominal subject (131b). This form can be used in the Immediate Past or the Hodiernal Past. In addition, unlike with the form *mɔɔ<sup>H</sup>*, tense markers are required.

- (131) a. m̀d̀n m̀b̀ɔ̀ k̀é  
 m̀-̀ǹ ɔ̀ m̀-̀b̀ɔ̀<sup>H</sup> k̀é  
 1-child PST1-AUX go  
 ‘The child has already gone.’

- b. à̀b̀ɔ̀ k̀é  
 à̀-̀à̀-̀b̀ɔ̀<sup>H</sup> k̀é  
 3SG-PST1-AUX.PST1 go  
 ‘He has already gone.’

Finally, the form *b̀ò* is used to express polarity in the Remote Past (132) and the Hesternal Past (133). It can be used after a nominal or a pronominal subject. After *b̀ò*, the Remote Past marker surfaces with a H<sup>L</sup> tone scheme.

- (132) à̀b̀òmé b̀̀̀̀<sup>L</sup>  
 à̀-̀b̀ò-̀mé<sup>L</sup> b̀̀̀̀<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-AUX.PST4-PST4 get.rotten  
 ‘It has already got rotten.’

- (133) à̀b̀òk̀ò b̀̀̀̀<sup>L</sup>  
 à̀-̀b̀ò<sup>H</sup> k̀ò b̀̀̀̀<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-AUX.PST3 PST3 get.rotten  
 ‘It has already got rotten.’

#### 8.9.4 ẁù

The auxiliary *ẁù* is semantically similar to the forms *mɔɔ<sup>H</sup>*, *bɔɔ<sup>H</sup>* and *b̀ò* in that it can either encode the phasal polarity ‘already’ (134a) or Perfect (134b). It can only be used in

the Perfective Hodiernal. With nominal subjects, the auxiliary *wù* requires a non-basic allomorph of the tense marker *mê*, which is *mò*.

- (134) *kìlèwò mówù dàá'íó*  
*kì-léwò<sup>H</sup> -mò-wù*                      *dàáíó<sup>L</sup>*  
 7-baby    PST2-PST2-AUX.PST2    sleep  
 a. 'The baby has already slept.'  
 b. 'The baby has slept.'

#### 8.10 Other aspectual notions

This section presents auxiliaries which are used to express other aspectual notions. Like the auxiliaries discussed in the sections above, the auxiliaries presented in this section will be glossed as AUX.

##### 8.10.1 *pàà* and *jàè ~ jèè*

*pàà* and *jàè ~ jèè* are used interchangeably to refer to an event which occurs first.

- (135) a. *àápàà bènò...*  
*à<sup>H</sup>-àà-pàà<sup>H</sup>*                      *bènò*  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-AUX.PST2 deny  
 'He first denied...'  
 b. *àájèè bènò...*  
*à<sup>H</sup>-àà-jèè<sup>H</sup>*                      *bènò*  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-AUX.PST2 deny  
 'He first denied...'

In order to lay emphasis, both auxiliaries can be stacked without any ordering constraint.

- (136) a. *àápàà jèè bènò*  
*à<sup>H</sup>-àà-pàà<sup>H</sup>*                      *jèè bènò*  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-AUX.PST2 AUX deny  
 'He first denied...'

b. àájnéè páà bènò

à<sup>H</sup>-àà-nejé<sup>H</sup> páà bènò

3SG-PST2-PST2-AUX.PST2 AUX deny

‘He first denied...’

#### 8.10.2 *mbêŋ*

As illustrated in (137), the auxiliary *mbêŋ* means ‘often’. It is exclusively used in the Present tense.

(137) kòndù mbêŋ ʃéé

kòndù mbêŋ ʃéé<sup>L</sup>

1.young\_girl AUX work

‘The young girl often works.’

#### 8.10.3 *dòókʃ*

The auxiliary *dòókʃ* (< *dòókʃ* ‘cease’) means ‘since’. It can only be used in the Present tense, giving the sentence a Perfect Continuous reading.

(138) m̀̀d̀̀n ǹ̀d̀̀òókí d̀̀zì°

m̀̀-̀̀nó <sup>H</sup>-n-dòókó<sup>L</sup> d̀̀zì<sup>H</sup>

1-child PRS-PRS-AUX eat

‘The child has being eating since.’

#### 8.10.4 *k̀̀ò̀̀*

*k̀̀ò̀̀* is used to signify that an action is repeated.

(139) àákò̀̀ táàkì jè°

à<sup>H</sup>-àà-kóò<sup>H</sup> tààkò̀̀ jè<sup>H</sup>

3SG-PST2-PST2-AUX take 3SG

‘He took it again.’

#### 8.10.5 *d̀̀zà̀̀*

The auxiliary *d̀̀zà̀̀* (< *d̀̀zà̀̀* ‘exaggerate’), meaning ‘too much’ is used to express exaggeration.

- (140) àṅdzàà tʃèwò  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzàà tʃèwò  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-AUX play  
 ‘He plays too much.’

#### 8.10.6 *fè<sup>H</sup>* and *kè*

*fè<sup>H</sup>* (<*fè<sup>H</sup>* ‘come’) is used as a ventive auxiliary (141) while *kè* (<*kèn* ‘go’) is used as an allative auxiliary (142).

- (141) kàkàn fókú jífè bé nàá...  
 kàkàn<sup>H</sup> fókú <sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup> bé †nàá<sup>L</sup>  
 1.story other PRS-PRS-come be COMP  
 ‘Another story is that...’

- (142) àgwìjáj méeààm nàá jèkên fê jé jídzì°  
 à-gw-ìjáj <sup>H</sup>-n-wéé<sup>L</sup>-kààmò †nàá<sup>L</sup> jè<sup>H</sup>-kên fé = jè<sup>H</sup> ò-dzì<sup>H</sup>  
 2-2-brother PRS-PRS-NEG-like COMP 3PL-AUX.SBJV give = 3SG 6-food  
 ‘His brothers do not like to give him food.’

Interestingly, emphasis can be laid by repeating the auxiliary. As a consequence, the construction surfaces with three verbs. Only the first auxiliary is inflected.

- (143) àgwìjáj méeààm nàá jèkên kè fê jé jídzì°  
 à-gw-ìjáj <sup>H</sup>-n-wéé<sup>L</sup>-kààmò †nàá<sup>L</sup> jè<sup>H</sup>-kên kè fé = jè<sup>H</sup> ò-dzì<sup>H</sup>  
 2-2-brother PRS-PRS-NEG-like COMP 3PL-AUX.SBJV AUX give = 3SG 6-food  
 ‘His brothers do not like to give him food.’



## 9. STRUCTURE OF THE MAIN CLAUSE

### 9.1 Introduction

The present chapter is dedicated to the structure of main clauses and is organised as follows: Section 9.2 discusses transitive and intransitive main clauses. Section 9.3 looks at ditransitive main clauses. Section 9.4 is concerned with adjuncts in the main clause. Interrogative sentences are discussed in Section 9.5. The last section (Section 9.6) deals with comparatives.

### 9.2 Transitive and intransitive main clauses

The order of constituents in Kwakum main clauses is SVOX, X standing for other complements or adjuncts. The subject must be overtly expressed either as a NP or as a pronoun. Examples (1)-(2) illustrate transitive and intransitive clauses with a lexical subject and subject pronoun respectively.

- (1) a. p<sup>h</sup>ââm jídzéé gwè  
 p<sup>h</sup>âám    <sup>H</sup>-n-dzéé<sup>L</sup>    gwè  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-see    2SG  
 ‘The man sees you.’

- b. áɲ<sup>h</sup>dzéé gwè  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzéé<sup>L</sup>    gwè  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-see    2SG  
 ‘He sees you.’

- (2) a. p<sup>h</sup>ââm jífè°  
 p<sup>h</sup>âám    <sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-come  
 ‘The man is coming.’

b. àɲfè°

<sup>H</sup>-à-n-fè<sup>H</sup>

PRS-3SG-PRS-come

‘He is coming.’

There is no subject-verb agreement per se in Kwakum. As shown in (3), the use of a subject marker is optional after plural NPs and not allowed after a singular NP, unless in topicalised constructions (4c) (see section on topicalization in Chapter 11). The full paradigm of subject pronouns is discussed in Chapter 5.

(3) àp<sup>h</sup>àâɲm (jé-) ɲfè°

à-p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>

2-man PRS-3PL-PRS-come

‘The men are coming.’

(4) a. p<sup>h</sup>àâɲm ɲfè°

p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>

1.man PRS-PRS-come

‘The man is coming.’

b. \*p<sup>h</sup>àâɲm àɲfè°

p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-fè<sup>H</sup>

1.man PRS-3SG-PRS-come

*Intended* ‘the man is coming.’

c. p<sup>h</sup>àâɲm àɲfè°

p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>h</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-fè<sup>H</sup>

1.man PRS-3SG-PRS-come

‘[As for] the man, he is coming’

As illustrated in (5), the object follows the verb. Other constituents like adjuncts (A) also occur after the verb. They will be discussed in the sections below.

- (5) mòmjàà ñdàámbú òdʒì°  
<sup>L%</sup>mó-mjaa <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> ò-dʒì<sup>H</sup>  
 1-woman PRS-3SG-PRS-cook 6-meal  
 S V O  
 ‘The woman is cooking the meal.’

I found four types of non-verbal main clauses. The first is in the construction  $N_1 + N_2$ , where  $N_2$  is a common noun (i.e. not a proper noun) with an identification function as illustrated in (6).

- (6) mððn ʃímbè  
 mð-ðnó ʃímbè  
 1-child 1.soldier  
 a. ‘The child is a soldier’  
 b. ‘The soldier child’

The construction in (6) cannot be interpreted as a non-verbal clause if  $N_2$  does not have an identification function, as seen in (7) where  $N_2$  rather qualifies  $N_1$ .

- (7) mððn ʃóðtò  
 mð-ðnó ʃóðtò  
 1-child naked  
 ‘a naked child’

When  $N_2$  is a proper noun, the definiteness of  $N_1$  must be overtly expressed by means of a modifier which can be a possessive, a demonstrative or the anaphoric marker, otherwise the construction is interpreted as a genitive construction. Compare example (8) where  $N_1$  has a modifier with example (9) where it doesn’t.

- (8) m̀̀̀̀n    m  r    
 m̀-̀n   w-   <sup>H</sup> m  r    
 1-child PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS 1.Mary  
 a. ‘His child is Mary’ (her name is Mary).  
 b. ‘His child, Mary’

- (9) m̀̀̀̀n m  r    
 m̀-̀n   m  r    
 1-child 1.Mary  
 ‘Mary’s child’

The second context of a non-verbal main clause is the construction N + DEM. The construction in (10) can either have the clausal interpretation ‘here/this is the child’ (10a) or the noun phrase interpretation ‘this child’ (10b).

- (10) m̀̀n   n    
 m̀-̀n     n  <sup>L</sup>  
 1-child DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 a. ‘Here/this is the child.’  
 b. ‘this child’

The third type of non-verbal main clause is found before the complementiser <sup>  n  </sup> introducing a sentential argument. In the examples in (11)-(12), the enunciative verbs *k  * ‘say’ and *  k  * ‘ask’ are omitted, resulting in non-verbal clauses.

- (11) m  mj   n       w     <sup> </sup>  
 m  -mj     n  <sup>L</sup>   -   <sup>L</sup>-w  <sup>L</sup>   <sup>H</sup>  
 1-woman COMP 3SG-FUT1-NEG come  
 ‘The woman [said] that she would not come.’

- (12) jéklè nè m̀òón nàá àṅfùl°  
 jéklè nè m̀ò-òńó †nàá<sup>L</sup> à-n-fùlò<sup>H</sup>  
 1.teacher with 1-child COMP 3SG-CSC-go\_out-CSC  
 ‘The teacher [asked] the child to go out.’

The following type of non-verbal clause is a With-Possessive construction in which the idea of possession is encoded by the comitative-instrumental-agentive preposition *nè* ‘and, with’. As Stassen (2009: 216) remarks, this type of construction which ‘consists in the verbalization of the oblique marker on the possessee NP’, is common in Bantu languages.

- (13) t̀ù<sup>h</sup>ùm fók bèmè léé t̀éjì té  
 t̀ùt̀ùm<sup>H</sup> fókù bè-mé lèè<sup>H</sup> t̀éjì t̀è<sup>H</sup>  
 1.dwarf certain COP.PST4-PST4 so also there

dzè né dzàkí<sup>l</sup>jé  
 dzè<sup>H</sup> nè dzákí<sup>l</sup>jé<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG with 1.tortoise  
 ‘So there was also a dwarf; he had a tortoise.’

### 9.3 Ditransitive main clauses

#### 9.3.1 Both objects are nouns or pronouns

If both objects are nouns or pronouns, the Recipient (R) precedes the Theme (T). The examples below illustrate a ditransitive clause where the objects are both nouns (14) and pronouns (15).

- (14) p<sup>h</sup>àám ńj<sup>↓</sup>fé m̀òón á<sup>l</sup>máńgòlò  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>H</sup> †n-fé m̀ò-òńó à-máńgòlò  
 1.man PRS-PRS-give 1-child 2-mango  
 S V R T  
 ‘The man is giving the child mangoes.’

- (15) p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> ñ<sup>↓</sup>fé jé <sup>1</sup>dzá  
 p<sup>h</sup>àáâ<sup>m</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé = jè<sup>H</sup>                  dzà<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give = 3SG    3PL  
 S                  V                                  R                  T  
 ‘The man is giving them to him’ (*literally* ‘The man is giving him them’).

The argument order in the construction in (14)-(15) cannot be reversed; otherwise the construction is ungrammatical or has the odd interpretations ‘The man is giving mangoes the child’ (16) and ‘The man is giving them him’ (17).

- (16) \*p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> ñ<sup>↓</sup>fé <sup>1</sup>á<sup>1</sup>máŋgòlò mð̀̀nð̀̀  
 p<sup>h</sup>àáâ<sup>m</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé                  à-máŋgòlò          mð̀̀-̀̀nó  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give    2-mango          1-child  
 S                  V                                  T                                  R  
*Intended* ‘The man is giving the child mangoes.’

- (17) \*p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> ñ<sup>↓</sup>fé já <sup>1</sup>dzé  
 p<sup>h</sup>àáâ<sup>m</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé = já<sup>H</sup>                  dzè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give = 3PL    3SG  
 S                  V                                  T                  R  
*intended* ‘The man is giving them to him.’

### 9.3.2 One object is a pronoun

If the Recipient is a pronoun and the Theme a noun, the constituent order is identical to the one in the previous section i.e. R always precedes T as illustrated below.

- (18) p<sup>h</sup>àâ<sup>m</sup> ñ<sup>↓</sup>fé jé <sup>1</sup>á<sup>1</sup>máŋgòlò  
 p<sup>h</sup>àáâ<sup>m</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé                  jè<sup>H</sup>                  à-máŋgòlò  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give    3SG    2-mango  
 S                  V                                  R                  T  
 ‘The man is giving him mangoes.’

As reported for the previous case, the constituent order cannot be reversed.

- (19) \*p<sup>h</sup>àầm ń<sup>+</sup>fé 'á' má̀ngòlò dzè°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àầm    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé            à-má̀ngòlò    dzè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give    2-mango    3SG  
 S            V                    T            R

'The man is giving mangoes him.'

*Intended* 'He is giving him mangoes.'

The same order is strictly observed if R is a non-human noun and T a pronoun (20).

- (20) p<sup>h</sup>àầm ń<sup>↓</sup>fé búpà dzà°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àầm    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé            búpà    dzà<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give    1.animal    3PL  
 S            V                    R            T

'The man is giving them to the animal' (*literally* 'The man is giving the animal them').

In contrast, if R is a human noun and T a pronoun, both arguments can switch their position while keeping the same interpretation.

- (21) a. p<sup>h</sup>àầm ń<sup>↓</sup>fé mó̀̀nó dzá  
 p<sup>h</sup>àầm    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé            mò̀̀nó    dzá<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give    1-child    3PL  
 S            V                    R            T

'The man is giving them to the child' (*literally* 'The man is giving the child them').

- b. p<sup>h</sup>àầm            m<sup>+</sup>fé já mó̀̀nó  
 p<sup>h</sup>àầm    <sup>H</sup>-n-fé = já<sup>H</sup>            mò̀̀nó  
 1.man    PRS-PRS-give = 3PL    1-child  
 S            V                    T            R

'The man is giving them [to] the child.'

T has more object properties than R, because it is accessible to passivisation. Compare (22a) with (22b).

- (22) a. àmángòlò ñfějàà m̀̀̀nó  
           à-mángòlò     <sup>H</sup>-n-fěj-àà             m̀̀̀-̀̀nó  
           2-mango     PRS PRS-give-PASS   1-child  
           ‘Mangoes are given to the child.’
- b. \*m̀̀̀n ñfějàà àmángòlò  
       *intended*: ‘the child was given mangoes’

Both T and R can be relativized as will be shown in Chapter 11. Other ditransitive verbs in Kwakum include *b̀̀̀ó‘mó* ‘buy’, *kěfě* ‘send’, *dàá‘mbó* ‘cook’; *bè̀̀nò* ‘deny’, *téwùfě* ‘show’ *jéklě* ‘teach’, *tfl̀̀* ‘write’.

#### 9.4 Adjuncts within the main clause

This section looks at the placement of adjuncts within the main clause, adverbs and prepositions involved in adjuncts are presented in Chapter 6.

##### 9.4.1 Locative adverbials

Locative adjuncts mainly occur clause finally. They are (optionally) introduced by the locative construction <sup>H</sup>-̀̀-<sup>H</sup> (see Chapter 6 for locative constructions).

- (23) jé̀̀ndzìl ògwé  
       <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-dzìlò             ̀̀-<sup>H</sup>-gwè<sup>H</sup>  
       PRS-3SG-PRS-seat   LOC-LOC-there  
       ‘They are sitting there.’
- (24) á̀̀ndzéé t̀̀lè ó‘bòndàkì  
       <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzéé<sup>L</sup>             t̀̀lè   <sup>H</sup>-̀̀-<sup>H</sup>-bòndàkì  
       PRS-3SG-PRS-see 1.mat LOC-LOC-LOC-1.ground  
       ‘He sees the mat on the ground.’



## 9.4.2 Temporal adverbials

Unlike locative adverbials, temporal adverbials can be used at the beginning (25) or at the end (25) of a clause.

- (25) a. àfêéʃè dúŋeŋ  
 à-fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃè<sup>H</sup> dúŋeŋ  
 3SG-FUT1 come tomorrow  
 ‘She will come tomorrow.’

- b. dúŋeŋ àfêéʃè°  
 dúŋeŋ à-fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃè<sup>H</sup>  
 tomorrow 3SG-FUT1 come  
 ‘Tomorrow she will come.’

## 9.4.3 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbials are generally used postverbally (26-27), except if the adverb is in focus, in which case it is used clause initially immediately followed by the focus marker (28).

- (26) ándàámbú tàmbe  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> tàmbe  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-cook good  
 ‘She cooks well.’

- (27) ándzààndì nóó  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzààndò nóó  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-walk like\_this  
 ‘He walks like this.’

- (28) nóó 'ʃí 'áɲdzààndì jí  
 nóó ʃí<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzààndò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 like\_this FOC PRS-3SG-PRS-walk SUB  
 'It is like this that he walks.'

Some lexical specificities are observed: the adverb *nén* 'like this, like that' and every form ending in *-áàwè<sup>H</sup>* can also be used clause initially (29a) and (30a), the most frequent position being the post-verbal position (29b) and (30b).

- (29) a. *nén* 'áɲdzààndò  
*nén<sup>L</sup>* <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzààndò  
 like\_this PRS-3SG-PRS-walk  
 'He walks like this.'

- b. áɲdzààndì *nén*  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzààndò *nén<sup>L</sup>*  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-walk like\_this  
 'He walks like this.'

- (30) a. tʃàláàwè áɲdzààndò  
 tʃàl-áàwè<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzààndò  
 be\_rapid-ADJ PRS-3SG-PRS-walk  
 'He walks rapidly.'

- b. áɲdzààndì tʃàláàwè°  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dzààndò tʃàl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-walk be\_rapid-ADJ  
 'He walks rapidly.'

9.4.4 Circumstantial/Purposive/Beneficiary *pǎmbú*, *kwèfáa*, *tʃɪndʒɪʰ*

The preposition *pǎmbú* is used to introduce adjuncts which have a benefactive function. *pǎmbú* can be followed by a noun (31) or a possessive pronoun (32).

- (31) áɲʃéé pǎmb p<sup>h</sup>àám wé  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-ʃéé<sup>L</sup> pǎmbú p<sup>h</sup>àám w-é  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-work for 1.man PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘She works for that man.’

- (32) áɲʃéé pǎmb p<sup>h</sup>àám jé<sup>ʰ</sup>é  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-ʃéé<sup>L</sup> pǎmbú j-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-work for PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 ‘She works for him.’

*pǎmbú* can also be interpreted as ‘because of’. In this context, it is interchangeable with the prepositions *kwèfáa* and *tʃɪndʒɪʰ* as shown in the following example. *tʃɪndʒɪʰ* can be optionally introduced by the preposition *nè* ‘with, and’.

- (33) a. kílèwò mélên pǎmb jó<sup>ʰ</sup>ó  
 kì-léwò <sup>H</sup>-mè-lénò<sup>H</sup> pǎmbú j-òò<sup>H</sup>  
 7-baby PST2-PST2-cry.PST2 for PP<sub>2</sub>-2SG  
 ‘The baby cried because of you.’

- b. kílèwò mélên kwèfáa gwé  
 kì-léwò <sup>H</sup>-mè-lénò<sup>H</sup> kwèfáa gwè  
 7-baby PST2-PST2-cry.PST2 because\_of 2SG  
 ‘The baby cried because of you.’

c. kílèwò méléên (né) tʃɪndzì gwé

kì-léwò      <sup>H</sup>-mè-lénò<sup>H</sup>      nè      tʃɪndzì<sup>H</sup>      gwè  
 7-baby      PST2-PST2-cry.PST2      with      because\_of      2SG  
 ‘The baby cried because of you.’

#### 9.4.5 Instrumentals, Manner, Comitatives and Agentive

Instrumentals are introduced by means of the preposition *nè*.

(34) àádʒól jáàmò nè ìkòò°

à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒólò      jáàmò      nè      ì-kòò<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-kill.PST2      1.animal      with      5-spear  
 ‘He killed the animal with a spear.’

*nè* is also used to express comitatives. In this context, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is required before this preposition:

(35) àádʒól jáàmò jè né mòònéè°

à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dʒólò      jáàmò      jè<sup>H</sup>      nè      mò-òno      w-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-kill.PST2      1.animal      3SG      with      1-child      PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 ‘He killed the animal with his child.’

The same preposition can be used to encode manner:

(36) ààdòmbù né <sup>t</sup>tétó

à-àà-dòmbù<sup>H</sup>      nè      tétó  
 3SG-PST1-speak.PST1      with      1.fear  
 ‘He spoke with fear.’

The constructions below show that in instrumentals and comitative phrases, the complement of the preposition *nè* can be omitted unless it is a human.

- (37) a. áηkè nè kó'pú  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-kè nè kópú<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-go with 1.cup  
 'He is going with the cup.'

- b. áηkè nè  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-kè nè  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-go with  
 'He is going with [it]'

- (38) a. áηkè nè mððnó  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-kè nè mð-ðnó  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-go with 1-child  
 'He is going with the child.'

- b. \*áηkè nè  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-kè nè  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-go with  
 'He is going with [it]'  
*Intended* 'he is going with him.'

The preposition *nè* is also used to introduce the Agent in a passive construction.

- (39) ìbùmò m̀màηàà nè p<sup>h</sup>àám  
 ì-bù mó <sup>H</sup>-n-màη-àà nè p<sup>h</sup>àám  
 2-fruit PRS-PRS-gather-PASS by 1.man  
 'The fruits are gathered by the man.'

- (40) k̀l ηkèkàà nè m̀ððnó  
 k̀l<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-kèk<sup>H</sup>-àà nè m̀ð-ðnó  
 1.rope PRS-PRS-cut.PASS-PASS by 1-child  
 The rope is cut by the child.'

## 9.5 Interrogatives

### 9.5.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are marked intonationally by a rising tone on the last syllable of the sentence, which optionally takes a velar nasal (41).

- (41) ándàámbú tàmbjě(ŋ)?  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup>tàmbjèŋ  
 3SG-PRS-cook good.Q  
 ‘Is she cooking well?’

I have found instances where polar questions are marked by means of the particle *wáa* (glossed as Q), occurring after the verb stem. The sentence in (42) is interpreted as a negative question in English.

- (42) kááfèl jàà káf wáá gwé nàá...  
 kááfèl jì-àà kááfǝ<sup>H</sup> wáa gwè †nàá<sup>B</sup>  
 1.king. 1SG-PST1 say.PST1 Q. 2SG COMP  
 ‘King, didn’t I tell you that...’

### 9.5.2 WH-questions

The list of interrogatives is provided in (43). WH-questions are formed by replacing the questioned constituent by an interrogative, which remains in situ (44a). Alternatively, interrogatives can occur in the clause initial position of a focus construction. In this construction, the sentence optionally ends with the subordinative marker *jí* which takes a falling intonation (44b).

- (43) a. kè ‘what, why’  
 b. tà ‘who’  
 c. †fè ‘where’  
 d. bòkú †fè ‘when’  
 e. nâ ‘how’

(44) a. gwé ndàámbú kè?

<sup>H</sup>-gwè n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> kè  
 PRS-2SG PRS-cook what  
 ‘What are you cooking?’

b. kè gwé ndàámbú jî

kè <sup>H</sup>-gwè n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> jî  
 what PRS-2SG PRS-cook SUB.Q  
 ‘What are you cooking?’

(45) a. gwé ηké fê?

<sup>H</sup>-gwè n-kè †fê  
 PRS-2SG PRS-go what  
 ‘Where are you going?’

b. fê gwé ηké jî

†fê <sup>H</sup>-gwè n-kè jî  
 where PRS-2SG PRS-go SUB.Q  
 ‘Where are you going?’

(46) a. gwé ηké bòkú fê?

<sup>H</sup>-gwè n-kè bòkú †fê  
 PRS-2SG PRS-go when what  
 ‘When are you going?’

b. bòkú fê gwé ηké jî

bòkú †fê <sup>H</sup>-gwè n-kè jî  
 when what PRS-2SG PRS-go SUB.Q  
 ‘When are you going?’

- (47) a. gwé nké nâ?  
<sup>H</sup>-gwè n-kè nâ  
 PRS-2SG PRS-go why  
 ‘Why are you going?’

- b. nâ gwé nkè jî  
 nâ <sup>H</sup>-gwè n-kè jî  
 why PRS-2SG PRS-go SUB.Q  
 ‘Why are you going?’

The structure *which*+NOUN is expressed by means of the construction *mòò* / *gwòòm*+CON + <sup>†</sup>fè, with the nominaliser-linker agreeing in number with the antecedent.

- (48) a. gwé ndéé nè ndàj mòò <sup>†</sup>fè  
<sup>H</sup>-gwè n-déé<sup>L</sup> nè ndàj mòò <sup>H</sup>-<sup>†</sup>fè  
 PRS-2SG PRS-like with 1.cow NLNK.SG CON-what  
 ‘Which cow do you want?’

- (49) b. ndàj mòò <sup>†</sup>fè gwé ndéé nè jî  
 ndàj mòò <sup>H</sup>-<sup>†</sup>fè <sup>H</sup>-gwè n-déé<sup>L</sup> nè jî  
 1.cow NLNK.SG CON-what PRS-2SG PRS-like with SUB.Q  
 ‘Which cow do you want?’

## 9.6 Comparatives

In equative clauses the numeral *mótù*° ‘one’ is used to modify the quality compared:

- (50) bèlá jè né pól dʒì tél <sup>†</sup>mótù°  
 bèlá<sup>L</sup> jè<sup>H</sup> nè pól dʒì<sup>H</sup> tél <sup>†</sup>mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 1.Bela 3SG and 1.Paul COP 1.height one  
 ‘Bela is as tall as Paul.’



Similitive constructions are expressed by means of the particle *t<sup>h</sup>à*, glossed as CMPT.

- (51) ándzààndì t<sup>h</sup>à kíléwó  
 H-à-n-dzààndò t<sup>h</sup>à kì-léwó  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-walk CMPT 7-baby  
 ‘He walks like a baby.’
- (52) òóǰáá jé t<sup>h</sup>ǎ ñì  
 ò-H-àà-ǰáa = jè<sup>H</sup> t<sup>h</sup>à ñì  
 2SG-PST2-PST2-do.PST2 = 3SG CMPT 1SG  
 ‘You did it like me.’

Comparative semantics is achieved by means of the participials *délkán* (< *délkàà* ‘surpass’), *déléñ* (< ?) and *fétéñ* (< *fé’tó* ‘pass’). The three participials are interchangeable as illustrated in (53).

- (53) a. bèlá dzì làwáàwè délkán mààrì  
 bèlá<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> làw-áàwè<sup>H</sup> délk-an mààrì  
 1.Bela COP be\_tall-ADJ surpass-PART 1.Mary  
 ‘Bela is taller than Mary.’
- b. bèlá dzì làwáàwè déléñ mààrì  
 bèlá<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> làw-áàwè<sup>H</sup> dél-en mààrì  
 1.Bela COP be\_tall-ADJ ?-PART 1.Mary  
 ‘Bela is taller than Mary.’
- c. bèlá dzì làwáàwè fétéñ mààrì  
 bèlá<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> làw-áàwè<sup>H</sup> fé-teñ mààrì  
 1.Bela COP be\_tall-ADJ pass-PART 1.Mary  
 ‘Bela is taller than Mary.’

Finally, Superlatives are encoded by means of a connective construction introduced by the nominaliser *mòò* (PL *gwòm*). Some illustrations are provided in (54)-(55).

(54) bèlá dzì móò kídzìmá

bèlá<sup>L</sup> dzì<sup>H</sup> mòò      <sup>H</sup>-kì-dzìmá

1.Bela COP NLNK.SG CON-7-beautiful

‘Bela is the most beautiful.’

(55) pól dzì móò kùl

pól dzì<sup>H</sup> mòò      <sup>H</sup>-kùl

1.Paul COP NLNK.SG CON-1.strenght

‘Paul is the strongest.’

## 10. COMPLEX SENTENCES

## 10.1 Introduction

This chapter is organised as follows: Section 10.2 looks at NP coordination. Section 10.3 discusses how clauses are coordinated. Section 10.4 looks at clauses involving uninflected verbs. Sentential complementation is discussed in Section 10.5. Adverbial clauses are the concern of Section 10.6. The final section of this chapter, Section 10.7 is dedicated to relative clauses. In the constructions discussed from Section 10.5 to Section 10.7, subordination is optionally marked by means of the clause-final subordinator *jí*.

## 10.2 NP coordination

NP coordination is achieved by means of *nè* ‘with, and’, *ké* ‘or, either...or’ and *ʔtò* ‘or, either...or’. There seem not to be any ordering restriction with pronouns and full NPs. For discussion and examples, see Section 7.4.1 of Chapter 7.

## 10.3 Sentential coordination

Like NP coordination, sentential coordination is expressed with the conjunctions *nè* ‘with, and’, *ké* ‘or’ and *ʔtò* ‘or’. Equi NP deletion is often observed (2).

(1) àáfémbè° nè àádžémbé

à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-<sup>H</sup>fémbè<sup>H</sup> nè à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-<sup>H</sup>džémbé  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-intone.PST2 and 3SG-PST2-PST2-dance.PST2  
 ‘She intoned [the song] and danced.’

(2) àmbúkù gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò ntáà p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò

à-n-búkù<sup>H</sup> gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò n-táàkò<sup>H</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 3SG-CSC-break.CSC 1.loft 1.maize CSC-take.CSC 1.maize  
 ‘He used to break the maize loft and take maize.’

- (3) àáfémbè° kě àádžémbé  
 à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-<sup>H</sup>fémbè<sup>H</sup> kě<sup>L</sup> à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-džémbé  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-intone.PST2 or 3SG-PST2-PST2-dance.PST2  
 ‘She intoned [the song] or danced.’

- (4) àáfémbè° tðð àádžémbé  
 à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-<sup>H</sup>fémbè<sup>H</sup> <sup>L</sup>tðð <sup>H</sup>-à-àà-džémbé  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-intone.PST2 or 3SG-PST2-PST2-dance.PST2  
 ‘She intoned [the song] or danced.’

*nè* can be used before both conjuncts. No semantic difference has been established between the construction in (1) and the one in (5).

- (5) nè àáfémbè° nè àádžémbé  
 nè <sup>H</sup>-à-àà-<sup>H</sup>fémbè<sup>H</sup> nè à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-džémbé  
 and PST2-3SG-PST2-intone.PST2 and 3SG-PST2-PST2-dance.PST2  
 ‘She intoned [the song] and danced.’

Likewise, *kě<sup>L</sup>* and <sup>L</sup>*tðð* can also be used as correlative conjunctions. In these constructions, they are interpreted as ‘either...or’.

- (6) kě àáfémbè° kě àádžémbé  
 kě<sup>L</sup> à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-<sup>H</sup>fémbè<sup>H</sup> kě<sup>L</sup> à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-džémbé  
 either 3SG-PST2-PST2-intone.PST2 or 3SG-PST2-PST2-dance.PST2  
 ‘She either intoned [the song] or danced.’

- (7) tðð àáfémbè° tðð àádžémbé  
<sup>L</sup>tðð à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-<sup>H</sup>fémbè<sup>H</sup> <sup>L</sup>tðð à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-džémbé  
 or 3SG-PST2-PST2-intone.PST2 or 3SG-PST2-PST2-dance.PST2  
 ‘She either intoned [the song] or danced.’

When the two clauses have the same object, it occurs in the first clause. Although the noun *kítàw* ‘sheep’ complements the verbs of the two clauses *fě* ‘gave’ and *bómjáá* ‘sold’, it must be used in the first clause (8). The object can be repeated in the second clause by means of an anaphorical pronoun (9).

(8) a. àáfé kítàw tǰé kě àábómjáá

à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-fé                      kì-tàw    tǰ-é              kě<sup>L</sup>    à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-bómjaa  
3SG-PST2-PST2-give.PST2    7-sheep    PP<sub>7</sub>-ANAPH    or    3SG-PST2-PST2-sell.PST2

‘He gave or sold that sheep.’

b. \*àáfé kě àábómjáá kítàw tǰé.

*Intended* ‘He gave or sold that sheep.’

(9) àáfé kítàw tǰé kě àábómjáá jé

à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-fé                      kì-tàw    tǰ-é              kě<sup>L</sup>    à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-bómjaa = jè<sup>H</sup>  
3SG-PST2-PST2-give.PST2    7-sheep    PP<sub>7</sub>-ANAPH    or    3SG-PST2-PST2-  
sell.PST2 = 3SG

‘He gave that sheep or sold it.’

Sentential coordination is also achieved by observing a short pause after the first clause (materialized in the example below with a comma) and conjugating the verb of the second clause in the Consecutive.

(10) ʃèl mé<sup>+</sup>bómjé, bùpà ɲfófè<sup>°</sup>

ʃèl<sup>H</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-mè-bómje                      bùpà              n-fófè<sup>H</sup>  
1.pot    PST2-PST2-break.PST2    1.meat              CSC-pour.CSC

‘The pot broke and the meat poured.’

- (11) àáfè, àntótè°  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup>                      à-n-tótè<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come    3SG-CSC-returned.CSC  
 ‘He came and returned.’

The negative marker can be used in both clauses, if they are both negated (12), or in only one clause, which is the negated clause (13-14).

- (12) ʃèl mé<sup>4</sup>bómjéwéé, bùpà běkfòʃè  
 ʃèl<sup>H</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-mè-bómje-wéé<sup>L</sup>                      bùpà    běk<sup>L</sup>-fòʃè  
 1.pot    PST2-PST2-break.PST2-NEG    1.meat    NEG-pour\_out  
 ‘The pot did not break and the meat did not pour.’

- (13) ʃèl mébómjé, bùpà běkfòʃè  
 ʃèl<sup>H</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-mè-bómje                      bùpà    běk<sup>L</sup>-fòʃè  
 1.pot    PST2-PST2-break.PST2    1.meat    NEG-pour\_out.SBJV  
 ‘The pot broke but the meat did not pour out.’

- (14) àáfèwéé àjì ʃèmbò  
 à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup>-wéé<sup>L</sup>                      à-jì<sup>H</sup>                      ʃèmbò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come-NEG    3SG-IPFV    intone  
 ‘He didn’t come intoning.’

#### 10.4 Clauses with uninflected verbs

Uninflected verbs are used in subordinate clauses when they share the subject with the verb of the main verb.

- (15) m̀̀ón ngwáá ‘jí’ló  
 m̀̀-òńó    <sup>H</sup>-n-gwáá<sup>L</sup>                      ʃíló<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child    PRS-PRS-want    go\_down  
 ‘The child wants to go down.’

- (16) àáfè fé ní †mángòlò  
 à<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup> fé jì mánǵòlò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come give 1SG 1.mango  
 ‘He came to give me some mangoes.’

Clauses with uninflected verbs cannot contain a negative marker. The latter exclusively occurs in the main clause.

- (17) mǵón mée†gwáá †jì†lò  
 mǵ-ǵnó <sup>H</sup>-n-wée<sup>L</sup>-gwáá<sup>L</sup> jìlò<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child PRS-PRS-NEG-want go\_down  
 ‘The child doesn’t want to go down.’

- (18) àáfèwée fé ní †mángòlò  
 à<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup>-wée<sup>L</sup> fé jì mánǵòlò  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-come-NEG give 1SG 1.mango  
 ‘He didn’t came to give me some mangoes.’

### 10.5 Sentential complementation

The term ‘sentential complementation’ is used here to refer to “the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate” (Noonan 2007:52). As Noonan indicates, “a predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate”. In this perspective, the grammatical function of sentential complements will exclusively be either subject or object. Structurally, sentential complements are introduced by the complementiser †nàá<sup>L</sup> or the conjunction *kè* ‘if’.

- (19) p<sup>h</sup>ââm méléfàá nàá àpétì mbé†í  
 p<sup>h</sup>ââm <sup>H</sup>-mè-léfàà<sup>H</sup> †nàá<sup>L</sup> à-pétò mbé<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man PST2-PST2-forget.PST2 COMP 3SG-close.SBJV 1.door  
 ‘The man forgot to close the door.’

- (20) jí màámb fèŋl kě àfèé fè°  
<sup>H</sup>-jì n-wàámbó<sup>L</sup>-fèŋlè kě<sup>L</sup> à-fèé<sup>L</sup> fè<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-1SG PRS-NEG-know if 3SG- FUT1 come  
 ‘I don’t know if she will come.’

In subject position, the complementiser is preceded by an optional nominal prefix *ì-* and the sentential subject ends with an optional morpheme *jí<sup>L</sup>*, often reduced to an *í*. I will analyse it as a subordinating marker (glossed as SUB).

