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Robert Carlson

A GRAMMAR OF SUPYIRE

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A Grammar of Supyire



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Robert Carlson

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Preface

This book is based on my 1990 doctoral dissertation at the University of Oregon. It has been revised and corrected, and a short collection of texts and a vocabulary have been appended. It is the only reference grammar of a Senufo language available to date.

Once when faced with a job which was beyond my capacity to do alone, an old Supyire man said the following proverb to me:

Ŋwɔɔní mɛ̀é ítáán, li sɪ̀ jà li cyìnni te mé.

No matter how sharp the knife, it can't carve its own handle.

This book could never have been brought to completion without a lot of help in the carving. First, of course, are the Supyire people, my neighbors and friends in Farakala, who patiently put up with the indignity of having their mouths stared at while they talked, who good-humoredly answered hundreds of what must have appeared to be completely inane questions, and who submitted with good grace to being taped on all sorts of topics. Special thanks are due to the men who assisted me in collecting and transcribing texts: Kafono Sanogo, Lamin Sanogo, Yaya Sanogo, Kleno Sanogo, Brema Diamoutane, and above all, Ely Sanogo, who “said it again” and “said it slowly” innumerable times.

Special thanks are also due to my professors at Oregon, Colette Craig, Scott DeLancey, Russell Tomlin, and above all T. Givón for comments, suggestions, and criticisms. Their influence is evident on every page of this grammar.

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Many other people in Mali and in the United States have helped in hundreds of practical ways. Tom and Doris Payne aided and abetted with meals and housing. Betty Valentine reminded me of impending deadlines and got me out of the soup when I didn't meet them. Ralph and Ruth Herber, missionaries with the Christian and Missionary Alliance, graciously allowed me the use of the notes they had accumulated during years of work in Mali. Joke Gosker, of the same mission, was a great moral support while we were both trying to master the arcane tone rules of Supyire. I especially *shyééré* my fellow Senufoists Glenn and Linn Boese and Dave and Karen DeGraaf, who were ready at all hours to look for the answers to unreasonable questions like: “Does Nyarafolo front distributive relativized noun phrases in

conditional relatives?”, and who proof-read above and beyond the call of duty.

Last of all, my undying gratitude to my long-suffering wife Joyce and daughter Anne, who put up with what must be one of the most trying experiences known to our species: living with a linguist writing a book. The criticism they lavished on me over the breakfast table was doubtless richly deserved, and a negligible revenge for having their conversation dissected.

To all these, and to anyone else who helped carve this book, I say the traditional Supyire blessing:

Kile ù niŋyahawa yaha kuru cyàgé e.
May God put a lot in its place.

Farakala
May, 1994

Contents

Tables	xvii
Abbreviations.....	xviii
Map 1: Area where Supyire is spoken	xx
Map 2: Area where Senufo languages are spoken.....	xxi
1. Introduction	1
1.1. The people	1
1.2. The language.....	1
1.3. Previous research	2
1.4. The data base	3
1.5. Aims of this grammar	3
1.6. Typological characteristics.....	5
1.7. A word on the examples.....	5
2. Phonology	7
2.1. Consonants.....	8
2.1.1. Stops	9
2.1.1.1. Flapping	10
2.1.1.2. Voicing.....	10
2.1.1.3. Glottalization.....	12
2.1.1.4. Lenition and absorption of voiced stops	13
2.1.1.5. Elision of stops.....	14
2.1.2. Fricatives	15
2.1.2.1. Nasal plus fricative clusters.....	15
2.1.2.2. Rhotacization.....	16
2.1.3. Approximants	17
2.1.3.1. Occlusion of approximants	17
2.1.3.2. Elision of /l/ and /w/.....	17
2.1.4. Nasals.....	19
2.1.4.1. Nasal plus consonant clusters	19
2.1.4.2. Elision of /n/.....	20
2.1.5. Secondary release	20
2.2. Vowels.....	28
2.2.1. Processes affecting stressed vowels	29
2.2.1.1. Vowel lowering and diphthongization	29
2.2.1.2. Vowel coalescence	32
2.2.1.3. Neutralization.....	32
2.2.1.4. Vowel lengthening.....	33
2.2.1.5. Denasalization	33
2.2.2. Processes affecting unstressed vowels	34
2.2.2.1. Vowel harmony	34

2.2.2.2. Vowel reduction	37
2.2.2.3. Vowel elision	37
2.2.2.4. Final vowel assimilation	38
2.2.2.5. Approximant formation	39
2.2.2.6. Variation of /i/ and /e/ in clitics	40
2.2.2.7. Rounding before labials	41
2.2.2.8. Spread of nasalization	41
2.3. Tone	42
2.3.1. Basic tunes	43
2.3.1.1. Toneless affixes	43
2.3.1.2. Basic verb tunes	43
2.3.1.3. Basic noun tunes	45
2.3.1.4. Tunes of other word classes	53
2.3.2. Leftward docking of floating tones	54
2.3.3. Rightward spreading and docking	55
2.3.3.1. Low spread	55
2.3.3.2. Spread of L from LMw	63
2.3.3.3. High spread	65
2.3.4. Tone changing rules	66
2.3.4.1. Mw becomes H after M	67
2.3.4.2. L becomes M after M	69
2.3.4.3. Mw becomes H after a H noun	70
2.3.5. Downstep, downdrift, and intonation	71
2.3.5.1. Downstep	71
2.3.5.2. Downdrift	72
2.3.5.3. Intonation	72
3. Nouns	75
3.1. Noun genders	75
3.1.1. The gender suffixes	76
3.1.1.1. Basic gender suffixes	76
3.1.1.2. Definite suffixes	77
3.1.1.3. Gender 1 singular	78
3.1.1.4. Gender 1 definite singular	79
3.1.1.5. Gender 1 plural	79
3.1.1.6. Gender 1 definite plural	81
3.1.1.7. Gender 2 singular	83
3.1.1.8. Gender 2 definite singular	84
3.1.1.9. Gender 2 plural	84
3.1.1.10. Gender 2 definite plural	85
3.1.1.11. Gender 3 singular	86
3.1.1.12. Gender 3 definite singular	87
3.1.1.13. Gender 3 plural	89
3.1.1.14. Gender 3 definite plural	90

3.1.1.15. Gender 4.....	92
3.1.1.16. Gender 4 definite.....	93
3.1.1.17. Gender 5.....	94
3.1.1.18. Gender 5 definite.....	94
3.1.2. Semantic values of the genders.....	95
3.1.2.1. Gender 1: human.....	96
3.1.2.2. Gender 2: augmentative.....	99
3.1.2.3. Gender 3: diminutive.....	102
3.1.2.4. Gender 4: collectives.....	103
3.1.3.5. Gender 5: pourables.....	104
3.2. Derivational noun morphology.....	105
3.2.1. The diminutive suffix.....	105
3.2.2. Nominalizing affixes.....	107
3.2.2.1. Bare nominalizations.....	108
3.2.2.2. <i>N-</i> nominalization.....	109
3.2.2.3. Locative nominalization.....	110
3.2.2.4. Object nominalization.....	112
3.2.2.5. Action nominalization.....	112
3.2.2.6. Time nominalization.....	113
3.2.2.7. Manner nominalization.....	113
3.2.2.8. Privative nominalization.....	114
3.2.2.9. Agentive nominalization.....	115
3.2.3. Noun compounds.....	116
3.2.3.1. Noun-noun compounds.....	116
3.2.3.2. Noun-verb compounds.....	119
3.2.3.3. Serial verb compounds.....	124
3.2.3.4. Phrasal compounds.....	125
4. Verbs.....	127
4.1. Verb prefixes.....	127
4.1.1. The intransitive prefix.....	127
4.1.2. The future prefix.....	128
4.2. Imperfective morphology.....	130
4.2.1. <i>-ji</i> and its variants.....	130
4.2.2. Vowel raising.....	136
4.2.3. <i>-ge</i> and its variants.....	137
4.2.4. Tone.....	138
4.2.5. Consonant mutation.....	140
4.2.6. Verbs with no separate imperfective form.....	141
4.2.7. The origin of the imperfective suffixes.....	141
4.3. The causative.....	142
4.4. The iterative / intensive.....	145
4.5. Incorporated objects.....	146

5. Other word classes	151
5.1. Pronouns and determiners	151
5.1.1. First and second person pronouns	151
5.1.1.1. Declarative first and second person pronouns	151
5.1.1.2. Non-declarative pronouns.....	153
5.1.1.3. First and second person reflexive pronouns.....	154
5.1.2. Third person pronouns and determiners	155
5.1.2.1. Anaphoric pronouns	156
5.1.2.2. Emphatic pronouns	157
5.1.2.3. Reflexive pronouns.....	157
5.1.2.4. Indefinite pronouns.....	158
5.1.2.5. Indefinite ‘other’ pronouns.....	159
5.1.2.6. Identifier pronouns	159
5.1.2.7. Demonstrative pronouns.....	160
5.1.2.8. Relative pronouns.....	161
5.1.2.9. Simple interrogative pronouns.....	161
5.1.2.10. Emphatic interrogative pronouns	162
5.1.2.11. Definite ‘other’ determiners	162
5.1.2.12. The independent possessive pronouns	163
5.2. Adjectives	164
5.3. Numerals	167
5.3.1. Cardinal numbers	167
5.3.2. Ordinal numbers.....	169
5.4. Quantifiers	171
5.5. Adverbs	172
5.5.1. Adverbs of quantity and manner	173
5.5.1.1. Ordinary adverbs of quantity and manner.....	173
5.5.1.2. Ideophones	174
5.5.2. Locative adverbs	175
5.5.3. Adverbs of time.....	175
5.6. Tense, aspect, and modality auxiliaries	177
5.7. Adpositions	178
5.7.1. Simple adpositions	178
5.7.2. Complex postpositions.....	181
5.8. Conjunctions	182
5.8.1. Noun phrase conjunctions	183
5.8.2. Clausal conjunctions	184
5.9. Question words	186
5.10. Clause final markers	186
5.11. Interjections	186
6. Noun phrases	189
6.1. Determiners	189
6.1.1. Pre-head determiners.....	189

6.1.2. Post-head determiners	194
6.1.2.1. Indefinite/partitive and indefinite 'other'	195
6.1.2.2. Interrogative determiners.....	198
6.1.2.3. Definite 'other' determiners	198
6.2. Genitive constructions.....	200
6.2.1. Simple genitives.....	200
6.2.2. Genitives with pronominal heads	205
6.3. Numerals and quantifiers	206
6.3.1. Cardinal numbers	206
6.3.2. Ordinal numbers.....	212
6.3.3. Quantifiers	213
6.3.3.1. Universal quantifiers	214
6.3.3.2. Exclusive quantifiers	216
6.3.3.3. Inclusive quantifiers	218
6.3.3.4. Emphatic modifiers	220
6.4. Adjectives	222
6.5. Descriptive genitive phrases	228
6.6. Reduplicated verb modifying phrases	230
6.7. Coordination of noun phrases.....	232
6.7.1. Conjunction.....	232
6.7.2. Disjunction.....	233
6.7.3. Agreement with coordinate noun phrases.....	233
7. Simple clauses	237
7.1. Basic word order in simple clauses	237
7.2. Identificational clauses.....	239
7.3. Copular clauses.....	241
7.3.1. The copulas.....	241
7.3.2. Locative and related functions	245
7.3.2.1. Locative copular clauses	245
7.3.2.2. Existential copular clauses.....	246
7.3.2.3. Possessive copular clauses	248
7.4. Verbal clauses.....	249
7.4.1. Problems of verb classification	249
7.4.2. Stative verbs.....	251
7.4.3. Active intransitive verbs	255
7.4.3.1. Simple active intransitive verbs.....	256
7.4.3.2. Intransitive verbs with locative objects	259
7.4.3.3. Intransitive verbs with predicate nominals	260
7.4.4. Transitive verbs.....	262
7.4.4.1. Prototypical transitive verbs.....	262
7.4.4.2. Transitive verbs with experiencer subjects	264
7.4.4.3. Verbs with recipient direct objects	264
7.4.4.4. Transitive verbs with predicate nominals	265

7.4.4.5. Transitive verbs with locative indirect objects	267
7.4.4.6. Transitive verbs with dative indirect objects	269
7.4.4.7. Transitive verbs with two indirect objects	271
7.4.4.8. Verbs with sentential complements	272
7.5. Peripheral case roles	274
7.5.1. Benefactive	274
7.5.2. Associative and instrumental	275
7.5.3. Manner	275
7.5.4. Standard of comparison	276
7.5.5. External locatives	276
7.5.6. Time	277
7.6. Adverbs in simple clauses	278
8. Serial verb constructions	283
8.1. Serials versus consecutives	283
8.2. Types of serial construction	289
8.2.1. The ‘come and go’ serial construction	289
8.2.2. The future serial construction	290
8.2.3. The subjunctive serial construction	291
8.2.4. The realis serial construction	292
8.3. Grammaticalized verbs	294
8.3.1. Deictic motion verbs	294
8.3.2. Temporal and aspectual verbs	295
8.3.3. Modality verbs	296
8.3.4. Case marking verbs	296
8.3.4.1. Instrument: <i>taha</i> ‘use’	296
8.3.4.2. Benefactive: <i>kan</i> ‘give’	297
8.3.4.3. Standard of comparison: <i>toro</i> ‘pass’	297
8.3.5. Serial verbs functioning as manner adverbs	298
8.3.5.1. <i>núró</i> ‘return, again’	298
8.3.5.2. <i>láhá</i> ‘let go, again’	299
8.3.5.3. <i>wyere</i> ‘be hot, quickly’	299
8.3.5.4. <i>fyàà</i> ‘hurry’	299
8.3.5.5. <i>tíí</i> ‘be straight, immediately’	300
8.3.5.6. <i>pàà</i> ‘surprise, suddenly’	301
8.3.5.7. <i>fyànà</i> and <i>fyènà</i> ‘be first’	301
8.3.5.8. <i>sòò</i> ‘be early in the morning’	302
8.3.5.9. <i>yaa</i> ‘fashion, do well’	302
8.3.5.10. <i>pee</i> ‘lie in wait for, stealthily’	303
8.3.5.11. <i>ɲwɔhɔ</i> ‘hide, secretly’	303
8.3.5.12. <i>màhà</i> ‘do all over’	304
8.3.5.13. <i>jwo</i> ‘say’	304

8.3.5.14. <i>pa</i> ‘come’ and <i>sa</i> ‘go’	305
8.3.5.15. <i>kwɔ</i> ‘finish, finally’	306
8.3.5.16. <i>kanha</i> ‘be tired, finally’	306
9. Aspect, tense, modality, and negation	307
9.1. Aspect	309
9.1.1. Perfective versus imperfective	309
9.1.2. Progressive	311
9.1.3. Habitual	316
9.1.4. Other means of coding durativity	320
9.1.5. Inceptive	322
9.1.6. Terminative	324
9.1.7. Repetitive and distributive	327
9.2. Tense	328
9.2.1. Present	328
9.2.2. Past	329
9.2.3. Future	334
9.2.4. Perfect	337
9.2.5. ‘Still’, ‘again’, ‘no longer’, and ‘not yet’	345
9.2.6. Coding sequence: the narrative/sequential	348
9.2.7. Combinations of tense-aspects	353
9.2.7.1. Combinations with past	353
9.2.7.2. Combinations with progressive	358
9.3. Modality	363
9.3.1. Realis versus irrealis	363
9.3.2. Epistemic modality	364
9.3.2.1. Increased certainty	364
9.3.2.2. Reduced certainty	367
9.3.2.3. Counterfact	369
9.3.3. Obligation	369
9.3.4. Ability	371
9.3.5. Purpose	374
9.3.6. Modality in subordinate clauses	375
9.4. Negation	376
9.4.1. The marking of negation	376
9.4.1.1. Clause final negative marking	376
9.4.1.2. Negative marking in auxiliary position	379
9.4.1.3. Negative polarity items	385
9.4.2. The scope of negation	387
9.4.3. Negation in complex sentences	389
9.4.4. Word and phrase negation	396

10. Transitivity and voice	399
10.1. Transitivity in Supyire	399
10.2. Detransitivization	401
10.2.1. Passive	401
10.2.2. Verbs which allow patient suppression.....	407
10.2.3. Coding less affected patients as indirect objects	409
10.3. Transitivity	413
10.3.1. The morphological causative.....	413
10.3.2. Unmarked transitivity	414
10.4. The reflexive and transitivity	416
11. Complement clauses	421
11.1. Types of complement clause	421
11.2. Modality verbs	425
11.3. Manipulative verbs.....	429
11.4. Perception verbs.....	438
11.5. Verbs of speech and cognition	443
11.5.1. Direct versus indirect speech.....	443
11.5.2. Na complements.....	446
11.5.3. Question complements	452
11.6. Sentential subjects.....	457
11.7. The status of complement clauses	460
12. Focus and topic constructions	467
12.1. Focus constructions.....	467
12.1.1. The cleft focus construction	468
12.1.2. Cleft focus constructions in copular clauses.....	475
12.1.3. The contrastive genitive construction	477
12.2. Topic constructions	478
12.2.1. Introducing important new topics with clefts	478
12.2.2. Left dislocation	479
12.2.3. The topic marker <i>kəni</i>	484
13. Relative clauses	487
13.1. Basic structure and function of relative clauses	487
13.2. The coding of the relativized noun phrase	491
13.2.1. Fronted relativized noun phrases.....	491
13.2.2. Clause internal relativized noun phrases	498
13.3. The coreferential noun phrase in the main clause	501
13.4. Non-referential relativized noun phrases.....	505
13.4.1. Distributive relativized noun phrases	505
13.4.2. Conditional relative clauses.....	507
13.4.3. Relative clauses modifying predicate nominals	510
13.5. Clauses modifying referential indefinite noun phrases.....	511

13.6. Negative relative clauses.....	512
13.7. The syntactic status of relative clauses	513
14. Non-declarative speech acts.....	517
14.1. Manipulative speech acts	518
14.1.1. “Bare” imperatives.....	520
14.1.2. Subjunctive imperatives	522
14.1.3. Prohibitives	524
14.1.4. Hortatives.....	524
14.2. Questions	526
14.2.1. Yes/no questions	527
14.2.1.1. Basic structure of yes/no questions.....	527
14.2.1.2. Bias in yes/no questions	529
14.2.1.3. Focus in yes/no questions	530
14.2.1.4. Alternative questions	532
14.2.2. Constituent questions.....	532
14.2.2.1. Basic structure of constituent questions.....	533
14.2.2.2. <i>jò</i> ‘who, whom, whose’	536
14.2.2.3. <i>nàhá</i> ‘what’	537
14.2.2.4. <i>dí</i> ‘how’	538
14.2.2.5. <i>jùù/ì</i> ‘how much, how many’	539
14.2.2.6. Interrogative determiners.....	540
14.2.2.7. <i>taá</i> ‘where’	541
14.2.3. Complex questions	542
14.2.4. ‘What about...?’ questions.....	545
14.2.5. The non-interrogative use of questions.....	547
15. Interclausal connections.....	549
15.1. Adverbial clauses	549
15.1.1. Time clauses.....	550
15.1.1.1. Realis ‘when’ clauses	551
15.1.1.2. Irrealis ‘when’ clauses.....	553
15.1.1.3. ‘Before’ clauses.....	555
15.1.1.4. ‘After’ clauses.....	556
15.1.1.5. Simultaneous time clauses	558
15.1.1.6. ‘Till’ clauses.....	561
15.1.1.7. ‘Since’ clauses.....	564
15.1.2. Locative clauses	566
15.1.3. Manner clauses.....	567
15.1.4. Comparison clauses	568
15.1.5. Conditional clauses	570
15.1.5.1. Simple irrealis conditionals	571
15.1.5.2. Low probability conditionals	572
15.1.5.3. Negative conditionals	574

15.1.5.4. Counterfactual conditionals	576
15.1.5.5. Concessive conditionals.....	578
15.1.5.6. Other uses of the conditional.....	580
15.1.6. Reason and result clauses.....	580
15.1.7. Concessive clauses.....	582
15.1.8. Substitutive clauses.....	584
15.1.9. Additive clauses.....	585
15.1.10. Purpose clauses.....	585
15.1.11. The discourse-thematic function of adverbial clauses	588
15.2. Coordinate clauses	591
15.2.1. Paraphrase.....	591
15.2.2. Contrast.....	592
15.2.3. Disjunction.....	596
15.3. Clause chaining in narrative.....	597
15.3.1. The narrative auxiliary and finiteness	598
15.3.2. Switch reference	602
Appendix 1: Texts.....	607
Appendix 2: Vocabulary	675
Notes.....	701
References	738
Subject index	745

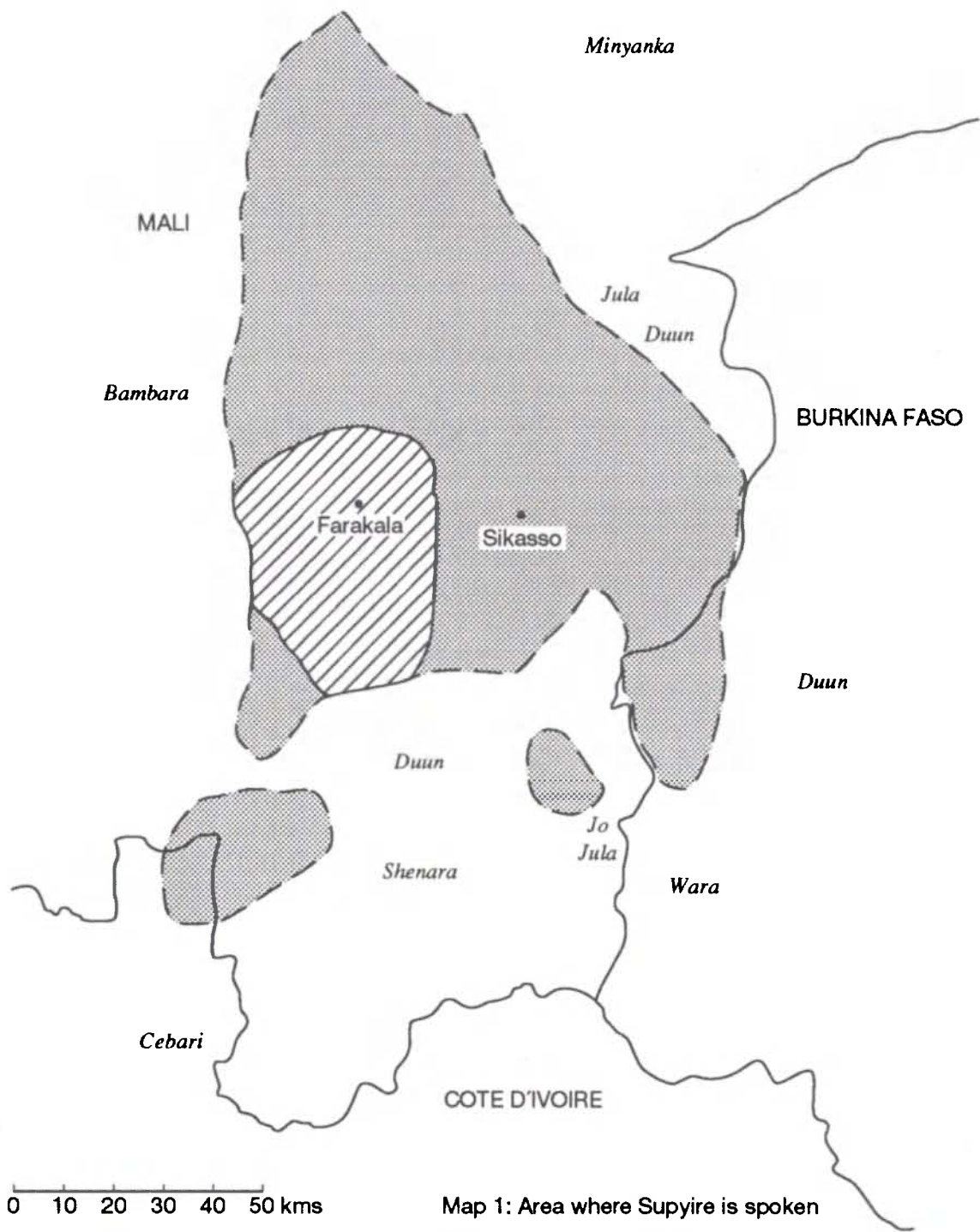
Tables

1. Consonant phonemes	8
2. Vowel phonemes	28
3. Noun class consonants.....	76
4. Basic noun gender suffixes.....	77
5. Definite noun gender suffixes.....	77
6. Declarative first and second person pronouns	152
7. Non-declarative first and second person pronouns	154
8. First and second person reflexive pronouns.....	155
9. Anaphoric pronouns	156
10. Emphatic pronouns	157
11. Reflexive pronouns.....	158
12. Indefinite pronouns.....	158
13. Indefinite 'other' pronouns.....	159
14. Simple identifier pronouns	160
15. Deictic identifier pronouns	160
16. Demonstrative pronouns	161
17. Relative pronouns.....	161
18. Simple interrogative pronouns.....	162
19. Emphatic interrogative pronouns	162
20. Definite 'other' determiners	163
21. The independent possessive pronouns	164
22. Quantifiers.....	171
23. Auxiliaries	178
24. Simple postpositions.....	179
25. Prepositions	180
26. Complex postpositions.....	181
27. Clausal conjunctions.....	185
28. Question words.....	186
29. Clause final markers.....	187
30. Copulas.....	242
31. Aspect, tense, and modality auxiliaries.....	308
32. Combinations with past tense	353
33. Combinations with progressive aspect.....	358
34. Negative marking in auxiliary position.....	380
35. Occurrences of common transitive verbs in various clause types	402
36. Proportion of passives in narrative and procedural texts	405
37. Occurrences of verbs allowing patient suppression in various clause types	407
38. Modality verbs.....	425
39. Manipulative verbs	431
40. Verbs which take <i>na</i> complements.....	447
41. Question words.....	533

Abbreviations

ADJ	adjectivizing prefix
ADV	adversative particle
ATTEN	attenuation particle
C	consonant
CAUS	causative verb suffix
COMP	high tone complementizer
COND	conditional auxiliary
CONC	concessive conditional auxiliary
COUNTERFACT	counterfactual conditional auxiliary
DAT	dative postposition
DEF	definite noun gender suffix
DEM	demonstrative pronoun or determiner
DIM	diminutive noun suffix
DIST	distributive noun connective
DS	different subject narrative conjunction
EMPH	emphatic determiner, pronoun, or copula
EXCL	exclamative particle
FOC	focus particle
FORM	formal past auxiliary
FP	future tense prefix
FUT	future tense auxiliary
G1S	gender 1 singular
G1P	gender 1 plural
G2S	gender 2 singular
G2P	gender 2 plural
G3S	gender 3 singular
G3P	gender 3 plural
G4	gender 4
G5	gender 5
GEN	genitive particle
H	high tone
HAB	habitual auxiliary
IMPER	imperative auxiliary
IMPFV	imperfective aspect
IND	indefinite pronoun or determiner
INTERR	interrogative pronoun or determiner
IP	intransitive verb prefix
L	low tone
LOC	locative
M	mid tone
Ms	strong mid tone

Mw	weak mid tone
N	nasal consonant
NARR	narrative auxiliary
NEG	negative
NF	non-final intonation
NOM	nominalizing prefix
NONDECL	nondeclarative pronoun
NP	noun phrase
PERF	perfect auxiliary
PL	plural
POL	clause final politeness marker
POSS	independent possessive pronoun
POT	potential auxiliary
PROG	progressive auxiliary
PROH	prohibitive or negative subjunctive auxiliary
Q	question marker
REC	recent past auxiliary
REFL	reflexive and reciprocal pronoun suffix
REL	relative clause marker or relative pronoun suffix
REM	remote (past or future) auxiliary
SC	serial verb connective
SEQ	sequential auxiliary (= narrative auxiliary)
SING	singular
SS	same subject narrative conjunction
SSC	subjunctive serial verb connective
SUBJUNC	subjunctive auxiliary
TC	time adverbial clause marker
TOP	topic marker
UL	underlying tone
V	vowel



Map 1: Area where Supyire is spoken

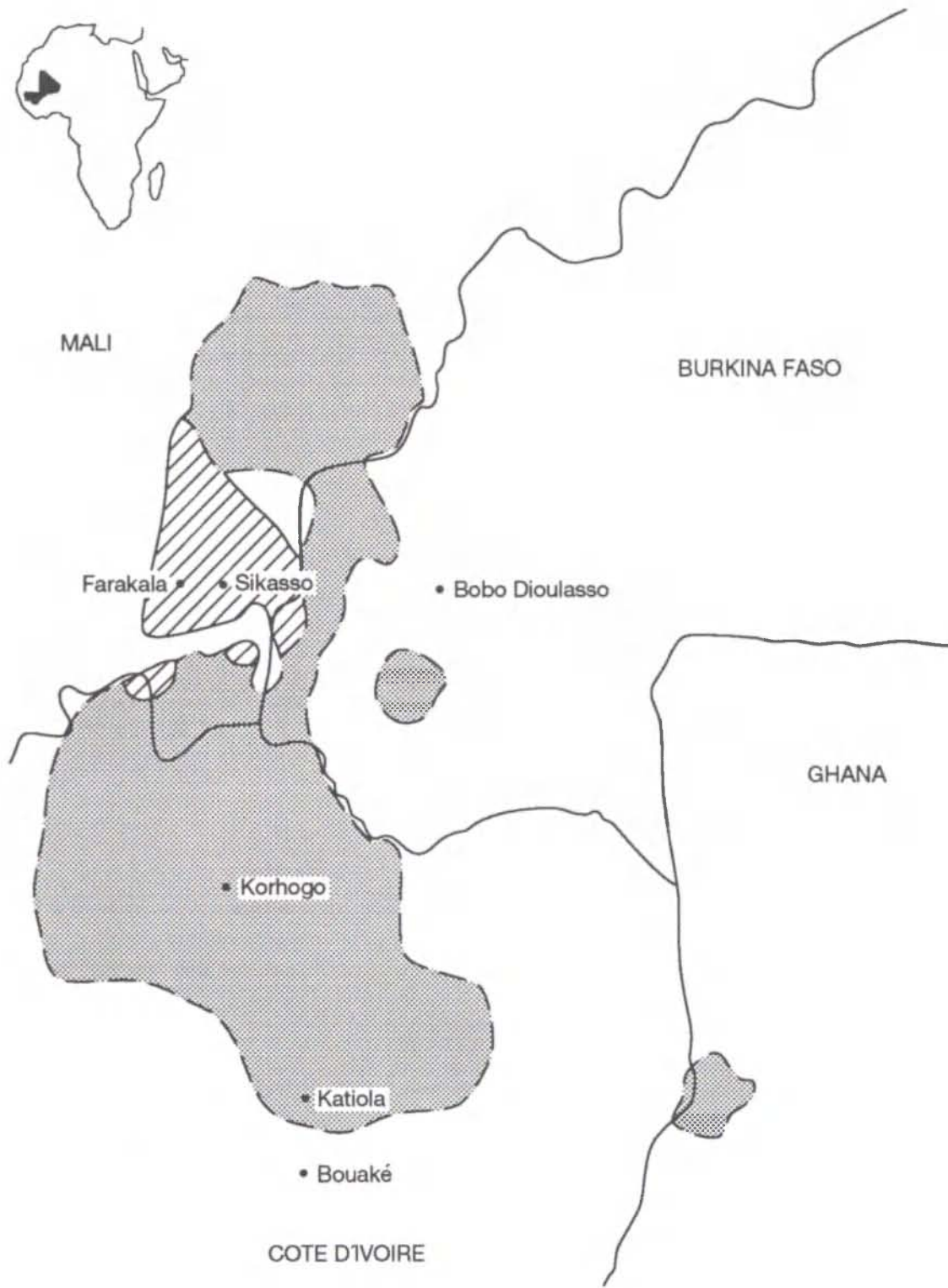
Italicized name = neighboring language

0 10 20 30 40 50 kms

— international boundary

▨ area where Supyire is spoken

▧ area where Kampwo dialect is spoken



0 50 100 150 200 250 km

Map 2: Area where Senufo languages are spoken

- international boundary
- ▨ Senufo language area
- ▧ Supyire language area

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The people

The Supyire language is spoken by the Supyire people. The noun *sùpyiré*, in effect, has two meanings: 'the people' and 'the language spoken by the people'. The word is used as a name in both senses in this grammar. The Supyire live in southeastern Mali in the region of Sikasso (see map 1). By tradition they came from the south, and this is probably historically accurate since the main body of the Senufo language group, to which Supyire belongs, is located in northern Côte d'Ivoire (see map 2).

The Supyire are peasant farmers. They cultivate various kinds of cereals and keep livestock. Traditional political organization did not go beyond the village level. They have, however, been incorporated into various political entities in the region. In the last 125 years they have successively been part of the Jula kingdom of Sikasso, French West Africa, and finally the country of Mali.

The dialect described in this grammar is spoken in the region of Kampwo, to the west of Sikasso and bordering the Bambara-speaking region of Gana (not to be confused with the country of Ghana). The data was collected in the village of Farakala, located 40 kilometers west of Sikasso on the main road to the capital Bamako, and from neighboring villages, none more than 15 kilometers from Farakala.

1.2. The language

Supyire belongs to the Senufo group of the Gur family of Niger-Congo. Although no systematic reconstruction has yet been done, preliminary evidence indicates that the Senufo languages can be divided into northern, central, and southern branches. Supyire is the southernmost member of the northern group, which also includes Minyanka (spoken in Mali to the north of Supyire), Nanerge, and Sucite (spoken in Burkina Faso). All of these languages are quite closely related to each other. Supyire is separated from the central Senufo languages to the south by a narrow band of Mande-speaking people.

The Kampwo dialect described in this grammar is only one of several. At this point little is known of the degree to which the dialects diverge from each other. Within the Kampwo area the speech is fairly homogenous, and I had no difficulty in communicating with people 30 kilometers to the south or

20 kilometers to the north of Farakala. Further afield, however, there are notable differences which call for investigation.

The Senufo languages are like other Gur languages in having a suffixal noun class system. They are atypical, however, in having a word order like that of Mande languages, to which they are geographically contiguous. The chief peculiarity of this word order is the placement of the direct object before the verb, but of all indirect objects after the verb. This order is an areal phenomenon, being also shared by Songai to the north, and, to some extent, by the Kru languages to the south.

The Senufo languages resemble the Mande languages in numerous other ways besides word order. Many of these similarities are noted in this grammar, and many more would doubtless come to light if the matter were studied systematically. It is fairly clear that there has been a long history of bilingualism in Bambara (or its diaspora Jula) among the Supyire. Many lexical items and quite a few grammatical ones have been borrowed from Bambara, and it is probable that several grammatical constructions are calques on the corresponding Bambara constructions. An effort has been made to indicate Bambara borrowings in the examples. The Bambara forms given are taken from Bailleul (1981), though it should be borne in mind that the dialect recorded there is standard Bambara, whereas the source dialects for Supyire loans are normally Gana and Sikasso Jula.

1.3. Previous research

The only published work on Supyire prior to my own work is an article by Welmers (1950b) based on one week's investigation of the language. Welmers, who did not speak French, was obliged to communicate with his informant (who came from the village of Molasso, four kilometers to the south of Farakala) through a missionary, Ralph Herber. Considering the difficulties of this method and the shortness of the time spent, the amount of information contained in the article is remarkable. The basic phonological and morphological characteristics of the language are outlined, and a few notes on syntax included. Certain inaccuracies of detail were unavoidable, however.

