A Grammatical Sketch of Saafi

Juliet Stanton

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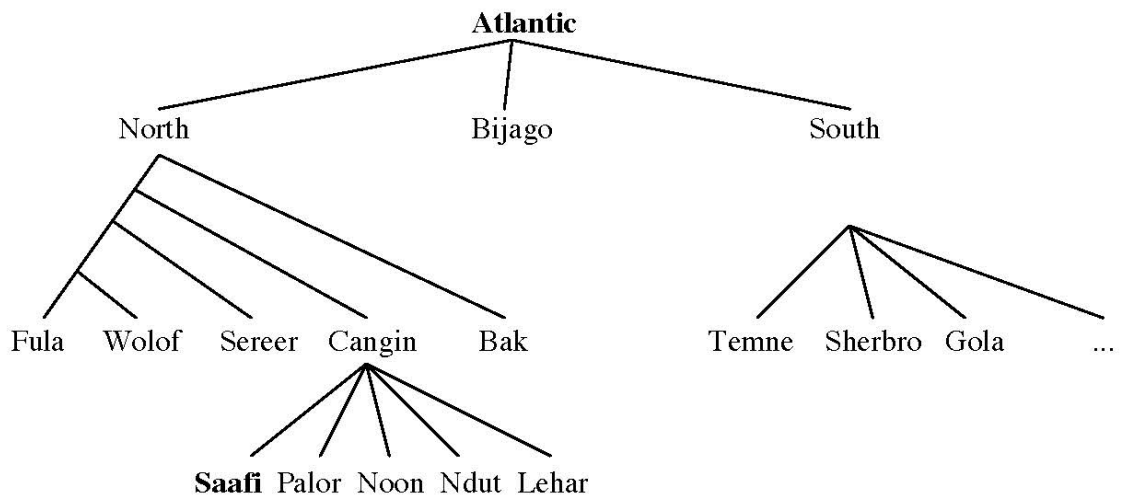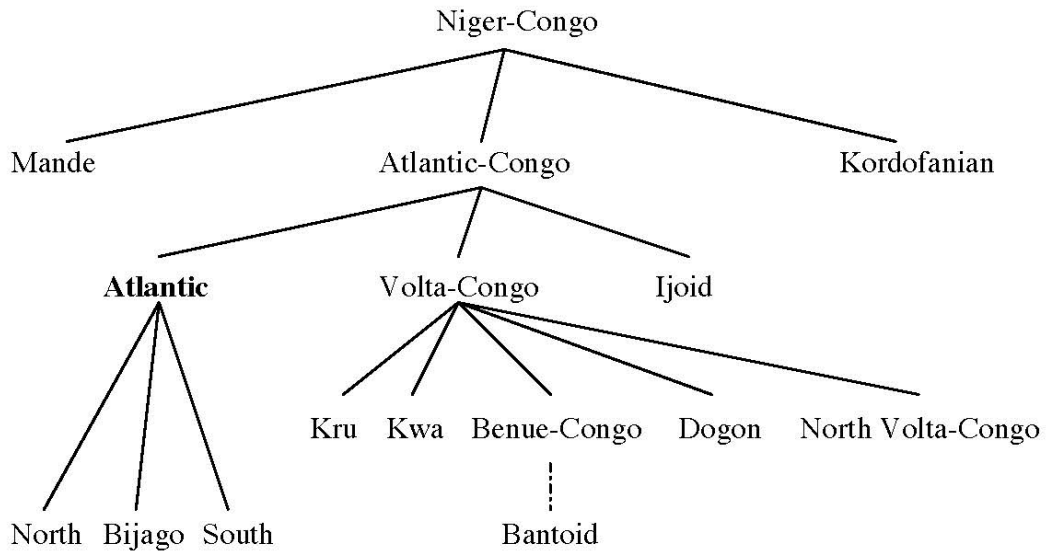
Saafi in the Niger-Congo Phylum

Niger-Congo

Mande   Atlantic-Congo   Kordofanian

Atlantic   Volta-Congo   Ijoid

Kru   Kwa   Benue-Congo   Dogon   North Volta-Congo

North Bijago South

Bantoid

Atlantic

North   Bijago   South

Fula Wolof Sereer Cangin Bak   Temne Sherbro Gola   ...

Saafi Palor Noon Ndut Lehar

SAAFI-SAAFI HOMELAND
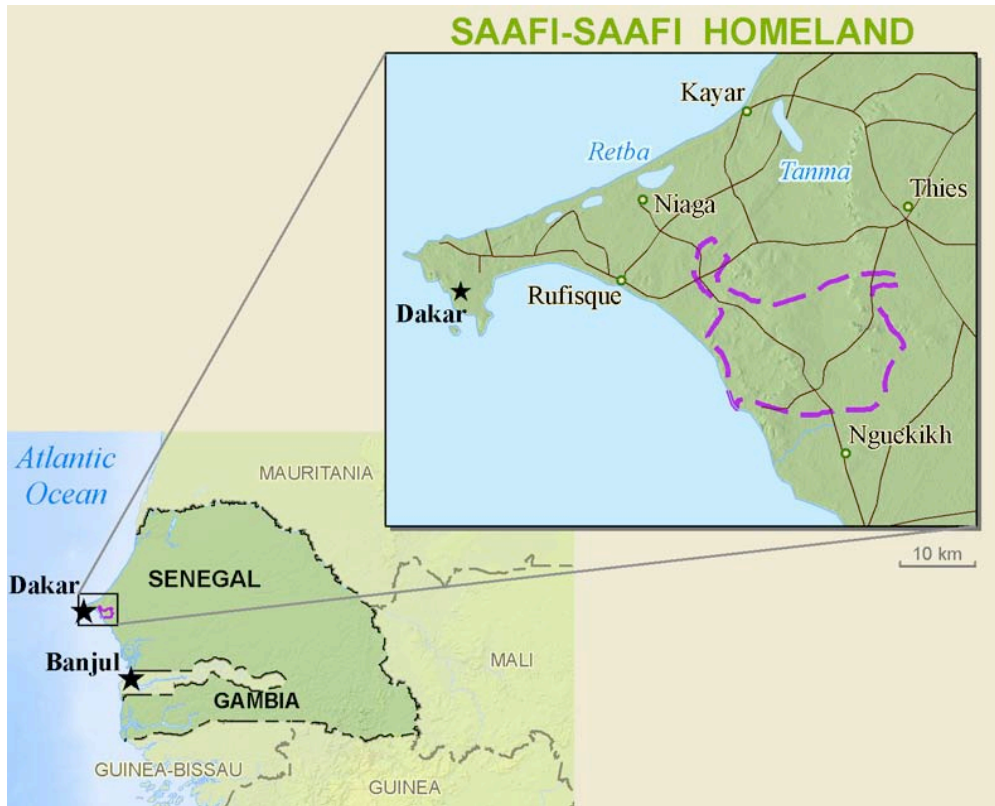
0. Introduction

0.1 The Saafi Language

　　0.1.1 Basic demographic information

Saafi (also known as Saafi-Saafi, Safen, Sereer Saafen, among others) is an Atlantic language of the Niger-Congo family spoken in Senegal. According to Ethnologue, its speaker population was at 114,000 in 2007 and is currently increasing. It is very much a living language, spoken by all ages and in most domains. Saafi is one of the national languages of Senegal, and although there is currently not much written literature in Saafi, there is a standard orthography and a desire for more printed media (Lewis 2009).

　　Saafi is primarily spoken in the triangle southwest of and near Thiès. the language encapsulates five dialects: Boukhou, Sebikotane, Sindia, Hasab, and Diobass. All of these dialects are named after villages, except for Diobass, which is named after a geographical zone. Of the sixty villages where Saafi is spoken, 43 of these are over 80% Saafi, while only eight are under 50% (Lewis 2009).

　　0.1.2 Other relevant languages

Saafi's closest lexical relatives are Noon, Lehar, and Paloor, which are all Cangin languages spoken in and around the Thiès region. As Wolof is the national language of Senegal, and the Thiès region is fairly close to the country's capital, Dakar, Wolof exerts a fair amount of influence over Saafi. This can be seen in the many lexical borrowings that originate from Wolof.

　　As French is also a national language of Senegal, many Saafi speakers also speak French. In fact, for the Saafi language community, the literacy rate in French is around 40% (Lewis 2009). There are also many lexical borrowings from French, in domains such as food, education, and professional life. While these borrowings are commonplace for younger Saafi speakers who

spend time in Dakar and travel outside of the country, many older, more conservative speakers feel that "true Saafi" is Saafi with as few borrowings as is possible in everyday communication.

0.1.3 Brief linguistic description

Saafi is an SVO, non-tonal, agglutinative language. It has contrastive vowel length and a set of implosive as well as prenasalized consonants; the maximum syllable structure is CVC. It has a number of markers for tense and aspect, and exhibits some verbal reduplication. Saafi has double object constructions with a variable ordering of verbal noun phrases. Sociolinguistically, speakers of Saafi have a positive attitude towards their language and they use it in and outside of the home.

0.1.4 Prior literature

Saafi has been the focus of one prior doctoral thesis: *Recherches sur la phonologie et la morphologie de la langue saafi* (Mbodj 1983). Aside from this dissertation, the language is vastly underrepresented in the literature.

0.2 The consultant

Adrien Pouille, the primary consultant for this grammar, is a thirty-three year old Ph.D. candidate in Comparative Literature at Indiana University. He is originally from Tchis, Senegal, though he moved around within the region during the first part of his life.

Adrien's native languages are Wolof and French; he began learning Saafi when he moved to live with his grandparents at six years of age. When he lived with them, it was a requirement for him to learn Saafi if he wanted to play with the neighbors. Adrien began learning Spanish and English in high school, but chose to continue English when he went to college because he considered it to be the more useful of the two. Adrien can also speak a little bit of Chinese, as well as some Noon.

Adrien's parents are from different towns, and this is reflected in their linguistic background. Adrien's father speaks Wolof, French, and Saafi, while his mother speaks Wolof, French, Saafi, and Noon. His mother was educated through primary school, while his father was educated through secondary school and works as an agricultural engineer. His family is Catholic, in contrast to the dominant Muslim population in the area.

After college, Adrien moved to Maryland where he taught French for two years. After living in Maryland, Adrien moved to Bloomington, Indiana to pursue a graduate degree at Indiana University. Adrien specializes in African literature and hopes to become a teacher when he is finished with his degree.

0.3 The present study

This grammatical sketch is the result of seven hours of one-on-one elicitation, as well as fifteen weeks of class sessions, all carried out at Indiana University. It has been produced to fulfill a course requirement for LING-L 431 (Field Methods) at the same university.

1. Phonology and Orthography

1.1 Consonant Inventory

1.1.1 Pulmonic consonant inventory

Saafi displays a wide variety of pulmonic consonants, with many different places and manners of articulation. A representation of the phonemic pulmonic consonants in Saafi is displayed in (1).

(1)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ		
Plosive	p b		t d	c ɟ	k g		ʔ
Prenasalized plosive	ᵐb		ⁿd		ᵑg		
Fricative		f	s			ħ	
Approx.	w			j			
Trill			r				
Lat. App.			l				

1.1.2 Some remarks on prenasalized obstruents

While the prenasalized obstruents might just seem to be two segments occurring right next to each other, the near-minimal triplet presented in (2) seems to defy this idea.

(2) [mɑː.lo] [ᵐbɑːl] [bɑːl]
     'rice'   'sheep' 'ball'

Because of the restriction on complex onsets (discussed further in section 1.3.1), it is unlikely that Saafi would allow a nasal+obstruent cluster. Therefore, it is necessary to think of these sounds as complex single-segment phonemes that are treated as separate categories in the phonemic inventory.

1.1.3 Voiceless stops and aspiration

Voiceless stops in Saafi are always aspirated, though the degree of aspiration seems to differ depending on the vowel that precedes the consonant. In general, voiceless stops seem to have less aspiration when they are followed by high vowels, e.g. /i/ or /u/. Several words showing this difference are shown in (3).

(3)   [pᴴ¹aᵐbi]   [pᴴɛdɛm]
        'chicken'   'monkey'

        [kʰis]   [kʰur]
        'year'   'village'

While it is possible that aspiration is contrastive in Saafi, at this point in time, no minimal pairs have been found and this distribution suggests a phonological explanation.

      1.1.4 Implosive consonant inventory

In addition to a set of pulmonic consonants, Saafi also exhibits a set of implosive consonants. A representation of these phonemic implosive consonants is displayed in (4).

(4)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal
Implosive	ɓ	ɗ	ʄ
Prenasalized implosive	mɓ	nɗ	

      1.1.5 On prenasalized implosives

While the evidence for prenasalized implosives as a class of phonemes is not as strong as the evidence for prenasalized pulmonic consonants, the words presented in (5) seem to contain these sounds.

(5)   [ᵐɓu]   [ᵐɓuː.ru]
        'dog'   'bread'

        [nɑn]   [nɑn.ⁿɗis]
        'to forget'   'to remember'

Obviously, determining whether or not these sounds are phonemes would require a much larger database and further analysis. In addition, the possible existence of a prenasalized palatal implosive has not yet been attested.

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[1] Here, an ᴴ (in contrast to the normal aspiration ʰ diacritic) indicates a higher degree of aspiration.

1.2 Vowels

    1.2.1 Vowel inventory

A chart of the vowels attested in Saafi is displayed in (6).
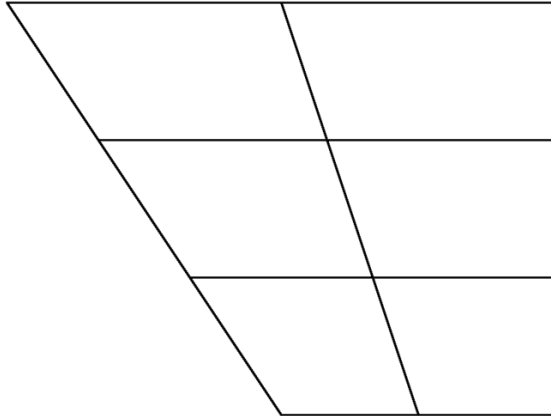
(6)

Sounds thought to be potential allophones have been circled. This is a very preliminary analysis

of the Saafi vowel inventory and would merit from much further investigation.

    1.2.2 Phonemically contrastive vowel length

In Saafi, vowel length is contrastive. This distinction is extremely clear in the difference between

the definite marker /i/ and the proximal locative marker /iː/. Several examples of this are

displayed in (7).

(7)   [muːmɑni]   [muːmɑniː]
        'the lion'   'this lion'

        [mɛremi]   [mɛremiː]
        'the sand'   'this sand'

In addition, the distinction between the imperative morpheme and the imperative object marker

is one of vowel length. Several forms demonstrating this distinction are shown in (8).

(8)   [ᵐbɪndɑ]   [ᵐbɪndɑː]
        'write (directed at one)'   'write it (directed at one)'

[kɑnɑ ɲɑm]   [kɑnɑː ɲɑm]
'don't eat (at one)'   'don't eat it (at one)'

While there have been no monomorphemic minimal pairs found up to the time of writing that

demonstrate phonemically contrastive vowel length, the near-minimal pair shown in (9) is

suggestive.

(9)   [ʔon]   [ʔoːnʔoːn]
        'to give'   'valley'

The interaction between stress and vowel length is also of interest here, and will be discussed

more in section 1.5.2.

1.3 Phonotactics

        1.3.1 Syllable structure

In Saafi, the minimal syllable consists of a single V. (10) shows several examples of this type of

syllable.

(10)   [i.niː]   [ɑ.toħ]
        'this thing'   'stone'

        [i.nɑħ]   [ɑ.si]
        'to know'   'new'

In addition, CV syllables are also possible. Several of these syllables are displayed in (11).

(11)   [pʰɑ.ᵐbi]   [ɓo]
        'chicken'   'person'

        [mi.siɓ̄]   [cu.ruːn]
        'sauce'   'fish'

While not as numerous as the other syllable types, a couple examples of VC syllables are shown

in (12).

(12)   [in]   [ɛːl]
        'something'   'cloud'

CVC is the maximum syllabic unit possible, and examples of this are shown in (13).

(12)   [ɲif]   [cɑc]
         'blood'   'grandparent'

         [kub.ki]   [ʔon]
         'the child'   'to give'

There are no known Saafi words that contain either (segmentally) complex onsets or complex codas. Therefore, we can assume the existence of a high-ranked *COMPLEX constraint banning these structures.

1.3.2 Loanword adaptation

Several French loanwords confirm the hypothesis that *COMPLEX is active in Saafi. Several examples, with the standard French transcription followed by the Saafi adaptation, are shown in (13).

(13)   [fʀɑ̃.se]   [fɛ.rɑn.se]
         'French'   'French'

         [lɛtʀ]   [lɛtɛr]
         'letter'   'letter'

The first of these examples exhibits a repair for a complex onset, while the second exhibits a repair for a complex coda.

1.4 Processes

1.4.1 Nasal epenthesis

Another probable high-ranked constraint in Saafi is NoHIATUS, which militates against a vowel-final syllable being preceded by one that is vowel-initial. This banned structure is repaired by the insertion of a nasal consonant in between the two vowels. This process is most obvious in

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adjective agreement with singular nouns, where the nouns agree in specificity (/i/) but not

number (class). Several examples with the epenthetic segments bolded are shown in (14).

(14)   [pʰaŋfi liːli**ni**]   [atoħ ⁿdɛᵑgadi**ni**]
       'the green grass'   'the wet frog'

       [mɓuːrni nuga**ni**]   [mɛremi ᵐboħa**ni**]
       'the warm bread'   'the yellow sand'

An apparent exception to this rule occurs when the first vowel is /o/ and is followed by /i/. In this

case, the banned /oi/ segment coalesces into a glide, /w/. While there is not enough evidence to

provide a further generalization of this phenomenon, an example is presented in (15).

(15)   [mɛremi jɑnwi]   c.f. [mɛreci jɑnoci]
       'the white sand'   'the white sands'

This n-epenthesis process has interesting consequences on the analysis of the supposed N noun

class. A hypothesis based on this account is presented in section 2.1.4.

       1.4.2 Word-final implosives

Generally speaking, word-final implosives do not sound like their morpheme-initial counterparts.

While the exact nature of the process is unknown at this point in time, they become voiceless or

unreleased, and are often difficult to distinguish from pulmonic egressive consonants. A useful

litmus test to determine whether a word-final seemingly voiceless obstruent is an egressive or an

implosive is to add a suffix to the end of the word and watch what happens to the consonant.

Several examples of word-final implosives discovered using this method are shown in (16).

(16)   [pɑɗ̚]   [pɑɗoħ]
       'broom'   'someone who cleans'

       [ɓitɪɓ̚]   [ɓitɓi]
       'woman'   'the woman'

       [bɑːɓ̚]   [bɑːɓi]
       'father'   'the father'

[mbɛ͡ʃ̄]   [mbɛʃĩ]
'to dance'   'I danced'

[mbɪnd̄]   [mbɪndɓoħa]
'to write'   'writing instrument'

In addition, the verbal suffixes with the form of –iɗ, discussed in further detail in section 5.2.4, often occur without any final consonant whatsoever. Whether this loss of final implosive consonants is a productive process or not, it has interesting consequences when it is followed by suffixes with an initial consonant that assimilate in place to the preceding consonant. These processes will be discussed more thoroughly in sections 5.3.4 and 2.2.6.

1.4.3 ħ/h allophony

While Saafi seems to evidence several different fricatives produced in the back of the throat, this analysis claims that there is only one phoneme, /ħ/, and that the place realization of this sound differs according to the following vowel. Several alternations providing evidence for this account are shown in (17).

(17)   [ɑtoħ]   [ɑtohi]
        'rock'   'the rock'

        [paɟoħ]   [paɟohi]
        'healer'   'the healer'

        [paɟoħ]   [paɟoħani]
        'healer'   'the hospital'

        [pɑɗoħ]   [pɑɗoħɑ]
        'cleaner'   'broom'

The first two example demonstrate that what was /ħ/ word-finally is [h] before /i/, but remains /ħ/ before /ɑ/. The examples in (18), however, show that this pattern is not without exception.

(18)   [kɑlsukoħ]   [kɑlsukoħi]
        'hunter'   'the hunter'

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[jaːħ]   [jaːħɑ]
'hand'   'the hand'

[ɓitsiɗoħ]   [ɓitsiɗohɑni]
'student'   'the teacher'

Even with these exceptions to the pattern originally presented in (17), it is evident that there is

some amount of variation between /ħ/ and its allophone [h], and that there is no reason to

consider them separate phonemes at this point in time.