- (21) ínàá pùlò mé<sup>+</sup>nó búláàwè jí n-dělkáà jì  
 ì-<sup>+</sup>nàá<sup>L</sup> pùlò <sup>H</sup>-mè-nó búl-áàwè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>  
 5-COMP 1.rain PST2-PST2-fall.PST2 be\_numerous-ADJ SUB  
  
<sup>H</sup>-n-dělkáà jì  
 PRS-PRS-surpass 1SG  
 ‘That the rain fell heavily surprises me.’

In the absence of the subordinating marker *jí<sup>L</sup>*, the subordinate clause in subject position can be marked by a rising tone on the final syllable.

- (22) ínàá pùlò mé<sup>+</sup>nó búláàwě n-dělkáà jì  
 ì-<sup>+</sup>nàá<sup>L</sup> pùlò <sup>H</sup>-mè-nó búl-áàwě <sup>H</sup>-n-dělkáà jì  
 5-COMP 1.rain PST2-PST2-fall.PST2 be\_numerous-ADJ.SUB PRS-PRS-overpass 1SG  
 ‘That the rain fell heavily surprises me.’

## 10.6 Adverbial clauses

Like sentential complements, adverbial clauses are marked by the optional subordinating marker *jí<sup>L</sup>* which occurs clause-finally.



## 10.6.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are introduced by the adverbials *bòkú* ‘when’, *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’, *tén<sup>L</sup>* ‘when’, *tél* ‘since’. The first two (*bòkú* ‘when’ and *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’) are interchangeable. The semantic difference with *tén<sup>L</sup>* ‘when’ is not clear. Syntactically, the latter differs from *bòkú* ‘when’ and *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’ in that it cannot be used sentence initially (23). Conversely, clauses introduced by *bòkú* ‘when’ and *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’ can occur as the first or second clause of the sentence (24). The tenses of the two clauses need not be identical.

(23) a. gwòḍḍn mé+ké tén nàá+kwáljé

gwò-ḍnó<sup>H</sup>-mè-ké<sup>L</sup> tén<sup>L</sup> nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà-kwálje  
2-child PST2-PST2-go.PST2 when 1SG-PST2-PST2-arrive.PST2

‘The children had gone when I arrived.’

b. \*tén nàákwáljé gwòḍḍn méké

(24) a. bòk p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé+džéé p<sup>h</sup>ì jí àá+dókàà°

bòkú p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>H</sup>-mè-džéé p<sup>h</sup>ì<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup> à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-dókàa<sup>H</sup>  
when 1.man PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1.dog SUB 3SG-PST2-PST2-run\_away.PST2

‘When the man saw the dog, he ran away.’

b. p<sup>h</sup>àâm mé+dókàà bók àá+džéé p<sup>h</sup>ì jí

p<sup>h</sup>àám<sup>H</sup>-mè-dókàa<sup>H</sup> bòkú à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-džéé p<sup>h</sup>ì<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>  
1.man PST2-PST2-run\_away.PST2 when 3SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2 1.dog SUB

‘The man ran away when he saw the dog.’

As reported for *bòkú* ‘when’ and *mò<sup>H</sup>* ‘when’, adverbial clauses introduced with *tél* ‘since’ can take any position within the sentence.

(25) a. t<sup>l</sup>él gwòḍḍn mèkè fùkùl jí nàá jì bóndú jà°

<sup>L</sup>tél gwò-ḍnó<sup>H</sup>-mè-kè fùkùl jí<sup>L</sup>  
since 2-child PST2-PST2-go.PST2 1.school SUB

nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà jì bóndó<sup>L</sup> = jà<sup>H</sup>

1SG-PST2-PST2IPFV.PST2 wait = 3PL

‘Since the children had gone to school, I have been waiting for them.’

b. *nàá jì bóndú gwóòn tèl jàákè fùkùl jí*

*nì<sup>-H</sup>-àà jì bóndó<sup>L</sup> = jà<sup>H</sup>*

1SG-PST2-PST2 IPFV.PST2 wait = 3PL

*L%tél jè<sup>H</sup>-àà-kè fùkùl jí<sup>L</sup>*

since 3PL-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 1.school SUB

‘I have been waiting for the children since they had gone to school.’

Temporal clauses can also be introduced with the complementiser *’nàá’* combined to the preposition *ǽm* ‘after, behind’, the form *pèpèl<sup>H</sup>* ‘before’ (< *p<sup>H</sup>èl<sup>H</sup>* ‘in front of’) and the participial form *kwáljéŋ* (< *kwáljé<sup>L</sup>* ‘arrive’). These clauses do not occur sentence initially. As the examples below show, the tenses of the two clauses need not to be identical.

(26) *àdzì kòò ǽm nàá òó ’kwáljé*

*à-dzì<sup>H</sup> kòò ǽm ’nàá<sup>L</sup> ò-<sup>H</sup>-òò-kwálje*

3SG-eat. PST3 PST3 after COMP 2SG-PST2-PST2-arrive.PST2

‘He ate after you had arrived.’

(27) *àáké pèpèl nàá mòòn dzèmjé*

*à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> pèpèl ’nàá<sup>L</sup> mò-òónó dzèmjé<sup>L</sup>*

3SG-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 before COMP 1-child wake.up.SBJV

‘She had gone before the child woke up.’

(28) *jàá<sup>+</sup>ké mbààkè kwáljéŋ nàá*

*jè<sup>H-H</sup>-àà-ké<sup>L</sup> mbààkè kwálj-èŋ ’nàá<sup>L</sup>*

3PL-PST2-PST2-go.PST2 1.race arrive.PART COMP

*jàá<sup>+</sup>lélé<sup>°</sup>*

*jè<sup>H-H</sup>-àà-lélé<sup>H</sup>*

3PL-PST2-PST2-get\_tired.PST2

‘They ran until they got tired.’

## 10.6.2 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are introduced with the conjunctions *jàà<sup>H</sup>* ‘because’, *bè* ‘so that’ *pǎmbú* ‘for’ and the prepositional phrase *pǎmbú †nàá<sup>L</sup>* ‘so that’. They mainly occur as second clauses (29-32). After *bè* ‘so that’ (30) and *pǎmbú †nàá<sup>L</sup>* ‘so that’ (32), the verb is conjugated either in the Subjunctive mood or in Consecutive mood.

(29) *nàáfè jáà òódówáá ní*

*nì<sup>-H</sup>-àà-*jè<sup>H</sup>*                      jáà<sup>H</sup>                      ò<sup>-H</sup>-àà-dówaa                      ní*  
 1SG-PST2-PST2-come      because      2SG-PST2-PST2-call.PST2      1SG  
 ‘I came because you called me.’

(30) a. *ántó nàá òndzí bè ògwól*

*<sup>H</sup>-à-n-tó                      †nàá<sup>L</sup>      ò-n-dzí<sup>L</sup>                      bè                      ò-gwól*  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-be.good      COMP      2SG-CSC-eat.CSC      so\_that      2SG-grow.SBJV  
 ‘You should eat so that you will grow.’

b. *ántó nàá òndzí bè òngwólè°*

*<sup>H</sup>-à-n-tó                      †nàá<sup>L</sup>      ò-n-dzí<sup>L</sup>                      bè                      ò-n-gwólè<sup>H</sup>*  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-be.good      COMP      2SG-CSC-eat.CSC      so\_that      2SG-CSC-grow.CSC  
 ‘You should eat so that you will grow.’

(31) *àátáàkì íkòò pǎmb í<sup>+</sup>dzól (nè) bùpà*

*à<sup>-H</sup>-àà-táàkò<sup>H</sup>                      ì-kòò<sup>H</sup>      pǎmbú      ì-dzóló<sup>L</sup>      nè      bùpà*  
 3SG-PST2-PST2-take.PST2      5-spear      for      INF-kill      with      1.animal  
 ‘He took a spear to kill the animal.’

(32) a. *ántáwl òtjikì pǎmbú nàá jè ògwólè°*

*<sup>H</sup>-à-n-táwlè                      òtjikí      pǎmbú      †nàá<sup>L</sup>      jè<sup>H</sup>-n-gwólè<sup>H</sup>*  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-fetch      6.water      for      COMP      3PL-CSC-drink.CSC  
 ‘She fetches water for them to drink.’

- b. ántáwl ñtʃíkì pǒmbú nàá jè gwǒŋʼlé  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-táwlè      ñtʃíkí    pǒmbú    ʼnàá<sup>L</sup>    jè<sup>H</sup>-gwǒŋlé  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-fetch 6.water for      COMP 3PL-drink.SBJV  
 ‘She fetches water for them to drink.’

### 10.6.3 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses take the adverbial <sup>L</sup>tǒǒ interpreted as ‘although’. They can occur in the first clause as well as in the second clause.

- (33)    ñì fèé tààk jè tǒǒ àdʒì bǒǒléŋ  
<sup>H</sup>-ñì    fèé<sup>L</sup>    tààkǒ = jè<sup>H</sup>    <sup>L</sup>tǒǒ      à-dʒì<sup>H</sup>    bǒǒl-éŋ  
 PRS-1SG FUT1 take = 3SG    although 3SG-COP get\_rotten-PART  
 ‘I will take it although it is rotten.’

### 10.6.4 Manner clauses

Manner clauses are introduced *kèkʼ* ‘how’, often realised as *kèkʼ*.

- (34)    ñí màámb ʃèŋl kèk àáʃè jí  
<sup>H</sup>-ñì      n-wàámbó<sup>L</sup>-ʃèŋlè    kèkí<sup>L</sup>    à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-ʃè<sup>H</sup>                      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 PRS-1SG    PRS-NEG-know    how    3SG-PST2-PST2-come    SUB  
 ‘I don’t know how he came.’

## 10.7 Relative clauses

Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses have the same structure and must be interpreted in context. Like the subordinate clauses discussed above, relative clauses are optionally marked by means of the clause-final subordinator *ʃíʼ*. Relative clauses can additionally be introduced by a floating <sup>H</sup> relativiser, which is probably a reflex of a connective relator, but which cannot or no longer agree with the head noun (35b). This connective relator may or may not be preceded by the nominaliser *mòǒ/gwòǒm* (36a) which can be preceded by another connective relator (36b). As it will be shown in the following sections, all positions in the clause are accessible to relativisation.

- (35) a. kòndù nì dʒèè kòò jí  
 kòndù nì dʒèè<sup>H</sup> kòò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.young\_girl 1SG see.PST3 PST3 SUB  
 ‘the young girl I saw...’
- b. kòndù ní dʒèè kòò jí  
 kòndù <sup>H</sup>-nì dʒèè<sup>H</sup> kòò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.young\_girl CON-1SG see.PST3 PST3 SUB  
 ‘the young girl whom I saw...’
- (36) a. kòndù (mòò) ní dʒèè kòò jí  
 kòndù mòò <sup>H</sup>-nì dʒèè<sup>H</sup> kòò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.young\_girl CON-NLNK.SG CON-1SG see.PST3 PST3 SUB  
 ‘the young girl whom I saw...’
- b. kòndù (móò) ní dʒèè kòò jí  
 kòndù <sup>H</sup>-mòò <sup>H</sup>-nì dʒèè<sup>H</sup> kòò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.young\_girl CON-NLNK.SG CON-1SG see.PST3 PST3 SUB  
 ‘the young girl whom I saw...’

Since both the subordinator and the relativiser are optional, relative clauses can be totally unmarked (37-38). In the absence of marking, a subject relative has an ambiguous interpretation. The sentence in (37) may be interpreted as the main clause ‘the man is coming’ (37a) or as the RC ‘the man who is coming’ (37b).

- (37) p<sup>h</sup>ââm jífè°  
 p<sup>h</sup>ââm <sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man PRS-PRS-come  
 a. ‘The man is coming.’  
 b. ‘the man who is coming...’

- (38) kòndù nì dʒèè kóò  
 kòndù nì dʒèè<sup>H</sup> kòò  
 1.young\_girl 1SG see.PST3 PST3  
 ‘the young girl I saw...’

Relative clauses with a plural head noun can also be introduced by the copula *dʒì<sup>H</sup>*.

- (39) àkòndù dʒì ní dʒèè kóò jí  
 à-kòndù dʒì<sup>H</sup> nì dʒèè<sup>H</sup> kòò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 2-young\_girl COP 1SG see.PST PST3 SUB  
 ‘the young girls whom I saw...’

#### 10.7.1 Subject RCs

Subject relative clauses are exemplified in (40).

- (40) a. àp<sup>h</sup>ààm (gwóòm) bá kóò bùpà jí  
 à-p<sup>h</sup>ààm <sup>H</sup>-gwóòm <sup>H</sup>-bà<sup>H</sup> kòò bùpà jí<sup>L</sup>  
 2-man CON-NLNK.PL CON-cut\_up.PST3 PST3 1.animal SUB  
 ‘the men who cut up the meat...’

- b. àp<sup>h</sup>ààm dʒì bá kóò bùpà (jí)  
 à-p<sup>h</sup>ààm dʒì<sup>H</sup> bà<sup>H</sup> kòò bùpà jí<sup>L</sup>  
 2-man COP cut\_up.PST3 PST3 1.animal SUB  
 ‘the men who cut up the meat...’

#### 10.7.2 Object RCs

Object RCs take an optional resumptive pronoun. In (41), the relative clause is the object of a transitive verb. In (42), it is the first object of a ditransitive verb while in (43), it is the second object.

(41) mòmjàà móò nàá dzéé (jé) jí

<sup>L%</sup>mó-mjaa      <sup>H</sup>-mòò      nì-<sup>H</sup>-àà      dzéé = jè<sup>H</sup>      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1-woman      CON-NLNK.SG      1SG-PST2-PST2      see.PST2 = 3SG      SUB  
 ‘the woman whom I saw...’

(42) mð̀n móò fjàl ńfě́ (jé) í̀bùm̀d̀ jí

mð̀-ð̀nó      <sup>H</sup>-mòò      <sup>H</sup>-fjàl      <sup>H</sup>-n-fě́ = jè<sup>H</sup>      ì-bùmó      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1-child      CON-NLNK.SG      CON-daughter\_in\_law      PRS-PRS-give = 3SG      2-fruit      SUB  
 ‘the child to whom the daughter-in-laws is giving fruits...’

(43) a. ìbùm̀d̀ gwóò̀m fjàl ńfě́́ m̀d̀n (dzá) jí

ì-bùmó      <sup>H</sup>-gwòò̀m      <sup>H</sup>-fjàl      <sup>H</sup>-n-fě́      mð̀-ð̀nó      dzà<sup>H</sup>      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 2-fruit      CON-NLNK.PL      CON-1.daughter\_in\_law      PRS-PRS-give      1-child      3PL      SUB  
 ‘the fruits the daughter-in-law is giving to the child...’

b. ìbùm̀d̀ dzí fjàl ńfě́́ m̀d̀n (dzá) jí

ì-bùmó      dzì<sup>H</sup>      fjàl      <sup>H</sup>-n-fě́      mð̀-ð̀nó      dzà<sup>H</sup>      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 2-fruit      COP      1.daughter\_in\_law      PRS-PRS-give      1-child      3PL      SUB  
 ‘the fruits the daughter-in-law is giving to the child...’

### 10.7.3 Oblique RCs and adjunct RCs

#### 10.7.3.1 Instrumental, manner, and comitative RCs

Like object RCs, instrumental, manner, and comitative RCs take an optional resumptive pronoun.

(44) p<sup>h</sup>àám ní n-fě́́ nè (dzè) jí

p<sup>h</sup>àám      <sup>H</sup>-<sup>H</sup>-nì      n-fě́́<sup>L</sup>      nè      dzè<sup>H</sup>      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man      CON-PRS-1SG      PRS-work      with      3SG      SUB  
 ‘the man I work with...’

- (45) mòmjàà àákààf né (dʒɛ̀) jí  
 mò-mjaa      <sup>H</sup>-à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-káàfɔ̃<sup>H</sup>      nè    dʒɛ̀<sup>H</sup>    jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1-woman      CON-3SG-PST2-PST2-talk.PST2    with    3SG    SUB  
 ‘the woman whom he talked to...’

### 10.7.3.2 Locative RCs

In locative RCs the relative tonal marker is interchangeable with the noun *ndòò*<sup>H</sup> ‘place’ (46).

- (46) a. fàà (móò) p<sup>h</sup>ààm dʒì né àndàj jí  
 fàà<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-mòò      <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>ààm      dʒì<sup>H</sup>    nè      à-ndàj      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.village    CON-NLNK.SG    CON-1.man    COP    with    2-cow      SUB  
 ‘the village where the man has cows...’

- b. fàà (ndòò) p<sup>h</sup>ààm dʒì né àndàj jí  
 fàà<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-ndòò<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>ààm      dʒì<sup>H</sup>    nè      à-ndàj      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.village    CON-6.place    CON-1.man    COP    with    2-cow      SUB  
 ‘the village where the man has cows...’

### 10.7.3.3 Temporal RCs

Temporal RCs are illustrated in (47).

- (47) dʒòwù (móò) àáfè jí  
<sup>L%</sup>dʒòwó    <sup>H</sup>-mòò      <sup>H</sup>-à-<sup>H</sup>-àà-fè<sup>H</sup>      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.day      CON-NLNK.SG    CON-3SG-PST2-PST2-come    SUB  
 ‘the day he came...’

### 10.7.3.4 Benefactive RCs

In Benefactive RCs, the use of the resumptive pronoun is obligatory.

- (48) a. p<sup>h</sup>ààm (móò) ní nʃéé pǒmb jé<sup>h</sup>é jí  
 p<sup>h</sup>ààm      <sup>H</sup>-mòò      <sup>H</sup>-<sup>H</sup>-nì      <sup>H</sup>-n-<sup>h</sup>éé<sup>L</sup>      pǒmbú    j-èè<sup>H</sup>      jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man      CON-NLNK.SG    CON-PRS-1SG    PRS-PRS-work    for      PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG.POSS    SUB  
 ‘the man I am working for...’



b. \*p<sup>h</sup>ââm jí ɲʃéé pǒmbú

p<sup>h</sup>ââm    <sup>H</sup>-mòò                    <sup>H</sup>-<sup>H</sup>-ɲì                    <sup>H</sup>-n-ʃéé<sup>L</sup>                    pǒmbú  
 1.man    CON-NLNK.SG    CON-PRS-1SG    PRS-PRS-work    for  
*intended* ‘the man I am working for...’

#### 10.7.4 Noun complement RCs

Example (49) illustrates a RC in which the relativised noun corresponds to a possessor.

(49) p<sup>h</sup>ââm móò gwóòn dʒí òkándà jí

p<sup>h</sup>ââm    <sup>H</sup>-mòò                    <sup>H</sup>-gwò-òno    dʒí<sup>H</sup>    ò-kándà    jí<sup>L</sup>  
 1.man    CON-NLNK.SG    CON-2-child    COP    LOC-abroad    SUB  
 ‘The man whose children are abroad...’

#### 10.8 Conditional clauses

In Kwakum, Realis and Irrealis conditional clauses have the same structure and must be understood in context. The protasis is marked either by the conjunction *kě<sup>L</sup>* ‘if’ or by the conditional marker *bàkà*. They will be discussed in turn. The apodosis is optionally introduced by the conditional marker *pè<sup>H</sup>*. When the protasis precedes the apodosis, it is followed by a short pause represented in the examples below by a comma. As these examples show, the protasis and the apodosis need not to have identical verb tenses.

##### 10.8.1 Conditional clauses with *kě<sup>L</sup>*

The conjunction *kě<sup>L</sup>* ‘if’ is used to introduce the protasis as illustrated in (50)-(51).

(50) kě gwè dʒí kó<sup>h</sup>mbjéŋ, (pè) ófêé kè òdóktà

kě<sup>L</sup>    gwè    dʒí<sup>H</sup>    kòmbjéŋ    pè<sup>H</sup>    ò-fêé<sup>L</sup>    kè    ò-dóktà  
 if    2SG    COP    be\_ill-PART    COND    2SG-FUT1    go    LOC-1.doctor  
 ‘If you are ill, you will go to the doctor.’

(51) a. kě ɲì mbé nè pèŋgè, ɲì mbóòm ní<sup>h</sup>túwà

kě<sup>L</sup>    ɲì    n-bé<sup>L</sup>    nè    pèŋgè,    ɲì    n-bóòmó    òtúwà  
 if    1SG    CSC-be    with    1.money    1SG    CSC-buy.CSC    6.car  
 ‘If I had money I would buy a car.’

b. *kě* nì mbé nè pèngè, pè ní mbóòm nítúwà

*kě*<sup>L</sup> nì n-bé<sup>L</sup> nè pèngè pè<sup>H</sup> nì n-bóòmó nítúwà  
if 1SG CSC-be with 1.money COND 1SG CSC-buy.CSC 6.car

‘If I had money I would buy a car.’

As illustrated in example (52), the construction *kě*<sup>L</sup> + à + CSC + *bé*<sup>L</sup> is often realised as *kǎ*<sup>L</sup>*mbé*.

(52) *kǎ*<sup>L</sup>*mbé* nè pèngè...

*kě*<sup>L</sup> à-n-bé<sup>L</sup> nè pèngè  
if 3SG-CSC-be.CSC with 1.money

‘If I had money...’

#### 10.8.2 Conditional clauses with *bàkà*

Like the conjunction *kě*<sup>L</sup>, the conditional marker *bàkà* is used in the protasis. However, unlike *kě*, *bàkà* is an auxiliary as it exclusively occurs between the subject and the verb. *Bàkà* does not take any tense marker.

(53) òbàkà kè òdóktà, (pè) òó<sup>+</sup>džéé jé

ò-bàkà kè ò-dóktà pè<sup>H</sup> ò<sup>-H</sup>-àà-džéé = jè<sup>H</sup>  
2SG-COND go LOC-1.doctor COND 2SG-PST2-PST2-see.PST2 = 3SG

‘If you had gone to the doctor, you would have seen him.’

(54) nì bàkà bè né pèngè, (pè) ní bóòm nítúwà

nì bàkà bé nè pèngè pè<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-nì bóòmó<sup>L</sup> nítúwà  
1SG COND be with 1.money COND FUT1-1SG buy 6.car

‘If I had money I would buy a car.’

*pè*<sup>H</sup> cannot be used in the apodosis if the verb has an Imperative form.

(55) a. *kě* gwè džì kó<sup>+</sup>mbjéj, kèè ódóktà

*kě*<sup>L</sup> gwè džì<sup>H</sup> kòmbjéj kèè<sup>H</sup> ò-dóktà  
if 2SG COP be\_ill-PART go.IMP LOC-1.doctor

‘If you are ill, go to the doctor.’

b. \*kě gwè dʒì kó<sup>4</sup>mbjéŋ, pè kèè ódóktà

kě<sup>L</sup> gwè dʒì<sup>H</sup> kòmbjéŋ pè<sup>H</sup> kèè<sup>H</sup> ò-dóktà

if 2SG COP be\_ill-PART COND go.IMP LOC-1.doctor

‘If you are ill, go to the doctor.’

The protasis can occur without any conditional marker, provided the verb is used in the Consecutive mood.

(56) jì mbé nè pèŋgè, pè jí fèé bòóm òtúwà

jì n-bé<sup>L</sup> nè pèŋgè pè<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-jì bòóm<sup>L</sup> òtúwà

1SG CSC-be.CSC with 1.money COND FUT1-1SG buy 6.car

‘If I had money I would buy a car.’

## 11. INFORMATION STRUCTURE

## 11.1 Introduction

The present chapter discusses focus (Section 11.2) and topic (Section 11.3).

## 11.2 Focus

Focalisation can be encoded on every constituent of the sentence.

## 11.2.1 Focus on nominal constituents

Focus on nominal constituents can be encoded with the focus markers *ʃɪ<sup>H</sup>* or *ndèè*, both being interchangeable. Syntactically, they differ from each other in that the former is postposed to the focussed constituent while the latter is preposed to it.

(1) a. àp<sup>h</sup>àám ʃɪ ndzì búpà wé

à-p <sup>h</sup> àám	ʃɪ <sup>H</sup>	<sup>H</sup> -n-dzì <sup>H</sup>	bùpà	w-é
2-man	FOC	PRS-PRS-eat	1.animal	PP <sub>1</sub> -ANAPH

‘MEN eat that meat.’

b. ndèè àp<sup>h</sup>àám jídzì búpà wé

ndèè	à-p <sup>h</sup> àám	<sup>H</sup> -n-dzì <sup>H</sup>	bùpà	w-é
FOC	2-man	PRS-PRS-eat	1.animal	PP <sub>1</sub> -ANAPH

‘MEN eat that meat.’

(2) a. ípûné ʃɪ mómjáá ndàámbú p<sup>h</sup>òngò jí

ípûné <sup>L</sup>	ʃɪ <sup>H</sup>	mó-mjaa	<sup>H</sup> -n-dàámbó <sup>L</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> òngò	jí <sup>L</sup>
now	FOC	1-woman	PRS-PRS-cook	1.maize	SUB

‘It is now that the woman is cooking the maize.’

- b. ndèè ípûné mómjáá ndàámbú p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí  
 ndèè ípûné<sup>L</sup> móm-mjaa <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 FOC now 1-woman PRS-PRS-cook 1.maize SUB  
 ‘It is now that the woman is cooking the maize.’

As illustrated below, Focus can be intensified by stacking the focalisation markers.

- (3) ndèè àp<sup>h</sup>àám í ndzì búpà wé  
 ndèè à-p<sup>h</sup>àám í<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-dzì<sup>H</sup> búpà w-é  
 FOC 2-man FOC PRS-PRS-eat 1.animal PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH  
 ‘MEN eat that meat.’

Focus can also be expressed by cleft constructions introduced by *àjì* ‘it is’ (4) or the presentative *dzí* (5). The construction ends with the optional subordinating marker *jí* as in relative clauses.

- (4) àjì mómjáá í ndàámbú p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí  
 à-jì<sup>H</sup> móm-mjaa í<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí<sup>L</sup>  
 3SG-COP 2-woman FOC PRS-PRS-cook 1.maize SUB  
 ‘It is the woman who is cooking the maize.’

- (5) dzí p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò í mómjáá ndàámbú jí  
<sup>H</sup>dzì<sup>H</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò í<sup>H</sup> móm-mjaa <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup> jí<sup>L</sup>  
 COP 1.maize FOC 1-woman PRS-PRS-cook SUB  
 ‘It is maize that the woman is cooking.’

An atypical focus strategy is observed in the appositional construction presented in (7). This example consists of a possessive construction involving two nouns, in which the focussed possessee is modified by a possessive pronoun. In this construction, the focussed possessee cannot occur at the beginning of the construction, unlike in ordinary possessive constructions (see Chapter 5). Compare the two possessive constructions proposed in (6) and (7). The first is focus-neutral while the latter has a focussed possessee.

- (6) mbél ítóó  
 mbél<sup>L</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 1.door      CON-5-house  
 ‘the door of the house’

- (7) ítóó mbél èè°  
 ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-mbél<sup>L</sup>      w-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 5-house      CON-1.door      PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 ‘the door of the house’ (not its window for example)

Likewise, in the case of recursive possessive modification, the focussed possessee is marked by a possessive pronoun (8). The focussed constituent, which is extraposed, can occupy any position in the construction, except the utterance initial position.

- (8) a. ítóó p<sup>h</sup>ǎ̀n mbél èè°  
 ì-tóó<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>ǎ̀n<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-mbél<sup>H</sup>      w-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 5-house      CON-1.chief      CON-1.door      PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 ‘the door of the house of the chief’ (not the window of this house for example)
- b. p<sup>h</sup>ǎ̀n mbél èè° ítóó  
 p<sup>h</sup>ǎ̀n<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-mbél<sup>L</sup>      w-èè<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 1.chief      CON-1.door      PP<sup>1</sup>-3SG.POSS      CON-5-house  
 ‘the door of the house of the chief’ (not the window of this house for example)

When the construction contains a secondary focus, the primary focus occurs at the end of the construction. In example (9), the primary focus is marked by a double underlining while the constituent with the secondary focus has a single underlining.

(9) p<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃n ítóó lǰéé mbéí ɛ̃ɛ°

p<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃n<sup>H</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>      lǰ-éɛ<sup>L</sup>      mbéí<sup>L</sup>      w-ɛ̃ɛ<sup>H</sup>  
 1.chief      CON-5-house      PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS      1.door      PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS

‘The door of the house of the chief’ (not the window of his car for example)

Finally, focus on the possessor mainly occurs in the construction POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + CON + NOUN.

(10) gwáàmb ítóó

gwáàmbó      <sup>H</sup>-ì-tóó<sup>L</sup>  
 1SG.POSS.SG      CON-5-house

‘My house’ (not the house of someone else)

### 11.2.2 Focus on the verb

Like nominal constituents, verbs are focalised by means of the focus marker *fɪ<sup>H</sup>* or *ndèè*. However, with verbs *ndèè* must be used post-verbally, like the focus marker *fɪ<sup>H</sup>*.

(11) a. mómjáá ndàámbú ʃì p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò

mó-mjaa      <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup>      ʃì<sup>H</sup>      p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 1-woman      PRS-PRS-cook      FOC      1.maize

‘The woman is just cooking the maize.’ (she is not doing something else)

b. mómjáá dàámbú ndèè p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò

mó-mjaa      <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup>      ndèè      p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 1-woman      PRS-PRS-cook      FOC      1.maize

‘The woman is just cooking the maize.’ (she is not doing something else)

Stacking of focus markers is also permitted with verbs, in order to intensify focalisation. There seems not to be any ordering constraint here.

- (12) a. mómjáá ndàámbú ʃi ndèè p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 mó-mjaa      <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup>    ʃi<sup>H</sup>    ndèè p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 1-woman      PRS-PRS-cook    FOC    FOC    1.maize  
 ‘The woman is really just cooking the maize.’

- b. mómjáá ndàámbú ndèè ʃi p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 mó-mjaa      <sup>H</sup>-n-dàámbó<sup>L</sup>    ndèè    ʃi<sup>H</sup>    p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò  
 1-woman      PRS-PRS-cook    FOC    FOC    1.maize  
 ‘The woman is really just cooking the maize.’

Focus on the verb can also be marked by the Imperfective marker *dʒi°/ji°* (13) or the auxiliaries *dʒíkàà* (14) and *kún* (15). Some examples are provided below.

- (13) òjì dàá<sup>h</sup>ló  
 ò-jì<sup>H</sup>      dàá<sup>L</sup>ló<sup>L</sup>  
 2SG-IPFV    sleep  
 ‘You are sleeping! [instead of doing something else].’

- (14) m̀̀̀n méé dàá<sup>h</sup>ló. ándʒíkàà tʃèwò  
 m̀̀̀-̀̀nó      <sup>H</sup>-n-wéé<sup>L</sup>      dàá<sup>L</sup>ló<sup>L</sup>      <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dʒíkàà      tʃèwò  
 1-child      PRS-PRS-NEG    sleep      PRS-3SG-PRS-AUX    play  
 ‘The child does not sleep. He is instead playing.’

- (15) p<sup>h</sup>àám kùn kòò dʒi°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám    kùn<sup>H</sup>      kòò    dʒi<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man    AUX.PST3    PST3    eat  
 ‘The man just ate.’

The form *kún* can also be used out of the verb phrase as illustrated in (16). Other than possible stylistic preference, there seems to be no difference between the sentence in (15) and the one in (16).



- (16) kùn p<sup>h</sup>àám dzì kòò  
 kùn p<sup>h</sup>àám dzì<sup>H</sup> kòò  
 FOC 1.man eat.PST3 PST3  
 ‘The man just ate.’

### 11.3 Topic

As illustrated in examples (17)-(20), Topicalization is achieved by fronting the topicalised constituent. When a verb object is fronted, its initial position is either left empty (Y-movement) (18a, 19a and 20a) or filled with a resumptive pronoun (L-dislocation) (18b, 19b and 20b).

- (17) p<sup>h</sup>àám àfèé fè°  
 p<sup>h</sup>àám à-fèé<sup>L</sup> fè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.man 3SG.FUT1 come  
 ‘[As for] the man, he will come.’

- (18) a. fón wé jé dzíkɸ̩ kókljé ↓né  
 fón w-é <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup> dzík-fè kòkljé †né<sup>L</sup>  
 1.wood PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH FUT1-3PL burn-CAUS in\_the\_evening DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘That wood, they will burn it this evening.’

- b. fón wé jé dzíkɸ̩ jè kókljé ↓né  
 fón w-é <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup> dzík-fè = jè<sup>H</sup> kòkljé †né<sup>L</sup>  
 1.wood PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH FUT1-3PL burn-CAUS = 3SG in\_the\_evening DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘That wood, they will burn it this evening.’

- (19) a. m̀̀n é p<sup>h</sup>àám mé<sup>+</sup>fé mángòlò  
 m̀̀-̀̀n w-é p<sup>h</sup>àám <sup>H</sup>-mè-fé mángòlò  
 1-child PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH 1.man PST2-PST2-give.PST2 1.mango  
 ‘[To] that child the man gave a mango.’



- c. gwòòn nàá 'dʒéé jé 'né dʒè°  
 gwò-ònò nì<sup>-H</sup>-àà dʒéé jè<sup>H</sup> nè dʒè<sup>H</sup>  
 2-child 1SG-PST2-PST2 see.PST2 3SG with 3SG  
 '[As for] the children, I saw them (him and him).'

- (22) kááfèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fèé 'fèé pǒmbú jé'é  
 kááfèl p<sup>h</sup>àám fèé<sup>L</sup> fèé<sup>L</sup> pǒmbú j-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.king 1.man FUT1 work for PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 'The king, the man will work for him.'

Pronouns cannot be topicalised without a resumptive pronoun.

- (23) a. dʒà nàá 'dʒéé já  
 dʒà<sup>H</sup> nì<sup>-H</sup>-àà dʒéé = já<sup>H</sup>  
 3PL 1SG-PST2-PST2 see.PST2 = 3PL  
 '[As for] them, I saw them.'
- b. \*dʒà nàá dʒéé \_\_\_\_\_
- (24) a. dí(òò) p<sup>h</sup>àám mé'fè jé 'mángòlò  
 dí(òò)<sup>H</sup> p<sup>h</sup>àám <sup>H</sup>-mè-fé jè<sup>H</sup> mángòlò  
 1SG + 2SG 1.man PST2-PST2-give.PST2 1PL 1.mango  
 'To me and you, the man gave us mangoes.'
- b. \*dí(òò) p<sup>h</sup>àám mé'fè mángòlò \_\_\_\_\_

There are some co-occurrence restrictions between anteposed topical pronouns and resumptive pronouns. Both cannot be dual pronouns, for instance.

- (25) a. jápèè nàá 'bóóm já 'mángólò  
 jápèè<sup>H</sup> nì<sup>-H</sup>-àà bóóm = já<sup>H</sup> mángólò  
 3SG + 3SG 1SG-PST2-PST2 buy.PST2 = 3PL 1.mango  
 'Him and him, I bought them mangoes.'
- b. \*jápèè nàá 'bóóm 'jápèè mángólò

Topicalised arguments introduced by a preposition can be fronted with their preposition (26). Alternatively, this preposition can remain *in situ*, in which case a resumptive pronoun is required (27), except for the preposition *nè* ‘with’ with which the use of a resumptive pronoun is optional (28).

- (26) pǒmbú kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé ʃ́éé  
 pǒmbú kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃ́éé<sup>L</sup>  
 for 1.king 1.man FUT1 work  
 ‘For the king, the man will work.’

- (27) a. kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé ʃ́éé pǒmb j́éé  
 kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃ́éé<sup>L</sup> pǒmbú j-éé<sup>L</sup>  
 1.king 1.man FUT1 work for PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 ‘The king, the man will work for him.’

b. \*kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêéʃ́éé pǒmb \_\_\_\_\_

- (28) nè kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé ʃ́éé  
 nè kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃ́éé<sup>L</sup>  
 with 1.king 1.man FUT1 work  
 ‘With the king, the man will work.’

- (29) a. kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêéʃ́éé nè dʒè<sup>o</sup>  
 kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃ́éé<sup>L</sup> nè dʒè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.king 1.man FUT1 work with 3SG  
 ‘The king, the man will work with him.’

b. kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêéʃ́éé nè \_\_\_\_\_  
 kááʃ̀èl p<sup>h</sup>àám fêé<sup>L</sup> ʃ́éé<sup>L</sup> nè  
 1.king 1.man FUT1 work with  
 ‘The king, the man will work with him.’

Finally, in a ditransitive construction, the theme cannot be topicalised if it is a pronoun.

(30) a. máŋgòlò p<sup>h</sup>àám méfè móòn é (dʒé)

máŋgòlò	p <sup>h</sup> àám	<sup>H</sup> -mè-fé	mò-òńó	w-é	dʒé <sup>H</sup>
1.mango	1.man	PST2-PST2-give.PST2	1-child	PP <sub>1</sub> -ANAPH	3SG

‘The mango the man gave [it] to that child.’

b. \*dʒè p<sup>h</sup>àám mé<sup>+</sup>fè móòn é (dʒé)

dʒè <sup>H</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> àám	<sup>H</sup> -mè-fé	mò-òńó	w-é	dʒè <sup>H</sup>
3SG	1.man	PST2-PST2-give	1-child	PP <sub>1</sub> -ANAPH	3SG

*intended* ‘[As for] it, the man gave it to that child.’

## 12. GENERAL CONCLUSION

### 12.1 Introduction

This chapter is organised as follows: Section 12.2 gives a summary of the analysis presented in this thesis and Section 12.3 addresses problematic cases which requires further investigation.

### 12.2 Summary of the study

Kwakum has a series of 28 consonants, among which aspirated and labiovelar stops. Its seven-vowel system is marked by contrastive length. The phonological rules attested in the language are: palatalisation, nasalisation, homorganic nasal assimilation and non-prepausal vowel deletion. The tone analysis is based on the distinction H vs. L vs.  $\emptyset$ . The Kwakum tone system is marked by floating tones among which a boundary low tone. The tonal processes discussed in this work are Floating Tone Association, Tone Spreading and Downstep.

The noun class system is considerably reduced and correspondences with the PB noun classes are still not clear. There are eight morphological classes (*mò-*, *gwò-*, *à-*, *ì-*, *kì-*, *î-*, *n-* and  $\emptyset$ -) marking number, and five noun classes (1, 2, 5, 6 and 7) which determine agreement. The noun phrase is the only domain where noun class agreement is observed. There is a default agreement pattern triggered by singular nouns: they can trigger agreement of their own classes or of class 1. This suggests an ongoing breakdown of the noun class system.

Nominal derivation strategies are not easy to identify. In many instances nouns are derived from verbs by the addition of a class prefix to the verb stem. However, in the other types of derivational relations, there is no straightforward way to decide which is derived from which. Sometimes the addition of a prefix is accompanied by a change in the stem which may be segmental, tonal or both.

In addition to simple pronouns, Kwakum has a set of four dual number pronouns which may originate from possessive pronouns. Possessive pronouns present allomorphs whose choice is determined by the noun class of the modified noun (as concerns dependent possessives) or

by the number of the antecedent (as concerns independent possessives). Possessive pronouns and demonstratives occur after the modified noun.