Ralph Herber wrote an unpublished pedagogical grammar (n.d.) which he used to teach other missionaries the language. He considerably refined the work done by Welmers, particularly in the area of tone, and I am indebted to him for making his notes available to me, and also for answering numerous questions.

Turning to other Senufo languages, the picture is not much different. Most work has been done on the central Senufo languages, spoken in northern Côte d'Ivoire. Welmers (1950a) is a sketch of Senanri, the dialect spoken in Korhogo, along the same lines as his article on Supyire. Mills (1984) is a phonology, and Mills (1987) is a pedagogical grammar of the same dialect.

Prost (1964) contains sketches of Minyanka, Senari, and Karaboro. Cauvin (1980) contains a brief sketch of Minyanka. Cissé (1985a, b) are brief treatments of aspects of Shenara. Several articles dealing largely with phonology and morphology have been published: Clamens (1952), and Hérault and Mlanhoro (1973) on Tagbana, Jordan (1978) on Nafaara, Laughren (1976, and 1977) on Cebari and Palaka, Garber (1991) on Sicite.

A few unpublished dissertations and theses also deal with Senufo languages. Of these the most comprehensive is Laughren (1973) on Cebari. Boutin (1981) describes the morphology and basic syntax of Fondondo. Boese (1983) is an analysis of narratives in Nyarafolo. Garber (1987) is an analysis of Sicite tone. Unpublished lexicons have also been compiled for various languages, mostly by missions for their own use.

1.4. The data base

The present grammar is based on research begun in 1980. I lived in the village of Farakala from 1980 to 1983 and from 1986 to 1988. During most of that time my principal consultant on the Supyire language was Ely Sanogo of Farakala. Others who helped me were Yaya Sanogo, Lamin Sanogo, Kleno Sanogo, Kafono Sanogo, and Brema Diamoutane, all from Farakala. With their help I recorded and transcribed 97 texts ranging in length from 10 to 1,500 clauses. In this collection narratives predominate, but also included are many procedural ('how to') and expository discourses, as well as several lengthy conversations. The speakers were from Farakala and surrounding villages and ranged in age from teenagers to old people in their 80's and 90's (one old man had been a slave and was freed at the time of the French conquest). About half of the texts were contributed by women.

This collection of texts is referred to as the corpus in the present grammar. Judgments of frequency (and actual counts) are based on it. I have tried to make it as representative as possible of the speech behavior of the people living in Kampwo, but it should always be born in mind that it is only a finite sample of such behavior. Although of course elicitation was used extensively in my investigations, very little which is based on elicitation alone is included in this description. It is assumed that a collection of texts of this size and variety will contain most of the major grammatical structures of the language.

1.5. Aims of this grammar

The principal aim of this grammar is to provide a description of the basic structures of Supyire within a functional-typological framework.¹ Some of the basic assumptions of this approach are discussed briefly in this section.

The first assumption is that a language is most insightfully described in functional terms. Language behavior (like most human and indeed animal behavior) is for the most part goal directed and purposeful. The forms of a language (its lexical items and syntactic structures) are analogous to tools. Accordingly, this description frequently employs the verb 'use'. Speakers are said to use such and such a construction in order to express such and such a meaning. More than convention is involved in the linking of a given form with a certain range of functions. Just as flint is a better material for cutting than a vine, while a vine is a better material for tying something than flint, so a given linguistic structure is better suited for some jobs than for others.

In line with the functional approach is the conceptualization of language as "code". In a basic sense the forms of a language exist for the sake of what they are used to express and not vice versa. The use of the concept of "code" can be misleading, however, if it conjures up the idea of an arbitrary link. The language code, far from being arbitrary, is pervasively shaped by what it is coding. This shaping results in the essentially iconic nature of syntax.

Within a code as complex as a natural language, subparts are linked in subsystems in highly complex ways. Another basic assumption guiding this description is that it is useful to compare different languages to see how the subparts interact with each other. It is essential to this typological approach to describe phenomena in comparable terms. While like any language Sopyire has particularities which require special treatment, a concerted effort has been made to use generally accepted terminology which will facilitate cross-linguistic comparison.

A final guiding assumption is that the current state in a language cannot be understood apart from its history. To return to the tool analogy: in order to accomplish a novel task, a tool user will select and perhaps modify some tool whose form is appropriate for the new task. In general, one does not create a totally new tool from scratch. Thus I may use a screwdriver to pry off a lid, but would be unlikely to try to perform the same task with a plastic bag. The plastic bag, however, might come in handy to cover a hole in my thatch, where a screwdriver would be useless. Neither of these tools was originally designed for the purpose to which I put them, but their forms (dictated by their original functions) lend themselves to "metaphorical" extension to perform other functions. In a similar way, speakers use the forms of their language to perform novel tasks.

In order to patch my roof well, I may split open the plastic bag and spread it out. Although I have modified its form to adapt it to its new function, it still retains many of the basic characteristics and limitations of its original form. Historical change in language is analogous. Though a given form may take on a new function, and be modified in the process, it often continues to

retain many of its original characteristics long after the original function is forgotten.

The historical study of Senufo languages is in its infancy. All too often information which might elucidate peculiarities of Supyire grammar is simply unavailable. Every effort has been made to indicate etymologies where possible, and quite a bit of speculation about historical antecedents is included. Much of this will doubtless be superseded, and all speculations should be treated as such.

1.6. Typological characteristics

Given the typological aims of this grammar, it may be helpful at the outset to mention some ways in which Supyire may be interesting. In the phonology, the complications of the tonal system are certainly worthy of note, in particular the system of four phonemic tones within a three-level register. In syntax, the word order (with direct object preceding the verb but all indirect objects following it) alluded to in section 1.2 above is of interest. Another point of interest is the extensive use of serial verb constructions in many parts of the grammar.

In complex constructions, the rarity of true embedding is of note. Complement clauses and relative clauses are placed alongside the "main" clause in a nearly paratactic way. The beginnings of embedding can be detected in both cases, showing that Supyire is at an interesting stage of syntactic development. Finally, clause chaining is used in connected discourse, especially narrative, with a system of switch-reference conjunctions unique to Senufo languages.

1.7. A word on the examples

The majority of examples used are taken from the text collection alluded to in section 1.5 above. Occasionally elicited examples are used in the interests of clarity. Glossing presents a few problems. The sex-based gender system of English pronouns is a constant annoyance. The gender 1 pronouns of Supyire are used for human beings of both sexes. In elicited examples the gloss 's/he' is used for the gender 1 singular pronouns to indicate that a person of either sex could be intended. In examples taken from texts, the gloss used is simply 'he' or 'she' depending on the sex of the participant referred to. It should always be born in mind, however, that the gloss adds information which is not actually present in the Supyire.

On the other hand, the glosses employed on occasion leave out information, in the interests of avoiding irrelevant clutter. Thus in much of the grammar, pronouns of various genders are glossed as 'it', without

indicating the particular gender involved. In a similar way, definite noun suffixes are simply labeled 'DEF', without indicating their gender. Anyone interested in the precise gender of a pronoun or suffix will find the tables in chapters 3 and 5 handy.

Another case of underdifferentiation in glossing is the narrative conjunctions *kà* and *mà*. These are usually glossed simply 'and', although they usually mean something like 'and then' and also include switch reference information: *kà* indicates different subject, *mà* same subject as the preceding clause.

The differences in word order between English and Supyire have made the free translations of multi-line examples awkward at times. This problem is especially acute with relative clauses, which in Supyire are preposed to the main clause rather than embedded. In chapter 13 accordingly many examples have a more natural translation appended at the end labeled 'Freely...'. This translation is closer to the functional equivalent in English, though of course it is further from the Supyire form.

Chapter 2

Phonology

Supyire phonology is complex and interesting enough to merit a full-scale study on its own. This chapter is intended to give the essentials only, in order to make the remainder of the grammar intelligible. Some general remarks about the phonology as a whole will be followed by sections on consonants, vowels, and tones.

The orthography used in the examples throughout this grammar is phonemic and follows the guidelines and rules laid down by the *Direction Nationale d'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de Linguistique Appliquée*, a sub-ministry of the Ministry of Education of the Government of Mali. Most letters have approximately the values which they have in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), including the “special characters” *ɲ* (alveopalatal nasal stop), *ŋ* (velar nasal stop), *ɛ* (low-mid front unrounded vowel), and *ɔ* (low-mid back rounded vowel). Exceptions to the IPA values are: use of *y* for the palatal approximant [j] (rather than a high front rounded vowel); use of *j* for the voiced alveopalatal affricate [dʒ] (rather than a palatal approximant); use of *c* for the voiceless alveopalatal affricate [tʃ]; use of the digraphs *sh* and *zh* for the alveopalatal sibilant fricatives [ʃ] and [ʒ]; use of *h* for glottal stop [ʔ]; use of a double vowel to indicate vowel length, e.g. *aa* for [a:]; and use of *n* following a vowel to indicate nasalization, e.g. *an* for [ã].¹ Tones are marked using accents over the vowels: *á* is high tone and *à* is low tone. Mid tone is unmarked. Various tone combinations on a single vowel are marked as follows: *ā* mid-low; *â* high-low; *ã* mid-high; *ǎ* low-high. The apostrophe (') is used to indicate tonal downstep (see section 2.3.5.1). In this chapter the phonetic realization of a word is frequently given in phonetic brackets.

Metrical structure plays a role in every area of the phonology and morphology. In general there is one stressed syllable per lexical root. Affixes, clitics, and most other grammatical morphemes (e.g. pronouns, tense-aspect auxiliaries) do not have stress, although they may combine with each other to form phonological words complete with stress. In the majority of lexical roots (including all verbs) the initial syllable is stressed, but there are a number of roots with an unstressed initial syllable. Roots usually keep their stress in compounds, so that a two-root compound will have two stressed syllables. Stress is not written in the orthography.

There are no closed syllables in Supyire. Syllables are basically CV or CVV. A few grammatical words (e.g. the pronouns *u* and *uru*) begin with a V syllable. Only one kind of consonant cluster occurs: nasal + stop. Such a cluster may occur initially as in (1a) below, or medially as in (1b):

- (1) a. *m̂pi* 'hare'
 b. *bòŋke* 'the baboon'

Two remarks are necessary. The initial nasal in (1a) is not syllabic, even though it has its own tone. There *are* syllabic nasals in Supyire, but they arise through vowel elision as will be seen in section 2.2.2.4 below. The much more common clusters under consideration are pronounced like prenasalized stops. The second remark follows from the first. It might seem that the initial syllable of (1b) above should be CVN, i.e. closed with the nasal. However, when asked to pronounce such words very slowly, native speakers invariably place the [ŋ] with the following syllable rather than with the preceding one: *bo-ŋke* and not *boŋ-ke*.²

2.1. Consonants

Table 1 gives the consonant phonemes of Kampwo Supyire.

Table 1. Consonant phonemes

		labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	-voice	p	t	c	k	h [ʔ]
	+ voice	b	d	j	g	
fricatives	-voice	f	s	sh		
	+ voice	v	z	zh		
nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
approximants			l	y	w	

/c/ and /j/ are phonetically affricates: [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively. The digraphs /sh/ and /zh/ are used for [ʃ] and [ʒ] respectively. /h/ is the symbol used for glottal stop [ʔ]. Not all of these phonemes enjoy full credentials. In the following discussion it will become apparent that some of them are marginal in various ways.

Of note in this inventory is the absence of labio-velar stops, which are found in most Senufo languages. Cebaara, for example, has both voiced and voiceless labio-velars (e.g. *kpaʔa* 'house', *gbaʔalagà* 'bedbugs' Mills

1984: 93). /kp/ was voiced in northern Senufo dialects, merging with /gb/ (e.g. Shenara *gbaʔa* ‘house’, *gbaʔalaga* ‘bedbugs’ Cissé 1986, cf. Sucite *gbaxa* ‘house’ Garber 1987: 335). Finally, in Kampwo Supyire, /gb/ was simplified to /b/: *baga* ‘house’, *bàhàgà* bedbug. This has led to the curious situation of a disproportionately high number of roots beginning with /b/. Discounting loans,³ there are over five times as many roots beginning with voiceless as with voiced alveolar and palatal stops. The proportion is even lower for voiced velars (see discussion in 2.1.1 below). But roots beginning with /b/ actually outnumber those beginning with /p/. For roots beginning with stops, the ratio voiced/voiceless for the four points of articulation is as follows:

(2) b/p	=	1.03
d/t	=	.18
j/c	=	.19
g/k	=	.005

2.1.1. Stops

Voiceless stops are restricted in their distribution to three environments, illustrated here with /p/:

(3) a. word initial:	<i>pùcwə</i>	[pu'tʃwə]	‘girl’
b. medially in a stressed syllable:	<i>nupéé</i>	[nu'pe:]	‘bull’
c. following a nasal:	<i>finimpe</i>	[ʔin'mpe]	‘pus’

Voiced stops may occur in the above positions as well as medially in unstressed syllables, with the following proviso: in the latter environment /j/ does not occur,⁴ and /b/ is considerably rarer than either /d/ or /g/.

The status of /g/ and /ʔ/ is precarious. Nine of the ten /g/-initial words recorded to date are borrowed from French or Bambara.⁵ Without these /g/-initial words, [k] and [g] are in complimentary distribution. /g/ has been retained in the orthography largely because stress is not marked, and therefore in the middle of words the presence of orthographic /k/ (not preceded by /ŋ/) indicates the beginning of a stressed syllable. As will be seen below, [r] is used orthographically for identical reasons.

/h/ (= [ʔ]) is likewise a marginal phoneme. It is limited to intervocalic environments, and may only follow a short, stressed vowel. Furthermore, this vowel must be low (/ɛ/, /ɔ/, or /a/), a restriction which leads to widespread diphthongization in morphological processes as will be described below. Many, perhaps most, glottal stops in Supyire are reflexes of earlier /g/. This is evident in borrowings (e.g. *bàhà* ‘poison’ from Bambara *bàgà*; *fānhà* [fāʔà] ‘power’ from Bambara *fāngà* [fāgà]) and in such alternations as

-gi- / -hi [ʔi] ‘gender 3 plural’. Some glottals, however, appear to be inherited from the proto-language (e.g. the root for ‘water’, *lwɔhɔ* in Supyire, has a glottal stop in all the other Senufo languages for which I have information.)

Five processes affecting stops will now be examined in turn.

2.1.1.1. Flapping

/d/ and /g/ in unstressed, non-initial syllables (and not preceded by a nasal) become flaps or taps. The flap variant of **/d/** is an alveolar [r]. Although it is only a positional variant of **/d/**, *r* is written in the orthography primarily for two reasons: a) stress is not written, so the presence of an intervocalic orthographic **/d/** indicates a stressed syllable, whereas orthographic *r* indicates an unstressed syllable (foot-in-progress, so to speak); b) as a bridge to the official language French and other national languages such as Bambara.

Flapped **/g/** is phonetically a uvular tap [R]. The mention in Garber (1987: 12) of “the Supyire velar fricative” is inaccurate. The sound in question is neither velar nor fricative. (A phonetic velar fricative *does* occur in Supyire as the reflex of secondary release between a velar stop and **/a/**, see section 2.1.5 below.) Since **/g/** in stressed syllables is *rarissime*, and roots with **/ŋg/** are also uncommon (though see discussion of **/w/** below) [R] has a much greater text frequency than [g]. A similar situation in Sucite has led Garber to adopt the symbol **/x/** rather than **/g/** for this sound (1987: 12). There is some variation between speakers on the extent to which they are willing to flap. My principal informant, Ely Sanogo, would occasionally *not* flap the second of two successive **/g/s**. Thus in his speech *tadugugo* ‘place to go up’ could be pronounced either [ta'duR^uRo] or [ta'duR^ugo].

2.1.1.2. Voicing

When a voiceless stop in an unstressed syllable is suffixed to a word in a morphological process, the stop is voiced unless it is “protected” by a nasal. If the original stop was **/t/** or **/k/**, the resulting **/d/** and **/g/** are flapped to [r] and [R]. In the following data from noun morphology, notice that in the (a) examples the stop is protected by a root final nasal and thus does not voice, whereas in the (b) examples voicing takes place.⁶

(4) gender 1 definite plural: **-pii**

a.	<i>cínN-</i>	+	-pii	⇒	<i>cínm̄píí</i>	[tʃí̄m̄:pi:]
	leopard		DEF(G1P)		‘the leopards’	

b. *cyèe* + *-pii* ⇒ *cyèebíí*
 women 'the women'

(5) gender 2 definite singular: *-ke*

a. *bòN-* + *-ke* ⇒ *bòŋke*
 baboon DEF(G2S) 'the baboon'

b. *ba-* + *-ke* ⇒ *bagé* ['baRe]
 house 'the house'

(6) gender 4 definite: *-te*

a. *kòòN-* + *-te* ⇒ *kòònte*
 cotton DEF(G4) 'the cotton'

b. *kyara* + *-te* ⇒ *kyaàre* /*kyaàde*/ ['kxa:re]
 meat 'the meat'

Clitics may also undergo voicing. Individual clitics and speakers differ among themselves in behavior. For example the clause final subordinator *ké* (which marks relative clauses, adverbial time clauses, and locative questions) is almost always voiced (and flapped) by some speakers except when it follows a word ending in an unstressed /gV/. Other speakers voice it less frequently, with variation even in identical contexts.⁷ The most that one can say (short of doing a full-scale sociolinguistic study) is that voicing of *ké* is most common when it immediately follows a stressed syllable, as in (7a) (though even here it is not obligatory), becomes increasingly less common with the addition of unstressed syllables preceding, as in (7b), and is least common following unstressed /gV/, as in (7c) (though even here an enthusiastic voicer is not deterred.)

(7) a. *U à pa gé...* ['paRe]
 s/he PERF come TC
 'When s/he had come...'

b. *Kóme mbèmbààŋí nyé pi shwàhɔle e ké/gé* [ke/Re]
 since discord be them between at TC
 'Since they didn't get along...'

c. *U a sigè ké...* ['sɪR^əke]
 he PERF suspect SCM
 'When he suspected something...'

In contrast to *ké*, the voicing of the conditional auxiliary *ká* is partially dependent on the grammatical class of the preceding word. If that word is a first or second person pronoun, or a third person anaphoric pronoun, *ká* is

pronounced with a glottal stop [aʔa] or [ʔa] (see section 2.1.1.3 below). If the preceding word is another auxiliary or an indefinite pronoun, *ká* is obligatorily voiced (and flapped) to [Rá] (as in 8a).⁸ More personal choice is allowed following other types of pronouns (demonstratives, relatives, emphatics, see 8b), and occasionally voicing occurs also following a noun ending in a stressed vowel (see 8c). In other contexts (i.e. following nouns ending in unstressed syllables) voicing is definitely frowned upon (cf. 8d):

- (8) a. *Wà gá ñkwú...* ['waRa]
 IND.G1s COND die...
 'If/when someone dies...'
- b. *Uru gá/kà ke kan...* ['uruRa] or ['uruka]
 EMPH.G1s COND ten give
 'If *he* gives ten...'
- c. *Shin gá/ká jwó...* ['ʃiRa] or ['ʃika]
 person COND say
 'If a person says...'
- d. *Kàñhe kà m̀péè...* ['kàʔɛkà]
 village COND big
 'If the village is big...'

In examples in this grammar the consonant will be written voiced (e.g. *gé* and *gá*) if the speaker so pronounced it.

2.1.1.3. Glottalization

The conversion of /g/ to [ʔ] has already been mentioned. Several grammatical morphemes exhibit an alternation between /g/ (or [R]) and [ʔ]. In some cases the glottal form is at least partially predictable, as in the gender 3 plural noun suffix *-gili* (see chapter 3, section 3.1.1.13). In others it is lexicalized with certain roots, as in the case of the gender 2 singular suffix *-gV* (see chapter 3, section 3.1.1.7).

The alternation of the conditional auxiliary *ká* with the voiced variant *gá* was discussed above. This auxiliary also has a variant *-há* ([ʔa]) which is obligatory following simple non-demonstrative pronouns. In the case of the first and second person and third person gender 1, the vowel of the pronoun is diphthongized (for details see section 2.2.1.1 below). The other class pronouns (genders 2-5) all replace their vowels with [a]. The pronoun and conditional auxiliary together form a 'CVCV foot. Some examples of this combination are:

(9)	<i>mu</i>	+	<i>ká</i>	⇒	<i>Mu ahá fwóro...</i>	['mwaʔá] ⁹
	you		COND		'If you go out...'	
	<i>mìi</i>	+	<i>ká</i>	⇒	<i>Mìi àhá fwóro...</i>	['myàʔá]
	I				'If I go out...'	
	<i>u</i>	+	<i>ká</i>	⇒	<i>U ahá fwóro...</i>	['waʔá]
	G1S				'If s/he/it goes out...'	
	<i>ku</i>	+	<i>ká</i>	⇒	<i>Ka há fwóro...</i>	['kaʔá]
	G2S				'If it goes out...'	

2.1.1.4. Lenition and absorption of voiced stops

Voiceless stops are “protected” from voicing when they are preceded by a nasal. In this same environment voiced stops are weakened. If the nasal-plus-stop occurs in a stressed syllable, the stop is greatly attenuated, for most speakers being reduced to an oral release of the nasal. The future intransitive is a good place to illustrate this process, since part of the future marking is a nasal prefix on the verb. The examples in (10a) show this prefix on verbs beginning with voiceless stops, the examples in (10b) before the corresponding voiced stops.

(10)	a.	<i>U</i>	<i>sf</i>	<i>m̀pà.</i>	[mpa]
		s/he	FUT	come	
				'S/he will come.'	
		<i>Ku</i>	<i>sf</i>	<i>ǹtà.</i>	[nta]
		it		find	
				'It will be found.'	
		<i>Ku</i>	<i>sf</i>	<i>ɲ̀cè.</i>	[ntʃe]
				know	
				'It will be known.'	
		<i>Ku</i>	<i>sf</i>	<i>ɲ̀kà.</i>	[ŋka]
				boil	
				'It will boil.'	
	b.	<i>Ku</i>	<i>sf</i>	<i>m̀bò.</i>	[m ^b o]
				kill	
				'It will be killed.'	
		<i>U</i>	<i>sf</i>	<i>ǹdà.</i>	[n ^d a]
				believe	
				'S/he will believe (it).'	

<i>U</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>ɲjà</i>	[ɲʲa]
		be able	
'S/he will be able (to do it).'			
<i>Wùù</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>ɲgírí...</i>	[ɲgʷiri] ¹⁰
we		rush toward	
'We will rush towards (it)...'			

When the nasal-plus-voiced-stop occurs in an unstressed syllable, the stop disappears altogether, after the nasal assimilates to its point of articulation. This happens most commonly in nouns, when the gender suffix is added to a root ending in a nasal, as in the examples in (11a). It also occurs in verbs when the causative suffix *-gV* is added to a root ending in a nasal, as in (11b).

(11) a.	<i>cjN-</i>	+ <i>-bi-</i>	+ <i>-li</i>	⇒	<i>cínmii</i>	['tʃími:]
	leopard	G1P	PL		'leopards'	
	<i>kòòN-</i>	+ <i>-dV</i>		⇒	<i>kòònò</i>	['kò:nò]
	cotton	G4			'cotton'	
	<i>bòN-</i>	+ <i>-gV</i>		⇒	<i>bòɲò</i>	['bòɲò]
	baboon	G2S			'baboon'	
b.	<i>yyéréN-</i>	+ <i>-gV</i>		⇒	<i>yyééɲé</i>	['y:é:ɲé]
	stop (intr)	CAUS			'stop (tr)'	
	<i>núrúN-</i>	+ <i>-gV</i>		⇒	<i>núrúɲó</i>	['nú:rúɲó]
	return (intr)				'return (tr)'	

In addition to the elision of stops after a nasal, certain consonants are absorbed after a root final /d/ ([r]). Thus *cer-* 'calabash' plus the gender 3 plural suffix *-gili* yields *cèrii* rather than **cèrgii*. /l/ is similarly elided following [r].

2.1.1.5. Elision of stops

The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ ([r]) are sometimes elided in intervocalic position. For example, /b/ is elided optionally in the verb *kebe* 'break', which many speakers pronounce *kee*. In the imperfective form *kyèègè* (with suffix *-ge*) and in the causative/intensive form *kyéége* (with suffix *-gV*), the [b] is obligatorily deleted.

Elision of /d/ is much more common. It occurs sporadically in verbs of the shape 'CVrV, when the imperfective or causative suffix is added: *kāre* 'go', *kéége* 'go-IMP'; *yyéré* 'stop (intr)', *yyééɲé* 'stop (tr)'. /d/-final noun roots

also drop the /d/ when a gender 2 suffix is added. Compare *kuro* ‘path (gender 3)’ and *kuugo* ‘road (gender 2)’; *cere* ‘calabash (gender 3)’ and *ceεge* ‘big calabash (gender 2)’.

A very similar process occurs when the diminutive suffix *-rV* is added to a /d/-final root. The /d/ ([r]) of the root is elided, leaving a long vowel. Compare *cere* ‘calabash’ and *ceeré* ‘little calabash’; *njire* ‘tongue’ and *njiiré* ‘little tongue’.

The [r] of the narrative auxiliary [rɪ] (derived through rhotacization from /sɪ/, see section 2.1.2.2. below) usually elides following a pronoun. The (unstressed) vowel of the auxiliary then assimilates to the vowel of the pronoun (if it is other than /i/); e.g. *u rɪ* become *u ú*.

In addition to these sporadic elisions, there is one morphological process which results in the systematic loss of intervocalic /d/. The gender 4 noun suffix is *-rV* (/dV/). If the noun root ends in a stressed syllable (i.e. 'CV rather than 'CVCV or 'CVV) with a non-high vowel (i.e. not /i/ or /u/), the definite is formed by adding the definite suffix *-te* to a stem consisting of the noun root plus the indefinite suffix *-rV*. The consonant of the indefinite suffix then elides (and the /t/ of the definite suffix is voiced and flapped). The result is a long vowel followed by *-re*.¹¹

(12)	<i>kya-ra</i>	+	<i>-te</i>	⇒	<i>kyaàre</i>	[kxa:re]
	meat-G4		DEF(G4)		‘the meat’	
	<i>cye-re</i>	+	<i>-te</i>		<i>cyeeré</i>	[tʃye:re]
	body				‘the body’	
	<i>pwo-ro</i>	+	<i>-te</i>		<i>pwooré</i>	[pɸ ^w o:re]
	adobe				‘the adobe’	

2.1.2. Fricatives

Fricatives, both voiced and voiceless, are similar to voiceless stops in their distribution: they occur word-initial, or in a stressed syllable medially, but *not* in a medial unstressed syllable. The voiceless fricatives are much more common than the voiced ones, and as we shall presently see, most of the latter can be derived from the former. /s/ and /f/ are considerably more common than /sh/.¹² No verb begins with a voiced fricative.

2.1.2.1. Nasal plus fricative clusters

When a nasal consonant is placed before a voiceless fricative by some morphological process (e.g. a nasal prefix is added, or a nasal-final root is compounded with a fricative-initial one), two things happen: the fricative is

voiced, and the nasal disappears.¹³ The examples below illustrate this process with the future prefix *N̄-* and compounds:

- (13) a. *U sí N̄ -fē.* ⇒ *U sí vé.*
 s/he FUT run 'S/he will run.'
- U sí N̄ -si.* ⇒ *U sí zì.*
 she FUT give.birth 'She will give birth.'
- U sí N̄ -shya.* ⇒ *U sí zhyà.*
 s/he FUT go 'S/he will go.'
- b. *cāN-* + *-fu-* + *-gV* ⇒ *canvùgò* ['tʃa'vuRo]
 day hot G2S 'hot part of day'
- c āN-* + *si* + *-gV* ⇒ *canzege* ['tʃa'zeRe]
 day give.birth G2S 'day of birth'
- cāN-* + *shɔ* + *wu-* + *-ge* ⇒ *canzhonwògé* ['tʃa'zɔ'woRe]
 day second one DEF(G2S) 'the second day'

2.1.2.2. Rhotacization

When an /s/ beginning an unstressed syllable comes to follow a stressed syllable, it changes to [r].¹⁴ This happens most frequently with tense-aspect auxiliaries. The narrative auxiliary *sí*, for example, may be pronounced *rí* if it follows a noun ending in a stressed vowel:

- (14) *Kà m̀pi rí/sí ñkáré.*
 then hare NARR go
 'Then hare left.'

The quasi-auxiliary verb *sa* 'go' when combined with a preceding auxiliary always becomes *ra*:

- (15) *Mìl sí rà á wá.*
 I FUT go PROG go
 'I'm going to go.'

This process occurs in at least one compound. To form the numeral 'nine', an old root for 'five', *baa-*, is combined with the word for 'four', *sìcyèèrè*, to yield *baarìcyèèrè*.

2.1.3. Approximants

The only restriction on the distribution of approximants of note is that /w/ apparently does not follow a short stressed vowel. This has interesting consequences for the distribution of the gender 1 indefinite singular suffix -wV which will be discussed in chapter 3 (on nouns).

2.1.3.1. Occlusion of approximants

In nasal-plus-approximant clusters the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the approximant, but the approximant itself becomes the corresponding voiced stop, appropriately pronounced extremely lenis as all voiced stops are in this environment. This process makes good phonetic sense since nasals are stops in the oral cavity. It is of interest that /w/ becomes [g] rather than [b] by this process, and it is this which has led to its placement in the 'velar' column in the consonant chart above. In fact, of course, /w/ has both a labial and velar component, and is thus the last remaining labio-velar in Supyire. The examples below illustrate this process of occlusion, using the future with its *Ṇ*- prefix.

- (16) *U sɪ Ṇ-* + *láhá kú ná.* ⇒ *U sɪ ṇdáhá kú ná.* [n^daʔa]
 s/he FUT let.go it on 'S/he will let go of it.'
- U sɪ Ṇ-* + *ya.* ⇒ *U sɪ ɲjà.* [ɲja]
 s/he FUT be.sick 'S/he will be sick.'
- U sɪ Ṇ-* + *wuli.* ⇒ *U sɪ ɲgùli.* [ɲguli]
 s/he FUT bathe. 'S/he will bathe.'

2.1.3.2. Elision of /l/ and /w/

As will be seen below in the section on secondary release, it appears that at some point in the past Supyire was in danger of losing its long vowels through diphthongization. It has renewed the resource, however, at least on the surface, by the elision of /l/ and /n/ in a medial unstressed syllable (as well as the occasional elision of stops as we saw in section 2.1.1 above). There is one important restriction on this elision: it must not result in a sequence of three vowels with no intervening consonants. In practice, this means that (1) elision cannot take place in two successive syllables, and (2) the addition of a vowel-initial enclitic blocks elision in the preceding syllable. Elision *can* take place in alternate syllables. In the following example, (a) illustrates elision in a simple 'CVCV word, (b) shows elision in

alternate syllables, (c) illustrates non-elision in successive syllables, and (d) shows blocking of elision by a vowel-initial enclitic.

- (17) a. *m̀pà* + *-IV* ⇒ *m̀pàa*
 sheep G1P 'sheep (pl)'
- b. *m̀pà* + *-IV* + *-bi-* + *-IV* ⇒ *m̀pàabíí*
 sheep G1P DEFG1P PL 'the sheep (pl)'
- c. *káálá* + *-li* ⇒ *káálí*
 roast IMP roast.IMP
- cf. *ta* + *-li* ⇒ *tàà*
 find IMP find.IMP
- d. *m̀pà* + *-IV* + *á* ⇒ *m̀pàla á*
 sheep G1P DAT 'to/for some sheep'
- m̀pà* + *-IV* + *-bi-* + *-IV* ⇒ *m̀pàabíílá à*¹⁵
 sheep G1P DEFG1P PL 'to/for the sheep'

There are some individual differences in behavior between /l/-initial suffixes. In general, the nominal plural suffixes (in genders 1 and 3 plural) elide as explained above. The gender 3 singular suffix *-IV*, and the imperfective verb suffix *-li*, however, have a further restriction: to elide they must immediately follow a stressed syllable. The /l/ thus does not elide following a 'CVCV root:

- (18) *kùrù* + *-li* ⇒ *kùrùlì*
 bend IMP bend.IMP

There are also several lexical exceptions to the elision rule, *kùlì* 'shave' and *kùlò* 'trip'. Some recent loans from Bambara (e.g. *kùlùshí* 'trousers') fall into this category.

One other approximant regularly elides in one particular word. The initial /w/ of the deictic locative adverb *waní* 'there' is frequently dropped when it directly follows a verb. The final vowel of the verb assimilates (if it is unstressed) or coalesces (if it is stressed) with the now initial /a/ of the adverb, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (19) a. *U a kàrà àní.* ['kàrà:ní]
 s/he PERF go there
 'S/he went there.'

- b. *U nyε anf.* [ʔ̃:ɛ:ní]
 s/he be there
 'S/he is there.'

2.1.4. Nasals

It is almost possible to analyze the nasal stops as nasalized variants of approximants which occur before nasal vowels. This would be in line with the hypothesis of Bole-Richard (1982) that proto-Niger-Congo had no nasal consonants, but had nasalized vowels. Mills (1984) treats Cebaara /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/ as marginal, contrasting with /l/, /y/, and /w/ in initial position but being variants of them elsewhere. There is apparently a contrast between nasalized and oral vowels following nasal stops in Cebaara. This contrast is lacking in Supyire, where all vowels following nasal stops are nasalized (though see below for the special case of /m/; also see section 2.2.1.5 on denasalization). This would on the face of it make Supyire nasals even more suspect than Cebaara ones. It is of interest that Cebaara /m/ does not appear to be as precariously situated as the other nasals. This may be because there is no approximant for it to vary with, /w/ having been coopted by [ŋ].

It is certainly suspicious that in Supyire nasalized vowels do not follow the voiced stops /d/, /j/ or the approximants /l/, /y/, or /w/. There is only one word with nasalized vowel after /g/: *gyaanra* [gʔ̃:ra] 'gouge', though as this is the *only* native /g/-initial word perhaps it should be accorded special status. As in Cebaara, labials seem to have a different status: there are several cases of nasalized vowels following /b/, e.g. *baanga* [bʔ̃:Ra] 'hoe'. Several words (albeit many of them borrowed) have an unnasalized [o] rather than the expected [ɔ] following an /m/: *mobílf* 'car' (borrowed from Bambara), *motó* 'motorcycle' (also borrowed from Bambara), *ŋkèòmórò* 'chameleon'.

Since nasal + consonant clusters (not present in Cebaara) indicate the existence of at least *some* nasal in Supyire, it seems best for the present to treat all four nasal stops as phonemes, while admitting that they are not as well established as some others. Thus we will say that vowels are automatically nasalized following nasals (rather than that approximants are nasalized preceding nasalized vowels), and this nasalization will not be written.

2.1.4.1. Nasal plus consonant clusters

The various processes which occur in nasal-consonant clusters have already been discussed and are merely listed here: (1) the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant (note that for this rule and

the following /w/ is velar); (2) approximants become voiced stops; (3) voiced stops (including those that are the result of the previous rule) are attenuated in stressed syllables and totally absorbed in unstressed syllables; (4) fricatives are voiced and the nasal is elided.