    1.4.4 Word-final prenasalized obstruent neutralization

As was discussed in section 1.1.2, prenasalized obstruents are phonemically contrastive with

obstruents and nasals. An exception, however, occurs when these prenasalized obstruents appear

word-finally. While these phonemes do not violate any sort of *COMPLEXONSET constraint, it

seems that either their status is different word-finally, or that the *COMPLEXCODA constraint

bans complex segments (in addition to clusters) while the *COMPLEXONSET constraint, for some

reason, does not. Whatever the explanation, the point is that these prenasalized obstruents are

neutralized to nasals in word-final, but not syllable-initial, position. Evidence of this disparity

(using affixation and subsequent resyllabification to determine the nature of the word-final

consonant) is presented in (19).

(19)   [um]   [u.^{m}bɪs]
        'to cover (a hole)'   'to uncover (a hole)'

        [rɐŋ]   [rɐ.^{ŋ}gɪs]
        'to shut'   'to open'

        [pon]   [ponɪs]
        'to sell'   'I sold (narrative past)'

The alternation in (20), however, demonstrates that this distinction is not always so clear-cut, and

that there is a considerable amount of variation as to the speaker's treatment of word-final

consonant clusters present in the input.

(20) [nɑn] [na.ⁿɗɪs]
     'to forget' 'to remember'

                              [nɑnɪs]
                              'to forget again'

Because the final consonant in the cluster is not pronounced when the morpheme stands on its

own, it seems that speakers themselves are sometimes not sure if these final consonants exist or

not. This apparent deletion process can result in a considerable amount of variation. Therefore,

further investigation is needed to find a better, more reliable method of analyzing these potential

prenasalized final consonants.

     1.4.5 Post-tonic vowel deletion

When a syllable with primary stress is followed by an unstressed CV syllable, the V in this

second syllable is realized as reduced or deleted. This process is restricted to words that are

trisyllabic or longer, e.g. there must be a syllable after the unstressed syllable that undergoes

vowel deletion. This process is entirely productive, in that it seems to apply with no

morphological restrictions whatsoever. Several examples of this deletion are shown in (21).

(21) [ˈku.bu] [kub.ki] (opt. [ˈku.bu.ki])
     'child' 'the child'

     [ˈtu.fuk] [ˈtuf.kiɗ] (opt. [ˈtu.fu.kiɗ])
     'to stand up' 'to make stand up'

     [ˈɓɪtɪɓ] [ˈɓɪt.ɓi] (opt. [ˈɓɪ.tɪ.ɓi])
     'woman' 'the woman'

As this process most commonly occurs in words with an odd number of syllables, it remains to

be seen if this process is in part motivated by the universal tendency for languages to parse

syllables into feet and thereby reduce extrametricality.

1.5 Prosody

      1.5.1 Lexical stress

Generally speaking, Saafi words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. While stress in Saafi is

an area that merits much further investigation, there are two important principles of stress

systems that seem to play a role in Saafi prosody. This first principle is defined in (22).

(22)   STRESS-TO-WEIGHT: stressed syllables are heavy.

Generally speaking, Saafi words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. Therefore, when a

monomoraic syllable is in penultimate position, the vowel will lengthen. When a bimoraic

syllable is in penultimate position, however, no lengthening will occur. Some examples

illustrating these assertions are presented in (23).

(23)   [ˈjɑːndɛr]   [jɑnˈdɛːri]
        'door'   'the door'

        [ˈɗoːpat]   [ɗo.ˈpat.ci]
        'animal'   'the animal'

        [ˈmuːma]   [muːˈmɑːni]
        'lion'   'the lion'

This pattern, however, seems to be outranked by the principle presented in (24):

(24)   WEIGHT-TO-STRESS: heavy syllables are stressed.

When heavy syllables are in word-final position, they tend to attract the stress away from the

penultimate syllable. Several examples of this are shown in (25).

(25)   [inɑ.ˈtaŋ]
        'wild animal'

        [ᵐbɑm.ˈħuħ]
        'pig'

        [muː.mɑ.ˈniː]
        'this lion'

[muː.mɑ.ˈcɛm]
'those lions'

A broad generalization of the Saafi stress system is that stressed syllables are either in penultimate or final position, and that the langauge chooses between these two positions based on syllable weight. This is not without exceptions, however (voiceless heavily aspirated word-initial consonants tend to attract stress), and any further analysis of the stress system is beyond the scope of this section.

1.5.2 Lengthened vowels: stress-related or phonemic?

Given this propensity for stressed vowels in CV syllables to be lengthened, it is often difficult to tell whether or not a stressed long vowel is phonemically long, or if it is long to fulfill some kind of requirement that stressed syllables are bimoraic. While this topic is beyond the scope of this grammatical sketch, any further analysis of either the phonemic status of long vowels or the stress system needs to take the other component into account. Vowel lengthening is one of the areas in Saafi in which the phonemic inventory and the prosodic tendencies interface most closely, and it is also one of the areas where any future phonological analysis needs to be the most careful.

1.5.3 Phrasal stress

In addition to lexical stress, Saafi seems to exhibit phrase-conditioned stress. Two examples of this different pattern are shown in (26).

(26)   [ˈkibici ˈkanakci ˈdɑmici]
        'the two hot fires'

        [ˈkiɑki ˈʔɑsi ˈsuːsusi]
        'the new black book'

As is evident from the examples in (26), something about these phrases causes the language to ignore its general preference for penultimate or final stressed syllables and to give the primary

stress to the first syllable. This tendency is, like all other aspects of the stress system, a feature of Saafi that has not been researched in any detail for this sketch.

1.6 Orthography used in the present study

The orthography used in this grammatical sketch is a variant on the IPA, with some characters adapted for ease of input. All standard Roman characters used in the IPA for Saafi's inventory will remain the same. Equivalents for the other consonants are listed in (27).

(27) /mb/: mb
      /nd/: nd
      /ŋg/: ng
      /ʔ/:   X
      /ħ/:   h
      /ɲ/:   nj
      /ŋ/:   ng
      /ɟ/:   dj
      /ɓ/:   B
      /ɗ/:   D
      /ʃ/:   J
      /mɓ/: mB
      /nɗ/: nD

The orthography used for the vowels reflects the tentative phonemic categories for the vowel system proposed by this analysis. This simplification is presented in (28).

(28) /ɑ,ɐ/: a
      /ɪ, i/: i
      /ɔ, o/: o
      /u/:   u
      /ɛ, e/: e

2. Nominal Morphology

2.1 The noun class system

Like many other African languages, Saafi exhibits a system of noun classes. Unlike many other African languages, however, this system is in decline. Saafi exhibits three distinct noun classes: the M class, the K class, and the F class, but within each of these classes, there is a considerable amount of alternation between the historic class marker and the null class. Saafi seems to exhibit an N class, as well, but it is unclear whether this is a true noun class or just a subset of the null class (see section 2.1.4 for further discussion).

2.1.1 The M class

The M class in Saafi has a definite semantic concept associated with it; all of the members of this class are mass nouns. Examples of these nouns can be seen in (1).

(1)	misiB	'sauce'	misiB-m-i	'the sauce'
	phuD	'dust'	phuD-m-i	'the dust'
	meray	'sand'	meray-m-i	'the sand'
	musuB	'water'	musuB-m-i	'the water'
	miida	'salt'	miida-m-i	'the salt'
	njif	'blood'	njif-m-i	'the blood'

Within this class, there is some alternation between the M marker and the null marker, providing further evidence that the noun class system of Saafi is in decline. An example of this is shown in (2).

(2)	njif	'the blood'	njif-m-i	'the blood'
	njif	'the blood'	njif- -i	'the blood'

2.1.2 The K class

The K class seems to have a semantic focus as well, although its category is not as clear as that of the M class. In general, nouns in the K class refer to items or relationships that are a part of society.

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(3)	kubu	'child'	kub-k-i	'the child'
	kur	'village'	kur-k-i	'the village'
	kiat	'book'	kiat-k-i	'the book'
	kibi	'fire'	kib-k-i	'the fire'

Just like the M class, there is some alternation between the K marker and the null marker. An

example of this is shown in (4).

(4)	kiat	'book'	kiat-k-i	'the book'
	kiat	'book'	kiat- -i	'the book'

    2.1.3 The F class

The F class seems to be composed of nouns that deal with living things. Words related to

animals, as well as words related to plants, fall into this category. Representative examples are

shown in (5).

(5)	peX	'goat'	peX-f-i	'the goat'
	mBu	'dog'	mBu-f-i	'the dog'
	fiin	'hair'	fiin-f-i	'the hair'
	pangi	'grass'	pang-f-i	'the grass'
	paani	'monkey'	paan-f-i	'the monkey'
	pambi	'chicken'	pamb-f-i	'the chicken'

In the F class, there is a considerable amount of alternation between the F marker and the N

marker (a tentative explanation for why this pattern might occur is presented in section 2.1.4).

Two examples of this pattern are displayed in (6).

(6)	paangi	'grass'	paang-f-i	'the grass'
	paangi	'grass'	paangi-n-i	'the grass'
	paani	'monkey'	paan-f-i	'the monkey'
	paani	'monkey'	paani-n-i	'the monkey'

    2.1.4 The N class

The N class is the only marked class in Saafi that does not have a definite semantic focus.

Examples of members of this class that illustrate its semantic diversity can be seen in (7).

(7)	mBuuru	'bread'	mBuur-n-i	'the bread'
	lama	'chief'	lama-n-i	'the chief'

muuma	'lion'	muuma-n-i	'the lion'
tonoha	'store'	tonoha-n-i	'the store'
tango	'hill'	tango-n-i	'the hill'
padjoha	'hospital'	padjoha-n-i	'the hospital'

Unlike the other classes, the N class does not display any alternations between the N marker and a null marker. Because of this discrepancy, because it has no semantic focus, and because all of the members of this class end with a vowel, it is possible that the N class is not a true noun class, after all: the existence of the n in the place of the class marker can be attributed to the nasal epenthesis process described in section 1.4.1. If this is true, it would explain the apparent alternation between the F and the N class for the examples shown in (6). Further investigation of Saafi's lexicon would be needed to prove or disprove this theory, however, as its validity hinges on the possible existence of words in the N class with a final coda.

    2.1.5 The null class

The null class is the largest noun class in Saafi, and it is just as semantically diverse as the N class. Examples of members of this class are shown in (8).

(8)	noh	'sun'	noh- -i		'the sun'
	djupil	'knife'	djupl- -i		'the knife'
	djumbur	'rabbit'	djumbur- -i		'the rabbit'
	kedik	'earth'	kedk- -i		'the earth'
	tuc	'bedroom'	tuc- -i		'the bedroom'
	tangalang	'eatable fruit'	tangalang- -i		'the eatable fruit'
	jah	'hand'	jah- -i		'the hand'

It is worth noting here that all the members of the null class end in a consonant, which gives even more validity to the hypothesis proposed in 2.1.5.

    2.1.6 Other classes

There is sporadic evidence for other classes in Saafi, such as the R class and the B class, but the data collected for this grammar did not display enough cases of these categories to postulate the existence of a true class. Further investigation would be needed to determine whether or not

these classes exist, or if the outlying examples, shown in (9), are in some way phonologically motivated.

(9) toho   'millet'   toh-r-i   'the millet'
     mɓo   'frog'   mɓo-b-i   'the frog

2.2 Affixes, Number, and Specificity

2.2.1 The root noun

In Saafi, a noun stem is nonspecific and undefined for number. Although it is generally perceived as plural nonspecific, as it lacks any affixes, the meaning of the root noun as it relates to number is defined by its context. Several examples of this, drawn from "KooDkiDing rehi" (in Appendix A) are shown in (10).

(10) w-a   raak-iD   tango   na   oon-oon
      SG-NSPEC   to_have-ASP   hills   and   valley
      'It has hills and a valley.'

      kac   na   atoh
      pebbles   and   rocks
      '…laterite pebbles and rocks.'

      ndang   gup   yul   na   sarto
      machete   hoe   creusette and   sickle
      '…a machete, a hoe, a creusette, and a sickle.'

As is evident from these examples, the root noun is always nonspecific, but its value for plurality depends on the context.

2.2.2 Singularity and classes

The addition of the class marker lends a sense of singularity to the noun. This generalization can be inferred from the forms presented in (1-10), but several of them are repeated here in (11) for convenience.

(11) misiB   'sauce'   misiB-m-i   'the sauce'
      phuD   'dust'   phuD-m-i   'the dust'
      kiat   'book'   kiat-k-i   'the book'
      kibi   'fire'   kib-k-i   'the fire'
      mBu   'dog'   mBu-f-i   'the dog'
      fiin   'hair'   fiin-f-i   'the hair'
      muuma   'lion'   muuma-n-i   'the lion'
      tonoha   'store'   tonoha-n-i   'the store'
      tangalang   'eatable fruit'   tangalang- -i 'the eatable fruit'
      jah   'hand'   jah- -i   'the hand'

While Saafi has various noun class markers, they all serve the same purpose: to specify the

number of the noun as singular. It is important to note here that the noun class marker, and not

the following /i/, is what gives this sense of singularity. (The function of /i/ will be further

discussed in section 2.2.4.)

2.2.3 The plural marker c

To mark the plural in Saafi, /c/ is appended to the end of the noun stem. C behaves much in the

same way as a noun class marker, but its use is regular: every noun in the Saafi language takes

the C to form a plural, regardless of current or historic class. Some examples of this, displaying

the universal behavior of C, can be seen in (12).

(12) misiB   'sauce'   misiB-c-i   'the sauces'
      phuD   'dust'   phuD-c-i   'the dusts'
      kiat   'book'   kiat-c-i   'the books'
      kibi   'fire'   kib-c-i   'the fires'
      mBu   'dog'   mBu-c-i   'the dogs'
      fiin   'hair'   fiin-c-i   'the hairs'
      muuma   'lion'   muuma-c-i   'the lions'
      tonoha   'store'   tonoha-c-i   'the stores'
      tangalang   'eatable fruit'   tangalang-c-i   'the eatable fruits'
      jah   'hand'   jah-c-i   'the hands'

Again, here it is the morpheme /c/ (and not the following /i/) that lends the noun this sense of

plurality.

2.2.4 Specificity

        2.2.4.1 Specific /i/

As has been demonstrated in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, the addition of the /i/ seems to come with

the noun class and the plurality marker. /i/ serves to designate that the noun in question is

specific. As this marker occurs on both singular and plural forms, it can be seen as a marker for

specificity that is entirely distinct from the noun class or plurality markers. Evidence

demonstrating its function in both of these contexts can be seen in (13).

(13) | misiB | 'sauce' | misiB-c-i | 'the sauces' |
|---|---|---|---|
| phuD | 'dust' | phuD-m-i | 'the dust' |
| kiat | 'book' | kiat-c-i | 'the books' |
| kibi | 'fire' | kib-k-i | 'the fire' |
| mBu | 'dog' | mBu-c-i | 'the dogs' |
| fiin | 'hair' | fiin-f-i | 'the hair' |
| muuma | 'lion' | muuma-c-i | 'the lions' |
| tonoha | 'store' | tonoha-n-i | 'the store' |
| tangalang | 'eatable fruit' | tangalang-c-i | 'the eatable fruits' |
| jah | 'hand' | jah- -i | 'the hand' |

It is important to note that this marker is distinct from the locative marker /ii/, which will be

discussed in section 2.2.5.1.

        In addition, the specific marker can be also used to turn a verb into a noun. This usage is

roughly equivalent to the English gerund. A couple examples of this process are displayed in

(14).

(14) | guur | guur- -i |
|---|---|
| to_cultivate | to_cultivate-CL-SPEC |
| 'to cultivate' | 'the cultivating' |
| | |
| coh | coh- -i |
| to_meet | to_meet-CL-SPEC |
| 'to meet' | 'the meeting' |

2.2.4.2 Non-specific /a/

The marker a is used when a nominal object is defined for number but is nonspecific. The

distinction between the nonspecific /a/ and the specific /i/ is best shown in contrast. Several

examples of this distinction can be seen in (15).

(15)   c-i
        PL-SPEC
        'these' (used with a noun to indicate a specific plural entity)

        c-a
        PL-NSPEC
        'those' (used apart from the noun to indicate a nonspecific plural entity)

        mBu-f-i
        dog-CL-SPEC
        'the dog'

        mBu-f-a
        dog-CL-NSPEC
        'the dog' (defined for singularity, but used when talking about a dog that is not present)

        muuma-c-i
        lion-PL-SPEC
        'the lions'

        muuma-c-a
        lion-PL-NSPEC
        'the lions' (defined for plurality, but used when talking about lions that are not present)

In addition, this nonspecific marker can be used to denote a nominal entity that is far away (i.e.

nonspecific) from the speaker and the listeners. Two examples of this, drawn from 'Cohing

Doopaatci' (included in Appendix A) is shown in (16).

(16)   leern-a-ng   nduuf- -a
        middle-NSPEC-CON   forest-CL-NSPEC
        'The middle of the forest' (that is far away and unknown to the interlocuters)

        mbeh-   -a
        day-CL-NSPEC
        'the day' (an unspecified day)

2.2.5   The prefix Bi-

Saafi exhibits one nominal prefix: the quantifier Bi-. This prefix attaches to the beginning of the

noun stem and creates the meaning "some of X." Examples of this prefix are shown in (17).

(17)   Bo   'people'   BiBo   'some people'
        kac   'pebble'   Bikac   'some pebbles'
        han   'house'   Bihan   'family'
        atoh   'rock'   Biatoh   'some rocks'
        Jaar   'man'   biJaar   'some men'

While this prefix seems to be an example of a nonspecific affix, the difference between this

prefix and the nonspecific suffix –a is that the prefix Bi selects a specific, but undefined, set of

items. So, it is specific in the sense that it selects a certain partition of a semantic idea, although

the constituents of this partition are not explicitly specified.

2.2.6 Relational pronouns

Saafi has a set of relational pronouns used to connote a relationship between the item and

someone possesses it. The set of nouns that can be used in this manner is restricted, and while the

exact requirements to be a member of this class are unclear, it seems that the noun in question

must be something that a human can be closely connected to. Several examples of nouns of this

type can be seen in (18).

(18)   tuc   'bedroom'
        kur   'village'
        jaaj   'mother'
        jun   'field'
        kan   'house'

To express a possessive relation with these nouns, a set of pronouns is suffixed directly to the

root noun. These pronouns agree in number and person with the person in the relationship, and

are shown in the paradigm presented in (19).

(19)	(C)o	'(1P.S)'	Bo	'(1P.P)'
	fu	'(2P.S'	Du	'(2P.P)'
	ce	'(3P.S)'	Ba	'(3P.P)'

Several examples of these pronouns affixed onto the root noun, denoting a relationship, can be seen in (20).

(20)	tuc-co	'my bedroom'
	kur-Ba	'their village'
	kan-ce	'his/her house'
	jun-Bo	'our field'
	fan-Du	'you all's bodies'

In addition, Saafi has a suffix denoting a communal relationship. This suffix, as well as several examples of its application, is presented in (21).

(21)	(C)if[2]	'(COMM)'
	kan-Dif	'our house'
	kur-Dif	'our village'
	tuc-if	'our bedroom'

While these forms might be semantically very similar to the 1P.P forms, they are slightly different semantically. The communal suffix is used to denote something that has a relationship with a plural group of people, but that goes outside that, as well: (A) a family might be in a relationship with a field, but (B) the entire community might be in a relationship with that field as well. If only (A) is true, then the 1P.P suffix is used; if both (A) and (B) are used, then the communal suffix is used.

Note, also, that this is not the only way to denote that two nouns are in a sort of possessive relationship. The function of linking two nouns together (which is close in translation to the English expression of possession) will be further discussed in section 3.2.1.

---

[2] The first consonant of the communal suffix, as well as the first person singular suffix, is unspecified for place and takes on the place and voicing specification of the preceding consonant. This process is identical to that of the narrative past suffix, and will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.4.

2.2.7 Derived nouns

2.2.7.1 The agentive –oh

The suffix –oh can also be used to create a noun from a verb. The resulting noun denotes

someone who performs the action indicated by the verb. Examples of the function of this suffix

can be seen in (22).