Connective constructions have the structure R1 + CON + R2. The connective marker, which is a floating H, may be omitted. The relation between R1 and R2 is so complex that the syntactic head of a connective construction may not necessarily be the semantic head. It has been shown that R1 and R2 can be occupied by a variety of grammatical categories (noun, pronoun, verb, etc.).

Kwakum has a nominaliser-linker *mòò* (PL *gwòòm*), originating from the noun *mòmó* ‘person’ (PL *gwòmó*), and used to introduce adnominal modifiers and relative clauses. In cardinal adnominal use, Kwakum numbers are postposed to the noun they modify. Numbers 1-5 can also be the first relatum in a connective construction, in which case the resulting NP has a definite interpretation. Quantifiers occur in a variety of constructions some of which involve a connective relator and others not.

Like quantifiers, qualifiers may be used in different constructions involving a connective relator or not. Qualifiers are classified into dedicated qualifiers and referring-qualifying nouns. Dedicated qualifiers, which can only have an attributive or a predicative function, consist of underived qualifiers and derived qualifiers. The latter are formed by adding an adjectival suffix (*-áa*, *-áàwé<sup>H</sup>*) or a participial suffix (*-éŋ* / *-áŋ*) to (mostly) a verb stem. Referring-qualifying nouns can either be interpreted as referring expressions or as qualifiers, depending on the context and the construction in which they occur. The word order within the NP is HN - {QUAL, QUANT, POSS, ANA, CON} - REL - DEM.

Almost all Kwakum verb stems end in a vowel. Verb-to-verb derivation involves the use of four derivational suffixes viz. *-jè* (causative), *-lè* (causative, decausative, reversal, intensive), *-àà* (passive, reciprocal, reflexive, middle voice) and *-jè* (middle voice). There is no applicative derivation. Beneficiaries are marked by means of the preposition *pǎmbú*. Verbal derivation is not productive in Kwakum in that derivational suffixes cannot be used with most verbs. As a remedy to this situation, causation and passivisation are expressed by means of periphrastic constructions.

Kwakum has “ambipositions”, used as postpositions with nominal complements and as prepositions with pronominal complements. Except for the comitative-instrumental-agentive preposition *nè*, adpositions in Kwakum all originate from nouns in a connective

construction, which is synchronically evidenced by the fact that they take possessive pronouns as pronominal complements.

The basic aspectual opposition observed in Kwakum is the opposition Perfective-Imperfective. The Perfective is unmarked while the Imperfective is marked by means of an auxiliary (*ji<sup>h</sup>~dʒi<sup>h</sup>, jɔki<sup>h</sup>*). There are 14 tense-aspect combinations of the Indicative mood. Non-indicative moods include the Imperative, the Subjunctive and the Consecutive. Tense marking involves the use of tense auxiliaries or affixes which may be combined with a replacive tone scheme assigned to the verb stem. Verb stems are categorised into verb classes, a verb class referring to a group of verb stems which occur with the same replacive tone scheme. Fourteen verb classes have been identified.

The negative marker originates from a possessive pronoun and its position within the verb phrase varies from one tense to another. The negative marker occurs before the verb stem in the present and future tenses, and in non-Indicative moods. In the past tenses, the negative marker is found after the verb stem. Auxiliaries are organised into three groups: modal auxiliaries, auxiliaries encoding phasal polarity and auxiliaries encoding aspectual notions.

Kwakum is a SVO language and also presents instances of non-verbal clauses involving two nouns, a noun/pronoun and a demonstrative, a noun and the complementiser, or a noun and the comitative-instrumental-agentive preposition *nɛ̀*. The complements of all Kwakum adpositions are accessible to relativisation and focalisation but only *nɛ̀* can be stranded. The other adpositions require a resumptive pronoun. In contrast, the complement of an adposition is not accessible to passivisation.

In ditransitive clauses, the Recipient (R) precedes the Theme (T), unless R is a human noun and T a pronoun, in which case both arguments can switch their positions while keeping the same interpretation.

Polar questions are marked intonationally by a rising tone on the last syllable of the sentence, which optionally takes a velar nasal. In contrast, information questions are formed by replacing the questioned constituent by an interrogative, which remains in situ. Alternatively, interrogatives can occur in the clause initial position of a focus construction. In this construction, the sentence optionally ends with the subordinating marker *ji<sup>ʔ</sup>* which takes a falling intonation.



Conjunctive coordinators occur between the conjuncts. Subordinate clauses are introduced by a subordinating conjunction and optionally marked by the subordinating marker *jí*. Like other subordinate clauses, relative clauses are optionally marked by means of the clause-final subordinator *jí*. They can additionally be marked with an optional connective relator, which is a floating <sup>H</sup>. This relative marker may or may not be preceded by the nominaliser *mòò/gwòòm* which can be preceded by another tonal relative marker. All positions in the clause are accessible to relativisation.

In Kwakum, Realis and Irrealis conditional clauses have the same structure and must be understood in context. The protasis is marked either by the conjunction *ké* ‘if’ or by the conditional marker *bàkà*. The apodosis is optionally introduced by the conditional marker *pé*.

Focalisation can be encoded on every constituent of the sentence. Focus on a nominal constituent can be marked by a focus marker (*jí* or *ndèè*), by a cleft construction introduced by *àjì* ‘it is’ or by a possessive construction involving two nouns, in which the focussed possessee is modified by a possessive pronoun. Focus on the possessor mainly occurs in the construction POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + CON + NOUN.

Verbs are focalised by means of a focus marker (*jí* or *ndèè*) or an auxiliary (*jí~dží*, *kún*, *džíkàà*). Topicalisation is achieved by fronting the topicalised constituent. When a verb object is fronted, its initial position is either left empty (Y-movement) or filled with a resumptive pronoun (L-dislocation). The resumptive pronoun can have various forms: a personal pronoun, possibly dual, a phrasal construction combining two personal pronouns or a possessive pronoun. There are some co-occurrence restrictions between anteposed topical pronouns and resumptive pronouns as both cannot be dual pronouns. In a ditransitive construction, the theme cannot be topicalised if it is a pronoun.

### 12.3 Unresolved problems

In the course of my analysis I came across many phenomena which are difficult to account for and which require further investigation. This section aims at listing these unresolved issues.

### 12.3.1 Tonology

Given the complexity of the Kwakum tonal system, more research is needed to understand idiosyncratic tonal behaviours such as words with an initial low tone that become rising when a preceding high tone attaches to it, versus the expected high or falling tone (e.g. /<sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò/ → p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò ‘of the maize’). Another problematic case is seen with words such as p<sup>h</sup>ìŋgá ‘peanut’, bùjé ‘nine’ which can only take an incoming L and which is tonally invariable after a H.

Another tonal phenomenon that cannot be straightforwardly represented in the current description and deserves more attention concerns a number of morphemes that change the final low tone of a preceding word to a high. As argued in Chapter 2, this situation cannot be represented by means of an initial floating H, which would be expected to attach to the right, rather than to the left. In this grammar, this tonal behaviour was transcribed in the underlying representation by an upward arrow. Examples are the complementiser *ʔnàá*, interrogative *ʔfē* ‘where’ and the near-speaker demonstrative *ʔnē*.

I showed that verbal derivation and tense marking involve the use of a replacive tone scheme which are difficult to account for synchronically. More research on this issue will help to understand how these tone schemes are actually assigned.

### 12.3.2 Morphosyntax

One domain where Kwakum differs from other Bantu languages concerns adpositions among which “ambipositions”. Apart from the preposition *pǎmbú* ‘for’ (< *pòmbú* ‘face’), the lexical source of these adpositions is still unknown and therefore could constitute an interesting research topic.

Another area that requires more investigation concerns forms and constructions which seem to be synonymous but which may present pragmatic differences. Some examples of such forms are *nén* ‘like this, like that’ vs. *núu* ‘like this, like that’; *kì-pjàpjà* ‘a bit of’ vs. *kòŋàáŋí* ‘a bit of’. Examples of constructions with such characteristics include the Present tense form <sup>H</sup>-(SM)n-STEM (*áj’dzí* ‘he is eating’) vs. the periphrastic form (SM-)jòkù<sup>H</sup> STEM (*ájòkù dzí* ‘he is eating’). Analysing more texts could help to find contexts where these forms and constructions differ from each other and how they are actually used in the language.

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## APPENDICES

The appendices contained in this work include a Kwakum-French lexicon and two spontaneous texts transcribed, glossed and translated. In accordance with the analysis proposed in this work, the surface representation of the data presented in this section is their phonetic realisation.

In order to give the reader an idea of the tonal behaviour of each entry of the lexicon, the surface representation is followed by the underlying representation.

The texts provided here consist of a narrative text and a speech. The speaker in the first text tends to produce almost all consonants with some aspiration. To avoid confusion, I have transcribed consonants as they are realised by speakers which distinguish between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants. In the two texts, I chose not to transcribe instances of mispronunciation, slips of the tongue or hesitation which may give utterances ambiguous or false interpretations.

## APPENDIX 1: Kwakum-french lexicon

## a

- àbènggé** /àbènggé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* cloche. *Pl:* à-àbènggé.
- á'bó'lá** /ábó'lá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* grenouille (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-á'bó'lá.
- ábómbjè** /ábómbjè/ *n.* champignon  
comestible qui pousse sur le  
tronc du corossolier  
sauvage. *Pl:* à-ábómbjè.
- ádátá délèm°** /ádata délèm<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* lézard  
(sp.).  
*Pl:* à-ádátá délèm.
- ádòṅ** /ádòṅ/ *n.* rythme de musique (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-ádòṅ.
- áfúfújè** /áfufujè/ *n.* herbe (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-áfúfújè.
- ájàngà** /ájàngà/ *n.* répertoire de musique  
(sp.).  
*Pl:* à-ájàngà.
- ákàlá** /ákàlá/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-ákàlá.
- á'ká'ndá** /ákándá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* gazon. *Pl:*  
à-á'ká'ndá.
- ákóòkè** /ákóòkè/ *n.* lézard (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-ákóòkè.
- ákóòlé** /ákóòlé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* balançoire. *Pl:*  
à-ákóòlé.
- á'kpátá** /ákpátá/ *n.* grenouille (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-á'kpátá.
- álíkì** /álikì/ *n.* whisky local. *Pl:* à-álíkì.
- ám̀b̀amb̀aló** /ám̀b̀amb̀aló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* guêpe. *Pl:*  
à-ám̀b̀amb̀aló.
- ám̀b̀ejáà** /ám̀b̀ejáà/ *n.* pêche féminine  
(sp.).
- ám̀bé̀lè** /ám̀bé̀lè/ *n.* plante (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-ám̀bé̀lè.
- á'mó'ṅ** /ámó'ṅ/ *n.* anguille. *Pl:* à-á'mó'ṅ.
- á'ṅóṅó** /áṅóṅó/ *n.* herbe (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-á'ṅóṅó.
- áṅòṣù** /áṅòṣù/ *n.* oignon. *Pl:* à-áṅòṣù.
- áṅgíṣà** /áṅgíṣà/ *n.* foulard. *Pl:* à-áṅgíṣà.
- áṅgóójè** /áṅgóójè/ *n.* cithare. *Pl:*  
à-áṅgóójè.
- áṅgwóóṣé** /áṅgwóóṣé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* libellule. *Pl:*  
à-áṅgwóóṣé.
- ápě** /ápě<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* guêpe (sp.). *Pl:* à-ápě.
- àpélé** /àpélé/ *n.* cache-sexe. *Pl:* à-àpélé.
- ápúlá pjàá'ṣé** /ápula pjàá'ṣé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* papillon.  
*Pl:* à-ápúlá pjàá'ṣé.
- àṣílà pòndó** /àṣílà pòndó/ *n.* animal  
mystique (sp.). *Pl:* à-àṣílà pòndó.
- átíṅljàà** /átíṅljàà/ *n.* tourbillon.
- átṣáljà** /átṣáljà/ *n.* piment (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-átṣáljà.



## b

- bà** /bà/ *v.* dépecer; opérer.
- bàà** /bàà/ *v.* lancer la ligne dans l'eau.
- bàà** /bàà/ *v.* apprêter un piège.
- bàà** /bàà/ *n.* noix de kola. *Pl:* à-bàà.
- bàà** /bàà/ *n.* plantain. *Pl:* à-bàà.
- bààjá** /bààjá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* liane (sp.).
- bàá'kó** /bàá'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* plier a plusieurs reprises (vêtement).
- bààkò** /bààkò/ *v.* couler (cours d'eau).
- bààkò** /bààkò/ *v.* longer ; côtoyer (fleuve, route).
- bààkò** /bààkò/ *v.* éviter.
- bááló** /bááló/ *n.* fruit (sp.). *Pl:* à-bááló.
- bààlò** /bààlò/ *v.* avertir.
- bàá'mó** /bàá'mó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* gronder.
- bààmò** /bààmò/ *v.* renverser.
- bàá'ndó** /bàá'ndó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* attacher, lier
- bààndò** /bààndò/ *v.* décortiquer.
- bààndò** /bààndò/ *v.* briller; éclairer.
- bààndzé** /bààndzé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-bààndzé.
- bàá'ndzó** /bàá'ndzó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* chanter (perdrix).
- bábáálè** /bábaalè/ *n.* poisson (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-bábáálè.
- bàjàà** /bàj-àà/ *v.* être opéré.
- bákà** /bákà/ *n.* pygmée.
- bákáà** /bák-áà/ *v.* se plier.
- bàkí** /bàkí/ *n.* objet (sp.). *Pl:* à-bàkí.
- báklàà** /bákl-àà/ *v.* se séparer.
- báklàà** /bákl-àà/ *v.* veiller l'un sur l'autre.
- báklè** /báklè/ *v.* diminuer; sevrer.
- báklè** /báklè/ *v.* servir (repas).
- báklè** /báklè/ *v.* séparer.
- báklè** /báklè/ *v.* garder.
- bákfè** /bákfè/ *v.* veiller sur.
- bákfè** /bákfè/ *v.* rassembler.
- bákfè** /bákfè/ *v.* cajoler.
- bàl** /bàl/ *n.* jeu (sp.).
- bàl°** /bàl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-bàl°.
- bàlàà** /bàl-àà/ *v.* s'avertir.
- bàlókò** /bàlókò/ *n.* danse (sp.). *Pl:* à-bàlókò.
- bàmbú** /bàmbú/ *n.* fruit (sp.). *Pl:* à-bàmbú.
- bàmbula gwó'ljé** /bàmbula gwó'ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* scorpion. *Pl:* à-bàmbú'lá gwó'ljé.
- bám'láà** /bám'l-áà/ *v.* se gronder.
- bám'lè** /bám'lè/ *v.* gronder.
- bànáàwè°** /bàn-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* brillant.
- bàndáà** /bànd-áà/ *v.* s'attacher ; être attaché.
- bàndáà** /bàndáà/ *aux.* finalement.
- bàndàà** /bànd-àà/ *v.* être décortiqué.
- bàngà** /bàngà/ *n.* chanvre indien.
- bàŋlè** /bàŋlè/ *v.* répondre.
- bàŋlè** /bàŋlè/ *v.* ouvrir (oreilles).
- bàplè** /bàplè/ *v.* porter, transporter
- bàfà** /bàfà/ *n.* piment. *Pl:* à-bàfà.

- bàw°** /bàw<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* grand-père. *Pl:* à-bàw°.
- bè** /bè/ *conj.* afin que.
- bèè** /bèè/ *v.* suivre.
- béèfè** /béè-fè/ *v.* faire cuire.
- bèètàà** /bèètàà/ *n.* feu. *Pl:* à-bèètàà.
- béki** /béki/ *n.* fête. *Pl:* à-béki.
- bèkì** /bèkì/ *n.* parenté; tribu. *Pl:* àbèkì.
- béklè** /béklè/ *v.* bavarder; chahuter.
- bé'ís** /bé'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* cuire.
- bémbú** /bémbú/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-bémbú.
- bènàà** /bèn-àà/ *v.* se refuser à quelqu'un.
- bèndò** /bèndò/ *v.* monter.
- bènò** /bènò/ *v.* refuser.
- bèṅé** /bèṅé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* anus. *Pl:* à-bèṅé.
- bé'jé** /bé'jé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* monter.
- bé'jé** /bé'jé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se lever; grandir.
- bé'jí** /bé'jí<sup>B</sup>/ *adj.* cru.
- béjìè** /béjìè/ *v.* faire monter; soulever.
- bé'tjé** /bé'tjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* amasser.
- bé** /bé/ *v.* être.
- bèèfè** /bèè-fè/ *v.* faire mûrir; allumer.
- bèl** /bèl/ *n.* cuisse. *Pl:* à-bèl.
- bèlàà** /bèl-àà/ *v.* être cultivé.
- bèlàà** /bèlàà/ *v.* avoir des rapport  
sexuels.
- bèlò** /bèlò/ *v.* planter, cultiver, semer
- bèmbè** /bèmbè/ *n.* personne espiègle. *Pl:*  
à-bèmbè.
- bèndàà** /bènd-àà/ *v.* se regarder.
- bèndò** /bèndò/ *v.* regarder.
- bèndò** /bèndò/ *v.* visiter (piège).
- bèndò** /bèndò/ *v.* absenter quelqu'un.
- bètààwè°** /bèt-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* rouge; mûr(e).
- bètò** /bètò/ *v.* rougir; mûrir.
- bètò** /bètò/ *v.* éclairer; éclairer.
- bíjà** /bíjà/ *n.* bière. *Pl:* à-bíjà.
- bíkàà** /bík-àà/ *v.* être remué.
- bíkò** /bíkò/ *v.* remuer.
- bíkò** /bíkò/ *v.* pagayer.
- bímíbímím** /bímimbim<sup>B</sup>/ *ideo.* action  
répétée.
- bímjè** /bímjè/ *v.* rendre; rembourser.
- bìmtàà** /bìmtàà/ *v.* rentrer.
- bìjìlàà** /bìjì-àà/ *v.* se séparer.
- bìjìè** /bìjìè/ *v.* laisser (en présence de  
quelqu'un).
- bítàà** /bít-àà/ *v.* s'enrouler.
- bítlè** /bítlè/ *v.* bien serrer.
- bítlè** /bítlè/ *v.* bien donner le rythme.
- bít'wó** /bít'wó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* enrouler.
- bìwáà** /bìw-àà/ *v.* se frapper.
- bìwáàwè°** /bìw-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* épais;  
lourd(e).
- bít'wó** /bít'wó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* frapper.
- bìwò** /bìwò/ *v.* être épais.
- bìwjè** /bìw-jè/ *v.* rendre épais.
- bjàá'ís** /bjàá'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* gronder a plusieurs  
reprises et à haute voix.
- bjààmbè** /bjààmbè/ *n.* écureuil (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-bjààmbè.
- bjààṅdò** /bjààṅdò/ *v.* être acide.
- bjàṅdòzáàwè°** /bjàṅdò-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* acide.
- bjàṅdòzè** /bjàṅdòzè/ *v.* désobéir; mépriser,

- négliger.
- bjèlàà** /bjèlàà/ *v.* rapporter des provisions (chasse ou pêche).
- bjèlò** /bjèlò/ *v.* chasser.
- bjèlò** /bjèlò/ *v.* tenir; garder (quelque chose pour quelqu'un)
- bjèlò** /bjèlò/ *v.* saluer.
- bóklè** /bóklè/ *v.* tapoter.
- bò** /bò/ *aux.* déjà.
- bók'kó** /bók'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* frapper.
- bók'kó** /bók'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* jouer d'un instrument.
- bòkò** /bòkò/ *v.* extraire (miel, larves).
- bòkú** /bòkú/ *conj.* lorsque.
- bòl°** /bòl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* chance. *Pl:* à-bòl°.
- bòmàà** /bòmàà/ *v.* rencontrer (personnes).
- bómbó** /bómbó/ *n.* repas sous forme de paquet.
- bòmjà** /bòm-jà/ *v.* éclater.
- bòmjà** /bòmjà/ *v.* clouer; marteler.
- bòmjà** /bòmjà/ *v.* casser.
- bòmjàà** /bòmjà-à/ *v.* se rencontrer (choses).
- bòmjà** /bòmjà/ *v.* joindre, relier.
- bók'ndó** /bók'ndó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* attendre.
- bók'ndó** /bók'ndó<sup>B</sup>/ *aux.* incertitude.
- bòndzè** /bòndzè/ *v.* créer.
- bòndzè** /bòndzè/ *v.* relier.
- bòndzù** /bòndzù/ *n.* chaume. *Pl:* à-bòndzù.
- bòndzù** /bòndzù/ *v.* penser, se souvenir.
- bót'fè** /bót'fè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fossé. *Pl:* à-bót'fè.
- bòjè** /bòjè/ *v.* durer.
- bòklè** /bòklè/ *v.* investiguer.
- bòljàà** /bòljàà/ *v.* se venger.
- bòmáà** /bòm-áà/ *v.* s'acheter.
- bòmbljè** /bòmbljè/ *n.* épervier. *Pl:* à-bòmbljè.
- bómjàà** /bóm-jà-à/ *v.* vendre.
- bòndàkì** /bòndàkì/ *n.* terre; sol. *Pl:* à-bòndàkì.
- bónj** /bónj/ *n.* huitre (sp.). *Pl:* à-bónj.
- bóó°** /bóó<sup>H</sup>/ *aux.* déjà
- bòdòlò** /bòdòlò/ *v.* pourrir.
- bòdòmbò** /bòdòmbò/ *v.* couvrir hermétiquement.
- bòdòmó** /bòdòmó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* acheter.
- bòdòndó** /bòdòndó/ *n.* champignon (sp.). *Pl:* à-bòdòndó.
- bòdòfè** /bòdò-fè/ *v.* faire pourrir.
- bòdòwó** /bòdòwó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* sucer.
- bòjààwè°** /bòjà-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* mauvais; méchant.
- bòwàà** /bòw-àà/ *v.* se sucer (recip.)
- bùbù** /bùbù/ *n.* chemise. *Pl:* à-bùbù.
- bùjé** /bùjé/ *num.* neuf.
- bùklàà** /bùklàà/ *v.* croire.
- bùklámè** /bùklámè/ *n.* confiance.
- búkó** /búkó/ *n.* croyance.
- búk'kó** /búk'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* casser; détruire.
- bùlààwè°** /bùl-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *quant.* nombreux ; beaucoup
- bùlmà** /bùlmà/ *n.* grande saison des pluies.

*Pl:* à-bùlmà.  
**bùmbàà** /bùmb-àà/ *v.* être enterré.  
**bùmbò** /bùmbò/ *v.* enterrer.  
**bùndlè** /bùndlè/ *v.* démêler, détacher.  
**bùpà** /bùpà/ *n.* animal. *Pl:* à-bùpà.  
**bùpà** /bùpà/ *n.* viande. *Pl:* à-bùpà.  
**bùtlàà** /bùtl-àà/ *v.* s'ouvrir.

**bùtlè** /bùtlè/ *v.* ouvrir; découvrir.  
**bùtò** /bùtò/ *n.* fruit (sp.). *Pl:* à-bùtò.  
**bùtjàà** /bùtjàà/ *n.* lattes (charpente).  
*Pl:* à-bùtjàà.  
**bùtʃé** /bùtʃé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* couvrir.  
**bùtʃé** /bùtʃé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se casser.  
**bùùfè** /bùùfè/ *v.* accumuler.

## d

**dáá** /dáa/ *adj.* mensonge.  
**dáá** /dáa/ *n.* mensonge. *Pl:* à-dáá.  
**dàá'íó** /dàá'íó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se coucher; dormir.  
**dàá'mbó** /dàá'mbó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* préparer.  
**dáàfè** /dáà-fè/ *v.* coucher; endormir.  
**dàá'tó** /dàá'tó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* lécher.  
**dá'ká** /dá'ká<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* termitière. *Pl:* à-dá'ká.  
**dàkì** /dàkì/ *n.* lulette. *Pl:* à-dàkì.  
**dàkì** /dàkì/ *n.* partie recourbée de  
 l'hameçon; gachette. *Pl:* à-dàkì.  
**dàlàà** /dàlàà/ *v.* avoir des rapports  
 sexuels.  
**dàmbjè** /dàmbjè/ *n.* couche superficielle.  
*Pl:* à-dàmbjè.  
**dàmbjè** /dàmbjè/ *n.* cataracte. *Pl:*  
 à-dàmbjè.  
**dàŋ** /dàŋ/ *n.* morpion. *Pl:* à-dàŋ.  
**dàpú** /dàpú/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-dàpú.  
**dé'é** /dé'é<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* jeter.  
**dèèfè** /dèè-fè/ *v.* endurcir.  
**dém** /dém<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* langue (organe). *Pl:*

à-dém.  
**dèŋàà** /dèŋ-àà/ *v.* se jeter.  
**dètààwè°** /dèt-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* dur; fort.  
**dètò** /dètò/ *v.* être dur; être fort, cher.  
**dé'é** /dé'é<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* désirer; accepter.  
**déèfè** /déèfè/ *v.* dépasser, surpasser; faire  
 traverser.  
**dékí dùmó** /dékí dùmó/ *n.* arbre (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-dékí dùmó.  
**dé'kó** /dé'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* recueillir un liquide.  
**dèkò** /dèkò/ *v.* pardonner; tolérer.  
**dèlkàà** /dèlkàà/ *v.* traverser; dépasser.  
**dèm°** /dèm<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* négligence.  
**dèmé** /dèmé/ *n.* abondance. *Pl:* à-dèmé.  
**dé'mó** /dé'mó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* boiter.  
**dé'ŋó** /dé'ŋó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* chasser un animal.  
**dèfààwè°** /dèf-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* léger.  
**dìndzè** /dìndzè/ *n.* envoûtement. *Pl:*  
 à-dìndzè.  
**dòjàà** /dòjàà/ *v.* vomir.  
**dó'jé** /dó'jé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* vomissement. *Pl:* à-dó'jé.

- dòkàà** /dòkàà/ *v.* fuir.
- dòkò** /dòkò/ *n.* hernie (sp.). *Pl:* à-dòkò.
- dòláàwè°** /dòl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* amer.
- dòlò** /dòlò/ *v.* être amer.
- dó<sup>+</sup>mbó** /dómbó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* raisonner; parler, dire.
- dó<sup>+</sup>mjé** /dómjé<sup>B</sup>/ *adj.* droite.
- dóndúwè** /dóndúwè/ *v.* avoir grandi.
- dòò** /dòò/ *v.* vivre.
- dòwáà** /dòwáà/ *v.* appeler.
- dòwáàwè°** /dòwáàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* lourd.
- dó** /dó/ *n.* sommeil. *Pl:* à-dó.
- dò** /dò/ *v.* lever (pour un piège); lancer.
- dòkè** /dòkè/ *v.* lancer.
- dóklè** /dóklè/ *v.* percer.
- dòŋ** /dòŋ/ *adv.* ensemble.
- dòs<sup>+</sup>kó** /dòsókó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* mangue. *Pl:* à-dòs<sup>+</sup>kó.
- dòs<sup>+</sup>kó** /dòsókó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* cesser; se taire.
- dòòkò** /dòòkò/ *v.* prendre du doigt pour goûter; tremper.
- dòs<sup>+</sup>mbó** /dòsómbo<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* quémander.
- dú** /dú/ *aux.* finalement.
- dùgtàà** /dùgtàà/ *v.* se fatiguer.
- dùkù** /dùkù/ *n.* froid.
- dùljáà** /dùlj-áà/ *v.* crier ensemble.
- dùljé** /dùlje/ *n.* cri. *Pl:* à-dùljé.
- dú<sup>+</sup>lò** /dúlò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* crier.
- dùm** /dùm/ *n.* moustique. *Pl:* à-dùm.
- dùmàà** /dùmàà/ *v.* tomber.
- dùmlàà** /dùmlàà/ *v.* être étourdi.
- dùmò** /dùmò/ *v.* jeter à terre ; renverser; abattre.
- dùmò** /dùmò/ *v.* vaincre.
- dùŋdzè** /dùŋdzè/ *v.* tapoter; produire un bruit.
- dùŋéŋ** /dùŋeŋ/ *n.* matin. *Pl:* à-dùŋéŋ.
- dú<sup>+</sup>ʃó** /dúʃó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* enfler.
- dùté** /dùté/ *n.* foyer. *Pl:* kî-dùté.
- dú<sup>+</sup>tó** /dúto/ *n.* satiété.
- dú<sup>+</sup>tó** /dúto<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être rassasié
- dùwàà** /dùw-àà/ *v.* se baptiser.
- dùwò** /dùwò/ *v.* baptiser.

### dʒ

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- dʒá<sup>+</sup>á** /dʒáá<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* faire frire.
- dʒá<sup>+</sup>á** /dʒáá<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se perdre.
- dʒàà** /dʒàà/ *aux.* trop; surtout.
- dʒàà** /dʒàà/ *v.* exagérer.
- dʒàá<sup>+</sup>kó** /dʒàákó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* tresser (cheveux).
- dʒààkò** /dʒààkò/ *v.* castrer; tailler (les fleurs).
- dʒàá<sup>+</sup>lò** /dʒàálò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* accoucher, mettre au monde, engendrer.
- dʒààlò** /dʒààlò/ *v.* étendre, étaler.
- dʒààndò** /dʒààndò/ *v.* marcher.
- dʒààndò** /dʒààndò/ *v.* rouler.

- dzáàfè** /dzáà-fè/ *v.* faire accoucher.
- dzààfè** /dzààfè/ *v.* étaler.
- dzáklà** /dzáklà/ *n.* ordure. *Pl:* à-dzáklà.
- dzák+ljé** /dzák+ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* tortue terrestre.  
*Pl:* à-dzák+ljé.
- dzákúwàà** /dzákúwàà/ *v.* payer.
- dzàl°** /dzàl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* village. *Pl:* à-dzàl°.
- dzàlàà** /dzàlàà/ *v.* suffir.
- dzàlàà** /dzàlàà/ *aux.* devoir, être obligé  
de
- dzáljé** /dzáljé/ *adj.* gauche.
- dzá+ljé** /dzá+ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* naître.
- dzàmbàà** /dzàmbàà/ *v.* s'accoupler.
- dzàmbù** /dzàmbù/ *n.* guerre. *Pl:*  
à-dzàmbù.
- dzàmɲè** /dzàmɲè/ *v.* verser (choses  
solides).
- dzànáà** /dzànáà/ *v.* dire au revoir.
- dzànáà** /dzànáà/ *v.* payer.
- dzàndlàà** /dzàndlàà/ *v.* se déplacer  
(millepatte, escargot).
- dzá+njé** /dzá+njé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* étendre pour sécher.
- dzáɲdzi** /dzáɲdzi/ *n.* fruit (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-dzáɲdzi.
- dzàɲfè** /dzàɲfè/ *v.* faire rouler.
- dzâɲfè** /dzâɲfè/ *v.* perdre (tr.).
- dzá+jí** /dzá+jí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* menton. *Pl:* à-dzá+jí.
- dzàɲlà** /dzàɲlà/ *n.* salon. *Pl:* à-dzàɲlà.
- dzáɲlàà** /dzáɲlàà/ *v.* bailler.
- dzáɲlè** /dzáɲlè/ *v.* déblayer, nettoyer.
- dzáwúlè** /dzáwúlè/ *v.* être couché sur le  
dos.
- dzéékàà** /dzéékàà/ *v.* s'étonner.
- dzèkò** /dzèkò/ *v.* mettre un fétiche.
- dzélkàà** /dzélkàà/ *v.* être confus, dépassé,  
stupéfait.
- dzé+mbó** /dzé+mbó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* danser.
- dzèmjè** /dzèmjè/ *v.* se réveiller.
- dzèmlè** /dzèmlè/ *v.* transmettre une  
salutation.
- dzèmlè** /dzèmlè/ *v.* réveiller.
- dzèmɲè** /dzèmɲè/ *v.* saluer.
- dzêɲlè** /dzêɲlè/ *v.* veiller sur, surveiller.
- dzé+ti** /dzé+ti<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* dette; obligation.  
*Pl:* à-dzé+ti.
- dzèwò** /dzèwò/ *v.* grimper; monter sur  
quelque chose.
- dzé+é** /dzé+é<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* voir.
- dzèj°** /dzèj<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* grand-mère. *Pl:* à-dzèj°.
- dzé+kó** /dzé+kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* faire un barrage  
(pêche).
- dzékúwè** /dzékúwè/ *v.* s'adosser.
- dzèlèkì** /dzèlèkì/ *n.* désobéissance.  
*Pl:* à-dzèlèkì.
- dzèmlè** /dzèmlè/ *v.* chasser un animal.
- dzènàà** /dzènàà/ *v.* se voir.
- dzì°** /dzì<sup>H</sup>/ *v.* être.
- dzì°** /dzì<sup>H</sup>/ *aux.* en train de.
- dzí** /dzí/ *v.* manger.
- dzìì°** /dzìì<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* excrément. *Pl:* à-dzìì°.
- dzììfè** /dzìì-fè/ *v.* faire assoir.
- dzìj-àà** /dzìj-àà/ *v.* se manger; être  
mangé.
- dzìk-àà** /dzìk-àà/ *v.* chauffer (intr.), avoir

une température élevée.

**dzìkàà** /dzìkàà/ *aux.* plutôt; seulement.

**dzìkàà** /dzìkàà/ *v.* s'entasser.

**dzìkí** /dzìki/ *n.* fleuve ; rivière. *Pl:*

à-dzìkí.

**dzì'kó** /dzìkó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se brûler.

**dzìkò** /dzìkò/ *v.* tasser.

**dzìk'fè** /dzìk-fè/ *v.* faire brûler, embraser.

**dzìkùwàà** /dzìkùwàà/ *v.* transpirer.

**dzìlò** /dzìlò/ *v.* rester; habiter.

**dzìmblè** /dzìmblè/ *v.* se perdre;

disparaître.

**dzìmfè** /dzìmfè/ *v.* éteindre.

**dzì'ndzò** /dzìndzò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* lécher.

**dzì'ndzò** /dzìndzò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* souffrir d'une  
plaie purulente.

**dzì'jí** /dzìjí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* œil. *Pl:* mí'jí.

**dzì'júwè** /dzìjúwè/ *v.* supporter.

**dzìtlè** /dzìt-lè/ *v.* ouvrir.

**dzìtlè** /dzìtlè/ *v.* bien rythmer.

**dzì'tó** /dzìtó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* fermer.

**dzìwààwè°** /dzìw-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* touffu.

**dzì'wó** /dzìwó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* voler, dérober.

**dzìwò** /dzìwò/ *v.* être touffu.

**dzó** /dzó/ *v.* commander.

**dzòkàà** /dzòk-àà/ *v.* s'entendre.

**dzó'kó** /dzókó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* comprendre;  
percevoir.

**dzól** /dzól<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* nez. *Pl:* à-dzól.

**dzòláà** /dzòl-àà/ *v.* se quereller;  
s'entretuer.

**dzó'ló** /dzóló<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* tuer.

**dzòmáàwè°** /dzòm-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* sec.

**dzó'mó** /dzómó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* sécher (intr.).

**dzòndú** /dzòndú/ *n.* lèpre. *Pl:* à-dzòndú.

**dzòndzò** /dzòndzò/ *v.* veiller.

**dzón** /dzón/ *n.* turbulence.

**dzòngól** /dzòngól<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* caméléon.

*Pl:* à-dzòngól.

**dzòòlàà** /dzòòl-àà/ *v.* se laver.

**dzòòlè** /dzòòlè/ *v.* laver.

**dzó'fó** /dzófó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* chant; danse. *Pl:*

à-dzó'fó.

**dzòwó** /dzòwó/ *n.* jour; ciel. *Pl:* à-dzòwó.

**dzòl** /dzòl/ *n.* purge. *Pl:* à-dzòl, kì-dzòl.

**dzòlàà** /dzòl-àà/ *v.* se purger.

**dzòm'fàà** /dzòm'fàà/ *v.* aller consulter un  
voyant.

**dzòndzè** /dzòndzè/ *v.* remplir.

**dzòng** /dzòng/ *n.* flirt; libertinage. *Pl:*

kì-dzòng.

**dzó'ó** /dzóó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* brouter.

**dzòòlò** /dzòòlò/ *v.* rire.

**dzòòlò** /dzòòlò/ *v.* purger.

**dzòòfè** /dzòò-fè/ *v.* faire bouillir.

**dzòòtó** /dzòòtó/ *n.* abcès. *Pl:* à-dzòòtó.

**dzòòtò** /dzòòtò/ *v.* bouillonner.

**dzó'fè** /dzófè<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* juger.

**dzòfè** /dzòfè/ *v.* cacher.

**dzòf'ùwàà** /dzòf'ùwàà/ *v.* se cacher.

## f

- fàá'ké** /fàá-ké<sup>B</sup>/ *adv.* là-bas.
- fààndzò** /fààndzò/ *v.* disperser.
- fààjè** /fàà-jè/ *v.* faire bouger; agiter ;  
remuer.
- fàá'tó** /fàátó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* bouger.
- fàláà** /fàláà/ *v.* presser (quelqu'un).
- fèè** /fèè/ *n.* ovaire. *Pl:* à-fèè.
- fèè** /fèè/ *v.* se transformer.
- fèkàà** /fèkàà/ *v.* réfléchir, deviner.
- fèkì** /fèkì/ *n.* sagesse. *Pl:* kì-fèkì.
- fèkjè** /fèkjè/ *v.* mesurer.
- fèlà** /fèlà/ *n.* genre. *Pl:* à-fèlà.
- fén** /fén<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* manche. *Pl:* à-fén.
- fèŋkàà** /fèŋkàà/ *v.* faire semblant.
- fèŋjè** /fèŋjè/ *v.* transformer.
- fètáà** /fètáà/ *v.* se passer, avoir lieu.
- fé'tó** /fétó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* passer.
- fé** /fé/ *v.* donner; mettre.
- fèjàà** /fèj-àà/ *v.* être charitable; être  
donné.
- fékúwàà** /fékúwàà/ *v.* se retourner  
(regarder à gauche et à droite).
- fé'mó** /fémó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se reposer.
- fé'né** /fé-né<sup>B</sup>/ *adv.* ici.
- féwùlè** /féwùlè/ *v.* s'envoler.
- fí'já** /fíj-á/ *v.* venir.
- fíló** /fílo/ *n.* pus. *Pl:* à-fíló.
- fí'mjé** /fímjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* essuyer.
- findrè** /findrè/ *v.* renverser aussi.
- fɪŋlè** /fɪŋlè/ *v.* troquer.
- fɪj-áà** /fɪj-áà/ *v.* se couvrir.
- fɪj-ó** /fɪj-ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* couvrir superficiellement.
- fɪj-ó** /fɪj-ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* protéger.
- fj-àk-ó** /fj-àk-ó/ *n.* doigt. *Pl:* ì-dzjàk-ó.
- fj-àá-j-ó** /fj-àá-j-ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* tresser (une corde).
- fj-ál** /fj-ál<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* coliques du nouveau né.
- fj-àl** /fj-àl/ *n.* bru. *Pl:* à-fj-àl.
- fj-èk-ó** /fj-èk-ó/ *n.* argile (sp.).
- fj-él** /fj-él<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* soif; niveau bas de l'eau.
- fj-é-l-ó** /fj-é-l-ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* tarir, décroître (rivière).
- fj-ètí** /fj-ètí/ *n.* arbre. *Pl:* à-fj-ètí, kì-fj-ètí.
- fj-émb-l-àà** /fj-émb-l-àà/ *v.* se moucher.
- fj-èt-è** /fj-èt-è/ *n.* serpent (sp.). *Pl:* à-fj-èt-è.
- fj-ó-ó** /fj-ó-ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* balancer.
- fj-ól** /fj-ól<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* sifflotement. *Pl:* kì-fj-ól.
- fj-ó-ól** /fj-ó-ól/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-fj-ó-ól.
- fj-ò-ól** /fj-ò-ól<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* siffler.
- fj-ò-ò-l-ò** /fj-ò-ò-l-ò/ *n.* rire.
- fó-k-ó** /fó-k-ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* attendre.
- fókt-è** /fókt-è/ *v.* écouter attentivement.
- fón** /fón/ *n.* bois. *Pl:* kì-fón.
- fò-ò-l-à** /fò-ò-l-à/ *n.* temps.
- fò-j-è** /fò-j-è/ *v.* se verser.
- fó-j-ó** /fó-j-ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être fade, être insipide.
- fò-j-ò** /fò-j-ò/ *v.* verser.
- fò-j-ò** /fò-j-ò/ *v.* éjaculer.
- fó-w-ó** /fó-w-ó/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:* à-fó-w-ó.
- fó-k-ú** /fó-ku/ *quant.* autre; certain.