2.1.4.2. Elision of /n/

In general, /n/ is elided in the same environments as /l/ as explained in 2.1.3.2 above. There are, however, two /n/-initial suffixes which never undergo this rule: *-ni* ‘gender 3 definite singular’ and *-ni* ‘imperfective’. In addition, the *-nV* variant of the gender 3 indefinite suffix (obtained by [nl] ⇒ [nd] ⇒ [n]) is even more reluctant to elide than its oral counterpart *-IV*. In eight cases it elides, whereas in twenty it does not. Compare the following examples:

- (20) a. *ntàN-* + *-IV* ⇒ *ntàà*
 courtyard G3S ‘courtyard’
- b. *ka-* + *paN* + *-IV* ⇒ *kapana*
 reason come G3S ‘reason for coming’

It should be mentioned that there are indications of a process of /m/-elision from sometime in the not-too-distant past. For example, the dative/benefactive postposition *á* was originally *má*, and in fact this is the form it usually takes in poetry. Similarly the non-final serial verb connective *à* is derived from the conjunction *mà*.

2.1.5. Secondary release

Most Senufo languages indulge in labialization and palatalization of consonants to varying degrees.¹⁶ Supyire seems to have carried this tendency to its highest pitch. Like the other languages, in Supyire the two kinds of release do not contrast. The cover term employed by Mills (1984), “secondary release” will be used here. Supyire secondary release has the same distributional restriction noted by Mills (1984: 143) for Cebaara: it occurs only in stressed syllables. This means, in general, only once per root. The other restriction in effect in Cebaara, namely that secondary release does not occur with approximants or nasals, is not valid for Supyire.

There is evidence that Supyire inherited some of its secondary release from the parent language (cf. Cebaara *pye*, Supyire *pyi* ‘do’). It has also innovated extensively, however. There appears to have been a widespread process of diphthongization which converted stressed, long vowels to

secondary release + V.¹⁷ Front vowels (including /a/) became [yV] and back vowels became [wV]. The [y] and the [w] are currently in various stages of fusion with the preceding consonant.

In Cebaara the alveopalatal affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] may be interpreted as alveolar stops plus secondary release (Mills 1984: 144). This is not the case in Supyire, where alveopalatals with secondary release contrast with those without it:

(21)	<i>cyé</i>	[tʃ ^y e]	vs.	<i>ce</i>	[tʃe]
	refuse			know	
	<i>jya</i>	[dʒ ^y a]	vs.	<i>ja</i>	[dʒa]
	break			be.able	
	<i>ɲya</i>	[ɲ̣:a]	vs.	<i>ɲa</i>	[ɲa]
	see			swim	

The origin of many alveopalatals, however, is pointed to by the fact that *alveolars* (except for /l/) may not occur with secondary release. It is obvious that historically alveolar-plus-secondary release has become alveopalatal (+secondary release). This is confirmed by such cognates as: Cebaara *tiige* 'tree', Supyire *cige* 'tree'; Cebaara *too* 'fall', Supyire *cwo* 'fall'.

There are several roots which have alternate forms with and without secondary release. Although the historical causes of this are not at present completely understood, it looks very much as though at least one of these was a process of degemination with compensatory lengthening in one of the forms, the long vowel resulting then undergoing diphthongization. This process may be illustrated with the root for 'woman' whose two forms are *cee-* and *cyè-*, as in *ceewe* 'woman' and *cyèe* 'women'. The original form appears to have been **cele-* (cf. Shenara *cé/ùw* 'woman', Cissé 1986 ad loc.), from which the singular root was derived simply by /l/-elision. The proposed scenario (ignoring tone) for the plural root is as follows: **cele-IV* (addition of gender 1 plural suffix *-IV*) ⇒ **celle* (elision of unstressed medial vowel) ⇒ **ceele* (degemination with compensatory lengthening) ⇒ **cyele* (diphthongization) ⇒ *cyèe* (/l/-elision). It should be stressed that the middle parts of this derivation are so far unattested in any dialect. This or some similar process has led to several such alternations, especially in gender 3, where secondary release is found in the singular, which has the indefinite suffix *-IV*, but not in the plural, and in gender 1, where secondary release is found in the plural, as in the example above.

Another source of secondary release in Supyire is diphthongization before the flaps [R], [ʔ], and [r]. All of these consonants tend to have a lowering effect on preceding vowels (this will be discussed more fully in the section on vowels below). With [ʔ], and to a lesser extent [R] and [r] (the latter apparently only with the gender 4 suffix *-rV*), this lowering is accompanied

by diphthongization. It may be that in some of these cases there was also some such process of degemination as was discussed in the preceding paragraph. Some examples of this source of secondary release are:

(22)	<i>lu-</i>	+	<i>-gV</i>		⇒	<i>lwɔhɔ</i>	[ɫ ^w ɔʔɔ]	
	water			G2S			'water'	
	<i>pe-</i>	+	<i>-gi-</i>	+	<i>-li</i>	⇒	<i>pyàhii</i>	[p ^y aʔi:]
	pot		G3P		PL		'pots'	
	<i>kebe</i>	+	<i>-ge</i>		⇒	<i>kyéégè</i>	[k ^y ɛ:Re]	
	break		IMPFV			break.IMPFV		
	<i>pu</i>	+	<i>-rV</i>		⇒	<i>pworo</i>	[p ^ɸ woro]	
	adobe		G4			'adobe'		

Both the following vowel and the preceding consonant have a determining effect on the phonetic realization of secondary release. In general, it is voiceless following voiceless consonants, more fricative preceding high vowels than preceding low vowels. The following discussion will deal with stops and fricatives first, postponing nasals and approximants till later due to complications which they present.

Secondary release following labials and preceding front vowels is a voiceless or voiced palatal fricative ([ç] or [ʒ]) or simply a [y]. Examples with /p/ and /f/ are:

(23)	<i>pyi</i>	[pçi]	cf.	<i>pi</i>	[pi]
	do			be.ugly	
	<i>pyenge</i>	[pçɛRa]	cf.	<i>pen</i>	[pɛ]
	family			be.tasteless	
	<i>pyà</i>	[pça]	cf.	<i>pa</i>	[pa]
	child			come	
	<i>fyi</i>	[fçi]	cf.	<i>fi</i>	[fi]
	python			run.IMP	
	<i>fyeere</i>	[fçɛ:re]	cf.	<i>fɛe</i>	[fe:]
	urinate			owner.G1P	
	<i>fyàà</i>	[fça:]	cf.	<i>faa</i>	[fa:]
	hurry			cultivate	

Following /b/ and before /i/, secondary release causes continued friction throughout the vowel, creating a sort of “buzzing” quality symbolized here by the raising sign under the vowel:

(24)	<i>byì</i> drink.IMP	[bʒi:]	cf.	<i>bì</i> stick	[bi:]
	<i>byé</i> carry.on.back	[bʒe]	cf.	<i>bè</i> be.agreeable	[be]
	<i>bya</i> drink	[bʒa]	cf.	<i>ba</i> river	[ba]

Between labials and back vowels the realizations of secondary release are [ɸ], [β], or simply [w]. With non-high vowels, the fricative release shades into the approximant. Examples with /p/ are:

(25)	<i>pwùñji</i> dog.DEFG1S	[pɸùñjɪ]	cf.	<i>puni</i> all	[puni]
	<i>pworo</i> adobe	[pɸ ^w oro]	cf.	<i>pòrè</i> miss.IMP	[pore]
	<i>pwóró</i> be.better	[pɸ ^w ɔrɔ]	cf.	<i>pɔrɔ</i> be.tame	[pɔrɔ]

As before /i/, the fricative quality of the voiced secondary release continues throughout a following /u/:

(26)	<i>bwuuní</i> gourd.DEF(G3S)	[bβu:ní]	cf.	<i>buuŋɔ</i> be.big	[bu:ŋɔ]
	<i>bworogo</i> grey.plaintain.eater	[bβ ^w or ^ɔ Ro]	cf.	<i>boro</i> sack	[boro]
	<i>bwɔngii</i> hit.G3P	[bβ ^w ɔRi:]	cf.	<i>bórii</i> sack.G3P	[bóri:]

Between a labial fricative and a high back vowel, secondary release sounds simply like extra friction. This is simply symbolized here with [w]:

(27)	<i>fwuu</i> yam	[f ^w u:]	cf.	<i>fuu</i> burst	[fu:]
	<i>fwoo</i> debt	[fwo:]	cf.	<i>foo</i> owner	[fo:]
	<i>fwònrigà</i> long.tailed.starling	[fwòr ^l Rà]	cf.	<i>fɔgòŋɔ</i> fallow.field	[fɔR ^ɔ ŋɔ]

With the palatal stops, which are phonetically affricates, secondary release before front vowels is realized as extra length and friction on the [ʃ] or [ʒ],

symbolized here simply as [:]. This is accompanied by a [y] off-glide before non-high vowels:

(28)	<i>cyii</i> thigh	[tʃ:i:]	cf.	<i>ciwe</i> leather.worker	[tʃi:we]
	<i>iyige</i> soap	[dʒ:ɪRe]	cf.	<i>jige</i> confidence	[dʒɪRe]
	<i>cyé</i> refuse	[tʃ:ye]	cf.	<i>ce</i> know	[tʃe]
	<i>cya</i> look.for	[tʃ:ya]	cf.	<i>caà</i> look.for.IMP	[tʃa:]
	<i>jya</i> break	[dʒ:ya]	cf.	<i>ja</i> be.able	[dʒa]

Realization following palatal fricatives is very similar.

Secondary release between palatals and back vowels is both palatal and labial, symbolized here as [ɥ]:

(29)	<i>cwùùlò</i> belch	[tʃɥu:lo]	cf.	<i>cuuŋɔ</i> be.healthy	[tʃu:ŋɔ]
	<i>cwoò</i> pot	[tʃɥo:]	cf.	<i>coowo</i> rainspout	[tʃo:wo]
	<i>cwɔn</i> tear	[tʃɥɔ]	cf.	<i>cɔɔn</i> younger.sibling	[tʃɔ:]

Roots with secondary release between a velar stop and a front vowel are very rare. In fact, only five have been recorded so far which do not exhibit an alternation with /c/. These are:

(30)	<i>kyii</i> Kyii (day of six-day week) ¹⁸	[kçi:]
	<i>kyírígé</i> or <i>kyérégé</i> torment	[kʏir ^ə Re] or [kʏer ^ə Re]
	<i>kyen</i> grunt	[kʏɛ]
	<i>kyénhéra</i> clear.one's.throat	[kʏɛ ^ʔ ra]
	<i>kyεεge</i> break	[kʏɛ:Re]

Of these, *kyen* and *kyenhera* may be onomatopoeic. *kyeεge* is derived from *kebe* 'break' by the addition of the causative or intensifying suffix *-gV*, which induces diphthongization. There are a few roots whose pronunciation varies between [k] + secondary release and [tʃ] (+secondary release). Older speakers tend to favor the former, while some younger speakers seem only to use the latter. It is obvious that a change from /k/ to /c/ is in progress. Those roots exhibiting this alternation in Farakala are:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---------|----|--------------|----------------------|
| (31) | <i>kyi</i> | [kçi] | or | <i>cyi</i> | [tʃ:i] ¹⁹ |
| | G3P.pronoun | | | | |
| | <i>kyɪn</i> | [kçɪ̃] | or | <i>cyɪn</i> | [tʃ:ɪ̃] |
| | outside | | | | |
| | <i>kyega</i> | [kʏεRa] | or | <i>cyega</i> | [tʃʏεRa] |
| | hand | | | | |

There is at least one root with a /k/ without secondary release which nevertheless is pronounced by some speakers with a /c/ + secondary release:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------|----|----------------|-----------|
| (32) | <i>nɪŋkɪn</i> | [nɪŋkɪ] | or | <i>nɪŋcyɪn</i> | [nɪŋtʃ:ɪ] |
| | one | | | | |

Secondary release between a velar stop and /a/ is phonetically realized as a velar fricative [x] or [ɣ]:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------------|-----|-------------|--------|
| (33) | <i>kyara</i> | [kxara] ²⁰ | cf. | <i>kare</i> | [kare] |
| | meat | | | go | |
| | <i>gyaanra</i> | [gɣa:ra] | | | |
| | goudge | | | | |

Secondary release between /k/ and /u/ is a very slight velar affrication which sounds like light aspiration. It is symbolized [x] here. Before the other low vowels, secondary release is a labio-velar approximant [w]:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------------------|-----|--------------|---------|
| (34) | <i>kwùùlò</i> | [k ^x u:lo] | cf. | <i>kuuŋɔ</i> | [ku:ŋɔ] |
| | encircle | | | be.lacking | |
| | <i>kwooro</i> | [k ^w o:ro] | cf. | <i>koolo</i> | [ko:lo] |
| | snore | | | cough | |
| | <i>kwɔɔgɔ</i> | [k ^w ɔ:Rɔ] | cf. | <i>kɔɔgɔ</i> | [kɔ:Rɔ] |
| | boat | | | inheritance | |

As noted above, Mills (1984) states that nasal consonants do not occur with secondary release in Cebaara. While this is not the case in Supyire, it is

true that there are very few cases of /m/ or /ŋ/ with secondary release. The rarity of secondary release with /ŋ/ could be attributed to the overall rarity of /ŋ/, but this explanation is not possible for /m/. The only clear cases of secondary release with /m/ are those resulting from diphthongization before [ʔ]. The plural of *mɛɛ* ‘voice, song’ is *myàhii* [mʲàʔi:] for most speakers (*mégii* [mɛ́Ri:] for others). The only clear cases of secondary release following /ŋ/ are before the back vowel /ɔ/, as in the following example:

(35)	<i>ŋwɔɔ</i>	[ŋ ^w ɔ:]	cf.	<i>ŋɔɔ</i>	[ŋɔ:]
	knife			sleep	

The situation with /ŋ/ is quite different, perhaps suspiciously so. Secondary release occurs freely with /ŋ/, before four of the five vowels which can follow nasals (/i/, /ɛ/, /a/,²¹ and /ɔ/), and at least one example has been found before /u/ as well. For many, perhaps the majority, of speakers in Farakala, /ŋ/ when it occurs with secondary release is phonetically not a stop, but a fortis, very close, heavily nasalized palatal approximant symbolized [ỹ] in the examples below. When preceding a front vowel or /a/, the combination of /ŋ/ + secondary release produces a long, fortis, nasalized approximant [ỹ:]:

(36)	<i>ŋyii</i>	[ỹ:i:]	cf.	<i>ŋìŋè</i>	[ŋìŋè]
	eye			ground	
	<i>ŋyègà</i>	[ỹ:èRà]	cf.	<i>ŋɛmɛ</i>	[ŋɛmɛ]
	morning			caprice	
	<i>ŋyaa</i>	[ỹ:a:]	cf.	<i>ŋàà</i>	[ŋà:]
	sight			see.IMPFV	

When /ŋ/ + secondary release occurs before a back vowel, for most speakers the expected labial secondary release combines with the nasal to form a rounded, very close and heavily nasalized alveopalatal approximant, [ɸ]:

(37)	<i>kupwùù</i>	[kuɸ:ù:] ²²	cf.	<i>ŋùŋò</i>	[ŋùŋò]
	corner			head	
	<i>ŋwɔɔ</i>	[ɸ:ɔ:]	cf.	<i>ŋɔɔŋɔ</i>	[ŋɔ:ŋɔ]
	beginning			dab	

Only one alveolar, /l/, may occur with secondary release, and it is significant that phonetically it becomes an alveopalatal [ʎ]. Before non-high front vowels, there is a noticeable [y] off-glide as well. For many speakers, particularly younger ones, the /l/ loses its contact with the roof of the mouth

and becomes simply a [y], which combines with the secondary release to form a fortis, very close and somewhat long [y:]:

(38)	<i>lyl</i>	[li] or [y:i]	cf.	<i>li</i>	[li]
	eat			G3S.pronoun	
	<i>lyee</i>	[lye:] or [y:e:]	cf.	<i>le</i>	[le]
	same.age			put	
	<i>lye</i>	[lyɛ] or [lya] ²³ or [y:ɛ] or [y:a]			
	be.old				

Between /l/ and back vowels, secondary release is phonetically a rounded alveopalatal approximant [ɥ]. As described above, for many speakers the /l/ loses its contact with the palate and combines with the secondary release to form a fortis, somewhat long [ɥ:]. No examples before /o/ have been found.

(39)	<i>lwúú</i>	[ɥu:] or [ɥ:u:]	cf.	<i>luu</i>	[lu:]
	take.IMP			sheanuts	
	<i>lwɔ</i>	[ɥɔ] or [ɥ:ɔ]	cf.	<i>lwɔɔ</i>	[lɔ:Rɔ]
	take			palm.stem	

The approximants /y/ and /w/, when combined with secondary release, present a few difficulties. The rounded alveopalatal approximant [ɥ] may occur before both front and back vowels. From the distribution of the the palatal and labial variants of secondary release following other consonants, it seems best to analyze [ɥ] before front vowels as /w/ + secondary release, and before back vowels as /y/ + secondary release:

(40)	<i>wyii</i>	[ɥi:]	cf.	<i>wíí</i>	[wí:]
	hole			look.at	
	<i>wyere</i>	[ɥere]	cf.	<i>wenɛ</i>	[wenɛ]
	cold			leaf	
	<i>wyééré</i>	[ɥéré]	cf.	<i>wɛɛɛ</i>	[wɛ:Rɛ]
	money			caïlcédraat (<i>Kyaya senegalensis</i>)	
	<i>ywòrò</i>	[ɥoro]	cf.	<i>yogo</i>	[yoRo]
	fibre			quarrel	

The rule which converts approximants to corresponding stops helps in the detection of /w/ + secondary release before back vowels and /y/ + secondary release before front vowels. A verb in an intransitive future clause takes a nasal prefix, and if the first consonant of the verb is an approximant, it is converted to the corresponding stop. It is then easy to hear if secondary

release follows or not. Without this help, the secondary release is difficult to detect, though it does show up clearly on a spectrogram as a lengthening of the approximant articulation. This lengthening is symbolized with [:] following the approximant in the examples below:

(41)	<i>wwù</i>	[w:u]	cf.	<i>wu</i>	[wu]
	take.off			pour	
	<i>wwɔ</i>	[w:ɔ]	cf.	<i>wɔɔgɔ</i>	[wɔ:Rɔ]
	be.dark.colored			paint	
	<i>yyili</i>	[y:ili]	cf.	<i>yiri</i>	[yiri]
	name.after.spirit			get.up	
	<i>yyere</i>	[y:ere]	cf.	<i>yebe</i>	[yebe]
	call			split	

As is clear from the examples, the orthography employed for Supyire uses *y* for secondary release before front vowels and /a/, and *w* for secondary release before back vowels, whatever the actual phonetic realization, and although there is no contrast.

2.2. Vowels

Like other Senufo languages, Supyire has seven oral and five nasalized vowels, shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Vowel Phonemes

oral		nasalized	
i	u	ĩ	ũ
e	o	ẽ	õ
ɛ	ɔ	ɛ̃	ɔ̃
a		ã	

The status of oral /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ is not as firmly established as that of the other five vowels. There are no good minimal contrasts in monosyllabic words the way there are for the other vowels, and there are a number of contexts where the contrast between /ɛ/ and /a/ is neutralized. In these same contexts /ɔ/ has a variant [ɑ] which in rapid speech is very difficult to distinguish from /a/.

Nasalization is written in the orthography by means of an *n* following the nasalized vowel. All vowels may be either short or long. Most if not all long

vowels derive at least historically from the juxtaposition of two vowels through the loss of an intervening consonant, as described above in section 2.1.3.

The processes which affect vowels are divided into two major groups in the following discussion. Those affecting stressed vowels are treated first, followed by those affecting unstressed vowels.

2.2.1. Processes affecting stressed vowels

2.2.1.1 Vowel lowering and diphthongization

As noted in the preceding section, the flaps [ɾ] (= medial /d/ before an unstressed vowel) and [R] (= /g/ before an unstressed vowel) and above all the glottal stop [ʔ] (orthographically *h*) tend to lower vowels which precede them.

[R] tends to lower vowels one step, high /i/, /u/ becoming mid /e/, /o/, and mid /e/, /o/ becoming low /ɛ/, /ɔ/:

(42)	<i>bu-</i> gourd	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>bogo</i> 'gourd'	['boRo]
	<i>kapi-</i> bad.deed	+	<i>-gili</i> G3P	⇒	<i>kapègii</i> 'bad deeds'	[ka'peRi:]
	<i>pe-</i> pot	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>pege</i> 'large pot'	['peRe]
	<i>soo-</i> loom	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>sɔɔgo</i> 'loom'	['sɔ:Ro]

There are numerous exceptions to this process. Secondary release usually protects a following high vowel from lowering, and palatal consonants protect a following /i/ from lowering (though the /i/ may be lowered as far as [ɪ]):

(43)	<i>pyi-</i> child	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>pyige</i> 'big child'	['pçiRe]
	<i>ci-</i> tree	+	<i>-gV</i> G2s	⇒	<i>cige</i> 'tree'	['tʃɪRe]

But even in the absence of such protection, a vowel will occasionally refuse to lower. Compare the following pair:

- (44) *si-* + *-gV* ⇒ *sige* ['stRe]
 bush G2S 'bush'
- si* + *-gV* ⇒ *sege* ['seRe]
 give.birth G2S 'child bearing'

Vowel lowering before [r] is more restricted than before [R]. It has already been noted that vowels are *not* lowered before the diminutive suffix *-rV*. Lowering also does not occur when a root-final [r] absorbs the initial [l] of the gender 3 singular suffix *-lV*:

- (45) *cer-* + *-lV* ⇒ *cere*
 calabash G3S 'calabash'
- bor-* + *-lV* ⇒ *boro*
 sack G3S 'sack'

The mid vowels of these same roots lower, however, when the initial /g/ of the gender 3 plural suffix *-gili* is absorbed by the root-final [r]:

- (46) *cer-* + *-gili* ⇒ *cérii*
 calabash G3P 'calabashes'
- bor-* + *-gili* ⇒ *bórii*
 sack G3P 'sacks'

This lowering is by no means inevitable, occurring in only 8 out of a total of 13 roots where it might be expected. High vowels are unaffected:

- (47) *kìr-* + *-gili* ⇒ *kìrii*
 country G3P 'countries'
- kur-* + *-gili* ⇒ *kùrii*
 path G3P 'paths'

The other environment where [r] induces lowering is before the gender 4 suffix *-rV*. Here, unless they are "protected" by secondary release, mid vowels readily lower:

- (48) *see-* + *-rV* ⇒ *seere*
 skin G4 'skins'
- loo-* + *-rV* ⇒ *lɔɔr*
 bamboo G4 'bamboo stems'

Occasionally the lowering is accompanied by diphthongization:

- (49) *weN-* + *-rV* ⇒ *wyεε*
 leaf G4 'leaves'
loN- + *-rV* ⇒ *lwɔɔ*
 eggplant.leaves G4 'eggplant leaves'

A few roots with high vowels undergo lowering:

- (50) *pu-* + *-rV* ⇒ *pwoɔ*
 adobe G4 'adobe'
numpi- + *-rV* ⇒ *numpere*
 bad- G4 'bad(G4)'

Most roots with high vowels, however, are not affected:

- (51) *su* + *-rV* ⇒ *suro*
 pound G4 'mush'
ci- + *-rV* ⇒ *cire*
 tree G4 'trees'

As pointed out above, [ʔ] may only be preceded by the low vowels /ε/, /a/, and /ɔ/. It therefore always induces lowering, or more precisely diphthongization, of a preceding non-low vowel when brought into contact with it by a morphological process. Two noun class suffixes beginning with /g/ have variants with initial [ʔ]: gender 2 singular *-gV* and gender 3 plural *-gili*. An example for each non-low vowel follows. Note that many roots already have secondary release, and that the process of diphthongization therefore applies redundantly:

- (52) *kacyin-* + *-gili* ⇒ *kacyànhii* [ka'tʃyàʔi:]
 fetish G3P 'fetishes'
lu- + *-gV* ⇒ *lwɔhɔ* [lʷɔʔɔ]
 water G2S 'water'
pe- + *-gili* ⇒ *pyàhii* [pɕaʔi:]
 pot G3P 'pots'
numbwo- + *-gV* ⇒ *numbwɔhɔ* [num'bɔʔɔ]
 big G2S 'big(G2S)'

Even the low vowel /ε/ is diphthongized before [ʔ] in the speech of many people:

(53) *mε-* + *-gili* ⇒ *myàhii* ['myàʔi:]
 voice G3P 'songs'

2.2.1.2. Vowel coalescence

Supyire morphology does not offer many occasions for a stressed word final vowel to come in contact with a vowel initial clitic, since most nouns have a gender suffix (always unstressed) and most verbs are di- or tri-syllabic with stress on the initial syllable.²⁴ Suffixless nouns (from gender 1 singular) and monosyllabic verbs do however sometimes occur with a following V-initial clitic. Frequently nothing much happens in these encounters, both vowels receiving approximately their ordinary pronunciations. But when stressed /i/ precedes /a/, both vowels are drawn to each other to produce [eɛ], as in the following examples. Note that this change is not written in the orthography.

(54) *Mpi à jwo...* [mpeè]
 hare PERF say...
 'Hare said...'

U nyε à si à? [seè]
 she NEG PERF give.birth NEGQ
 'Didn't she give birth?'

2.2.1.3. Neutralization

Secondary release induces some variation in certain following vowels. The contrast between /ε/ and /a/ is neutralized after secondary release, though there is some variation in the behavior of individual roots and speakers. Some speakers favor one or the other pronunciation, some use both, and some use a vowel somewhere in between. Similarly, some roots seem to favor a pronunciation with /a/, such as *fyá* 'fish' and *pyá* 'child', but even these are occasionally heard as [fyε] and [pyε]. For most speakers, [a] is the usual pronunciation before pause. The low back vowel /ɔ/ likewise has the variants [ɔ] and [ɑ] following secondary release, as in *pwɔ* 'sweep', with the pronunciations [pɰ^wɔ] and [pɰ^wɑ].²⁵

There are a few roots which exhibit similar variation between the other back vowels. In these alternations, the lower pronunciation occurs before pause, the higher one medially. Thus *cwo* 'fall' may be pronounced [tʃ:u] when not before a pause, and *cwo* 'net' may be pronounced [tʃ:ɔ] before pause. Hopefully historical reconstruction will eventually shed light on the cause of such distinctions.

2.2.1.4. Vowel lengthening

The formation of long vowels through the elision of an intermediate consonant (usually /l/ or /n/) was discussed above. A similar and perhaps related process affecting roots ending in [r] or /N/ also yields long vowels, but only in certain morphological contexts. Roots ending in stressed CVr or CVN have their vowels lengthened when the diminutive suffix *-rV* is added. Since only a single consonant remains of the expected cluster (*rr* ⇒ *r* and *nr* ⇒ *n*), this lengthening is probably compensatory following degemination. Some examples are:

- (55) *cer-* + *-rV* ⇒ *ceeré*
 calabash DIM 'little calabash'
ɲkêN- + *-rV* ⇒ *ɲkéèné*
 branch DIM 'little branch'

Roots with final [r] show the same lengthening before the gender 2 suffixes, but roots with final /N/ do not:

- (56) *cer-* + *-gV* ⇒ *ceega*
 calabash G2S 'big calabash'
ɲkêN- + *-gV* ⇒ *ɲkéɲè*
 branch G2S 'branch'

Roots with final [r] also usually show lengthening as the first root of a compound:

- (57) *cer-* + *kwoo-* + *-gV* ⇒ *ceekwɔɔgɔ*
 calabash shell G2S 'eggshell'
tèr- + *lyì* + *-JV* ⇒ *tèèlyii*
 time eat G3S 'time to eat'

Probably related to this phenomenon is the lengthening found in definite gender 4 nouns noted in section 2.1.1.5 above.

2.2.1.5. Denasalization

Another process triggered only by [r] is the denasalization of short stressed high vowels. As noted above, vowels are normally nasalized following a nasal consonant. However, if the vowel is followed by an [r], it is denasalized. Phonetically the nasal consonant is pronounced like a nasal-plus-voiced stop cluster:

- (58) *núru* [n^duru] ‘return’
nìrè [n^dire] ‘roots (G4)’
 cf. *nìṅè* [nìṅè] ‘root (G2S)’

The same denasalization occurs if the high nasalized vowel is preceded by an oral consonant.

- (59) *yatinN-* + *-rV* ⇒ *yatire* from *tin*
 instrument G4 ‘orchestra’ make.noise
tùnnun- + *-rV* ⇒ *tùnnuro* from *tun*
 message G4 ‘message’ send
kun + *-rV* ⇒ *kuru*
 munch IMP ‘munch’ (imperfective)

There are numerous exceptions to this rule, however, and it may not be a synchronic process.

2.2.2. Processes affecting unstressed vowels

2.2.2.1. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a pervasive phenomenon in Supyire. Unstressed vowels within a metrical foot harmonize with the initial stressed vowel if they belong to the same root or to a harmonizing suffix. Derivational affixes on verbs and most indefinite noun class suffixes harmonize, while inflectional affixes on verbs (for the most part) and definite noun suffixes do not harmonize. The unstressed vowel is normally a copy of the stressed vowel with the following restrictions: (1) Before pause, the final unstressed vowel (except in most CVrV verbs) cannot be high. Thus before pause [e] and [o] follow [i] and [u] respectively. (2) Following a nasal consonant [ɛ] harmonizes with [e] and [i] (before pause) and [ɔ] harmonizes with [o] and [u] (before pause). This follows from the fact that all vowels are nasalized following a nasal consonant and nasalized mid vowels do not exist. (3) Vowel reduction (see below) often turns the unstressed middle vowel of a three-syllable foot into [ə] or something similar. (4) Before pause a final unstressed [ɛ] will often be lowered to [a] and [ɔ] to [ɑ]. Some examples of harmony in disyllabic feet involving noun class suffixes are:

- (60) *ci-* + *-rV* ⇒ *cire*
 tree G4 ‘trees’

<i>cer-</i> calabash	+	<i>-IV</i> G3S	⇒	<i>cere</i> 'calabash'
<i>se-</i> honey	+	<i>-rV</i> G4	⇒	<i>sere</i> 'honey'
<i>ta-</i> land	+	<i>-rV</i> G4	⇒	<i>tara</i> 'land'
<i>su</i> pound	+	<i>-rV</i> G4	⇒	<i>suro</i> 'mush'
<i>`bor-</i> bag	+	<i>-IV</i> G3S	⇒	<i>`boro</i> 'bag'
<i>cwɔ</i> be.contrary	+	<i>-rV</i> G4	⇒	<i>cwɔɔ</i> 'contrariness'

Some examples with nasal consonants are:

(61) <i>pìnn-</i> drum	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>pìnnè</i> 'drum'
<i>cèN-</i> antelope	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>cènnè</i> 'antelope'
<i>funN-</i> interior	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>funnɔ</i> 'interior'
<i>bòN-</i> baboon	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>bònnɔ</i> 'baboon'

Some CVrV verbs allow final high vowels before pause:

(62) <i>suru</i>	'hook.onto'
<i>tiri</i>	'grind'

Finally, some examples of harmony in trisyllabic feet:

(63) <i>yìrì</i> rise	+	<i>-gV</i> CAUS	⇒	<i>yìrìgè</i> 'raise'	[¹ yir ¹ Re]
<i>fègè-</i> ring	+	<i>-wV</i> G1S	⇒	<i>fègèwè</i> 'ring'	[¹ feR ^ə we]
<i>pere-</i> quantity	+	<i>-gV</i> G2S	⇒	<i>perege</i> 'quantity'	[¹ per ^ə Re]
<i>bùgò</i> round.hut	+	<i>-rV</i> DIM	⇒	<i>bùgùró</i> 'small round hut'	[¹ buR ^u ro]

<i>bworo-</i>	+	<i>-gV</i>	⇒	<i>bworogo</i>	[^h bβor ^h Ro]
grey.plantain.eater		G2S		'grey plantain eater'	
<i>cwònrò</i>	+	<i>-mV</i>	⇒	<i>cwònròmò</i>	[^h tʃwòr ^h mò]
get.stuck		G5		'embarrassment'	

As stated above, some suffixes (e.g. all definite noun class suffixes) do not harmonize. Unstressed initial syllables also do not harmonize. The non-harmonizing initial vowel may be part of the root (in which case it is always /i/, /u/, or /a/):

(64)	<i>sika</i>	[si'ka]	'goat'
	<i>sikwú</i>	[sì'k ^x ú]	'species of ant'
	<i>fukanga</i>	[fu'kaŋa]	'shoulder, wing'
	<i>munaa</i>	[mu'na:]	'nose'
	<i>kalógò</i>	[ka'lóRò]	'underarm'

or it may be part of a derivational prefix, as in the case of the locative nominalizer *ta-*:

(65)	<i>ta-</i>	+	<i>bégélé</i>	+	<i>-gV</i>	⇒	<i>tabegege</i>
	LOC		arrange		G2S		'place to store things'
	<i>ta-</i>	+	<i>lyl</i>	+	<i>-gV</i>	⇒	<i>talyige</i>
	LOC		eat		G2S		'place to eat'

Initial unstressed syllables are not allowed in verbs.

A very few exceptions to the process of harmony do occur. The most common is the verb *kare* 'go', which would be **kara* if it were regular. There are a few verbs with two pronunciations, one harmonizing and the other not, such as *kərə* / *kore* 'chase', *para* / *pare* 'span'. From the greater number of this kind of exception to harmonization in Cebaara (see Mills 1984: 156-157) it is probable that harmonization is increasing in Supyire, and that the non-harmonizing variants of the above verbs are the older forms.

The restriction of homorganicity on VV clusters can be treated as a special case of harmonization: the second V must harmonize with the first V. This process can be seen in the assimilation of the narrative auxiliary *sí* when it follows a pronoun or the conjunction *mà*. It loses its consonant (which is first rhotacized and then elided like other intervocalic [r]s), and then the vowel assimilates totally, e.g. *u sí* becomes *u ú*, and *ma sí* becomes *maá*.

2.2.2.2. Vowel reduction

Unstressed vowels in the middle syllable of a trisyllabic foot are greatly reduced. The reduced high vowels sound like very short centralized [ʊ] and [ɪ]. The reduced non-high vowels sound like [ə]. Examples for each of the oral vowels are given in (63) above.