(22) guur   guur-oh
      to_cultivate   to_cultivate-AGT
      'cultivate'   'farmer'

      paJ   paJ-oh
      to_heal   to_heal-AGT
      'to heal'   'healer'

      mbeJ   mbeJ-oh
      to_dance   to_dance-AGT
      'to dance'   'dancer'

      leber   leber-oh
      to_wrestle   to_wrestle-AGT
      'to wrestle'   'wrestler'

      rok   rok-oh
      to_steal   to_steal-AGT
      'to steal'   'thief'

2.2.7.2 The instrumental –a

In many cases, the addition of the morpheme –a after the agentive suffix –oh changes the noun to

represent an item or place that the agent uses to carry out the meaning of the verb. Several

examples of the function of this suffix can be seen in (23).

(23) paJ-oh-a
      to_heal-AGT-LOC
      'hospital'

      BitsiD-oh-a-n-a
      to_learn-AGT-??-(EP)-LOC
      'school'

Jang-oh-a-n-a
to_study-AGT-??-(EP)-LOC
'place where (someone) studies'

ton-oh-a
to_sell-AGT-LOC
'store'

paD-oh-a
broom-AGT-LOC
'broom (tool used by someone who cleans)'

As seen in some of these examples, however, and in the example presented in (24), there seem to

be two separate –a suffixes that can apply after the agentive suffix. The final –a in (23) seems to

give these nouns a meaning related to a location or an instrument, while this first –a, shown in

(24) seems to perform another function.

(24)   BitsiD-oh   BitsiD-oh-a
        to_learn-AGT   to_learn-AGT-??
        'student'   'teacher'

At the present time, it is unclear what the meaning of this mystery –a is,[3] and what the

restrictions on its distribution and occurrence are. Further work is needed to determine if, in fact,

there are two separate morphemes, and if there are, what the exact function of each is.

2.3 Other Nominal Morphemes

        2.3.1 Deictics

Markers for location— =ii, =em, and =an, apply as the last constituent in the noun phrase. When

the noun phrase consists solely of a single head noun, they apply after the singular (class) marker

or plural marker. An analysis of how these markers interact with more complex noun phrases is

presented in section 3.2.3. The meaning of each of these forms is discussed below.

---

[3] One potential hypothesis is that this –a is the same morpheme as the instrumental –a, and that one could
think of a teacher as the place where the student obtains their knowledge.

2.3.1.1 =ii

The marker ii is used to show that a nominal object is in close proximity to both the speaker and

the listener. Several examples of this affix, used in both the singular and the plural, can be seen

in (24).

(24)   pangi-n-ii
        grass-CL-PROX
        'this grass'

        kijat-c-ii
        book-PL-PROX
        'these books'

        muma-c-ii
        lion-PL-PROX
        'these lions'

        meray-m-ii
        sand-CL-PROX
        'this sand'

2.3.1.2 =em

The marker =em is used to show that a nominal object is far from the speaker, but close to the

listener. Several examples of this affix, used in both the singular and the plural, can be seen in

(25).

(25)   pangi-n-em
        grass-CL-DIST.N
        'that grass (close to listener)'

        kijat-c-em
        book-PL-DIST.N
        'those books (close to listener)'

        muma-c-em
        lion-PL-DIST.N
        'those lions (close to listener)'

2.3.1.3 =an

The marker an is used to show that a nominal object is far from all interlocutors. Several

examples of this affix, used in both the singular and the plural, can be seen in (26).

(26) pangi-n-an
      grass-CL-DIST.F
      'that grass (far from all interlocutors)'

      kijat-c-an
      book-PL-DIST.F
      'those books (far from all interlocutors)'

      muma-c-an
      lion-PL-DIST.F
      'those lions (far from all interlocutors)'

An interesting observation involving the deictic markers is that, in all cases, they take the

primary stress of the word. Whether this generalization stems from prosodic or morphological

factors remains to be seen.

2.3.2 Adjectives

2.3.2.1 Adjective stems

Saafi has a class of adjectives that directly modify the noun. In their root form, just like nouns,

adjectives are not specified for number or specificity.[4] Examples of adjectives, along with

several noun+adjective phrases, can be seen in (27).

(27) jaano   'white'
      mere jaano   'white sand'

      muui   'wet'
      mBo mui   'wet frog'

      nugu   'warm'
      mBuuru nugu   'warm bread'

---

[4] The difference between a true adjective, and an adjective-like part of speech that is derived from a verb
(dam → damiD is a possible example of this) is an aspect of this language that needs much further
investigation and explanation.

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suusus   'black'
kiat suusus 'black book'

2.3.2.2 Numeric quantifiers

Saafi has a completely regular base five number system with an additional form for 'ten.' The

numbers used in this system are presented in (25):

(25) jiino   'one'
   kanak 'two'
   kaahai 'three'
   nikis   'four'
   jatus   'five'
   ndankeh 'ten'

Several examples of noun+number phrases are presented in (26).

(26) kanak jiino   mBo kanak
   'one child'   'two frogs'

   mbamhuh nikis   mBu jatus
   'four pigs'   'five dogs'

Examples of more complex numbers, demonstrating how these constituents can join together, are

presented in (27).

(27) jatus na-jiino
   five with-one
   'six'

   ndankeh na-kaahai
   ten   with-three
   'thirteen'

   ndankeh jatus   na-nikis
   ten   five with-four
   'nineteen'

   ndankeh kanak
   ten   two
   'twenty'

```
ndankeh   kanak   jatus   na-jiino
ten       two     five    and-one
'twenty-six'
```

It is worth noting here that all of the numbers before na function as a single constituent. The

evidence motivating this generalization and its role in agreement will be discussed further in

section 2.4.

2.3.2.3 Non-numeric quantifiers

Saafi has a number of non-numeric quantifiers to denote a quantity of the noun being described.

Several examples of these words are shown in (28).

```
(28)   laai          'many'
       jusut         'a few'
       djen          'all'
       nuuni         'each, every'
```

2.4 Agreement in the Noun Phrase

2.4.1 Unmarked forms

When the head noun in a noun phrase is unmarked for plurality and specificity, the adjective is

unmarked in these two domains as well. Examples of this zero-marking agreement can be seen in

(29).

```
(29)   meray  jaano
       sand   white
       'white sands'

       ndjeel  suras   ndankeh   jatus   na-jiino
       rug     orange  ten               five    and-one
       'sixteen orange rugs'

       kiat   Xas    suusus
       book   new    black
       'a new black book'
```

2.4.2 Plurality

Constituents in the noun phrase agree in number marking, but not in singularity. In other words,

adjectives and other nominal constituents are not marked for class, but they are marked with the

plural morpheme C when the noun is marked with that same morpheme as well. Examples

demonstrating non-agreement of adjectives with singular specific nouns are shown in (30).

(30) paani-n-i   jakuk-i
      monkey-CL-SPEC   old-SPEC
      'the old monkey'

      kiat-k-i   Xas-i   suusus-i
      kiat-CL-SPEC   new-SPEC   black-SPEC
      'the new black book'

      mBu-f-i   maanji-n-i   sokola-n-i
      dog-CL-SPEC   old-(EP)-SPEC   brown-(EP)-SPEC
      'the old brown dog'

On the other hand, examples demonstrating agreement within the noun phrase for plurality can

be seen in (31).

(31) atoh-c-i   dengadi-c-i   laai-c-i
      rock-PL-SPEC   smooth-PL-SPEC   many-PL-SPEC
      'the many smooth rocks'

      djeel-c-i   saras-c-i   ndankeh jatus-c-i   na-jiino
      rug-PL-SPEC   orange-PL-SPEC   ten five-PL-SPEC   with-one
      'the sixteen orange rugs'

      mBu-c-i   Xas-c-i
      dog-PL-SPEC   new-PL-SPEC
      'the new dogs'

2.4.3 Specificity

Constituents in the noun phrase agree in specificity, whether the head noun is specific or

nonspecific. Evidence demonstrating the agreement for the specific /i/ has already been shown in

(30) and (31), but is repeated in (32) for convenience. As is shown from these examples,

agreement in specificity is a completely separate topic than agreement in number.

(32)   atoh-c-i   dengadi-c-i   laai-c-i
        rock-PL-SPEC   smooth-PL-SPEC   many-PL-SPEC
        'the many smooth rocks'

        kiat-k-i   Xas-i   suusus-i
        kiat-CL-SPEC   new-SPEC   black-SPEC
        'the new black book'

        djeel-c-i   saras-c-i   ndankeh jatus-c-i   na-jiino
        rug-PL-SPEC   orange-PL-SPEC   ten five-PL-SPEC   with-one
        'the sixteen orange rugs'

        paani-n-i   jakuk-i
        monkey-CL-SPEC   old-SPEC
        'the old monkey'

This process of adjective agreement can result in the creation of adjectives, as well. In the case of

stative verbs, when the specific –i is suffixed onto the end of these verbs, the result is an

adjective that embodies the quality expressed by that verb. A couple examples of this result of

the specific morpheme –i are shown in (33).

(33)   dum   dum-i
        to_be.hot   to_be.hot-SPEC
        'to be hot'   'hot'

        baah   baah-i
        to_be.kind,good   to_be.kind,good-SPEC
        'to be kind, good'   'kind, good'

While there is not as much evidence for agreement with the nonspecific marker /a/, the example

from 'Cohing Doopaatci' discussed in section 2.2.4.2 is repeated in (34) below.

(34)   leern-a-ng   nduuf- -a
        middle-NSPEC-CON   forest-CL-NSPEC
        'the middle of the forest'

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3. The Noun Phrase

3.1 The Simple Noun Phrase

The basic noun phrase in Saafi consists of a single head noun that may or may not have any prefixes or affixes denoting relationship, specificity, or definiteness. It can be a pronoun or a noun. Section 3.2 discusses possible modifications to the noun phrase, and section 3.3 gives a preliminary ordering of constituents in the noun phrase.

3.2 Some Possible Modifications

3.2.1 Connecting two nouns

As was mentioned earlier in section 2.2.6, Saafi has a way of linking nouns together that denotes a relationship akin to possession. The morpheme /ng/ attaches after the specificity marker of the noun that is possessed in order to create this link. This noun is immediately followed by the noun that subsumes it; these two constituents always appear next to each other, without any intervening morphemes, in the noun phrase. Some examples of this type of connection are shown in (1).

(1)   Baab-   -i-ng   Jileen
        father-CL-SPEC-CON   Jileen
        'Jileen's father'

        coh-   -i-ng   Doopaat-c-i
        meeting-CL-SPEC-CON   animal-PL-SPEC
        'the meeting of the animals'

        leern-a-ng   nduuf-a
        middle-NSPEC-CON   forest-NSPEC
        'the middle of the forest'

When the entity doing the possessing is referred to by a personal pronoun, this pronoun takes the place of the second noun in the construction. The personal pronouns used in this type of construction are shown in (2).

(2)   (C)o   '(1P.S)'   Buci   '(1P.P)'
        Da   '(2P.S)'   Du   '(2P.P)'
        De   '(3P.S)'   Ba   '(3P.P)'

        Examples of constructions using these personal pronouns can be seen in (3).

(3)   fisar-   -i-ng-De
        chest-CL-SPEC-CON-3P.S
        'his chest'

        pambi-n-i-ng-o
        chicken-CL-SPEC-CON-1P.S
        'my chicken'

        sis-c-i-ng-Ba
        tooth-PL-SPEC-CON-3P.P
        'their teeth'

An important side note is that this connective morpheme can append itself to verbal elements as

well as nominal. A few examples of this are illustrated in (3).

(3)   mbeh-   -i-ng   guur-   -i
        day-CL-SPEC-CON   cultivate-CL-SPEC
        'the day of the cultivating'

        kooDk-iD-i-ng reh-i
        prepare-ASP-SPEC-CON rainy_season-   -i
        'the preparation of the rainy season'

Whether this connective morpheme is capable of deriving nouns from verbs, or whether there is

another process at work entirely, is an area that merits further investigation.

        3.2.2 Adjectives and quantifiers

When adjectives and quantifiers are introduced into the noun phrase, they always follow the head

noun. Examples of this are shown in (4).

(4)   Jaar-   -i   bahid-i
        man-CL-SPEC   good-SPEC
        'the nice man'

baal- -i   ruumin-i
ball-CL-SPEC   red-SPEC
'the red ball'

komak-c-i   kanak-c-i
child-PL-SPEC   two-PL-SPEC
'the two children'

djel-c-i   ndankex   jatus-c-i   najiino
rug-PL-SPEC   ten   five-PL-SPEC   with-one
'the sixteen rugs'

When numerical quantifiers and adjectives occur within the same phrase, the position of these

constituents with respect to each other seems to be variable. Several examples with different

ordering of adjectives and numerical quantifiers can be seen in (5).

(5)   ndiima-c-i   ruumin-c-i   Xas-c-i   kanak-c-i
         pagne-PL-SPEC   red-PL-SPEC   new-PL-SPEC   two-PL-SPEC
         'the two new red pagnes'

         kibi-c-i   jakuk-c-i   kanak-c-i
         fire-PL-SPEC   big-PL-SPEC   two-PL-SPEC
         'the two big fires'

         kibi-c-i   kanak-c-i   jakuk-c-i   dumi-c-i
         fire-PL-SPEC   two-PL-SPEC   big-PL-SPEC   hot-PL-SPEC
         'the two big hot fires'

         kibi-c-i   kanak-c-i   dumi-c-i
         fire-PL-SPEC   two-PL-SPEC   hot-PL-SPEC
         'the two hot fires'

         baal-c-i   Biti-c-i   kanak-c-i
         ball-PL-SPEC   heavy-PL-SPEC   two-PL-SPEC
         'the two heavy balls'

         komak-c-i   kanak-c-i   jusut-c-i
         child-PL-SPEC   two-PL-SPEC   small-PL-SPEC
         'the two small children'

At this point it is unclear whether the position of the numerical quantifiers is variable, or if there are certain classes of adjectives that appear in certain places of the noun phrase. A lot of further investigation is needed to figure out the relative ordering of these constituents.

The non-numerical quantifiers also appear after the head noun. While they seem to follow the adjectives, there is not enough data to fully support this hypothesis. Several examples involving the ordering of non-numerical quantifiers can be seen in (6).

(6)   atohci   ndengaadici   laaici
        rock-PL-SPEC   smooth-PL-SPEC   many-PL-SPEC
        'the many smooth rocks'

        musuB   jusuut
        water   little
        'a little bit of water'

        atoh   nuuni
        rock   each/every
        'every rock'

In sum, adjectives, numeric quantifiers, and non-numeric quantifiers always follow the head noun, though the relative ordering of these constituents within the noun phrase is unclear.

3.2.3 Deictic clitics

In section 2.3.1, the deictic clitics =ii, =an, and =em were discussed and their placement relative to the head noun in the noun phrase was demonstrated. Some of the examples presented in that section are recapitulated in (7) for convenience.

(7)   pangi-n-ii
        grass-CL-PROX
        'this grass'

        kijat-c-em
        book-PL-DIST.N
        'those books (close to listener)'

muma-c-an
lion-PL-DIST.F
'those lions (far from all interlocutors)'

When the noun phrase consists of more than just a head noun, however, the deictic attaches itself to the last constituent in the noun phrase. As the deictic marker and the specificity marker cannot co-occur, the specificity marker on the final word in the noun phrase is not realized. The deictic form can be thought of as a phrase-final, rather than word-final, morpheme. Examples of this are presented in (8).

(8)   kijat-   -i Xas-i suusus-an
        book-CL-SPEC new-SPEC black-DIST.F
        'that new book'

        meray-c-i   jano-c-ii
        sand-PL-SPEC   white-PL-PROX
        'these white sands'

        mBuu-f-i   maanji-n-i   sokola-n-em
        dog-CL-SPEC   old-(EP)-SPEC   brown-(EP)-DIST.N
        'that old brown dog'

3.3 Order of Constituents

        3.3.1 Head noun constituents

The following schemata shown in (9-11) are depictions of the possible structures of head nouns in Saafi. All of the evidence for these orderings is contained in the examples provided in section 2. Elements bound in parentheses are optional, and elements listed on the same vertical line cannot co-occur. As shown in (9), affixing Bi- onto a noun blocks the appearance of other morphemes.

(9)   (Bi-) NOUN

The relational pronouns have a similar effect, as shown in (10).

(10)   NOUN (POSS)

The ordering of the number and specificity morphemes is demonstrated in (11).

(11) NOUN (SING) (SPEC)
              (PL)   (NSPEC)

Taken together, these three schemata are options for the ordering of morphemes within the constituent HEAD NOUN (H.NOUN).

3.3.2 Noun phrase constituents

The following schema shown in (12) is a depiction of the constituent ordering in a noun phrase. As with the illustration of the head noun morpheme ordering, optional elements are bounded by parentheses, and elements that are listed on the same vertical line cannot co-occur.

(12) (NOUN SG SPEC   CON) H.NOUN (ADJ, QUANT) DEICTIC
              PL NSPEC

In the noun phrase, ADJ can reoccur as many times as is necessary. QUANT and DEICTIC, due to their nature, can only occur once in a noun phrase. While it is conceivable that more than one noun with the connective marker could occur before the head noun, as sometimes showing a relationship of possession involves more than two nouns, this construction is not attestable from the data collected and should be left for further investigation.

4. Locatives and Adverbs

4.1 Locatives

4.1.1 Prepositions

Saafi has a set of monomorphemic prepositions used to talk about an entity's location. Examples of these are given in (1).

(1)   fiki   'in front of'
       fino   'behind'
       djool   'on top of'
       Do   'inside'
       seero   'near'

These prepositions precede the noun without exception, as shown in (2).

(2)   fiki   kaan- -i
       in.front.of   house-CL-SPEC
       'in front of the house'

       djool   kaan- -i
       on.top.of   house-CL-SPEC
       'on top of the house'

       duf   kaan- -i
       way.above   house-CL-SPEC
       'way above the house'

       filndo   kaan- -i
       below   house-CL-SPEC
       'below the house'

Presumably, this [P N] structure can be extended to [P NP] as well, although at this point, there is no data supporting this hypothesis.

4.1.2 The nominal prefix ng-

In addition, Saafi has a marker ng-, roughly equivalent to the English 'in,' that is realized as a prefix on its modifier. Several examples of this morpheme are shown in (3).

(3)   ng-neeh-c-i   ha-ang
        in-day-PL-SPEC   to_come-HAB
        'in the coming days'

        ng-oon-oon-c-i
        in-valley-PL-SPEC
        'in the valleys…'

4.1.3 Complex Locatives

The prefix ng-, discussed in the previous section, can also combine with other morphemes to

form a more complex locative. Sections 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.3.2 discuss two of these complex

locatives; section 4.1.3.3 presents a similar case that may or may not be related.

4.1.3.1 nga

nga, a location marker roughly translating to the English 'there,' is used when talking about an

unspecified place. As ng and a have already been shown elsewhere to be separate morphemes

('in' and NSPEC, respectively), it is possible to analyze this locative as ng+a. Several examples

of this morpheme are shown in (4).

(4)   a   marak   forta-c-i   nik   ng-a   djen
        3P.S   to_look   photo-PL-SPEC   to_be   LOC-NSPEC   all
        'He looks at all the photos there'

        ng-kuruk   ng-a   ngang   peDeem-c-eem
        1P.S-to_stand.up   LOC-NSPEC   at   word-PL-DIST N
        'I stood up there at those words'

        ng-a   États-Unis
        LOC-NSPEC   United States
        'in the United States'

        ng-a   meriland
        LOC-NSPEC   Maryland
        '(there) in Maryland'

4.1.2.2 ngan

ngan, a locative marker resembling nga, can be analyzed as ng+an ('in' and DIST.F,

respectively). Several examples of this morpheme are displayed in (5).

(5)   iinj   c-i   DasDusuk-ang   ng-an   atoh   c-i
        snake   PL-SPEC   to_hide-HAB   LOC-DIST.N   rock   PL-SPEC
        'the snakes hiding in the rocks…'

        walla   ng-an   DooJ   nung   c-i
        or   LOC-DIST.N   inside hole   PL-SPEC
        'or inside the holes.'

As is evident from this second example, ngan functions more as a general locative that can be

modified by other, more specific locative words. In this sense, it is roughly equivalent to the

English 'over there,' as it is provides a sense of distance, but is general enough to sometimes

need further specification.

4.1.2.3 ndi

ndi, meaning 'here,' seems to be a member of this same class of locative, in that it means 'here'

and seems to contain the specific marker –i. As it begins with nd, however, and not ng, it may

not be able to be analyzed the same way. Further investigation is needed to see if the alternation

between ng and nd is motivated by phonological constraints, or if ndi is indeed monomorphemic.

(6) shows an example of this morpheme.

(6)   khis   kaahai ndi   ng-a   Indiana University
        year   three   here LOC-NSPEC   Indiana University
        '… for three years here at Indiana University.'