**fɔlɔ̀wɛ̀** /fɔl-áàwɛ̀<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* froid; paisible.

**fɔ́ɔ́lɔ́** /fɔ́ɔ́lɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être frais; être paisible.

**fɔ́ɔ́tɔ́** /fɔ́ɔ́tɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* crépir.

**fɔ́ɔ́lɔ́** /fɔ́ɔ́lɔ́/*n.* canne à pêche (sp.).

*Pl:* kɪ-fɔ́ɔ́lɔ́, ì-fɔ́ɔ́lɔ́, m-fɔ́ɔ́lɔ́.

**fɔ́wùlɛ̀** /fɔ́wùlɛ̀/ *v.* brûler les poils d'un animal.

**fùkɔ̀** /fùkɔ̀/ *v.* pétrir.

**fúl** /fúl/ *n.* habitude. *Pl:* kɪ-fúl.

**fú'ɔ́** /fú'ɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* sortir.

**fùlɔ̀** /fùlɔ̀/ *v.* muer.

**fúmbɛ̀** /fúmbɛ̀/ *v.* souffler.

**fú'mɔ́** /fú'mɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* faire mal, faire souffrir.

**fùndlɛ̀** /fùndlɛ̀/ *v.* enlever la terre.

**fúplɛ̀** /fúplɛ̀/ *v.* emporter.

**fú'tɔ́** /fú'tɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* emballer.

**fùùjɛ̀** /fùù-jɛ̀/ *v.* retirer.

**fùwáàwɛ̀** /fùw-áàwɛ̀<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* court.

## g

**gòjááfɛ̀** /gòjááfɛ̀/ *n.* goyave. *Pl:*

à-gòjááfɛ̀.

**gú'ljé** /gú'ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* liane (sp.). *Pl:* à-gú'ljé.

**gúmbà** /gúmbà/ *quant.* entier.

**gú'mɔ́** /gú'mɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être renommé, être célèbre.

**gùjɛ̀** /gùjɛ̀/ *v.* déplumer.

**gùjɛ̀** /gùjɛ̀/ *v.* couper (brusquement quelque chose avec les dents).

**gwá'á** /gwá'á<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* vouloir.

**gwààkɛ̀** /gwààkɛ̀<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* chimpanzé; grenier.  
*Pl:* à-gwààkɛ̀.

**gwàá'ɔ́** /gwàá'ɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* épouser.

**gwààjɔ̀** /gwààjɔ̀/ *v.* peigner les cheveux; fouiller dans les feuilles au sol.

**gwá'jé** /gwá'jé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* polir quelque chose; grandir.

**gwáklɛ̀** /gwáklɛ̀/ *v.* arracher.

**gwálá** /gwálá/ *n.* tambour de bois. *Pl:*

à-gwálá.

**gwàláà** /gwàl-áà/ *v.* se marier.

**gwàjà** /gwàjà/ *n.* peigne. *Pl:* à-gwàjà.

**gwè°** /gwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adv.* là-bas.

**gwí** /gwí/ *v.* mourir.

**gwó'ɔ́** /gwó'ɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* grandir.

**gwòndò** /gwòndò/ *v.* sécher (tr.).

**gwòjáà** /gwòj-áà/ *v.* se rassembler.

**gwó'jɔ́** /gwó'jɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* rassembler, réunir.

**gwó'wɔ́** /gwó'wɔ́<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* maudire.

**gwódlɛ̀** /gwódlɛ̀/ *v.* racler.

**gwó'j** /gwó'j<sup>B</sup>/ *adj.* bredouille.

**gwòkɛ̀** /gwòkɛ̀/ *v.* tresser les bords de la natte.

**gwòkò** /gwòkò/ *n.* plantain (sp.). *Pl:* à-gwòkò.

**gwómbɛ̀** /gwómbɛ̀/ *v.* balayer.

**gwôñlè** /gwôñlè/ *v.* boire.

(quelque chose ou quelqu'un).

**gwòó'ís** /gwòó'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* aiguiser, affûter.

**gwòó'mbó** /gwòómbó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* chasser

## gb

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**gbààgbàà** /gbààgbàà/ *ideo.* coups de tonnerre qui annoncent la fin de la grande saison des pluies.

**gbààkó** /gbààkó/ *n.* arbre (palétuvier).

*Pl:* à-gbààkó.

**gbàlà** /gbàlà/ *n.* gombo. *Pl:* à-gbàlà.

**gbàlò** /gbàlò/ *n.* feuille comestible (sp.).

*Pl:* à-gbàlò.

**gbàṅ** /gbàṅ/ *n.* excès de gourmandise.

**gbàṅ** /gbàṅ/ *n.* cabane d'initiation. *Pl:* à-gbàṅ.

**gbàtà** /gbàtà/ *n.* tentative ratée

**gbátí** /gbátí/ *n.* gage. *Pl:* à-gbátí.

**gbékúwè** /gbékúwè/ *v.* rester prostré.

**gbé'lé** /gbé'lé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* céphalophe (sp.).

*Pl:* à-gbé'lé.

**gbèmgbèmgbèm** /gbèmgbèmgbèm/ *ideo.* son grave.

**gbéṣù** /gbéṣù/ *n.* champignon (sp.).

*Pl:* à-gbéṣù.

**gbèj** /gbèj/ *n.* liane (sp.). *Pl:* à-gbèj.

**gbél** /gbél<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* sorcellerie. *Pl:* à-gbél.

**gbèlè** /gbèlè/ *n.* handicapé moteur. *Pl:* à-gbèlè.

**gbènè** /gbènè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bouillie de maïs.

**gbòm** /gbòm/ *n.* guêpe (sp.). *Pl:* à-gbòm.

**gbó'ndó** /gbó'ndó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* aboyer.

**gbókṣè** /gbókṣè/ *v.* tromper; déranger.

**gbútìlè** /gbútìlè/ *v.* mélanger, pétrir, remuer.

**gbùùṅlè** /gbùùṅlè/ *v.* labourer.

## i

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**ì-báà°** /ì-báà<sup>H</sup>/ *num.* deux.

m-bààlò.

**ì-bààlós** /ì-bààlós/ *n.* plante de pied. *Pl:* m-bààlós.

**ì-bààndó** /ì-bààndó/ *n.* gésier. *Pl:* m-bààndó.

**ì-bààlò** /ì-bààlò/ *n.* avertissement. *Pl:*

ì-bààpó /ì-bààpó/ *n.* aile. *Pl:* m-bààpó.

- ì-bààtò** /ì-bààtò/ *n.* calvitie. *Pl:* ì-bààtò.  
**ì-bàkì** /ì-bàkì/ *n.* houé. *Pl:* ì-bàkì.  
**ì-bàl** /ì-bàl/ *n.* foie. *Pl:* ì-bàl.  
**ì-bàm** /ì-bàm/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:* ì-bàm.  
**ì-bàmbà** /ì-bàmbà/ *n.* adultère.  
*Pl:* ì-bàmbà.  
**ì-bànà** /ì-bànà/ *n.* trou. *Pl:* ì-bànà.  
**ì-bá'ndí** /ì-bá'ndí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* gifle; gigot de viande. *Pl:* ì-bá'ndí.  
**ì-bǎŋ'í** /ì-bǎŋ'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* motte de terre.  
*Pl:* ì-bǎŋ'í.  
**ì-bá'tsé** /ì-bá'tsé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* divorce; séparation.  
*Pl:* ì-bá'tsé.  
**ì-béí** /ì-béí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* trou creusé par un animal. *Pl:* ì-béí.  
**ì-bèndà** /ì-bèndà/ *n.* arrière-cour. *Pl:* ì-bèndà.  
**ì-béŋ** /ì-béŋ/ *n.* aval. *Pl:* ì-béŋ.  
**ì-bètŋi** /ì-bètŋi/ *n.* poitrine. *Pl:* ì-bètŋi.  
**ì-bèè** /ì-bèè/ *n.* miroir. *Pl:* ì-bèè, à-ì-bèè.  
**ì-bél** /ì-bél/ *n.* sein. *Pl:* ì-bél.  
**ì-béndí** /ì-béndí/ *n.* souris (sp.). *Pl:* ì-béndí.  
**ì-bitàà** /ì-bitàà/ *n.* enrroulement. *Pl:* ì-bitàà.  
**ì-bjàndí** /ì-bjàndí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* désobéissance, impolitesse; mépris.  
**ì-bjèlò** /ì-bjèlò/ *n.* chasse. *Pl:* ì-bjèlò.  
**ì-bjé'mó** /ì-bjé'mó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* chasse à courre.  
*Pl:* ì-bjé'mó, à-ì-bjé'mó.  
**ì-bòmò** /ì-bòmò/ *n.* lignage; famille.  
*Pl:* ì-bòmò.  
**ì-bòkú** /ì-bòkú/ *n.* courge (sp.). *Pl:* ì-bòkú.  
**ì-bóŋ** /ì-bóŋ/ *n.* genou. *Pl:* à-ì-bóŋ.  
**ì-bòŋ** /ì-bòŋ/ *n.* nœud (sp.). *Pl:* ì-bòŋ.  
**ì-bòŋ ménó** /ì-bòŋ ménó/ *n.* aube.  
**ì-bòòmbè** /ì-bòòmbè/ *n.* nid. *Pl:* ì-bòòmbè.  
**ì-bòòŋ** /ì-bòòŋ/ *n.* malheur. *Pl:* ì-bòòŋ.  
**ì-bú'kú** /ì-bú'kú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* joue; paire.  
*Pl:* ì-bú'kú.  
**ì-bùm** /ì-bùm/ *n.* ventre; grossesse.  
*Pl:* ì-bùm.  
**ì-bùmbàà** /ì-bùmbàà/ *n.* enterrement.  
**ì-bùpò** /ì-bùpò/ *n.* meute (oiseaux, insecte). *Pl:* ì-bùpò.  
**ì-bú'fè** /ì-bú'fè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* cendre. *Pl:* ì-bú'fè.  
**ì-dó'ŋ** /ì-dó'ŋ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* chambre. *Pl:* ì-dó'ŋ.  
**ì-dòŋ** /ì-dòŋ/ *n.* vie. *Pl:* ì-dòŋ.  
**ì-dùgtàà** /ì-dùgtàà/ *n.* fatigue.  
**ì-dùljáà** /ì-dùljáà/ *n.* cris de plusieurs personnes.  
**ì-dùmò** /ì-dùmò/ *n.* gros nœud. *Pl:* ì-dùmò.  
**ì-dùtù** /ì-dùtù/ *n.* robe. *Pl:* ì-dùtù.  
**ì-dzàá'í** /ì-dzàá'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* charbon; braise.  
*Pl:* ì-dzàá'í.  
**ì-dzà'íjé** /ì-dzà'íjé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* naissance; généalogie, parenté.  
**ì-dzà'íwè** /ì-dzà'íwè/ *n.* lumière.  
**ì-dzàwú'tú** /ì-dzàwú'tú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* aisselle.  
*Pl:* ì-dzàwú'tú.

- ì-dzì** /ì-dzì/ *n.* appât.
- ì-dzìkàà** /ì-dzìkàà/ *n.* température.  
*Pl:* ì-dzìkàà.
- ì-dzì'nó** /ì-dzì'nó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* nom. *Pl:* ì-dzì'nó,  
kì-dzì'nó, m-mí'nó.
- ì-dzòkàà** /ì-dzòkàà/ *n.* entente.
- ì-dzò'kó** /ì-dzò'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* respect;  
compréhension.
- ì-dzòlà** /ì-dzòlà/ *n.* banane douce. *Pl:*  
ì-dzòlà.
- ì-dzòlò** /ì-dzòlò/ *n.* crocodile.
- ì-dzòmbó** /ì-dzòmbó/ *n.* repas en forme  
de paquet cuit au feu. *Pl:*  
ì-dzòmbó.
- ì-dzòŋ** /ì-dzòŋ/ *n.* arc musical. *Pl:*  
ì-dzòŋ.
- ì-dzòmbjé** /ì-dzòmbjé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* divination.  
*Pl:* ì-dzòmbjé.
- ì-dzò'fjé** /ì-dzò'fjé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* jugement. *Pl:*  
à-dzò'fjé, kì-dzò'fjé.
- ì-dzò'fjù** /ì-dzò'fjù/ *n.* cachette. *Pl:* ì-dzò'fjù.
- ì-fàá'fjò** /ì-fàá'fjò<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* jumeau. *Pl:* m-fàá'fjò.
- ì-fàátó** /ì-fàátó/ *n.* polygamie. *Pl:* ì-fàátó.
- ì-fèè** /ì-fèè/ *n.* fécondation. *Pl:* ì-fèè.
- ì-fél** /ì-fél<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* serpent (sp.). *Pl:* ì-fél.
- ì-fèt'fjé** /ì-fèt'fjé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* marque; limite. *Pl:* ì-fèt'fjé.
- ì-fépu** /ì-fépu/ *n.* feuille de papier. *Pl:*  
ì-fépu.
- ì-fití** /ì-fití<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* confiance.
- ì-fitlò** /ì-fitlò/ *n.* obscurité; nuit. *Pl:*  
ì-fitlò.
- ì-fòndzè** /ì-fòndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* remède que l'on  
donne pour voyager dans de  
bonnes conditions. *Pl:* ì-fòndzè.
- ì-fótó** /ì-fótó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* maladie (sp.). *Pl:*  
ì-fótó.
- ì-fó'fó** /ì-fó'fó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* affaire, problème.  
*Pl:* ì-fó'fó.
- ì-fò'fóló** /ì-fò'fóló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fraîcheur; ombre.
- ì-fò'fóló** /ì-fò'fóló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* calme; paix.
- ì-fúl** /ì-fúl/ *n.* mousse. *Pl:* ì-fúl.
- ì-fùmbí** /ì-fùmbí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* orange. *Pl:*  
ì-fùmbí.
- ì-fúnda** /ì-fúnda<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* paquet. *Pl:* ì-fúnda.
- ì-fùngá** /ì-fùngá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* boucle d'oreille.
- ì-gúmó** /ì-gúmó/ *n.* baobab. *Pl:* ì-gúmó.
- ì-gwéj** /ì-gwéj<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
ì-gwéj.
- ì-gwó'fjú** /ì-gwó'fjú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* rassemblement;  
réunion. *Pl:* ì-gwó'fjú.
- ì-gwòlòkú** /ì-gwòlòkú/ *n.* canard sauvage.  
*Pl:* ì-gwòlòkú.
- ì-gwò'fjò** /ì-gwò'fjò<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* nuque.  
*Pl:* ì-gwò'fjò.
- ì-jépjé** /ì-jépjé/ *n.* religion; croyance.  
*Pl:* ì-jépjé.
- ì-jò** /ì-jò/ *n.* lime. *Pl:* ì-jò.
- ì-ká'á** /ì-ká'á<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* pintade. *Pl:* ì-ká'á.
- ì-ká'á** /ì-ká'á<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* germination.
- ì-kàà°** /ì-kàà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* reste de nourriture mis  
de côté. *Pl:* ì-kàà°.
- ì-kàláj** /ì-kàláj/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
ì-kàláj.

- ì-kàndzà** /ì-kàndzà/ *n.* vêtement (sp.).  
*Pl:* ñ-kàndzà.
- ì-kánj** /ì-kánj/ *n.* touffe d'herbe; fourré.  
*Pl:* ñ-kánj.
- ì-kànj** /ì-kànj/ *n.* étagère. *Pl:* ñ-kànj.
- ì-kàn°** /ì-kàn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* courage. *Pl:* ñ-kàn°.
- ì-káŋkjé** /ì-káŋkjé/ *n.* prémices. *Pl:*  
ñ-káŋkjé, kì-káŋkjé.
- ì-ká'tá** /ì-kátá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* coussin de portage.  
*Pl:* ñ-ká'tá.
- ì-kèè°** /ì-kèè<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* œuf. *Pl:* ñ-kèè°.
- ì-ké'kí** /ì-kékí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* amont. *Pl:* ñ-ké'kí.
- ì-kél** /ì-kél<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fourmi (sp.). *Pl:* ñ-kél.
- ì-kéla** /ì-kéla/ *n.* chèvre. *Pl:* ñ-kéla.
- ì-kénó** /ì-kénó/ *n.* biche. *Pl:* ñ-kénó.
- ì-kèkàà** /ì-kèkàà/ *n.* circoncision.  
*Pl:* ñ-kèkàà.
- ì-kèkì** /ì-kèkì/ *n.* molaire. *Pl:* ñ-kèkì.
- ì-ké'mbó** /ì-kémbó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* appel à distance.
- ì-kéti** /ì-kéti/ *n.* couleur. *Pl:* ñ-kéti.
- ì-kòl** /ì-kòl/ *n.* poteau. *Pl:* ñ-kòl.
- ì-kòlá** /ì-kòlá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* dette. *Pl:* ñ-kòlá.
- ì-kòmbò** /ì-kòmbò/ *n.* forêt. *Pl:* ñ-kòmbò.
- ì-kòmbò** /ì-kòmbò/ *n.* forêt. *Pl:* ñ-kòmbò.
- ì-kòò** /ì-kòò/ *n.* rocher. *Pl:* ñ-kòò.
- ì-kó'tó** /ì-kótó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* grelot. *Pl:* ñ-kó'tó.
- ì-kòkù** /ì-kòkù/ *n.* derrière de la tête.  
*Pl:* ñ-kòkù.
- ì-kòò°** /ì-kòò<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* lance. *Pl:* ñ-kòò°.
- ì-kòó'kó** /ì-kòókó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* mollesse.  
*Pl:* ñ-kòó'kó.
- ì-kóóló** /ì-kóóló/ *n.* matériel servant à  
prendre le tabac par le nez  
(tabac + boîte).  
*Pl:* ñ-kóóló.
- ì-kúm** /ì-kúm/ *n.* marchandise; richesse.  
*Pl:* ñ-kúm.
- ì-kùm** /ì-kùm/ *n.* hibou. *Pl:* ñ-kùm.
- ì-kùm tàlà** /ì-kùm tàlà/ *n.* pierre de foyer.  
*Pl:* ñ-kùm tàlà.
- ì-kú'má** /ì-kú má<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* met fait à base de  
pâte de manioc [bâton de manioc].  
*Pl:* ñ-kú má.
- ì-kùmá** /ì-kùmá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* tas. *Pl:* ñ-kùmá.
- ì-kùmé** /ì-kùmé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
ñ-kùmé.
- ì-kùndù** /ì-kùndù/ *n.* poubelle; fumier.  
*Pl:* ñ-kùndù.
- ì-kùfá** /ì-kùfá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* éponge. *Pl:* ñ-kùfá.
- ì-kú'fó** /ì-kúfó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* veuvage. *Pl:* ñ-kú'fó.
- ì-kùtà** /ì-kùtà/ *n.* ver (sp.). *Pl:* ñ-kùtà.
- ì-kwááŋdzó** /ì-kwááŋdzó/ *n.* chasse-  
mouche. *Pl:* ñ-kwááŋdzó.
- ì-kwá'ndí** /ì-kwándí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* balai.  
*Pl:* ñ-kwá'ndí.
- ì-kwèljé** /ì-kwèljé/ *n.* dot (compensation  
matrimoniale). *Pl:* ñ-kwèljé,  
à-ñ-kwèljé.
- ì-k<sup>h</sup>èŋ** /ì-k<sup>h</sup>èŋ/ *n.* puits; source. *Pl:*  
ñ-k<sup>h</sup>èŋ.
- ì-kpóó** /ì-kpóó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* appel. *Pl:* ñ-kpóó,  
à-ñ-kpóó.
- ì-là** /ì-là/ *n.* nasse. *Pl:* ñ-là.
- ì-lààkò** /ì-lààkò/ *n.* corne; verre. *Pl:*

- ò-lààkò.  
**ì-lèmbò** /ì-lèmbò/ *n.* mauvaise sorcellerie.  
*Pl:* ò-lèmbò.  
**ì-lòŋ** /ì-lòŋ/ *n.* échelle. *Pl:* ò-lòŋ.  
**ì-ló** /ì-ló/ *n.* intestin; sein maternel. *Pl:* ò-ló.  
**ì-lòlò** /ì-lòlò/ *n.* canard. *Pl:* ò-lòlò.  
**ì-ló'ó** /ì-ló'ó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* profondeur. *Pl:* à-ì-ló'ó.  
**ì-lùkú** /ì-lùkú/ *n.* respect. *Pl:* ò-lùkú.  
**ì-màl** /ì-màl/ *n.* goitre. *Pl:* ò-màl.  
**ì-mò** /ì-mò/ *n.* hangar. *Pl:* ò-mò, à-mò.  
**ì-mòòŋgó** /ì-mòòŋgó/ *n.* foule. *Pl:* ò-mòòŋgó.  
**ì-nèè** /ì-nèè/ *adv.* combien.  
**ì-néè°** /ì-néè<sup>H</sup>/ *num.* quatre.  
**ì-ŋààkò** /ì-ŋààkò/ *n.* anus.  
**ì-ŋûné** /ì-ŋûné<sup>B</sup>/ *adv.* maintenant.  
**ìŋgìn** /ìŋgìn/ *n.* machine. *Pl:* à-ìŋgìn.  
**ì-pààmò** /ì-pààmò/ *n.* chaleur.  
**ì-pá'kí** /ì-pá'kí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* piste emprunté par les animaux. *Pl:* ò-pá'kí.  
**ì-pàt'fè** /ì-pàt'fè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ciseau à bois.  
*Pl:* ò-pàt'fè.  
**ì-pèl°** /ì-pèl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* canne à pêche. *Pl:* ò-pèl°.  
**ì-pèpè** /ì-pèpè/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:* ò-pèpè.  
**ì-pìl** /ì-pìl/ *n.* cloque. *Pl:* à-ò-m-pìl.  
**ì-pìl°** /ì-pìl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* charbon. *Pl:* ò-pìl°.  
**ì-pítà** /ì-pítà/ *n.* instrument de pêche.  
*Pl:* ò-pítà.  
**ì-pòpó** /ì-pòpó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* papaye. *Pl:* ò-pòpó.  
**ì-pùndzò** /ì-pùndzò/ *n.* rat (sp.).  
*Pl:* ò-pùndzò.  
**ì-pú'pó** /ì-pú'pó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* propreté.  
**ì-fá** /ì-fá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* prunier. *Pl:* ò-fá.  
**ì-fá** /ì-fá/ *n.* pas de danse. *Pl:* ò-fá.  
**ì-fà°** /ì-fà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* safou. *Pl:* ò-fà°.  
**ì-fàkì** /ì-fàkì/ *n.* botte (bouquet, fagot).  
*Pl:* ò-fàkì.  
**ì-fàndzà** /ì-fàndzà/ *n.* pagne. *Pl:* ò-fàndzà.  
**ì-fàndzà** /ì-fàndzà/ *n.* oiseau (sp.).  
*Pl:* ò-fàndzà.  
**ì-fàngà** /ì-fàngà/ *n.* citron. *Pl:* ò-fàngà.  
**ì-fè** /ì-fè/ *n.* raphia (sp.); vin de raphia (sp.). *Pl:* ò-fè.  
**ì-fé'é** /ì-fé'é<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* sable.  
**ì-fé'é** /ì-fé'é<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* parasolier. *Pl:* ò-fé'é.  
**ì-fèkì** /ì-fèkì/ *n.* ananas. *Pl:* ò-fèkì.  
**ì-fèn** /ì-fèn/ *n.* appétit.  
**ì-fèn** /ì-fèn/ *n.* habitude.  
**ì-fènŋ** /ì-fènŋ/ *n.* anneau, bague. *Pl:* ò-fènŋ.  
**ì-fínó** /ì-fínó/ *n.* essaim d'abeilles. *Pl:* ò-fínó.  
**ì-fòljàà** /ì-fòljàà/ *n.* démangeaison.  
*Pl:* ò-fòljàà.  
**ì-fòmbú** /ì-fòmbú/ *n.* réunion de sorciers.  
*Pl:* ò-fòmbú.  
**ì-fòndzò** /ì-fòndzò/ *n.* soleil.  
**ì-fòd°** /ì-fòd<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* dent. *Pl:* ò-fòd°.  
**ì-fó'í** /ì-fó'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* ò-fó'í,

- à-j̄-ʃǎ́í.
- ì-ʃóndò** /ì-ʃóndò/ *n.* semaine; dimanche.  
*Pl:* j̄-ʃóndò.
- ì-ʃókókó** /ì-ʃókókó/ *n.* bout; fiente. *Pl:*  
j̄-ʃókókó.
- ì-ʃòóʃó** /ì-ʃòóʃó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* grandeur; sagesse.
- ì-ʃòʃù** /ì-ʃòʃù/ *n.* appétit.
- ì-ʃótú** /ì-ʃótú/ *n.* paquet de remède. *Pl:*  
j̄-ʃótú.
- ì-ʃúká** /ì-ʃúká/ *n.* fin, bout; dernier.  
*Pl:* j̄-ʃúká.
- ì-ʃùkù** /ì-ʃùkù/ *n.* tige. *Pl:* j̄-ʃùkù.
- ì-ʃúm** /ì-ʃúm<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bracelet. *Pl:* j̄-ʃúm,  
à-j̄-ʃúm.
- ì-tàá<sup>+</sup>mbó** /ì-tàámbó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* piège à  
détendeur. *Pl:* ñ-tàá<sup>+</sup>mbó.
- ì-tàán** /ì-tàán/ *num.* cinq.
- ì-tál** /tál/ *n.* rocher. *Pl:* ñ-tál.
- ì-tál** /ì-tál/ *n.* lime. *Pl:* ñ-tál.
- ì-tátí** /ì-tátí/ *num.* trois.
- ì-tì** /ì-tì/ *n.* interdit.
- ì-tíʃlè** /ì-tíʃlè/ *n.* éternuement.
- ì-tó<sup>+</sup>kó** /ì-tókó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* pêche. *Pl:* ñ-tó<sup>+</sup>kó.
- ì-tó<sup>+</sup>ó** /ì-tóó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* maison. *Pl:* ñ-tóó.
- ì-tó** /ì-tó/ *n.* oreille. *Pl:* ñ-tó.
- ì-tòl<sup>o</sup>** /ì-tòl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* ñ-tòl<sup>o</sup>.
- ì-tòmbù** /ì-tòmbù/ *n.* problème. *Pl:*  
ñ-tòmbù.
- ì-tú** /ì-tú/ *n.* jour ; journée. *Pl:* ñ-tú.
- ì-t<sup>h</sup>òmbù** /ì-t<sup>h</sup>òmbù/ *n.* vêtement (sp.)  
*Pl:* ñ-t<sup>h</sup>òmbù.
- ì-tʃèmbè** /ì-tʃèmbè/ *n.* vêtement (sp.).  
*Pl:* j̄-tʃèmbè, à-j̄-tʃèmbè.
- ì-tʃí<sup>+</sup>ndí** /ì-tʃíndí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* mollet. *Pl:* j̄-tʃí<sup>+</sup>ndí.
- ì-tʃíndzè** /ì-tʃíndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* vertige.  
*Pl:* à-ì-tʃíndzè.
- ì-tʃíŋl** /ì-tʃíŋl/ *n.* petit panier dans lequel  
on met des réserves dans la  
cuisine.  
*Pl:* j̄-tʃíŋl.
- ì-tʃón** /ì-tʃón/ *n.* nœud végétal. *Pl:* j̄-tʃón.
- ì-vú** /ì-vú/ *n.* fertilité.
- ì-vùkù** /ì-vùkù/ *n.* farine. *Pl:* ñ-j̄-vùkù.
- ì-wòlà** /ì-wòlà/ *n.* heure; moment. *Pl:*  
ñ-wòlà, à-ñ-wòlà.

## j

- jàà<sup>o</sup>** /jàà<sup>H</sup>/ *conj.* parce que, car; pour.  
denrée. *Pl:* à-jánjàn.
- jáá<sup>+</sup>kó** /jáákó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* insister.
- jàkà** /jàkà/ *aux.* risquer de.
- jánjàn** /jánjàn/ *n.* vieux récipient utilisé  
spécifiquement pour préparer une
- jánjà** /jánjà/ *n.* poêle à frire. *Pl:* à-jánjà,  
kì-jánjà.
- jékláà** /jékl-àà/ *v.* apprendre.
- jéklè** /jéklè/ *n.* enseignant. *Pl:* à-jéklè.

**jéklè** /jéklè/ *v.* enseigner.

**je'pjé** /jépjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* croire.

**jíké** /jí-ké<sup>B</sup>/ *adv.* là-bas.

**jílka** /jílka/ *n.* avis.

**jòkù°** /jòkù<sup>H</sup>/ *aux.* continuatif.

## k

**kà** /kà/ *n.* colonne vertébrale. *Pl:* à-kà.

**ká'á** /káá<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* germer.

**káà** /káà/ *n.* folie. *Pl:* à-káà.

**ká'á** /káá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* savane.

**kàà°** /kàà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.) [fraké].

**kàà°** /kàà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* liane (sp.).

**kàà°** /kàà<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* avare.

**kàà°** /kàà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* avare; avarice. *Pl:* à-kàà°.

**kàà gwòjà** /kàà gwòjà/ *n.* herbe (sp.).

*Pl:* à-kàà gwòjà.

**kàá'í** /kàá'í<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* faire attention.

**kàà'í** /kàà'í/ *n.* ville. *Pl:* à-kàà'í.

**káámó** /káámó/ *num.* dix.

**kààmò** /kààmò/ *v.* aimer, désirer.

**kààmò** /kààmò/ *v.* accepter.

**kàá'ndó** /kàá'ndó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* couscous.

*Pl:* à-kàá'ndó.

**kàànó** /kàànó/ *n.* proverbe.

**kàànò** /kàànò/ *v.* accueillir

chaleureusement.

**kááfèl** /kááfèl/ *n.* roi. *Pl:* à-kááfèl.

**kààfó** /kààfó/ *n.* brindille. *Pl:* à-kààfó.

**kààfò** /kààfò/ *v.* parler; dire.

**káàtá** /káàtá/ *n.* livre. *Pl:* à-káàtá.

**kàá'tó** /kàá'tó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être incapable, être

dépassé par une situation.

**kàà'tó** /kàà'tó/ *n.* plateau traditionnel.

*Pl:* à-kàà'tó.

**kàà'tfè** /kàà'tfè/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:*

à-kàà'tfè.

**kààwò** /kààwò/ *v.* distribuer; partager.

**ká'ká** /ká'ká<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* méchanceté.

**kàkà** /kàkà/ *n.* épée. *Pl:* à-kàkà, kì-kàkà.

**kàkàalé** /kàkàalé/ *n.* étincelle; tison.

*Pl:* kì-kàkàalé.

**kàkàn°** /kàkàn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* conte. *Pl:* à-kàkàn°.

**kàkàtì** /kàkàtì/ *n.* jugement. *Pl:* à-kàkàtì.

**ká'kí** /ká'kí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* singe (sp.). *Pl:* à-ká'kí.

**káklàà** /kákl-àà/ *v.* s'embrasser.

**káklè** /káklè/ *v.* embrasser.

**kákló** /kákló/ *n.* clôture, enclos. *Pl:*

à-kákló.

**kàl** /kàl/ *n.* réserve. *Pl:* à-kàl.

**kàl** /kàl/ *n.* prêt. *Pl:* à-kàl.

**kǎ'í** /kǎ'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fusil.

**kǎ'í** /kǎ'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* nom donné au jumeau aîné.

**kǎl dzòwó** /kǎl<sup>B</sup> dzòwó/ *n.* foudre.

*Pl:* à-kǎl jì-dzòwó.

**kǎl pùló** /kǎl<sup>B</sup> pùló/ *n.* tonnerre.

*Pl:* à-kǎl pùló.



- kàlà** /kàlà/ *n.* personne de même âge.  
*Pl:* à-kàlà.
- kàláá** /kàláá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kàláá.
- kälààké** /kälààké<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbuste (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-kälààké.
- kàláákí** /kàláaki/ *n.* raison; droit.
- kàlàfì** /kàlàfì/ *n.* fil. *Pl:* à-kàlàfì,  
kì-kàlàfì.
- kàlé** /kàlé/ *n.* répertoire musical (sp.).
- kàljè** /kàljè/ *v.* déposer.
- kàmàà** /kàm-àà/ *v.* s'aimer.
- kàmbàà** /kàmbàà/ *v.* défendre.
- kàmbú** /kàmbu<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* plate-forme (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-kàmbú.
- kàmlè** /kàmlè/ *v.* aider.
- kàndá** /kàndá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ceinture. *Pl:* à-kàndá.
- kàndà** /kàndà/ *n.* pays. *Pl:* à-kàndà.
- kàndà** /kàndà/ *n.* pays. *Pl:* à-kàndà.
- kàndí** /kàndí/ *n.* crocodile. *Pl:* à-kàndí.
- kàndìkì** /kàndìkì/ *n.* arbre sp. [otofa].  
*Pl:* à-kàndìkì.
- kàndlè** /kàndlè/ *v.* attacher les poteaux  
d'une maison avec des fils de  
bambou.
- kánétà** /kánétà/ *n.* sorte. *Pl:* à-kánétà.
- kàṅè** /kàṅè/ *v.* conter.
- kàṅ** /kàṅ/ *n.* gale. *Pl:* à-kàṅ.
- kàṅ°** /kàṅ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* personne courageuse.  
*Pl:* ṅ-kàṅ°.
- kàṅlè** /kàṅlè/ *v.* encourager.
- kàṅló** /kàṅló/ *n.* racine. *Pl:* kì-kàṅló.
- kàṅfáà** /kàṅf-áà/ *v.* s'entretuer; se vanter.
- kàṅfè** /kàṅfè/ *v.* exterminer.
- kápítà** /kápítà/ *n.* notable. *Pl:* à-kápítà.
- kàpú** /kàpú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* gibecière. *Pl:* kì-kàpú,  
à-ṅ-kàpú.
- kàfì** /kàfì/ *n.* causerie. *Pl:* à-kàfì.
- ká'fí** /ká'fí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fouet. *Pl:* à-ká'fí
- kàtà** /kàtà/ *n.* partie de la forêt très  
dense. *Pl:* kì-kàtà.
- kàtàà** /kàtàà/ *v.* doubler, répéter;  
superposer.
- kàtì** /kàtì/ *n.* genre; niveau. *Pl:* à-kàtì.
- kàwàà** /kàw-àà/ *v.* se partager.
- káwùfù** /káwùfù/ *n.* cil. *Pl:* kì-káwùfù.
- kè** /kè/ *interr.* quoi.
- kě** /kě<sup>B</sup>/ *conj.* si.
- kèè** /kèè/ *v.* dire.
- kèkí** /kèkí<sup>B</sup>/ *conj.* comment ; puisque.
- kèmbó** /kèmbó/ *n.* sourcil. *Pl:* à-kèmbó.
- kèmlè** /kèmlè/ *v.* ramollir.
- kèmó** /kèmó/ *n.* singe. *Pl:* à-kèmó.
- kéṅdzà** /kéṅdzà/ *n.* porte-bagage.  
*Pl:* à-kéṅdzà.
- kèṅ** /kèṅ/ *n.* offrande. *Pl:* à-kèṅ.
- kèṅlè** /kèṅlè/ *v.* préserver de quelque  
chose; respecter un interdit.
- ké'é** /ké'é<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* faire mal, faire souffrir.
- kèè** /kèè/ *v.* raser.
- kèè** /kèè/ *n.* poisson. *Pl:* kì-kèè.
- kèkàà** /kèk-àà/ *v.* être circoncis.
- kèkàà** /kèk-àà/ *v.* barrer.
- ké'kó** /ké'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* couper.