2.2.2.3. Vowel elision

Unstressed vowels are elided in three different environments. The first is between a nasal consonant and a following voiceless stop. The scene for this is typically set when the final nasal of a root absorbs the initial voiced stop of a noun class suffix. When a definite suffix (which always begins with a voiceless stop) is added, the unstressed vowel of the indefinite suffix, caught between the nasal and the voiceless stop, is elided. Since it bequeaths its length and tone to the nasal, however, this could be viewed as a kind of coalescence rather than elision. The resulting syllabic nasals are the only ones in the language. Here are some examples from the plurals of genders 1 and 3:

- (66) *nàN-* + *-bi-* + *-pili* ⇒ *nàm̄píí*
 man G1P DEF(G1P) 'the men'
m̀bììN- + *-gi-* + *-kili* ⇒ *m̀bììṅkíí*
 outside.corner G3P DEF(G3P) 'the outside corners'

The mirror image of this environment (i.e. stop + nasal) also induces vowel elision, if the stop is flapped. Note the following example:

- (67) *téyirìgìṅí* [t'éyurɪŋ:í]
 tea.maker.DEF(G1S)

Often the two subtypes occur together, i.e. flap + vowel + nasal + vowel + voiceless stop. This yields the phonetic sequence of flap + syllabic nasal + voiceless stop, as in the following example:

- (68) *cyi-* + *shwàhàN* + *-bi* + *-píí* ⇒ *cyishwàhàmpíí*
 thigh between G1P DEF(G1P) [tʃ:iʃwàʔm̄:pí:]
 'crotch'

The second environment in which unstressed vowels elide is between two [r]s or [l]s. This process has already been alluded to above. It occurs regularly in the formation of the definites of gender 4. It also occurs occasionally in other morphological processes. Note that subsequent

degemination with compensatory lengthening may or may not occur. Some examples are:

(69)	<i>kya</i>	+	<i>-rV</i>	+	<i>-re</i>	⇒	<i>kyaàre</i>
	chew		G4		DEF(G4)		the.meat
	<i>kàlà</i>	+	<i>-li</i>			⇒	<i>kàlli</i> ²⁶
	read		IMP				read.IMPERF

The third environment for the elision of unstressed vowels is between a non-coronal stop (/p/, /b/, or /k/) or a non-back fricative (/f/, /v/, /s/, or /z/) and a resonant (/l/, or /n/). As noted above, in a small minority of roots an unstressed syllable with a non-harmonizing /i/ or /u/ precedes the stressed syllable. When the consonant following such an unstressed high vowel is a resonant, the vowel is elided. Two pronunciations of the resulting word are possible. In the first, the resonant retains the length and tone of the elided vowel. In the second, this length and tone are transferred to the vowel following the resonant. In accordance with the practice in other Senufo orthographies, the underlying form of the word, with the unelided vowel, is written.²⁷ Some examples:

(70)	<i>pilaga</i>	[pl:aRa]	or	[pla:Ra]	'night'
	<i>biliwe</i>	[bl:iwe]	or	[bli:we]	'slave'
	<i>kile</i>	[kl:e]	or	[kle:]	'sky, God'
	<i>kinaga</i>	[kn:aRa]	or	[kna:Ra]	'fruit bat'
	<i>file</i>	[fl:e]	or	[fle:]	'approach'
	<i>sflégé</i>	[sl:ÉRÉ]	or	[slé:Ré]	'be ashamed'

It should be noted that roots with elided vowels of this sort always behave metrically like 'CVCV or 'CVV roots, never like CV roots. The appearance of the gender 1 singular suffix *-wV* on *biliwe*, for example, is dependent on the disyllabic nature of the root.

2.2.2.4. Final vowel assimilation

When a vowel initial clitic follows an unstressed vowel, that vowel assimilates totally to the clitic. Only the tone of the original vowel remains. The resulting long vowel is stressed, sometimes inducing a slight diminishing of an immediately preceding stress. This process is illustrated below with the dative postposition *á*, the perfect tense-aspect auxiliary *à*, the serial verb connective *à*, the locative adverb *anf* (derived from *wanf* by the elision of its initial /w/, see section 2.1.3.2 above), and the negative question marker *à*:²⁸

- (71) *Ku kan ceèŋi á.* ⇒ *Ku kan ceèŋa à.*
 it give woman.DEF to 'Give it to the woman.'
- Ceèŋi à kare à kwɔ.* ⇒ *Ceèŋa a kàra a kwɔ.*
 woman.DEF PERF go SC finish 'The woman has
 already gone.'
- U nyɛ à kare aní à?* ⇒ *U nyɛ a kàrà àná à?*
 she NEG PERF go there NEG.Q 'Didn't she go there?'

As shown here, most vowel-initial clitics begin with /a/. The postpositions *i* 'in' and *i* 'with' will be discussed in section 2.2.2.6 below.

The vowels of third person anaphoric pronouns are unstressed, and most of these assimilate as expected (exceptions will be dealt with in the next section):

- (72) *Ku à ɲwɔ.* ⇒ *Ka à ɲwɔ.*
 it(G2S) PERF good 'It is good.'
- Li à ɲwɔ.* ⇒ *La à ɲwɔ.*
 it(G3S) PERF good 'It is good.'

2.2.2.5. Approximant formation

When three of the eight anaphoric pronouns precede a vowel-initial clitic, they do not allow the assimilation of their vowels as described above. Instead, the vowel's length (or 'vowelness') is transferred to the clitic's vowel, but its other features remain as an approximant. This is most clearly seen in the gender 1 singular *u*, which instead of simply merging with the following clitic, changes to [wV]. This change is not written in the orthography.

- (73) *Ku kan u á.* ⇒ *Ku kan u à.* [wa:]
 it give him/her to 'Give it to him/her.'

The plurals of genders 1 and 3 likewise undergo approximant formation rather than assimilation. The gender 1 *pi* can be contrasted with the gender 5 *pu*.

- (74) *Pi à ɲwɔ.* ⇒ *Pi à ɲwɔ.* [pya:]
 they PERF good 'They are good.'
- Pu à ɲwɔ.* ⇒ *Pa à ɲwɔ.*
 it PERF good 'It is good.'

2.2.2.6. Variation of /i/ and /e/ in clitics

The two postpositions *i* ‘in’ and *i* ‘with’²⁹ both have alternate forms *e*. If the preceding vowel is stressed, the *e* forms are selected only if that stressed vowel is *e*. This is the case with most demonstratives (examples in this section will all be given using the postposition ‘with’; in each case ‘in’ would have the same vowel but a different tone):

- (75) *ɲké è* ‘with that (G2S)’
ɲdé è ‘with that (G3S)’

Following all other stressed vowels, *i* is used:

- (76) *pyà ɪ* ‘with a child’
fyɪ ɪ ‘with a python’
tu ɪ ‘with father’
pwun ɪ ‘with a dog’ [pɸuɪ]
nɔ̃ ɪ ‘with a husband’

The sole exception to this rule discovered so far is *wwɔ̃* ‘snake’, which in the speech of some people takes *e* rather than *i*.

If the preceding vowel is unstressed, the *e* form is selected only if the consonant preceding the unstressed vowel is not a nasal:

- (77) *le e* ‘with it’ < *li* ‘it (G3S)’
tɪle é ‘with fathers’ < *tɪi* ‘fathers’³⁰
`bore é ‘with a sack’ < *`boro* ‘sack’
tùùgè é ‘with a hoe’ < *tùùgò* ‘hoe’
tùùyè é ‘with hoes’ < *tùùyò* ‘hoes’

If the unstressed vowel is preceded by a nasal consonant, *i* is always selected:

- (78) *bwùnni ɪ* ‘with a granary’ < *bwùnn* ‘granary’
dùfàànnɪ ɪ ‘with a donkey’ < *dùfàànnà* ‘donkey’
bèènni ɪ ‘with light’ < *bèènnè* ‘light’

The definite gender 2 plural suffix *-yi* is an exception to this generalization. Instead of the expected *e* form, it takes *i*:

- (79) *tùùyí ɪ* ‘with the hoes’ < *tùùyí* ‘the hoes’

2.2.2.7. Rounding before labials

The unstressed [i] of the adjective prefix *niN-* becomes [u] for most speakers when it precedes a root beginning with a labial consonant:

(80)	<i>niN-</i>	+	<i>pi</i>		⇒	<i>numpi</i>
	ADJ		be.bad			'bad'
	<i>niN-</i>	+	<i>bo</i>		⇒	<i>numbo</i>
	ADJ		kill			'to be killed'
cf.	<i>niN-</i>	+	<i>tij</i>	+	<i>-wV</i>	⇒ <i>nintiwe</i>
	ADJ		be.straight		G1S	'straight'
	<i>niN-</i>	+	<i>curu</i>	+	<i>-gV</i>	⇒ <i>nijcurugo</i>
	ADJ		stick.in		G2S	'stuck in'

Roots beginning with /ww/ (/w/ plus secondary release before a back vowel) also trigger this change, but not those beginning with simple /w/. Compare:

(81)	<i>niN-</i>	+	<i>wwɔ</i>	+	<i>-gV</i>	⇒ <i>nungwɔhɔ</i>
	ADJ		be.black		G2S	'black (G2S)'
	<i>niN-</i>	+	<i>waha</i>			⇒ <i>ninga</i>
	ADJ		be.hard			'hard'

2.2.2.8. Spread of nasalization

Nasalization spreads to adjacent vowels when no consonant intervenes:

(82)	<i>pwun</i>	ɿ	[pɸuɿ]	'with a dog'
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It also spreads across [ʔ] and [l], but not across other consonants:

(83)	<i>kàn-</i>	+	<i>-gV</i>	⇒	<i>kànha</i>	[kàʔà]
	village		G2S		'village'	
	<i>tɛɛn</i>	+	<i>-lV</i>	⇒	<i>tɛɛnle</i>	[tɛ:lɛ] ³¹
	sit		G3S		'residency'	

In all these cases, nasalization is written (with an *n*) only on the first syllable where it occurs.

2.3. Tone

Tone has a high functional load in Supyire. Boys cowherding in the bush often communicate with each other by whistling. The whistling contains no other information than vowel length and pitch, but this is sufficient to permit fairly detailed conversations. In learning to speak Supyire I often had the experience of an interlocutor interpreting my speech on the basis of my (incorrect) tones, assuming that I had mistaken the consonants and vowels, which were in fact much closer to what they were supposed to be than the tones.

There are four phonemic tones. The high (H) and low (L) are fairly ordinary, but the middle two are differentiated in behavior rather than pitch. One of these, which we will call strong mid (Ms) undergoes substantially less perturbation than the other, which we will call weak mid (Mw). As will become apparent, weak mid resembles high in its behavior. Northern Senúfo languages (Supyire, Sucite, Mamara) all have both weak and strong mid tones. Central Senúfo languages such as Cebaara and Shenara, however, seem to have a more conventional three tone-system. Cebaara cognates for Supyire weak mid verbs are mostly high tone. Garber (1987: 227) suggests that proto-Senúfo had a four-tone, four-pitch system, and that the upper of the two middle tones was subsequently lost in some languages by merger with high.³² In northern Senúfo the upper of the two middle tones has merged *phonetically* (that is, it is realized on the same phonetic pitch) with the other *mid* tone. This *phonetic* neutralization has not entailed serious *phonological* neutralization, however, due to the complex tone rules of Supyire. In effect, the two mid tones behave quite differently with respect to tone rules, and consequently, in the majority of environments one or the other is possible, but not both. Consider the following example. When a weak mid noun occurs as the possessed noun in a genitive construction in which the possessor is the first person singular pronoun *mìi*, it is raised to high tone: *cigé* 'the tree' becomes *mìi cigé* 'my tree' (the *-gé* is the definite noun suffix for gender 2 singular). When a strong mid noun occurs in the same environment, however, it keeps its mid tone: *bagé* 'the house' stays *mìi bagé*. The multiplicity of rules of this sort ensure that words with weak mid tone are nearly always distinguished from those with strong mid tone.

As in many tone languages, different subsystems of the language exhibit somewhat different tonal behavior. In particular, verbs, nouns, pronouns, and adverbs all differ in tonal behavior. Verbs and pronouns are rather more susceptible to perturbation than nouns, which in turn are more perturbable than adverbs.

Syllabic nasals and of course vowels may bear significant tone. In addition, initial nasals which precede stops may also carry significant tone (with important restrictions—see below), but word-medial nasals which precede stops always take the tone of the previous vowel. A stressed vowel

may carry up to three tones, but this is rare. Rather more common are vowels with two tones, but by far the most common are vowels with one tone. Pre-stop nasals and unstressed vowels may only carry one tone. Spreading rules must sometimes make reference to moras.

Tone rules are also sensitive to different kinds of boundary. Most tone rules apply only in relatively close syntactic environments, such as between possessor and possessed in genitive constructions, between direct object and verb, between noun phrase and postposition. In other contexts, even within the same clause, a rule may not apply. Certain morphological boundaries are impermeable to tone spreading, but allow feature changing rules to apply across them.

The following discussion will begin with an examination of basic tone tunes and then proceed to an exposition of the various rules needed to account for the Supyire data.

2.3.1. Basic tunes

2.3.1.1. Toneless affixes

There are a few affixes which have no tone of their own. They invariably take their surface tone from the preceding element. These toneless affixes are simply listed here for convenience:

(84) Toneless affixes:

basic noun gender suffixes (except G1P and G3P)

imperfective verb suffixes³³

causative verb suffix *-gV*

intransitive verb prefix *N-*

2.3.1.2. Basic verb tunes

Apart from a small class of loans, there are only four basic verb tunes: H, Ms, Mw, and HL. Verbs have one of the following structures: 'CV, 'CVV, 'CVCV, 'CVVCV, 'CVCVCV.³⁴ In the one-tone tunes, the unique tone is simply linked to all the vowels of the verb.

The HL tune by contrast presents a few difficulties. In the first place, it has a simple L variant which shows up when the verb is first in an utterance, such as in the rather impolite bare imperative: *Yir!* 'Get up!', and when the verb immediately follows a tense-aspect auxiliary which ends in Ms, such as *na* 'progressive' and *màha* 'habitual; past':

- (85) *U na yààlì.* ‘S/he is yawning.’
 s/he PROG yawn.IMPV
- U màha yààlà.* ‘S/he always yawns.’
 s/he HAB yawn

It seems slightly more satisfactory to specify that the initial H is removed in these two environments rather than that a H is added in all the other environments where the verb may occur.

Another difficulty presented by this tune is that although the H behaves like any other H in the majority of contexts, it does not so behave with regard to downstep. A HL noun downsteps as expected, but a HL verb does not.

The HL tune is linked to the vowels of the verb as follows: when the verb has one vowel, both tones are linked to it: *cû* ‘grab’, *fě* ‘run’. When the verb has two vowels, they get one tone each: *yírì* ‘get up’, *bî* ‘go far’. When there are three vowels, however, the H always coopts the first two, leaving only the last for the L: *yírígè* (from *yírì* ‘get up’ plus the toneless causative suffix *-gV*) ‘raise’, *céégè* ‘accuse’.³⁵

As mentioned above, borrowed verbs are not constrained by the four tune system just outlined. It is true that some loans do fall as if by accident into one of the four basic tunes: *káramá* ‘force’ (H, from Bambara *kárábá*), *kúmásé* ‘begin’ (H, from French *commencer*). Significantly, Bambara low tone verbs with initial stress are treated as HL in Supyire: *márà* ‘guard’ (from Bambara *màrà*), *sómò* ‘warn’ (from Bambara *sòmì*). However, when the Bambara low tone source word has medial or final stress, Supyire interprets the tune as LH, with the L linked to the stressed syllable and everything before it: *kàlìfã* ‘entrust’ (from Bambara *kàlìfã*), *yàfã* ‘forgive’ (from Bambara *yàfã*). Similarly, when a Bambara high tone source word has medial stress, its initial syllable may be interpreted in Supyire as having mid tone, even though it has high in Bambara, which has only two tone levels: *desé* ‘lack’ (from *désé*), *dafá* ‘complete’ (from *dáfá*, a compound in Bambara). The final stress of a French word is sometimes interpreted as high tone: *gardí* ‘guard’ (from *garder*).

A subclass of Bambara verbs which have been adopted in Supyire with enthusiasm are the reduplicative ideophonic verbs. These usually consist of a CVCV or CVCVCV foot reduplicated *in toto*. The vowel may be the same throughout, or the second foot may replace the vowel of the first foot, usually with [a]. In Bambara these verbs may have either high or low tone. In Supyire I have recorded only one with high tone, all the rest being given a LH tune, with LHL in the imperfective. In the base form the H is confined to the final vowel, but in the imperfective, the second foot has the HL spread out as if it were a normal HL. Some examples: *mòlògòmàlàgá* ‘wriggle like a snake’ (imperfective *mòlògòmálágè*), *pòròpòró* ‘threaten’ (imperfective *pòròpòrè*), *pìrìpàrà* ‘be worthless’ (imperfective *pìrìpàrè*). A slight variation

has the form CVNCCVV: *pàmpàá* ‘flatten completely’ (imperfective *pàmpáni*), *kùnkùú* ‘roll’ (imperfective *kùnkúú*).

2.3.1.3. Basic noun tunes

The orderly picture presented by the verbs contrasts dramatically with the exuberant chaos among the nouns. Even setting aside known compounds, there are many more basic tunes for nouns than there are for verbs. Taking the simplest first, there are four one-tone tunes: H, Ms, Mw, L. Some examples of each:

(86) H:	<i>fáágá</i>	‘rock, Farakala’
	<i>báára</i>	‘work’
	<i>círíné</i>	‘orphan’
	<i>túnó</i>	‘species of caterpillar’
Ms:	<i>baga</i>	‘house’
	<i>cere</i>	‘calabash’
	<i>pworó</i>	‘daughter’
	<i>sarawa</i>	‘bee’
Mw:	<i>cige</i>	‘tree’
	<i>shire</i>	‘hair, feathers’
	<i>bu</i>	‘dead person’
	<i>koo</i>	‘vervet monkey’
L:	<i>ñkùù</i>	‘chicken’
	<i>fèrèñè</i>	‘hoof’
	<i>nà</i>	‘man’
	<i>finimè</i>	‘pus’

It should be pointed out that the majority of H nouns are loans. The first two in the above list are borrowed from Bambara.

Of the twelve possible two-tone tunes, four do not occur. It is undoubtedly significant that all four involve Mw. *MwMs, *MsMw, and *HMw all would place Mw in a place where it probably could not be distinguished from Ms or H. It is less clear why *MwH should not occur, but its non-occurrence is certainly related to the fact that MsH occurs *only* in loans. Evidently MH was not a possible tune in proto-Supyire. Some examples of MsH loans are given here to get them out of the way. Most of these loans entered Supyire through Bambara, even though their ultimate origin may have been Arabic or French.

(87)	<i>darashí</i>	‘five francs’	from	Bambara	<i>dálásí</i>
	<i>mɔ̀bílí</i> [mɔ̀'blí:]	‘car’	from	Bambara	<i>mɔ̀bílí</i>
	<i>kubárá</i>	‘news’	from	Bambara	<i>kìbàrò</i>
	<i>lakóló</i>	‘school’	from	French	<i>l'école</i>
	<i>keshú</i>	‘box’	from	French	<i>caisse</i>
	<i>avyén</i>	‘airplane’	from	French	<i>avion</i> ³⁶

It is important to note that these words all have medial stress. The second tone of the tune is linked with the stressed vowel. This restriction applies to two other two-tone tunes, and to most three-tone tunes.

Of the seven remaining two-tone tunes, LH also comprises mainly loans. Of fourteen nouns with this tune, eleven are clearly loans. Two of the remaining three refer to species of ants, and the L of the third is floating (see below for a discussion of this phenomenon). Some examples of LH nouns are:

(88)	<i>làmpú</i>	‘taxes’	from	French	<i>l'impôt</i>
	<i>mùzhwórs</i>	‘scarf’	from	French	<i>mouchoir</i>
	<i>bòmbó</i>	‘candy’	from	French	<i>bonbon</i>
	<i>sìkwú</i>	‘species of ant’			

Note that like the MsH nouns, LH nouns mostly have medial stress, and the H is linked to the stressed syllable.

The remaining two-tone tunes are LMs, LMw, MsL, MwL, HMs, and HL. Of these, HMs and MsL are very rare. Only four HMs nouns have been detected so far. Of these, one is obviously onomatopoeic: *dúdugo* ‘senegal coucal’, the name imitating the call of the bird (cf. the Bambara name *nyàmatùtu*). Another is borrowed from Bambara: *búbu* ‘deaf-mute’ (from Bambara *bóbó*). Another was perhaps originally a compound, since it has two (dialectal) variants: *múnaa* and *fúnaa* ‘nose’. The fourth word is *tába* ‘species of tree’. All of these words have medial stress, and the second tone of the tune is linked to the stressed vowel.

The HL tune is also composed almost entirely of loans. It is certainly suspicious that all the nouns with this tune, including the three for which I have been unable to trace a loan etymology, are in gender 1, the gender which hosts the vast majority of loans. While most of these words have initial stress, in the two examples with medial stress the L links with the stressed syllable. Some examples:

(89)	<i>bútù̀nə̀</i> [bú'tù̀nə̀]	‘bottle’	from	French	<i>bouteille</i>
	<i>yákìlì</i> [ya'kli:]	‘intelligence’	from	Bambara	<i>hákìlì</i>
	<i>sóò</i>	‘pick’	from	Bambara	<i>sólí</i>
	<i>jínà</i>	‘water spirit’	from	Bambara	<i>jíné</i> (from Arabic <i>jinni</i>)

<i>jwô</i>	‘blessing’
<i>dû</i>	‘granary for shea nuts’

The other four tunes, LMs, LMw, MsL, and MwL, are mostly composed of native rather than loan vocabulary. They also have in common another significant characteristic: they all allow one of their tones to be floating. The details, however, are different in each case.

Roots which take the LMs tune may be divided into three groups. The simplest to deal with are roots with medial stress. As we would expect from the patterns noted above in other tunes, the Ms links with the stressed syllable and everything to the right:

(90)	<i>kàlaga</i>	[kà'laRa]	‘sorghum’
	<i>nàkaana</i>	[nà'ka:nə]	‘discussion’
	<i>dùfugo</i>	[dù'fuRo]	‘maize’
	<i>kùcwuun</i>	[kù'tʃ:u:]	‘patas monkey’
	<i>nàmpɔŋɔ</i>	[nà'mpɔŋɔ]	‘guest, stranger’

A subset of this pattern has reduplicated roots:

(91)	<i>tèntenɛ</i>	‘fritter’
	<i>tùntunɔ</i>	‘messenger’
	<i>tòtogo</i>	‘tamale’
	<i>sòso</i>	‘millet paste’

Another subset of LMs roots have initial nasal-plus-stop clusters. The L is attached to the nasal, and the Ms to everything to the right. This is of course similar to the preceding strategy in that the Ms is linked to the first stressed vowel of the root. Some examples:

(92)	<i>n̄pi</i>	‘hare’
	<i>n̄puuwo</i>	‘spider’
	<i>n̄gugo</i>	‘thorn’
	<i>n̄jire</i>	‘importance’
	<i>n̄kuro</i>	‘wadi’

The third subset simply float the initial low to the left of the root. It is significant that all of these roots begin with voiced consonants, and most with nasals. It looks very much as if certain roots of the sort just discussed have lost their initial low-tone nasal, stranding the tone. We already know that nasal-fricative clusters routinely simplify to voiced fricatives.³⁷ In a similar fashion, perhaps nasal-nasal clusters degeminated to a single nasal. When this happened word initially, no trace was left unless the first nasal had a

different tone from the following vowel. Here are examples with initial fricatives and nasals:

- (93) `zhen 'share'
 `nɔ 'scorpion'
 `neŋe 'tail'
 `niŋe 'middle'
 `ɲwɔhɔ 'bottom'
 `ɲyege 'grass'

One word with this pattern begins with a voiced stop: `boro 'sack'. Another with two variants confirms the hypothesis that the floating low was originally attached to an initial nasal: *m̄puro* varies with `buro 'horn'.

From the above discussion it is clear that for the most part in the LMs tune the Ms is linked with the stressed vowel. Only two LMs nouns have been found which do not conform to this rule. These words have initial stress and three vowels each: *b̄eɲŋe* 'well', and *fwɔhɔ/ɔ* 'area between, middle part'.

The remaining three two-tone tunes have floating tones to the right rather than to the left. Only two examples of MsL have been found. In one of them, the L tone is linked to the medial stressed syllable: *kaŋ* 'conversation'. In the other, which has initial stress, the low tone floats to the right: *cɔɔn* 'younger sibling'. This floating tone docks on the following word if it can, as will be shown below. The only time it ever docks on the word it lexically belongs to is when a definite suffix is added. The boundary joining a definite suffix with its stem is impermeable to tone spreading, and it will not allow the passage of a floating tone. Prevented from docking right, the L then docks left: *cɔɔnɲi* 'younger.sibling.DEF'.

This pattern is repeated in the great majority of MwL nouns, which are very numerous. The only noun with this tune which does not float the L is *kyaà* 'matter, affair'. In all other cases the L is floated, regardless of whether the stress is medial or initial. When the stress is non-initial, the Mw links to the stressed vowel and to everything to the left of it. If the stressed vowel is root final, the L also docks to it when a definite suffix is added, giving a ML contour. In the following examples, both the indefinite and definite forms are given to show the linking of the L in the latter:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| (94) | <i>sika</i> | [si'ka] | 'goat' | <i>sikāɲi</i> | 'the goat' |
| | <i>kile</i> | [kle:] | 'sky, God' | <i>kilēɲi</i> | 'the sky' |
| | <i>pwun</i> | [pɸu] | 'dog' | <i>pwūɲi</i> | 'the dog' |
| | <i>kerege</i> | [kɛr ^ə Rɛ] | 'field' | <i>kerēge</i> | 'the field' |
| | <i>kyaara</i> | [kxara] | 'meat' | <i>kyaàre</i> | 'the meat' |

The remaining tune, LMw, resembles the preceding two in that its final tone floats to the right. It differs, however, from them in that the Mw does

not appear in the definite form. Its effects are felt there, and elsewhere, in the rules that it triggers, but it itself does not surface. The only place where it does appear, in fact, is when the following word begins with a L. Some other examples of LMw nouns are:

- (95) *tùùgò* 'large hoe'
m̀bà 'blind'
zànhà ['zà?à] 'rain'
ỳr̀r̀g̀ 'chain'

Only ten three-tone tunes have been found so far.³⁸ Of these, five tunes are represented by one noun only, and three of those are loans, one is onomatopoeic, and the fifth may be a compound. Of the remaining five tunes, one is represented by only two nouns, another by only three nouns, and a third mostly by reduplicated animal names.

The tunes with only one, two, or three nouns each are:

- (96) LML *f̀aarà* 'water spirit' (loan)
 HLM *b̀ah̀azanà* '*Faidherbia albia* (sp. of tree)' (loan)
 MsLH *simucòró* 'common bulbul'
 HMH *k̀ókaŋk̀ó* 'bearded barbet' (loan, onomatopoeic)
 HML *f̀íicũ* 'red-spectacled wattle-eye' (onomatopoeic)
 LMH *b̀òyakì* 'guava' (loan)
àrajó 'radio, cassette recorder' (loan)
 HLH *s̀ah̀ará* 'red bishop bird'
ɲ̀ók̀ùnó 'hedgehog'
m̀áŋkwòró 'mango' (loan)

As mentioned above, one three-tone tune is represented mainly by reduplicative roots referring to animals. This tune is LHM, and is further peculiar in that the initial L is always floating. All five nouns with this tune, including the one which is not reduplicative, refer to birds or flying insects. They are:

- (97) *l̀alaga* 'butterfly, moth'
ɲ̀éɲere 'yellow-wattled plover'
v̀úvugo 'wasp'
z̀íziiné 'finch'³⁹
ẁúcin 'hammerkop'

Both of the remaining three-tone tunes end in HL. They have in common the characteristic that the H is linked to a stressed syllable. With the LHL,

this may be the only syllable of the word. The LHL tune allows the initial L to float, or be linked to the nasal of an initial nasal-consonant cluster. Some examples with one, two, and three vowels are:

- (98) *`vũ* 'bull-roarer'
`vyĩn 'cricket'
ɲkéɲè 'branch'
m̀páàn 'pigeon, dove'
`zéénnè 'amulet'

The initial L may also be linked to one or more vowels. Most of these words have both initial and medial stress, and a high proportion of them are loans. Some examples:

- (99) *bèèzè* 'facial scarifications'
lèfã 'brick'
ɲkèèmórò 'chameleon'
kùlùshî 'trousers' (loan)
d̀g̀t̀s̀r̀ 'doctor' (loan)
wàràbâ 'Wednesday' (loan)

The remaining three-tone tune, MSHL, does not appear to allow floating tones. Like the LHL, the H must be linked with a stressed vowel, and this vowel may not be the initial vowel of the noun, though it may be the final vowel. Of the eleven nouns with this tune found so far, at least three are loans. Some examples are:

- (100) *kalógò* 'underarm'
nafyĩ 'arse'
dufã 'pocket'
marafã 'gun' (loan)
tasã 'bowl, dish' (loan)

Only six noun roots have been found with four-tone tunes. Two of these are certainly loans, and others may be. It is also possible that some of these are etymologically compounds. These six nouns are:

- (101) LHLH *làházárá* 'second prayer of the afternoon'
 (muslim term, loan)
 MHMH *banáɲkonó* 'Abdim's stork'
 (loan, from Bambara *bànikòno*, a compound)
 LHLMw *kàsímèè* 'elbow'

HMHL	<i>bínakáà</i>	‘species of eagle’
LMHL	<i>ḡkunágà</i>	‘wooden bowl’
	<i>ḡticyén</i>	‘sand’

As noted above, most indefinite noun suffixes are toneless. The plural suffixes of genders 1 and 3, however, have Ms tone. Noun roots with M or ML tone frequently change tunes when they occur before these Ms suffixes. Almost all MwL roots change to L:

(102)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	<i>pwun</i>	<i>pwùun</i>	‘dog’ (G1)
	<i>ceewe</i>	<i>cyèe</i>	‘woman’ (G1)
	<i>kuro</i>	<i>kùrii</i>	‘path’ (G3)
	<i>luu</i>	<i>lùgii</i>	‘shea nut’ (G3)

There are a few MwL roots which simply switch to Ms in the plural, however:

(103)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	<i>biliwe</i>	<i>bilii</i>	‘slave’ (G1)
	<i>jya</i>	<i>jyaa</i>	‘son’ (G1)
	<i>kile</i>	<i>kilee</i>	‘sky, god’ (G1)
	<i>koolo</i>	<i>koogii</i>	‘cough’ (G3)
	<i>ntirine</i>	<i>ntiriḡii</i>	‘small bat’ (G3)
	<i>njire</i>	<i>njirii</i>	‘tongue’ (G3)

At least two MwL roots become H in the plural:

(104)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	<i>ciiwe</i>	<i>cílli</i>	‘leather-worker’ (G1)
	<i>kulo</i>	<i>kúlúgii</i>	‘country’ (G3)

Both Mw and Ms roots for the most part switch to L or H in the plural:

(105)	Base Tone	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	Mw	<i>fyá</i>	<i>fyàa</i>	‘fish’ (G1)
	Mw	<i>cere</i>	<i>cèrii</i>	‘calabash’ (G3)
	Mw	<i>koo</i>	<i>kééii</i>	‘vervet monkey’ (G1)
	Mw	<i>pwuun</i>	<i>pwónhii</i>	‘bump’ (G3)
	Ms	<i>pee</i>	<i>pyàhii</i>	‘pottery bowl’ (G3)
	Ms	<i>sarawa</i>	<i>sárii</i>	‘bee’ (G1)
	Ms	<i>baa</i>	<i>báhii</i>	‘small house’ (G3)

A few mid tone roots, however, remain mid in the plural:

(106)	Base Tone	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	Mw	<i>yiriwe</i>	<i>yirii</i>	'crested porcupine' (G1)
	Ms	<i>pworó</i>	<i>pworii</i>	'daughter' (G1)

The behavior of gender 3 nominalizations appears to be predictable. H verbs become Mw nouns in the singular, but retain H in the plural. Ms verbs remain Ms in both the singular and plural:

(107)	Verb Tone	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	H	<i>kwuulo</i>	<i>kwúúgii</i>	'shout'
	H	<i>suu</i>	<i>súgii</i>	'injection'
	Ms	<i>tahala</i>	<i>tahagii</i>	'layer'
	Ms	<i>tugulo</i>	<i>tugugii</i>	'load'

The behavior of Ms in the LMs tune also seems to be predictable. With only one exception it becomes H in the plural:

(108)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	<i>kùcwuun</i>	<i>kùcwúúnli</i>	'patas monkey' (G1)
	<i>m̀pi</i>	<i>m̀píi</i>	'hare' (G1)
	<i>ǹɔɔ</i>	<i>ǹémii</i>	'guinea fowl' (G1)
	<i>p̀awuro</i>	<i>p̀awúrii</i>	'pottery collander' (G3)
	<i>ɲkuro</i>	<i>ɲkúrii</i>	'wadi' (G3)
	<i>b̀oro</i>	<i>b̀órii</i>	'bag' (G3)

In contrast to the toneless or Ms indefinite noun suffixes, the definite suffixes all have a MwL tune. In this they are similar to the anaphoric pronouns, with which they undoubtedly share a common origin. As mentioned above, the boundary between the noun stem and the definite suffixes is impermeable to tone spreading, but does not block feature-changing rules, which may act across word boundaries. This means that the definite suffix switches to H when it follows a stem ending in M (either Mw or Ms), by a rule to be discussed below. The Mw of the suffix is unaffected, however, following a stem ending in L or H. Some examples of this are:

(109)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>ɲkùù</i>	<i>ɲkùùɲi</i>	'chicken' (G1S)
	<i>kùùgò</i>	<i>kùùge</i>	'stool' (G2S)
	<i>kùùyò</i>	<i>kùùyi</i>	'stools' (G2P)
	<i>fáágá</i>	<i>fááge</i>	'rock' (G2S)

<i>fááyá</i>	<i>fááyí</i>	'rocks' (G2P)
<i>fúúnmó</i>	<i>fúúnmpé</i>	'eggplant' (G5)

In addition to the Mw which is realized on the suffix vowel, all definite suffixes (and third person pronouns) are followed by a floating L, which docks to the right if it can, but never to the left (that is, although it belongs to the suffix lexically, it is never realized there). For details of this docking behavior, see section 2.3.3 below.

Other noun affixes also have their own tunes. The nominalizing prefix *N-* has a simple L tune. The diminutive suffix *-rV* has a H tune.

2.3.1.4. Tunes of other word classes

As mentioned in the previous section, third person pronouns have a Mw tune followed by a floating L. The simple anaphoric pronouns are generally proclitics on the following word, while the emphatic pronouns behave more like independent nouns tonally. Demonstrative pronouns all have a low tone nasal prefix and a high tone suffix (*-lll* in genders 1 and 3 plural, and *-é* in all the rest) followed by a floating L. This schema may be derived on the evidence of internal reconstruction from something like the following, using G1S as an example:

(110)	Reconstructed form	<i>N-</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>-e</i>
	Reconstructed tones	LMw		MwL
	Present form	<i>ŋgé</i>		

Postpositions may be divided into simple and complex. The complex postpositions consist of a relational noun (usually originally referring to a body part) followed by a simple postposition. The relational noun has the same tone tune and tonal behavior as the ordinary noun it corresponds to. The simple postpositions, on the other hand, behave tonally more like verbs. They may have a H (e.g. *táán* 'beside'), Mw (e.g. *i* 'with'), or Ms (e.g. *na* 'on') tune.

Tense-aspect auxiliaries also behave tonally rather like verbs, and in fact many of them can be traced to verbal origins. Possible tunes include H (e.g. *sí* 'future', *sí* 'narrative', *ná* 'past'), and Ms (e.g. *na* 'progressive'). A few two-tone tunes are also found, such as the LMs tune of the habitual auxiliary *màha*.

The final word class to be discussed here, adverbs, is also the most well-behaved tonally, its members in general not undergoing any tonal rules. Various tunes are attested: H *náhá* 'here', HL *sáhánkì* 'again, still', MsH *waní* 'there'. The adverb subclass commonly called ideophones may have

exaggerated tones. For example, *fééféeé* ‘to an astonishing degree’ may be pronounced with extra high tone (and extra long vowels).