The existence of nga in this phrase raises some questions about exactly what nga means, and

whether or not it is being capable of being modified by other locatives (such as ndi) just like

ngan. Obviously, a further and better analysis of these potentially complex locatives would need

to draw from a lot more data.

4.2 Adverbs

    4.2.1 The time-specific Dah

Dah is an adverb-like morpheme in Saafi that is used to point the listener's attention to a specific point in time. It can be used to denote a specific time in the past or in the future, as shown by the examples in (9).

(9)   C-a   Jut   Dah
         PL-NSPEC to_finish   SPEC.TIME
         'when they finished…'

         maas-a   reh   Dah
         group.work-NSPEC   to_arrive when
         'when the group fieldwork comes…'

    4.2.2 Other adverbs

While the data on adverbs are extremely limited at this point in time, (10) contains several examples of adverbs used to mark time.

(10)   wing   nik   komaak- -i
          when   to_be   child-CL-SPEC
          'When I was a child…'

          wiir-wiir   mi-BitsiD-oh
          now   1P.S-to_learn-AGT
          'Now I am a student.'

          wois   mi-djang-iD   Saafi
          this.year 1P.S-to_study-CAUS   Saafi
          'This year, I am teaching Saafi.'

5. Verbal Morphology

5.1 The Verb Root

The verb root in Saafi is a usually monomorphemic and monosyllabic entity expressing the concept behind an action. It is roughly equivalent to the English infinitive. These roots usually have a CVC structure, but VC is also possible. Some examples of Saafi verb roots are shown in (1).

(1)   njaam   'to eat'
        DoB   'to bite'
        mbinD   'to write'
        wees   'to toss (to someone)'
        jay   'to push'
        nup   'to run'
        am   'to hold'

5.2 Derivational Affixes

5.2.1 –oh and related constructions

5.2.1.1 The instrumental –oh

The suffix –oh can be used to demonstrate that a specific action is performed with an object, and that there is a constituent in the verb phrase with the semantic role of 'instrument.' Several examples of this suffix are shown in (2).

(2)   njaam-oh   na-djapil
        to_eat-INST   with-knife
        'eat with a knife'

        guur-oh   na-gup
        to_cultivate-INST   with-hoe
        'cultivate with a hoe'

        njaam-iD-oh   na-kobang
        to_eat-CAUS-INST   with-spoon
        'feed with a spoon'

5.2.1.2 The reciprocal –oh

The suffix –oh can also be used to denote an action that is reciprocal, or is carried out by one person on many others. While this usage is somewhat rare, compared to the other usages of this suffix, a couple examples can be seen in (3).

(3)   hot   hot-oh
          to_see   to_see-RECIP
          'to see'   'see each other'

          lab   lab-oh
          to_hit   to_hit-RECIP
          'to hit'   'hit several people'

5.2.2 –is

5.2.2.1 The reversive –is

In some cases, the morpheme –is can apply to the end of a verb to denote an action that has been reversed. Several pairs of verbs to illustrate this relationship are shown in (4).

(4)   umb   umb-is
          to_cover   to_cover-REV
          'to cover'   'to uncover'

          rang   rang-is
          to_shut   to_shut-REV
          'to shut'   'to open'

          ul   ul-is
          to_cover   to_cover-REV
          'to cover with a blanket'   'to uncover'

          but   but-is
          to_shut,lock,close   to_shut,lock,close-REV
          'to shut'   'to open'

          tok   tok-is
          to_tie   to_tie-REV
          'to tie'   'to untie'

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5.2.2.2 The repetitive –is

In other cases, however, the morpheme –is can apply to the end of a verb to denote an action that

is occurring again. This morpheme is separate from the reversive –is that has already been

mentioned; proof for the validity of this analysis can be seen in section 5.2.7. Examples of the

application of this morpheme can be seen in (5).

(5)   guur   guur-is
        to_cultivate   to_cultivate-REP
        'cultivate'   'cultivate again'

        haj   haj-is
        to_come   to_come-REP
        'come'   'come back (come again)'

        marak   marak-is
        to_look.at   to_look.at-REP
        'look at'   'look at again'

5.2.3 The pluractional –soh

The suffix –soh is a pluractional suffix, denoting either that many people are performing the

actin or that the action is performed many times. Several examples of this suffix can be seen in

(6).

(6)   raak-soh
        to_be.present-PLUR
        'to have many'

        djop-soh
        to_cut-PLUR
        'to cut into pieces'

5.2.4 –iD

5.2.4.1 The causative –iD

In some cases, the suffix –iD has a causative function. When applied to a root verb, it has the

effect of causing another person to perform the action. Several examples of the function of this

suffix can be seen in (7).

(7)   njaam   njaam-iD
        to_eat   to_eat-CAUS
        'to eat'   'to feed'

        djung   djung-iD
        to_study   to_study-CAUS
        'to study'   'to teach'

        tufuk   tufk-iD
        to_stand.up   to_stand.up-CAUS
        'to stand up'   'to make stand up (to create)'

        rang   rangs-iD
        to_open   to_open-CAUS
        'to open'   'to cause (something) to open'

5.2.4.2 The benefactive –iD

Another function of the suffix –iD is to indicate that an action is being performed for the benefit

of others. This usage is separate from the usage of –iD as a causative morpheme; the

argumentation for this separation can be found in section 5.2.7. While this morpheme's meaning

is not especially clear in isolation, as there is a lack of distinction between it an the causative, a

couple examples of this morpheme can be seen in (8).

(8)   rum   rum-iD
        to_buy   to_buy-BEN
        'to buy'   'to buy for someone'

        njaam-iD   njaam-iD
        to_eat   to_eat-BEN
        'to eat'   'to feed someone'

5.2.5 –uk

       5.2.5.1 The reflexive –uk

The morpheme –uk often lends a reflexive meaning to a verb: it directs the action being

performed by the verb onto the agent of the sentence. Several examples of this shift in focus can

be seen in (9).

(9)   Book   Book-uk
         to_shower   to_shower-RFLX
         'to shower someone'   'to take a shower'

         huc   huc-uk
         to_clean.the.teeth   to_clean.the.teeth-RFLX
         'to clean the teeth'   'to clean one's own teeth'

         ul   ul-uk
         to_cover   to_cover-RFLX
         'to cover with a blanket' 'to cover oneself'

         rang   rang-uk
         to_close   to_close-RFLX
         'to close'   'to close itself'

       5.2.5.2 The diminutive –uk

-uk also has a second, semantically distinct meaning: it functions as a sort of diminutive for

verbs. When this morpheme is applied to the end of a verb, it serves to lessen the intent and the

seriousness of the verb. Representative examples are shown in (10).

(10)   kal   kal-s-uk
         to_hunt   kal-??-V.DIM
         'to hunt'   'to play hunt'

         leber   leber-uk
         to_wrestle   to_wrestle-V.DIM
         'to wrestle'   'to play wrestle'

The s that appears in 'kalsuk' is a mystery, and further investigation would be needed to

determine if it is an anomaly or another suffix. It is interesting, though, that the word for

'hunter,' 'kalsukoh,' is derived from the diminutive form of the verb 'to hunt.' Although it bears

the diminutive suffix, it carries no connotations of 'play hunting,' and it does not imply the

inability to hunt properly.

5.3 Tense, Aspect, and Negation

     5.3.1 The habitual –ang

-ang is used when the action being described is performed by the agent on a normal basis. This

suffix is not restricted temporally, and can be used to describe any event that has occurred, or is

occurring, at any point in time. Several examples of its usage can be seen in (11).

(11)   mi-tik-ang-e-tik
       1S.S-to_cook-HAB-P.IMP-to_cook
       'I always cooked'

       a-tik-ang-tik
       3S.S-to_cook-HAB-tok_cook
       'He always cooks'

       a-h-ang-fuD-e
       3S.S-FUT.AUX-HAB-to_cry-FUT
       'he is going to cry (because he always cries)'

       a-mbeJ-ang-mbeJ
       3S.S-to_dance-HAB-to_dance
       'she always dances'

     5.3.2 The aspectual –iD

The suffix –iD is used when talking about events that have a basis in the past, but are still going

on, or still have relevance, in the present. As this marker is much more of an aspectual marker

than a tense marker, any English translation of a verb with this suffix is necessarily loose. The

closest approximation to its meaning is an action that has already begun happening in the past,

and still has relevance to the current action. Several examples of verbs with this suffix can be

seen in (12).

(12)   a-kan-iD
         3S.S-to_die-ASP
         'he is dead (as a result of something that has already happened)'

         a-Boof-iD
         3S.S-to_sit.down-ASP
         'he is seated (as a result of already having sat down)'

         Baab- -i-ng   Jileen jii   kooDk-iD   reh- -i
         father-CL-SPEC-CON Jileen AFFIRM to_prepare-ASP rainy.season-CL-SPEC
         'Jileen's father is preparing for the rainy season (and was doing so before)'

         mi-tiin-iD
         1S.S-to_walk-ASP
         'I already walked to the store'

         tik-id
         to_cook-ASP
         'I have already cooked'

In a sense, this suffix conveys a sense that an action has been carried out in the recent past, in the

sense that the action being done has already been completed, rather than was completed. This is a

distinction that is hard to articulate in English, but that is omnipresent in Saafi.

     5.3.3 The remote past –en

The past suffix –en is used when talking about events that have occurred in the past and no

longer have any relevance. In other words, if something that happened in the past is not true

anymore, then the suffix –en is used to denote this relationship. Several examples of this marker

can be seen in (13).

(13)   mi-waaD-en   avoka[5]
         1P.S-to_want-REM.PAST   lawyer
         'I wanted to be a lawyer (but I don't anymore)'

         a-kan-en
         3P.S-to_die-REM.PAST
         'he died (but now he's not dead anymore)'

---

[5] This word is a direct borrowing from the French avocat, also meaning 'lawyer.' The sound [v] does not
otherwise appear in Saafi's consonant inventory.

tik-en
to_cook-REM.PAST
'I did cook (but I don't anymore)'

5.3.4 The narrative past –Ca

When telling a narrative, the past marker –Ca is used to denote events in the past that have

happened as part of a progression. This marker only occurs during speech acts where storytelling

is involved. The allomorphy of this suffix can be explained through assimilation: the first

consonant of the suffix is unspecified for place, and therefore takes on the place specification of

the preceding consonant. When the verb ends in a vowel, the consonant /s/ is used. Examples of

this phonological process, as well as the functioning of this suffix, can be seen in (14).

(14)   coh-ha
        to_meet-N.PAST
        'met'

        woo-sa
        to_tell-N.PAST
        'told'

        teem-mba
        to_attend-N.PAST
        'attended'

        haad-da
        to_go.home-N.PAST
        'went home'

        faanuk-ka
        to_lie.down-N.PAST
        'laid down (went to sleep)'

        muc-ca
        to_disappear-N.PAST
        'disappeared'

        heeJ-ca
        to_dream-N.PAST
        'dreamt'

fung-nga
to_become.scared-N.PAST
'became scared'

corkiD-ta
to_give.thanks-N.PAST
'gave thanks'

When the final consonant in the verb is an implosive consonant, as seen in the forms 'corkiDta'

and 'heeJca,' the consonant in the suffix assimilates in place and is voiceless. This, together with

the use of /s/ as the segment when the suffix does not follow a consonant, provides evidence that

the suffix's consonant is specified as a voiceless, but when it is suffixed onto a verb, it agrees

with the preceding consonant (if there is one) in voice, manner, and place. Implosives would

seem to be the exception to this, but seeing as they become voiceless when followed by another

consonant (as was discussed in section 1.4.2), this apparent anomaly is hardly surprising.

In addition, this pattern of assimilation provides evidence for the analysis presented in

section 1.4.4 on the place restrictions of prenasalized obstruents.

5.3.5 The past imperfective marker –e

The past imperfective marker –e is often used in conjunction with the narrative past to provide

commentary on a past event, or to describe a state of mine (rather than an action) that occurred in

the past. Examples of this usage of the past imperfective marker are shown in (15).

(15)   waD-e   kiinik   avoka
        to_want-P.IMP   PROG-to_be   lawyer
        'I wanted to be a lawyer (description of a recurring state)'

        c-a   raak-e   BeDk-oh
        PL-NSPEC   to_have-P.IMP   call-CAUS
        'They had an invitation (describing the state of having an invitation)'

        c-a   raak-soh-e   maas
        PL-NSPEC   to_have-PLUR-P.IMP   group.work
        'they were having a group fieldwork (in the past, without respect to exact time)'

While this marker mostly turns up in narrative texts, to comment on the background behind a progression of events that is unfolding with the use of the –Ca narrative past marker, as seen in the phrase 'waaDe kiinik avoka' above, it can also be used as a marker in the description of a state that occurred in the past for a long time. In both of these senses, it is close to what is described as a traditional imperfective marker.

5.3.6 The future marker –e

The future marker –ay is suffixed onto the end of a verb stem to denote an activity that will happen at some point in the future.

(16)   a-hang-fuD-e
    3P.S-F.H.AUX-to_cry-FUT
    'he is going to cry (because he always cries)'

    lib-ne   hai-ki   mirDoh-e
    to_think-REL   F.AUX-PROG   to_end.up-FUT
    'I think that I will end up…'

    Ba-hai-nup-e
    3P.P-F.AUX-to_run-FUT
    'they will run'

As is shown here, the use of an auxiliary is imperative with this future marker; these auxiliaries will be discussed in greater depth in section 6.2.1.

5.3.7 The present progressive

5.3.7.1 The progressive ki-

The prefix ki- conveys a sense of the present progressive, and is generally used when the speaker wishes to focus on the activity that is being performed, rather than the process of doing something. Several examples of this usage can be seen in (17).

(17)   waD-e   kii-nik   avoka
    to_want-P.IMP   PROG-to_be   lawyer
    'I wanted to be a lawyer (focus on becoming a lawyer)'

a-ki-njam
3S.S-PROG-to_eat
'He is eating (focus on the activity of eating)'

haj   ki   c-a   on-ee   musuB
F.AUX   PROG   PL-NSPEC   to_give-FUT   water
'…will serve them water'

As shown in this final example, ki- can also co-occur with the future auxiliaries, and when this

happens it is dissociated from the main verb. More discussion of future auxiliaries is presented in

section 6.2.1.

5.3.7.2 The affirmative ji-

The morpheme ji- is limited to the present progressive, and its meaning is centered on a process

rather than an activity. In this sense, it takes on a totally different function than the other

regularly used progressive marker, ki-. Several examples of this morpheme are shown in (18).

(18)   fu-ji-Jah
        2P.S-AFFIRM-to_go
        'you are going'

        mi-ji-njam
        1P.S-AFFIRM-to_eat
        'I am (in the process of) eating.'

In context, this morpheme can serve an affirmative function as well. It is often used when

responding to a question about whether or not an action is being performed. This alternate usage

is shown in (19).

(19)   a-ji-njam
        3P.S-AFFIRM-to_eat
        '(Yes,) he is eating'

        mi-ji-tik
        1P.S-AFFIRM-to_cook
        '(Yes,) I am cooking'

This suffix exhibits allomorphy depending on the number and person performing the action. A

verbal paradigm illustrating this allomorphy is shown in (20).

(20)　mi-ji-Jah　　　　　'I am going'　　　　Buci-Bi-Jah　'We are going'
　　　fu-ji-Jah　　　　　'You are going'　　　Du-Bi-Jah　　'You all are going'
　　　a-ji-Jah　　　　　'He/she is going'　　Ba-Di-Jah　　'They are going'
　　　wa-Di-Jah　　　　'it is going'　　　　ca-Di-Jah　　'they (impers.) are going'

5.3.7.3 The goal-oriented –ang

While –ang is usually seen as a habitual marker, it can also function as a present progressive

suffix when the focus is on what is being done rather than the process that is being completed.

(21) shows an example of how the morpheme –ang differs from the progressive morpheme ji-.

(21)　a-ji-tik-a
　　　3P.S-PR.PROG-to_cook-NSPEC
　　　'She is cooking it (focus on the action of cooking)'

　　　a-tik-ang-a　　　　　　　　　tik
　　　3P.S-to_cook-PR.GOAL-NSPEC　to_cook
　　　'She is cooking it (focus on what is being cooked)'

5.3.8 Imperative markers

5.3.8.1 The general imperative marker –a

The imperative in Saafi is formed by adding the morpheme –a onto the end of a stem verb. (22)

demonstrates the basic construction of imperatives in Saafi.

(22)　Juf　　　　　　　　　　Juf-a
　　　to_throw　　　　　　　　to_throw-IMPER
　　　'to throw'　　　　　　　'throw (imperative)'

　　　mbet　　　　　　　　　mbet-a
　　　to_throw.to　　　　　　to_throw.to-IMPER
　　　'to throw (to someone)'　'throw (to someone) (imperative)'

　　　mbinD　　　　　　　　mbinD-a
　　　to_write　　　　　　　to_write-IMPER
　　　'to write'　　　　　　'write (imperative)'

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Xon                          Xon-a
to_give                      to_give-IMPER
'to give'                    'give (imperative)'
```

5.3.8.2 The plural imperative marker –t

When the imperative is directed at a group of people, however, instead of just one person, a –t is

appended onto the end of the imperative marker. Alternations demonstrating the addition of this

morpheme are shown in (23).

```
(23)   Juf-a                         Juf-a-t
       to_throw-IMPER                to_throw-IMPER-IMP.PL
       'to throw (imperative)'       'throw (plural imperative)'

       mbet-a                        mbet-a-t
       to_throw.to-IMPER             to_throw.to-IMPER-IMP.PL
       'to throw (to someone) (imperative)' 'throw (to someone) (plural imperative)'

       mbinD-a                       mbinD-a-t
       to_write-IMPER                to_write-IMPER-IMP.PL
       'to write (imperative)'       'write (plural imperative)'

       Xon-a                         Xon-a-t
       to_give-IMPER                 to_give-IMPER-IMP.PL
       'to give (imperative)'        'give (plural imperative)'
```

5.3.8.3 The imperative object –aa

When an imperative statement directed towards one person has a direct object, the suffix –aa is

added onto the verb stem. Several examples of this, contrasted with the bare imperative form, are

shown in (24).