- kéló** /kélɔ/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-kéló.
- ké<sup>+</sup>mbó** /kémbó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* appeler à distance.
- kèn** /kèn/ *v.* aller, partir.
- kèndí** /kèndí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* tambourinade. *Pl:*  
à-kèndí.
- kènè** /kènè/ *n.* nasse. *Pl:* à-kènè.
- kèndzé** /kèndzé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* crabe. *Pl:* à-kèndzé.
- kéndzèndzè** /kéndzèndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* clarté.  
*Pl:* à-kéndzèndzè.
- ké<sup>+</sup>ndzó** /kéndzó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être fragile.
- kèné** /kèné<sup>B</sup>/ *adj.* rusé.
- kèné** /kèné<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* rusé; ruse. *Pl:* à-kèné
- kéŋ** /kéŋ/ *n.* douleur.
- kèŋàà** /kèŋ-àà/ *v.* se raser.
- kèŋwààwè<sup>o</sup>** /kèŋw-àwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* rusé.
- kéŋwè** /kéŋwè/ *v.* être rusé.
- kèŋè** /kèŋè/ *v.* envoyer.
- kètáà** /kètáà/ *v.* porter, transporter.
- ké<sup>+</sup>tó** /kétó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* crier (écureuil).
- kétfè** /kétfè/ *v.* teindre.
- ké<sup>+</sup>tjé** /kétjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se couper, se blesser.
- ké<sup>+</sup>tjé** /kétjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se séparer de.
- kétjè** /kétjè<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* accrocher.
- kì-bààmbó** /kì-bààmbó/ *n.* salamandre.  
*Pl:* ì-bààmbó.
- kì-bààmò** /kì-bààmò/ *n.* croûte.
- kì-bààmò** /kì-bààmò/ *n.* cicatrice.  
*Pl:* ì-bààmò.
- kì-bàj** /kì-bàj/ *n.* arbre sp. [Cordyla  
pinnata]; dépeçage. *Pl:* ì-bàj.
- kì-bàjàà** /kì-bàjàà/ *n.* opération  
chirurgicale. *Pl:* à-m-bàjàà.
- kì-bámbú** /kì-bámbú/ *n.* planche.  
*Pl:* ì-bámbú.
- kì-bàndì** /kì-bàndì/ *n.* terrain.  
*Pl:* ì-bàndì.
- kì-bándíkà** /kì-bándíkà/ *n.* épingle.  
*Pl:* ì-bándíkà.
- kì-bàŋgàŋ** /kì-bàŋgàŋ/ *n.* arc de chasse.  
*Pl:* ì-bàŋgàŋ.
- kì-bàpù** /kì-bàpù/ *n.* mouche (sp.).  
*Pl:* ì-bàpù.
- kì-bàwà** /kì-bàwà/ *n.* louche en bois.  
*Pl:* ì-bàwà.
- kì-bèl** /kì-bèl/ *n.* Padouk. *Pl:* ì-bèl.
- kì-bèn<sup>o</sup>** /kì-bèn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* refus.
- kì-bé<sup>+</sup>kó** /kì-békó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* poêle. *Pl:* ì-bé<sup>+</sup>kó.
- kì-bèkò** /kì-bèkò/ *n.* épaule. *Pl:* ì-bèkò,  
m-bèkò, à-kì-bèkò.
- kì-bíndí** /kì-bíndí/ *n.* garçon. *Pl:* ì-bíndí.
- kì-bjèlèkì** /kì-bjèlèkì/ *n.* bâton de la  
société secrète. *Pl:* ì-bjèlèkì.
- kì-bókló** /kì-bókló/ *n.* instrument en bois  
utilisé pour faire du couscous.  
*Pl:* ì-bókló.
- kì-bòkò** /kì-bòkò/ *n.* hanche. *Pl:* ì-bòkò.
- kì-bók<sup>+</sup>fáà** /kì-bók<sup>+</sup>fáà/ *n.* lieu de repos.
- kì-bómbú** /kì-bómbú/ *n.* serpent (sp.) *Pl:*  
ì-bómbú, m-bómbú, à-kì-bómbú.
- kì-bómbú** /kì-bómbú/ *n.* écorce d'arbre.  
*Pl:* ì-bómbú, m-bómbú,  
à-kì-bómbú.
- kì-bòmbù** /kì-bòmbù/ *n.* pleur. *Pl:*  
ì-bòmbù.

- kì-bòkló** /kì-bòkló/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
 ì-bòkló, à-kì-bòkló.
- kì-bùkó** /kì-bùkó/ *n.* champ non-travaillé.  
*Pl:* ì-bùkó.
- kì-búkú** /kì-búku/ *n.* parole; mot. *Pl:*  
 ì-búkú.
- kì-búkú** /kì-búku/ *n.* asthme.
- kì-bùmó** /kì-bùmó/ *n.* graine; fruit. *Pl:*  
 ì-bùmó.
- kì-búfó** /kì-búfó/ *n.* nourriture (sp.) de la  
 société secrète. *Pl:* ì-búfó,  
 à-kì-búfó.
- kì-bútkà** /kì-bútkà/ *n.* couvercle.  
*Pl:* ì-bútkà.
- kì-bútkà** /kì-bútkà/ *n.* plat.
- kì-dáákó** /kì-dáákó/ *n.* reste de couscous.  
*Pl:* ì-dáákó.
- kì-dààkó** /kì-dààkó/ *n.* baguette utilisée  
 pour frapper une rythmique. *Pl:*  
 ì-dààkó.
- kì-dèṅ°** /kì-dèṅ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* moustache de la  
 panthère. *Pl:* ì-dèṅ°.
- kì-dé<sup>+</sup>ló** /kì-dé<sup>+</sup>ló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* habit, vêtement.  
*Pl:* ì-dé<sup>+</sup>ló.
- kì-dé<sup>+</sup>m** /kì-dé<sup>+</sup>m<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* infirmité. *Pl:*  
 ì-dé<sup>+</sup>m.
- kì-dèṅ°** /kì-dèṅ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* cloque. *Pl:* ì-dèṅ°.
- kì-dòm** /kì-dòm/ *n.* grande saison sèche.  
*Pl:* ì-dòm.
- kì-dómbó** /kì-dómbó/ *n.* langage; parole.  
*Pl:* ì-dómbó.
- kì-dónḡ** /kì-dónḡ/ *n.* cadavre. *Pl:* ì-dónḡ.
- kì-dó<sup>+</sup>í** /kì-dó<sup>+</sup>í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* limace. *Pl:* ì-dó<sup>+</sup>í.
- kì-dòl** /kì-dòl/ *n.* bosse (sur le corps).  
*Pl:* ì-dòl.
- kì-dùdúmà** /kì-dùdúmà/ *n.* floraison.  
*Pl:* ì-dùdúmà.
- kì-dùm°** /kì-dùm<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* bruit, résonance.  
*Pl:* ì-dùm°.
- kì-dùtò** /kì-dùtò/ *n.* rat. *Pl:* ì-dùtò.
- kì-dzà** /kì-dzà/ *n.* chaise. *Pl:* ì-dzà.
- kì-dzánḡ** /kì-dzánḡ/ *n.* serpent (sp.). *Pl:*  
 ì-dzánḡ.
- kì-dzìdzìl** /kì-dzìdzìl/ *n.* gencive.  
*Pl:* ì-dzìdzìl.
- kì-dzìl°** /kì-dzìl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
 ì-dzìl°.
- kì-dzì<sup>+</sup>m** /kì-dzì<sup>+</sup>m<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* génie aquatique.  
*Pl:* ì-dzì<sup>+</sup>m.
- kì-dzì<sup>+</sup>má** /kì-dzì<sup>+</sup>má<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* cercle de  
 personnes. *Pl:* ì-dzì<sup>+</sup>má.
- kì-dzìmá** /kì-dzìmá/ *adj.* beau.
- kì-dzìmá** /kì-dzìmá/ *n.* beauté. *Pl:*  
 ì-dzìmá.
- kì-dzìtá tḡṅ** /kì-dzìtá tḡṅ/ *n.* arrière-  
 arrière-arrière petit enfant.  
*Pl:* ì-dzìtá tḡṅ, à-kì-dzìtá tḡṅ.
- kì-dzìtá tḡṅ** /kì-dzìtá tḡṅ/ *n.* angle.  
*Pl:* ì-dzìtá tḡṅ, ò-dzìtá tḡṅ,  
 à-kì-dzìtá tḡṅ.
- kì-dzìwùkà** /kì-dzìwùkà/ *n.* clé.  
*Pl:* ì-dzìwùkà.
- kì-dzòdzòndù** /kì-dzòdzòndù/ *n.* albinos.  
*Pl:* ì-dzòdzòndù.

- kì-fá'tí** /kì-fátí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bruit de quelque qui bouge. *Pl:* ì-fá'tí.
- kì-fě́s** /kì-fě́s/ *n.* os. *Pl:* ì-fě́s.
- kì-fém** /kì-fém<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* repos, congé. *Pl:* ì-fém.
- kì-fě́ʃlǝ́** /kì-fě́ʃlǝ́<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* soif; envie. *Pl:* ì-fě́ʃlǝ́.
- kì-fùl** /kì-fùl/ *n.* mauvaise habitude. *Pl:* ì-fùl.
- kì-fùl** /kì-fùl/ *n.* épidémie. *Pl:* ì-fùl.
- kì-fùlò** /kì-fùlò/ *n.* mue. *Pl:* ì-fùlò.
- kì-fúmó** /kì-fúmó/ *n.* maux de tête. *Pl:* ì-fúmó.
- kì-fúndó** /kì-fúndó/ *n.* estomac. *Pl:* ì-fúndó.
- kì-fùʃfú'jú** /kì-fùʃfú'jú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* poumon. *Pl:* ì-fùʃfú'jú.
- kì-gwè̀mò** /kì-gwè̀mò/ *n.* gros abcès. *Pl:* ì-gwè̀mò.
- kì-gwò̀jà** /kì-gwò̀jà/ *n.* papier. *Pl:* ì-gwò̀jà.
- kì-gbù** /kì-gbù/ *n.* crapaud (sp.). *Pl:* ì-gbù.
- kì-kàkà̀mbè** /kì-kàkà̀mbè/ *n.* couronne d'herbe (sp.). *Pl:* ì-kàkà̀mbè.
- kì-kàkí** /kì-kàkí/ *n.* rhinocéros. *Pl:* ì-kàkí.
- kì-kàkì** /kì-kàkì/ *n.* brindille. *Pl:* ì-kàkì.
- kì-kéki** /kì-kéki/ *n.* rate. *Pl:* ì-kéki.
- kì-kèl** /kì-kèl/ *n.* gros morceau. *Pl:* ì-kèl.
- kì-kè̀ngêj** /kì-kè̀ngêj/ *n.* lueur. *Pl:* ì-kè̀ngêj.
- kì-kèn** /kì-kèn/ *n.* couteau. *Pl:* ì-kèn.
- kì-kò̀klàmbù** /kì-kò̀klàmbù/ *n.* coquille. *Pl:* ì-kò̀klàmbù.
- kì-kò̀pù** /kì-kò̀pù/ *n.* peau d'animal ; carapace. *Pl:* ì-kò̀pù.
- kì-kò̀pù** /kì-kò̀pù/ *n.* enveloppe. *Pl:* ì-kò̀pù.
- kì-kó̀ʃlǝ́** /kì-kó̀ʃlǝ́<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* toux. *Pl:* ì-kó̀ʃlǝ́.
- kì-kǔl** /kì-kǔl<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* hérisson. *Pl:* ì-kǔl.
- kì-kùm°** /kì-kùm°/ *n.* souche. *Pl:* ì-kùm°.
- kì-kù̀ngú** /kì-kù̀ngú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* ì-kù̀ngú.
- kì-kúpó** /kì-kúpó/ *n.* caverne. *Pl:* ì-kúpó.
- kì-kpà̀kpá** /kì-kpà̀kpá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* lèvres. *Pl:* ì-kpà̀kpá.
- kì-kpó̀klókú** /kì-kpó̀klókú/ *n.* crâne. *Pl:* ì-kpó̀klókú.
- kì-là̀jáákó** /kì-là̀jáákó/ *n.* barrière. *Pl:* ì-là̀jáákó.
- kì-léwó** /kì-léwó/ *n.* bébé. *Pl:* ì-léwó.
- kì-lò̀ngò** /kì-lò̀ngò/ *n.* crête. *Pl:* ì-lò̀ngò.
- kì-lò̀ʃù** /kì-lò̀ʃù/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* ì-lò̀ʃù.
- kì-lò̀kù** /kì-lò̀kù/ *n.* poison. *Pl:* ì-lò̀kù.
- kì-ló̀'ó** /kì-ló̀'ó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* serpent (sp.). *Pl:* ì-ló̀'ó.
- kì-lò̀ndó** /kì-lò̀ndó/ *n.* brouillard. *Pl:* ì-lò̀ndó.
- kì-nà̀ngòl** /kì-nà̀ngòl/ *n.* mante religieuse (sp.). *Pl:* ì-nà̀ngòl.
- kì-nù̀mbà̀nù̀mbà** /kì-nù̀mbà̀nù̀mbà/ *n.* feuilles (sp.). *Pl:* ì-nù̀mbà̀nù̀mbà.
- kì-nà̀á'í** /kì-nà̀á'í/ *quant.* un peu de, peu de.

- kì-pàá'kó** /kì-pàákó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* écorce. *Pl:*  
 ì-pàá'kó.
- kì-pàpá** /kì-pàpá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* écaille. *Pl:* ì-pàpá.
- kì-pèpèmbù** /kì-pèpèmbù/ *n.* mur. *Pl:*  
 ì-pèpèmbù.
- kì-pètkà** /kì-pètkà/ *n.* bouchon,  
 couvercle. *Pl:* ì-pètkà.
- kì-pèkpékì** /kì-pèkpékì/ *n.* nageoire. *Pl:*  
 ì-pèkpékì.
- kì-pèló** /kì-pèló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* moitié; morceau. *Pl:*  
 ì-pèló.
- kì-pètó** /kì-pètó/ *n.* temps, moment;  
 heure. *Pl:* ì-pètó.
- kì-pí'ló** /kì-pí'ló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.); fruit de  
 cet arbre. *Pl:* ì-pí'ló.
- kì-pìpí** /kì-pìpí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* muet. *Pl:* ì-pìpí.
- kì-pjà** /kì-pjà/ *n.* verset, couplet. *Pl:*  
 ì-pjà.
- kì-pjàpjà** /kì-pjàpjà/ *quant.* très peu. *Pl:*  
 ì-pjàpjà.
- kì-pjè** /kì-pjè/ *n.* lange. *Pl:* ì-pjè.
- kì-pól** /kì-pól/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* ì-pól.
- kì-pòw°** /kì-pòw<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* hippopotame.  
*Pl:* ì-pòw°.
- kì-pùl** /kì-pùl/ *n.* antilope (sp.). *Pl:* ì-pùl.
- kì-pùpùl** /kì-pùpùl/ *n.* vent. *Pl:* ì-pùpùl.
- kì-fà** /kì-fà/ *n.* bubinga. *Pl:* ì-fà.
- kì-fà d3ón** /kì-fà d3ón<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
 ì-fà d3ón.
- kì-fáákó** /kì-fáákó/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
 ì-fáákó.
- kì-fááló** /kì-fááló/ *n.* plume de croupion.  
*Pl:* ì-fááló.
- kì-fááló** /kì-fááló/ *n.* fleur de maïs. *Pl:*  
 ì-fááló.
- kì-fàmbló** /kì-fàmbló/ *n.* poisson (sp.).  
*Pl:* ì-fàmbló.
- kì-fán** /kì-fán<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* champ (sp.) de saison  
 sèche que l'on trouve dans des  
 zones marécageuses. *Pl:* ì-fán;  
 jù-fán-, à-kì-fán.
- kì-fàfámú** /kì-fàfámú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ombre. *Pl:*  
 ì-fàfámú.
- kì-fèkfèkì** /kì-fèkfèkì/ *adj.* idiot.
- kì-fèkfèkì** /kì-fèkfèkì/ *n.* idiot. *Pl:* ì-  
 fèkfèkì.
- kì-fèfèmbù** /kì-fèfèmbù/ *n.* génie,  
 monstre. *Pl:* ì-fèfèmbù.
- kì-fèn** /kì-fèn/ *n.* sapeli. *Pl:* ì-fèn.
- kífim** /kífim/ *n.* cuisine. *Pl:* à-kífim.
- kì-fòklò** /kì-fòklò/ *n.* corbeille. *Pl:*  
 ì-fòklò.
- kì-fòkú** /kì-fòkú/ *n.* morve. *Pl:* ì-fòkú.
- kì-fòñ°** /kì-fòñ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* singe (sp.). *Pl:* ì-fòñ°.
- kì-fóó** /kì-fóó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* chapeau. *Pl:* ì-fóó.
- kì-fóóló** /kì-fóóló/ *n.* ilomba. *Pl:* ì-fóóló.
- kì-fófú** /kì-fófú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* respiration. *Pl:*  
 ì-fófú.
- kì-fòwó** /kì-fòwó/ *n.* hyène. *Pl:* ì-fòwó.
- kì-fòfó** /kì-fòfó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* champignon (sp.). *Pl:*  
 ì-fòfó.
- kì-fùtú** /kì-fùtú/ *n.* souris (sp.). *Pl:* ì-fùtú.
- kì-tààmbò** /kì-tààmbò/ *n.* mare. *Pl:*  
 ì-tààmbò.

- kì-tààtǝ́** /kì-tààtǝ́/ *adj.* vide.
- kì-tá'ká** /kì-táká<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* brancard. *Pl:*  
ì-tá'ká.
- kì-tátlàà** /kì-tátl-àà/ *n.* origine.
- kì-tátlè** /kì-tátlè/ *n.* commencement.
- kì-tàw** /kì-tàw/ *n.* mouton. *Pl:* ì-tàw.
- kì-těkl** /kì-těkl<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* malheur persistant.  
*Pl:* ì-těkl.
- kì-tél** /kì-tél/ *n.* place; position ; statut.  
*Pl:* ì-tél.
- kì-tètél** /kì-tètél/ *n.* bétail. *Pl:* ì-tètél.
- kì-tòkǝ́áákó** /kì-tòkǝ́áákó/ *n.* pêche  
féminine (sp.). *Pl:* ì-tòkǝ́áákó.
- kì-tómbó** /kì-tómbó/ *n.* peuple ; tribu. *Pl:*  
ì-tómbó.
- kì-tóndú** /kì-tóndú/ *n.* tali. *Pl:* ì-tóndú.
- kì-tówú** /kì-tówú/ *n.* morsure. *Pl:* ì-tówú.
- kì-tój** /kì-tój<sup>B</sup>/ *adj.* bon.
- kì-tój** /kì-tój<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* acte de charité; bienfait;  
bien-être. *Pl:* ì-tój, à-kì-tój.
- kì-tóku** /kì-tóku/ *n.* macération de  
feuilles.
- kì-tòkú** /kì-tòkú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bassin de pêche. *Pl:*  
ì-tòkú.
- kì-tòndù** /kì-tòndù/ *n.* trône. *Pl:*  
à-kì-tòndù.
- kì-tónǝ́l** /kì-tónǝ́l/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
ì-tónǝ́l.
- kì-túl** /kì-túl<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* grand coup de poing.  
*Pl:* ì-túl, ñ-túl, à-kì-túl.
- kì-túplóókó** /kì-túplóókó/ *n.* marais. *Pl:*  
ì-túplóókó.
- kì-tùtú'í** /kì-tùtú'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* serpent (sp.).
- kì-tǝ́ákí'í** /kì-tǝ́ákí'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ongle ; griffe.  
*Pl:* ì-tǝ́ákí'í.
- kì-tǝ́álkà** /kì-tǝ́álkà/ *n.* arme tranchante.  
*Pl:* ì-tǝ́álkà.
- kì-tǝ́èw** /kì-tǝ́èw/ *n.* jeu. *Pl:* ì-tǝ́èw.
- kì-tǝ́il** /kì-tǝ́il/ *n.* morceau; moitié. *Pl:*  
ì-tǝ́il.
- kì-tǝ́ilá kǝ́ŋ** /kì-tǝ́ilá kǝ́ŋ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fruit (sp.).  
*Pl:* ì-tǝ́ilá kǝ́ŋ.
- kì-tǝ́itǝ́il** /kì-tǝ́itǝ́il/ *n.* talon. *Pl:* ì-tǝ́itǝ́il.
- kì-tǝ́itǝ́il** /kì-tǝ́itǝ́il/ *adj.* bègue.
- kì-tǝ́itǝ́il** /kì-tǝ́itǝ́il/ *n.* bégaiement. *Pl:*  
ì-tǝ́itǝ́il.
- kì-vèklà** /kì-vèklà/ *n.* statue. *Pl:* ì-vèklà.
- kòjàà** /kòjàà/ *v.* accueillir.
- kòjó** /kòjó/ *n.* cochon. *Pl:* à-kòjó.
- kóká** /kóka/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:* à-kóká.
- kòklàà** /kòklàà/ *v.* prier.
- kòklǝ́** /kòklǝ́/ *n.* soir.
- kòkòǝ́** /kòkòǝ́/ *n.* fourmi (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kòkòǝ́.
- kòkó** /kòkó/ *n.* sucre; canne à sucre. *Pl:*  
à-kòkó.
- kòkú** /kòkú/ *n.* oncle maternel. *Pl:*  
à-kòkú.
- kòl°** /kòl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* jambe; pied. *Pl:* ñ-kòl°.
- kóló** /kóló/ *n.* famine; manque.
- kòm** /kòm/ *aux.* vraiment.
- kómbò** /kómbò/ *n.* assiette creuse. *Pl:*  
à-kómbò, kì-kómbò.
- kòmbó** /kòmbó/ *n.* utérus. *Pl:* à-kòmbó.

- kòmbò** /kòmbò/ *n.* montagne; colline. *Pl:*  
à-kòmbò.
- kómó** /kómó/ *n.* esclave. *Pl:* à-kómó,  
kì-kómó.
- kòmjàà** /kòmjàà/ *v.* s'apprêter.
- kòmjàè** /kòmjàè/ *v.* fabriquer.
- kòndá** /kòndá/ *n.* fessier. *Pl:* à-kòndá.
- kòndó** /kòndó/ *n.* peau humaine. *Pl:*  
à-kòndó.
- kòndú** /kòndú/ *n.* met préparé à base de  
feuille.
- kóndú** /kóndú/ *n.* fantôme.
- kǒ'ndú** /kǒndú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* amulette en bambou.  
*Pl:* à-kǒ'ndú.
- kòndè** /kòndè/ *v.* éclairer.
- kónj** /kónj/ *n.* chenille. *Pl:* à-kónj.
- kònjáá'jí** /kònjáá'jí/ *quant.* peu.
- kònjáàwè°** /kònj-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* mince,  
maigre.
- kǒngà** /kǒngà/ *n.* boîte. *Pl:* à-kǒngà.
- kóó** /kóó/ *prep.* sur; au-dessus de.
- kòòkòò** /kòòkòò/ *adv.* hier.
- kópá** /kópá/ *n.* petite hache (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kópá; kì-kópá.
- kòjlàà** /kòjlàà/ *v.* se gratter.
- kòjlè** /kòjlè/ *v.* séparer les gousses  
d'arachides des bottes.
- kòfù** /kòfù/ *n.* perroquet. *Pl:* à-kòfù.
- kótú** /kótú/ *n.* sac. *Pl:* à-kótú, kì-kótú.
- kówó** /kówó/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-kówó.
- kò°** /kò<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* nombril. *Pl:* à-kò°.
- kò°** /kò<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.).
- kòkàà** /kòk/àà/ *v.* être écrasé.
- kòklè** /kòklè/ *v.* chanter (coq).
- kòklè** /kòklè/ *v.* redresser ; étirer.
- kòkló** /kòkló/ *n.* pâte. *Pl:* à-kòkló.
- kòklókòò** /kòklókòò/ *n.* serpent mystique  
(sp.). *Pl:* à-kòklókòò.
- kòkòñ°** /kòkòñ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* malade. *Pl:* à-kòkòñ°.
- kókú** /kókú/ *n.* caillou ; pierre. *Pl:*  
kì-kókú.
- kòl°** /kòl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* corde. *Pl:* kì-kòl°.
- kòlà** /kòlà/ *n.* petite jarre des aïeux. *Pl:*  
à-kòlà.
- kòm** /kòm/ *n.* tambour à membrane. *Pl:*  
à-kòm.
- kòmbè** /kòmbè/ *n.* boyaux
- kòmbjè** /kòmbjè/ *v.* être malade, souffrir.
- kòmbù** /kòmbù/ *n.* varan. *Pl:* à-kòmbù.
- kòñ°** /kòñ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* maladie. *Pl:* à-kòñ°.
- kónáá** /kónáá/ *n.* argile; matériau pour  
crépissage.
- kòndù** /kòndù/ *n.* lune. *Pl:* à-kòndù.
- kòndù** /kòndù/ *n.* jeune fille. *Pl:* à-kòndù.
- kòndù** /kòndù/ *n.* mois. *Pl:* à-kòndù.
- kòñj** /kòñj/ *n.* dos. *Pl:* à-kòñj.
- kòñj°** /kòñj<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* chagrin.
- kòngàndí** /kòngàndí/ *n.* langue d'origine  
des kwakum.
- kòngò** /kòngò/ *n.* répertoire musical (sp.).
- kòñlè** /kòñlè/ *v.* ronfler.
- kòó'kó** /kòókó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se cogner la tête;  
s'embrouiller.
- kòòkó** /kòòkó/ *n.* tronc de palmier. *Pl:*

- à-kòòkó.
- kòòkó** /kòòkó/ *n.* latrines. *Pl:* à-kòòkó.
- kòòkò** /kòòkò/ *v.* écraser, moudre.
- kòòlè** /kòòlè/ *n.* célibataire. *Pl:* à-kòòlè.
- kòó'íó** /kòó'íó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* panier ajouré. *Pl:* à-kòó'íó.
- kòòlól** /kòòlól/ *n.* escargot. *Pl:* à-kòòlól.
- kòóndè** /kòóndè/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-kòóndè.
- kòòndè** /kòòndè/ *n.* banane-plantain. *Pl:* à-kòòndè.
- kòòné** /kòòné<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:* à-kòòné.
- kòó'nó** /kòó'nó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* guetter.
- kòòfè** /kòòfè/ *v.* écraser (un pou).
- kòó'fó** /kòó'fó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* parler couramment.
- kòòwé** /kòòwé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* faucille. *Pl:* à-kòòwé.
- kó'pú** /kó'pú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* gobelet. *Pl:* à-kó'pú.
- kó'fè** /kó'fè/ *v.* tousser.
- kòtlè** /kòtlè/ *v.* ajouter.
- kòwùfè** /kòwùfè/ *v.* accrocher (mettre sur un crochet); prendre quelque chose avec un crochet.
- kù** /kù/ *n.* trou. *Pl:* à-kù.
- kùkù** /kùkù/ *n.* tronc (arbre, corps humain). *Pl:* à-kùkù.
- kùkùl** /kùkùl/ *n.* repas préparé à base de macabo.
- kùl** /kùl/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-kùl.
- kùl** /kùl/ *n.* céphalophe (sp.). *Pl:* à-kùl.
- kùl** /kùl/ *n.* épilepsie. *Pl:* à-kùl.
- kùl** /kùl/ *n.* force.
- kùl** /kùl/ *n.* vent; tornade.
- kùlà** /kùlà/ *n.* genre, style.
- kùlá'kí** /kùlá'kí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* repas préparé à base des feuilles de manioc.
- kùlò** /kùlò/ *v.* gratter pour enlever.
- kùm** /kùm<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* renommée ; prospérité. *Pl:* kù-kùm.
- kùmból** /kùmból/ *n.* diarrhée.
- kùmò** /kùmò/ *v.* trouver.
- kún** /kún/ *aux.* Focalisation
- kùndé** /kùndé/ *n.* gourdin. *Pl:* à-kùndé.
- kùndè** /kùndè/ *n.* igname. *Pl:* à-kùndè.
- kùndú** /kùndú/ *adj.* stérile.
- kùndú** /kùndú/ *n.* stérilité. *Pl:* à-kùndú.
- kùní** /kùní<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bouillie de maïs.
- kú'fó** /kú'fó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* veuf.
- kú'fó** /kú'fó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* fuir. *Pl:* à-kú'fó.
- kùtè** /kùtè/ *n.* sac (sp.). *Pl:* à-kùtè.
- kùtò** /kùtò/ *v.* tamiser (vin).
- kútúwè** /kútúwè/ *v.* se courber; s'accroupir.
- kùwò** /kùwò/ *n.* bouclier. *Pl:* à-kùwò.
- kwààkò** /kwààkò/ *v.* tailler (le bois).
- kwààlò** /kwààlò/ *v.* griffer.
- kwààmbè** /kwààmbè/ *n.* Dieu-créateur.
- kwààmbò** /kwààmbò/ *v.* inventer, créer.
- kwàá'ndzò** /kwàá'ndzò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* rater.
- kwààfò** /kwààfò/ *v.* tapoter
- kwààfò** /kwààfò/ *v.* gratter.
- kwààfò** /kwààfò/ *v.* arracher.
- kwàj°** /kwàj<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* amour ; générosité.
- kwàl°** /kwàl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* perdrix. *Pl:* à-kwàl°.



**kwá<sup>1</sup>lá** /kwá<sup>1</sup>lá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ami. *Pl:* à-kwá<sup>1</sup>lá.  
**kwàlá** /kwàlá/ *n.* machette. *Pl:* ñ-kwàlá.  
**kwàláà** /kwàláà/ *n.* camarade. *Pl:*  
à-kwàláà.  
**kwàlálà** /kwàlálà/ *n.* éclair.  
**kwá<sup>1</sup>ljé** /kwá<sup>1</sup>ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* arriver.  
**kwá<sup>1</sup>làà** /kwá<sup>1</sup>làà/ *v.* se dénoncer.  
**kwá<sup>1</sup>lè** /kwá<sup>1</sup>lè/ *v.* dénoncer.  
**kwè** /kwè/ *v.* tomber; échouer.  
**kwèndzò** /kwèndzò/ *v.* éviter.  
**kwèj** /kwèj/ *n.* céphalophe. *Pl:* à-kwèj.  
**kwèlò** /kwèlò/ *v.* abattre (arbre).  
**kwé<sup>1</sup>tó** /kwé<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se moquer.  
**kwètò** /kwètò/ *v.* inciser.  
**kwètò** /kwètò/ *v.* donner un coup de  
machette.  
**kwě<sup>1</sup>wé** /kwě<sup>1</sup>wé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* tortue aquatique. *Pl:*  
à-kwě<sup>1</sup>wé.

**kwö<sup>1</sup>nó** /kwö<sup>1</sup>nó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* saison de pluies qui  
va d'aout en novembre; champ que  
l'on trouve dans un emplacement  
inondable. *Pl:* à-kwö<sup>1</sup>nó.  
**kwòmbù** /kwòmbù/ *n.* arbre (sp.).  
**kwóó** /kwóó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* nasse. *Pl:* kî-kwóó.  
**kwóó<sup>1</sup>lò** /kwóó<sup>1</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* caquètement de  
poule.  
**kwóó<sup>1</sup>lò** /kwóó<sup>1</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* caqueter.  
**kwòpó** /kwòpó/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kwòpó.  
**kwòw<sup>o</sup>** /kwòw<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kwòw<sup>o</sup>.  
**kwòwùlà** /kwòwùlà/ *n.* scarabé (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kwòwùlà.  
**kwù** /kwù/ *n.* chouette. *Pl:* à-kwù.

## k<sup>h</sup>

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**k<sup>h</sup>à<sup>o</sup>** /k<sup>h</sup>à<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* pangolin. *Pl:* à-k<sup>h</sup>à<sup>o</sup>.  
**k<sup>h</sup>àà** /k<sup>h</sup>àà/ *n.* guérisseur. *Pl:* à-k<sup>h</sup>àà.  
**k<sup>h</sup>èkí** /k<sup>h</sup>èkí/ *n.* courge. *Pl:* à-k<sup>h</sup>èkí.

**k<sup>h</sup>òmbó** /k<sup>h</sup>òmbó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* porc-épic. *Pl:*  
à-k<sup>h</sup>òmbó.

## kp

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**kpààmè** /kpààmè/ *n.* lézard (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kpààmè.  
**kpàá<sup>1</sup>pó** /kpàá<sup>1</sup>pó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* attraper quelque  
chose à la volée.

**kpàá<sup>1</sup>tó** /kpàá<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* claquer des doigts;  
découper avec les ciseaux.  
**kpáká** /kpáká<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* souris (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-kpáká.

**kpàkì** /kpàkì/ *n.* charme que l'on dépose devant une porte ou sur un chemin.

**kpàkɔ̃** /kpàkɔ̃/ *n.* fruit (sp.). *Pl:* à-kpàkɔ̃.

**kpàkpá'tí** /kpàkpá'tí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ciseaux. *Pl:* à-kpàkpá'tí.

**kpáplàà** /kpáplàà/ *v.* cligner de l'œil.

**kpàtā** /kpàtā/ *n.* bière de maïs.

**kpémkpémkpém** /kpémkpémkpém/ *n.* idéophone évoquant un son aigu.

**kpó'fɛ** /kpó'fɛ<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* s'écorcher.

**kpômlè** /kpômlè/ *v.* picorer.

**kpó'njé** /kpó'njé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se détacher; tomber.

**kpôɲlè** /kpôɲlè/ *v.* cueillir un fruit.

**kpó'ɔ** /kpó'ɔ<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* appeler.

## 1

**là** /là/ *v.* barrer (pêche à la nasse).

**lá'á** /lá'á<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* verre. *Pl:* à-lá'á, kî-lá'á.

**lààkò** /lààkò/ *v.* se plaindre; se lamenter.

**làá'ndó** /làá'ndó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* aligner.

**lààtò** /lààtò/ *v.* coller, coudre.

**làkè** /làkè/ *v.* barrer; tendre l'embuscade.

**làkɔ̃** /làkɔ̃/ *v.* demander, questionner.

**lámà** /lámà/ *n.* lampe. *Pl:* à-lámà, kî-lámà.

**lándá** /lándá/ *n.* rangée. *Pl:* à-lándá, kî-lándá.

**lányó** /lányó/ *n.* grillon. *Pl:* à-lányó.

**làɲlè** /làɲlè/ *v.* étendre.

**láv** /láv/ *n.* longueur.

**làwáàwè°** /làw-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* long.

**lávjè** /lávjè/ *n.* initiation masculine.

**lèèfàà** /lèèfàà/ *v.* oublier.

**lém** /lém/ *n.* hache. *Pl:* à-lém; kî-lém.

**lèm** /lèm/ *adj.* paresseux.

**lèm** /lèm/ *n.* paresse; faiblesse.

**lèmbè** /lèmbè/ *n.* sorcier. *Pl:* à-lèmbè.

**léméléme** /léméléme/ *prep.* entre; au milieu de, au centre de.

**lèmɔ̃** /lèmɔ̃/ *v.* paresser.

**lènd** /lènd/ *v.* pleurer.

**lènd** /lènd/ *v.* vouloir.

**lèè** /lèè/ *v.* habiller.

**lèè°** /lèè<sup>H</sup>/ *conj.* donc, alors; ainsi.

**lèèfè** /lèèfè/ *v.* affaiblir, ramollir, attendre.

**lèkò** /lèkò/ *v.* bourgeonner.

**lèl°** /lèl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* faiblesse; paresse. *Pl:* à-lèl°.

**lèláàwè°** /lèl-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* tendre, mou.

**lèlò** /lèlò/ *v.* faiblir, fatiguer, ramollir.

**lèmò** /lèmò/ *v.* rêver.

**lèndò** /lèndò/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à- lèndò.

**lè'ɲí** /lè'ɲí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* riz. *Pl:* à- lè'ɲí.

**lèwò** /lèwò/ *v.* tendre (piège à détendeur).

**lí'í** /lí'í<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* noircir (intr.).

- likè** /likè/ *n.* avarice.
- likè** /likè/ *adj.* avare.
- liklàà** /liklàà/ *v.* trembler, frissonner.
- limbò** /limbò/ *n.* plante (sp.). *Pl:* à-limbò.
- limbò** /limbò/ *v.* devenir terne.
- liṅáàwè°** /liṅ-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* noir.
- liṅjè** /liṅ-jè/ *v.* noircir (tr.).
- lipààndzèl** /lipààndzèl/ *n.* oiseau (sp.).
- litlè** /litlè/ *v.* serrer.
- lò** /lò/ *v.* pousser.
- lókklàà** /lókklàà/ *v.* transporter (une grande quantité).
- lòl** /lòl/ *n.* flamme. *Pl:* à-lòl.
- ló<sup>1</sup>ló** /ló<sup>1</sup>ló<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* transporter (une grande quantité).
- lòmbó** /lòmbó/ *n.* quinquina. *Pl:* à-lòmbó.
- lòṅáà** /lòṅáà/ *v.* se combattre.
- lòṅgá** /lòṅgá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* seau. *Pl:* à-lòṅgá.
- ló<sup>1</sup>ó** /ló<sup>1</sup>ó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* sperme.
- lòò** /lòò/ *v.* viser.
- lòṅló** /lòṅló/ *n.* arbuste (sp.). *Pl:* à-lòṅló.
- lòtlè** /lòtlè/ *v.* nommer; surnommer.
- lòtlò** /lòtlò/ *n.* homonyme. *Pl:* à-lòtlò.
- lójà** /lójà/ *n.* loi. *Pl:* à-lójà, kì-lójà.
- lólóṅ** /lólóṅ/ *n.* instrument musical à vent (trompette, sifflet, etc.). *Pl:* à-lólóṅ.
- ló<sup>1</sup>lóó** /ló<sup>1</sup>lóó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* tympan. *Pl:* kì- ló<sup>1</sup>lóó.
- lòmbò** *n.* bouteille. *Pl:* à-lòmbò.
- ló<sup>1</sup>mbú** /lómbú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* langue kakò.
- lòndáàwè°** /lònd-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* loin.
- lòṅáàwè°** /lòṅ-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* profond.
- lòṅjè** /lòṅ-jè/ *v.* approfondir; éloigner.
- lós** /lós<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être profond.
- lòòké** /lòòké<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbuste (sp.). *Pl:* à-lòòké.
- lùklàà** /lùklàà/ *v.* bourdonner.
- lùkò** /lùkò/ *v.* respecter.
- lùkò** /lùkò/ *v.* animer.
- lùmbú** /lùmbú/ *n.* ver, lombric. *Pl:* à-lùmbú.
- lùndè** /lùndè/ *n.* campement. *Pl:* à-lùndè.
- lùtò** /lùtò/ *v.* tirer; conduire.
- lùtjè** /lùtjè/ *n.* cérumen.

## m

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- màà** /màà/ *v.* entasser.
- màà** /màà/ *v.* entasser.
- mààkò** /mààkò/ *v.* grimper.
- mààlò** /mààlò/ *v.* se finir.
- mààṅò** /mààṅò/ *v.* finir, terminer.
- màá<sup>1</sup>ló** /màá<sup>1</sup>ló<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se rapprocher.
- màá<sup>1</sup>ló** /màá<sup>1</sup>ló<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* serrer.
- mákítì** /mákítì/ *n.* marché. *Pl:* à-mákítì.
- màm°** /màm<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* tante paternelle. *Pl:* à-màm°.
- mánṅ** /mánṅ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* grand fumier. *Pl:* à-mánṅ, kì-mánṅ.