2.3.2. Leftward docking of floating tones

In the previous section it was noted that certain nouns have tunes which include floating tones. These tunes are ML, and LMw, where the final tone floats, and LMs and LH, where the first tone floats in a few words. These floating tones may dock leftward under certain conditions.

The floating L of the MwL and MsL tunes in most environments docks rightward. However, it is forced to dock leftward if a definite suffix is added after it, the definite suffix boundary being impermeable to tone. If the final vowel of the root is stressed, the docking L joins the M already linked to that vowel to produce a ML contour:

(111)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>sika</i>	<i>sikāŋi</i> [si'kāŋi]	‘goat’
	<i>pwun</i>	<i>pwūnŋi</i>	‘dog’

If the final vowel of the root is unstressed, the M is dislodged by the docking L:

(112)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>kerege</i>	<i>kerège</i> ['ker ^ə Re]	‘field’

In a three-tone tune, this may result in a contour on the initial, stressed, vowel, as in:

(113)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>fwənrəgə</i>	<i>fwənrəge</i>	‘long-tailed glossy starling’

The floating Mw of the LMw tune docks leftwards under different conditions. It only appears when the following word begins with a low tone. Some examples are:

(114)	<i>nìŋkin</i>	<i>nìŋkìn</i>	‘one by one, one each’
	one	one	
	<i>tùùgo</i>	<i>nìŋkìn</i>	‘one large hoe’
	large.hoe	one	
	<i>mìi</i>	<i>ŋkùùŋi</i>	‘my chicken’
	my	chicken	

The initial floating L of the LMs and LH tunes docks onto the previous word if there is one, regardless of the kind of construction. It is of course only detectable when the preceding word ends in a vowel having other than L tone. Some examples are:

- (115) *mìl boní* 'my bag' from *`boní*
 my bag
- u podòŋì neŋké* 'her husband's tail (i.e. flywhisk)'
 her husband tail from *`neŋké*
- maá û neŋké lwò...* 'and took his tail...'
 and his tail take
- u nâ ɣámii sí...* 'she gave birth to twins...'
 she PAST twins give.birth from *`ɣámii*

It should be noted that under no circumstances does the initial floating L dock rightwards onto the root which it lexically belongs to.

2.3.3. Rightward spreading and docking

In certain environments tones may spread from one word rightwards onto the following word. Rightward docking of floating tones is simply a special case of this kind of spreading.

2.3.3.1. Low spread

A L may spread rightwards onto the following word or root in a number of constructions. In genitive constructions, the final L of the possessor noun may spread onto the following possessed noun, but only if the latter begins with Mw (in this and the following examples, UT stands for 'underlying tones'):⁴⁰

- (116) UT: L Mw
sìnmè là
 fat desire
 'desire or need for fat or oil'

The Mw does not actually simply disappear, as this example seems to imply. It lingers on to produce effects which will be discussed in section 2.3.4.1 below. When a L spreads rightwards onto a noun with a MwL tune, however, the final L disappears without a trace, and the Mw lingers on. The *fòò* in the following example will thus produce exactly the same effects as the *là* in the

preceding example, although underlyingly it ends in a L tone (see section 2.3.4.1).

- (117) UT: L MwL
fɔŋɔ̀ fɔ̀
 poverty owner
 ‘poor person’

Another environment where L spreads rightwards is in a transitive verb phrase. The final L of a direct object spreads onto a following Mw or H verb. The original tone of the verb is totally replaced by the spreading tone, no matter how many syllables the verb has, as in the following examples:

- (118) UT: L Mw
ŋkùù bɔ̀
 chicken kill
 ‘kill a chicken’
- UT: L Mw
ŋkùù dùrùgò
 chicken go.up.CAUS
 ‘make a chicken go up’
- UT: L H
ŋkùù lwɔ̀
 chicken take
 ‘take a chicken’
- UT: L H
ŋkùù ɲààrà
 chicken ask.for
 ‘ask for a chicken’

Low tone may also spread from a subject noun phrase onto a following H tense-aspect auxiliary:

- (119) UT: L L H Ms
kà ŋkùù sɪ jwɔ̀...⁴¹
 and.DS chicken NARR say
 ‘Then chicken said...’

It may also spread from a noun phrase onto a following conjunction or postposition with H or Mw tone:

(120) UT: L H LMs
ɲkùù nà ɲkùlege
 chicken and cockroach
 ‘chicken and cockroach’

UT: H L Mw
ná ɲkùlè è
 with chicken with
 ‘with a chicken’

Spreading of L also occurs in compounds, if the second root has Mw tone. The compound may be modeled on either a genitive phrase (in which case the second root is a noun) or on a clause (in which case the second root is a verb):

(121) UT: L MwL
ɲkù-pòò
 chicken-male
 ‘rooster’

UT: L Mw
ɲkù-yà-mà
 chicken-be.ill-G5
 ‘chicken disease’

The floating L of an indefinite noun with a MwL tune may dock and spread rightwards just like the L of a simple L tune as described above, as the following examples show:

(122) UT: MwL Mw GENITIVE
sanɲcyɛɛn mɛ̀̀
 bird song
 ‘bird song’

UT: MwL H VERB PHRASE
ceewe wìì
 woman look.at
 ‘look at a woman’

UT: L MwL Mw Ms TENSE AUXILIARY
kà pwun sì jwò...
 then dog NARR say
 ‘then Dog said...’

UT: MwL H L <i>ceewe nà nɔ̀</i> woman and man 'a woman and a man'	CONJUNCTION
UT: H MwL Mw <i>ná pwun ɪ</i> with dog with 'with a dog'	POSTPOSITION

In all of the above, the L of the MwL tune acts just like the L of a simple L tune. The similarity continues for at least some compounds, where a Mw or MwL root following a MwL root is co-opted by the final L of the first root:

(123) UT: MwL MwL
sika- pèrè
goat- male.G3S
'male goat'

UT: MwL Mw
canm-bilè
day- seed.G3S
'individual day'

However, when some MwL roots are the first root in a compound, they behave slightly differently. The final floating L, instead of docking to the first vowel of the following Mw root, floats right to the end of the following root. There it does not appear unless the noun has a definite suffix, which prevents it from floating off the word to the right:

(124) UT: MwL Mw Mw L
wem- bilī -ni
leaf- seed-DEF(G3S)
'individual leaf'

UT: MwL Mw Mw L
wyi- tugù -ŋi
hole- dig -DEF(G1S)
'hole digger'

Some Ms verb roots may allow a L to float across them in a compound, while others do not. Compare the following two compounds:

(125) UT: MwL Ms Mw L
funm- pē -ge
 interior- be.bad-DEF(G2S)
 ‘stinginess’

UT: MwL Ms Mw L
funŋ- ga -gé
 interior- be.dry-DEF(G2S)
 ‘constipation’

There are many other unexplained idiosyncracies in compounds. In the following pair of examples, a Ms verb root does not allow a preceding L to float across it when it is the final root of the compound, but it does allow the L to float across when it is the medial in a three-root compound:

(126) UT: MwL Ms Mw L
səŋcwən-sigi -ŋf
 pest- prevent-DEF(G1S)
 ‘person who guards crops from animal pests’

UT: MwL Ms Mw Mw L
səŋcwən-sigi- cī -ge
 pest- prevent- tree-DEF(G1S)
 ‘tree in which person who guards crops from pests sits’

The final floating L of a definite noun suffix behaves just like the floating L of an indefinite MwL noun. Some examples are:

(127) UT: L MwL Mw Mw L GENITIVE
nà -ŋi ŋwɔ̀-ɔ̀ -nɪ
 man-DEF knife-G3S -DEF
 ‘the man’s knife’

UT: Mw MwL H VERB PHRASE
ci -ré pààn
 tree-DEF chop
 ‘chop trees’

UT: L MwL MwL Mw Ms TENSE AUXILIARY
kà ceè -ŋi sɪ jwɔ̀...
 and woman-DEF NARR say
 ‘then the woman said...’

UT: MwL MwL H MwL L MwL CONJUNCTION
ceè -ŋi nà u pyà -ŋi
 woman -DEF and her child -DEF
 ‘the woman and her child’

UT: H MwL MwL Mw POSTPOSITION
ná ceè -ŋi ì
 with woman -DEF with
 ‘with the woman’

It was stated above that both simple and emphatic third person pronouns have a basic MwL tune. The emphatic pronouns behave just like MwL nouns. Their final floating L docks rightwards onto Mw or H words (depending on the construction) just as described above. The simple pronouns, however, cause rather different effects, and this difference in behavior may be attributed to their being proclitics. There are certain similarities with the behavior of MwL roots in compounds, as described above. In each of the sets of examples below, an emphatic will be compared with a simple pronoun to illustrate the difference.

In genitive constructions, the final L of the simple pronoun floats across a following Mw noun:

(128) UT: MwL Mw MwL SIMPLE
u cî -ge
 his/her tree -DEF
 ‘his/her tree’

UT: MwL Mw MwL EMPHATIC
uru cì -gé
 his/her(EMPH) tree -DEF
 ‘his/her tree’

In transitive verb phrases, a Mw verb is unaffected after a simple pronoun (the L evidently floats across the verb and is lost):

(129) UT: MwL Mw SIMPLE
ku bwɔn
 it hit
 ‘hit it’

UT: MwL Mw EMPHATIC
kuru bwɔn
 it(EMPH) hit
 ‘hit it’

The L will dock onto a verb with H tune, however:

- (130) UT: MwL H SIMPLE
ku wì
 it look.at
 ‘look at it’
- UT: MwL H EMPHATIC
kuru wì
 it(EMPH) look.at
 ‘look at it’

The L of a simple pronoun has no effect on a following tense-aspect auxiliary:

- (131) UT: L MwL H Ms SIMPLE
kà u ɹ jwó...
 and she NARR say
 ‘then she said...’
- UT: L MwL H Ms EMPHATIC
kà uru sɪ jwò...
 and she(EMPH) NARR say
 ‘then she said...’

A following conjunction likewise is not affected:

- (132) UT: MwL H MwL Ms MwL SIMPLE
u ná u pwo-ro -ɲí
 he and his daughter -DEF
 ‘he and his daughter’
- UT: MwL H L Ms MwL EMPHATIC
uru ná cyè -e -bɪf
 she(EMPH) and woman -G1P -DEF
 ‘she and the women’

But a following postposition with H tune allows the L of the simple pronoun to dock:

- (133) UT: MwL H SIMPLE
u à
 him/her DAT
 ‘to him/her’

UT: MwL H EMPHATIC
 ura *à*
 him/her(EMPH) DAT
 'to him/her'

So far we have shown that L may spread rightwards onto possessed NPs, verbs, tense-aspect auxiliaries, conjunctions, and postpositions from nouns and pronouns. Another source of spreading L is tense-aspect auxiliaries. A L from an auxiliary may not spread onto a following noun direct object, but it *may* spread onto a following Mw or H *verb* (in an intransitive clause) or onto a *pronoun* direct object:

- (134) UT: MwL MwL MwL Ms NOUN DO
 U à pwun nya.
 s/he PERF dog see
 'S/he saw a dog.'
- UT: MwL MwL H H VERB
 Ka a tààn.
 it PERF taste.good
 'It tastes good.'
- UT: MwL MwL Mw Mw VERB
 U a tòrò.
 s/he PERF pass
 'S/he passed by.'
- UT: MwL MwL MwL H PRONOUN DO
 U a kù wíf.
 s/he PERF it look.at
 'S/he has looked at it.'
- UT: Ms MwL MwL H EMPHATIC PRONOUN DO
 Mu a ùrù lwó.
 you PERF it(EMPH) take
 'You have taken it.'

The L of an auxiliary may dock onto any following third person pronoun, not only onto a pronoun which is the direct object of the verb. If the direct object consists of a genitive construction with a pronoun possessor, the L of the auxiliary may dock onto the pronoun and spread thence onto the following noun. In the following pair of examples, the L of the auxiliary comes originally from the definite noun subject. In the first example, the low can spread no farther than the auxiliary, since further progress is blocked by the noun direct object. In the second example, the possessor pronoun "opens the

gate” to the invading tone, which is thus able to dock onto the following noun:

(135) UT: L L MwL H Mw MwL Mw
Kà nà -ŋi sì ci -gé kwòŋ.
 and man -DEF NARR tree -DEF cut
 ‘Then the man cut the tree.’

UT: L L MwL H MwL Mw MwL Mw
Kà nà -ŋi sì ù ci -gé kwòŋ.
 and man -DEF NARR his tree -DEF cut
 ‘Then the man cut his tree.’

We will see a similar phenomenon below in the spreading of H tone.

2.3.3.2. Spread of L from LMw

So far we have been looking at the spreading of L tone from a root ending in L, and we have noted that such a L does not spread to Ms. A slightly different process occurs with roots with a LMw tune. As already noted, the Mw of such a tune floats. If it belongs to a noun direct object, it enables the preceding L to spread to a Ms verb (this process does not affect Ms nouns). Contrary to spreading of L described in the previous section, where the L occupies the whole of a Mw or H verb, the L spreading from LMw onto a Ms verb is permitted to link only with the first vowel of the verb. If the verb has only one vowel, the original Ms disappears without a trace. But if the verb has more than one vowel, the Ms remains attached to all but the first vowel:

(136) UT: LMw Ms
dù-gò cyà
 stream-G2S look.for
 ‘seek for a stream’

UT: LMw Ms
bwùùn fāanra
 granary build
 ‘build a granary’

A LMw noun has the same effect on following Ms postposition (e.g. *bwùùn nà* ‘on a granary’).

It was noted above that a root with MwL tune which accepts a L spreading onto it from the left loses its final L and thus comes to have a LMw tune. Pronouns are particularly prone to undergo this change. In the following ex-

ample, the pronoun direct object accepts a L coming from the tense-aspect auxiliary to its left, thereby acquiring a LMw tune. The L of this tune in turn is passed on to the following Ms verb:

- (137) UT: MwL MwL MwL Ms
U a ò fāanra.
 he PERF it build
 ‘He has built it.’

The spreading L may also be passed on to a postposition in this way. In the following example, the L from the auxiliary spreads to the Mw verb and thence to the pronoun, which in turn passes it on to the Ms postposition:

- (138) UT: MwL MwL Mw MwL Ms
U a bwòñ kù nà.
 s/he PERF hit it on
 ‘S/he has touched it.’

The L of a LMw noun does not spread to a following Mw or H verb or postposition. A simple pronoun with the same tune, however, due to its status as a proclitic, passes on the L to a following Mw verb. A following H verb is not affected:

- (139) UT: MwL MwL MwL Mw
U a kù dùrù-gò.
 s/he PERF it go.up-CAUS
 ‘S/he has put it up.’

- UT: MwL MwL MwL H
U a kù wíf.
 s/he PERF it look.at
 ‘S/he has looked at it.’

The differences between L spreading from a simple L tune and L spreading from a LMw tune are nicely illustrated by two prefixes which may be affixed to verbs. The nominalizing prefix *ñ-* has a simple L tune. Its L spreads to the following verb root if the latter has a Mw or H tune, but is blocked by a Ms root. The future tense prefix *ñ-* has a LMw tune. Its L spreads to Mw verbs and to the first vowel of Ms verbs, but leaves H verbs unaffected. Compare the following examples:

(140)	Verb	Nominalizer	Future Tense
	<i>kare</i> (Mw) 'go'	<i>ṅ-kàrè-ṅí</i> 'the going'	<i>ṅ-kàrè</i> 'will go'
	<i>paara</i> (Ms) 'imitate'	<i>m̄-paara-ṅí</i> 'the imitating'	<i>m̄-pàara</i> 'will be imitated'
	<i>wíí</i> 'look.at'	<i>ṅ-gìì-ṅí</i> 'the looking at'	<i>ṅ-gíí</i> 'will be looked at'

2.3.3.3. High spread

A H may spread rightwards to a following M verb, postposition, or pronoun. The spreading H completely dislodges a Mw tone. Just as with spreading L, Ms is able to resist the invading tone better than Mw. However, the spreading H is more successful than the spreading L (of LMw). As noted above, the L is able to link only to the first vowel of a Ms verb. The spreading H by contrast may take over up to two vowels of the Ms verb. Recall that verbs may have the following shapes: CV, CVV, CVCV, CVVCV, or CVCVCV. If the verb has only one vowel, the Ms is detached and is lost entirely. If the verb has two or more vowels, the Ms remains linked to the last vowel, and the spreading H takes over the other vowels. In the following examples the spreading H originates in the tense-aspect auxiliary and spreads onto a Ms verb:

(141)	UT:	L	MwL	H	Ms	CV
		<i>Kà</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>jwó...</i>	
		and she	NARR	say		
		'Then she said...'				
	UT:	MwL	H	Ms	CVV	
		<i>La</i>	<i>há</i>	<i>yáa...</i>		
		it	COND	fashion		
		'If it is fashioned...'				
	UT:	L	MwL	H	Ms	CVCV
		<i>Kà</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>í</i>	<i>fwóro...</i>	
		and they	NARR	go.out		
		'Then they went out...'				
	UT:	MwL	H	Ms	CVVCV	
		<i>La</i>	<i>há</i>	<i>fáánra...</i>		
		it	COND	build		
		'When it is built...'				

UT: Ms H Ms CVCVCV
Mu ahá wúrógo...
 you COND be.mistaken
 ‘If you are mistaken...’

The H may spread to a pronoun, and thence to a following verb:

(142) UT: Ms H MwL Ms
Mu ahá lí fáánra...
 you COND it build
 ‘When you have built it...’

Although the H may not spread directly to a Mw noun, it may gain entrance to a noun phrase via a possessor pronoun, just as the spreading L can. Compare the following examples, the first without and the second with a possessor pronoun:

(143) UT: L MwL H Mw MwL Mw
Kà u ń cí -gé kwòñ.
 and he NARR tree -DEF cut
 ‘Then he cut the tree.’

UT: L MwL H MwL Mw MwL Mw
Kà u ń ń cí -ge kwòñ.
 and he NARR his tree -DEF cut
 ‘Then he cut his tree.’

Like the spreading L, a H may spread in a compound noun. Some examples are:

(144) UT: LMw H Mw
sùpyì- péré- cáán-gá
 person-sell- market-G2S
 ‘slave market’

UT: Ms H Mw MwL
kwu- síní-ńí- cí -ge
 die- lie.down-CAUS- tree -DEF
 ‘the tree under which the corpse is set down’

2.3.4. Tone changing rules

There are three rules which convert one tone to another. Like the spreading rules, these are confined to specific syntactic environments.

2.3.4.1. Mw becomes H after M

A Mw tone is converted to a H when it follows a M (either Mw or Ms) in some of the same environments where L spreading occurs: in genitive constructions, transitive noun phrases, and postpositional phrases (there are no Mw auxiliaries or conjunctions). Here are some examples where the rule is triggered by the pronoun *mu* 'you', with Ms tune:

- (145) UT: Ms Mw MwL GENITIVE
mu cí -ge
 your tree -DEF
 'your tree'
- UT: Ms Mw VERB PHRASE
mu dúrú-gó
 you go.up-CAUS
 'make you go up'
- UT: H Ms Mw POSTPOSITION
ná mu í
 with you with
 'with you'

When the initial Mw of a MwL noun is converted to H, the L of the tune disappears completely:

- (146) UT: Ms MwL MwL
mu pwún -gi
 your dog -DEF
 'your dog'
- UT: Ms MwL MwL
mu kéré -ge
 your field -DEF
 'your field'

It was noted above that the boundary between a noun stem and its definite suffix is impermeable to spreading tones. It cannot prevent the feature changing rule under discussion from acting across it, however. Since all definite noun suffixes have MwL tune, the net effect is that the suffix *never* has the same tone as the final tone of the root. If the root ends in L or H, the M of the suffix is unaffected, but if the root ends in Mw or Ms, the suffix becomes H (the L of the suffix tune is of course always floated):

- | | | |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| (147) UT: | Mw MwL | Ms MwL |
| | <i>ci -gé</i> | <i>ba -gé</i> |
| | tree -DEF(G2S) | house -DEF(G2S) |
| | 'the tree' | 'the house' |

As stated above, the Mw of a LMw tune rarely actually appears on the surface as a phonetic M. Its effect is frequently felt, however, since it triggers the rule under discussion here. The first person singular pronoun *mìi* has this tune. Compare its effects on a following noun, verb, or postposition with those of the second person pronoun *mu* illustrated above:

- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------|
| (148) UT: | LMw Mw MwL | GENITIVE |
| | <i>mìi cí -ge</i> | |
| | my tree -DEF(G2S) | |
| | 'my tree' | |
| UT: | LMw Mw | VERB PHRASE |
| | <i>mìi dúrú-gó</i> | |
| | me go.up-CAUS | |
| | 'make me go up' | |
| UT: | H LMw Mw | POSTPOSITION |
| | <i>ná mìi í</i> | |
| | with me with | |
| | 'with me' | |

Noun stems with a LMw tune have H tone on their definite suffixes, and can thus readily be distinguished from nouns with simple L, which have M on their definite suffixes:

- | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|
| (149) UT: | LMw MwL | L MwL |
| | <i>bwùù -ní</i> | <i>ḡkùù -ḡi</i> |
| | granary-DEF(G3S) | chicken-DEF(G1S) |
| | 'the granary' | 'the chicken' |

Nouns and pronouns with the MwL tune lose their final L when they allow a L to spread from the left. They thereby acquire a LMw tune, and take H on their definite suffix if they have one:

- | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| (150) UT: | L MwL MwL |
| | <i>ḡkùù fòò -ḡí</i> |
| | chicken owner -DEF(G1S) |
| | 'the chicken owner' |

As shown above, direct object pronouns may accept a L coming from a preceding tense-aspect auxiliary. It was noted that simple pronouns, due to their status as clitics, allow the L to keep on spreading through to both Mw and Ms verbs. Emphatic pronouns in the same situation behave like LMw nouns. That is, although they allow spreading of L to the first vowel of a Ms verb, they trigger the raising of a Mw verb to H by the rule under discussion here:

- (151) UT: LMw MwL MwL Mw
Mì a ùrù bwón.
 I PERF him/her(EMPH) hit
 'I hit him/her.'

2.3.4.2. L becomes M after M

The second tone changing rule occurs only in genitive constructions and between a noun and a following number. In these environments, if the first word ends in a M, the initial L of the second word is converted to M:

- (152) UT: Ms L MwL
mu nkoo -ní
 your chicken-DEF
 'your chicken'

It may be asked why this is not treated as a case of M spreading rightwards, parallel to the spreading of L and H. The answer is that if this were a case of spreading, there seems to be no reason why the L of the rightward word should disappear completely. One would expect a final ML tune, with a M tone on the definite suffix. Instead, the final tune is simple M, which causes the Mw of the definite suffix to become H as described in the previous section. Similarly, if the rightward word has a basic LMw tune, one would expect ML(Mw) to be the outcome after spreading. However, the original L disappears completely and the Mw becomes H:

- (153) UT: Ms LMw MwL
mu bwuún -ní
 your granary-DEF
 'your granary'
- UT: Mw LMw
ci-yi shuunní
 tree-G2S two
 'two trees'

It should be noted that the final Mw of the LMw tune does not raise a following L to M. Instead, this is the sole environment where such a Mw is actually pronounced as M, as explained above.

A further observation that needs to be made is that this rule must be applied before the rightward docking of a floating L takes place, or else it would convert the LMw tune resulting from that docking into a MH tune. Since no such conversion occurs, the docked L must not undergo this raising rule:

(154) UT:	MwL	MwL	MwL
	<i>uru</i>	<i>pòò</i>	<i>-ɲí</i>
	<i>*uru</i>	<i>poo</i>	<i>-ɲi</i>
	her(EMPH)	husband	-DEF
	'her husband'		

In passing it is perhaps worth pointing out that the non-application of this rule to HL verbs is a good argument against their being interpreted as underlyingly L. After a M direct object these verbs are always HL rather than M.

2.3.4.3. Mw becomes H after a H noun

The third and last feature changing rule is like the first one discussed above in that it involves the conversion of a Mw to H. The present rule takes place in a much more restricted environment. The H which triggers the change must be attached to a noun. Pronouns, auxiliaries, and conjunctions with H tone do not qualify. There are only two places where H tone nouns may trigger the rule: in genitive constructions and in transitive verb phrases. Again it may be asked why this is not treated as a kind of rightward spreading. The response in this case is of a special kind. It will be shown below that downstep occurs between two words with H tunes. If the H tunes were actually the manifestation of one H tone spread over the two words, it is difficult to see how a downstep could be inserted. But downstep is *always* inserted between the triggering H and the resulting H of this rule. Following are some examples. Note that the noun triggering the rule must end in H, but may have other tones preceding:

(155) UT:	H	Mw	MwL	GENITIVE
	<i>Fáágá</i>	'	<i>cáán</i>	<i>-ge</i>
	Farakala	market	-DEF	
	'the market of Farakala'			

(157) UT: L MwL H MwL Mw
Kà u ú ú bwón.
 and s/he NARR him/her hit
 ‘Then s/he hit him/her.’

UT: L MwL H MwL H
Kà u ú ú ’ yfbé...
 and s/he NARR him/her ask
 ‘Then s/he asked him/her...’

2.3.5.2. Downdrift

In addition to the downstep which occurs between H tones, Supyire also has pervasive downdrift, by which both H and M tones are slightly lowered following a L tone. Intonation groups thus gradually fall in pitch as they go along. This process may also occur within words. Definite nouns with a MwL tune have M tone definite suffixes. The pitch of the suffix is lower than the initial M of the noun because of downdrift.⁴³

Downdrift may be suspended in some types of utterance. Exclamations, imperatives, and questions typically do not allow downdrift. This shows that the phenomenon is basically intonational in nature.

2.3.5.3. Intonation

Intonational downdrift serves to demarcate basic sections of an utterance in declarative speech. There are a few other intonational phenomena which should be briefly mentioned. In exclamatory speech the overall pitch is usually raised, and the tones are further apart. The final tone of an intonation group is usually lowered. A final M often sounds as low as a preceding L, and a final L is pronounced as a super low.

A speaker often wishes to signal at the end of one intonation group that he or she has something more to say (typically another clause of a complex sentence). This is most often done by means of what I will call “non-final” intonation (NF): the final vowel is prolonged, and either a H or LH tune is added to it. The LH tune seems to indicate a more substantial break with the preceding discourse. If the H is added to a vowel which already has H tone, the pitch rises to a super H. Usually the interlocutor will interject a particle expressing agreement or surprise following the non-final intonation. The original speaker then continues with another intonation group. Following are some examples. The non-final intonation has been transcribed simply as [:] to indicate length, with appropriate tones above it.

- (158) a. A: *ɲjaaŋf ɲgémù wì gé ʔ* [wiRéèé]
 repair.DEF DEM.REL it.is REL NF
 ‘The restoring which it is...’
- B: *m̀̀*
 ‘yeah’
- A: *wyere fà̀nà tí nyɛ tí tí dɛ.*
 leaves also they be they.COMP they.are EXCL
 ‘...there are also *potions.*’ i.e. ‘Potions are also involved
 in the restoration ceremonies.’
- b. A: *Wà na wá 'mɛ̀ɲi ʔ* [mɛ̀ɲíí]
 IND PROG be.there there NF
 ‘There is one over there...’
- B: *m̀̀*
 ‘Uh-huh’
- A: *m̀li nyɛ à u taỳrìge cè mé.*
 I NEG PERF his LOC.rise know NEG
 ‘...I don’t know where he came from.’

Chapter 3

Nouns

The present chapter is divided into two major sections. The first will deal with the gender system, describing first morphological marking and then semantic values. The second section will deal with the remainder of noun morphology: the diminutive suffix, the various nominalizing prefixes, and finally the different types of noun compounding.

3.1. Noun genders

Supyire has a typical Niger-Congo noun class system, with eight noun classes grouped into five genders. Although there is no verb agreement, there is full concord within the noun phrase: determiners, independent adjectives, and at least some quantifiers agree in noun class with the head noun. Pronouns of course agree in noun class with their antecedents.

The gender system is quite well-behaved. The phenomenon of a particular morphological form participating in more than one gender, so widespread in Bantu (e.g. class 10 may be the plural of both class 9 and class 11), is absent in Senufo.¹ There is therefore little motivation to number the noun classes 1-8 in imitation of descriptions of Bantu. In this grammar the genders are numbered 1-5. Individual classes will be labeled 'gender 1 singular', 'gender 3 plural', and so forth.² Genders 4 and 5 are single class genders.

The morphological elements which mark noun gender may mark some other category as well, such as definiteness. In a general way, one can say that the noun class is marked by a consonant, and that other functions are marked by the following vowel. It is thus possible to speak of "class consonants": each noun class has a typical consonant or family of consonants (sharing the same point of articulation) which recur again and again in the morphological marking of that class. Table 3 shows the class consonant for each class, and in parentheses the related consonants which may mark the class.

One remark is necessary concerning the gender 3 plural. It will be noticed that none of the consonants in parentheses are alveopalatal. In fact, originally the class consonant was /k/, and this is the form which some old people still prefer. This is being replaced by /c/ in most of Kampwo, however.

3.1.1. The gender suffixes

Noun gender is marked on nouns by means of suffixes. There are two sets of suffixes, which we will label basic and definite.

Table 3. Noun class consonants

Gender	Singular	Non-count	Plural
1	W (G, ŋ)		P (B, M)
2	K (G, ŋ, H)		Y (J)
3	L (D, N)		C (K, G, ŋ, H)
4		T (R, N)	
5		P (B, M)	

3.1.1.1. Basic gender suffixes

The basic suffixes are the older of the two sets of suffixes. They were originally the only gender suffixes, definiteness being indicated by means of determiners, as in many Senufo languages (e.g. Mamara) to this day. As older morphological material, they have undergone more phonological erosion than the definite suffixes. They have the basic form *-CV* in six of the eight classes. The consonant is of course the class consonant (or a voiced counterpart), and the vowel is a harmonizing vowel. The suffix is toneless.

In the remaining two classes, the plurals of genders 1 and 3, the basic form of the suffix is *-Cili*, with Ms tone. The /i/ of this suffix elides unless the noun is followed by a vowel initial clitic. The final /li/ of the suffix is deleted under some conditions, and it is possible that it was originally some sort of plural suffix independent of the noun class system. It is certainly interesting that one of the imperfective verb suffixes is *-li*, and one of the forms of the “plural” derivational suffix for verbs (indicating repeated actions, usually with a plural subject for intransitive or a plural object for transitive verbs) is *-IV*.

Table 4 gives the base forms for the basic suffixes. The following discussion will deal with the numerous morphophonemic processes affecting them.

Table 4. Basic noun gender suffixes

Gender	Singular	Non-count	Plural
1	<i>-wV</i>		<i>-(bi)li</i>
2	<i>-gV</i>		<i>-yV</i>
3	<i>-lV</i>		<i>-gili</i>
4		<i>-rV</i>	
5		<i>-mV/-bV</i>	

3.1.1.2. Definite suffixes

The definite gender suffixes are of more recent origin than the basic suffixes, and this accounts for the lesser degree of phonological erosion that they have suffered. They are most likely descended from the same ancestor as the present-day demonstrative determiners.³ The base forms of the definite suffixes are given in Table 5.

Table 5. Definite noun gender suffixes

Gender	Singular	Non-count	Plural
1	<i>-ŋi</i>		<i>-pili</i>
2	<i>-ke</i>		<i>-yi</i>
3	<i>-ni</i>		<i>-kili</i>
4		<i>-te</i>	
5		<i>-pe</i>	

There is abundant evidence that the definite suffix was originally affixed to a form consisting of the noun root followed by the basic suffix. Originally, the noun together with its gender suffix was followed by the demonstrative determiner, which was first cliticized and then suffixed. All of the genders except gender 2 retain remnants of the basic suffix in the definite forms.

All definite suffixes carry a MwL tone tune, in which the L always floats to the right. The Mw undergoes the change to H following a root ending in a M tone (either Mw or Ms). The definite suffix boundary does not permit any tone to spread across it—another indication that it is a relatively recent morphological boundary.

3.1.1.3. Gender 1 singular

The gender 1 singular suffix, *-wV*, is synchronically added only to roots which end in an unstressed vowel, that is roots with final 'CVCV or 'CVV. Some examples are:

- (1) *biliwe* 'slave' [bli:we]⁴
fègèwè 'ring'
ɲarawa 'aardvark'
ceewe 'woman'
pòdòwò 'catfish'

Not all roots which are metrically eligible actually take the suffix, however. In fact, by far the great majority of nouns in this gender do not take a basic singular suffix at all. Some examples of nouns which might be expected to take the suffix but which do not are:

- (2) *bàrà* 'conversation' (loan)
ɲìnè 'spindle' (loan)
kile 'sky, god' [kle:]
sòd 'pick' (loan)
faa 'farming'

The total absence of the *-wV* suffix after roots ending in a stressed vowel seems to be due to a general synchronic ban on /w/ following any stressed vowel. That this was not always the state of affairs is shown by a process of umlaut in the roots of many gender 1 nouns. In the plural they have front unrounded vowels, but in the singular they have back rounded vowels. The root vowel in the singular was obviously rounded through contact with the subsequently lost *-wV* suffix. This alternation is not confined to roots ending in stressed syllables, though it is most common with these. Some examples are:

(3) Singular form	Plural stem	Gloss
<i>tu</i>	<i>tì-</i>	'father'
<i>nu</i>	<i>nè-</i>	'mother'
<i>sò</i>	<i>sè-</i>	'duiker'
<i>foo</i>	<i>fè-</i>	'owner'
<i>koo</i>	<i>kéé-</i>	'vervet monkey'

A very few gender 1 singular nouns whose roots end in nasals undergo the process of coalescence whereby the /w/ of the suffix is absorbed by the root-final nasal after imparting its velar point of articulation to it. These nouns thus end in [ŋV]:

- (4) *nàmpɔŋŋɔ* 'guest'
círíŋé 'orphan'
cwɔ́hɔ́ŋɔ́ 'Bambara person'
`ŋaŋa 'twin'

Some roots which end in nasals take no suffix, however:

(5) Root	Gender 1 singular	Gloss
<i>cinN-</i>	<i>cin</i>	'leopard'
<i>zòN-</i>	<i>zò</i>	'heart'
<i>nàN-</i>	<i>nà</i>	'man'
<i>`nɔN-</i>	<i>`nɔ</i>	'scorpion'

3.1.1.4. Gender 1 definite singular

The gender 1 singular definite suffix *-ŋi* is invariant except for the tone change described in section 3.1.1.2. As noted in the preceding section, the great majority of gender 1 nouns carry no basic suffix. However, the process of umlaut shows that there was a *-wV* suffix on many of these nouns at one time. The definite suffix is added to the umlauted form, showing that it was originally suffixed to a form already carrying a noun class suffix. The definite forms of example (3) above are:

(6) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>tu</i>	<i>tũŋi</i>	'the father'
<i>nu</i>	<i>nũŋi</i>	'the mother'
<i>sò</i>	<i>sòŋi</i>	'the duiker'
<i>foo</i>	<i>fòŋi</i>	'the owner'
<i>koo</i>	<i>kooŋf</i>	'the vervet monkey'

3.1.1.5. Gender 1 plural

As shown in table 4, the basic gender 1 plural suffix is *-bili*. However, this form as such never actually appears. The initial syllable of the suffix surfaces only when the noun root to which it is affixed ends in a nasal. In that case, the [b] of the suffix is absorbed by the nasal after imparting its labial articulation to it. These nouns thus end in [mii]:

- (7) *círímii* 'orphans'
`ŋámii 'twins'
zòmii 'hearts'

nàmii 'men'⁵
`nómii 'scorpions'

When the suffix follows a root not ending in a nasal, the initial [bi] is elided. The remaining *-li* tends to suffer elision of its [l]. Only when the root ends in a long vowel (itself created by the elision of a consonant, usually [l]) is the elision blocked:

- (8) *cááli* 'pigs'
cílli 'leather-workers'
kùcwúúnli 'patas monkies'
ḡkèḡnli 'genets'
pòḡli 'catfish (pl)'

When the root ends in an unstressed CV syllable, the [l] of the suffix is elided (unless a vowel initial clitic follows the noun), and the final vowel of the root assimilates to the suffix vowel (the Ms of the suffix also links to the final root vowel), yielding the ending [ii].⁶ The singular forms are given with the following examples for comparison:

(9) Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>jìnè</i>	<i>jìni</i>	'spindles' (loan)
<i>lakóló</i>	<i>lakóli</i>	'students' (loan)
<i>ḡkèèmórò</i>	<i>ḡkèèmórii</i>	'chameleons'
<i>pworo</i>	<i>pworii</i>	'daughters'
<i>sarawa</i>	<i>sárii</i>	'bees'

If the root ends in a stressed vowel, the [l] of the suffix elides and the vowel of the suffix assimilates to the final root vowel:

(10) Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>dufā</i>	<i>dufāa</i>	'pockets'
<i>fyā</i>	<i>fyāa</i>	'fish'
<i>kile</i> [kle]	<i>kilee</i> [kle:]	'gods' ⁷
<i>pwun</i>	<i>pwùn</i>	'dogs'
<i>wwḡ</i>	<i>wwò</i>	'snakes'

At least three roots ending in stressed vowels add secondary release in addition to the gender 1 plural suffix:

(11) Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>ceewe</i>	<i>cyèe</i>	'women' ⁸
<i>nàmpɔ̀nɔ̀</i>	<i>nàmpwuun</i>	'guests' ⁹
<i>sika</i>	<i>sikyàa</i>	'goats' ¹⁰

Four loan words, all having the structure CV'CV, take the suffix *-ili*, of which the [l] normally elides, leaving a sequence of three vowels not found in any other words in Kampwoo Supyire:

(12) Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>dùbà</i>	<i>dùbàii</i>	'mirrors' (from Bambara)
<i>fílá</i> [fla:]	<i>fíláii</i> [fla:i:]	'Fulani people' (from Bambara)
<i>jínà</i>	<i>jínaii</i>	'spirits' (from Arabic via Bambara)
<i>kílé</i> [kle:]	<i>kíléii</i> [kle:i:]	'wrenches' (from French)

For tonal changes associated with gender 1 plural, see chapter 2, section 2.3.1.3.