```
(24)   njam-a                        njam-aa
       to_eat-IMPER                  to_eat-IMP.OBJ
       'eat (imperative)'            'eat it'


       mbinD-a                       mbinD-aa
       to_write-IMPER                to_write-IMP.OBJ
       'write'                       'write it'
```

Juf-a   Juf-aa
to_throw-IMPER   to_throw-IMP.OBJ
'throw'   'throw it'

The imperative object marker also appears in commands issued to a group, as shown in (25).

(25)   njam-aa-t
        to_eat-IMP.OBJ-IMP.PL
        'eat it (directed at a group)'

It is entirely possible that the imperative object –aa is actually the result of the imperative marker

being directly followed by the nonspecific marker, -a. Pursuing this analysis, however, would

force us to come up with a reason why this morpheme does not have its usual number marker. At

the current moment, therefore, the analysis is that the imperative marker –a and the object

marker –aa are separate morphemes that cannot co-occur.

5.3.9 Verbal reduplication

In Saafi, some verbs are reduplicated. The subset of verbs that undergo this process is not

predicable from the data gathered thus far, and necessitates further research, but some examples

displaying this reduplication (in a number of different tenses) are shown in (26).

(26)   Jaar- -i   soos   soos
        man-CL-SPEC   to_be.cold   to_be.cold
        'The man is cold.'

        Ba-sumk-e   sumuk
        3P.P-to_be.happy-P.IMP   to_be.happy
        'They were happy.'

        mi-tik-ang-e   tik
        1P.S-to_cook-HAB-P.IMP   to_cook
        'I used to cook.'

        te-w-a   suusus   suusus   itam
        and-SG-NSPEC   to_be.black   to_be.black   also
        '…and it is black, too.'

mi　　　bah　　　　　bah
　　　1P.S　　to_be.kind　　to_be.kind
　　　'I am kind.'

　　　5.3.10 The negation marker –Di

Generally speaking, verbs are negated using the suffix –Di, though there is some degree of

allomorphy with this suffix. (27) displays several examples of negation in Saafi.

(27)　　mi-nup-Di
　　　　1S.S-to_run-NEG
　　　　'I am not running'

　　　　te　　Ba-haB-Du　　　　in
　　　　and　3S.P-to_do-NEG　　anything
　　　　'…and they didn't do anything.'

　　　　mi-njam-Di
　　　　1S.S-to_eat-NEG
　　　　'I am not eating.'

　　　　a-waD-Di　　　　njam
　　　　3S.S-to_like-NEG　food,eating
　　　　'He doesn't like food/eating.'

　　　　a-waD-Di　　　　wo
　　　　3S.S-to_like-NEG　to_speak
　　　　'He doesn't like to speak.'

In some cases, as seen in several of these examples, addition of the negation marker to a verb can

indicate a refusal. Additionally, as is demonstrated in the second example, there is a degree of

allomorphy in the negation marker. The reason behind this allomorphy and the distribution of the

allomorphs is not clear, however, and more data needs to be collected to better understand it.

5.4 Ordering and Co-occurrence

　　　5.4.1 Derivational suffix ordering

In Saafi, all of the derivational affixes presented thus far in section 5.2 have a designated place

within the verbal morphology. While the location of some of these morphemes is not specified

directly, this is due more to a lack of data and general incompatibility of certain forms than anything else. Section 5.4.1.1 contains a preliminary ordering for the derivational suffixes on any verb, while section 5.4.1.2 contain forms exemplifying these placements.

5.4.1.1 Preliminary Representation

The following in (28) is a preliminary schema for morpheme placement within the root verb. Descriptions of suffixes that are followed by question marks in parentheses indicate that, while the suffix occurs somewhere near where it is placed, there is not sufficient data to prove that it is in that exact position. Elements that are entirely in parentheses denote suffixes that only occur when the verb has become a noun.

(28) ROOT -is^1 -uk, -uk^2 -iD^1 -oh   -iD^2 -is^2 -soh
         REV RFLX   CAUS(??) INST BEN REP   PLUR(???)
                  DIM(??)   RECIP

5.4.1.2 Arguments for placement

The following forms displayed in (29) provide evidence for the ordering of the derivational affixes that was presented in (28).

(29)   -is^1 before –uk^1 ul-is-uk
                                             to_cover.with.blanket-REV-RFLX
                                             'to uncover oneself'

       -is^1 before –iD^1 rang-is-iD
                                             to_close-REV-CAUS
                                             'to cause something to open'

       -uk^1 before –oh   ul-is-uk-oh   na
                                             to_cover-REV-RFLX-INST   with
                                             'to uncover oneself with'

       -oh before –is^2 rang-is-oh-is   na
                                             to_close-REV-INST-REP   with
                                             'to open again with'

-iD² before –is²	a-rum-iD-is-iD	so
	3P.S-to_buy-BEN-REP-ASP	me
	'he bought something for me again'	

At the present time, there is no data dealing with the interaction between the pluractional suffix and any other suffixes, so for now it stays on the far right side in this morpheme ordering. Further elicitation is needed to see if this morpheme is actually where it really belongs.

In addition, while there is no evidence demonstrating the relationship between the reflexive –uk and the causative –iD, the following form in (30) is worth noting. Because sum and sumuk do not mean different things, it is not a definitive piece of evidence for the relative ordering of these two suffixes, but as the speaker is aware that 'sum' can exist apart from 'sumuk,' it is interesting nonetheless.

(30)   sum, sum-uk   sum-uk-iD
        to_be.happy, to_be.happy-RFLX   to_be.happy-RFLX-CAUS
        'to be happy'   'to make (someone) happy'

5.4.2 Tense, Aspect, Negation ordering

While the relative ordering of each and every tense, aspect, and negation marker is not entirely clear at this point in time, there are several generalizations that can be made given the data obtained thus far. Genreally speaking, affixes of this type have many more co-occurrence restrictions than do the derivational suffixes. As it is impossible for an action to occur both in the future and in the remote past, these restrictions are understandable and necessary. (31) contains some preliminary generalization. As the prefixes ji- and ki- are the only two affixes known to occur in front of the verb, and they cannot conceivably co-occur, the generalizations listed here deal solely with suffixes.

(31)   habitual before aspect/tense   a-tik-ang-en
                                            3S.S-to_cook-HAB-REM.PAST
                                            'I used to cook (but not anymore)'

tense/aspect before negation   mi-nup-e(n)-Di
1S.S-to_run-REM.PAST-NEG
'you did not run'

fu-Xon-e(n)-Di   taambili
2S.S-to_give-REM.PAST-NEG   gift
'you did not give the gift'

5.4.3 Derivation and aspect marker interactions

All tense, aspect, and negation markers appear on the outside of the derivational markers; that is

to say, as shown in (32), the derivational affixes are always closer to the verb stem. All

generalizations made earlier about ordering within the two different sets of affixes remain true

when they interact.

(32)   wiir-wiir   djang-iD-iD
          now   to_study-CAUS-ASP
          'Now I have already taught…'

          djang-iD-ta
          to_study-CAUS-N.PAST
          'Then, I taught…'

          sut-c-i   djir-id-e
          couscous-PL-SPEC   to_be.sick-CAUSE-P.IMP
          'cous cous made him sick'

5.5 Voice

5.5.1 Default (active) voice

All of the suffixes discussed this far can be used with the active voice. The active voice is the

unmarked voice in Saafi, in that it does not require a morpheme to be perceived as "active," and

it is also the more common of the two voices.

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5.5.2 The neuter passive –u

The neuter passive, a sort of passive that includes the object being acted upon but not what is acting on it, is marked in Saafi with the morpheme –u. Several alternations demonstrating this morpheme's usage are shown in (33).

(33) rang   rang-u
      to_close   to_close-N.PASS
      'to close'   'to be closed'

      sos   sos-u
      to_accuse   to_accuse-N.PASS
      'to accuse'   'to be accused'

      Xon   Xon-u
      to_give   to_give-N.PASS
      'to give'   'to be given'

      njaam   njamm-u
      to_eat   to_eat-N.PASS
      'to eat'   'to be eaten'

5.6 Pronominal Affixes

In Saafi, pronouns behave as clitics. Depending on their place in the sentence, they attach to different sides of the word. The following sections contain a discussion of these pronouns.

5.6.1 Subject pronouns

The subject pronouns in Saafi are shown in (34).

(34) mi   '(1S.S)'   Buci   '(1S.P)'
      fu   '(2S.S)'   Du   '(2S.P)'
      a   '(3S.S)'   Ba   '(3S.P)'
      wa   'it (nonhuman)'   ca   'they (nonhuman)'[6]

---

[6] The distinction between which entities take the human pronoun and which do not is not clear (there is some wiggle room with animals, for example), but it is the closet approximation that I found useful in dividing the two classes of referents for these pronouns.

While these morphemes are semantically distinct from the verbs, prosodically, they are realized as prefixes on the verb. They precede any sort of tense or aspectual marking that the verb might have. Several examples of the subject pronouns realized on the main verb are shown in (35).

(35)   mi-Bof-iD-De
        1S.S-to_sit-ASP-3O.S
        'I made him sit'

        a-ji-mbeJ
        3S.S-AFFIRM-to_dance
        'she is dancing'

        Ba-hai-nup-e
        3S.P-F.AUX-to_run-FUT
        'they will run'

In addition, this particular speaker tends to drop the subject pronoun for the first person singular, meaning that verbal constructions referring to actions the agent performs are often unmarked for person and number. It remains to be seen whether or not this behavior is representative of the speech community.

        5.6.3 Oblique pronouns

The oblique pronouns in Saafi are generally realized as suffixes on the main verb. These pronouns, alluded to in section 3.2.1 during the discussion of possessive-like noun construction and shown again in (36), seem to be appropriate when talking about an action that is performed on somebody or something, or when the referent is the recipient of that action.

(36)	(C)o	'(1O.S)'	Buci	'(1O.P)'
	Da	'(2O.S)'	Du	'(2O.P)'
	De	'(3O.S)'	Ba	'(3O.P)'
	wi	'it (nonhuman)'	ci	'they (nonhuman)'

Several examples of the use of these pronouns can be seen in (37). Much like the subject pronouns, while they are certainly distinct morphemes from the head verb, they behave prosodically as suffixes.

(37)   mbet-aa-Ba-w-a
to_throw-IMP-3O.P-SG-NSPEC
'throw it (the ball) to them (the children)'

mbet-aa-c-a-Ba
to_throw-IMP-PL-NSPEC-3O.P
'throw them (the balls) to them (the children)'

Xon-aa-De   Dopat- -i
to_give-IMP-3O.S   animal-CL-SPEC
'give the man the animal'

Xon-en-De
to_give-REM.PAST-3O.S
'I gave him'

Dopat- -i   wi-naaw-iD   faan-ce
animal-CL-SPEC   SG-SPEC-to_wash-ASP body-3O.S
'The animal washes itself'

6. The Verb Phrase

6.1 Two-verb constructions

The data concerning two-verb constructions in a single verb phrase are limited, but a couple of examples are presented in (1). One clear generalization is that, in these constructions, the two verbs that are in the verb phrase must appear side-by-side. Much further investigation is needed, however, to determine the restrictions and rules regarding affix placement in this type of construction.

(1) wad-e   kii   nik   avoka
     to_want-P.IMP   PROG   to_be   lawyer
     'I wanted to be a lawyer.'

     hai-ki   mirDoh-e   nik   BitsiD-oh-a
     F.AUX-PROG   to_end.up   to_be   student-AGT-??
     'I will end up being a teacher'

6.2 Auxiliaries and imperative negation

6.2.1 Future auxiliaries

Saafi has two auxiliaries that are used in conjunction with the future –ay marker: hai and hang. The use of these is obligatory when speaking of actions that will occur in the future.

6.2.1.1 The situational hai-

The auxiliary hai- (which behaves prosodically as a prefix) imparts the meaning that an occurrence will take place because of a situation that the speaker is in. For future verbs using this auxiliary, it is necessary that the action occur because of something. Some examples of the use of hai- coupled with the future suffix –ay are shown in (2).

(2) mi-hai-nup-e
     1S.S-F.AUX-to_run-FUT
     'I will run (as a result of something)'

a-hai-fuD-e
        3S.S-F.AUX-to_cry-FUT
        'He will cry (because of something that has happened to him)'

In addition, this auxiliary can combine with the progressive ki- to form a single prosodic unit.

While it's not clear at this time exactly how this construction works, an example of this

phenomenon is shown in (3).

(3)   lib-ne   hai-ki   mirDoh-e   nik   BitsiDoha
        to_think-that   F.AUX-??   to_end.up-FUT   to_be   teacher
        'I think that I will end up being a teacher.'

It's interesting to note that, in other contexts, 'hai' is a verb meaning 'to come.' It's likely that

this auxiliary, then, was not always an auxiliary, but is rather the result of grammaticalization.

                6.2.1.2. The habitual hang-

Saafi has another future auxiliary, hang-, which is identical in placement and prosodic treatment

to hai-, but has a slightly different meaning. Hang- is the auxiliary used for the present future,

meaning that it denotes events occurring habitually in the present that can be expected to occur in

the past, as well. In this sense, it imparts more of a non-past meaning. Several examples of this

are presented in (4).

(4)   a-hang-fuD-ay
        3P.S-FUT.H.AUX-to_cry-FUT
        'He will cry (because he always cries)'

        mi-hang-njam-ay
        1P.S-FUT.H.AUX-to_eat-FUT
        'I will eat (because it's something I do habitually)'

In addition, this marker can be used in expressions about events that will certainly occur in the

future, such as the example shown in (5).

(5)   mbeh-c-i   hang
        day-PL-SPEC   FUT.H.AUX
        'the days to come'

The auxiliary hang- obviously resembles the suffix –ang, which is used to denote habitual action. It is possible to deconstruct this morpheme into h-ang, but this would necessitate the deconstruction of the other future auxiliary into h-ai. Because there is no overt evidence that either of these morphemes actually needs to be split up, at this point the analysis is that each of these auxiliaries is monomorphemic, and that they potentially are the result of the verb hai having been grammaticalized in two different ways.

> 6.2.2 Negation and the imperative

When a negative command is issued (e.g. 'don't eat'), the negation marker, kan, seems to take on all of the functions of the main verb. This could potentially be the result of an older verb kan, formerly meaning something like 'to refuse' (as seen in some Bantu languages) having been grammaticalized as the negative imperative marker. Several examples of this, demonstrating the negation marker's propensity to account for number as well as attract objects, just as the main verb does in the imperative, are shown in (6).

(6)   kan-a-t   Ba   njam
        NEG-IMPER-IMP.PL   3O.P   to_eat
        'don't eat them (directed at a group)'

        kan-a   Xon   Jaar- -i   Dopat- -i
        NEG-IMPER   to_give   man-CL-SPEC   animal-CL-SPEC
        'don't give the man the animal'

        kan-aa[7]   De-w-a   Xon
        NEG-IMPER   3O.S-SG-NSPEC   to_give
        'don't give it to him'

With the use of the plural negative marker kanat, the progressive morpheme ki- can optionally appear as a prefix on the action verb. While further investigation is needed to determine if this

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[7] The interaction of vowel length and stress can make it difficult to tell the difference between a phonemically long vowel and one that has been lengthened due to stress placement. Thus, there is some confusions between the imperative marker and the object marker that can only be resolved through further investigation.

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morpheme is in fact the progressive affix, or if it is something completely different, a couple of examples are included in (7).

(7)　　kan-a-t　　　　　　 ki　　　　　Boof
　　　 NEG-IMPER-PL.IMP　PROG(??)　 to_sit.down
　　　 'Don't sit down (directed at a group)'

　　　 kan-a-t　　　　　　　ki　　　　　njam
　　　 NEG-IMPER-PL.IMPER　PROG(??)　 to_eat
　　　 'Don't eat (directed at a group)'

　　　 6.2.3 Other possible auxiliaries

Saafi has an auxiliary-type form, Jut, which seems to function as a sort of completive marker. An

example of this morpheme is shown in (8). While the functioning of this morpheme is not

exactly clear, it is notable in that it is the first verb in the verb phrase, yet it does not take any of

the affixes that the main verb normally would.

(8)　　a　　　Jut　　　　 konjar-ID　　　Dah
　　　 3O.S　 to_finish　 to_clean-ASP　 SPEC.TIME
　　　 'when he is done cleaning…'

As shown in (9), the auxiliary Jut is also capable of working together with the specific time

marker, Dah, to convey a completive meaning on its own.

(9)　　c-a　　　　　Jut　　　　 Dah
　　　 PL-NSPEC　 to_finish　 SPEC.TIME
　　　 'when they finished…'

It's worth noting here that, in many ways, Jut parallels the future auxiliary marker, hai-. It can

stand as a verb on its own and has a definite semantic meaning; if it is truly an auxiliary, it has

been grammaticalized. In addition, it seems to be capable of joining up with other function words

to create a new meaning.

6.3 Passive Reduplication

In Saafi, passive statements that express a kind of habitual meaning result in verbal

reduplication. Several examples of this are shown in (10).

(10)   Ba-laB-sang   laB-u
       3S.P-to_beat-P.HAB   to_beat-N.PASS
       'they are beaten (regularly)'

       Ba-rum-sang   rum-u
       3S.P-to_buy-P.HAB   to_buy-N.PASS
       'they are bought (regularly)'

       rang-sang   rang-u
       to_shut-P.HAB   to_shut-N.PASS
       'to be shut away (jailed) (regularly)'

At the present time, it is impossible to determine the distribution of this reduplication. While

some suffixes seem to cause the verb to reduplicate, others do not. As shown in (11), this

distribution does not seem to deal with any sort of distinction in time.

(11)   Ba-Di-rum-u
       3S.P-AFFIRM-to_buy-N.PASS
       'they are being bought'

       Ba-rum-u-sa
       3S.P-to_buy-N.PASS-N.PAST
       'they were bought'

       Ba-rum-se   rum-u
       3S.P-to_buy-P.P.IMPER   to_buy-N.PASS
       'they were bought'

The addition of the 's' before the passive morphemes in the first verb of the construction (e.g. the

passive past imperfective 'se' in contrast to the active 'e,' the passive 'sang' in contrast to the

indicative 'ang') is a problem outside the scope of this section and merits further investigation.

6.4 Argument structure

In most cases, subjects precede the verb and all direct and indirect objects follow it.[8] When a

verb is followed by both a direct object and an indirect object, both objects are unmarked. In the

indicative, the ordering of two nouns seems to be variable, as demonstrated in (12). (At this

point, there is not sufficient data concerning indicative sentences with two pronoun arguments to

analyze their ordering.)

(12) Buci-Xon-iD   ul- -i-ng-o   as-i   Bitf- -i
      1S.P-to_give-ASP blanket-CL-SPEC-CON-1O.S new-SPEC   old.woman-CL-SPEC
      'we gave my new blanket to the old woman'

      Buci-Xon-iD   Bitf- -i   ul- -i-ng-o   as-i
      1S.P-to_give-ASP   old.woman-CL-SPEC   blanket-CL-SPEC-CON-1O.S new-SPEC
      'we gave my new blanket to the old woman'

This pattern seems to hold true for imperatives taking two nouns as arguments as well, as shown

in (13). In addition, (13) demonstrates that the ordering of pronouns in an imperative sentence is

variable as well.

(13) Xon-a-t   Dopat- -i   Jaar- -i
      to_give-IMPER-PL.IMP   animal-CL-SPEC   man-CL-SPEC
      'Give the man the animal (directed at a group)'

      Xon-a-t   Jaar- -i   Dopat- -i
      to_give-IMPER-PL.IMP   man-CL-SPEC   animal-CL-SPEC
      'Give the man the animal (directed at a group)'

      mbet-aa   Ba   w-a
      to_throw-IMPER   3O.P   SG-NSPEC
      'throw it (the ball) to them (the children)'

      mbet-aa   c-a   Ba
      to_throw-IMPER   PL-NSPEC   3O.P
      'throw them (the balls) to them (the children)'

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[8] A counterexample can be found in (6), where the object follows the negation marker rather than the
head noun.

When one argument is a pronoun and the other is a noun, the ordering of constituents is always predictable, as the pronoun will always be realized as an affix on the verb. An example of this is shown in (14).

(14)   a-Xon-iD-De   taambil- -i
        3S.S-to_give-ASP-3O.S   gift-CL-SPEC
        'he gave the gift to her'

        a-Xon-iD-a   cufn-   -i-ng-De
        3S.S-to_give-ASP-NSPEC   girl-CL-SPEC-CON-3O.S
        'he gave it to his girlfriend.'

In sum, the relative ordering of constituents when both are pronouns and both are nouns seems to be variable, though further data would be needed to support this claim. Any restrictions on ordering that occur seem to be due more to the status of oblique pronouns as clitic-like suffixes than it is to any sort of syntactic restriction.

6.5 Other verb things

      6.5.1 The exhortative

When the first person plural pronoun, Buci, is attached to any stem verb, the result is an exhortative. A couple examples of this are shown in (15).

(15)   Buci-njam
        1S.P-to_eat
        'Let's eat!'

        Buci-tik
        1S.P-to_cook
        'Let's cook!'

In order to convey the sense that the action is carried out in the present, then, it is necessary to use the affirmative marker Bi-, which, as shown in section 5.3.7.2, is an allomorph of the affirmative ji-. (16) demonstrates the addition of this morpheme, and its effects on the sentence's meaning, on the verbs presented in (15).

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(16)   Buci-Bi-njam
        1S.P-AFFIRM-to_eat
        'We eat/we are eating'

        Buc-Bi-tik
        1S.P-AFFIRM-to_cook
        'We cook/we are cooking'

In this sense, in Saafi, there is no morphological distinction between the English present and

present progressive tenses in the first person plural. This blurry line seems to extend to other

person and number combinations as well, as seen in (17).

(17)   mi-Jah
        1S.S-to_go
        'I go/I am going'

        6.5.2 The copula 'nik'

The verb 'nik' translates roughly to the English 'to be,' and like a lot of other copula verbs in the

world's languages, behaves irregularly. The following sections provide a short summary of some

of these irregularities.

        6.5.2.1 Present tense

In some cases, the copula verb seems to be null. This is evidenced by a couple of representative

constructions in (18).

(18)   wiir-wiir   mi   BitsiD-oh
        now   1S.S   to_learn-AGT
        'Now I am a student'

        mi-waad-en   avoka
        1S.S-to_want-REM.PAST   lawyer
        'I wanted to be a lawyer'

While it is not clear at the present moment exactly why the copula is dropped in these cases, it is

interesting to note that, in both sentences, the object of the verb describes a profession performed

by the subject. The behavior of the copula verb in these kinds of circumstances is a direction

needing further investigation.

6.5.2.2 The past

It is interesting to note that copula verbs in the past tense cannot take the aspectual suffix –iD.

Instead, to denote a meaning that is neither remote past nor present, they take the past

imperfective marker –e. Examples of this are displayed in (19).

(19)　mi-nik-e　　　　　　　　*mi-nik-iD
　　　1S.S-to_be-P.IMP
　　　'I was'

　　　Buci-nik-e　　　　　　　*Buci-nik-iD
　　　1S.P-to_be-P.IMP
　　　'We were'

　　　fu-nik-e　　　　　　　　*fu-nik-iD
　　　2S.S-to_be-P.IMP
　　　'You were'

As many verbs in Saafi seem to be capable of taking the same aspectual and tense markers,

regardless of verb class, this is an important exception to note.

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From the data collected up to this point, Saafi has two clear constituents that are capable of

linking together phrases or lexical items: na and te. While both of these morphemes can translate

into the English 'and,' there are subtle differences in their meaning. Section 7.1 discusses the

morpheme na, while section 7.2 discusses the morpheme te.

7.1 na

Na is the morpheme more commonly used when talking about a relationship between two items.

This is clearly seen in the counting system, where smaller numbers are joined together with na.

Several examples of this are in (1).

(1)   jatus   na-jiino
        five   and-one
        'six'

        ndankeh   na-jatus
        ten   and-five
        'fifteen'

        ndankeh   jatus   na-nikis
        ten   five   and-four
        'nineteen'

In addition, na can also be used to denote that one component is with another component. This

applies to physical proximity as it applies to humans as well as objects. Some of these usages can

be seen in (2).

(2)   ngdangal-c-i   na   iin-c-i
        scorpion-PL-SPEC   and   snake-PL-SPEC
        '…the scorpions and (together with) snakes.'

        Buci-Bi-njam   maalo   na   pumbiteer   na   karat
        1S.P-AFFIRM-to_eat   rice   and   potato   and   carrot
        '…we eat rice and (with) potato and (with) carrot'

mi-nik-e na-Da
1S.S-to_be-P.IMP with-2O.S
'I was with you.'

Given the data presented in this section, it is probably more accurate to think of na as a rough

equivalent to the English 'with,' even though it frequently glosses to 'and' and seems to function

as a link connecting two nouns.

7.2 te

Te is a conjunction in Saafi that can be used to link together phrases. A few examples of this

function are displayed in (3).

(3)   kia-k-i-ng-De   as-i   te w-a   suusus   suusus   itam
       book-CL-SPEC-CON-3O.S new-SPEC and SG-NSPEC to_be.black to_be black also
       'His book is new and it is black also.'

       raak-iD   Boo-b-i   rang-sang   rung-u
       to_be.present-ASP   people-CL-SPEC   to_shut-P.HAB   to_shut-N.PASS

       te   Ba-haB-iD-u   in
       and   3S.P-to_do-ASP-NEG(??)   something
       'There are people who are jailed and they have not done anything.'

8. Basic Syntax

8.1 Basic Sentence Structure

Saafi is an SVO (Subject Verb Object) language. Up to this point, this generalization seems to be exceptionless. Several examples of sentences demonstrating this order are displayed in (1).

(1)   kia-k-i-ng-De   as-i   te w-a   suusus suusus   itam
        book-CL-SPEC-CON-3P.S new-SPEC and SG-NSPEC to_be.black to_be black also
            S   V   C   S   V   ADV
        'His book is new and it is black also.'

        kan-a   njam   mbaal- -i
        NEG-IMPER   to_eat   sheep-CL-SPEC
        V   O
        'don't eat the sheep'

        a-waad-en   faan-ce
        3S.S-to_love-REM.PAST   body-3P.S
        S   V   O
        'he loved himself'

        a-Xon-iD-De   w-a
        3S.S-to_give-ASP-3O.S   SG-NSPEC
        S   V   IO   DO
        'he gave it to him'

        Buci-Xon-iD   ul-i-ng-o   as-i   Bitf- -i
        1S.P-to_give-ASP   blanket-SPEC-CON-1O.S   new_SPEC   old.woman-CL-SPEC
        S   V   DO   IO

8.2 Complements

8.2.1 ne(h)[9]

In addition, Saafi has a complementizer, ne, that serves to link two sentences together and is roughly equivalent to the English "that." Several examples of the function of this morpheme are shown in (2).

(2)   A   woo-sa   c-a   neh   c-a   raak-soh-e
        3S.S   to_tell-N.PAST   PL-NSPEC   COMP   PL-NSPEC   to_have-PLUR-P.IMP
        S   V   O   C   S   V
        'He told them that they were having…'

---

[9] In 'Cohing Doopaatci,' but not in the elicited data, this morpheme has a final h.