- mán** /mán<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* mer. *Pl:* à-mán, kì-mán.
- màṅàà** /màṅ-àà/ *v.* s'entasser.
- máṅgòlò** /máṅgòlò/ *n.* mango. *Pl:*  
à-máṅgòlò.
- máfà** /máfà/ *n.* maître. *Pl:* à-máfà,  
kì-máfà.
- máfíṣí** /máfíṣí/ *n.* allumette. *Pl:* à-máfíṣí.
- máwàtì** /máwàtì/ *n.* maçon. *Pl:*  
à-máwàtì.
- m-béklè** /n-béklè/ *adj.* bavard.
- m-béklè** /n-béklè/ *n.* bavard. *Pl:* à-béklè.
- mèktàà** /mèktàà/ *v.* se fâcher; s'indigner.
- mèl°** /mèl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* cou. *Pl:* à-mèl°, kì-mèl°.
- mèl°** /mèl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* entente.
- mèlò** /mèlò/ *v.* avaler.
- ménó** /ménó/ *adv.* demain. *Pl:* à-ménó,  
kì-ménó.
- mé<sup>1</sup>ló** /méló<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* équilibrer.
- mé<sup>1</sup>ló** /méló<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* tailler, polir.
- méndlè** /méndlè/ *v.* féliciter; encourager.
- míí** /míí<sup>B</sup>/ *aux.* déjà; progressif.
- mí fááṅdzé** /mí fááṅdzé/ *n.* oncle  
paternel. *Pl:* à-mí fááṅdzé.
- mjá** /mjá/ *n.* année. *Pl:* à-mjá, kì-mjá.
- mjáákó** /mjáakó/ *n.* personne ou animal  
castré. *Pl:* à-mjáákó, kì-mjáákó.
- mjáámó** /mjáamó/ *n.* toucan. *Pl:*  
à-mjáámó.
- mjààṅdzò** /mjààṅdzò/ *v.* asperger.
- mjàṅlò** /mjàṅlò/ *n.* antilope (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-mjàṅlò, kì-mjàṅlò.
- mjá<sup>1</sup>ṣí** /mjá<sup>1</sup>ṣí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* voix. *Pl:* à-mjá<sup>1</sup>ṣí,  
kì-mjá<sup>1</sup>ṣí.
- mjàṣkà** /mjàṣkà/ *n.* levier de piège. *Pl:*  
à-mjàṣkà, kì-mjàṣkà.
- mjí<sup>1</sup>ṅ** /mjí<sup>1</sup>ṅ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* brochet. *Pl:* à-mjí<sup>1</sup>ṅ,  
kì-mjí<sup>1</sup>ṅ.
- mjàkè** /mjàkè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* barrière; digue. *Pl:*  
à-mjàkè, kì-mjàkè.
- mjàṅdzí** /mjàṅdzi/ *adj.* nouveau. *Pl:*  
à-mjàṅdí, kì-mjàṅdí.
- mjàṣṣè** /mjàṣṣè/ *n.* fétiche pour le champ;  
interdit. *Pl:* à-mjàṣṣè, kì-mjàṣṣè.
- mjàó** /mjàó/. *adj.* coupé.
- mò°** /mò<sup>H</sup>/ *conj.* lorsque, quand.
- mó<sup>1</sup>mbú** /mó<sup>1</sup>mbú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bouche. *Pl:*  
à-mó<sup>1</sup>mbú.
- mó-mjáá** /mó-mjaa/ *n.* femme. *Pl:*  
gwó-mjáá, à-gwó-mjáá.
- mòò°** /mòò<sup>H</sup>/ *nlnk.* celui. *Pl:* gwòòm°.
- mò-mó** /mò-mó/ *n.* personne. *Pl:*  
gwò-mó.
- mòṣé** /mòṣé<sup>B</sup>/ *adv.* aujourd'hui.
- mòṣè°** /mòṣè<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* soleil. *Pl:* à-mòṣè°,  
kì-mòṣè°.
- mòtú** /mòtú/ *n.* tête. *Pl:* à-mòtú.
- mòmlàà** /mòml-àà/ *v.* s'arrondir; se  
modeler.
- mòmlàṅàwè°** /mòmlàṅ-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* rond,  
circulaire.
- mòmlè** /mòmlè/ *v.* arrondir; modeler.
- móò°** /móò<sup>H</sup>/ *aux.* déjà.
- mòó<sup>1</sup>kó** /mòó<sup>1</sup>kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* nager.
- mò-òṃ p<sup>h</sup>àám** /mò-òṃ p<sup>h</sup>àám/ *n.* garçon.

- Pl:* gwò-òm p<sup>h</sup>ââm, à-gwò-òm p<sup>h</sup>ââm.
- mò-òm mómjáá** /mò-òm móm-jaa/ *n.* fille. *Pl:* gwò-òm gwómjáá, à-gwò-òm gwómjáá.
- mòmóónó** /mòmóónó/ *dim.* petit enfant. *Pl:* gwògwóónó.
- mòmóónó** /mòmóónó/ *n.* petit. *Pl:* gwògwóónó.
- mò-òm** /mò-òm/ *n.* enfant. *Pl:* gwò-òm, à-gwò-òm.
- mò-òm kóndù** /mò-òm kòndù/ *n.* jeune fille. *Pl:* gwò-òm kóndù, à-gwò-òm kóndù.
- mótù°** /mótù<sup>H</sup>/ *num.* un.
- m̀pàklò** /m̀pàklò/ *n.* titola blanc. *Pl:* à-m̀pàklò, m̀m̀pàklò.
- m̀pàmbú** /m̀pàmbú/ *n.* divination pratiquée à base de petits morceaux de bambous ou de cauris. *Pl:* à-m̀pàmbú, m̀m̀pàmbú.
- m̀pàngò** /m̀pàngò/ *n.* sorte d'arbre dont les fruit sont utilisés comme charme contre les voleurs. *Pl:* à-m̀pàngò, m̀m̀pàngò.
- m̀péwú** /m̀péwú/ *n.* recherche. *Pl:* à-m̀péwú, m̀m̀péwú.
- m̀pìngá** /m̀pìngá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* couverture. *Pl:* à-m̀pìngá, m̀m̀pìngá.
- m̀pján** /m̀pján/ *n.* sauce. *Pl:* à-m̀pján.
- m̀pjèŋ** /m̀pjèŋ/ *n.* sorte de grand silure. *Pl:* à-m̀pjèŋ, m̀m̀pjèŋ.
- m̀pjèŋgé** /m̀pjèŋgé/ *n.* bourrelet de graisse. *Pl:* à-m̀pjèŋgé, m̀m̀pjèŋgé.
- m̀pòŋà** /m̀pòŋà/ *n.* chant de guerre. *Pl:* à-m̀pòŋà.
- m̀ùŋlè** /m̀ùŋlè/ *v.* déraciner.
- m̀vù** /m̀vù/ *adj.* fertile.
- m̀fìŋ°** /m̀fìŋ<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* malin

## mb

- mbà** /mbà/ *n.* façon. *Pl:* à-mbà, k̀i-mbà.
- mbàà°** /mbàà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* noix de palme. *Pl:* à-mbàà°, k̀i-mbàà°, m̀m̀mbàà°.
- mbààkè** /mbààkè/ *n.* course. *Pl:* à-mbààkè, k̀i-mbààkè.
- mbááló** /mbáaló/ *n.* tracé fait à la machette dans un champ. *Pl:* à-mbááló.
- mbàl** /mbàl/ *n.* présage. *Pl:* à-mbàl, m̀m̀mbàl.
- mbàmbà** /mbàmbà/ *n.* chique. *Pl:* à-mbàmbà, m̀m̀mbàmbà.
- mbàŋdzá** /mbàŋdzá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fronde. *Pl:* à-mbàŋdzá.
- mbán** /mbán/ *n.* dette. *Pl:* à-mbán.
- mbàŋ** /mbàŋ/ *n.* iroko. *Pl:* à-mbàŋ,

- kì-mbàŋ.
- mbàŋ** /mbàŋ/ *n.* but. *Pl:* à-mbàŋ, kÌ-mbàŋ.
- mbàŋàà** /mbàŋàà/ *n.* pêche pratiquée par les hommes avec une canne à pêche sans plomb. *Pl:* à-mbàŋàà, m-mbàŋàà.
- mbáwáŋ** /mbáwáŋ/ *n.* mâchoire. *Pl:* à-mbáwáŋ, kÌ-mbáwáŋ, m-mbáwáŋ.
- mbàwùtù** /mbàwùtù/ *n.* charge. *Pl:* à-mbàwtù, kÌ-mbàwtù, m-mbàwtù.
- mbé<sup>+</sup>kí** /mbé<sup>+</sup>kí/ *n.* bain de vapeur. *Pl:* à-mbé<sup>+</sup>kí.
- mbékó** /mbékó/ *n.* vallée. *Pl:* à-mbékó, kÌ-mbékó.
- mbèl** /mbèl/ *n.* padouk. *Pl:* à-mbèl, kÌ-mbèl, m-mbèl.
- mbèmbù** /mbèmbù/ *n.* tuyau utilisé par les femmes pour distiller la boisson traditionnelle; fusil. *Pl:* à-mbèmbù, kÌ-mbèmbù, m-mbèmbù.
- mbéŋ** /mbéŋ/ *n.* canne. *Pl:* à-mbéŋ, kÌ-mbéŋ, m-mbéŋ.
- mbèŋgà** /mbèŋgà/ *n.* grosse mouche noire; manche d'une flèche. *Pl:* à-mbèŋgà, kÌ-mbèŋgà, m-mbèŋgà.
- mbèè°** /mbèè<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* faute. *Pl:* à-mbèè°, m-mbèè°.
- mbé<sup>+</sup>í** /mbé<sup>+</sup>í/ *n.* porte. *Pl:* à-mbé<sup>+</sup>í, kÌ-mbé<sup>+</sup>í.
- mbé<sup>+</sup>í** /mbé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* cour. *Pl:* à-mbé<sup>+</sup>í, kÌ-mbé<sup>+</sup>í.
- mbèmbò** *n.* cabane. *Pl:* à-mbèmbò, kÌ-mbèmbò, m-mbèmbò.
- mbêŋ** /mbêŋ/ *aux.* souvent.
- mbètí** /mbètí/ *n.* feuille manioc. *Pl:* à-mbètí, kÌ-mbètí, m-mbètí.
- mbètí** /mbètí/ *n.* buffet. *Pl:* à-mbètí, kÌ-mbètí, m-mbètí.
- mbì** /mbì/ *n.* façon. *Pl:* à-mbì.
- mbíjájá** /mbíjájá/ *n.* danse pratiquée par les femmes au clair de lune. *Pl:* à-mbíjájá.
- mbìkì** /mbìkì/ *n.* bâton pour remuer le couscous; pagaie. *Pl:* à-mbìkì, kÌ-mbìkì, m-mbìkì.
- mbíŋdžó** /mbíŋdžó/ *n.* arbre utilisé pour la fabrication des poutres et lattes pour la charpente. *Pl:* à-mbíŋdžó, kÌ-mbíŋdžó, m-mbíŋdžó.
- mbìtó** /mbìtó/ *n.* politique; homme qui vit dans l'eau pour faire du mal à certaines personnes. *Pl:* à-mbìtó.
- mbjààlò** /mbjààlò/ *n.* sorte igname sauvage. *Pl:* à-mbjààlò, kÌ-mbjààlò, m-mbjààlò.
- mbjáljé** /mbjáljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bambou que l'on pose sur la latte centrale de la charpente avant de poser la chaume. *Pl:* à-mbjáljé.
- mbjàljé** /mbjàljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* pou de vêtement. *Pl:* à-mbjàljé, m-mbjàljé.

- mbján** /mbján/ *n.* liane avec laquelle on grimpe sur les arbres. *Pl:* à-mbján, kì-mbján.
- mbjèkà** /mbjèkà/ *n.* travail. *Pl:* à-mbjèkà, m-mbjèkà.
- mbjèm** /mbjèm/ *n.* sésame. *Pl:* à-mbjèm, m-mbjèm.
- mbjètmà** /mbjètmà/ *quant.* beaucoup; plusieurs.
- mbó'ń** /mbó'ń<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* traverse. *Pl:* à-mbó'ń.
- mbó'ndú** /mbó'ndú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* tibia. *Pl:* à-mbó'ndú, m-mbó'ndú.
- mbó'ndzè** /mbó'ndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* poutre centrale. *Pl:* à-mbó'ndzè.
- mbòkú** /mbòkú/ *n.* sorte d'écureuil. *Pl:* à-mbòkú.
- mbòkù** /mbòkù/ *n.* prison. *Pl:* à-mbòkù, m-mbòkù.
- mbòm jèŋ** /mbòm jèŋ/ *n.* sorte de grand silure. *Pl:* à-mbòm jèŋ.
- mbòmà** /mbòmà/ *n.* rhume. *Pl:* à-mbòmà.
- mbòŋ** /mbòŋ/ *n.* liane très solide que l'on utilise pour le tir à la corde. *Pl:* à-mbòŋ.
- mbòsá'á** /mbòsá'á<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* projet; idée, pensée. *Pl:* à-mbòsá'á.
- mbó** /mbó/ *n.* membre supérieur (main, bras etc.). *Pl:* à-mbó, m-mbó.
- mbòmbjè** /mbòmbjè/ *n.* corossol sauvage. *Pl:* à-mbòmbjè.
- mbòòndzò** /mbòòndzò/ *n.* maka. *Pl:* à-mbòòndzò.
- mbùkò** /mbùkò/ *n.* reste. *Pl:* à-mbùkò.
- mbú'ló** /mbú'ló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* purée liquide de plantain mûr. *Pl:* à-mbú'ló.
- mbùló** /mbùló/ *n.* pêche féminine pratiquée par les femmes à l'aide d'un filet monté sur un cerceau. *Pl:* à-mbùló.
- mbúmbúl** /mbúmbul/ *n.* poussière. *Pl:* à-mbúmbúl.
- mbùtà** /mbùtà/ *n.* patate douce. *Pl:* à-mbùtà, m-mbùtà.

## n

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- nâ** /nâ/ *pron.* comment?
- ná'á** /ná'á<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* investiguer.
- nààlò** /nààlò/ *v.* lorgner; guetter.
- nààtò** /nààtò/ *v.* appuyer fortement; bloquer.
- nàktàà** /nàktàà/ *v.* commencer.
- nàktè** /nàktè/ *v.* faire feu, tirer.
- nàmbè** /nàmbè/ *v.* tirer (pour tendre).
- nàtàà** /nàtàà/ *v.* retrouver.
- nàtàà** /nàtàà/ *v.* rattraper.
- n-dètè** /n-dètè/ *adj.* ancien; grand.
- n-dètè** /n-dètè/ *n.* ancien; grand. *Pl:* à-dètè.
- ndè** /ndè/ *n.* chute. *Pl:* à-ndè.

- n-dé<sup>4</sup>ŋ** /n-déŋ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* étranger. *Pl:* à-dé<sup>4</sup>ŋ.
- n-dètkèlèlè** /n-dètkèlè/ *adj.* ancien; grand.
- n-dètkèlèlè** /n-dètkèlè/ *n.* ancien; grand.  
*Pl:* à-dètkèlè
- n-dòdó<sup>4</sup>mbú** /n-dòdómbú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* personne âgée. *Pl:* à-dòdó<sup>4</sup>mbú.
- n-dóm** /n-dóm/ *n.* mâle; époux. *Pl:* à-dóm.
- n-dòmbú** /n-dòmbú/ *adj.* adulte; vieux.
- n-dòmbú** /n-dòmbú/ *n.* adulte; vieux. *Pl:* à-dòmbú.
- nè** /nè/ *prep.* avec ; et.
- nèmbò** /nèmbò/ *v.* toucher.
- nèmbò** /nèmbò/ *v.* saisir; fixer.
- nén** /nén<sup>B</sup>/ *conj.* ainsi.
- nènáàwè<sup>o</sup>** /nèn-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* grand.
- nènáàwè<sup>o</sup>** /nèn-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* gros; large.
- níŋá** /níŋa/ *n.* sorte de grande corbeille qui sert de grenier. *Pl:* à-níŋá.
- ñ-làkjàà** /ñ-làkjàà/ *n.* question. *Pl:* à-n-làkjàà.
- ñlé<sup>4</sup>pó** /ñlépó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* sorte d'algue verte que l'on retrouve au fond des pont d'eau utilisée pour soulager les brûlures. *Pl:* à-ñlé<sup>4</sup>pó.
- n-lèŋló** /n-lèŋló/ *n.* querelle. *Pl:* à-lèŋló.
- ñlòkù** /ñlòkù/ *n.* vin. *Pl:* à-ñlòkù, ñ-ñlòkù.
- ñlòklò** /ñlòklò/ *n.* rosée. *Pl:* à-ñlòklò, ñ-ñlòklò.
- ñlòl** /ñlòl/ *n.* salive. *Pl:* à-ñlòl, ñ-ñlòl.
- ñlùtá** /ñlùtá/ *n.* pêche à la ligne. *Pl:* à-ñlùtá, ñ-ñlùtá.
- ñó** /ñó/ *v.* pleuvoir.
- ñóklè** /ñóklè/ *v.* vanner; égrainer.
- ñòn<sup>o</sup>** /ñòn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* oiseau. *Pl:* à-ñòn<sup>o</sup>, kì-ñòn<sup>o</sup>.
- ñòŋdžè** /ñòŋdžè/ *v.* garder, conserver.
- ñòŋdžè** /ñòŋdžè/ *v.* poser, déposer.
- ñòŋdžè** /ñòŋdžè/ *v.* cacher.
- ñóó** /ñóó/ *conj.* ainsi.
- ñóó<sup>4</sup>lò** /ñóó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* aspirer de la poudre de tabac par le nez.
- ñtá** /ñtá/ *n.* fesse. *Pl:* à-ñtá.
- ñtàndà** /ñtàndà/ *n.* haricot. *Pl:* à-ñtàndà, ñ-ñtàndà.
- ñtól** /ñtól/ *n.* recherche. *Pl:* à-ñtól.
- ñtón** /ñtón/ *n.* plantoir. *Pl:* à-ñtón.
- ñtó<sup>4</sup>ŋ** /ñtóŋ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* moustache. *Pl:* à-ñtó<sup>4</sup>ŋ.
- ñ-tèkjàà** /ñ-tèkjàà/ *n.* dérangement. *Pl:* à-ñ-tèkjàà, ñ-ñ-tèkjàà.
- ñ-téwú** /ñ-téwú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* conseil. *Pl:* à-ñ-téwú, ñ-ñ-téwú.
- ñtòn<sup>o</sup>** /ñtòn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* piment. *Pl:* à-ñtòn<sup>o</sup>, ñ-ñtòn<sup>o</sup>.
- ñtòn<sup>o</sup>** /ñtòn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* sorte d'herbe piquante à fleur jaune utilisée pour ses vertus médicales. *Pl:* à-ñtòn<sup>o</sup>, ñ-ñtòn<sup>o</sup>.
- ñtùmò** /ñtùmò/ *n.* société secrète commandée par les femmes. *Pl:* à-ñtùmò.
- ñtùtù** /ñtùtù/ *n.* odeur. *Pl:* à-ñtùtù.
- ñtútú** /ñtútú/ *n.* sacrifice offert après un décès. *Pl:* à-ñtútú, ñ-ñtútú.



**ntúwà** /ntúwà/ *n.* voiture. *Pl:* à-ntúwà,  
 ò-ntúwà.

**nùmǽ** /nùmǽ/ *v.* renifler, flairer.

**nùtù** /nùtù/ *n.* vagin. *Pl:* à-nùtù.

**núú** /núú/ *conj.* ainsi.

## nd

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**ndá'á** /ndáá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ver que l'on retire de  
 l'œil. *Pl:* à-ndá'á.

**ndààkó** /ndààkó/ *n.* travail. *Pl:* à-ndààkó.

**ndàj** /ndàj/ *n.* bœuf. *Pl:* à-ndàj, kì-ndàj.

**ndàkì** /ndàkì/ *n.* sorte de fleur dont le  
 fruit ressemble a un gros oignon  
 utilisée comme médicament. *Pl:*  
 à-ndàkì.

**ndándló** /ndándló/ *n.* sorte champignon  
 comestible se couleur grise. *Pl:*  
 à-ndándló.

**ndèl** /ndèl/ *n.* limite de terrain. *Pl:*  
 à-ndèl.

**ndètè** /ndètè/ *n.* sorte d'insecte de  
 couleur noire qu'on trouve dans les  
 tronc d'arbres morts. *Pl:* à-ndètè.

**ndé'ǵ** /ndéǵ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* chasse. *Pl:* à-ndé'ǵ.

**ndèè°** /ndèè<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* guitare. *Pl:* à-ndèè°.

**ndèklá'á** /ndèkláá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* prière,  
 supplication. *Pl:* à-ndèklá'á.

**ndèndzé** /ndèndzé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* purée de plantain.  
*Pl:* à-ndèndzé, kì-ndèndzé.

**ndól** /ndól<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* trompe d'éléphant. *Pl:*  
 à-ndól, kì-ndól.

**ndòŋ** /ndòŋ/ *n.* groupe. *Pl:* à-ndòŋ,  
 kì-ndòŋ.

**ndòò°** /ndòò<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* endroit, place. *Pl:*  
 à-ndòò°, kì-ndòò°.

**ndùkù** /ndùkù/ *n.* sorte de long serpent  
 noir ayant une bande jaune sur le  
 cou. *Pl:* à-ndùkù.

**ndùm** /ndùm/ *n.* nom donné au jumeau  
 cadet. *Pl:* à-ndùm.

**ndùndzáá** /ndùndzáá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bruit de  
 tapotement. *Pl:* à-ndùndzáá.

## ɲ

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**ɲàá'mbó** /ɲàámbó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* mâcher.

**ɲàá'ló** /ɲàá'ló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ami. *Pl:* à-ɲàá'ló.

**ɲààmò** /ɲààmò/ *n.* animal. *Pl:* à-ɲààmò,  
 kì-ɲààmò.

**ɲààmò** /ɲààmò/ *n.* viande. *Pl:* à-ɲààmò,  
 kì-ɲààmò.

**ɲàànd** /ɲàànd/ *v.* être méchant; être fort.

**ɲààndzé** /ɲààndzé/ *n.* mère. *Pl:*

- à-*nààndzɛ́*.
- nààtò** /*nààtò*/ *v.* piétiner.
- nààwò** /*nààwò*/ *v.* tremper.
- nàklàà** /*nàklàà*/ *v.* démanger.
- nàklàà** /*nàklàà*/ *n.* démangeaison.
- nàkɲàkì** /*nàkɲàkì*/ *n.* petit champignon  
qui pousse vers le mois d'octobre.  
*Pl:* à-*nàkɲàkì*.
- nàkɲàkì** /*nàkɲàkì*/ *adj.* très petit.
- nàl** /*nàl*/ *n.* beau-frère (frère de la femme  
ou de l'époux). *Pl:* à-*nàl*.
- nám ʃòkò** /*nám<sup>B</sup> ʃòkò*/ *n.* mangouste. *Pl:*  
à-*nám ʃòkò*.
- nâmlè** /*nâmlè*/ *v.* presser, essorer.
- nànáàwè°** /*nàn-áàwè<sup>H</sup>*/ *adj.* méchant; fort  
(boisson).
- ɲɲánɲ** /*ɲɲánɲ*/ *n.* lait. *Pl:* à-*ɲɲánɲ*, ɲ-*ɲɲánɲ*.
- ɲáná** /*ɲáná*/ *n.* cheval. *Pl:* à-*ɲáná*,  
kì-*ɲáná*.
- ɲdzàà°** /*ɲdzàà<sup>H</sup>*/ *n.* joie, gaieté. *Pl:*  
à-*ɲdzàà°*, ɲ-*ɲ-dzàà°*.
- ɲ-dzál** /*ɲ-dzál<sup>B</sup>*/ *adj.* fécond.
- ɲ-dzál** /*ɲ-dzál<sup>B</sup>*/ *n.* personne féconde. *Pl:*  
à-*dzál*.
- ɲdzɛ̀l** /*ɲdzɛ̀l*/ *n.* sève. *Pl:* à-*ɲdzɛ̀l*.
- ɲdzí'ndá** /*ɲdzí'ndá<sup>B</sup>*/ *n.* cache sexe. *Pl:*  
à-*ɲ-dzɛ̀l*, ɲ-*ɲ-dzɛ̀l*.
- ɲ-dzòòlàà** /*ɲ-dzòòlàà*/ *n.* bain. *Pl:*  
à-*ɲ-dzòòlàà*.
- ɲ-dzòtòkù** /*ɲ-dzòtòkù*/ *n.* bouillonnement.  
*Pl:* à-*ɲ-dzòtòkù*, ɲ-*ɲ-dzòtòkù*.
- ɲèè** /*ɲèè*/ *aux.* d'abord.
- ɲèkáàwè°** /*ɲèk-áàwè<sup>H</sup>*/ *adj.* petit.
- ɲèkʃè** /*ɲèk-ʃè*/ *v.* rétrécir (tr.); rétrécir  
(intr.).
- ɲèlé** /*ɲèlé<sup>B</sup>*/ *n.* collier de perle. *Pl:* à-*ɲèlé*,  
kì-*ɲèlé*.
- ɲɲèɲ** /*ɲɲèɲ*/ *n.* boue de marécage. *Pl:*  
à-*ɲɲèɲ*, ɲ-*ɲɲèɲ*.
- ɲɲéngé** /*ɲɲéngé*/ *n.* cirrhose du foie. *Pl:*  
à-*ɲɲéngé*, ɲ-*ɲɲéngé*.
- ɲɲèngè** /*ɲɲèngè*/ *n.* huile faite à base de  
noyaux de palme de couleur  
blanche ou noire. *Pl:* à-*ɲɲèngè*.
- ɲètáàwè°** /*ɲèt-áàwè<sup>H</sup>*/ *adj.* laid.
- ɲìkò** /*ɲìkò*/ *v.* courber, plier en deux;  
tordre.
- ɲíɲlàà** /*ɲíɲlàà*/ *v.* fredonner; murmurer.
- ɲíɲlè** /*ɲíɲlè*/ *v.* entrer.
- ɲìɲʃè** /*ɲìɲʃè*/ *v.* faire prégermer.
- ɲíɲʃè** /*ɲíɲ-ʃè*/ *v.* faire entrer.
- ɲòj°** /*ɲòj<sup>H</sup>*/ *n.* abeille. *Pl:* à-*ɲòj°*, k̀-*ɲòj°*.
- ɲòkó** /*ɲòkó*/ *n.* daman. *Pl:* à-*ɲòkó*,  
ɲ-*ɲòkó*.
- ɲòɲlàà** /*ɲòɲlàà*/ *v.* chuchoter, murmurer.
- ɲó'tú** /*ɲó'tú<sup>B</sup>*/ *n.* corps humain. *Pl:*  
à-*ɲó'tú*, ɲ-*ɲó'tú*.
- ɲó** /*ɲó*/ *n.* serpent. *Pl:* à-*ɲó*, k̀-*ɲó*.
- ɲòklè** /*ɲòklè*/ *v.* chatouiller.
- ɲòl** /*ɲòl*/ *n.* larve comestible de couleur  
blanche qu'on trouve dans les  
palmiers. *Pl:* à-*ɲòl*, ɲ-*ɲòl*.
- ɲòlà** /*ɲòlà*/ *n.* chat. *Pl:* à-*ɲòlà*, ɲ-*ɲòlà*.
- ɲòɲʃè** /*ɲòɲ-ʃè*/ *v.* allaiter.

- ጎሳ** /ጎሳ<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* sucer. (chasse, pêche, piégeage). *Pl:*  
**ጎሳ** /ጎሳ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* os du bassin. *Pl:* à-ጎሳ<sup>ፊ</sup>.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *v.* régler; attacher  
correctement.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *v.* faire un clin d'œil.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *v.* baisser, réduire.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *v.* influencer.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *v.* écraser.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* pièce de monnaie. *Pl:*  
à-ጎጅጎጅ, ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎ-ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎ-ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* urine. *Pl:*  
à-ጎ-ጎጅጎጅ, ጎ-ጎ-ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎ-ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎ-ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* travail. *Pl:* à-ጎ-ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* sorte de carpe aux  
écailles très rugueuses. *Pl:*  
à-ጎጅጎጅ, ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* sorte d'herbe  
rampant de couleur verte que l'on  
fait macérer pour baisser la  
température. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ,  
ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* machine. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ,  
ጎጅጎጅ, ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* esprit. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ<sup>H</sup>,  
ጎጅጎጅ<sup>H</sup>.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* activité de prédation
- ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* sel. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ, ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* charme maléfique. *Pl:*  
à-ጎጅጎጅ, ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* sissongo. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ,  
ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* perte de cheveux  
sur l'avant de visage. *Pl:*  
à-ጎጅጎጅ, ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *adv.* constamment.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* commandement. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ,  
ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* eau.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* canabis. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ,  
ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* aveugle.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* aveugle; cécité. *Pl:*  
à-ጎጅጎጅ<sup>H</sup>.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* annonce de décès;  
tamtam funèbre. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ,  
ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* conjonctivite. *Pl:*  
à-ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* mortier. *Pl:* à-ጎጅጎጅ.

## ጎጅጎጅ

- ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ/ *n.* adversaire. *Pl:* à-  
ጎጅጎጅ.  
**ጎጅጎጅ** /ጎጅጎጅ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* hameçon. *Pl:*  
à-ጎጅጎጅ, ጎጅጎጅ.

## η

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- ηγάανδ** /ηγάανδ/ *v.* refuser  
(catégoriquement).
- ηγάτι** /ηγάτι/ *n.* refus.
- ηγόν** /ηγόν/ *n.* cadena. *Pl:* à-ηγόν.
- ηγòπù** /ηγòπù/ *n.* chaussure. *Pl:* à-ηγòπù.
- ηγú+τò** /ηγúτò<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* huile. *Pl:* à-ηγú+τò.
- η-γwál** /n-γwál/ *n.* épouse; femelle. *Pl:* à-γwál.
- η-γwàl°** /n-γwàl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* fruit (sp.). *Pl:* à-γwàl°.
- ηγwòmbù** /ηγwòmbù/ *n.* plaisanterie. *Pl:* à-ηγwòmbù.
- ηκà** /ηκà/ *n.* maïs prégermé et séché  
utilisé pour la fabrication de la  
bière de maïs. *Pl:* à-ηκà, η-ηκà.
- ηκàmbù** /ηκàmbù/ *n.* bretelle de panier.  
*Pl:* à-ηκàmbù.
- ηκέηà** /ηκέηà/ *n.* marmite en aluminium.  
*Pl:* à-ηκέηà, η-ηκέηà.
- ηκέmbδ** /ηκέmbδ/ *n.* sorte de carpe plate  
et longue avec de minuscule  
écailles et de petites nageoires.  
*Pl:* à-ηκέmbδ, η-ηκέmbδ.
- η-κέη** /η-κέη/ *n.* ruse. *Pl:* à-η-κέη.
- ηκòóndòη** /ηκòóndòη/ *n.* sorte de gros  
piment de couleur jaune ou  
rouge. *Pl:* à-ηκòóndòη,  
η-ηκòóndòη.
- ηκúτú** /ηκúτú/ *n.* nuage. *Pl:* à-ηκúτú,  
η-ηκúτú.
- ηκwòktò** /ηκwòktò/ *n.* syphillis. *Pl:*  
à-ηκwòktò.
- ηκwòη** /ηκwòη/ *n.* tuyau. *Pl:* à-ηκwòη.
- ηmgbàη** /ηmgbàη/ *n.* corbeau. *Pl:*  
à-ηmgbàη.
- ηmκpámká** /ηmκpámká/ *adj.* neuf. *Pl:*  
à-ηmκpámká.
- ηmκpóη** /ηmκpóη/ *n.* surnom. *Pl:*  
à-ηmκpóη.
- ηwèηlè** /ηwèηlè/ *v.* persister.

## ηγ

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- ηγàndì** /ηγàndì/ *n.* levure. *Pl:* à-ηγàndì.
- ηγàτà** /ηγàτà/ *n.* prison. *Pl:* à-ηγàτà.
- ηγólà** /ηγólà/ *n.* ville. *Pl:* à-ηγólà.
- ηγwááηdζó** /ηγwááηdζó/ *n.* jeune  
homme. *Pl:* gwòδδη ηγwááηdζó.
- ηγwéηló** /ηγwéηló/ *n.* mangouste. *Pl:*  
à-ηγwéηló, kì-ηγwéηló.
- ηγwó'óló** /ηγwóóló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* queue. *Pl:*

à-ηγwó'1ó.	à-ηγwòò°.
<b>ηγwówó</b> /ηγwówó <sup>B</sup> / <i>n.</i> piste tracée par de gros animaux. <i>Pl:</i> à-ηγwówó.	<b>ηγwóólè</b> /ηγwóólè/ <i>adj.</i> bon à rien; incapable. <i>Pl:</i> à-ηγwóólè.
<b>ηγwó'mbú</b> /ηγwómbú <sup>B</sup> / <i>n.</i> chasse à courre. <i>Pl:</i> à-ηγwó'mbú.	<b>ηγwòò'fó</b> /ηγwòò'fó/ <i>n.</i> crevette. <i>Pl:</i> à-ηγwòò'fó.
<b>ηγwòò°</b> /ηγwòò <sup>H</sup> / <i>n.</i> cerveau. <i>Pl:</i>	

## ηmgb

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<b>ηmgbàtí</b> /ηmgbàtí <sup>B</sup> / <i>n.</i> rite de sorcellerie (sp.). <i>Pl:</i> à-ηmgbàtí.	bâton. <i>Pl:</i> à-mηgbέηγά, kì-mηgbέηγά, mη-mηgbέηγά.
<b>ηmgbέηγά</b> /ηmgbέηγά/ <i>n.</i> filet de pêche; piège constitué d'une liane et d'un	

## p

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<b>pàà</b> /pàà/ <i>aux.</i> d'abord.	<b>pààné</b> /pààné <sup>B</sup> / <i>n.</i> coin de bois. <i>Pl:</i> à-pààné.
<b>pàà</b> /pàà/ <i>n.</i> rejeton. <i>Pl:</i> à-pàà.	<b>pààndzò</b> /pààndzò/ <i>n.</i> écorce de bambou; côte (os). <i>Pl:</i> à-pààndzò.
<b>pàà°</b> /pàà <sup>H</sup> / <i>adj.</i> en bon état.	<b>pàà'fó</b> /pàà'fó/ <i>v.</i> fendre.
<b>pàà'kó</b> /pààkó <sup>B</sup> / <i>v.</i> prélever une écorce d'un arbre.	<b>pàbám</b> /pàbám/ <i>n.</i> blâme. <i>Pl:</i> à-pàbám.
<b>pààkò</b> /pààkò/ <i>v.</i> se battre.	<b>pàká</b> /pàká <sup>B</sup> / <i>n.</i> testicule. <i>Pl:</i> à-pàká.
<b>pààlè</b> /pààlè/ <i>n.</i> chat-tigre. <i>Pl:</i> à-pààlè.	<b>pàkà</b> /pàkà/ <i>n.</i> encens. <i>Pl:</i> à-pàkà.
<b>pàá'1ó</b> /pàá1ó <sup>B</sup> / <i>adj.</i> bon; meilleur.	<b>pàkàà</b> /pàkàà/ <i>v.</i> se bagarrer.
<b>pààló</b> /pààló/ <i>n.</i> patte. <i>Pl:</i> à-pààló.	<b>pákí</b> /pákí/ <i>n.</i> don. <i>Pl:</i> à-pákí.
<b>pààmò</b> /pààmò/ <i>v.</i> être chaud.	<b>pákláá</b> /pákláa/ <i>prep.</i> parmi.
<b>pààmbe</b> /pààmbe/ <i>n.</i> serpent (sp.). <i>Pl:</i> à-pààmbe.	<b>pálan</b> /pálan/ <i>n.</i> puce. <i>Pl:</i> à-pálan.
<b>pààmbo</b> /pààmbo/ <i>n.</i> beaux-parents de l'épouse. <i>Pl:</i> à-pààmbo.	<b>pàm</b> /pàm/ <i>n.</i> serpent (sp.); fourmi (sp.). <i>Pl:</i> à-pàm.

- pàamáawè°** /pàm-áawè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* chaud.
- pàmlàà** /pàmlàà/ *v.* sauter.
- pàmǰè** /pàm-ǰè/ *v.* chauffer (tr.).
- pàmbál** /pàmbál<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* herbe (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-pàmbál.
- pàmbú** /pàmbú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bouton. *Pl:* à-pàmbú,  
kì-pàmbú, m-pàmbú.
- pàndàà** /pàndàà/ *v.* serrer; attraper.
- pàndàǰáawè°** /pàndàǰ-áawè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* étroit.
- pàǰǰáà** /pàǰǰ-áà/ *v.* se disperser.
- pàǰǰé** /pàǰǰé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* séparation.
- pàǰǰè** /pàǰǰè/ *v.* se disputer; se  
séparer.
- pàǰ°** /pàǰ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* singe (sp.). *Pl:* à-pàǰ°.
- pàǰǰó** /pàǰǰó/ *n.* pacte que l'on celle avec  
une feuille.
- páǰǰè** /páǰǰè/ *v.* trier; choisir.
- pàtà** /pàtà/ *n.* prêtre. *Pl:* à-pàtà.
- pàtàkì** /pàtàkì/ *n.* boue.
- pátèlè** /pátèlè/ *n.* marché. *Pl:* à-pátèlè.
- pé** /pé/ *n.* indifférence.
- pé<sup>+</sup>ǰǰé** /pé<sup>+</sup>ǰǰé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* maladie. *Pl:*  
à-pé<sup>+</sup>ǰǰé.
- pé<sup>+</sup>mǰé** /pé<sup>+</sup>mǰé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se retourner; changer  
(intr.).
- pé<sup>+</sup>lá** /pé<sup>+</sup>lá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* calebasse. *Pl:* à-pé<sup>+</sup>lá.
- pèlè** /pèlè/ *n.* aigle. *Pl:* à-pèlè.
- pèlós** /pèlós/ *n.* piège fosse. *Pl:* à-pèlós.
- pémlè** /pémlè/ *v.* changer (tr.); tourner  
(tr.).
- pènè** /pènè/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-pènè.
- pèné** /pèné<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fesse. *Pl:* à-pèné.
- pèǰǰí** /pèǰǰí/ *n.* maladie pulmonaire.
- pèǰ** /pèǰ/ *n.* plaie. *Pl:* m-pèǰ.
- pèǰ** /pèǰ/ *n.* crue, inondation. *Pl:* à-pèǰ.
- pèǰǰà** /pèǰǰà/ *n.* grande lance. *Pl:*  
à-pèǰǰà, kì-pèǰǰà.
- pé<sup>+</sup>ǰé** /pé<sup>+</sup>ǰé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* harpe-cithare. *Pl:* à-pé<sup>+</sup>ǰé.
- pètò** /pètò/ *v.* fermer.
- pèbèlà** /pèbèlà/ *n.* semence. *Pl:* à-pèbèlà.
- péé** /péé<sup>B</sup>/ *aux.* risquer de.
- pé<sup>+</sup>ǰǰó** /pé<sup>+</sup>ǰǰó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* fuir
- pé<sup>+</sup>ǰǰó** /pé<sup>+</sup>ǰǰó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* développer un pas  
de dance.
- pél** /pél/ *n.* campagne de piège. *Pl:* à-pél.
- pèl bémbú** /pèl bémbú/ *n.* champignon  
(sp.). *Pl:* à-pèl bémbú.
- pèmbó** /pèmbó/ *n.* peinture; kaolin. *Pl:*  
à-pèmbó.
- pèǰǰí** /pèǰǰí/ *n.* cafard. *Pl:* à-pèǰǰí.
- pèǰ** /pèǰ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* côté. *Pl:* m-pèǰ.
- pèǰǰè** /pèǰǰè/ *n.* argent, monnaie. *Pl:*  
à-pèǰǰè.
- péǰó** /péǰó/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-péǰó.
- pé<sup>+</sup>wó** /pé<sup>+</sup>wó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* chercher.
- pèwùlà** /pèwùlà/ *n.* plante. *Pl:* à-pèwùlà.
- píí** /píí/ *n.* calme ; tranquillité.
- píǰà** /píǰà/ *n.* avocat (fruit). *Pl:* à-píǰà.
- pìl** /pìl/ *n.* ampoule (de la main). *Pl:* à-  
m-pìl.
- pìlkà** /pìlkà/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-pìlkà.
- pìlò** /pìlò/ *n.* oreiller. *Pl:* à-pìlò, kì-pìlò.
- pìǰ** /pìǰ/ *n.* poteau. *Pl:* à-pìǰ, kì-pìǰ.
- píǰlàà** /píǰlàà/ *v.* se déshabiller.