3.1.1.6. Gender 1 definite plural

In gender 1 plural the definite forms always have some reflex of the basic suffix preceding the definite suffix. Since the basic suffix has Ms tone, the definite suffix always undergoes raising of its Mw to H. If the noun root ends in a nasal, and the basic suffix *-bili* merges with it to produce the ending /mili/ ([mii] because of elision of the /l/), this ending is shortened to /mi/ before the definite suffix. As noted above, this lends support to the notion that the /li/ ending is actually a plural morpheme, which occurs only once in the word, at the very end, after either the basic suffix or the definite suffix. The unstressed [i] of the /mi/ ending is elided between the preceding /m/ and the initial /p/ of the definite suffix *-pili*, or more precisely, it bequeaths its mora and Ms tone on the /m/, and then elides (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.3). The /p/ is thus protected from intervocalic voicing. The definite forms of the nouns in example (7) above are:

(13) Indefinite	Definite	Phonetic form	Gloss
<i>círímii</i>	<i>círímpíí</i>	[tʃírĩm:pí:]	'the orphans'
<i>ᵑámii</i>	<i>ᵑámpíí</i>	[ᵑáĩm:pí:]	'the twins'
<i>zòmii</i>	<i>zòmpíí</i>	[zòĩm:pí:]	'the hearts'
<i>nàmii</i>	<i>nàmpíí</i>	[nàĩm:pí:]	'the men'
<i>ᵑómii</i>	<i>ᵑómpíí</i>	[nóĩm:pí:]	'the scorpions'

Following vowel final roots the basic suffix is reduced to *-li*. When the final vowel of the root is stressed, the /l/ of this suffix elides and the vowel assimilates to the root final vowel, though it keeps its Ms tone. For these nouns, the definite suffix is simply added to the indefinite form. Its initial /p/ is voiced to [b] as expected. Following are the definite forms for the nouns in examples (10) and (11) above:

(14) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>dufáa</i>	<i>dufáabíí</i>	'the pockets'
<i>fyàa</i>	<i>fyàabíí</i>	'the fishes'
<i>kilee</i>	<i>kileebíí</i>	'the gods'
<i>pwùun</i>	<i>pwùunbíí</i>	'the dogs'
<i>wwòo</i>	<i>wwòobíí</i>	'the snakes'
<i>cyèe</i>	<i>cyèebíí</i>	'the women'
<i>nàmpwɔŋɔ</i>	<i>nàmpwuun</i>	'the guests'
<i>sikyàa</i>	<i>sikyàabíí</i>	'the goats'

For those noun roots ending in unstressed vowels the addition of the definite suffix after the basic suffix (*-li* or *-i*) would lead to unacceptable sequences of three unstressed vowels. This is avoided by the deletion of the basic suffix. Its Ms tone, however, is not lost, but is attached to the final vowel of the root. Roots of the form CVV, which take the indefinite suffix *-li*, therefore have the form CVV in the definite. The definites of the nouns in example (8) above are:

(15) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>cááli</i>	<i>cáabíí</i>	'the pigs'
<i>cííli</i>	<i>cííbíí</i>	'the leather-workers'
<i>kùcwúunli</i>	<i>kùcwúubíí</i>	'the patas monkeys'
<i>ɲkɔ̀ɔ̀nli</i>	<i>ɲkɔ̀ɔ̀nbíí</i>	'the genets'
<i>pòòli</i>	<i>pòòbíí</i>	'the catfish (pl)'

The final vowel of CVCV roots takes the Ms tone of the basic suffix and assimilates to its vowel /i/ (the /l/ of the suffix elides). It keeps this shape in the definite, although the basic suffix itself is deleted. The definite forms of the nouns in example (9) above are:

(16) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>jìni</i>	<i>jìnbíí</i>	'the spindles'
<i>lakóli</i>	<i>lakólibíí</i>	'the students'
<i>ɲkèémórii</i>	<i>ɲkèémóribíí</i>	'the chameleons'
<i>pworii</i>	<i>pworibíí</i>	'the daughters'
<i>sárii</i>	<i>sáribíí</i>	'the bees'

3.1.1.7. Gender 2 singular

The initial consonant of the gender 2 singular basic suffix *-gV* normally undergoes flapping to [R] like all /g/s in unstressed syllables. The final vowel of the root is often lowered before the uvular flap. Some examples of this form are:

- (17) *cige* 'tree'
sèèlege 'squash'
kafεεge 'wind'
baga 'house'
kùùgò 'stool'

A root final nasal absorbs the suffix-initial [g] after assuming its velar articulation. Note that the resulting [ŋV] ending is indistinguishable from the similar ending on nasal final gender 1 singular roots (see example (4) above). The form is quite rare in gender 1, but quite common in gender 2, accounting for nearly a third of all gender 2 singular nouns. Some examples are:

- (18) *yɪŋe* 'moon, month'
ŋk'éŋè 'branch'
bèenŋe 'well'
canŋa 'day'
bòŋò 'baboon'

A few roots ending in stressed low vowels (/a/ or /ɔ/) take a glottal form of the gender 2 singular basic suffix, *-hV* ([ʔV]). The selection of *-hV* instead of *-gV* is lexically governed in the present state of the language. There seems to be more than one conditioning factor historically. Some of these roots perhaps ended in a glottal stop, since they retain it in the plural. In at least two loans the [ʔ] may be traced to a [g] or [R] in the source form, which was then interpreted as the initial consonant of the class suffix. Some examples of this suffix are:

- (19) *bàhà* 'poison' (loan; < Bamb. *bàgà*)
fānhà 'power' (loan; < Bamb. *fāngà*)
kānhà 'village'
lwɔhɔ 'water'
nùŋgwòhò 'rainy season'

3.1.1.8. Gender 2 definite singular

As noted above, the definite forms of gender 2 nouns offer no evidence of the presence of the basic suffixes. The definite suffixes are simply added to the noun root. When the root ends in a nasal, the /k/ of the definite gender 2 singular suffix *-ke* is protected from voicing. The final nasal of the root takes its velar articulation. The definite forms of the nouns in example (18) above are:

(20) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>yɪŋe</i>	<i>yɪŋke</i>	'the moon'
<i>ŋkɛŋɛ</i>	<i>ŋkɛŋke</i>	'the branch'
<i>bɛɛŋŋe</i>	<i>bɛɛŋŋké</i>	'the well'
<i>cãŋa</i>	<i>cãŋke</i>	'the day'
<i>bòŋɔ̀</i>	<i>bòŋke</i>	'the baboon'

After vowel-final roots the /k/ of the suffix is voiced and flapped to /g/ ([R]). The definites of example (17) above are:

(21) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>cige</i>	<i>cigé</i>	'the tree'
<i>sèèlege</i>	<i>sèèlegé</i>	'the squash'
<i>kafɛɛge</i>	<i>kafɛɛgé</i>	'the wind'
<i>baga</i>	<i>bagé</i>	'the house'
<i>kùùgò</i>	<i>kùùge</i>	'the stool'

Those roots which take the glottal form of the basic suffix (*-hV*) take the definite suffix *-he* ([ʔe]). The definites of the nouns in example (19) above are:

(22) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>bàhà</i>	<i>bàhe</i>	'the poison'
<i>fànà</i>	<i>fànhe</i>	'the power'
<i>kànà</i>	<i>kànhe</i>	'the village'
<i>lwɔ̀hɔ̀</i>	<i>lwɔ̀hé</i>	'the water'
<i>nùŋgwàhɔ̀</i>	<i>nùŋgwàhé</i>	'the rainy season'

3.1.1.9. Gender 2 plural

The gender 2 plural basic suffix is uniformly *-yV*. The final vowel of the root is often higher than the corresponding vowel in the singular form, due to the lowering by the uvular flap in the latter, although the [y] of the plural

suffix may contribute to slightly raising the vowel before it as well. The plurals of the nouns in example (17) above are:

- (23) *ciye* 'trees'
sèèliye 'squashes'
kafeeye 'winds'
baya 'houses'
kùùyò 'stools'

The suffix is heavily nasalized when added to roots ending in a nasal. When the preceding vowel is oral, an [ɲ] is written before the suffix (recall that /ɲ/ is pronounced [ỹ:]). When the preceding vowel is nasalized, however, the [ɲ] is omitted in the orthography, the nasalization being indicated as usual by an [ɲ] just before the suffix:

- (24) *yɪɲye* 'months'
ɲkényè 'branches'
bèenyè 'wells'
canya 'days'
bònyò 'baboons'

Roughly half of the roots which take the suffix *-hV* in the singular optionally keep the glottal stop in the plural:

- (25) *bàhàyà* or *bàyà* 'poisons'
nùṅgwòhàyà or *nùṅgwòyà* 'rainy seasons'

The others drop the glottal:

- (26) *fànyà* 'powers'
kànyà 'villages'

3.1.1.10. Gender 2 definite plural

The gender 2 plural definite suffix *-yi* is heavily nasalized after roots ending with a nasal. The definites of the nouns in example (24) above are:

- | (27) Indefinite | Definite | Gloss |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>yɪɲye</i> | <i>yɪɲyi</i> | 'the months' |
| <i>ɲkényè</i> | <i>ɲkényi</i> | 'the branches' |
| <i>bèenyè</i> | <i>bèenyí</i> | 'the wells' |
| <i>canya</i> | <i>cányi</i> | 'the days' |
| <i>bònyò</i> | <i>bònyi</i> | 'the baboons' |

After other roots, the suffix is oral for many speakers, and lightly nasalized for others. It is always written simply as *-yi*. Below are the definites of the nouns in example (23) above:

(28) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>ciye</i>	<i>ciyí</i>	'the trees'
<i>sèèliye</i>	<i>sèèliyí</i>	'the squashes'
<i>kafeeye</i>	<i>kafèèyi</i>	'the winds'
<i>baya</i>	<i>bayí</i>	'the houses'
<i>kùùyò</i>	<i>kùùyi</i>	'the stools'

Those nouns which take a glottal suffix in the indefinite behave in the definite plural just as they do in the indefinite plural, some retaining a glottal stop and others not. The definites of the nouns in examples (25) and (26) are:

(29) Definite		Gloss
<i>bàhàyi</i>	or	<i>bàyi</i> 'the poisons'
<i>nùngwàhàyi</i>	or	<i>nùngwòyi</i> 'the rainy seasons'
		<i>fànyi</i> 'the powers'
		<i>kànyi</i> 'the villages'

3.1.1.11. Gender 3 singular

The initial /l/ of the gender 3 singular suffix *-lV* typically undergoes elision when it comes after a stressed vowel (unless a vowel-initial clitic follows). The only place it appears therefore is following a root ending in 'CVCV or 'CVV, as in the following examples:

(30) <i>koolo</i>	'cough'
<i>sàhàlà</i>	'kind of basket smeared with manure'
<i>tahala</i>	'layer'
<i>tegele</i>	'limit, frontier'
<i>tugulo</i>	'load'

Four roots have the structure CVIV in which the medial [l] does not elide. These roots simply do not take a singular suffix:

(31) <i>bílé</i>	[ble:]	'earth pea'
<i>bìlè</i>	[ble:]	'seed'
<i>kulo</i>		'country'
<i>kùlò</i>		'trip'

Some examples with root-final stressed vowels, in which the /l/ elides:

- (32) *cyii* 'thigh'
pee 'pottery bowl'
jàà 'bean'
fwuu 'yam'
cwoo 'pot'

A large number of roots have secondary release in gender 3 singular. That this was historically due to the addition of the gender 3 suffix is hinted at by alternations with forms without secondary release for some of the roots. Thus with *bwuu* 'gourd.G3S' compare *buyo* 'gourds.G2P', which shows that the root must be *bu-*. A few roots seem to have historically ended with nasals, but these have disappeared in gender 3, leaving secondary release as a trace. Thus *jwoo* 'penis' historically had the root *joN-*, as the gender 2 form *joŋɔ* 'big penis' shows. Similarly, the original root for *fwùùn* 'peanut' must have been *fùnN-*, as the form used in the compound *fùnzugo* 'peanut butter' shows.

The /l/ is absorbed by a root-final nasal after imparting its alveolar articulation to it. The resulting [n] is not elided even if it is preceded by a stressed vowel. Some examples are:

- (33) *jirine* 'breast'
teenne 'bell'
sháháná 'oil palm nut'
kunnɔ 'navel'
nàŋkúúnɔ 'cattle egret (*Ardeola ibis*)'

The [l] of the suffix is likewise absorbed by a root-final [r] (/d/):

- (34) *njire* 'tongue'
cere 'calabash'
ɲere 'liver'
pàwuro 'pottery collander'
woro 'star'

3.1.1.12. Gender 3 definite singular

The gender 3 singular definite suffix *-ni* is invariant. The rules for whether or not the definite form retains the basic suffix are like those for the gender 1 plural forms discussed above. Thus if the root ends in a stressed vowel, and the basic suffix is therefore *-V* (the /l/ of the full suffix *-lV* being

elided), the definite suffix is merely tacked on after the basic one. The definites of the nouns in example (32) above are:

(35) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>cyji</i>	<i>cyìni</i>	'the thigh'
<i>pee</i>	<i>peení</i>	'the pottery bowl'
<i>jàà</i>	<i>jààní</i>	'the bean'
<i>fwuu</i>	<i>fwuùni</i>	'the yam'
<i>cwoo</i>	<i>cwoòni</i>	'the pot'

For those nouns with CVCV or CVV roots, the basic suffix simply disappears when the definite is added. This avoids unacceptable sequences of three unstressed vowels. The definite forms of the nouns in examples (30) and (31) above are:

(36) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>koolo</i>	<i>kòòni</i>	'the cough'
<i>sàhàlà</i>	<i>sàhàni</i>	'the basket'
<i>tahala</i>	<i>tahaní</i>	'the layer'
<i>tegele</i>	<i>tegèni</i>	'the limit'
<i>tugulo</i>	<i>tuguní</i>	'the load'
<i>bílé</i>	<i>bíìni</i> [blí:ni]	'the earth pea'
<i>bìlè</i>	<i>bììni</i> [blì:ni]	'the seed'
<i>kulo</i>	<i>kulùni</i>	'the country'
<i>kùlò</i>	<i>kùlùni</i>	'the trip'

Root final consonants (a nasal or /d/ ([r])) absorb the /l/ of the basic suffix, leaving only a -V suffix in the indefinite form. Both this reduced suffix and the preceding consonant are elided before the definite suffix. The definite forms of the nouns in examples (33) and (34) above are:

(37) Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>jirine</i>	<i>jiriní</i>	'the breast'
<i>teenne</i>	<i>teenní</i>	'the bell'
<i>sháháná</i>	<i>sháháni</i>	'the oil palm nut'
<i>kunnɔ</i>	<i>kùnni</i>	'the navel'
<i>nàṅkúúnɔ</i>	<i>nàṅkúùni</i>	'the cattle egret'
<i>njire</i>	<i>njìni</i>	'the tongue'
<i>cere</i>	<i>cení</i>	'the calabash'
<i>ɲere</i>	<i>ɲèni</i>	'the liver'
<i>pàwuro</i>	<i>pàwuní</i>	'the pottery collander'
<i>woro</i>	<i>wòni</i>	'the star'

3.1.1.13. Gender 3 plural

The gender 3 plural suffix *-gili*, like the gender 2 singular suffix, has a glottal variant, but unlike the latter, it is for the most part phonologically predictable. If the root ends in a stressed oral high vowel or in an unstressed vowel, the suffix consonant /g/ ([R]) is unaffected (recall that the [l] of the suffix elides; the uvular flap may lower the preceding vowel; the suffix has Ms tone):

(38) root ends with stressed oral high vowel

<i>cyɔ̀gii</i>	‘thighs’	
<i>bɔ̀gii</i>	‘sticks’	
<i>bògii</i>	‘gourds’	root: <i>bu-</i> (cf. G2P form <i>buyo</i>)
<i>sejɔ̀cwògii</i>	‘calves (of legs)’	
<i>súgii</i>	‘injections’	

(39) root ends with unstressed vowel

<i>tahagii</i>	‘layers’
<i>koogii</i>	‘coughs’
<i>kúlúgii</i>	‘trips’

If the root ends in a stressed oral non-high vowel, or in a stressed nasalized vowel of any height, then the [R] of the suffix changes to [ʔ]. The glottal stop causes lowering and diphthongization (if it is not already preceded by secondary release) of the preceding vowel if it is not [a]:

(40) root ends in stressed oral non-high vowel

<i>pyàhii</i>	‘pottery bowls’	root: <i>pe-</i>
<i>jàhii</i>	‘beans’	root: <i>jà-</i>
<i>cwòhii</i>	‘pots’	root: <i>cwo-</i>

(41) root ends in nasal vowel

<i>m̀pánhii</i>	‘doves’	root: <i>m̀pân-</i>
<i>bẁðnhii</i>	‘granaries’	root: <i>bẁðn-</i>
<i>ɲẁðhii</i>	‘knives’	root: <i>ɲẁð-</i>
<i>kacỳànhii</i>	‘fetishes’	root: <i>kacỳin-</i>

There are a few exceptions to this rule, most of them compounds or nominalizations. The switch from [R] to [ʔ] seems to be a change in progress.

If the root ends in a nasal, the [g] of the suffix is absorbed as expected, leaving its velar articulation behind. Following are the plural forms of the nouns given in example (33) above:

- (42) *jìrìṅjii* 'breasts'
teṅṅjii 'bells'
sháháṅjii 'oil palm nuts'
kùṅṅjii 'navels'¹¹
nàṅkùṅjii 'cattle egrets'¹²

If the root ends in [r], the suffix-initial [g] is likewise absorbed. These gender 3 plural nouns thus end in [rii]. This ending may lower the preceding vowel. The plurals of the nouns in example (34) above are:

- (43) *ṅjirii* 'tongues'
cèrii 'calabashes'
ṅèrii 'livers'
pàwúrii 'pottery collanders'
wòrii 'stars'

A handful of roots take a reduced suffix *-IV*, of which the /I/ normally elides and the vowel assimilates to the root vowel, much like the commonest form of the gender 1 plural suffix. It is perhaps significant that all these roots end in stressed vowels, but more interesting is that, with one exception, they seem to form a semantic class which might be labeled 'roughly spherical objects'. They may thus be the remnants of another noun class which has merged with gender 3. These nouns are:

(44) Plural	Gloss	Singular
<i>bilii</i>	'earth peas'	<i>bílé</i>
<i>pyàa</i>	'seeds' ¹³	<i>bìlè</i>
<i>fwùu</i>	'yams'	<i>fwuu</i>
<i>fwùun</i>	'peanuts'	<i>fwùùn</i>
<i>`múu</i>	'tigernuts'	<i>`múú</i>
<i>`nyii</i>	'eyes'	<i>nyii</i>
<i>shòo</i>	'millet'	<i>shòò</i>
<i>yyèe</i>	'years'	<i>yyee</i>

3.1.1.14. Gender 3 definite plural

The rules for the gender 3 plural definite suffix *-kili* are the same as those for the gender 1 plural definite suffix *-pili*. As in gender 1 plural, the final /li/ ending of the basic suffix *-gili* is elided when the definite suffix is added.

When the root ends in a nasal, the unstressed [i] of the basic suffix elides, leaving behind its length and Ms tone to the nasal, which in turn protects the initial /k/ of the definite suffix from voicing. The definite forms of the nouns in example (42) above are:

(45)	Indefinite	Definite	Phonetic Form	Gloss
	<i>jìrìṅjii</i>	<i>jìrìṅkíí</i>	[jìr̄ṅ:kí:]	'the breasts' ¹⁴
	<i>tɛɛṅjii</i>	<i>tɛɛṅkíí</i>	[tɛ:ṅ:kí:]	'the bells'
	<i>sháhájii</i>	<i>sháháṅkíí</i>	[ʃá?ṅ:kí:]	'the palm nuts'
	<i>kùṅjii</i>	<i>kùṅkíí</i>	[kùṅ:kí:]	'the navels'
	<i>nàṅkùṅjii</i>	<i>nàṅkùṅkíí</i>	[nàṅkùṅ:kí:]	'the cattle egrets'

For those noun roots ending in a stressed vowel (which take the basic suffixes *-gili* or *-hili*, shortened to *-gi* and *-hi*) the initial /k/ of the definite suffix is voiced. Speakers differ as to whether or not they also flap it ([R]). The definite forms of the relevant nouns in examples (38) and (40) above are:

(46)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>cyìgii</i>	<i>cyìgígíí</i>	'the thighs'
	<i>bògii</i>	<i>bògígíí</i>	'the gourds'
	<i>seṅcwùgii</i>	<i>seṅcwùgígíí</i>	'the calves'
	<i>súgii</i>	<i>súgígíí</i>	'the injections'
	<i>pyàhii</i>	<i>pyàhígíí</i>	'the pottery bowls'
	<i>jàhii</i>	<i>jàhígíí</i>	'the beans'
	<i>cwḁhii</i>	<i>cwḁhígíí</i>	'the pots'
	<i>kacyànhii</i>	<i>kàcyànhígíí</i>	'the fetishes'

If the noun root ends in an unstressed vowel, the basic suffix is deleted in the definite form, since its presence would lead to undesirable sequences of four unstressed vowels. Its Ms tone is reassociated with the last vowel of the root. Some examples are:

(47)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>tahagii</i>	<i>tahagíí</i>	'the layers'
	<i>koogii</i>	<i>koogíí</i>	'the coughs'
	<i>kwúúgii</i>	<i>kwúúgíí</i>	'the cries'
	<i>tugugii</i>	<i>tugugíí</i>	'the loads'

Roots which end in /d/ ([r]) also take the *-gíí* form of the definite suffix as expected. The definites of the nouns in example (43) above are:

(48)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>njirii</i>	<i>njirigíí</i>	'the tongues'
	<i>cèrii</i>	<i>cèrigíí</i>	'the calabashes'
	<i>nèrii</i>	<i>nèrigíí</i>	'the livers'
	<i>pàwúrii</i>	<i>pàwúrigíí</i>	'the pottery collanders'
	<i>wðrii</i>	<i>wðrigíí</i>	'the stars'

Finally, those roots that take the *-V* form of the basic suffix simply add the definite suffix to the basic form without shortening it in any way:

(49)	<i>biliigíí</i>	'the earth peas'
	<i>pyàagíí</i>	'the seeds'
	<i>fwùugíí</i>	'the yams'
	<i>fwùungíí</i>	'the peanuts'

3.1.1.15. Gender 4

The gender 4 basic suffix *-rV* causes no changes in many roots it is added to:

(50)	<i>shire</i>	'feathers, fur, body hair'
	<i>wyere</i>	'coldness'
	<i>sisere</i>	'condiment made from <i>néré</i> seeds'
	<i>lara</i>	'intestines'
	<i>suro</i>	'mush'

In some roots it causes the lowering of the previous vowel. This may be accompanied by the introduction of secondary release:

(51)	<i>taféré</i>	'running, flight'	cf. <i>fè</i> 'run'
	<i>cyere</i>	'body'	root: <i>ci-</i>
	<i>pworo</i>	'adobe'	root: <i>pu-</i>
	<i>sicworo</i>	'rags'	root: <i>sicu-</i>

The suffix consonant [r] (/d/) is absorbed by a root-final nasal, which takes an alveolar articulation from it as expected:

(52)	<i>ɲkéné</i>	'branches'
	<i>nàná</i>	'maleness'
	<i>nàkaana</i>	'discussion'
	<i>kòdònd</i>	'cotton'
	<i>tɔɔnnɔ</i>	'metal'

There are a significant number of nasal-final roots where this does not happen, however. A medial [r] sometimes denasalizes a preceding vowel (see section 2.2.1.5), and some such process affects some roots in gender 4. The root final nasal disappears, and the preceding vowel is denasalized:

- (53) *nìrè* [ndìrè] ‘roots’ root: *nìnN-*
tùnnuro ‘message’ root: *tùnnunN-¹⁵*
yatire ‘instruments’ root: *yatinN-¹⁶*

The root-final vowel may be lowered along with the denasalization process, and secondary release may be introduced:

- (54) *sere* ‘honey’ root: *seN-*
wyere ‘leaves’ root: *weN-*
ywòrò ‘fibre’ root: *yuN-*

3.1.1.16. Gender 4 definite

As with the other definite suffixes, the initial /t/ of the gender 4 definite suffix *-te* is protected from voicing by a root final nasal. No trace of the basic suffix remains in this case, and the nasal takes the alveolar articulation from the /t/. The definite forms of the nouns in example (52) above are:

- | (55) Indefinite | Definite | Gloss |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>ɲkéné</i> | <i>ɲkênte</i> | ‘the branches’ |
| <i>nàna</i> | <i>nànte</i> | ‘the maleness’ |
| <i>nàkaana</i> | <i>nàkaanté</i> | ‘the discussion’ |
| <i>kòònd</i> | <i>kòònte</i> | ‘the cotton’ |
| <i>tɔɔnnɔ</i> | <i>tɔɔnnte</i> | ‘the metal’ |

In all other cases the /t/ of the suffix is voiced and flapped to *-re*. If the noun root ends in a high vowel (/i/ or /u/), again no trace of the basic suffix survives in the definite form:¹⁷

- | (56) Indefinite | Definite | Gloss |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>shire</i> | <i>shiré</i> | ‘the feathers’ |
| <i>nìrè</i> | <i>nìre</i> | ‘the roots’ |
| <i>suro</i> | <i>sùre</i> | ‘the mush’ |
| <i>tùnnuro</i> | <i>tùnnuré</i> | ‘the message’ |
| <i>m̄buro</i> | <i>m̄buré</i> | ‘the mucous’ |

Nouns whose final root vowel is non-high do retain a trace of the basic suffix in the definite form. In all these nouns if the basic form has a short root vowel, this vowel is lengthened in the definite. Evidently the [r] of the basic suffix is elided before the [r] of the definite suffix, resulting in a VV sequence before the latter:

(57)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>wyere</i>	<i>wyeère</i>	'the coldness'
	<i>sere</i>	<i>sèéré</i>	'the honey'
	<i>wyere</i>	<i>wyeère</i>	'the leaves'
	<i>lara</i>	<i>laaré</i>	'the intestines'
	<i>cwɔ̀nrɔ̀</i>	<i>cwɔ̀nré</i>	'the ashes'

3.1.1.17. Gender 5

The gender 5 basic suffix is *-mV* on the great majority of roots:

(58)	<i>sɪnmè</i>	'oil, fat'
	<i>bèènɪmè</i>	'light'
	<i>sɪnŋkanma</i>	'sorcery'
	<i>suumɔ̀</i>	'salt'
	<i>woromɔ̀</i>	'green algae, moss'

One root has an alternate suffix *-bV*:

(59)	<i>jwumɔ̀ / jwubo</i>	'words, speech' ¹⁸
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3.1.1.18. Gender 5 definite

Nouns in gender 5 also for the most part retain traces of the basic suffix in the definite forms. The unstressed vowel of the basic suffix *-mV* elides when the definite suffix *-pe* is added, and the nasal protects the /p/ from voicing. The definite forms of the nouns in example (58) above are:

(60)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>sɪnmè</i>	<i>sɪnmpe</i>	'oil, fat'
	<i>bèènɪmè</i>	<i>bèènmpɛ</i>	'the light'
	<i>sɪnŋkanma</i>	<i>sɪnŋkanmpé</i>	'the sorcery'
	<i>suumɔ̀</i>	<i>suùmpe</i>	'the salt'
	<i>woromɔ̀</i>	<i>worompé</i>	'the green algae'

The one noun that takes the alternative basic suffix *-bV*, takes an alternative definite suffix *-be*. No trace of the basic suffix remains in the definite. Note that the regular form is also used:

(61)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
	<i>jwubo / jwumɔ</i>	<i>jwubé / jwumpé</i>	'the words'

3.1.2. Semantic values of the genders

Supyire is typical of Niger-Congo languages in exhibiting only weak correlations between noun classes and semantic categories.¹⁹ The usual situation obtains in every one of the Supyire genders: most of the nouns used to refer to entities belonging to a particular semantic category are included in a particular gender, but the gender also contains many other nouns which do not refer to entities in that semantic category (cf. Denny and Creider 1986, Givón 1971, Bendor-Samuel 1970). These diluted semantic correlations are nevertheless strongly corroborated by the evidence from derivations. Moreover, the same correlations have been reported for every Senufo language so far documented, and can thus be confidently reconstructed for the proto-language, and some of them much further back than that.

Two major forces seem to act to obscure the original correlations. The first is borrowing. Of course, it is logically possible for speakers to put a loan item into the gender which is most appropriate from a semantic point of view, but this seems to happen rarely in Supyire. Scarcely more common is the alternative of putting loan items into the gender which is most appropriate from a phonological point of view. That is, the final syllable of the loan is reinterpreted as a noun class suffix. By far the most common strategy in Senufo languages is to put all loans regardless of semantics or phonological shape into gender 1. The huge influx of loans from Bambara and to a lesser extent from French has thus had a deleterious effect on the semantic correlations previously existing in gender 1.

The other major force tending to obscure semantic correlations is that of neutralization of classes through loss of phonological distinctions. By comparison with other Niger-Congo languages, (and specifically with Gur languages), Senufo languages have a relatively reduced set of genders. There is good evidence that this has come about at least partly through loss of distinction between suffixes of different classes. This loss of distinction was probably largely due to the spread of vowel harmony, which destroyed any distinctiveness the suffix vowels may have had. When suffixes had the same or similar consonants, they would be indistinguishable if their vowels were removed from the picture. Gur languages present good evidence for a distinction between a **ku* class and a **ka* class,²⁰ but Senufo presents no such distinction, presumably because the classes were merged when their distinctive

vowels were lost. In a similar manner, the widely attested **ma* class correlating with liquids has been merged in Senufo with a **bu* or **bo* class of abstracts and verbal nouns.²¹

Although extensive borrowing and phonological erosion have obscured semantic correlations, they have not destroyed them altogether, and indeed there is abundant synchronic evidence that for Supyire speakers the gender system is more than simply a morphological complication with the fortuitous advantage of occasionally enabling the disambiguation of pronouns. These correlations will be briefly examined in the following subsections, taking each gender in turn.

3.1.2.1. Gender 1: human

It was mentioned above that gender 1 is the host for the overwhelming majority of loan nouns. In fact, well over half of the gender 1 nouns in the dictionary (as so far compiled) are loans. In sheer number, this is more significant than any semantic correlations. However, gender 1 does exhibit quite strongly a venerable correlation which must reach back to proto-Niger-Congo. The *u/pi* gender is obviously the reflex of the widespread *u/ba* gender, which everywhere in Niger-Congo correlates with the semantic category of human (cf. de Wolf 1971; Denny and Creider 1986). By far the majority of nouns denoting human beings in Supyire are in this gender. These include general terms such as:

- (62) *sùpyà* 'person'
ceewe 'woman'
nà 'man'
pyà 'child'

kinship terms such as:

- (63) *cɔɔn* 'younger sibling'
yalwɔ 'paternal relative of mother'
nafentu 'wife's father'
pùŋèè 'maternal parallel cousin'

caste terms such as:²²

- (64) *ciiwe* 'leather-worker'
tunntun 'blacksmith'
m̀pu 'clown'
biliwe 'slave'
faapyi 'farmer, peasant'

specialty occupational terms such as:

- (65) *lashwɔ* 'midwife'
lùùzù 'hunter'
mobllífèhè 'chauffeur'
nùnáhàwà 'cowherd'
sòròlashí 'soldier'

ethnic terms:

- (66) *cwðhðhð* 'Jula person'²³
kwò 'Duun person'²⁴
ban 'Gana person'²⁵
tùbabú 'French person, white person'²⁶

and miscellaneous terms referring to human beings:

- (67) *nàmpɔɔhɔ* 'stranger, guest'
`nana 'twin'
fyin 'blind person'
cevoò 'friend'
nànkòlyè 'old man'

Supernatural beings are for the most part considered to be rather human-like. For example the elves or gnomes believed to inhabit the bush are called *sige shín*, literally 'bush person'. It is therefore not surprising that nouns denoting such beings are in gender 1. Several of these nouns are loans, so one would expect them to be in gender 1 anyway. The noun *jínà* 'water spirit', for example, is borrowed from Bambara (and ultimately from Arabic). But there are many which appear to be native vocabulary, such as the following, all in gender 1:

- (68) *kile* 'god, sky'
kòmð 'Komo mask'
kafaa 'Kafaa fetish'

When loans and nouns denoting human beings are abstracted, there is a large residue of miscellaneous nouns in gender 1. A respectable subsection of these are nouns denoting animals. However, gender 1 cannot be characterized as the animate gender (rather than the human gender) since the category is shared by genders 2 and 3 as well. Nor is it only those animals which are associated with human beings through domestication (69a) or as characters in anthropomorphic folk tales (69b) that are included in gender 1,

but also many *yafiliye* ‘creeping things’, i.e. insects, reptiles, amphibians, and mollusks (69c):

- (69) a. *pwun* ‘dog’
ɲkùù ‘chicken’
m̀pà ‘sheep’
sika ‘goat’
nù ‘cow’
- b. *m̀pi* ‘hare’
k̀dcwuun ‘patas monkey’
cin ‘leopard’
santu ‘francolin’
zhìbanàngwə ‘ground hornbill’
- c. *m̀puuwo* ‘spider’
vyîn ‘cricket’
sarawa ‘bee’
̀̀tàsón ‘toad’
báhálá ‘clam’
wẁ ‘snake’

There are quite a few mass nouns which occur in the singular but not in the plural of gender 1. This is expected in the case of such mass nouns as:

- (70) *bambá* ‘dust’
bàshì ‘couscous’ (loan)
cìcù ‘chaff’
jámá ‘henna’ (loan)
m̀d̀ ‘rice’
nuyyê ‘cream’
sárá ‘tobacco’
̀̀ticyên ‘sand’
seen ‘gold’
sùmá ‘grain’ (loan)
té ‘tea’ (loan)
sikárá ‘sugar’ (loan)

But other nouns whose equivalents are count nouns in French or English are non-count in Supyire, occurring only in the singular:

- (71) *bàhàntà* ‘banana(s)’ (loan)
búrú ‘bread, loaves of bread’ (loan)
jàà ‘onion(s)’ (loan)
fyè ‘footprint(s)’

<i>kóḍn</i>	‘bead(s)’ (loan)
<i>lefã</i>	‘brick(s)’
<i>lèmúru</i>	‘orange(s), lemon(s)’ (loan)
<i>ntànḍḍ</i>	‘pepper(s)’
<i>ntɔɔn</i>	‘termite(s)’
<i>wòrò</i>	‘cola nut(s)’ (loan)

In order to be counted, these nouns must be compounded with the root *-bile* [ble:] (singular) / *-pyà-* (plural). This root originally meant ‘round-shaped object’, but in such compounds is an individualizer. It is a gender 3 root, and the compounds which it forms are all in gender 3. Thus ‘one brick’ is *lefãbilè nìnkìn*, and ‘two bricks’ are *lefãpyàa shuunní*.