```
lib-ne            hai-ki              mirDoh-e
to_think-COMP    F.AUX-PROG(??)   to_end.up-FUT
(S) V    C          (S) V
'I think that I will end up…'
```

8.2 tah

In addition, the word 'tah' (roughly equivalent to the English 'why') can also perform the

function of linking a subordinate clause to a main clause. (3) shows several examples of this

morpheme's use as a complementizer.

```
(3)    Meew-  -i        woo-sa            c-a          in-  -i
       king-CL-SPEC   to_tell-N.PAST   PL-NSPEC   thing-CL-SPEC
       S                V                  O

       tah      c-a            teem-mba
       reason   PL-NSPEC    to_attend N.PAST
       C        N              V
       'the king told them the reason they attended.'

       in-  -i         w-a-De-tah              po    mi-waaD-en               avoka
       thing-CL-SPEC  SG-NSPEC-3O.S-reason  why   1S.S-to_want-REM.PAST   lawyer
       S              (V)           C               S   V                       O
       'this is the reason I want to be a lawyer.'
```

As seen in this last example, 'tah' can also be accompanied by the word 'po.' This interaction of

morphemes is something that needs to be studied in more depth, but the important point here is

that tah is what introduces the complement clause.

Appendix A: Texts

A1. Kooɗkiɗiŋ rehi

Kooɗkiɗ-i-ŋ   reh-ø-i
to_prepare-SPEC-CON   rainy.season-CL-SPEC
'The preparation of the rainy season'

Dis-k-i   kur-k-i   nik,   w-a   raak-iɗ   taŋo   na   oon-oon.
place-CL-SPEC   village-CL-SPEC to_be.located SG-NSPEC to_have-ASP hill   and   valley
'The place the town is located, there are hills and a valley.'

Taŋgoo-c-i   c-a   raak-iɗ   kac   na   atoh.
hill-PL-SPEC   PL-NSPEC to_have-ASP   pebble and   stone
'The hills, they have laterite pebbles and rocks.'

Ŋ-oon-oon c-i,   mereh-m-i-ŋ,   keh-c-i   w-a   baah-iɗ.
LOC-hill PL-SPEC   sand-CL-SPEC-CON   earth-PL-SPEC   SG-NSPEC   to_be.good-ASP
'The sand in the valleys is good earth.'

W-a   beeñ.   Baab-ø-i-ŋ   Jileen yii   kooɗk-iɗ   reh-ø-i.
SG-NSPEC to_be.sandy father-CL-SPEC-CON   Jileen   P.PROG to_prepare-ASP   rainy.season-CL-SPEC
'It is sandy. Jileen's father is preparing for the rainy season.'

A   ɓay-iɗ   ndaŋ, gup, yul   na sarto haɓ-iɗ-oh-a   yoohon c-a.
3P.S to_take-ASP machete hoe   creusette and sickle to_make-CAUS-INST-NSPEC fields   PL-NSPEC
'He takes a machete, a hoe, a creusette, and a sickle to the fields to prepare (lit. make) them.'

A   konar-iɗ-ee-ɗah,   a jok-iɗ   penɗuk   ndaŋgal c-i   na iiñ c-i
3P.S to_clean-ASP-P.IMP-SPEC.TIME 3P.S to_need-ASP to_be.mindful scorpion   PL-SPEC and snake PL-SPEC
'When he is cleaning the fields, he needs to be mindful of the scorpions and the snakes'

ɗasɗus-uk-aŋg   ŋgan atoh c-i   walla ŋgan ɗooy nuŋg c-i.
to_hide-RFLX-HAB   LOC   rock-PL-SPEC   or   LOC   inside   hole-PL-SPEC
'hiding themselves among the rocks or inside the holes.'

A   y̌ut   konar-iɗ   ɗah,   a   kooɗk-iɗ   tisoh   c-i.
3P.S to_finish to_clean-ASP SPEC.TIME 3P.S to_prepare-ASP   seed   PL-SPEC
'When he is done cleaning, he prepares the seeds'

A   waaɗ-iɗ   sok   tooho, ɓasi,   aareen, pamy̌a na iraak.
3P.S to_want-ASP to_sow   millet   sorghum   peanut   maize   and bean
'He wants to sow millet, sorghum, peanuts, maize, and beans.'

Haat, a   marak-ka   ndeer-ndeer-ø-i andi
now   3P.S to_look-N.PAST   sky-CL-SPEC   if
'Now, he looks at the sky to see if'

w-a   raak-iɗ   eel   c-a   min   hay-toh   tob.
SG-NSPEC   to_have-ASP   cloud   PL-NSPEC   to_be.able.to   to_come-PLUR(??)   rain
'there are clouds able to bring rain.'

W-a   nik-ɗi   mo-ɗaa-ɗi.
SG-NSPEC   to_be-NEG   beautiful-N.PAST(??)-NEG
'There is a high chance of rain (lit. it is not beautiful).'

A   suum-mba.   a   am-mba   ŋgaŋ   fisar-ø-i-ŋ   ɗe   yaah   kanak,
3P.S   to_be.happy-N.PAST   3P.S   to_hold-N.PAST   LOC   chest-CL-SPEC-CON   3P.S   hand   two
'He is happy. He holds his two hands to his chest,'

a   cork-iɗ-ta   Kooh.
3P.S   to_give.thanks-ASP-N.PAST   God
'he gives thanks to God.'

A2. Wiŋ nik komaaki

wiŋ   nik   komaak-ø-i   wad-ee   kii   nik   (avocat)
when   to_be   child-CL-SPEC   want-P.IMP   P.PROG   to_be   (lawyer)
"When I was a child I wanted to be a lawyer'

lam   mi-lib-ne   cumɗa   raak-iɗ   ɓoo-b-i
because   1P.S-to_think-that   sometimes,often   to_have-ASP   people-CL-SPEC
'because sometimes I think that there are people'

raŋg-saŋ   raŋg-u   te   ɓa   hap-ɗu   in
to shut-P.HAB   to shut-N.PAS   and   3P.P   to_do-NEG(??)   something
'who are jailed (lit. shut away) and they didn't do anything'

ɓa   sos-iɗ-u-saŋg   sos-u
3P.P   to_wrongfully.accuse-ASP-??-P.HABIT   to_wrongfully.accuse-N.PASS   3PP
'they are wrongfully accused'

te   ɓo   am-ɗoh-uu-ɓa
and   people   to_help-??-NEG-3P.P
'and nobody helps them.'

in-i   w-a   ɗe   tah   po   mi-waad-en   nik   avocat
something-SPEC   SG-NSPEC   3P.S   reason   ??   1P.S-to_want-REM.PAST   to_be   lawyer
'That's the reason I wanted to be a lawyer.'

wiir-wiir   mi-ɓitsiɗ-oh   ɟaŋg-iɗ-iɗ   khis   jatus   na-jiino
now   1P.S-to_learn-AGT   to_study-CAUS-ASP   year   five   and-one
'Now I'm a student. I've already taught for six years.'

lib -ne   hai-ki   mbir-ɗoh-e   nik   ɓitsiɗ-oh-a
to_think-that   F.SIT-P.PROG   to_end.up-??-FUT   to_be   to_learn-AGT-??
'I think that I am going to end up being a teacher.'

wiir-wiir   ɟaŋg-iɗ-iɗ   khis   jatus   na-jiino   ŋ-a   États-Unis
now   to_study-CAUS-ASP   year   five   and-one   LOC-NSPEC   USA
'Now I've already taught for six years in the United States.'

ɟaŋg-iɗ-iɗ   faranse   khis   kanak   ŋ-a   mɛriland
to_study-CAUS-ASP   French   year   two   LOC-NSPEC   Maryland
'I taught French for two years in Maryland.'

ɟaŋg-iɗ-ta   ɓitsiɗ-oh-c-i   African literature
to_study-CAUS-N.PAST   to_learn-AGT-PL-SPEC   African literature
'Then, I taught the students African literature'

khis kaahai ndi ŋ-a   Indiana University
year three   here LOC-NSPEC   Indiana University
'for three years here at Indiana University.'

wois   mi-ɟaŋg-iɗ   saafi
this.year   1P.S-to_study-CAUS   Saafi
'This year, I am teaching Saafi.'

A3. Cohiŋ ɗoopatci

Coh-i-ŋ   ɗoopaat-c-i
meeting-Ø-SPN-CON   animal-PL-SPN
'The meeting of the animals'

Doopaat-c-i   jen c-a   raake   ɓeɗk-oh   ŋgaŋ leern-a-ŋ   nduuf-Ø-a.
animal-PL-SPN   all PL-SPD   have-PST   call-CAUS   in   middle-SPD-CO   forest-CL-SPD
'All animals had an invitation (to a meeting) in the heart of the forest.'

Meew-i-ŋ   nduuf-Ø-i,   muuma, a-yi   adgoh-e   w-a.
king-CL-SPD-CON   forest-CL-SPN   lion   3S-be   direct-PST   3S-SPD
'The king of the forest, Lion was to direct it.'

Sel-c-i,   caafu-c-i,   ñiiñoh-c-i,   ɓi-ŋgaay,   ɓi-ŋgumu,   ɓi-ɗeemb, paani-c-i,
bird-PL-SPN   fly-PL-SPN   ant-PL-SPN   some-antelope   some-hyen   some-bat   monkey-PL-SPN
'Birds, flies, ants, antelopes, hyenas, bats, monkeys,'

nguɗ-c-i,   mboɓ-c-i,   ɓi-ndol,   ɓi-kokareet,   ɓi-ciŋgaañ na yíiñ-c-i
lizard-PL-SPN   frog-PL-SPN   some-hare   some-'wild.chicken'   some-mouse and guinea_fowl-PL-SPN
'lizards, frogs, hare, "wild chickens", mice and guinea fowls'

ali   inaataaŋ   tas-ee-ɗi,   c-a   jen c-a   hay-aa.
none wild_animal   stay-PST.IMPV-NEG   PL-SPD   all   PL-SPD   come-PST
'none of them stayed (away); they all came.'

Wi   mbeh-Ø-a   re-e,   c-a   jen c-a   coh-ha.
when   day-CL-SPD   arrive-PST   PL-SPD   all   PL-SPD   meet-PST
'When the day came, they all met.'

Meew-Ø-i   woo-sa c-a   in-Ø-i   tah   c-a   teem-mba.
king-CL-SPD   tell-PST   PL-SPD   thing-CL-SPN   reason   PL-SPD   attend-PST
'The king told them the reason they attended.'

A woo-sa   c-a   neh c-a   raak-soh-e   maas[10]   ŋ-neeh-c-i   ha-aŋg.
3S tell-PST   PL-SPD   that PL-SPD   have-PLUR-PST   group_work   in-day-PL-SPN   come-IMPV
'He told them that they were having a group fieldwork in the coming days.'

A woo-sa c-a   neh: maas-a   reh dah, c-i   yakak-c-i hay ki guur-ee,
3S tell-PST PL-SPD   that   group_work-SPD   arrive when   PL-SPN   big-PL-SPN   come FUT cultivate-FUT
'He told them that, "when the group fieldwork comes, the big ones will cultivate,'

---

[10] Group work which consists in weeding out one or several farm(s) and that is generally performed by individuals of the same age.

c-i   ʃin-c-i   hay   ki   c-a   on-ee   masuɓ.
PL-SPN small-PL-SPN   come FUT PL-SPD give-FUT   water
'the small ones will serve them water."'

C-a   ʃut   ɗah,   c-a   kaɗ   ñama inoh-f-i   wi   c-a   on-u,
PL-SPD finish when PL-SPD   go   eat   cow-CL-SPN   that PL-SPD   give-PASS
'When they finished, they would go eat the cow that they were offered.'

Wi c-a   saɓs-uk-oh   ɗah   yaa nu nik haad-da   kahan-ce.
??   PL-SPD separate-??-?? when each ?? be   go_home-PST   house-3S.POSS
'When they separated, each of them would go home to his/her house.'

Ŋgumu ree-sa   kaahan-ce,   a   faanuk-ka.
hyena   arrive-PST house-3S-POSS   3S   lie_down-PST
'When hyena arrived at his house, he lay down (= went to bed).'

A heeʃ-ca   haat   findi   a   ha-aŋg   ñam-oh-e   inoh-f-i.
3S dream-PST   now   the_way_in_which   3S come-IMPV   eat-INST-FUT cow-CL-SPN
'He dreamt about how he would eat the cow.'

Mbaɗna mbeh-Ø-i-ŋ   guuri   re-e   ŋgumu ɓay-ya   kufuc
when   day-CL-SPN-CON   cultivate-Ø-SPN   arrive-PST hyena   bring-PST needle
'When the day of the cultivating came, hyena brought a needle'

and   weɗɗi   a   ha-aŋg   guur-oh-e.
say   that_is_what 3S come-IMPV   cultivate-INST-FUT
'and said that was what he was going to cultivate with.'

C-a   hooɓuk-ka   guur   po   noh-Ø-i   muc-ca,   c-a   reehiɗ-ta
PL-SPD spend_the_day-PST   cultivate until sun-CL-SPN   disappear-PST PL-SPD   finish-PST
'They spent the day cultivating until the sun set; they finished'

yoh-n-i.
farm-CL-SPN
'the entire farm.'

Muuma woo-sa c-a   neh: in-aa   nu ɓo' guur-oh-ee-ɗah,   weɗ fu
lion   tell-PST PL-SPD   that   thing-SPD   ??   3P   cultivate-INST-PST-??   that 2S
'Lion told them that, "whatever they had cultivated with, that you'

ha-aŋg   ñamohe.   Ŋgumu fuŋ-ŋga.
come-IMPV   eat-INST-FUT   hyena   become_scared-PST
'will eat with."Hyena got scared.'

A woo-sa neh: Mbaa c-i   ʃin-c-i   c-a   hay-ɗi   ñam-e   laam
3S tell-PSt that   then   PL-SPN   small-PL-SPN   PL-PST come-NEG eat-FUT because
'He said that, "then the small ones are not going to eat because'

c-a   guur-d̪i.
PL-SPD   cultivate-NEG
'they did not cultivate."'

Meew-Ø-i   tum-mba neh: In-Ø-i   ŋ-woo wed̪ ha-aŋ   raak-e.
king-CL-SPD do-PST   that   thing-CL-SPN 1S-say   that   come-IMPV happen-FUT
'The king reacted, saying that, "what I said that (is what) is going to happen."'

Ŋ-kuruk   ŋga   ŋgaŋ ped̪eem-c-eem.
1S-stand_up   there at   word-PL-DET
I stood up there at those words. (= departed from that place when those words were uttered.)

(Analyzed by Robert Botne)

Abbreviations specific to this text:
SPN = specific near
SPD = specific distal
INST = instrumental
CON = connector
DET = determiner
IMPV = imperfective

Appendix B: Abbreviations

ADJ   adjective
AFFIRM   affirmative marker
AGT   agentive suffix
ASP   aspectual marker
BEN   benefactive suffix
CAUS   causative suffix
CL   class marker
COMM   communal pronoun
COMP   complementizer
CON   connector
DIST.F   distal deictic (far from all)
DIST.N   distal deictic (close to listener)
F.AUX   situational future auxiliary
F.H.AUX   habitual future auxiliary
FUT   future tense
HAB   habitual
IMP.OBJ   imperative object marker
IMP.PL   plural imperative marker
IMPER   imperative marker
INST   instrumental suffix
LOC   locative
N.PASS   neuter passive marker
N.PAST   narrative past NEG
             negation marker
NSPEC   nonspecific marker
P.HAB   passive habitual marker
P.IMP   past imperfective suffix
P.P.IMPER   passive past imperfect
PL   plural
PLUR   pluractional suffix
PR.GOAL   goal-oriented progressive
PROG   progressive marker
PROX   proximal deictic
QUANT   quantifier
RECIP   reciprocal suffix
REM.PAST   remote past
REP   repetitive suffix
REV   reversive suffix
RFLX   reflexive suffix

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SG	singular
SPEC	specific marker
SPEC.TIME	specific time marker
V.DIM	verbal diminutive suffix
1O.P	first person plural oblique pronoun
1O.S	first person singular oblique pronoun
1P.P	first person plural possessive pronoun
1P.S	first person singular possessive pronoun
1S.P	first person plural subject pronoun
1S.S	first person singular subject pronoun
2O.P	second person plural oblique pronoun
2O.S	second person singular oblique pronoun
2P.P	second person plural possessive pronoun
2P.S	second person singular possessive pronoun
2S.P	second person plural subject pronoun
2S.S	second person singular subject pronoun
3O.P	third person plural oblique pronoun
3O.S	third person singular oblique pronoun
3P.P	third person plural possessive pronoun
3P.S	third person singular possessive pronoun
3S.P	third person plural subject pronoun
3S.S	third person singular subject pronoun
(EP)	epenthesized segment

Appendix C: Lexicons

C1: Saafi-English Lexicon

(C)o *(obl. pro.)* me

(C)o *(poss. pro.)* my

a *(sub. pro.)* he/she

aaren *(n.[11])* peanut

adgoh *(v.)* to direct

ali *(prep.)* none

am *(v.)* to hold, to help

amsoh *(v.)* to introduce

andi *(comp.)* if

atoh *(n.)* rock

baah *(adj.)* good

baal *(n.)* ball

baɓ *(n.)* father

bah bah *(v.)* to be kind, good

baɟin *(n.)* paternal aunt

batis *(v.)* to open

beeñ *(v.)* to be sandy

bunta *(n.; N)* door

ɓa *(obl. pro.)* them (animate)