- píflè** /píflè/ *v.* déshabiller.
- pìtì** /pitì/ *n.* saleté.
- pjààlè** /pjààlè/ *v.* surveiller, contrôler.
- pjàámò** /pjàámò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* déterrer, arracher; décoller.
- pjàáfí** /pjàáfí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* applaudissement. *Pl:* kì-pjàáfí.
- pjè kùmà** /pjè kùmà/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:* à-pjè kùmà.
- pjě kúndà** /pjě kúndà/ *n.* crapeau (sp.). *Pl:* à-pjě kúndà.
- pòkólò** /pòkólò/ *n.* casque. *Pl:* à-pòkólò.
- pòkó** /pòkó/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-pòkó.
- pòkù** /pòkù/ *n.* piège masse. *Pl:* à-pòkù.
- pǒ'í** /pǒ'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* semence. *Pl:* à-pǒ'í.
- pó'ís** /pó'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* chasser à distance.
- pòlós** /pòlós/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-pòlós.
- pòlós** /pòlós/ *adj.* jaune.
- pòlós** /pòlós/ *n.* jaune.
- pòm̀b̀l̀** /pòm̀b̀l̀/ *n.* larme. *Pl:* à-pòm̀b̀l̀.
- pòm̀b̀d̀** /pòm̀b̀d̀/ *n.* bubinga; personnage mystique. *Pl:* à-pòm̀b̀d̀.
- pòn°** /pòn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* pou. *Pl:* à-pòn°.
- póplè** /póplè/ *v.* bercer, cajoler.
- pó'jé** /pó'jé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* déborder.
- pò'fú** /pò'fú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fruit qu'on utilise pour fabriquer des calebasses. *Pl:* à-pò'fú, kì-pò'fú.
- pót'ís** /pót'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* lisser; polir.
- pót'ís** /pót'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* planter.
- pót'ís** /pót'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* serrer.
- pòtè** /pòtè/ *v.* cracher.
- pǒ'mbú** /pǒ'mbú/ *prep.* pour.
- pómjé** /pómjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* gonfler.
- pómjé** /pómjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* botter.
- pómjé** /pómjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* enlever les rameau des troncs de palmier pour le vin.
- pókjè** /pókjè/ *v.* déranger, nuire.
- pòl°** /pòl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* feuille. *Pl:* à-pòl°.
- pòm̀b̀ú** /pòm̀b̀ú/ *n.* visage. *Pl:* à-pòm̀b̀ú.
- pò̀d̀m̀è** /pò̀d̀m̀è/ *n.* serpent (sp.). *Pl:* à-pò̀d̀m̀è.
- pò̀d̀nd̀z̀ó** /pò̀d̀nd̀z̀ó/ *n.* bambou. *Pl:* à-pò̀d̀nd̀z̀ó.
- pò̀p̀ó̀l̀l̀** /pò̀p̀ó̀l̀l̀/ *n.* champignons (sp.). *Pl:* à-pò̀p̀ó̀l̀l̀.
- pòtākì** /pòtākì/ *n.* bourbier. *Pl:* à-pòtākì.
- pú** /pú/ *n.* mauvais présage. *Pl:* kì-pú.
- pǔ'ndó** /pǔ'ndó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* chair. *Pl:* à-pǔ'ndó.
- pǔ'ndzó** /pǔ'ndzó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* herbe. *Pl:* à-pǔ'ndzó.
- pú'ká** /pú'ká<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* bâton; baguette de bois. *Pl:* kì-pú'ká.
- pùklà** /pùklà/ *n.* sarclage.
- pùklè** /pùklè/ *v.* sarcler; désherber.
- pùlà** /pùlà/ *n.* manioc. *Pl:* à-pùlà.
- pú'ljé** /pú'ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* vapeur, fumet. *Pl:* à-pú'ljé.
- pú'ljé** /pú'ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* parole. *Pl:* à-pú'ljé.
- pùlós** /pùlós/ *n.* pluie. *Pl:* à-pùlós.
- pùlú'fú** /pùlú'fú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* garde du corps. *Pl:* à-pùlú'fú.
- pùm** /pùm/ *adv.* minuit.
- pùmáàwè°** /pùm-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* blanc.

- pǔpà** /pǔpà/ *n.* jeu (sp.).
- pùpàà** /pùpàà/ *v.* chasser un insecte.
- pùpààwè°** /pùp-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* propre.
- pùplè** /pùplè/ *v.* actionner le soufflet de la forge.
- pú'pó** /pú'pó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être propre.
- púpjè** /púp-jè/ *v.* rendre propre.
- pùpùkà** /pùpùkà/ *n.* éventail. *Pl:* à-pùpùkà, kì-pùpùkà.
- pú'fjé** /pú'fjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* pousser.
- pù'fkàà** /pù'fkàà/ *v.* rater.
- pù'fkó** /pù'fkó/ *n.* erreur. *Pl:* à-pù'fkó.
- pùtàà** /pùtàà/ *v.* craindre; fuir.
- pùtò** /pùtò/ *v.* être inconscient, être à l'agonie, être épanoui.
- pùtù** /pùtù/ *n.* désert. *Pl:* à-pùtù.
- pùtù** /pùtù/ *n.* vieux tissu. *Pl:* à-pùtù.

## p<sup>h</sup>

- p<sup>h</sup>àâm** /p<sup>h</sup>àám/ *n.* homme. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>àâm.
- p<sup>h</sup>àŋ°** /p<sup>h</sup>àŋ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* scarification. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>àŋ°.
- p<sup>h</sup>àŋgì** /p<sup>h</sup>àŋgì/ *n.* écureuil (sp.). *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>àŋgì.
- p<sup>h</sup>àfà** /p<sup>h</sup>àfà/ *n.* pêche masculine (sp.). *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>àfà.
- p<sup>h</sup>àfí** /p<sup>h</sup>àfí/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>àfí.
- p<sup>h</sup>èlós** /p<sup>h</sup>èlós/ *n.* piège-fosse. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>èlós.
- p<sup>h</sup>èl°** /p<sup>h</sup>èl<sup>H</sup>/ *prep.* devant.
- p<sup>h</sup>é'í** /p<sup>h</sup>é'í<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* termite (sp.). *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>é'í.
- p<sup>h</sup>í'kí** /p<sup>h</sup>í'kí<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* rein. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>í'kí, kì-p<sup>h</sup>í'kí.
- p<sup>h</sup>índí** /p<sup>h</sup>índí/ *n.* gazelle. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>índí.
- p<sup>h</sup>ìŋgá** /p<sup>h</sup>ìŋgá/ *n.* arachide. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>ìŋgá.
- p<sup>h</sup>jààlò** /p<sup>h</sup>jààlò/ *v.* déchiqueter.
- p<sup>h</sup>jààwó** /p<sup>h</sup>jààwó/ *n.* sang. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>jààwó.
- p<sup>h</sup>jààwó** /p<sup>h</sup>jààwó/ *n.* sang. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>jààwó.
- p<sup>h</sup>òkò** /p<sup>h</sup>òkò/ *v.* être trop tendre.
- p<sup>h</sup>òn°** /p<sup>h</sup>òn<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* pacte de sang. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>òn°.
- p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò** /p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò/ *n.* maïs. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>òŋgò.
- p<sup>h</sup>òò°** /p<sup>h</sup>òò<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* escargot (sp.). *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>òò°.
- p<sup>h</sup>òn** /p<sup>h</sup>òn/ *n.* chef. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>òn.
- p<sup>h</sup>òŋ°** /p<sup>h</sup>òŋ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>òŋ°.
- p<sup>h</sup>òŋ kààlós** /p<sup>h</sup>òŋ kààlós/ *n.* bout du village. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>òŋ kààlós.
- p<sup>h</sup>òŋlè** /p<sup>h</sup>òŋlè/ *v.* frotter pour appliquer.
- p<sup>h</sup>ùl** /p<sup>h</sup>ùl/ *n.* cheveu; poil. *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>ùl.
- p<sup>h</sup>ùŋà** /p<sup>h</sup>ùŋà/ *n.* singe (sp.). *Pl:* à-p<sup>h</sup>ùŋà.



## J

- ƒà** /ʃà/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-ƒà.
- ƒà°** /ʃà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* cœur. *Pl:* à-ƒà°.
- ƒá'á** /ʃáá<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* faire.
- ƒàà°** /ʃàà<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* village. *Pl:* à-ƒàà°.
- ƒàà dōŋ** /ʃàà dōŋ/ *n.* cour du village. *Pl:* à-ƒààdōŋ.
- ƒ<sup>h</sup>ààkó** /ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààkó/ *n.* poulet. *Pl:* à-ƒ<sup>h</sup>ààkó.
- ƒààkò** /ʃààkò/ *v.* goûter; essayer.
- ƒ<sup>h</sup>ààkò** /ʃ<sup>h</sup>ààkò/ *v.* errer, vadrouiller.
- ƒàá'íó** /ʃàáíó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* défricher.
- ƒààló** /ʃààló/ *n.* faim; famine. *Pl:* à-ƒààló.
- ƒààmò** /ʃààmò/ *v.* fleurir.
- ƒàànó** /ʃàànó/ *n.* souris (sp.). *Pl:* à-ƒàànó.
- ƒààndò** /ʃààndò/ *v.* déféquer.
- ƒááŋdzé** /ʃááŋdzé/ *n.* père. *Pl:* à-ƒááŋdzé.
- ƒàá'ńó** /ʃàáńó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* fendre; déchirer en deux.
- ƒàjàà** /ʃàjàà/ *v.* s'accaparer.
- ƒá'ńjé** /ʃáńjé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se fendre.
- ƒàklàƒàklà** /ʃàklàƒàklà/ *n.* hochet à manche. *Pl:* à-ƒàklàƒàklà.
- ƒáklè** /ʃáklè/ *v.* éviter.
- ƒàklè** /ʃàklè/ *v.* couper (en deux à l'aide d'une machette).
- ƒàkùwàà** /ʃàkùwàà/ *v.* s'effrayer.
- ƒál** /ʃál<sup>B</sup>/ *num.* huit.
- ƒàláà** /ʃàl-áà/ *v.* se faire.
- ƒàmáàwè°** /ʃàm-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* délicieux.
- ƒámbá** /ʃámba/ *n.* rang. *Pl:* à-ƒámbá.
- ƒámblè** /ʃámblè/ *v.* verser l'eau petit à petit pour diluer un solide.
- ƒàmbú** /ʃàmbú/ *n.* Dieu-ancêtre.
- ƒàndákà** /ʃàndákà/ *n.* funérailles. *Pl:* à-ƒàndákà.
- ƒàndlàà** /ʃàndlàà/ *v.* uriner.
- ƒàŋdzàà** /ʃàŋdz-àà/ *v.* se réunir.
- ƒàŋdzè** /ʃàŋdzè/ *v.* réunir, rassembler; mélanger.
- ƒàŋá** /ʃàŋá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* millepatte. *Pl:* à-ƒàŋá, kì-ƒàŋá.
- ƒàŋà** /ʃàŋà/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-ƒàŋà.
- ƒàŋlè** /ʃàŋlè/ *v.* diviser en petits morceaux.
- ƒàƒáŋ** /ʃàƒáŋ/ *n.* champ laissé en jachère depuis deux ou trois ans. *Pl:* à-ƒàƒáŋ.
- ƒàtlè** /ʃàtlè/ *v.* diviser.
- ƒá'tǰé** /ʃá'tǰé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* récipient dans lequel on conserve de l'eau à boire. *Pl:* à-ƒá'tǰé.
- ƒàtǰè** /ʃàtǰè/ *v.* effrayer.
- ƒàw°** /ʃàw<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* termite. *Pl:* à-ƒàw°.
- ƒàwjè** /ʃàwjè/ *v.* traverser, quitter une rivière.
- ƒàwùlà** /ʃàwùlà/ *n.* allumette. *Pl:* à-ƒàwùlà, kì-ƒàwùlà.
- ƒàwùlè** /ʃàwùlè/ *v.* retirer quelque chose d'un liquide.
- ƒè°** /ʃè<sup>H</sup>/ *v.* venir.
- ƒèè** /ʃèè/ *v.* apprécier.

- fèkì** /fèkì/ *n.* canot, pirogue. *Pl:* à-fèkì, kì-fèkì.
- fèkfè** /fèkfè/ *v.* tromper.
- fèkùwè** /fèkùwè/ *v.* stagner.
- félé** /félé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* champignon (sp.). *Pl:* à-félé.
- fèlò** /fèlò/ *n.* chemin, route; piste. *Pl:* à-fèlò, kì-fèlò.
- fèmbò** /fèmbò/ *v.* entonner; entonner.
- fén** /fén<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* clou. *Pl:* à-fén, kì-fén.
- féndí** /féndí/ *n.* écureuil (sp.). *Pl:* à-féndí.
- fènlè** /fènlè/ *v.* savoir, connaître.
- fé<sup>+</sup>é** /fé<sup>+</sup>é<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* travailler.
- fèèfè** /fèèfè/ *v.* lisser.
- fèé<sup>+</sup>tjé** /fèé<sup>+</sup>tjé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* guêpe. *Pl:* à-fèé<sup>+</sup>tjé.
- fèj<sup>°</sup>** /fèj<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* panthère. *Pl:* à-fèj<sup>°</sup>.
- fèjòófèjòó** /fèjòó fèjòó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* jeu (sp.).
- fèklè** /fèklè/ *v.* découper; couper.
- fèkmà** /fèkmà/ *n.* tamis. *Pl:* à-fèkmà.
- fèkò** /fèkò/ *v.* tamiser.
- fèkfè** /fèkfè/ *v.* secouer.
- fèkfè** /fèkfè/ *v.* analyser; vérifier.
- fèl** /fèl/ *n.* barbe. *Pl:* à-fèl.
- fèl<sup>°</sup>** /fèl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* marmite. *Pl:* kì-fèl<sup>°</sup>.
- fèlààwè<sup>°</sup>** /fèl-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* lisse.
- fé<sup>+</sup>lò** /fé<sup>+</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* filtrer une fois de plus.
- fé<sup>+</sup>lò** /fé<sup>+</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* former.
- fèlò** /fèlò/ *v.* glisser; rendre lisse.
- fém** /fém<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* même façon; même temps.
- fèmó** /fèmó/ *n.* rêve. *Pl:* à-fèmó.
- fèflè** /fèflè/ *v.* servir dans un verre.
- fé<sup>+</sup>tó** /fé<sup>+</sup>tó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* éplucher.
- fí<sup>°</sup>** /fí<sup>H</sup>/ *adv.* en bas.
- fí<sup>+</sup>ndzè** /fí<sup>+</sup>ndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* regretter.
- fí<sup>+</sup>í** /fí<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* trainer les pieds.
- fí<sup>+</sup>fè** /fí<sup>+</sup>-fè/ *v.* abaisser, tempérer.
- fíkí** /fíkí/ *n.* orphelin. *Pl:* à-fíkí.
- fíkì** /fíkì/ *n.* scie. *Pl:* à-fíkì, kì-fíkì.
- fíkò** /fíkò/ *v.* aire un demi geste; râper.
- fíkúwàà** /fíkúwàà/ *v.* hoqueter.
- fíl<sup>°</sup>** /fíl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* épiderme. *Pl:* à-fíl<sup>°</sup>.
- filà** /filà/ *n.* pantalon. *Pl:* à-filà, kì-filà.
- fí<sup>+</sup>lá** /fí<sup>+</sup>lá<sup>B</sup>/ *aux.* encore ; progressif ; encore.
- fí<sup>+</sup>lò** /fí<sup>+</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* casserole. *Pl:* à-fí<sup>+</sup>lò.
- fí<sup>+</sup>lò** /fí<sup>+</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* descendre.
- fí<sup>+</sup>lò** /fí<sup>+</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* avoir ses menstruations.
- fímó** /fímó/ *prep.* derrière.
- fímbè** /fímbè/*n.* soldat; policier. *Pl:* à-fímbè.
- fímbè** /fímbè/ *n.* singe (sp.). *Pl:* à-fímbè.
- fíndzítjé** /fíndzítjé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* hoquet.
- fí<sup>°</sup>** /fí<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* envieux.
- fí<sup>°</sup>** /fí<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* envie; envieux. *Pl:* à-fí<sup>°</sup>.
- fí<sup>+</sup>nlàà** /fí<sup>+</sup>nl-àà/ *v.* se frotter; se oindre.
- fí<sup>+</sup>nlè** /fí<sup>+</sup>nlè/ *v.* frotter.
- fí<sup>+</sup>ngà** /fí<sup>+</sup>ngà/ *n.* chat. *Pl:* à-fí<sup>+</sup>ngà.
- fí<sup>+</sup>ngò** /fí<sup>+</sup>ngò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* jalouser; détester.
- fí<sup>+</sup>pú** /fí<sup>+</sup>pú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* jupe. *Pl:* à-fí<sup>+</sup>pú, kì-fí<sup>+</sup>pú.
- fí<sup>+</sup>ó** /fí<sup>+</sup>ó/ *n.* veine. *Pl:* kì-fí<sup>+</sup>ó.
- fíwùlè** /fíwùlè/ *v.* retirer du feu.
- fó<sup>+</sup>ká** /fó<sup>+</sup>ká<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* cornet; étui pénien. *Pl:* à-fó<sup>+</sup>ká.

- ʃòkó** /ʃòkó/ *n.* pénis. *Pl:* à-ʃòkó.
- ʃól** /ʃól<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* ruisseau. *Pl:* à-ʃól, kì-ʃól.
- ʃòláj** /ʃòláj/ *n.* sorte d'escargot de petite taille que trouve dans les rivières. *Pl:* à-ʃòláj, ʃòláj.
- ʃòljàà** /ʃòljàà/ *v.* démanger.
- ʃólókú** /ʃólóku/ *n.* sabot. *Pl:* à-ʃólókú.
- ʃóló** /ʃóló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* banc. *Pl:* à-ʃóló.
- ʃóm** /ʃóm/ *n.* pari. *Pl:* à-ʃóm.
- ʃòmó** /ʃòmó/ *n.* buffle. *Pl:* à-ʃòmó.
- ʃómtú** /ʃómtu/ *adj.* intelligent.
- ʃómtú** /ʃómtu/ *n.* intelligent.
- ʃòmbè** /ʃòmbè/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-ʃòmbè.
- ʃómbó** /ʃómbó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* sorte de tambour long. *Pl:* à-ʃómbó.
- ʃòndzù** /ʃòndzù/ *n.* enclume. *Pl:* à-ʃòndzù.
- ʃòŋ°** /ʃòŋ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* colère. *Pl:* à-ʃòŋ°.
- ʃòŋlè** /ʃòŋlè/ *n.* bile. *Pl:* à-ʃòŋlè.
- ʃòò** /ʃòò/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-ʃòò.
- ʃó<sup>+</sup>mó** /ʃó<sup>+</sup>mó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être sage, intelligent.
- ʃòplè** /ʃòplè/ *v.* éplucher.
- ʃòʃó** /ʃòʃó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* canard (sp.). *Pl:* à-ʃòʃó.
- ʃó<sup>+</sup>ʃó** /ʃó<sup>+</sup>ʃó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* respirer.
- ʃó<sup>+</sup>ń** /ʃó<sup>+</sup>ń<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* honte.
- ʃòktàà** /ʃòktàà/ *v.* attraper.
- ʃòkù** /ʃòkù/ *n.* éléphant. *Pl:* à-ʃòkù.
- ʃòlòkú** /ʃòlòkú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* épine. *Pl:* à-ʃòlòkú.
- ʃómá** /ʃómá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* plainte. *Pl:* à-ʃómá.
- ʃòmáà** /ʃòmáà/ *v.* se plaindre; accuser.
- ʃòŋ** /ʃòŋ/ *n.* poudre de tabac. *Pl:* à-ʃòŋ.
- ʃòndlè** /ʃòndlè/ *v.* tailler.
- ʃòndlè** /ʃòndlè/ *v.* chercher à découvrir la vérité.
- ʃòndzú** /ʃòndzú/ *n.* carpe. *Pl:* à-ʃòndzú.
- ʃòŋ** /ʃòŋ/ *n.* mort, décès. *Pl:* à-ʃòŋ.
- ʃòŋ°** /ʃòŋ°/ *n.* route. *Pl:* à-ʃòŋ°.
- ʃòŋlè** /ʃòŋlè/ *v.* enlever; déboîter.
- ʃó<sup>+</sup>ʃó** /ʃó<sup>+</sup>ʃó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* descendre.
- ʃòò°** /ʃòò<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* aubergine (sp.). *Pl:* à-ʃòò°.
- ʃòó<sup>+</sup>kó** /ʃòó<sup>+</sup>kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être ivre.
- ʃòòkù** /ʃòòkù/ *n.* épis de maïs. *Pl:* à-ʃòòkù.
- ʃòó<sup>+</sup>lò** /ʃòó<sup>+</sup>lò<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* couler; suinter.
- ʃòòlè** /ʃòòlè/ *v.* choisir.
- ʃòòmò** /ʃòòmò/ *v.* accrocher.
- ʃòòmò** /ʃòòmò/ *v.* enfoncer.
- ʃòòmbò** /ʃòòmbò/ *adv.* jadis.
- ʃòó<sup>+</sup>ʃó** /ʃòó<sup>+</sup>ʃó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* avoir atteint la maturité; être intelligent.
- ʃòòtò** /ʃòòtò/ *adj.* nu.
- ʃòòtò** /ʃòòtò/ *n.* nudité *Pl:* à-ʃòòtò, kì-ʃòòtò.
- ʃóʃól** /ʃóʃól/ *n.* fourmi (sp.). *Pl:* à-ʃóʃól.
- ʃòʃón** /ʃòʃón<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* étoile; luciole. *Pl:* à-ʃòʃón.
- ʃù°** /ʃù<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:* à-ʃù°.
- ʃùké** /ʃùké<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* souris. *Pl:* à-ʃùké, kì-ʃùké.
- ʃùklè** /ʃùklè/ *v.* s'arrêter.
- ʃùkò** /ʃùkò/ *n.* champignon (sp.). *Pl:* à-ʃùkò.
- ʃùkù** /ʃùkù/ *n.* queue de la tortue. *Pl:* à-ʃùkù.
- ʃùkù** /ʃùkù/ *n.* tronc d'un arbre. *Pl:*

à-fùkù.

**fùlàà** /fùlàà/ *v.* faire un pet.

**fú<sup>+</sup>ljé** /fùljé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fumée. *Pl:* à-fú<sup>+</sup>ljé.

**fùljè** /fùljè/ *v.* commencer les semis.

**fùljè** /fùljè/ *v.* atteindre l'objectif.

**fùlò** /fùlò/ *n.* toit. *Pl:* à-fùlò.

**fùlúkù** /fùlúkù/ *n.* fourmi (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-fùlúkù.

**fùmò** /fùmò/ *v.* planter, figer quelque  
chose dans le sol.

**fùmò** /fùmò/ *v.* construire.

**fùnó** /fùnó/ *n.* taon. *Pl:* à-fùnó.

**fùndzò** /fùndzò/ *v.* calomnier; médire.

**fùṅàà** /fùṅàà/ *v.* se disputer; compéter.

**fú<sup>+</sup>fú** /fùfù<sup>B</sup>/ *quant.* autre.

**fùtlè** /fùtlè/ *v.* rétrécir.

**fùtù** /fùtù/ *n.* coton. *Pl:* à-fùtù.

**fùùùm** /fùùùm/ *ideo.* progressivement.

**fúwá** /fúwá/ *n.* assiette. *Pl:* à-fúwá,  
kì-fúwá.

**fwi<sup>+</sup>je** /fwi<sup>+</sup>je<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* partir.

## t

**tà** /tà/ *interr.* qui.

**tààkò** /tààkò/ *v.* prendre.

**tààkò** /tààkò/ *v.* concevoir ; donner des  
fruits.

**tááló** /táaló/ *n.* neveu, nièce. *Pl:* à-tááló.

**táá<sup>+</sup>ló** /tàáló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* séchoir. *Pl:* à-táá<sup>+</sup>ló.

**tààngè** /tààngè/ *n.* ballon de football;  
caoutchouc. *Pl:* à-tààngè.

**táá<sup>+</sup>mó** /tàámó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* convoiter; envier.

**tá<sup>+</sup>mbú** /tá<sup>+</sup>mbú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* champ. *Pl:* à-tá<sup>+</sup>mbú.

**tá<sup>+</sup>ndzè** /tá<sup>+</sup>ndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* compiler; compter.

**tá<sup>+</sup>ndzè** /tá<sup>+</sup>ndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* lire.

**tá<sup>+</sup>ndzè** /tá<sup>+</sup>ndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* filet de pêche. *Pl:*  
à-tá<sup>+</sup>ndzè.

**tákjè** /tákjè/ *v.* empiler, entasser.

**tàl** /tál/ *n.* pont. *Pl:* à-tàl.

**tàlòndzà** /tálòndzà/ *n.* instrument de  
musique (sp.). *Pl:* à-tàlòndzà.

**tàmbáljè<sup>o</sup>** /tàmbáljè<sup>H</sup>/ *num.* sept.

**tàmbjè** /tàmbjè/ *adj.* en bon état.

**tán** /tán/ *adv.* dehors, à l'extérieur.

**tànà** /tànà/ *n.* piste pour petits animaux.  
*Pl:* à-tànà, kÌ-tànà.

**tàndì** /tàndì/ *n.* chauve-souris (sp.);  
parapluie. *Pl:* à-tàndì.

**tándlè** /tándlè/ *v.* attacher (plusieurs  
choses ensemble).

**tánj** /tánj/ *n.* personne de couleur blanche.  
*Pl:* à-tánj.

**tá<sup>+</sup>ḡ** /tá<sup>+</sup>ḡ<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* prix. *Pl:* à-tá<sup>+</sup>ḡ, kÌ-tá<sup>+</sup>ḡ.

**tánj kùndè** /tánj kùndè/ *n.* sauterelle (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-tánjkùndè.

**tánj tòdè** /tánj tòdè/ *n.* criquet. *Pl:*  
à-tánjtòdè, kÌ-tánjtòdè.

**tánjlè** /tánjlè/ *v.* raconter; demander à  
recevoir une récompense pour un

service rendu.

**tàtà** /tàtà/ *n.* père. *Pl:* à-tàtà.

**tátlè** /tátlè/ *v.* commencer.

**tàtùwàà** /tàtùwàà/ *v.* supplier.

**táwúlà** /táwúlà/ *n.* serviette. *Pl:* à-táwúlà,  
kì-táwúlà.

**táwúlè** /táwúlè/ *v.* puiser (eau).

**tě'ndé** /těndé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-tě'ndé.

**téé** /téé/ *prep.* à l'intérieur de.

**tèè** /tèè/ *v.* s'endormir; somnoler.

**tèkì** /tèkì/ *n.* marécage. *Pl:* à-tèkì.

**těkfě** /těkfě/ *v.* gâter; gaspiller.

**těkfě** /těkfě/ *v.* déranger, nuire; gâter,  
détruire, gaspiller.

**tèlè** /tèlè/ *n.* natte. *Pl:* à-tèlè.

**tèmbàà** /tèmbàà/ *v.* être lent.

**tèmbààwè°** /tèmb-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* lent.

**tèmbò** /tèmbò/ *v.* être lent.

**tèŋlè** /tèŋlè/ *v.* somnoler.

**tétó** /tétó/ *n.* peur.

**tèwààwè°** /tèw-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* humide,  
mouillé.

**té'wó** /téwó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* conseiller; éduquer.

**tèwò** /tèwò/ *v.* mouiller.

**téwùfě** /téwùfě/ *v.* montrer.

**tèè** /tèè/ *n.* liane (sp.). *Pl:* à-tèè.

**tél** /tél/ *n.* taille. *Pl:* à-tél.

**tél** /tél/ *adv.* depuis.

**té'ljé** /téljé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* placer; implanter.

**té'ljé** /téljé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* arrêter; nommer.

**tèlós** /tèlós/ *n.* fougère. *Pl:* à-tèlós.

**tèndbò** /tèndbò/ *n.* araignée. *Pl:* à-tèndbò.

**tèndlè** /tèndlè/ *v.* glisser; filer.

**tèndó** /tèndó/ *n.* lisière du champ. *Pl:*  
à-tèndó.

**tèndò** /tèndò/ *v.* tracer.

**tèndò** /tèndò/ *v.* détacher une liane de la  
tige.

**tèŋlè** /tèŋlè/ *v.* boiter.

**tèŋfà** /tèŋfà/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* kì-tèŋfà.

**té'mó** /témos<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* défricher.

**tějí** /tějí/ *conj.* aussi.

**tèti** /tèti/ *num.* cent.

**tèwè** /tèwè/ *n.* feuilles comestibles (sp.).  
*Pl:* à-tèwè.

**téwúlà** /téwúlà/ *n.* table. *Pl:* à-téwúlà,  
kì-téwúlà.

**téwùlè** /téwùlè/ *v.* se placer.

**téwùlè** /téwùlè/ *v.* se lever.

**téwùlè** /téwùlè/ *v.* s'arrêter.

**tíkjàà** /tíkjàà/ *v.* accompagner.

**tilà** /tilà/ *n.* lion. *Pl:* à-tjilà.

**tìnò** /tìnò/ *v.* refuser.

**tíndlè** /tíndlè/ *v.* pousser.

**tìtì** /tìtì/ *n.* fiançailles. *Pl:* à-tìtì.

**tó'ndó** /tóndó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* remplir (intr.).

**tó'kó** /tókó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* pêcher.

**tókjě** /tókjě/ *v.* vider (rivière).

**tǒ'kú** /tǒkú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* cuillère. *Pl:* à-tǒ'kú.

**tǒ'kúl** /tǒkúl<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* poisson (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-tǒ'kúl.

**tòl°** /tòl<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* boule résultant d'une plaie.  
*Pl:* à-tòl°, kì-tòl°.

- tólorú** /tólorú<sup>B</sup>/ *adv.* midi. *Pl:* à-tólorú.
- tòlò** /tòlò/ *n.* lit. *Pl:* à-tòlò, kì-tòlò.
- tóm** /tóm<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* commission (course). *Pl:* à-tóm.
- tòmlè** /tòmlè/ *v.* envoyer.
- tòmó** /tòmó/ *n.* hernie. *Pl:* à-tòmó.
- tòmbù** /tòmbù/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-tòmbù.
- tòndé** /tòndé<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-tòndé.
- tòndzè** /tòndzè/ *n.* champignon. *Pl:* à-tòndzè.
- tònjè** /tònjè/ *v.* remplir (tr.).
- tó'ó** /tó'ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* tresser; tisser (vannerie).
- tó'jé** /tó'jé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* se percer.
- tòtò** /tòtò/ *v.* rentrer.
- tówó** /tówó/ *num.* huit.
- tó'wó** /tó'wó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* mordre.
- tòwò** /tòwò/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-tòwò.
- tó** /tó/ *v.* vouloir.
- tòjààwè°** /tòj-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* beau.
- tòkàà** /tòkàà/ *v.* insulter.
- tòklè** /tòklè/ *v.* prendre; saisir.
- tó'kú** /tó'kú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:* à-tó'kú.
- tòkù** /tòkù/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:* à-tòkù.
- tól** /tól<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* flèche. *Pl:* kì-tól.
- tó'ljé** /tó'ljé<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* administrer un remède goutte à goutte dans les yeux ou les oreilles.
- tòmá'ndzè** /tòmá'ndzè<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* fruit (sp.). *Pl:* à-tòmá'ndzè.
- tòmjà** /tòm-jà/ *v.* guérir (tr.).
- tònàà** /tònàà/ *v.* griller (intr.).
- tónj** /tónj/ *n.* liane (sp.); fouet. *Pl:* à-tónj.
- tónj°** /tónj<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* pipe. *Pl:* à-tónj°.
- tòs'ís** /tòs'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* ramasser.
- tòðmbò** /tòðmbò/ *v.* guérir (intr.).
- tòðnó** /tòðnó/ *adj.* carnivore.
- tòðnó** /tòðnó/ *n.* carnivore. *Pl:* à-tòðnó.
- tòðnò** /tòðnò/ *v.* griller (tr.).
- tòs'nó** /tòs'nó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* peindre le corps.
- tó'jín** /tó'jín/ *num.* mille.
- tótó f'jóló** /tótó f'jóló<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* champignon (sp.). *Pl:* à-tótó f'jóló.
- tùkó** /tùkó/ *n.* souffrance. *Pl:* à-tùkó.
- tùktàà** /tùktàà/ *v.* se débattre.
- tú'kú** /tú'kú<sup>B</sup>/ *adv.* pour rien.
- tùláà** /tùl-àà/ *v.* se battre.
- tùláàwè°** /tùl-ààwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* émoussé.
- tú'ís** /tú'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* piler.
- tú'ís** /tú'ís<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* régime. *Pl:* à-tú'ís.
- tùmbò** /tùmbò/ *v.* lutter.
- tùmbò** /tùmbò/ *n.* lutte traditionnelle. *Pl:* à-tùmbò.
- tùmbù** /tùmbù/ *n.* liane (sp.). *Pl:* à-tùmbù.
- tùmbù** /tùmbù/ *n.* habitude, coutume; comportement. *Pl:* kì-tùmbù.
- tùnò** /tùnò/ *v.* nouer.
- tùnò** /tùnò/ *v.* enlever l'écorce de l'arbre pour faire des cordes à partir des lianes.
- tú'mó** /tú'mó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* lancer.
- túpá** /túpá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* machette. *Pl:* à-túpá.
- tùtùm°** /tùtùm<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* nain *Pl:* à-tùtùm°

**túùlè** /túùlè/ *v.* chanter.

**tùùlù** /tùùlù/ *n.* âne. *Pl:* à-tùùlù, kì-tùùlù.

**tú'wó** /túwó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* prononcer.

## t<sup>h</sup>

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**t<sup>h</sup>à** /t<sup>h</sup>à/ *CMPT.* comme.

**t<sup>h</sup>àà** /t<sup>h</sup>àà/ *n.* rat (sp.). *Pl:* à-t<sup>h</sup>àà, kì-t<sup>h</sup>àà.

**t<sup>h</sup>ààló** /t<sup>h</sup>ààló/ *n.* ville. *Pl:* à-t<sup>h</sup>ààló.

**t<sup>h</sup>ààlò** /t<sup>h</sup>ààlò/ *n.* petit-fils, petite-fille. *Pl:*  
à-t<sup>h</sup>ààlò.

**t<sup>h</sup>àlákì** /t<sup>h</sup>àlákì/ *n.* tabac. *Pl:* à-t<sup>h</sup>àlákì.

**t<sup>h</sup>ǎ'ndá** /t<sup>h</sup>ǎndá<sup>B</sup>/ *adj.* héréditaire.

**t<sup>h</sup>ǎ'ndá** /t<sup>h</sup>ǎndá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* hérité.

**t<sup>h</sup>àngá** /t<sup>h</sup>àngá/ *n.* macabo. *Pl:* à-t<sup>h</sup>àngá.

**t<sup>h</sup>ǎ'ń** /t<sup>h</sup>ǎń<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* pâturage. *Pl:* kì-t<sup>h</sup>ǎ'ń.

**t<sup>h</sup>òmbò** /t<sup>h</sup>òmbò/ *n.* oiseau (sp.). *Pl:*

à-t<sup>h</sup>òmbò.

**t<sup>h</sup>òmbò** /t<sup>h</sup>òmbò/ *n.* mouton; agneau. *Pl:*

à-t<sup>h</sup>òmbò.

**t<sup>h</sup>òò°** /t<sup>h</sup>òò<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* aiguille. *Pl:* kì-t<sup>h</sup>òò°.

**t<sup>h</sup>òòmbó** /t<sup>h</sup>òòmbó/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*

à-t<sup>h</sup>òòmbó.

**t<sup>h</sup>ùlùm** /t<sup>h</sup>ùlùm/ *n.* serpent (sp.). *Pl:*

à-t<sup>h</sup>ùlùm.

## tʃ

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**tʃá** /tʃá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* branche. *Pl:* à-tʃá, kì-tʃá.

**tʃáá'ló** /tʃáá'ló<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* être rapide; être  
tranchant.

**tʃáá'nó** /tʃáá'nó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* arriver; sortir.

**tʃáá'nó** /tʃáá'nó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* singe (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-tʃáá'nó.

**tʃáàjè** /tʃáà-jè/ *v.* rendre rapide; rendre  
tranchant.

**tʃáàjè** /tʃáà-jè/ *v.* encourager.

**tʃáàwó** /tʃáàwó/ *n.* barrage. *Pl:* à-tʃáàwó.

**tʃákí** /tʃákí/ *n.* chose. *Pl:* dʒàjí.

**tʃáklà** /tʃáklà/ *n.* épis de maïs égrainé.

*Pl:* à-tʃáklà.