3.1.2.2. Gender 2: augmentative

Gender 2 is the gender of ‘big things’. One subcategory is that of trees (72a) and tree parts (72b):

(72) a.	<i>cige</i>	‘tree’
	<i>logo</i>	‘shea tree (<i>Butyrospermum parkii</i>)’
	<i>neŋe</i>	‘nèrè tree (<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>)’
	<i>zhyèngè</i>	‘baobab (<i>Adansonia digitata</i>)’
	<i>yèègè</i>	‘borassus palm (<i>Borassus aethiopum</i>)’
	<i>sìlŋè</i>	‘fromager’ (<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>)’
	<i>zàntaanga</i>	‘kapok (<i>Bombax costatum</i>)’
	<i>weege</i>	‘caïlcédrat (<i>Khaya senegalensis</i>)’
	<i>nájà</i>	‘kaki (<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>)’
	<i>jirintóŋgó</i>	cassia (<i>Cassia sieberiana</i>) ²⁷
b.	<i>ŋkéŋè</i>	‘branch’
	<i>wenɛ</i>	‘leaf’
	<i>kwɔɔgɔ</i>	‘bark’ ²⁸
	<i>nìŋè</i>	‘root’
	<i>kàŋcaaga</i>	‘piece of firewood’ ²⁹
	<i>fyéngá</i>	‘flower’ ³⁰

Large immovable artifacts are usually in gender 2:

(73)	<i>baga</i>	‘house, building’
	<i>kànhà</i>	‘village’
	<i>caanga</i>	‘market’
	<i>kacige</i>	‘bridge’
	<i>kàlògò</i>	‘bathing enclosure’
	<i>ɔɔgɔ</i>	‘loom’

<i>fugugo</i>	‘forge’
<i>bèenŋe</i>	‘well’
<i>ŋkununɔ</i>	‘wall’
<i>kàsɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀</i>	‘courtyard wall’
<i>bambaraga</i>	‘adobe roof’

It was noted above that nouns denoting animals occur in genders 2 and 3 as well as in gender 1. It is interesting that genders 1 and 2 have all the animals from about the size of a rabbit on up, while smaller animals are distributed roughly equally through the three genders. The very largest animal, *ntàsùù* ‘elephant’, is in gender 1, but most of the other large animals are in gender 2. Some examples are:

(74)	<i>shɔngɔ</i>	‘horse’
	<i>dùfànŋà</i>	‘donkey’
	<i>ceŋe</i>	‘antelope’ ³¹
	<i>cèèŋŋè</i>	‘giraffe’ ³²
	<i>cànràgà</i>	‘lion’
	<i>zàntùŋɔ̀</i>	‘hyena’
	<i>kòdntìrìŋè</i>	‘hippopotamus’ ³³
	<i>bòŋɔ̀</i>	‘baboon’

The augmentative value of gender 2 is most clearly seen in those roots which may be put in more than one gender. In fact, there are quite a number of roots of indeterminate gender which may occur in either gender 2 or 3. In gender 2 they denote a larger exemplar than they do in gender 3. Some examples are:

(75)	Gender 2	Gender 3	Gloss
	<i>ceɛge</i>	<i>cere</i>	‘calabash’
	<i>̀bɔɔgɔ</i>	<i>̀boro</i>	‘bag’
	<i>kuugo</i>	<i>kuro</i>	‘path, road’
	<i>ŋwɔgɔ</i>	<i>ŋwɔɔ</i>	‘knife’
	<i>kùùgò</i>	<i>kùrò</i>	‘stool’
	<i>wyige</i>	<i>wyii</i>	‘hole’
	<i>m̀pògò</i>	<i>m̀pwùù</i>	‘mound, hill’
	<i>pege</i>	<i>pee</i>	‘pottery bowl’

Moving a root into gender 2 may have pejorative force. Body parts normally in gender 3 acquire the added meaning of ‘big and ugly’ when put into gender 2. Thus *múnàa* ‘nose.G3S’ becomes *múnaga* ‘great ugly snout’ when applied to a human nose (it is a neutral ‘trunk’ when applied to an elephant nose). Similarly, nouns in gender 1 referring to human beings may gain a

certain loutishness when moved to gender 2. For example *nà* 'man.G1S' becomes *nàhà* 'oaf'.³⁴

One minor subcategory in gender 2 is one which has nothing to do with physical size: nouns denoting units of time.³⁵ The most common are:

(76)	<i>canŋa</i>	'day'
	<i>yàkòŋɔ̀</i>	'afternoon'
	<i>pilaga</i> [pla:Ra]	'night'
	<i>ŋyègà</i>	'morning'
	<i>cibŋlaaga</i>	'week'
	<i>yihɛ</i>	'month, moon'
	<i>bèngà</i>	'dry season'
	<i>nùgwɔ̀hɔ̀</i>	'rainy season'

As in gender 1, there is a substantial number of nouns which have no plural. As one would expect, many of these denote mass or liquid non-countables. Some examples are:

(77)	<i>dùfugo</i>	'maize'
	<i>fùnzugo</i>	'peanut butter' ³⁶
	<i>kafunŋɔ̀</i>	'mold'
	<i>kàlaga</i>	'sorghum'
	<i>kameŋɛ</i>	'dew'
	<i>lwɔ̀hɔ̀</i>	'water'
	<i>ŋanŋɔ̀hɔ̀</i>	'ginger'
	<i>sishyèngà</i>	'blood'
	<i>yɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀</i>	'mud'

A minor category of non-count nouns using the singular form are those denoting desire or need for bodily functions:

(78)	<i>laga</i>	'desire'
	<i>katege</i>	'hunger'
	<i>byaga</i>	'thirst' ³⁷
	<i>fyeenɛ</i>	'need to urinate' ³⁸

There are many similar non-count gender 2 singular nouns referring to states or habitual actions, most of them nominalizations:

(79)	<i>fɔ̀ŋɔ̀</i>	'poverty'	from	<i>fɔ̀</i>	'be poor'
	<i>kyaaga</i>	'suffering'	from	<i>kyaala</i>	'suffer'
	<i>nàŋkààgà</i>	'thievery' ³⁹			
	<i>pùcyàgà</i>	'femininity' ⁴⁰			
	<i>sààgà</i>	'laziness'			

<i>silege</i> [sle:Re]	'shame'	from	<i>silégé</i>	'be ashamed'
<i>tàngà</i>	'love'	from	<i>táán</i>	'be pleasing'
<i>yyefugo</i>	'anxiety' ⁴¹			

3.1.2.3. Gender 3: diminutive

Gender 3 is the gender of small things. It was noted above that the category of animals is shared with genders 1 and 2. The animals that are in gender 3 are all rather small. Some examples are:

(80)	<i>sajcyeen</i>	'bird' ⁴²
	<i>m páàn</i>	'dove, pigeon'
	<i>kàmee</i>	'hawk, kite'
	<i>kùntéennè</i>	'swallow, swift'
	<i>lùpààn</i>	'mosquito'
	<i>ntúrò</i>	'arboreal squirrel'
	<i>zàntunɔ</i>	'field mouse'

Of course the diminutive character of gender 3 is most clearly seen in those roots which readily occur also in genders 1 or 2. See (75) above for some examples.

There is a small morphological subclass which seems to correspond to a semantic subclass: small round-shaped objects which take the plural suffix *-IV* rather than *-gili*. See example (44) above for a list of these items.

As with genders 1 and 2, there are a number of non-count nouns which appear only in the singular and not in the plural. Most of these are nominalizations which name the state or activity denoted by the verb. Some examples of these non-count nouns are:

(81)	<i>kwùù</i>	'death'	from	<i>kwù</i>	'die'
	<i>numpire</i>	'darkness'			
	<i>para</i>	'walk, gait'	from	<i>paara</i>	'walk'
	<i>ɲɔɲɔ</i>	'rest, breath'	from	<i>ɲɔ</i>	'rest'
	<i>sunɔ</i>	'diarrhea'	from	<i>su</i>	'defecate'
	<i>yùù</i>	'theft'	from	<i>yù</i>	'steal'

There are at least five nouns which occur only in the plural and not in the singular. Three of them denote objects composed of numerous subparts which are similar to each other and arranged in parallel:

(82)	<i>bèrenji</i>	'log platform' ⁴³
	<i>jàcègji</i>	'balafon'
	<i>nyii</i>	'kind of grass mat' ⁴⁴

The other two denote objects normally occurring in large numbers together:

- (83) *kyànhii* 'charcoal'
sisègii 'nére seeds'

3.1.2.4. Gender 4: collectives

If only nouns which occur solely or primarily in gender 4 are examined, two subcategories emerge: masses and abstracts. As has been noted above, genders 1-3 all have both of these categories as well. What makes them more striking in gender 4 is the virtual absence of anything else. Some examples of mass nouns are:

- (84) *pwoɾo* 'adobe, building mud'
kòðnɔ̀ 'cotton'
furo 'feces'
ɲkyàrà 'fertilizer, manure'
suro 'mush'⁴⁵
sere 'honey'⁴⁶
cwɔ̀nrɔ̀ 'ashes'
kyara 'meat'⁴⁷

Abstracts may denote emotions or states, or ambient qualities. Some examples of abstract nouns are:

- (85) *sicyere* 'insanity'
ɲɲaarà 'pity'
wyere 'cold (temperature)'
fyagara 'fear'⁴⁸
funmpɛnre 'worry'⁴⁹
funɲgwɔ̀rɔ̀ 'forgetfulness'⁵⁰

Noun roots imported from other genders may have similar abstract meanings. Some examples with corresponding forms in gender 1 are:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| (86) | <i>bilere</i> | 'slavery' | cf. <i>biliwe</i> | 'slave' |
| | <i>fene</i> | 'authority' | cf. <i>foo</i> | 'owner' |
| | <i>nàmpɔ̀nrɔ̀</i> | 'state of being a stranger' | cf. <i>nàmpɔ̀nrɔ̀</i> | 'stranger' |
| | <i>nànà</i> | 'masculinity' | cf. <i>nà</i> | 'man' |
| | <i>ceere</i> | 'femininity' | cf. <i>ceewe</i> | 'woman' |
| | <i>nànkòlyàgàrà</i> | 'state of being an old man' | cf. <i>nànkòlyè</i> | 'old man' |

Rather more common, however, is the use of gender 4 as a collective. That is, a gender 4 form may be used to refer to indeterminate numbers of objects normally in genders 1-3. Collectives are thus conceptually like mass uncountables. Some examples are:

(87)	<i>cire</i>	'trees'	cf.	<i>cige</i>	'tree.G2S'
	<i>pɔnnɔ</i>	'dogs'	cf.	<i>pwun</i>	'dog.G1S'
	<i>wyere</i>	'leaves' ⁵¹	cf.	<i>weye</i>	'leaf.G2S'
	<i>sùpyìrè</i>	'people' ⁵²	cf.	<i>sùpyà</i>	'person.G1S'
	<i>ntòòrò</i>	'worms'	cf.	<i>ntòòrò</i>	'worm.G2S'
	<i>lùpànrà</i>	'mosquitoes'	cf.	<i>lùpààn</i>	'mosquito.G3S'
	<i>ḡkɔɔŋcɛere</i>	'puffballs'	cf.	<i>ḡkɔɔŋcéré</i>	'puffball.G3S'

Gender 4 is also the gender of nouns denoting language or speech. Names of languages, and various types of speech are typically in this gender:

(88)	<i>shyenre</i>	'language, message, order'
	<i>cwðhònte</i>	'Bambara language (DEF)' ⁵³
	<i>sùpyìré</i>	'Supyire language (DEF)' ⁵⁴
	<i>nàkaana</i>	'discussion'
	<i>tùnnuro</i>	'message' ⁵⁵
	<i>kafinara</i>	'lie' ⁵⁶
	<i>ḡwɔshwɔra</i>	'answer' ⁵⁷
	<i>ḡwɔmuguro</i>	'speech, words' ⁵⁸

3.1.3.5. Gender 5: pourables

Gender 5 is the gender of liquids and other pourable items. Some examples are:

(89)	<i>sinme</i>	'beer'
	<i>sìnmè</i>	'oil' ⁵⁹
	<i>fìnìmè</i>	'pus'
	<i>dùfìnìmè</i>	'lye'
	<i>suumɔ</i>	'salt' ⁶⁰
	<i>fyereme</i>	'urine' ⁶¹
	<i>jirime</i>	'milk' ⁶²
	<i>m̀bime</i>	'powder, flour, shade'
	<i>tunmɔ</i>	'sap, blood' ⁶³
	<i>f̀unm̀d̀</i>	'sweat' ⁶⁴

It should be noted that the two most prototypical liquids, viz. *lwɔhɔ* ‘water’, and *sìshyèngè* ‘blood’ are in gender 2 (singular only). Gender 2 also has *kameŋe* ‘dew’, but in this case there is also a gender 5 form: *kameme*.

As in all the other genders, gender 5 has a few abstracts, mostly qualities or conditions. Some examples are:

- (90) *ticuumɔ* ‘health’⁶⁵
tìpòòmɔ ‘flavor, taste’⁶⁶
jìrìmè ‘sterility’
sìŋcyìlìmè ‘craftiness, cleverness’⁶⁷
sìŋkanma ‘sorcery’
leme ‘appearance’
sìnama ‘beauty’

Gender 5 is a widely used gender for nominalizations. Most of these are gerund-like in their meaning, and these will be discussed below in section 3.2.2.1. Some, however, have taken on meanings of a bit more idiosyncratic nature. Several nominalizations referring to liquids have already been noted. Some other not-so-concrete examples are:

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|------|---------------|---------------------|
| (91) <i>jwumɔ</i> / <i>jwubo</i> | ‘words, speech’ | from | <i>jwo</i> | ‘say’ |
| <i>ceme</i> | ‘friendship’ | from | <i>ce</i> | ‘know’ |
| <i>jwoomɔ</i> | ‘seam’ | from | <i>jwoolo</i> | ‘sew’ |
| <i>kwɔnmɔ</i> | ‘marriage’ | from | <i>kwɔn</i> | ‘cut’ ⁶⁸ |
| <i>ŋɔɔmɔ</i> | ‘sleep’ | from | <i>ŋɔɔ</i> | ‘sleep’ |
| <i>yama</i> | ‘disease’ | from | <i>ya</i> | ‘be sick’ |

3.2. Derivational noun morphology

In this section the remaining morphological processes involving nouns will be described.

3.2.1. The diminutive suffix

It was shown above that gender 3 is the gender of small things, and that moving a root into gender 3 may have the effect of allowing it to denote a smaller object than in another gender. In the case of many objects, however, the gender 3 form denotes the normal size. A case in point is *cere* ‘calabash’. If a calabash is very large, it may be referred to with the gender 2 form *cεεge* ‘large calabash’. But ordinary calabashes are usually referred to with the gender 3 form, and this is therefore not available to be used for ones which are unusually small. For the latter, there is another form

available: the diminutive suffix. Nouns with the diminutive suffix are automatically gender 3 singular. They do not take a gender 3 basic suffix, but the definite suffix *-ni* is added in the definite. There is no plural form. When asked for the plural of a diminutive, most speakers will give a gender 4 (i.e. collective) form.

The diminutive suffix has the form *-rV*. In phonological behavior it is somewhere in between the basic and the definite suffixes. Its vowel harmonizes, and its segments undergo modification and even elision, like the basic suffixes, but it has its own tone, like the definite suffixes.

Noun roots ending in a stressed vowel present no complications. The diminutive suffix is simply added and the normal vowel harmony rules for nouns apply. To form the definite the gender 3 singular definite suffix is added. This forms a three-syllable foot (CVCVCV), and by the ordinary metric rules the vowel of the diminutive suffix is greatly reduced. This reduction is not written in the orthography. Some examples are:

(92) Root	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>ba-</i>	<i>bará</i>	<i>baráni</i>	'small house'
<i>m̃pân-</i>	<i>m̃pânrá</i>	<i>m̃páráni</i>	'small dove'
<i>nù-</i>	<i>nðrá</i>	<i>nðróni</i>	'small cow'
<i>cyi-</i>	<i>cyîré</i>	<i>cyîríni</i>	'small thigh'
<i>zhèn-</i>	<i>zhènrá</i>	<i>zhènréni</i>	'small baobab'

If the noun root ends in an unstressed vowel (i.e. either in 'CVCV or 'CVV), the diminutive suffix is added as expected in the indefinite. The addition of the definite suffix to this stem, however, would lead to an undesirable sequence of three unstressed vowels. This is avoided by simply deleting the segments of the diminutive suffix in the definite. The high tone remains, and as expected associates with the final vowel of the noun root. Some examples are:

(93) Root	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>baan-</i>	<i>baànrá</i>	<i>baǎnni</i>	'small hoe'
<i>cee-</i>	<i>ceèré</i>	<i>ceěni</i>	'small woman'
<i>`nɔɔ-</i>	<i>`nɔɔrɔ</i>	<i>`nɔɔni</i>	'small guinea fowl'
<i>ɲkùù-</i>	<i>ɲkùùrɔ</i>	<i>ɲkùùni</i>	'small chicken'
<i>bùgù-</i>	<i>bùgùrɔ</i>	<i>bùgùni</i>	'mask's hut' (loan)

When the diminutive suffix is added to noun roots ending in [r] (/d/), the [r] of the root is elided and the final vowel of the root is lengthened, probably through a process of degemination with compensatory lengthening. The resulting 'CVV root behaves like those discussed immediately above

when the definite suffix is added, that is, the segments of the diminutive suffix are deleted while its high tone remains. Some examples:

(94) Root	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>`bor-</i>	<i>`booró</i>	<i>`boóni</i>	'small bag'
<i>cer-</i>	<i>ceeré</i>	<i>ceéni</i>	'small calabash'
<i>ɲjir-</i>	<i>ɲjiré</i>	<i>ɲjiíni</i>	'small tongue'
<i>tor-</i>	<i>tooró</i>	<i>toóni</i>	'small leg'

The [r] of the diminutive suffix is absorbed by a root-final nasal, after the latter has acquired the former's alveolar articulation, in a process similar to that affecting basic noun class suffixes. The diminutive suffix differs from these other suffixes in inducing lengthening of the vowel of the root, evidently in a process like that just described for [r]-final roots. The definite forms are like the latter as well. Some examples are:

(95) Root	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
<i>nàN-</i>	<i>nààná</i>	<i>nàáni</i>	'little man' ⁶⁹
<i>`nɛN-</i>	<i>`neené</i>	<i>`neéni</i>	'little tail'
<i>ɲkêN-</i>	<i>ɲkéèné</i>	<i>ɲkééni</i>	'little branch'
<i>pɔN-</i>	<i>pɔðnnó</i>	<i>pɔðnni</i>	'little dog'
<i>weN-</i>	<i>weèné</i>	<i>weéni</i>	'little leaf'

3.2.2. Nominalizing affixes

Aside from the "bare" nominalizations and the gerundive *N*- nominalizations described in the first two subsections below, all Supyire nominalizers are transparently descended from noun roots. The immediate ancestors of these nominalizations were thus noun-verb or verb-noun compounds. What distinguishes these types from other compounds is the extreme generalization of their use. The verb roots in all nominalizations typically undergo certain changes in tone tune. The most widespread of these is the shift of H tone verbs to M.

Nominalizations frequently occur in genitive phrases as the possessed noun. In such cases the possessor noun usually refers to the absolutive participant in the event (i.e. the subject of an intransitive or the direct object of a transitive).

3.2.2.1. Bare nominalizations

A common method of nominalization is the simple affixation of a noun class suffix to the verb root. The resulting noun may have a concrete denotation appropriate to the noun class: humans in gender 1, masses in gender 4, liquids in gender 5. Gender 2 forms tend to denote instruments, and gender 3 forms tend to denote objects resulting from the action of the verb. Some examples are:

(96) Gender 1: human

nàhàwà ‘herder’ from *nàhà* ‘herd’

Gender 2: instrument

sugo ‘mortar’ from *sú* ‘pound in mortar’

Gender 3: resulting object

tahala ‘layer’ from *taha* ‘lay down’

Gender 4: mass

kyara ‘meat’ from *kya* ‘chew’

Gender 5: liquid

fyereme ‘urine’ from *fyeere* ‘urinate’

These simple nominalizations may also have more abstract meanings, denoting the activity or state of the verb. Some examples are:

(97) Gender 1:

faa ‘farming’ from *faa* ‘cultivate’

Gender 2:

fòŋɔ̃ ‘poverty’ from *fò* ‘be poor’

Gender 3:

kwùù ‘death’ from *kwù* ‘die’

Gender 4:

pèèné ‘praise’ from *pèè* ‘praise’⁷⁰

Gender 5 is especially productive for this sort of nominalization. Virtually any verb may be placed in gender 5 to obtain a gerundive meaning. When used with such a meaning, the basic suffix is often *-mu*, in which the vowel does not harmonize as in other gender 5 nouns. The use of these nominalizations is illustrated in the following expressions:

- (98) a. *Kle ù Ø numpilāge tòrò-mù*
 God he SUBJUNC night.DEF pass-G5
 ‘May God (make) the night’s passing

lé-mú nwá.⁷¹
 appearance-G5 make.good
 good.’

- b. *Wùù yá-fun-gé ta-ma*
 our thing-consider.taboo.DEF get-G5
 ‘Getting our totem

à pen dé.⁷²
 PERF be.difficult EXCL
 is difficult.’

This type of nominalization could be characterized as bare or “zero” since there is no specifically nominalizing morphology.⁷³ Such morphology does exist in Supyire, and it is to this that we shall now turn our attention. Most of the nominalizing affixes can be shown to have originated as lexemes, either nouns or verbs. We will describe each of these affixes in turn, starting with the prefixes.

3.2.2.2. *N*- nominalization

A nasal prefix with a simple low tone derives a nominal which typically has a gerundive meaning, that is, it denotes the activity or state of the verb. The derived noun is gender 1 singular. It takes no suffix in the indefinite, and the ordinary gender 1 definite suffix *-ŋi* in the definite. There is no plural form. The tonal changes induced in the verb are regular: Mw and H allow the L of the prefix to spread rightward, the intermediate LMw stage causes the definite suffix tone to rise to H, and the Mw is subsequently elided. Verbs with HL/L tune have L in these forms, and the resulting noun thus has a simple L tune. Ms verbs are unaffected. Some examples are:

(99)	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
	<i>ɲcè</i>	<i>ɲcèŋi</i>	‘knowing, acquaintance’	<i>ce</i>	‘know’ (Mw)
	<i>ŋgì</i>	<i>ŋgìŋi</i>	‘looking’	<i>wíí</i>	‘look at’
	<i>m̀bè</i>	<i>m̀bèŋi</i>	‘getting on together’	<i>bè</i>	‘get along with’
	<i>ɲcya</i>	<i>ɲcyaŋi</i>	‘seeking’	<i>cya</i>	‘seek’
	<i>vworo</i>	<i>vworoŋi</i>	‘going out’	<i>fworo</i>	‘go out’ (Ms) ⁷⁴

Examples of the use of these nominalizations follow.

- (100) a. *Kà wùù ú sá fwù-ŋi pyi,*
and we NARR go greeting-DEF do
'Then we greeted
maá wù-yè ò-cè-ŋí pyi.
and we-REFL NOM-know-DEF(G1S)do
and made each other's acquaintance.'
- b. *Yi nanjyáá-yi ò-gì-ŋí*
those wild.animals-DEF NOM-look.at-DEF(G1S)
'Looking at those wild animals
mpyi a tààn mìl á sèlè è.
PAST PERF sweet me to truth in
pleased me very much.'
- c. *Mìi na sònnì m-bè-ŋa a*
I PROG think NOM-get.along-DEF(G1S) PERF
'I think living together in harmony
pwòrò nàfùù-ŋi ò-cya-ŋí na.
be.better wealth-DEF NOM-see-DEF(G1S) on
is better than the pursuit of wealth.'
- d. *Canŋa nyìl sàhá byánhára `vworo na mé.*
day eye NEG.YET approach NOM.go.out on NEG
'The sun is not yet near to rising.'

3.2.2.3. Locative nominalization

Nominals with a locative meaning ('place where one verbs') are derived by means of the prefix *ta-*. The resulting noun is in gender 2. The prefix is obviously related to the locative question word *taá* 'where?' and is cognate with a gender 2 noun *te?è* meaning 'place' in Cebaara.⁷⁵ It is not synchronically a noun in Supyire. The verb root keeps its normal stress in this form, the prefix being unstressed with Mw tone. Verbs with H tone become Ms: *síní* 'lie down' becomes *tasinaga* 'bedroom, place to lie down' (definite *tasinagé*). Verbs with Mw tone become MwL: *teen* 'sit, live' becomes *tateenge* 'place to sit, place to live' (definite *tateènge*).⁷⁶ Trisyllabic verbs lose their final syllable, thus avoiding a sequence of three unstressed syllables. Thus *bégélé* 'pack, arrange' becomes *tabegege* 'place to store something' (definite *tabegegé*).

Various semantic developments away from a purely locative meaning can be detected. One is towards a temporal meaning, as might be expected.

Rather than ‘place where one verbs’, the meaning is ‘at the time of verbing’ or ‘after verbing’. The locative in this case is usually followed by the postposition *i* ‘in, at, to’, as in the following examples:

- (101) a. *Uru u à pyi mli shyéré-ŋi*
 he(EMPH) he PERF be my witness-DEF
 ‘It was he who was my witness
wyééré-ŋi tà-kan-gé e.
 money-DEF LOC-give-DEF(G2S) at
 when the money was given.’
- b. *Cibílaa-yi shuunní tàànrè ta-toro-ge e,*
 week-DEF two three LOC-pass-G2S at
 ‘After two or three weeks,
kà u fyì-ŋi sì nùrá á kàrè
 and that python-DEFNARR return SC go
 that python again went
Sámà pyéngá...
 Samba home
 to Samba’s house...’

A further development has been in the direction of encoding purpose in conjunction with verbs of motion.⁷⁷ In this case the locative form must be indefinite, and as in the temporal use it is usually accompanied by the postposition *i*. Following are some examples:

- (102) a. *Canj kà mli màha ŋ-kare dù-gé e*
 day IND I PAST IP-go stream-DEF to
 ‘One day I went to the stream
fyàa tá-cya-ge e.
 fish LOC-seek-G2S to
 to catch fish.’
- b. *Ká pi í yíri Sèrè Kànhà na*
 and they NARR get.up Sere Town at
 ‘They left the village of Sere
na ŋ-káágé Fantéré é
 PROG IP-go.IMPFV Fantere to
 to go to Fantere
ta-teèn-ge ta-wii-ge e.
 LOC-sit-DEF(G2S) LOC-look.at-G2S to
 to look at the living site.’⁷⁸

3.2.2.4. Object nominalization

The prefix *ya-* is transparently derived from the noun *yaaga* ‘thing’. Like *yaaga*, the derived noun is in gender 2. The ‘thing’ may have one of several semantic roles vis-à-vis the verb. The following examples illustrate the patient role:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|---------|------|------------|----------------------------|
| (103) | <i>yajonɔ</i> | ‘bait’ | from | <i>jo</i> | ‘swallow’ |
| | <i>yakanga</i> | ‘gift’ | from | <i>kan</i> | ‘give’ |
| | <i>yafungo</i> | ‘totem’ | from | <i>fún</i> | ‘consider taboo’ |
| | <i>yaséyé</i> | ‘child’ | from | <i>si</i> | ‘give birth’ ⁷⁹ |

The role may also be agent or actor, as in

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|----------------------|------|---------------|----------------------------|
| (104) | <i>yafilige</i> | ‘creeping thing’ | from | <i>filili</i> | ‘crawl’ ⁸⁰ |
| | <i>yatinje</i> | ‘musical instrument’ | from | <i>tín</i> | ‘make noise’ ⁸¹ |

Finally, the ‘thing’ may be the instrument or even a locative:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-------------|------|---------------|------------|
| (105) | <i>yabahaga</i> | ‘toy’ | from | <i>bàhàrà</i> | ‘play’ |
| | <i>yateenje</i> | ‘chair’ | from | <i>teen</i> | ‘sit’ |
| | <i>yasinije</i> | ‘bed’ | from | <i>síní</i> | ‘lie down’ |
| | <i>yaleje</i> | ‘container’ | from | <i>le</i> | ‘put in’ |

3.2.2.5. Action nominalization

The prefix *ka-* is derived from the noun *kyaa*, which means ‘thing’ or ‘matter’ in the sense of ‘state of affairs’. The noun that it derives is usually in gender 3, like *kyaa*, but some abstracts are in gender 4 or 5. In its most common use, the *ka-* nominalization means something like ‘thing which verbs or is verbed’, and denotes not a concrete object, but an action or state of affairs. Some examples are:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------------------------------------|------|------------|------------------------|
| (106) | <i>kapyii</i> | ‘deed, action’ | from | <i>pyi</i> | ‘do’ |
| | <i>kakuunɔ</i> | ‘bad deed’ | from | <i>kuu</i> | ‘be bad’ ⁸² |
| | <i>kalyee</i> | ‘custom, rite’ | from | <i>lye</i> | ‘be old’ |
| | <i>kapààlà</i> | ‘surprise’ | from | <i>pàà</i> | ‘startle’ |
| | <i>kacene</i> | ‘thing known,
item of knowledge’ | from | <i>ce</i> | ‘know’ |

The *ka-* nominalization may also have the meaning ‘reason for verbing’, or ‘cause of verbing’, as in the following example, the first sentence of a myth

explaining why twins, who used to be born joined together, are now born separated:

- (107) *Ndé la à pyi ʔámi-píí kà-laha-ní kè,*
 DEM it PERF be twins-DEF thing-let.go-DEF(G3S) REL
 ‘That which caused the separation of twins (from each other)
lire nùŋ-ké ku ʔkê:...
 its(EMPH.G3S) head-DEF(G2S) it(G2S) DEM(G2S)
 its explanation is this:...’

3.2.2.6. Time nominalization

The prefix *tèè-* comes from the noun *tèrè* ‘time, moment’. The noun it derives means ‘time of verbing’ or ‘time to verb’, or even ‘time which is verb’. Like the noun *tèrè*, the nominalization is in gender 3. Some examples, with illustrative sentences are:

- (108) a. from *kan* ‘give’

Kà lànmpú-ŋi tèè-kaan-ní sì nò.
 and taxes-DEF time-give-DEF(G3S) NARR arrive
 ‘Then the time to pay taxes arrived.’

- b. from *kwù* ‘die’

U tèè-kwuu-ní ɲye à mɔ mé.
 his time-die-DEF(G3S) NEG PERF be.long.time NEG
 ‘The time of his death was not long ago.’

- c. from *páán* ‘chop’

Ci-ré tèè-paan-ná à nɔ gé,
 tree-DEF time-chop-DEF(G3S) PERF arrive TC
 ‘When the time to chop down the trees arrived,

kà u ú ʔj-karé sà a ci-ré pààn-nì.
 and he NARR IP-go go PROG tree-DEF chop-IMPV
 he went to chop down the trees.’

3.2.2.7. Manner nominalization

By adding the stressed suffix *-ŋkaN-* to a verb a manner nominalization may be obtained.⁸³ The derived noun is gender 3 singular, so the indefinite ending is *-ŋkana* and the definite ending is *-ŋkani*. All verbs keep their tones in this type of nominalization, so H verbs remain H rather than becoming M.

The tone of H and L verbs spreads to the suffix, yielding a H tune and a LMw tune respectively. The resulting noun is remarkably tone-stable, nominalizations from H, Ms, and L verbs not perturbing at all. Mw nominalizations, however, make up for the reluctance of the others by undergoing all the tone rules as expected.

As with most other nominalization, the genitive possessor of the manner nominal usually corresponds to an absolutive argument of the nominalized verb. The meaning of the noun is thus ‘the way X verbs or verbed’ or ‘the way one verbs X’. Some examples are:

- (109) a. from *jiile* ‘cross over’

kà u jyiili-ŋk à-ni sì kàn-he
and her cross-manner-DEF(G3S) NARR village-DEF
‘The way she had crossed (the swollen river)

syìin-bíí puní kàkyànhàlà.
people-DEF all astonish
astonished all the people of the village.’

- b. from *ta* ‘get, find, obtain’

Kà m̀pi sí zànǹtù̀ŋ̀d̀ yìgè
and hare NARR hyena ask
‘Then Hare asked Hyena

u s̀m̀m̀à-ŋí ta-ŋk à-ni na.
his grain-DEF get-manner-DEF(G3S) on
about how he had gotten his grain.’

- c. from *byé* ‘carry (child) on back, raise (child)’

Pyìi-bíí s̀àhà j̀yè na byíí
children-DEF NEG.yet be PROG raise.IMPFV
‘Children are no longer raised

pi tanj̀áà byí-ŋkà-ni na mé.
their yesterday raise-manner-DEF(G3S) on NEG
the way they were raised in the past.’