ɓa *(poss. pro.)* their (animate)

ɓa *(sub. pro.)* they (animate)

ɓaɓ *(n.)* morning, early

ɓai *(v.)* to have (possess), to bring, to take

ɓap *(v.)* to nurse at the breast

ɓapiɗ *(v.)* to nurse

ɓasi *(n.; N)* sorghum

ɓat *(v.)* to shut, lock, close

ɓeɗ *(v.)* to call

ɓi *(quant.)* some

ɓikan *(n.)* family

ɓit *(adj.)* heavy

ɓitiɓ *(n.)* woman

ɓitif *(n.)* old woman

ɓitsiɗ *(v.)* to learn

ɓitsiɗoh *(n.)* student

ɓitsiɗoha *(n.)* teacher

ɓitsiɗohana *(n.; N)* school

ɓo *(n.)* people, somebody

ɓo *(poss. pro.)* our

ɓok *(v.)* to get a shower

ɓokuk *(v.)* to take a shower

ɓoof *(v.)* to sit down

ɓuci *(obl. pro.)* us

ɓuci *(sub. pro.)* we

ca *(sub. pro.)* they (inanimate)

caafu *(n.)* fly (insect)

caar *(n.)* antelope

caɓin *(n.)* moon

cac *(n.)* grandparent

cafniŋg(ɗa) *(n.)* (your) girlfriend

ce *(poss. pro.)* his/her

cewoor *(n.)* south

ci *(obl. pro.)* them (inanimate)

ciŋgañ *(n.)* mouse

---

[11] All nouns belong to the null class unless otherwise specified.

coh *(n.)* elephant

coh *(n.)* meeting

coruk *(v.)* to thank someone

cot *(v.)* to go

cumɗa *(adv.)* often, sometimes

curuun *(n.)* fish

daf *(prep.)* way on top of

dam *(v.)* to be hot

damiɗ *(adj.)* hot

disik *(n.)* place

dulin *(n.)* oil

ɗa *(obl. pro.)* you

ɗah *(adv.)* a specific time

ɗasɗus *(v.)* to hide

ɗe *(obl. pro.)* him/her

ɗeem *(n.)* bat

ɗo *(prep.)* inside of

ɗoɓ *(v.)* to bite

ɗoopat *(n.)* animal

ɗu *(obl. pro.)* you all

ɗu *(poss. pro.)* you all's

ɗu *(sub. pro.)* you all

edef *(adj.)* light

eɗ *(v.)* to give

eel *(n.)* cloud

faan *(n.)* body

faanuk *(v.)* to lie down, go to bed

faj *(v.)* to be puzzled

faranse *(n.)* French

fiin *(n.; F)* hair

fiiriŋg(ɗa) *(n.)* (your) boyfriend

fiki *(prep.)* in front of

filndo *(prep.)* below

fino *(prep.)* behind

fisar *(n.)* chest

forta *(n.; N)* photo

fu *(poss. pro.)* your

fu *(sub. pro.)* you

fuɗ *(v.)* to cry

fuŋg *(v.)* to become scared

galah *(n.)* traditional drink

gup *(n.)* hoe

guur *(v.)* to cultivate

haad *(v.)* to go home

haat *(adv.)* now

habit *(v.)* to create

haɓ *(v.)* to make, do

haf *(n.)* head

hai *(v.)* to come

hawur *(n.)* griot

heeʃ *(v.)* to dream

hooɓ *(v.)* to spend time

hot *(v.)* to see

huc *(n.)* neem wood stick

huc *(v.)* to clean the teeth

hus *(n.)* eye

iiñ *(n.)* snake

in *(n.)* something **inah**

(v.) to know **inataŋ** *(n.)*

wild animal **inoh** *(n.; F,*

null) cow **iraak** *(n.)* bean

jaaj *(n.)* mother

jaano *(adj.)* white

jaɓ *(v.)* to be tired

jah *(n.)* hand

jak *(adj.)* old

jakak *(adj.)* older

jan *(n.)* field

jander *(n.)* door

jatus *(quant.)* five

jiiñ *(n.)* guinea fowl

jiino *(quant.)* one

joh *(n.)* field

jok *(v.)* to need

joohon *(n.)* field

jop *(v.)* to cut

jul *(n.)* creusette (digging stick)

jun *(v.)* to wake someone up

jusut *(adj.)* small

jusut *(quant.)* a few

juur *(n.)* hole

ɹaal *(prep.)* above, on top

ɹambar *(n.)* rabbit

ɹanŋgiɗ *(v.)* to teach

ɹaŋg *(v.)* to study

ɹaŋgohana *(n.; N)* study place

ɹapil *(n.)* knife

ɹasit *(n.)* crocodile

ɹeel *(n.)* little rug

ɹen *(quant.)* all

ɹir *(v.)* to be sick

ɹok *(n.; M)* ocean

ɹool *(prep.)* on top of

ɹot *(v.)* to go

ʃaar *(n.)* man

ʃaf *(v.)* to throw

ʃah *(v.)* to go

ʃeek *(v.)* to sing

ʃin *(adj.)* small, younger

ʃoh *(n.)* bone

ʃut *(v.)* to be done

kaahai *(quant.)* three

kac *(n.)* pebble

kal *(v.)* to hunt

kalsuk *(v.)* to play hunt

kalsukoh *(n.)* hunter

kan *(n.)* a kind of tree

kan *(n.)* house, home

kan *(v.)* to die

kanak *(quant.)* two

kañi *(adj.)* brave

kanɹa *(n.; N)* okra

karat *(n.)* carrot

katloh *(v.)* to send

kedik *(n.)* earth

ken *(n.)* heart

khis *(n.)* year

kiat *(n.; K)* book

kibi *(n.; K)* fire

kidik *(n.)* tree

kobaŋg *(n.)* spoon

kohoobi *(n.)* night

kokareet *(n.)* wild chicken

komak *(n.)* child

koñar *(v.)* to clean

kooduk *(v.)* to prepare

kooh *(n.)* God

kooi *(n.)* infant, baby

kot *(n.)* leg

koʔ *(v.)* to go

kubu *(n.; K)* one's child

kufuc *(n.)* needle **kur**

(n.; K) village **kuruk**

(v.) to stand up **laai**

(quant.) many **laaiɗi**

(quant.) a few **laɓ** *(v.)*

to hit

lam *(comp.)* because

lama *(n.; N)* chief

leber *(v.)* to wrestle

leberuk *(v.)* to play wrestle

leer *(n.)* dinnertime

leerin *(n.)* middle

letar *(n.)* letter

lewet *(adj.)* smooth, tender, gentle

lib *(v.)* to think

liili *(adj.)* green

maalo *(n.; N)* rice

maañiɗ *(adj.)* old

maas *(n.)* group work

mag *(v.)* to smoke

marak *(v.)* to look

masoh *(v.)* to attend

masuɓ *(n.; M)* water

mbaa *(adv.)* then

mbaal *(n.)* sheep

mbaɗna *(adv.)* when

mbamhuh *(n.)* pig

mbeh *(n.)* day

mbeʃ *(v.)* to dance

mbeʃoh *(n.)* dancer

mbɛt *(v.)* to throw

mbinɗ *(v.)* to write

mbinɗoha *(n.; N)* writing instrument

mboha *(adj.)* yellow

mboha *(n.; N)* corn

mɓo *(n.; B)* frog

mɓu *(n.; F)* dog

mɓuuru *(n.)* bread

meew *(n.)* king

mere *(n.; M)* sand

mi *(sub. pro.)* I

mida *(n.; M)* salt

miis *(n.)* milk

min *(v.)* to be able to

mirɗoh *(v.)* to end up

misiɓ *(n.)* sauce

mo *(adj.)* beautiful

muɟ *(v.)* to disappear

muuiɗ *(adj.)* wet

muuma *(n.; N)* lion

na *(conj.)* and

naaw *(v.)* to wash

ñakit *(n.)* lunchtime

ñam *(n.)* food

ñam *(v.)* to eat

ñamduhaɗ *(n.)* dinnertime (infrequent)

ñamiɗ *(v.)* to feed

nan *(v.)* to forget

nanis *(v.)* to remember

nawe *(n.)* turnip

ndankeh *(quant.)* ten

ndaŋg *(n.)* machete

ndaŋgal *(n.)* scorpion

ndawal *(n.)* meat

ndeer ndeer *(n.)* sky

ndeŋgaadi *(adj.)* smooth (object)

ndi *(loc.)* here

ndol *(n.)* hare

nduuf *(n.)* forest

ne *(comp.)* that (used to link clauses)

neh *(v.)* to sleep

nen *(v.)* to shave

nep *(v.)* to be angry

nguɗ *(v.)* to cut

ñif *(n.; M, null)* blood

nii *(n.; N)* evening

ñiinjoh *(n.)* ant

nik *(v.)* to be, to be located

nikis *(quant.)* four

noh *(n.)* sun

noh muɹoha *(n.; N)* west

noh pulooha *(n.; N)* east

now *(v.)* to clean the teeth

nuga *(adj.)* warm

nuŋg *(n.)* hole

nup *(v.)* to run

nuuni *(quant.)* each, every

ŋga *(loc.)* there

ŋgaaj *(n.)* antelope

ŋgan *(loc.)* over there

ŋguɗ *(n.)* lizard

ŋguɗoh *(n.)* bandit

ŋgumu *(n.)* hyena

paani *(n.; F, null)* monkey

paaniɗ *(v.)* to sleep

padis *(n.)* horse

paɗ *(n.)* broom

paɗoh *(n.)* someone who cleans

paɗoha *(n.; N)* broom

paɹ *(v.)* to heal

paɹoha *(n.; N)* hospital

pambi *(n.; F, null)* chicken

pamca *(n.; N)* maize

paŋgi *(n.; F, null)* grass

paŋguk *(v.)* to work

peɗeem *(n.)* word

peɗem *(n.)* tongue

penuk *(v.)* to be mindful

peʔ *(n.; F)* goat

po *(adv.)* until

pok *(v.)* to break

pon *(v.)* to fold

ponis *(v.)* to unfold

puɗ *(n.; M)* dust

pul *(v.)* to come out

puloh *(v.)* to come out of

pumbiteer *(n.)* potato

raak *(v.)* to be present, to have (existential)

raanuk *(v.)* to carry on head

raŋg *(v.)* to shut

raŋgis *(v.)* to open

reehiɗ *(v.)* to finish

reh *(n.)* rainy season

reh *(v.)* to arrive

rohoʃ *(adj.)* short

rok *(v.)* to steal

ruumini *(adj.)* red

saac *(n.)* millet couscous

saɓ *(v.)* to separate

salaat *(n.)* salad

saŋg *(n.)* hate

saŋg *(v.)* to hate

saras *(adj.)* orange

sarto *(n.; N)* sickle

sat *(n.)* grandchild

seero *(prep.)* near

sel *(n.)* bird

sepet *(n.)* sauce

sifaaduk *(v.)* to be thirsty

siis *(n.)* tooth

sok *(n.)* urine

sok *(v.)* to sow

sokola *(adj.)* brown

soos soos *(v.)* to be cold

sople *(n.)* onion

sos *(adj.)* cold

sos *(v.)* to wrongfully accuse

sujiɗ *(v.)* to dry oneself

sum *(v.)* to be happy

sumuk *(v.)* to be happy

supame *(n.; N)* cauliflower

suusus *(adj.)* black

suusus suusus *(v.)* to be black

taambil *(n.)* gift

tabah *(n.)* building

tah *(v.)* to be the reason

tamaandi *(n.; N)* north

tamdoh *(n.)* sibling

taŋgalaŋ *(n.)* eatable fruit

taŋgo *(n.; N)* hill

tapi *(n.; N)* big rug

tas *(v.)* to stay

te *(conj.)* and

teem *(v.)* to attend

tiin *(v.)* to walk

tik *(v.)* to cook

tisoh *(n.)* seed

toɓ *(n.)* rain

toho *(n.; R)* millet

tok *(v.)* to tie **tokis**

(v.) to untie **tomate**

(n.) tomato **ton** *(v.)*

to sell **tonoha** *(n.;*

N) store **tuc** *(n.)*

bedroom

tufuk *(v.)* to stand up

umɓ *(v.)* to cover (a hole)

umɓis *(v.)* to uncover (a hole)

us *(v.)* to be far away

usi *(prep.)* far away from

wa *(sub. pro.)* it (inanimate)

waa *(v.)* to like

waad *(v.)* to love

waaɗ *(v.)* to want

walla *(conj.)* or

weɗ *(pro.)* that (deictic)

wees *(v.)* to toss (to someone)

wek *(n.)* night

werta *(adj.)* green

wi *(obl. pro.)* it (inanimate)

wiir-wiir *(adv.)* now

wiŋg *(adv.)* when

wo *(v.)* to speak

wois *(adv.)* this year

woo *(v.)* to tell

ʔan *(v.)* to drink

ʔap *(v.)* to kill

ʔas *(adj.)* new

ʔon *(v.)* to give

ʔoon-ʔoon *(n.)* hill

ʔul *(n.)* blanket

ʔul *(v.)* to cover (with a blanket)

ʔulis *(v.)* to uncover (with a blanket)

(your) boyfriend *(n.)* fiiriŋ(ɗa)

(your) girlfriend) *(n.)* cafniŋ(ɗa)

able, to be *(v.)* min

above, on top *(prep.)* ɟaal

all *(quant.)* ɟen **and**

(conj.) na, te **angry,**

to be *(v.)* nep **animal**

(n.) ɗoopat **ant** *(n.)*

ñiinjoh

antelope *(n.)* caar, ŋgaaj

arrive, to *(v.)* reh

attend, to *(v.)* masoh, teem

baby *(n.)* kooi **ball**

(n.) baal **bandit**

(n.) ŋguɗoh **bat**

(n.) ɗeem

be present, to *(v.)* raak

be, to *(v.)* nik **bean**

(n.) iraak **beautiful**

(adj.) mo **because**

(comp.) lam

bed, to go to *(v.)* faanuk

bedroom *(n.)* tuc

behind *(prep.)* fino

below *(prep.)* filndo

big rug *(n.)* tapi (N)

bird *(n.)* sel

bite, to *(v.)* ɗoɓ

black *(adj.)* suusus

black, to be *(v.)* suusus suusus

blanket *(n.)* ʔul

blood *(n.; M, null)* ñif

body *(n.)* faan

bone *(n.)* ʃoh

book *(n.)* kiat (K)

brave *(adj.)* kañi

bread *(n)* mɓuuru

break, to *(v.)* pok

bring, to *(v.)* ɓai

broom *(n.)* paɗ, paɗoha (N)

brown *(adj.)* sokola

building *(n.)* tabah

call, to *(v.)* ɓeɗ

carrot *(n.)* karat

carry on head, to *(v.)* raanuk

cauliflower *(n.)* supame (N)

chest *(n.)* fisar

chicken *(n.)* pambi (F, null)

chicken, wild *(n.)* kokareet

chief *(n.)* lama (N)

child *(n.)* komak

child, one's own *(n.)* kubu (K)

clean the teeth, to *(v.)* huc

clean, to *(v.)* koñar, now

cleaner, a *(n.)* paɗoh

close, to *(v.)* ɓat

cloud *(n.)* eel

cold *(adj.)* sos

cold, to be *(v.)* soos soos

come out of, to *(v.)* puloh

come out, to *(v.)* pul

come, to *(v.)* hai

cook, to *(v.)* tik

corn *(n.)* mboha (N)

cover (a hole), to *(v.)* umɓ

cover (with a blanket), to *(v.)* ʔul

cow *(n.)* inoh (F, null)

create, to *(v.)* habit

creusette (digging stick) *(n.)* jul

crocodile *(n.)* ɟasit

cry, to *(v.)* fuɗ

cultivate, to *(v.)* guur

cut, to *(v.)* jop, nguɗ

dance, to *(v.)* mbeʃ

dancer *(n.)* mbeʃoh

day *(n.)* mbeh

die, to *(v.)* kan

dinnertime *(n.)* leer, ñamduhaɗ (infreq.)

direct, to *(v.)* adgoh

disappear, to *(v.)* muɟ

do, to *(v.)* haɓ

dog *(n.)* mɓu (F)

done, to be *(v.)* ʃut

door *(n.)* jander, bunta (N)

dream, to *(v.)* heeʃ

drink, to *(v.)* ʔan

dry oneself, to *(v.)* sujiɗ

dust *(n.)* puɗ (M)

each *(quant.)* nuuni

early *(n.)* ɓaɓ

earth *(n.)* kedik

east *(n.)* noh pulooha (N)

eat, to *(v.)* ñam

eatable fruit *(n.)* taŋgalaŋ

elephant *(n.)* coh

end up, to *(v.)* mirɗoh

evening *(n.)* nii (N)

every *(quant.)* nuuni

eye *(n.)* hus

family *(n.)* ɓikan

far away from *(prep.)* usi

far away, to be *(v.)* us

father *(n.)* baɓ

feed, to *(v.)* ñamiɗ

few, a *(quant.)* jusut, laaiɗi

field *(n.)* jan, joh, joohon

finish, to *(v.)* reehiɗ

fire *(n.)* kibi (K)

fish *(n.)* curuun

five *(quant.)* jatus

fly (insect) *(n.)* caafu

fold, to *(v.)* pon

food *(n.)* ñam

forest *(n.)* nduuf

forget, to *(v.)* nan

four *(quant.)* nikis

French *(n.)* faranse

frog *(n.)* mɓo (B)

gentle *(adj.)* lewet

get a shower, to *(v.)* ɓok

gift *(n.)* taambil

give, to *(v.)* ʔon, eɗ

go, to *(v.)* corut, ɟot, ʃah, koʔ

goat *(n.)* peʔ (F)

God *(n.)* kooh

good *(adj.)* baah

grandchild *(n.)* sat

grandparent *(n.)* cac

grass *(n.)* paŋgi (F, null)

green *(adj.)* liili, werta

griot *(n.)* hawur

group work *(n.)* maas

guinea fowl *(n.)* jiiñ

hair *(n.)* fiin (F)

hand *(n.)* jah

happy, to be *(v.)* sum, sumuk

hare *(n.)* ndol

hate *(n.)* saŋg

hate, to *(v.)* saŋg

have (possess), to *(v.)* ɓai

have, to (existential) *(v.)* raak

he, she *(sub. pro.)* a

head *(n.)* haf

heal, to *(v.)* paɟ

heart *(n.)* ken

heavy *(adj.)* ɓit

here *(loc.)* ndi

hide, to *(v.)* ɗasɗùs

hill *(n.)* ʔoon-ʔoon, taŋgo (N)

him, her *(obl. pro.)* ɗe

his, her *(poss. pro.)* ce

hit, to *(v.)* laɓ

hoe *(n.)* gup

hold, to *(v.)* am

hole *(n.)* juur, nuŋg

home *(n.)* kan

home, to go *(v.)* haad

horse *(n.)* padis

hospital *(n.)* paɟoha (N)

hot *(adj.)* damiɗ

hot, to be *(v.)* dam

house *(n.)* kan

hunt, to *(v.)* kal

hunter *(n.)* kalsukoh

hyena *(n.)* ŋgumu

I *(sub. pro.)* mi

if *(comp.)* andi

in front of *(prep.)* fiki

infant *(n.)* kooi **inside of**

(prep.) ɗo **introduce, to**

(v.) amsoh

it (inanimate) *(obl. pro.)* wi

it (inanimate) *(sub. pro.)* wa

kill, to *(v.)* ʔap

kind, good, to be *(v.)* bah bah

king *(n.)* meew

knife *(n.)* ɟapil

know, to *(v.)* inah

learn, to *(v.)* ɓitsiɗ

leg *(n.)* kot

letter *(n.)* letar

lie down, to *(v.)* faanuk

light *(adj.)* edef

like, to *(v.)* waa

lion *(n.)* muuma (N)

little rug *(n.)* ɟeel

lizard *(n.)* ŋguɗ

located, to be (v.) nik

lock, to *(v.)* ɓat