**tʃál** /tʃál/ *n.* vitesse; rapidité. *Pl:* à-tʃál,  
kì-tʃál.

**tʃáláàwè°** /tʃál-áàwè<sup>H</sup>/ *adj.* tranchant;  
rapide.

**tʃàmà** /tʃàmà/ *n.* colle locale. *Pl:* à-tʃàmà,  
kì-tʃàmà.

**tʃánà** /tʃánà/ *n.* pince (outil). *Pl:* à-tʃánà.

**tʃàtʃé** /tʃàtʃé/ *n.* chose.

**tʃètí** /tʃètí/ *n.* remède, médicament. *Pl:*  
dʒètí.

**tʃèwò** /tʃèwò/ *v.* jouer.

- tʃé'ndzɛ** /tʃé'ndzɛ<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* changer.
- tʃé'ndlɛ** /tʃé'ndlɛ/ *n.* bougie. *Pl:* à-tʃé'ndrɛ,  
kì-tʃé'ndrɛ.
- tʃé'mó** /tʃé'mó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* soupçonner.
- tʃɛ'pjɛ** /tʃɛ'pjɛ/ *v.* réussir.
- tʃ<sup>h</sup>i bóŋ** /tʃ<sup>h</sup>i bóŋ/ *n.* arrière-arrière petit-  
enfant. *Pl:* à-tʃibóŋ, kì-tʃibóŋ.
- tʃi'ɛ** /tʃi'ɛ/ *v.* empêcher.
- tʃi'mjá** /tʃi'mjá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* gloire. *Pl:* à-tʃi'mjá.
- tʃijàà** /tʃijàà/ *v.* signifier.
- tʃiklɛ** /tʃik-lɛ/ *v.* rester.
- tʃíkó** /tʃíkɔ/ *n.* traçage des cheveux sur  
les tempes. *Pl:* à-tʃíkó.
- tʃi'kó** /tʃi'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* laisser.
- tʃi'kó** /tʃi'kó<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* héritier; héritage. *Pl:*  
à-tʃi'kó.
- tʃil°** /tʃil<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* beaux-parents. *Pl:* à-tʃil°.
- tʃ<sup>h</sup>il°** /tʃ<sup>h</sup>il<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* arrière petit-enfant. *Pl:*  
à-tʃ<sup>h</sup>il°.
- tʃilàà** /tʃilàà/ *v.* inscrire.
- tʃilɔ** /tʃilɔ/ *v.* écrire.
- tʃilɔ** /tʃilɔ/ *n.* gorille. *Pl:* à-tʃilɔ.
- tʃimjá** /tʃimjá<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* merci. *Pl:* à-tʃimjá,  
kì-tʃimjá.
- tʃimʃɛ** /tʃimʃɛ/ *v.* glorifier, honorer;  
admirer, apprécier.
- tʃimbò** /tʃimbò/ *n.* arbre (sp.). *Pl:*  
à-tʃimbò.
- tʃindà bóŋ** /tʃindà bóŋ/ *n.* coude. *Pl:*  
a-tʃindà bóŋ, kì-tʃindà bóŋ.
- tʃindzɛ** /<sup>B</sup>tʃindzɛ<sup>B</sup>/ *quant.* tout.
- tʃindilàà** /tʃindilàà/ *v.* se déplacer sur les  
fesses.
- tʃindlɛ** /tʃindlɛ/ *v.* racler avec le doigt.
- tʃindzɛ** /tʃindzɛ<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* bord, rive. *Pl:*  
à-tʃindzɛ°.
- tʃiŋ** /tʃiŋ/ *n.* mouche. *Pl:* à-tʃiŋ.
- tʃiŋ** /tʃiŋ/ *adj.* vrai.
- tʃiŋ** /tʃiŋ/ *n.* vérité. *Pl:* à-tʃiŋ.
- tʃiŋljàà** /tʃiŋljàà/ *v.* tourner autour;  
contourner.
- tʃiŋgàŋ** /tʃiŋgàŋ/ *n.* fortin. *Pl:* à-tʃiŋgàŋ,  
kì-tʃiŋgàŋ.
- tʃi'mó** /tʃi'mó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* creuser.
- tʃi'flàà** /tʃi'flàà/ *v.* éternuer.
- tʃi'flɛ** /tʃi'flɛ/ *v.* éternuer.
- tʃitò** /tʃitò/ *v.* essuyer.
- tʃitʃɛ** /tʃitʃɛ/ *adj.* seul.
- tʃó'mbú** /tʃómbú<sup>B</sup>/ *n.* morceau d'écorce.  
*Pl:* à-tʃó'mbú.
- tʃòkò** /tʃòkò/ *v.* penser; analyser.
- tʃókʃɛ** /tʃókʃɛ/ *n.* sueur.
- tʃòlɔ** /tʃòlɔ/ *n.* crapaud. *Pl:* à-tʃòlɔ.
- tʃòndzú** /tʃòndzú/ *n.* veillée. *Pl:*  
à-tʃòndzú.
- tʃó'ó** /tʃó'ó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* attacher.
- tʃóó** /tʃóó/ *n.* fer.
- tʃó'pó** /tʃó'pó<sup>B</sup>/ *v.* réunir, entasser.
- tʃóplɛ** /tʃóplɛ/ *v.* empoigner.



**tʃʰ**

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**tʃʰèè°** /tʃʰèè<sup>H</sup>/ *n.* forêt. *Pl:* à-tʃʰèè°, kî-tʃʰèè°.

**v**

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**vù** /vù/ *v.* être fertile.

**vùṅḍ** /vùṅḍ/ *v.* se débattre.

**w**

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**wààtḍ** /wààtḍ/ *v.* labourer.

**wòḍḍ** /wòḍḍ/ *ideo.* intensément.

**wù** /wù/ *aux.* déjà.

**wúndà** /wúndà/ *n.* fenêtre. *Pl:* kî-wúndà.

**wúṅgà** /wúṅgà/ *n.* corne d'appel. *Pl:*

à-wúṅgà.

## APPENDIX 2 : narrative text

1. dínó ljàámbù nàkàwà gbà pól.

<sup>B</sup>dínó<sup>B</sup> ljà-àámbó<sup>B</sup> nàkàwà gbà pól

5.nom PP<sub>5</sub>-1SG.POSS nàkàwà gbà pól

Mon nom est Nakawa Gba Paul.

2. ñkòdò fé díné kákàn fókú

<sup>H</sup>-n-n-kòdò fé díné kákàn<sup>H</sup> fókú

PRS-1SG-PRS-AUX donner 2PL 1.conte autre

Je vous donne encore un autre conte.

3. kákàn jós bèmé nàá

kákàn<sup>H</sup> j-ós<sup>B</sup> bè-mé †nàá<sup>B</sup>

1.conte PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM être.PST4-PST4 COMP

Ce conte était que

4. kááfèl bèmè né gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òngò

kááfèl bè-mè<sup>H</sup> nè gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òngò

1.roi être.PST4-PST4 avec 1.grenier 1.maïs

le roi avait un grenier de maïs.

5. bók kááfèl bèmè lé né gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òngò jí

bókú kááfèl bè-mè<sup>H</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> nè gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òngò jí<sup>B</sup>

lorsque 1.roi être.PST4-PST4 donc avec 1.grenier 1.maïs SUB

Lorsque le roi avait donc un grenier de maïs,

6. àmbé nè gwòmó àmbé nà àfimbè

à-m-bé<sup>B</sup> nè gwòmó à-m-bé<sup>B</sup> nè à-fimbè

3SG-CSC-COP.CSC avec 2-personne 3SG-CSC-COP.CSC avec 2-soldat

Il avait des gens [à son service] et il avait des soldats.

7. àfimbè jéé jós lèé

à-fimbè j-éé<sup>B</sup> j-ós<sup>B</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup>

2-soldat PP<sub>2</sub>-3SG.POSS PP<sub>2</sub>-DEM donc

ces soldats donc...

8. mò fók bèmé óbóndàké né dínó nàá fàtònguè.

mòò fókù bè-mé ð<sup>H</sup>-bóndàkì nè dínó<sup>B</sup> †nàá<sup>B</sup> fàtònguè  
 NLNK.SG autre COP.PST4-PST4 LOC-LOC-1.terre avec 5.nom COMP 1.Chatongue  
 l'un d'entre eux avait sur la terre le nom de Chatongue.

9. fàtòngè jós nè fjàk mótù, mbò mótù

fàtòngè j-ós<sup>B</sup> nè fjààkó mótù<sup>H</sup> mbó mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 1.Chatongue PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM avec 1.doigt un 1.main un

kòl mjós mótù, fjààk mótù

kòl<sup>H</sup> mjós mótù<sup>H</sup> fjààkó mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 pied coupé un 1.doigt un

Ce Chatongue avait un doigt, une main, un pied coupé, un doigt.

10. àjì léè fè dzòwò tʃìndzì

à-jì<sup>H</sup> léè<sup>H</sup> fè<sup>H</sup> dzòwò tʃìndzì<sup>B</sup>  
 3SG-IPFV donc venir 1.jour tous  
 Il venait donc tous les jours,

11. àj fè búkú gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òngò

à-jì<sup>H</sup> fè<sup>H</sup> búkó<sup>B</sup> gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òngò  
 3SG-IPFV venir casser 1.grenier 1.maïs  
 Il cassait le grenier de maïs.

12. àjì dzíwú p<sup>h</sup>òngò

à-jì<sup>H</sup> dzíwó<sup>B</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òngò  
 3SG-IPFV voler 1.maïs  
 Il volait le maïs,

13. àjì ké né àjì ké dzì

à-jì<sup>H</sup> kè nè à-jì<sup>H</sup> kè dzì<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-IPFV aller avec 3SG-IPFV aller manger  
 et l'emportait pour le manger.

14. tòò kááǵèl métélé fèlà wè  
<sup>B</sup>tòò kááǵèl <sup>H</sup>-mè-télje fèlà w-é  
 quelque\_soit 1.roi PST2-PST2-placer.PST2 1.sorte PP<sub>1</sub>-ANAPH soldat  
 t<sup>h</sup>à áǵimbè  
 CMPT 2-soldat  
 Quelque soit le type de soldat que le roi plaçait,
15. mò áǵfè jí àmbáàndì dzé  
 mò<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-fè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>B</sup> à-m-báàndó dzé<sup>H</sup>  
 lorsque PRS-3SG-PRS-venir SUB 3SG-CSC-attacher.CSC 3SG  
 lorsque il arrivait, il [les] attachait
16. né fjààk mótù° nè kòl mótù°  
 nè fjààkó mótù<sup>H</sup> nè kòl<sup>H</sup> mótù<sup>H</sup>  
 avec 1.doigt un et 1.pied un  
 avec un doigt et un pied.
17. nè fjààk mótù àmbáàndí  
 nè fjààkó mótù<sup>H</sup> à-m-báàndó  
 nè 1.doigt un 3SG-CSC-attacher.CSC  
 avec un doigt il [les] attachait
18. àǵáá jé jós tǵǵndzí ǵgàtà  
 à-àà-ǵáa = jé<sup>H</sup> jós <sup>B</sup>tǵǵndzí<sup>B</sup> ǵgàtà  
 3SG-PST1-faire.PST1 = 3SG labas tout 1.prison  
 et les maltraitait labas.
19. àmbúkù gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òǵgò  
 à-n-búkò<sup>H</sup> gwààkè p<sup>h</sup>òǵgò  
 3SG-CSC-casser.CSC 1.grenier 1.maïs  
 Il cassait le grenier de maïs,
20. àntàa p<sup>h</sup>òǵgò  
 à-n-táàkò<sup>H</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òǵgò  
 3SG-CSC-prendre. CSC 1.maïs  
 prenait le maïs,

21. à̀nké ndóó à̀nkè jí  
à-n-ké<sup>B</sup>                      <sup>H</sup> ndòò                      <sup>H</sup>-à-n-kèè                      jí<sup>B</sup>  
3SG-CSC-aller.CSC    CON-1.endroit    PRS-3SG-PRS-dire    SUB  
il allait où il voulait.
22. tùtùm fók bèmè léé tɛ́fɪ té  
tùtùm<sup>H</sup>    fókú    bè-mé    lèè<sup>H</sup>    tɛ́fɪ    tɛ́<sup>H</sup>  
1.nain    certain    être-PST4    donc    aussi    là  
Il y avait aussi un certain nain.
23. dzè né dzàkí<sup>1</sup>ljé  
dzè<sup>H</sup>    nè    dzákíljé<sup>B</sup>  
3SG    avec    1.tortue  
Il avait une tortue
24. dzàkíljé jós fɪ bèmè jé dòŋ ljéé  
<sup>B</sup>dzákíljé<sup>B</sup>    j-óò<sup>B</sup>    fɪ<sup>H</sup>    bè-mè<sup>H</sup>=jè<sup>H</sup>    dòŋ    lj-éé<sup>B</sup>  
1.tortue    PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM    FOC    être-PST4 = 3SG    5.vie    PP<sub>5</sub>-3SG.POSS  
Il avait une tortue qui était sa vie.
25. tùtùm à̀jì dzɪl gwé<sup>4</sup>é ómbúbúbul téé  
tùtùm<sup>H</sup>    à-jì<sup>H</sup>    dzɪlò    gwéé<sup>B</sup>    <sup>H</sup>-ò-<sup>H</sup>-mbúmbul                      téé  
1.nain    3SG    rester    là-bas    LOC-LOC-LOC    1.poussière    dans  
Quand au nain, il vivait là-bas dans la poussière.
26. à̀amáàf léè gwómò bìwèŋ nó wòòò  
à-àà-máàf<sup>ò</sup><sup>H</sup>                      lèè<sup>H</sup>    gwò-mó    bíw-ɛŋ    nó    wòòò  
3SG-PST1-terminer.PST1    donc    2-personne    battre-PART    comme cela IDEO  
Il (Chatongue) finissait par frapper les gens violemment.
27. tùtùm mɛ̀fè lé à̀àfè dzéé kááfèl  
tùtùm<sup>H</sup>    mɛ̀-<sup>H</sup>fè<sup>H</sup>    lèè<sup>H</sup>    à-àà-<sup>H</sup>fè<sup>H</sup>                      dzéé<sup>B</sup>    kááfèl  
1.nain    PST1-venir    donc    3SG-PST1-venir    voir    1.roi  
Le nain vint donc voir le roi.

28. jè né kááfèl nàá  
 jè<sup>H</sup> nè kááfèl †nàá<sup>B</sup>  
 3SG avec 1.roi COMP  
 Il dit au roi:
29. pàpá, mòó nǚǚ àjì pókǚǚ nótǚǚ  
 mòò <sup>H</sup>-n-ǚǚ <sup>H</sup> à-jì<sup>H</sup> pókǚǚ-òò nótǚǚ<sup>H</sup>  
 NLNK.SG PRS-PRS-venir 3SG-IPFV déranger-2SG 1.corps.2SG.POSS  
 Papa, celui qui vient te déranger,
30. jì né kùl némb †jé  
 jì-jì<sup>H</sup> nè kùl n-némbò<sup>H</sup> = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG avec 1.force CSC-attraper.CSC = 3SG  
 Je peux l'attraper.
31. jàpáá jéé tá tààkì tütüm  
 jè<sup>H</sup>-àà-páà<sup>H</sup> jèè tààkò tütüm<sup>H</sup>  
 3PL-PST1-AUX.PST1 AUX prendre 1.nain  
 Ils prirent tout d'abord le nain,
32. jàbütǚǚ bòndàkì  
 jè<sup>H</sup>-àà-bütǚǚ <sup>H</sup> bòndàkì  
 3PL-PST1-renverser.PST1 1.sol  
 Ils le renversèrent au sol
33. káfí ntà bímbímbím jìí nǎ nèbékí bìwéè  
 káfí<sup>B</sup> ntá bímbímbím <sup>H</sup>-jì <sup>H</sup> †nàá<sup>B</sup> nè-běk<sup>B</sup>-bíwó-εε  
 1.fouet 6.fesse IDEO PRS-1SG COMP 2PL-NEG-battre-1SG  
 On lui appliqua un fouet sur les fesses « je vous demande ne pas me battre.
34. jí ηkée nàá mòó mbáándí gwòmò né  
<sup>H</sup>-jì n-kèè †nàá<sup>B</sup> mòò n-bàándó<sup>B</sup> gwò-mó †né<sup>B</sup>  
 PRS-1SG PRS-dire COMP NLNK.SG PRS-attacher 2-gens DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 Je vous dis que celui qui attache les gens,

35. tòò ándélkàà dzíkí  
<sup>B</sup>tòò            <sup>H</sup>-à-n-dělkàà            dzíkí  
 même.si    PRS-3SG-PRS-traverser 1.rivière  
 même s'il traverse la rivière,
36. kèk ándélkàà dzík òfèkì kóó àjì fèé,  
 kèkí<sup>B</sup>            <sup>H</sup>-a-n-dělkàà            dzíkí            ò-<sup>H</sup>-fèkì            kóó<sup>B</sup> à-jì<sup>H</sup>            fè<sup>H</sup>  
 puisque    PRS-3SG-PRS-traverser 1.rivière    LOC-LOC-1.pirogue sur 3SG-IPFV venir  
 même s'il traverse la rivière en pirogue, il arrive,
37. jídzíwú fè dzáfì àjì ké nè jó  
<sup>H</sup>-n-dzìwú<sup>B</sup>            fè<sup>H</sup> dzáfì            à-jì<sup>H</sup>            kè            nè            jó<sup>B</sup>  
 PRS-PRS-voler    1PL chose.PL 3SG-IPFV aller avec là-bas  
 il nous vole des choses et s'en va,
38. jìí nembì jé  
<sup>LH</sup>-jìí            nembò            jè<sup>H</sup>  
 FUT1-1SG attraper 3SG  
 je vais l'attraper »
39. ólèè némb jè náà  
<sup>H</sup>-ò-lèè<sup>H</sup>            nembò = jè<sup>H</sup>            náà  
 FUT1-2SG-donc attraper = 3PL comment  
 « Comment vas-tu l'attraper ? »
40. fèké jèè fòdà  
 fè-ké<sup>B</sup>            jèè            fòdà  
 donner.IMP-2SG.IMP    AUX 1.temps  
 « donnez moi d'abord du temps. »
41. dzá náà bõj fis né tèé ádzàlàà nè jè<sup>H</sup>  
 dzá<sup>H</sup>            <sup>1</sup>nàá<sup>B</sup>            bõj            fítlò            <sup>1</sup>né<sup>B</sup>            téé            <sup>H</sup>-à-dzàlàà            nè            fè<sup>H</sup>  
 3PL            COMP            bon            1.nuit            DEM<sub>1</sub> dans            FUT1-3SG-AUX avec venir  
 Ils dirent que « Bon! Fils au cours de cette nuit il devra venir,

42. kèè lèè ké nèmb jè  
 kèè<sup>H</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> kè nèmbò = jè<sup>H</sup>  
 aller.IMP donc aller attraper = 3SG  
 vas-donc l'attraper.»
43. tùtùm jós métòkl lèè dzàkljé wèè°  
 tùtùm<sup>H</sup> j-ós<sup>B</sup> <sup>H</sup>-mè-tóklè<sup>H</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> dzákljé<sup>B</sup> w-èè<sup>H</sup>  
 1.nain PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM PST2-PST2-prendre.PST2 donc 1.tortue PP<sub>1</sub>-3SG.POSS  
 Ce nain prit donc sa tortue.
44. ààké nè jè né dzàkljé nàá  
 à-àà-ké<sup>B</sup> nè jè<sup>H</sup> nè dzákljé<sup>B</sup> †nàá<sup>B</sup>  
 3SG-PST1-PST1 avec 3SG avec 1.tortue COMP  
 Il y alla avec la tortue et lui dit :
45. tèwúl fèné òmbél tó'ó  
 tèwúlé<sup>B</sup> fèné<sup>B</sup> ò-mbé<sup>l</sup><sup>B</sup> tóó<sup>B</sup>  
 se\_placer.IMP làbas LOC-1.porte 1.maison  
 « Place toi là-bas, à la porte de la maison ».
46. àntàà lèè fòòkù p<sup>h</sup>òngò mòtú  
 à-n-táàkò<sup>H</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> fòòkù <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òngò mòtù<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-CSC.prendre.CSC donc 1.épis CON-maïs un  
 Il prit donc un épis de maïs,
47. nè fùwà lé'fí  
 nè fùwà léfí<sup>B</sup>  
 avec 1.assiette 1.riz  
 et une assiette de riz
48. jèndzîf jè té kóó  
 jè<sup>H</sup>-n-dzîfjè<sup>H</sup> = jè<sup>H</sup> tè<sup>H</sup> kóó<sup>B</sup>  
 3PL-CSC-faire\_asseoir = 3SG là\_bas sur  
 Il la posa dessus.



49. dzákíljé ndzítì léè pèno  
 dzákíljé<sup>B</sup> n-dzítì<sup>H</sup> léè<sup>H</sup> pèno  
 1.tortue CSC-serrer.CSC donc 1.fesse  
 La tortue referma ses fesses.
50. bòkú ...jàtòngè lè jèmè léè nàá  
 bòkú jàtòngè léè<sup>H</sup> jè-mè<sup>H</sup> léè<sup>H</sup> †nàá<sup>B</sup>  
 lorsque 1.Chatongue donc venir PST4 donc COMP  
 Chatongue vint donc.
51. ámpàà jèè tát tókl jòòkù p<sup>h</sup>òngò jós  
<sup>H</sup>-à-n-pàà jèè tátlè tóklè jòòkù <sup>H</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>òngò j-ós<sup>B</sup>  
 PRS-3SG-PRS-AUX AUX commencer prendre 1.épis 1.maïs PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM  
 Il commença tout d'abord par prendre l'épis de maïs,
52. jà ám<sup>h</sup>fé kótú tèè jí  
 jà<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-fé kótú téé jí<sup>B</sup>  
 parce\_que PRS-3SG-PRS-mettre 1.sac dans SUB  
 le mettant dans le sac.
53. jàtòngè jì kèjè fjààk mótú  
 jàtòngè jì<sup>H</sup> kèjè fjààkó mótú<sup>H</sup>  
 1.Chatongue IPFV envoyer 1.doigt un  
 Chatongue envoya un doigt.
54. dzákíljé jéè bàándí jè jùùùm  
 dzákíljé<sup>B</sup> n-jéè<sup>H</sup> bàándí<sup>B</sup> = jè<sup>H</sup> jùùùm  
 1.tortue CSC-AUX attacher = 3SG IDEO  
 La tortue l'attacha d'abord doucement.
55. k<sup>h</sup>à ájké kól  
 kè<sup>B</sup> à-n-ké<sup>B</sup> kól<sup>B</sup>  
 si 3SG-CSC-aller.CSC au\_dessus  
 S'il allait en haut,

56. jàá dzàkí<sup>1</sup>ljé jààbóòbààndí dzàkíljé wòòò°  
 jàá<sup>B</sup> dzàkíljé<sup>B</sup> jè<sup>H</sup>-àà-bóò<sup>H</sup> bàándó<sup>B</sup> dzàkíljé<sup>B</sup> wòòò<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG.avec 1.tortue 3PL-PST1-AUX.PST1 attacher 1.tortue IDEO  
 lui et la tortue étaient déjà bien liés.
57. mò ámbààm nótú fì jí jàá dzàkí<sup>1</sup>ljé  
 mò<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-bààmò nótú<sup>B</sup> fì<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>B</sup> jàá<sup>B</sup> dzàkíljé<sup>B</sup>  
 lorsque PRS-3SG-PRS-renverser 1.corps dessous SUB 3SG.avec 1.tortue  
 Lorsque qu'il se jettait au sol, c'était avec la tortue.
58. jàá dzàkíljé lèé mpààkóò...  
 jàá<sup>B</sup> dzàkíljé<sup>B</sup> lèè<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-n-pààkò  
 avec 1.tortue donc PRS-PRS-se battre  
 La tortue et lui se battirent donc pendant longtemps.
59. ààlé<sup>1</sup>lò fàtòngè mèlé<sup>1</sup>lò  
 à-àà-lélò<sup>H</sup> fàtòngè mè-lélò<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST1-se\_fatiguer 1.Chatongue PST1-se\_fatiguer.PST1  
 Il se fatigua, Chatongue se fatigua.
60. kwàl mébááàndzò  
 kwàl <sup>H</sup>-mè-bááàndzò  
 1.perdix PST2-PST2-chanter  
 La perdix chanta.
61. dújéjè mò jéjèfèé,  
 dújéjè mò<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-jè<sup>H</sup>-n-jè<sup>H</sup>  
 matin lorsque PRS-PRS-3PL-venir  
 Le matin lorsqu'ils vinrent,
62. jèjè kùm fàtòngè kòl mótú, fjààk mótú  
 jè<sup>H</sup>-n-jé<sup>B</sup> kùmò fàtòngè kòl<sup>H</sup> mótú<sup>H</sup> fjààkó mótú<sup>H</sup>  
 3PL-CSC-venir.CSC trouver 1.Chatongue 1.pied un 1.doigt un  
 ils vinrent trouver Chatongue, [l'homme à] un pied, un doigt,

63. dífí mótú àjì dáálěṅ  
 dífí<sup>B</sup> mótú<sup>H</sup> à-jì<sup>H</sup> dáal-εṅ  
 1.oeil un 3SG-COP dormir-PART  
 à un œil, endormi.
64. kòtù ááfè né nàá áṅfè dzíwú p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí  
<sup>B</sup>kótu à-<sup>H</sup>àà-fè<sup>H</sup> nè †nàá<sup>B</sup> <sup>H</sup>-à-n-fè<sup>H</sup> dzíwó<sup>B</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí<sup>B</sup>  
 1.sac 3SG-PST2-PST2 avec COMP PRS-3SG-PRS-venir voler 1.maïs SUB  
  
 dááléṅ  
 dáal-éṅ  
 dormir-PART  
 Le sac avec lequel il est venu voler le maïs [mis de côté], [il est] endormi.
65. kááfèl nàá káf wáá gwé nàá  
 kááfèl nì-àà káàfò<sup>H</sup> wáa gwè †nàá<sup>B</sup>  
 1.roi 1SG-PST1 dire.PST1 Q. 2SG COMP  
 « Roi, ne t'ai-je pas dis que
66. nì né kùl némbó mòó ṅfè  
 nì-jì<sup>H</sup> nè kùl n-n-némbò<sup>H</sup> mòò <sup>H</sup>-n-fè<sup>H</sup>  
 1SG-COP avec 1.force CSC-saisir.CSC NLNK.SG PRS-PRS-venir  
  
 dzíwó p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí  
 dzíwó<sup>B</sup> p<sup>h</sup>òṅgò jí<sup>B</sup>  
 voler 1.maïs SUB  
 je peux attraper celui qui vient voler le maïs ? »
67. gwòmò né kááfèl nàá òṅfèṅl jí ṅdzíjía  
 gwò-mó nè kááfèl †nàá<sup>B</sup> ò-n-fèṅlè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>H</sup> ò-dzíja  
 2-personne avec 1.roi COMP 2SG-CSC-savoir.CSC FOC 6-nourriture  
 Les gens dirent au roi « tu ne sais que manger.
68. ómófèṅl fèé  
<sup>H</sup>-ò-n-wóó<sup>B</sup>-fèṅlè fèé<sup>B</sup>  
 PRS-2SG-PRS-NEG-savoir travailler  
 Tu ne sais pas travailler. »

69. m̀òó ɲf̀ɛŋl ʃéé jí dzè jí ʹné  
 m̀òó <sup>H</sup>-n-ʃ̀ɛŋlè ʃéé<sup>B</sup> jí<sup>B</sup> dzè<sup>H</sup> jí-ʹné<sup>B</sup>  
 NLNK.SG PRS-PRS-savoir travailler SUB 3SG PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM  
 Celui qui sait travailler, le voilà.»
70. nd̀d̀d̀ jéɲʃ̀è fúùʃ̀ù kááʃ̀èl ðkídʒíj̀à  
 nd̀d̀d̀<sup>H</sup> <sup>H</sup>-j̀è<sup>H</sup>-n-ʃ̀è<sup>H</sup> fúù-ʃ̀è kááʃ̀èl ð-<sup>H</sup>-kì-dʒíj̀à  
 1.endroit PRS-3PL-PRS-venir sortir-CAUS 1.roi LOC-LOC-7-chaise  
 A l'endroit où ils ont destitué le roi de sa fonction,
71. jéɲt̀àà t̀t̀t̀m  
<sup>H</sup>-j̀è<sup>H</sup>-n-t̀ààk̀d̀ t̀t̀t̀m<sup>H</sup>  
 PRS-3PL-PRS-prendre 1.nain  
 Ils prirent le nain,
72. jéɲt̀él j̀è kááʃ̀èl í  
<sup>H</sup>-j̀è<sup>H</sup>-n-t̀élj̀é = j̀è<sup>H</sup> kááʃ̀èl jí<sup>B</sup>  
 3PL-PRS-placer 1.roi SUB  
 qu'ils intronisèrent comme roi.
73. dzè jí ʹné ɲóò gwéé ʃ̀ùk̀à lj̀èè j̀óʹó  
 dzè<sup>H</sup> jí-né<sup>B</sup> ɲóò gwéé<sup>B</sup> ʃ̀ùk̀à lj̀è-éé<sup>B</sup> j̀óó<sup>B</sup>  
 3SG PP<sub>1</sub>-DEM comme\_cela là-bas 5.fin PP<sub>5</sub>-3SG.POSS ainsi  
 La voici donc, la fin de l'histoire.

## APPENDIX 3 : speech

1. èé gwóðnò  
 èé gwò-ðnó  
 ITJ 2-enfant  
 Chers enfants,
2. jíèè tátl kààf dìnè gwóðm p<sup>h</sup>àâm  
<sup>H</sup>-jí-nì-jèè tátlè kààfð díne gwò-ðnó p<sup>h</sup>àám  
 PRS-1SG-AUX commencer dire 2PL 2-enfant 1.homme  
 je commence d'abord avec vous les garçons.
3. mòm p<sup>h</sup>àâm mbéηwéé bé nàá  
 mò-ðnó p<sup>h</sup>àâm mbéη-wéé<sup>B</sup> bé †nàá<sup>B</sup>  
 1-enfant 1.homme AUX-NEG être COMP  
 [Etre] un garçon jeune ne signifie pas que
4. bøk óηfáá ηfèè jí  
 bøkú <sup>H</sup>-ò-n-fáá<sup>B</sup> ñ-féε jí<sup>B</sup>  
 lorsque PRS-2SG-PRS-faire 6-travail SUB  
 lorsque tu travailles,
5. jàà ké nàá òfâη mbjèkà fòkú  
 jè-àà-kéè<sup>H</sup> †nàá<sup>B</sup> ò-fâη mbjèkà fòku  
 3PL-PST1-dire.PST1 COMP 2SG-faire.SBJV 6.travail quelconque  
 [lorsqu']on te demande de faire un travail,
6. òmgbékùwù fì gbèkà<sup>+</sup>wéη té  
 ò-n-gbékùwè<sup>H</sup> fì<sup>H</sup> gbékúw-éη tè<sup>H</sup>  
 2SG-CSC-paresser.CSC seulement paresser-PART là\_bas  
 tu paresse dans ton coin,
7. bøk òpéwú nàá òfâη tfàláàwè détààwè  
 bøk<sup>B</sup> ò-péwò †nàá<sup>B</sup> ò-fâη tfàl-ààwè<sup>H</sup> dèt-ààwè<sup>H</sup>  
 NEG 2SG-chercher.SBJV COMP 2SG-faire.SBJV être\_rapide-ADJ être\_dur-ADJ  
 sans que tu ne cherches à [le] faire rapidement et assidument,

8. nè fípu tà mòm p<sup>h</sup>ààm  
 nè fípu<sup>B</sup> t<sup>h</sup>à mòm-òno p<sup>h</sup>ààm  
 avec 1.trait CMPT 1-enfant 1.homme  
 d'un trait comme un garçon.
9. òjàkà péé 'bé tèm báàwè òpàklàà ájàál jòò  
 ò-jàkà péé<sup>B</sup> bé tèm-b-ààwè<sup>H</sup> ò-pàklaa à-jàál<sup>B</sup> jí-óò  
 2SG-AUX AUX être être\_lent-ADJ LOC-parmi 2-ami PP<sub>2</sub>-2SG.POSS  
 Tu risques vraiment d'être lent parmi tes amis.
10. ònè gwóòŋ gwòmjàà kíjì  
<sup>B</sup>òné gwòm-òno gwóm-jjaa kíjì<sup>B</sup>  
 2PL 2-enfant 2-femme aussi  
 Vous également les filles,
11. mòm mómjàá dzí kìbàpù  
 mòm-òno móm-jjaa dzí<sup>H</sup> kì-bàpù  
 1-enfant 1-femme COP 7-taon  
 la femme est [comme] un taon.
12. bòk ójì kìbàpù òtóó ljàó gwàál téé jí jì°  
 bòkú ò-jì<sup>H</sup> kì-bàpù ò-tóó<sup>B</sup> lí-óò gwàál<sup>B</sup> téé jí<sup>B</sup> jì<sup>H</sup>  
 lorsque 2SG-COP 7-taon 5-maison PP<sub>5</sub>-2SG.POSS 1.foyer dans SUB FOC  
 C'est lorsque tu es un taon dans ton foyer
13. ómbàkl tòó gwàá'íó  
<sup>H</sup>-ò-n-bàklè ò-tóó<sup>B</sup> gwàá'íó<sup>B</sup>  
 PRS-2SG-PRS-garder 5-maison .foyer  
 que tu gardes ton foyer
14. jàá, kě òjìjìá mbjèkà mós  
 jàá<sup>H</sup> kě<sup>B</sup> ò-jìjìá<sup>H</sup> mbjèkà mi-óò  
 parce\_que si 2SG-CSC-faire.CSC 6.travail PP<sub>6</sub>-2SG.POSS  
 tèm báà tèm báàwě  
 tèm-b-áa tèm-b-ààwè<sup>H</sup>  
 être\_lent-ADJ être\_lent-ADJ  
 parce que si tu fais ton travail très lentement,

15. ndónḡḡ ðḡḡḡḡ-kòḡ kè  
 n-dóm w-ḡḡ<sup>H</sup> ḡḡḡ-ḡḡḡ-<sup>H</sup>-kòḡ  
 1-mari PP<sub>1</sub>-2SG.POSS FUT3-FUT3-FUT3-AUX  
 péwú mómjáá ḡḡḡ  
 kè péwḡ<sup>B</sup> mó-mjáá ḡḡḡ<sup>B</sup>  
 aller chercher 1-femme autre  
 Ton mari ira encore chercher une autre femme
16. nàá jàà ḡwé tèmබáá  
 †nàá<sup>B</sup> jàà<sup>H</sup> ḡwè tèmබ-áá  
 COMP parce\_que 2SG être lent-ADJ  
 parce que tu es lente.
17. mòmjàà mbéḡ wéè tèmබò  
 mó-mjaa mbéḡ-wéé<sup>B</sup> tèmබò  
 1-femme AUX-NEG être\_lent  
 Une femme ne doit pas être lente.
18. mómjáá ḡḡáá dzàḡ ḡḡáá ḡḡááwè°  
 mó-mjaa <sup>H</sup>-n-ḡáá<sup>B</sup> dzàḡí ḡḡ-áá ḡḡ-ááwè<sup>H</sup>  
 1-femme PRS-PRS-faire chose.PL être\_rapide-ADJ être\_rapide-ADJ  
 Une femme doit faire les choses très rapidement.
19. ḡḡḡḡ p<sup>h</sup>àám ḡáá kéè kíḡí  
 ḡ-ḡḡḡ p<sup>h</sup>àám ñì-<sup>H</sup>-àà kéè<sup>H</sup> kíḡí<sup>B</sup>  
 LOC-2PL 1.homme 1SG-PST2-PST2 dire.PST2 aussi  
 bók óḡḡḡḡḡḡ  
 bókú <sup>H</sup>-ḡ-n-ḡḡḡḡḡḡ  
 lorsque PRS-2SG-PRS-paresser  
 A vous les hommes, j'ai aussi dit que lorsque tu paresse,
20. ḡḡḡḡ tèmබááwè jí  
 ḡ-n-bé<sup>B</sup> tèmබ-ááwè<sup>H</sup> jí<sup>B</sup>  
 2SG-CSC-COP.CSC être\_lent-ADJ SUB  
 lorsque tu es lent,

21. òntéé nè kùl  
 ò-n-téé<sup>B</sup> nè kùl  
 2SG-CSC-COP.NEG avec 1.force
- òŋké òkíbàj kìfòkù  
 ò-n-ké<sup>B</sup> ò-<sup>H</sup>-kì-bàj kì-<sup>H</sup>-fòkù  
 2SG-CSC-aller.CSC LOC-LOC-7-dépeçage PP<sub>7</sub>-CON-1.elephant  
 tu ne peux pas aller au dépeçage de l'éléphant.
22. dzà fòk jě fùŋàà gwè jě fàjàà  
 dzà<sup>H</sup> fòku <sup>H</sup>jě<sup>H</sup> fùŋàà gwè <sup>H</sup>-jě<sup>H</sup> fàjàà  
 3PL autre FUT1-3PL disputer 2SG FUT1-3PL s'arracher  
 Les autres vont te disputer, il vont se battre.
23. gwè òjì dzìkàà dzìl mbò né 'mbó  
 gwè ò-jì<sup>H</sup> dzìkàà dzìlò mbó nè mbó  
 2SG 2SG-IPFV AUX rester 1.main avec 1.main  
 [Quand à] toi, tu resteras plutôt les bras croisés.
24. ààmáàlò°  
 à-àà-máàlò<sup>H</sup>  
 3SG-PST1-se\_terminer.PST1  
 C'est terminé.



## Elisabeth NJANTCHO KOUAGANG

### A grammar of Kwakum

#### Résumé

Cette thèse est une description des systèmes phonologique et morphosyntaxique du kwakum, langue bantou A90 parlée dans la région de l'Est du Cameroun. Les données qui sont analysées dans ce travail ont été collectées à Sibita, un village de l'Arrondissement de Doumé. Le kwakum a une série de 28 consonnes parmi lesquelles des occlusives aspirées et labio-vélaires. Il possède un système vocalique de sept voyelles à longueur contrastive. L'analyse tonale est basée sur la distinction H vs. B vs. Ø. Le système de classe nominale est quelque peu réduit et les correspondances entre les classes du kwakum et celles du Proto Bantu restent problématiques. Il existe huit classes morphologiques qui indiquent le nombre et cinq classes nominales qui déterminent l'accord. L'on note également un accord par défaut déclenché par les noms singuliers, ce qui suggère que la réduction du système de classe nominale est encore en cours. Le syntagme nominal est le seul domaine où s'observe l'accord en classe nominale. Dans les constructions connectives, la tête syntaxique n'est pas nécessairement la tête sémantique. Le Kwakum possède des «ambipositions» employées comme préposition si le complément est nominal et comme postposition si le complément est pronominal. L'expression du temps verbal nécessite l'utilisation d'auxiliaires ou d'affixes temporels qui peuvent être combinés à un schème tonal de remplacement apparaissant sur les bases verbales. L'ordre des constituants dans la phrase est SVO. L'on note également des phrases averbales formées de deux noms ou d'un nom/pronom et d'un démonstratif. Les appendices contiennent un lexique kwakum-français et deux textes transcrits, glosés, traduits accompagnés de fichiers audio.

**Mot-clés : bantou A90, phonologie, tonologie, morphologie, syntaxe**

#### Résumé en anglais

This thesis provides an analysis of the phonological and morphosyntactic systems of Kwakum, a Bantu A90 language spoken in the East Region of Cameroon. The data analysed in this work was collected from Kwakum speakers living in Sibita, a village located in the Doume Subdivision. Kwakum has a series of 28 consonants, among which aspirated and labiovelars stops. Its seven-vowel system is marked by contrastive length. The tone analysis is based on the distinction H vs. L vs. Ø. The noun class system is somewhat reduced and the correspondences between the Kwakum classes and those of Proto Bantu are still problematic. There are eight morphological classes, marking number, and five noun classes which determine agreement. There is also a default agreement pattern triggered by singular nouns. This suggests an ongoing breakdown of the noun class system. Noun class agreement can only be observed within the noun phrase. In connective constructions, the syntactic head is not necessarily the semantic head. Kwakum has “ambipositions”, used as postpositions with nominal complements and as preposition with pronominal complements. Tense marking involves the use of tense auxiliaries or affixes which may be combined with a replacive tone scheme assigned to the verb stem. Kwakum is a SVO language and also presents instances of non-verbal clauses involving two nouns or a noun/pronoun and a demonstrative. The appendices include a Kwakum-French lexicon and two texts transcribed glossed and time-aligned with audio.

**Key words: Bantu A90, phonology, tonology, morphology, syntax**