look, to *(v.)* marak

love, to *(v.)* waad

lunchtime *(n.)* ñakit

machete *(n.)* ndaŋg

maize *(n.)* pamca (N)

make, to *(v.)* haɓ

man *(n.)* ʃaar

many *(quant.)* laai

me *(obl. pro.)* (C)o

meat *(n.)* ndawal

meeting *(n.)* coh

middle *(n.)* leerin

milk *(n.)* miis

millet *(n.)* toho (R)

millet couscous *(n.)* saac

mindful, to be *(v.)* penuk

monkey *(n.)* paani (F, null)

moon *(n.)* caɓin

morning (n.) ɓaɓ

mother *(n.)* jaaj

mouse *(n.)* ciŋgañ

my *(poss. pro.)* (C)o

near *(prep.)* seero

need, to *(v.)* jok

needle *(n.)* kufuc

neem wood stick *(n.)* huc

new *(adj.)* ʔas

night *(n.)* kohoobi, wek

none *(prep.)* ali

north *(n.)* tamaandi (N)

now *(adv.)* haat, wiir-wiir

nurse (at the breast), to *(v.)* ɓap

nurse, to *(v.)* ɓapiɗ

ocean *(n.)* ɟok (M)

often *(adv.)* cumɗa

oil *(n.)* dulin

okra *(n.)* kaŋɟa (N)

old *(adj.)* maañiɗ, jak

old woman *(n.)* ɓitif

older *(adj.)* jakak

on top of *(prep.)* ɟool

one *(quant.)* jiino

onion *(n.)* sople

open, to *(v.)* raŋgis, batis

or *(conj.)* walla

orange *(adj.)* saras

our *(poss. pro.)* ɓo

over there *(loc.)* ŋgan

paternal aunt *(n.)* baɟin

peanut *(n.)* aaren

pebble *(n.)* kac

people *(n.)* ɓo

photo *(n.)* forta (N)

pig *(n.)* mbamhuh

place *(n.)* disik

play hunt, to *(v.)* kalsuk

play wrestle, to *(v.)* leberuk

potato *(n.)* pumbiteer

prepare, to *(v.)* kooduk

puzzled, to be *(v.)* faj

rabbit *(n.)* ɟambar

rain *(n.)* toɓ

rainy season *(n.)* reh

reason, to be the *(v.)* tah

red *(adj.)* ruumini

remember, to *(v.)* nanis

rice *(n.)* maalo (N)

rock *(n.)* atoh **run,**

to *(v.)* nup **salad**

(n.) salaat **salt** *(n.)*

mida (M) **sand** *(n.)*

mere (M)

sandy, to be *(v.)* beeñ **sauce**

(n.) misiɓ, sepet **scared, to**

become *(v.)* fuŋg **school** *(n.)*

ɓitsiɗohana (N) **scorpion**

(n.) ndaŋgal

see, to *(v.)* hot

seed *(n.)* tisoh

sell, to *(v.)* ton

send, to *(v.)* katloh

separate, to *(v.)* saɓ

shave, to *(v.)* nen

sheep *(n.)* mbaal

short *(adj.)* rohoʃ

shower, to take a *(v.)* ɓokuk

shut, to *(v.)* ɓat, raŋ

sibling *(n.)* tamdoh

sick, to be *(v.)* ɟir

sickle *(n.)* sarto (N)

sing, to *(v.)* ʃeek

sit down, to *(v.)* ɓoof

sky *(n.)* ndeer ndeer

sleep, to *(v.)* paaniɗ, neh

small *(adj.)* ʃin, jusut

smoke, to *(v.)* mag

smooth *(adj.)* ndeŋgaadi

snake *(n.)* iiñ

some *(quant.)* ɓi

somebody *(n.)* ɓo

something *(n.)* in

sometimes *(adv.)* cumɗa

sorghum *(n.)* ɓasi (N)

south *(n.)* cewoor

sow, to *(v.)* sok

speak, to *(v.)* wo

specific time, a *(adv.)* ɗah

spend time, to *(v.)* hooɓ

spoon *(n.)* kobaŋ

stand up, to *(v.)* kuruk, tufuk

stay, to *(v.)* tas **steal,**

to *(v.)* rok **store** *(n.)*

tonoha (N) **student**

(n.) ɓitsiɗoh

study place *(n.)* ɟaŋgohana (N)

study, to *(v.)* ɟaŋg

sun *(n.)* noh **take, to**

(v.) ɓai **teach, to** *(v.)*

ɟanŋgiɗ

teacher *(n.)* ɓitsiɗoha

tell, to *(v.)* woo

ten *(quant.)* ndankeh

tender *(adj.)* lewet

thanks someone, to *(v.)* coruk

that (deictic) *(pro.)* weɗ

that (used to link clauses) *(comp.)* te

their (animate) *(poss. pro.)* ɓa

them (inanimate) *(obl. pro.)* ci

them *(obl. pro.)* ɓa

then *(adv.)* mbaa

there *(loc.)* ŋga

they (animate) *(sub. pro.)* ɓa

they (inanimate) *(sub. pro.)* ca

think, so *(v.)* lib

thirsty, to be *(v.)* sifaaduk

this year *(adv.)* wois

three *(quant.)* kaahai

throw, to *(v.)* ʃaf, mbet

tie, to *(v.)* tok

tired, to be *(v.)* jaɓ

tomato *(n.)* tomate

tongue *(n.)* peɗem

tooth *(n.)* siis

toss (to someone), to *(v.)* wees

traditional drink *(n.)* galah

tree *(n.)* kidik

tree, specific kind of *(n.)* kan

turnip *(n.)* nawe

two *(quant.)* kanak

uncover (a hole), to *(v.)* umɓis

uncover (with a blanket), to *(v.)* ʔulis

unfold, to *(v.)* ponis

untie, to *(v.)* tokis

until *(adv.)* po

urine *(n.)* sok

us *(obl. pro.)* ɓuci

village *(n.)* kur (K)

wake someone up, to *(v.)* jun

walk, to *(v.)* tiin

want, to *(v.)* waaɗ

warm *(adj.)* nuga

wash, to *(v.)* naaw

water *(n.)* masuɓ (M)

way on top of *(prep.)* daf

we *(sub. pro.)* ɓuci

west *(n.)* noh muɻoha (N)

wet *(adj.)* muuiɗ

when *(adv.)* mbaɗna, wiŋg

white *(adj.)* jaano

wild animal *(n.)* inataŋg

woman *(n.)* ɓitiɓ

word *(n.)* peɗeem

work, to *(v.)* paŋguk

wrestle, to *(v.)* leber

write, to *(v.)* mbinɗ

writing instrument *(n.)* mbinɗoha (N)

wrongfully accuse, to *(v.)* sos

year *(n.)* khis

yellow *(adj.)* mboha

you *(obl. pro.)* ɗa

you *(sub. pro.)* fu

you all *(obl. pro.)* đu

you all *(sub. pro.)* đu

you all's *(poss. pro.)* đu

younger *(adj.)* ʃin

your *(poss. pro.)* fu

Appendix D: Words in Depth

D1. Nouns

kohoobi *(n.)* night

> Notes: This word is used to refer to the dark part of night, as opposed to the evening
>
> (which is described using the word *niini*). A more literal translation is 'God darkens,' and
>
> can be decomposed into koh-

nguɗoh *(n.)* bandit

> Notes: This noun comes from the verb *ngud*, 'to cut.' An *nguɗoh* is someone who hides
>
> out in the bushes on the side of the road and waits for people to come by. Then, he leaps
>
> out and steals from people, or kidnaps children.

noh pulooha *(n.)* east

> Notes: While this word is used to mean 'east,' literally, it means 'sun coming out of
>
> there.' It can be deconstructed into noh puloh-a (sun to_come.out.of-NSPEC). The word
>
> for 'west,' *noh muɣoha*, behaves similarly.

D2. Verbs

ʃut *(v.)* to be done

> Notes: while the closest English translation for this verb is 'to be done,' it carries a sense
>
> of finality rather than a sense of completion. This verb can be used whenever the speaker
>
> is finished doing something, whether the task is completed or not.

wees *(v.)* to toss, to throw

> Notes: This verb conveys the same meaning as the verbs *mbet* and *ʃaf* (both also meaning
>
> 'to throw'), but implies that there is a recipient to the action being performed. It differs

from the other verbs in that it has a different argument structure; the verb *wees* requires

two objects while the other verbs meaning 'to throw' only require two.

umɓ *(v.)* to cover (a hole)

Notes: While the verb *umɓ* translates to the English 'to cover,' it has a more specific

meaning: *umɓ* can only be used when the object is inanimate, i.e. when the speaker is

talking about covering something like a hole. This is in direct contrast to the verb ʔul,

which always takes an animate argument (e.g. to cover someone with a blanket)

Appendix E: Database

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe…	Class	Notes	Pages Located
a	a	nonspecific	LOC			
a	a	3P S	PERS PRO			25
a	ʌ	IMPER MARKER	AFFIX,			27
a	a	LOCALITY	AFFIX,			52
a	a	???	AFFIX,		possibly a role	52
aaren	aarɛn	peanut	NOUN			2, TEXT A
adgoh		to direct	VERB			TEXT C
ali		none	DETERMINE			TEXT C
am	am	to hold, help	VERB			TEXT A
amsoh	amsoħ	to introduce	VERB			12/7 class session
an	an	specific distal (far)	LOC			
an	ʔan	to drink	VERB			16, 26
andi	andi	if	CLAUSAL			TEXT A
ang	aŋ	HABIT MARKER	AFFIX,			37
ap	ʔap	to kill	VERB			53
as	ʔas	new	ADJ			14, 15, 18, 35
atoh	atoħ	rock	NOUN	null		23, 24, TEXT A
ay	e	IMPERF PAST	AFFIX,			38, 39
Ba	ɓa	3P P	POSS PRO			3
Ba	ɓa	3P P SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Ba	ɓa	3P P	PERS PRO			25
Ba	ɓa	3P P	PERS OBL			28
Ba	ɓa	3P P	PERS DIR			29
Ba	ɓa	3P P	NEG IMPER			33
baah	baaħ	good	ADJ			14
baal	baal	ball	NOUN	null		27
baB	baɓ	father	NOUN	null		7, 21
BaB	ɓaɓ	morning, early	ADV			20
badjin	badʒɪn	paternal aunt	NOUN	null		7
bah	baħ	kind	ADJ			38
bah	baħ baħ	to be kind, good	VERB		REDUP	38, TEXT A
Bai	ɓaɪ	to have (possess),	VERB			41, TEXT A
Bap	ɓap	to nurse at the breast	VERB			56
BapiD	ɓapiɗ	to nurse	VERB			56
Basi	ɓasi	sorghum	NOUN			TEXT A
Bay	ɓe	to take	VERB			48
BeD		to call	VERB			TEXT C
beenj	beeɲ	to be sandy	VERB			TEXT A
Bi	ɓi	some	QUANT			6

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe…	Class	Notes	Pages Located
Bi	bi	1P P PRES PROG	AFFIX,			29
Bikan	bikan	family	NOUN	null		43
Bit	bit	heavy	ADJ			27,28
BitiB	bi!Ib	woman	NOUN	null		1' 9
Bitif	bitɪf	old woman	NOUN	null		9,35
BitsiD	bitsid	to learn	VERB			TEXT B
BitsiDoh	bitsidoli	student	NOUN	null		58
BitsiDohana	bitsidoliana	school	NOUN	N		52
Bo	bo7	person, anybody,	NOUN		specificity/meaning	1, 10, TEXT B
Bo	bo	1P P SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Bok	bok	to get a shower	VERB			32, 50
Bokuk	bokuk	to take a shower	VERB			32,50
Boof	*boot*	to sit down	VERB			31,44,45
Buci	buci	1P P	POSS PRO			3
Buci	buci	1P P	PERS PRO			25
Buci	buci	1P P	PERS DIR			29
bunta	bunta	door	NOUN	N		33
but	bAt	to shut	VERB			31
But	bAt	to shut, lock, close	VERB			30
butis	bAllS	to open	VERB			31
c	c	PLURAL/DEF	AFFIX,			
ca	ca	3P P	IMPERS DIR			28
caafu		fly (insect)	NOUN			TEXTC
caar	caar	antelope	NOUN	null		11' 13
cac	cac	grandparent	NOUN	null		7,23
ce	C£	3P S SPEC	POSS PRO			23
cewoor	C£WOOr	south	NOUN, DIR	null		24
cinganj	cir)gaJl	mouse	NOUN	null		11
coh	coli	elephant	NOUN	null		11
Coh	Coli	PLURACTIONAL	AFFIX,			TEXT A
coh	coli	meeting	NOUN	null		TEXTC
coruk	coruk	to thank someone	VERB			TEXT A
cota	cota	go (IMPER)	VERB-ISH		AUX?	36
cuBin	CAbin	moon	NOUN	null		6,7
cufningDa	cufnir)+PRO	girlfriend	NOUN-ISH			35
cumDa	cumda	sometimes, often	ADV			TEXT B
curuun	curuun	fish	NOUN			2
Da	da	2PS	POSS PRO			3
Dah	dah	TEMP MARKER	ADV			TEXT A

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe...	Class	Notes	Pages Located
Das	ɗas	to hide	VERB			TEXT A
De	ɗɛ	3P S	POSS PRO			3
De	ɗɛ	3P S	PERS DIR			26, 29
De	ɗɛ	3P S	PERS OBL		can also be used for	26, 31
De	ɗe	3P P	NEG IMPER			33
De	ɗe	3P S	NEG IMPER			33
Deem	ɗɛɛm	bat	NOUN	null		10
dhum	dhʌm	hot	ADJ			19, 38
Di	ɗi	3P P PRES PROG	AFFIX,			29
Di	ɗi	NEG MARKER	AFFIX,			
disik	disik	place	NOUN	null		TEXT A
djaal	ɟaal	above, on top	LOC			16
djangohana	ɟaŋgoħana	study place	NOUN	N		52
djasit	ɟasit	crocodile	NOUN	null		11
djeel	ɟɛɛl	little rug	NOUN	null		19
djen	ɟɛn	all	QUANT			23, TEXT C
djir	ɟir	to be sick	VERB			44
djok	ɟok	ocean	NOUN	M		8
djool	ɟool	on top of	LOC			24
djot	ɟot	to go	VERB			28
djumbur	ɟʌmbʌr	rabbit	NOUN	null		11
djung	ɟʌŋ	to study	VERB			48, 50
djungiD	ɟʌŋgiɗ	to teach	VERB			50
djupil	ɟʌpɪl	knife	NOUN	null		9, 36
Do	ɗo	1P S SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Do	ɗo	inside of	LOC			24
Do	ɗo	1P S	PERS OBL			26
DoB	ɗob	to bite	VERB			9
DooJ	ɗooʃ	inside	LOC			TEXT A
Doopat	ɗoopat	animal	NOUN	null		1, 6, 11, 33
Du	ɗu	2P P	POSS PRO			3
Du	ɗu	2P P SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Du	ɗu	2P P	PERS PRO			25
Du	ɗu	2P P	PERS DIR			29
Du	ɗu	NEGATION MARKER	AFFIX,			TEXT B
duf	dʌf	way on top of	LOC			24
dulin	dulɪn	oil	NOUN			2
dum	dʌm	to be hot	VERB			38
e	ɛ	FUT MARKER	AFFIX,			TEXT A

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe…	Class	Notes	Pages Located
eD	eɗ	to give	VERB			54
edef	ɛdɛf	light	ADJ			28
eel	ɛɛl	cloud	NOUN	null		8, 13
em	ɛm	specific distal (near)	LOC			
en	ɛn	PAST MARKER, NOT	AFFIX,			28, 47
faan	faan	body	NOUN	null		29, 32
faanuk		to lie down, go to bed	VERB			TEXT C
faj	faj	to be puzzled	VERB			12/5 class session
faransay	faranse	French	NOUN			TEXT B
fiin	fiin	hair	NOUN	F		6, 9
fiiringDa	fiiriŋ+PRO	boyfriend	NOUN-ISH			35
fiki	fiki	in front of	LOC			24
filndo	filndo	below	LOC			24
findi		the way in which	LINK			TEXT C
fino	fino	behind	LOC			24
fisar	fisar	chest	NOUN	null		TEXT A
forta	forta	photo	NOUN	N		12/5 class session
fu	fu	2P S SPEC	POSS PRO			23
fu	fu	2P S	PERS PRO			24
fu	fu	2P S	PERS DIR			29
fuD	fuɗ	to cry	VERB			43
fuŋ		to become scared	VERB			TEXT C
galah	galaħ	traditional drink	NOUN	null		16
gup	gup	hoe	NOUN			TEXT A, 52
guur	guur	to cultivate	VERB			50
guuroh	guuroħ	farmer	NOUN	null		50
haad		to go home	VERB			TEXT C
haat	haat	TEMP MARKER	ADV			TEXT A
haB	haɓ	to make, do	VERB			TEXT A, TEXT B
hai	ħai	to come	VERB			TEXT A, TEXT B
hai	ħai	FUT MARKER	AFFIX,			42
hang	haŋ	FUT HABIT MARKER	AFFIX,			42
hawur	ħawʌr	griot	NOUN	null		10
heeJ		to dream	VERB			TEXT C
hia	ħia	come (IMPER)	VERB-ISH		AUX?	36
hooB		to spend time	VERB			TEXT C
hot	ħot	to see	VERB			30, 52
huc	huc	to clean the teeth	VERB			55
huc	huc	neem wood stick	NOUN	null		55

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe...	Class	Notes	Pages Located
huf	ħʌf	head	NOUN	null		1, 8
hus	ħʌs	eye	NOUN			1
i	i	specific proximal	LOC			
iD	iɗ	ASP MARKER,	AFFIX,			28, 47
iD	iɗ	CAUSATIVE	AFFIX,			TEXT A, 52
iD	iɗ	BENEFACTIVE	AFFIX,			56
if	ɪf	1P P SPEC COLL	POSS PRO			23
iinj	iiɲ	snake	NOUN	null		TEXT A
in	in	something	NOUN		+ LOC MARKER	26, TEXT B
inah	inaħ	to know	VERB			12/7 class session
inatang	inataŋ	wild animal	NOUN	null		11
inoh	inoħ	cow	NOUN	F, null		1, 8, TEXT C
irak	irak	bean	NOUN			2, TEXT A
is	ɪs	REVERSIVE	AFFIX,			31
is	ɪs	REPETITIVE	AFFIX,			52
jaaj	jaaj	mother	NOUN	null	SPEC	7
jaano	jaano	white	ADJ			13, 18
Jaar	ʃaar	man	NOUN	null		1, 33
jaB	jaɓ	to be tired	VERB			44, 45
Jah	ʃaħ	to go	VERB			28, 36, 38
jah	jaħ	hand	NOUN	null		36
jak	jak	old	ADJ			17
jander	jandɛr	door	NOUN	null		33, 36
jatus	jatus	five	NUMBER			4
jay	je	to push	VERB			31
Jeek	ʃeek	to sing	VERB			50
Jeekoh	ʃeekoħ	singer	NOUN	null		50
ji	ji	1-3P S PRES PROG	AFFIX,			29, 43
JiD	ʃiɗ	younger	ADJ			11
jiino	jiino	one	NUMBER			4
Jin	ʃin	small	ADJ			TEXT C
Joh	ʃoħ	bone	NOUN	null		54
joh		field	NOUN			TEXT C
jok	jok	to need	VERB			TEXT A
joohon	joohon	field	NOUN	null		TEXT A
jop	jop	to cut	VERB			53
Juf	ʃʌf	to throw	VERB			27
jukuk	jʌkʌk	older	ADJ			7, 10
jul	jul	creusette (digging	NOUN			TEXT A, 55

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