3.2.2.8. Privative nominalization

The suffix *-m̀b̀àà* may be added to verbs to derive a noun meaning ‘without verbing’ or ‘lack of verbing’. *-m̀b̀àà* is obviously related to the postposition *b̀àà* ‘without’.⁸⁴ Both have a LMw tune. The derived noun is usually gender 1 singular, without a basic suffix in the indefinite. One example has been found in gender 4. Some examples are:

- (110) a. from
- jàcyí*
- ‘consider important’
- ⁸⁵

Ŋkàà wùu li jàcyí-mbàà-ŋí,
 but our it consider.important-without-DEF(G1S)
 ‘But our lack of considering it important,

la à kanhama ni-nyaha-ma nɔ wùù nà.
 it PERF suffering ADJ-be.much-G5 arrive us on
 it has brought a lot of suffering on us.’

- b. from
- kàlà*
- ‘study, learn, read’
- ⁸⁶

Sébé-ŋi kàlà-mbàà-rá á wùù yàha
 write-DEF learn-without-DEF(G4) PERF us leave
 ‘Hasn’t our lack of literacy (lit. learning writing) left us

numpî-ní i mà?
 darkness-DEF in NEG.Q
 in the dark?’

- c. from
- yyere*
- ‘call’

Mu a myàhà na lyí mìi yyere-mbàà.
 you PERF even PROG eat.IMPFV my call-without
 ‘You are even eating without calling (or, without having called) me.’

This suffix may be used in conjunction with the prefix *N-* discussed above. The meaning is the same with or without the prefix. Following is an example:

- (111) from
- bè*
- ‘meet, be in agreement’

Pi m-bè-mbàà-ŋá à fworo
 they NOM-agree-without-DEF(G1S) PERF go.out
 ‘Their discord came

yyaha fðò-ŋí i.
 face owner-DEF from
 from the older brother.’

3.2.2.9. Agentive nominalization

An agentive nominalization may be obtained by suffixing the noun root *foo* to a verb. As an independent noun, *foo* means ‘owner, possessor, person in charge’. It is chiefly used as the possessed noun in genitive phrases, such as *kànhà fðò* ‘village chief’, *nù fðò* ‘cow owner’. When affixed to a verb, the resulting nominalization means ‘one who verbs’. The noun is in gender 1.

The nominalization may be the possessed noun in a genitive phrase, in which case the possessor noun will usually correspond to the absolutive argument of the nominalized verb. Some examples are:

- (112) a. from *cyán* ‘drop, lay (egg)’

ce-ní *cyén-fóó*⁸⁷
egg-DEF(G3S) lay-agent
‘the layer of the egg’

- b. from *nàhà* ‘herd’

Ntasènmii naha-fóó nye na fyàà mé.
toads herd-agent NEG PROG hurry NEG
‘The toadherd does not hurry.’⁸⁸

- c. from *ɲáárá* ‘ask for, beg’

ɲáárá-fóó kántáá-ní nye ɲwɔhi i.
beg-agent palm-DEF(G3S) be beneath at
‘The begger’s palm is below.’⁸⁹

3.2.3. Noun compounds

Ordinary noun compounds, which are extremely common in Supyire, can be divided into those which use noun roots only (i.e. noun-noun compounds, described in the first subsection below), and those which use one or more verb roots in addition to a noun root. These are dealt with in sections 3.2.3.2 and 3.2.3.3.

3.2.3.1. Noun-noun compounds

Noun-noun compounds are composed of two noun roots followed by a single set of noun class suffixes. It is generally the second root which determines the gender of the whole, and which may thus be considered in some sense the “head” of the compound. Following are some examples which show resolution of gender conflict in favor of the second root:

- (113) a. from *kampe-e* ‘finger-G3S’ + *fègè-wè* ‘ring-G1S’

kampe-fègè-wè ‘finger ring’
finger-ring-G1S

- b. from *ɲkù* ‘chicken.G1S’ + *cere* ‘egg.G3S’
ɲkù-cèrè ‘chicken egg’
 chicken-egg.G3S
- c. from *ɲaɲa* ‘hill.G2S’ + *kulo* ‘country.G3S’
ɲaɲ-kulo ‘hilly country’
 hill-country.G3S
- d. from *ɲyi-i* ‘eye-G3S’ + *lwɔ-hɔ* ‘water-G2S’
ɲyi-lwɔ-hɔ ‘tears’
 eye-water-G2S
- e. from *marafã* ‘rifle.G1S’ + *m̂puro* ‘horn.G3S’
marafã-m̂puro ‘rifle barrel’
 rifle-horn.G3S

As might be expected, there are many idiosyncracies. Occasionally the compound is in a different gender from either of the roots composing it, as in the following examples:

- (114) a. from *ɲwɔ-gɔ* ‘mouth-G2S’ + *m̂pwù-ù* ‘mound-G3S’
ɲwɔ-mpù ‘upper lip’
 mouth-mound.G1S
- b. from *fanna* ‘grave.G2S’ + *kuro* ‘path.G3S’
fanna-kúú ‘path to graveyard’
 grave-path.G1S

Compounds with three roots may be built up by adding a third root to a two-root compound. For instance, the compound just cited in (114a) above may form the base for a three-root compound:

- (115) from *ɲwɔmpù* ‘upper lip (G1S)’ + *shi-re* ‘hair-G4’⁹⁰
ɲwɔ-mpù-shi-ré ‘moustache’
 mouth-mound-hair-G4

Similarly, the compound denoting ‘ear wax’ is built up in the following way:

- (116) from *ɲuɲɔ* ‘head.G2S’ + *wyi-i* ‘hole-G3S’
*ɲiɲ-gyí-f*⁹¹ + *fu-ro*
 head-hole-G3S excrement-G4
 ‘outer ear canal’

nij-gyí-fú-ró 'ear wax'
head-hole-excrement-G4

Some roots, by their frequency of combination, have gained a quasi-affixal character. An example of this is the use of 'husband', 'wife', and 'child' as the second root of a compound to denote the male, female, and young of animals. The gender of such compounds is often determined by the first rather than by the second root. The root for 'husband' has three different forms, the first identical to the independent noun *poo* (/polo/) 'husband', and the other two evidently non-umlauted earlier forms. Some examples are:

(117) a. with *-poo*

ɲkù-pòò 'cock'
chicken-male.G1S

shɔn-poo 'stallion'
horse-male.G1S

b. with *-per-*:

bòm-pèè-gè 'male baboon'
baboon-male-G2S

sika-pèrè 'billy-goat'
goat-male.G3S

c. with *-pe-*:

nu-pé-é 'bull'
cow-male-G3S

For many domestic animals, the unmarked (i.e. simple root) form is used for the female, which is of course more numerous and economically important. If one wishes to be specific, however, the root *-cwɔ* 'wife' may be added:

(118) *pwunɲ-cwɔ* 'bitch'
dog-female.G1S

shɔn-cwɔ 'mare'
horse-female.G1S

ɲkùli-cwɔ-gɔ 'female cockroach'
cockroach-female-G2S

This same root is used to form compounds to refer to females of various human categories:

- (119) *cii-cwə* 'female of leather-worker caste'
 leather.worker-female.G1S
leŋkwú-cwə 'widow'
 widow-female.G1S
tùbàbù-cwə 'female white person'⁹²
 white.person-female.G1S

The male of these categories is formed not with the root *-poo / -per-* noted above, but with *nà* 'man' or *nə* 'husband':

- (120) *leŋkwú-nə* 'widower'
 widow-husband.G1S
tùbabú-nà 'male white person'
 white.person-man.G1S

The root *pya* 'child' is used for the young of animals:⁹³

- (121) *nù-pyà* 'calf'
 cow-child.G1S
sànhàncin-pya 'kitten'
 cat-child.G1S
sika-pya 'kid'
 goat-child.G1S

This same root is used to form compounds designating the blades of various tools:

- (122) *baan-pya* 'hoe blade'
 hoe-child.G1S
kacii-pyá 'ax blade'
 ax-child.G1S
ŋwə-pya 'knife blade'
 knife-child.G1S

3.2.3.2. Noun-verb compounds

Noun-verb compounds are more numerous than noun-noun compounds. There is such a bewildering variety that a full description would require much more space than can be allotted here. The noun root may have a variety of semantic roles vis-à-vis the verb of the compound. Following are

some examples of different roles with compounds formed from active verbs. The gender of the compound is predictable from the gender of the component noun root in only three of the six examples.

- (123) a. agent (of intransitive): from *pyà* ‘child.G1S’
pyì-nara-gà ‘toddler’⁹⁴
 child-walk-G2S
- b. agent (of transitive): from *nu* ‘mother.G1S’
nu-se-ge ‘biological mother’⁹⁵
 mother-give.birth-G2S
- c. patient: from *pyà* ‘child.G1S’
pyì-si ‘child born’⁹⁶
 child-give.birth.G1S
- d. instrument: from *vàànnà* ‘cloth.G2S’
vàànn-tò ‘blanket’
 cloth-cover.G1S
- e. time: from *yye-e* ‘year-G3S’
yye-si-i ‘year of birth’
 year-give.birth-G3S
- f. manner: from *tùn-mò* ‘noise-G5’⁹⁷
tùn-m-pa-ma ‘noise of coming’
 noise-come-G5

Although the examples above are certainly not uncommon, they are far outnumbered by compounds which use stative verbs. The semantic role of the noun component is thus “patient of state”. This is a more common way of modifying nouns than the use of independent adjectives of the sort described in chapter 5. Some examples are:

- (124) a. from *cee-we* ‘woman-G1S’
cij-jyè ‘old woman’
 woman-be.old.G1S
- b. from *kùlùshî* ‘trousers.G1S’⁹⁸
kùlùshî-tóon-gó ‘long trousers’
 trousers-be.long-G2S
kùlùshî-bire ‘short trousers’
 trousers-be.short.G3S

- c. from *kya-ra* 'meat-G4'
kya-pànhàrà 'tough meat'
 meat-be.tough.G4
- d. from *shin* 'person.G1S'
shin-tii-we 'just person'
 person-be.straight-G1S

At least one example has been recorded of a compound of this sort with two verb roots. It is probably the case that this is best thought of as having the following structure: [noun-verb]-verb. That is, a patient-of-state noun-verb compound of the kind just illustrated is modified by the addition of another stative verb. Here is the sole spontaneous example encountered:

- (125) *ci-tóón-wa-ga* 'tall, dry tree'
 tree-be.long-be.dry-G2S

See the next section below for another type of compound with more than one verb root.

All the above compounds belong in the semantic category to which their noun root belongs. Thus a *vààntò* 'blanket' (from 'cloth' + 'cover') is a kind of cloth, and *cinjyè* 'old woman' (from 'woman' + 'be old') is a kind of woman. Many compounds (sometimes called 'exocentric' compounds) cannot be understood in this way. The thing they denote is not at all in the same semantic category as the thing denoted by their component noun root. The most common of this type of compound are object compounds in which the component noun denotes the semantic patient of the verb. The compound itself can be derived into the various noun genders and thus used to denote a variety of different things. Compounds denoting human beings are of course put into gender 1:

- (126) a. from *fanna* 'grave.G2S'
fann-kwón 'grave-digger'
 grave-cut.G1S
- b. from *la-a* 'pregnancy-G3S'
la-shwə 'midwife'
 pregnancy-take.G1S
- c. from *kòðnd* 'cotton.G4'
kòðm-pere-wa 'cotton-seller'
 cotton-sell-G1S

- d. from *sinme* 'beer.G5'
sinm-bya 'beer-drinker'
 beer-drink.G1S

Compounds in gender 2 usually denote an instrument or some other object involved in the action denoted by the verb:

- (127) a. from *ḥtàsùù* 'elephant.G1S'
ḥtàsùù-bò-gò 'elephant gun'
 elephant-kill-G2S
- b. from *canna* 'sun.G2S'⁹⁹
cann-tonɔ 'umbrella'
 sun-cover.G2S
- c. from *kafɛɛ-ge* 'wind-G2S'
kafɛɛ-fwɔ-gɔ 'fan'
 wind-blow-G2S
- d. from *kòònò* 'cotton.G4'
kòòm-pere-ga 'cotton depot'
 cotton-sell-G2S

Gender 3 is used to denote the activity itself:

- (128) a. from *fya* 'fish.G1S'
fyá-cya-a 'fishing'
 fish-seek-G3S
- b. from *yo-go* 'quarrel-G2S'
yu-kwóón 'quarreling'
 quarrel-cut.G3S
- c. from *kòònò* 'cotton.G4'
kòòm-pììnè 'spinning'
 cotton-spin.G3S
- d. from *sinme* 'beer.G5'
sinm-bya-a 'beer-drinking'
 beer-drink-G3S

Gender 4 may be used for speech-related meanings:

- (129) a. from *ɲwɔ-gɔ* 'mouth-G2S'
ɲwɔ-mugu-ro 'speech'
 mouth-open-G4
ɲwɔ-shwɔ-rɔ 'answer, reply'
 mouth-take-G4
- b. from *funɲɔ* 'inside.G2S'
fun-zɔɲɲɔ-rɔ 'thoughts'
 inside-think-G4

The nominal element of this sort of compound may represent some other semantic role than affected patient. One not uncommon type is locative:

- (130) from *si-ge* 'bush-G2S'
si-shyé 'person who goes to bush'¹⁰⁰
 bush-go.G1S
si-shyé-é 'going to bush'
 bush-go-G3S

Not surprisingly, there are many instances where the gender of the 'exocentric' compound does not seem to be predictable from its meaning, as in the following examples:

- (131) a. from *funɲɔ* 'inside.G2S'
funn-tò 'diaphragm'
 inside-cover.G1S
- b. from *ci-ge* 'tree-G2S'
cf-kuu-go 'woodpecker'
 tree-knock-G2S
- c. from *kàla-ga* 'sorghum-G2S'
kàlà-bwùn-mɔ 'place for threshing sorghum'
 sorghum-hit-G5

Noun-verb-noun compounds are also common. They have the structure [noun-verb]-noun, the final noun root being the semantic head and determining the gender of the whole. Some examples are:

- (132) a. from *kàshì-gè* ‘war-G2S’
kàshì-kwàṅ ‘soldier’ + ‘*bwà-gò*
war-cut.G1S sack-G2S
kàshì-kwàṅ-bwà-gò ‘soldier’s knapsack’
war-cut-sack-G2S
- b. from *saṅcwà* ‘animal pest.G1S’
saṅcwàṅ-sigi-we ‘person who guards crops’
pest-prevent-G1S
+ *ci-ge* ‘tree-G2S’
saṅcwàṅ-sigi-ci-ge ‘tree where person guarding crops sits’
pest-prevent-tree-G2S
- c. from *sinmbyaa* ‘beer-drinking.G3S’ (see 126d)
+ *bààn* ‘vestibule.G3S’¹⁰¹
sinm-bya-baan ‘vestibule for beer-drinking’
beer-drink-vestibule.G3S

3.2.3.3. Serial verb compounds

Verbs nominalized with the prefix *N-* may form compounds based on serial verb constructions. The prefix is repeated before each verb root, but there is only one (gender 1) suffix for the whole. These compounds usually occur as the possessed noun in a genitive construction in which the possessor noun corresponds to the absolutive argument of the verbs. The reader is referred to chapter 8 for a description of the constructions underlying these compounds. Most compounds of this sort have just two verb roots, though one example has been encountered with three. Some examples are:

- (133) a. *ku ḡ-jwò-ḡ-kàrà-ḡí*
its NOM-take-NOM-go-DEF(G1S)
‘its being taken away’
- b. *portomání-ḡi ḡ-dírì-ḡ-gwù-ḡi*
wallet-DEF NOM-pull-NOM-take.out-DEF(G1S)
‘the pick-pocketing of the wallet’
- c. *u ḡ-jà-ḡ-jìrì-ḡi*
his NOM-be.able-NOM-get.up-DEF(G1S)
‘his being able to get up’

- d. *pi ñ-gyêrê-vworo-ñ-kàrà-ñf*
 their NOM-hurry-NOM.go.out-NOM-go-DEF(G1S)
 ‘their going out and leaving early’

One patient-of-state compound has been recorded which incorporates a serial verb construction:

- (134) *supyi-tɔɔn-ñ-tòrò-gò*
 person-be.long-NOM-pass-G2S
 ‘a too-tall person’

Note the differences between this example and the compound in (125) above which also has two verb roots. In that compound, both stative verb roots could be said to be modifying the noun root. Here the second verb root is modifying the first verb root, exactly as in a serial verb construction, where *toro* ‘pass’ as the second verb means ‘very’, or ‘too much’.

3.2.3.4. Phrasal compounds

A few examples of compounds which include component roots of categories other than noun or verb have been recorded. The following example includes a pronoun and a postposition:

- (135) *cù-nàyé-ná-ñi* ‘control of myself’
 grab-myself-on-DEF(G1S)

This is modeled on the expression:

- (136) *Mli a cù nà-yé ná.*
 I PERF grab me-REFL on
 ‘I restrained myself.’ or ‘I kept cool.’

A second-person version is also possible:

- (137) *cù-màyé-ná-ñi* ‘control of yourself’
 grab-yourself-on-DEF(G1S)

Another commonly-used phrasal compound is:

- (138) *tèrè-là-sù-rò* ‘mush set aside for children’
 time-IND(G3S)-mush-G4 lit. ‘mush of some time’

Chapter 4

Verbs

Compared with many other branches of the Niger-Congo family, Senufo verb morphology tends to be rather simple, and Supyire is no exception. There are basically only four kinds of affixation: 1) verb prefixes, 2) imperfective aspect suffixes, 3) the causative suffix, and 4) the plural or intensive suffix. These all antedate the proto-Senufo stage, and have all undergone a great degree of phonological erosion. The prefixes will be treated first, followed by three sections on the suffixes. The final section of the chapter will deal with object incorporation.

4.1. Verb prefixes

There are two verb prefixes. They both have the form of a single nasal consonant, but they differ in tone and phonologically conditioned distribution, as well as in grammatical function.

4.1.1. *The intransitive prefix*

This prefix, which will be glossed IP in the examples, is required by most tense-aspect auxiliaries when they immediately precede the verb. Only the future auxiliaries (which require the future prefix) and the perfect and recent past (which take no prefix) are not accompanied by this prefix when they occur in intransitive clauses. The intransitive prefix, which consists simply of a toneless nasal, does not actually mark semantic intransitivity, in that it must be used on transitive verbs also, whenever for some reason they are not immediately preceded by their direct object. Thus if the direct object is fronted to the beginning of the clause for focus purposes (the cleft construction), the intransitive prefix appears on the verb. Compare the following two examples:

- (1) a. *Mìl ná m̀pà ta.*
 I PAST sheep get
 'I got a sheep.'
- b. *M̀pà mìl ná ní-tá.*
 sheep I PAST IP-get
 'It was a sheep I got.'

As the last example shows, the intransitive prefix takes the tone of the preceding auxiliary, whatever it is.

The above facts are not unduly astonishing. What is truly remarkable about the intransitive prefix is its phonologically conditioned distribution: it occurs only on verbs beginning with a voiceless stop (p, t, c, or k). The explanation for this is not at present known. Following are examples of both the presence and absence of the intransitive prefix, all following the habitual auxiliary *màha*:

(2) a. voiceless stop—prefix appears

Pi màha m-pa náhá.
they HAB IP-come here
'They come here.'

b. fricative—no prefix

Pi màha shya aní.
they HAB go there
'They go there.'

c. voiced stop—no prefix

Pi màha bè.
they HAB agree
'They always agree.'

4.1.2. The future prefix

As its name implies, the future prefix (glossed FP in the examples) is used only with auxiliaries with future time reference. These include the future auxiliaries *sí* and *cháá*, the potential auxiliary *kú*, and the prohibitive (or negative subjunctive) auxiliary *kà*. The future prefix, like the intransitive prefix, consists of a nasal attached to a verb which is not immediately preceded by a direct object.

- (3) *Mìì sí m-pà.*
I FUT FP-come
'I will come.'

It differs from the other prefix in three crucial ways, however. The first is that it has its own tone tune, low-weak mid, rather than being toneless. See chapter 2, section 2.3.3.2 for the tonal changes caused when this prefix is added to verbs.

The second characteristic differentiating the future prefix is the fact that its distribution is not phonologically conditioned. In intransitive clauses, it ap-

pears on all verbs, regardless of the type of consonant they begin with. This is not to say there are no complications. Following the prefix, voiced stops are considerably weakened (see chapter 2, section 2.1.1.4), and approximants are occluded (see chapter 2, section 2.1.3.1):

- (4) a. *Ku sɪ m̄-bò.* [m^bo]
 it FUT FP-kill
 'It will be killed.'
- b. *Wùù sɪ ŋ-gíí.* (from *wíí* 'look at')
 we FUT FP-look.at
 'We'll see.'

Since nasal-fricative clusters are not possible, when the prefix is attached to a verb beginning with a fricative, the fricative is voiced, the nasal elided, and the stranded tone attaches to the auxiliary (see chapter 2, section 2.1.2.2):

- (5) *U sɪ vé.* (from *fè* 'run')
 he FUT FP.run
 'He'll run.'

The third way in which the future prefix differs from the intransitive prefix is its use in transitive clauses. Here a qualification is immediately necessary. The only way the future prefix survives in transitive clauses is tonally: the segmental part (the nasal) always elides when a direct object is present. The L tone of the prefix then docks onto the direct object if the latter is a pronoun which allows such docking.

- (6) *Mìì sɪ kù tà.*
 I FUT FP.it get
 'I will get it.'

Otherwise, the stranded tone docks left onto the auxiliary. (Some speakers drop it altogether, especially in fast speech.)

- (7) *Mìì sɪ mu bwón.*
 I FUT.FP you hit
 'I'm going to hit you.'

It is not known why the segmental support disappears in transitive clauses, but this disappearance does make the future prefix resemble the intransitive prefix at least superficially.

4.2. Imperfective morphology

The great majority of Supyire verbs have two forms, a base, or perfective form, and a derived, imperfective form. Most tense-aspects require one or the other form. For example, the perfect (auxiliary *à*) takes the base form of the verb, while the progressive (auxiliary *na*) takes the imperfective form. There are a few tense-aspects which may take either form (e.g. the habitual, auxiliary *màha*).¹

Senúfo scholars have frequently noted the apparently chaotic nature of imperfective formation (see Laughren 1973, Welmers 1949, 1950, 1973, Garber 1987: 42-51). The situation in Supyire is typical. At first sight there seem to be a number of different suffixes, all with no detectable difference in meaning. In addition, there are other processes such as vowel raising, initial consonant mutation, and tonal change which may accompany suffixation or occur alone. To complete the confusion, there are a few verbs which have only one form, used for both the perfective and imperfective. Upon closer inspection, however, some order can be detected. As will be shown below, there are in actual fact only a few basic ways of marking the imperfective, each having one or more variants. In the final subsection of this section some possible diachronic explanations for this state of affairs are explored.

4.2.1. *-li* and its variants

The suffix *-li*, if one includes its numerous variants, is by far the most widespread of the imperfective suffixes, accounting for about 75% of the 505 verbs in the current dictionary. Like many of the nominal suffixes, the metrical structure of the root plays a large role in determining what form the suffix will have. The basic form [li] is only found with CVCV roots with initial stress. In general, the base, or perfective, form is identical with the root. Some examples are:

(8) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>cùgò</i>	<i>cùgùli</i>	'be deep'
<i>cyaha</i>	<i>cyahali</i>	'laugh'
<i>fágá</i>	<i>fágáŋí</i>	'grab'
<i>négé</i>	<i>négéŋí</i>	'flatter'
<i>sige</i>	<i>sígìli</i>	'wait for' ²

If the medial consonant of the root is /l/, it usually elides in both the base and imperfective forms:

(9) Base Form	Imperfective Form	Gloss
<i>fíí</i> /fíí/	<i>fííí</i>	'beat smooth'
<i>káá</i> /kálá/	<i>kááí</i>	'roast'
<i>koo</i> /kolo/	<i>kòòlì</i>	'cough'

There are a few verbs whose medial /l/ does not elide, and whose initial unstressed high vowel is elided instead. The medial /l/ is lengthened compensatorily, and the *-lì* imperfective suffix survives intact:

(10) <i>fíle</i> [fí:e]	<i>fííí</i> [fí:íí]	'approach'
<i>bílé</i> [bí:e]	<i>bííí</i> [bí:íí]	'gather'

There is at least one verb in which the medial consonant which elides is /d/ ([r]) rather than /l/. This is accompanied by a raising of the root vowels: *toro* 'pass', *tuu-lì* 'pass-IMPV'. That this is not the ordinary fate of intervocalic [r] is shown by comparison with *fùrù* 'pierce', *fùrù-lì* 'pierce-IMPV'.

Two different types of root simply substitute a high front vowel for the final vowel of the base form. Since this is in complementary distribution (but see below for a small class of possible exceptions) with the other forms of *-lì*, it seems best to treat it as a variant of *-lì*. The disappearance of the [l] is not surprising given the frequent absorption of consonants in nominal morphology. The failure of preceding nasals to assimilate to its alveolar point of articulation is mysterious, however. The first type of root which takes this shortened form of the suffix has the structure CVNV, that is, a disyllable with a medial nasal. Some examples are:

(11) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>cɛnmɛ</i>	<i>cɛnmì</i>	'transplant'
<i>cúnŋɔ</i>	<i>cúnŋí</i>	'shake'
<i>kànŋà</i>	<i>kànŋì</i>	'stir'
<i>sɔ̀nŋɔ̀</i>	<i>sɔ̀nŋì</i>	'think'
<i>tònɔ̀</i>	<i>tònì</i>	'apportion'

The other type of root substituting [i] for the final vowel of the base form has the structure 'CVCVCV or 'CVVCV (the latter being most likely derived from the former by the elision of [l]), that is, roots or stems with three vowels. Here the elision of the suffix [l] and the preceding unstressed vowel seems to be motivated by a general prohibition on feet with four vowels (or sequences of three unstressed vowels in one word). If the last consonant of the stem is a resonant (/l/ or a nasal) the imperfective suffix keeps its original vowel [i]. Some examples:

(12) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>jwoolo</i>	<i>jwòdli</i>	'sew'
<i>labala</i>	<i>làbàli</i>	'turn inside out'
<i>fɔɔŋɔ</i>	<i>fɔɔŋi</i>	'console'
<i>fyinne</i>	<i>fyinni</i>	'cancel'
<i>núúnɔ</i>	<i>núúni</i>	'smell'

If the last consonant of the stem is /g/ or /d/ ([r]), however, the suffix vowel is lowered to /e/:

(13) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>tuugo</i>	<i>tuuge</i>	'accompany'
<i>waraga</i>	<i>wàràgè</i>	'dismantle'
<i>muguro</i>	<i>mugure</i>	'smile'
<i>paara</i>	<i>pààrè</i>	'imitate'

The absence of roots with the high front vowels /i/ and /e/ from this list is no accident. Vowel harmony would ensure that the base form of such a verb would end in [e], and there is therefore no way to tell if the suffix has been added or not. Since the imperfective suffix [i] or [e] is the most common strategy used with stems with three vowels, it is probable that in such verbs as the following the combination of vowel harmony and lowering of the imperfective suffix vowel from [i] to [e] have resulted in the neutralization of formerly distinctive forms:

(14) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>círígé</i>	<i>círígè</i>	'faint'
<i>cyìlgè</i>	<i>cyìlgè</i>	'be clever'
<i>tirige</i>	<i>tìrigè</i>	'scrape against'
<i>fyeeere</i>	<i>fyèèrè</i>	'urinate'

There are a handful of roots (nine have been found so far) which have a 'CVCV base form, but which take the short form of the suffix ([i] or [e]) rather than the full form. Although these contrast with the forms illustrated in example (6) above, since the latter are so numerous by comparison, and since the distribution of [li] versus [i/e] is otherwise complimentary, it seems best to treat these nine verbs as exceptions until some diachronic explanation is found for their different behavior. Note that the suffix vowel becomes [e] following the flaps [r] (/d/) and [R] (/g/):³

(15) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>bubo</i>	<i>bùbì</i>	'not be well shut'
<i>màrà</i>	<i>màrè</i>	'cling to'
<i>nara</i>	<i>nàrè</i>	'come up at edges'
<i>ɲara</i>	<i>ɲàrè</i>	'toss'
<i>tɔɔ</i>	<i>tɔre</i>	'count'
<i>pɔɔ</i>	<i>pɔ̀rè</i>	'be tame'
<i>ɲàgà</i>	<i>ɲàgè</i>	'scratch'
<i>sànhà</i>	<i>sànhì</i>	'chew'
<i>nàhà</i>	<i>nàhì</i>	'herd'

When the verb root is CV, the [l] of the *-li* suffix is elided unless a vowel-initial clitic follows. If the root vowel is [–high] and not /a/, it undergoes a process of umlaut in which it becomes [+high]. The suffix vowel then assimilates to it if it is [–front] (i.e. [u]). A [+high] root vowel of course remains unchanged. Some examples are:⁴

(16) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>sú</i>	<i>súú</i>	'pound'
<i>kwù</i>	<i>kwúú</i>	'die'
<i>bo</i>	<i>buu</i>	'kill'
<i>byé</i>	<i>byíí</i>	'carry on back'
<i>ɲyé</i>	<i>ɲyíí</i>	'wash'
<i>kwɔ</i>	<i>kwuu</i>	'finish'

Two verbs with /a/ also undergo raising:

(17) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>jya</i>	<i>ɲyì</i>	'break'
<i>bya</i>	<i>byì</i>	'drink'

The majority of CV verbs with /a/, however, retain [a] in the imperfective form, the vowel of the suffix assimilating to the root vowel:

(18) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>cyán</i>	<i>cyáán</i>	'drop'
<i>kan</i>	<i>kààn</i>	'give'
<i>kya</i>	<i>kyaa</i>	'chew'
<i>ta</i>	<i>tàà</i>	'get'

Two verbs with secondary release in the base form lose it in the imperfective:

(19) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>cya</i>	<i>càà</i>	'seek'
<i>ɲya</i>	<i>ɲàà</i>	'see'

Nearly a quarter of all verbs take what appears to be a suffix *-ni* in the imperfective. It is clear that historically this was the form that *-li* took after roots which ended in a nasal. The process is familiar from noun morphology: the root final nasal (of unknown quality) assimilates to the alveolar point of articulation of the suffix [l], which in turn is elided. Of the non-loan vocabulary, a slight majority of roots which take *-ni* also exhibit evidence of a root final nasal in nominalizations. Most of these are one syllable roots without secondary release. Some examples are:

(20) Root	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>kaN</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kani</i>	'boil'
<i>leN</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lènì</i>	'put'
<i>nɔN</i>	<i>nɔ</i>	<i>nɔ̀nì</i>	'arrive'
<i>sínfN</i>	<i>síní</i>	<i>síníní</i>	'lie down'
<i>tunN</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>tùnnì</i>	'send'
<i>yiN</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>yìnì</i>	'jump'

Many roots which take *-ni* show no independent evidence of having a final nasal. Most of these (16 of 23) are disyllabic, and it is possible that 'CVCVN roots lost their final nasals before CVN ones did, and that the sole remaining evidence of it is the suffix in the imperfective form. In a few cases the evidence for the final nasal is mixed. For example, the verb *péré* 'sell' may take either *-ni* or *-li* in the imperfective: *péréní* / *pérélí*. The original final nasal shows up in one nominalization, *yapereŋa* 'thing to sell', but not in another, *taperege* 'place to sell (something)', both of which are gender 2 singular, with noun class suffix *-gV*. In the following examples, there is no evidence other than the *-ni* itself for a root final nasal:

(21) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>núró</i>	<i>núróní</i>	'return'
<i>ŋwɔ́hɔ</i>	<i>ŋwɔ́hɔ̀nì</i>	'hide'
<i>sí</i>	<i>sìnì</i>	'give birth'
<i>sígé</i>	<i>sígíní</i>	'suspect something'
<i>tírí</i>	<i>tírìnì</i>	'grind'
<i>yyéré</i>	<i>yyéréní</i>	'stop'

A few verbs which take *-ni* undergo the umlauting process noted above for verbs taking *-li*.

(22) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>ja</i>	<i>jíní</i>	'be able'
<i>ɲɔɔ</i>	<i>ɲwúúní</i>	'sleep'
<i>ce</i>	<i>cini</i>	'know'
<i>to</i>	<i>tùnì</i>	'close'

There is ample evidence that *-ni* has declared its independence from *-li* and is in fact becoming the regular imperfective suffix. There are quite a few verbs (e.g. *péré* 'sell') which may take either *-li* or *-ni*, and which show no other evidence of a root final nasal. It looks very much as if *-ni* is beginning to spread through the vocabulary. Some examples of this variation are:

(23) Base form	Imperfective forms	Gloss
<i>bùrù</i>	<i>bùrùnì</i> / <i>bùrùlì</i>	'get face down'
<i>diri</i>	<i>dirinì</i> / <i>dirilì</i>	'pull'
<i>fyinme</i>	<i>finmìnì</i> / <i>finmìlì</i>	'soak'
<i>puru</i>	<i>pùrùnì</i> / <i>pùrùlì</i>	'slice open'
<i>sùlò</i>	<i>sùlùnì</i> / <i>sùlùlì</i>	'dam'

A few verbs which take other imperfective suffixes to be discussed below also have variants with *-nì*:

(24) Base form	Imperfective forms	Gloss
<i>cùrù</i>	<i>cùrùnì</i> / <i>cùrùgè</i>	'stick in'
<i>fwòrò</i>	<i>fwòrònì</i> / <i>fwòrògè</i>	'skin'
<i>péré</i>	<i>pèrènì</i> / <i>pèrè</i>	'wag'
<i>pìnì</i>	<i>pìnìnì</i> / <i>pìnì</i>	'spin'

Loans provide the best evidence for the regularization of *-ni*. The great majority take only *-ni* in the imperfective:

(25) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss	Source
<i>dafá</i>	<i>dafánì</i>	'complete'	<i>dafa</i> (Bambara)
<i>jíjà</i>	<i>jíjànì</i>	'do one's best'	<i>jíjà</i> (Bambara)
<i>kàlìfá</i>	<i>kàlìfánì</i>	'entrust'	<i>kàlìfá</i> (Bambara)
<i>komplé</i>	<i>komplénì</i>	'clothe'	<i>complet</i> (French) ⁵
<i>labá</i>	<i>labánì</i>	'finish'	<i>laban</i> (Bambara)
<i>sémé</i>	<i>séménì</i>	'write'	<i>sébén</i> (Bambara)

Another suffix best analyzed as a variant of *-li* is *-re*. It appears only with disyllabic roots with medial /l/ (which elides), /h/ ([ʔ]), or /g/ ([R]). It re-

places the final syllable of the root rather than being added after it. Some examples of each of the three types are given below. Several of these verbs have variant imperfective forms using some other suffix, such as *-li*.

(26)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
a. CVIV roots	<i>càà</i>	<i>càrè</i>	'spread out'
	<i>fáá</i>	<i>fáré / fáálí</i>	'exchange'
	<i>kèè</i>	<i>kèrè</i>	'praise'
	<i>kɔɔn</i>	<i>kɔɔnrè</i>	'cut throat of'
	<i>sèèn</i>	<i>sènrè / sèènnì</i>	'vaccinate'
b. CVhV roots	<i>faha</i>	<i>fare / fàhàgè</i>	'be light weight'
	<i>kanha</i>	<i>kanre</i>	'be tired'
	<i>láhá</i>	<i>láré</i>	'let go'
	<i>taha</i>	<i>tare</i>	'set down'
	<i>yaha</i>	<i>yare</i>	'leave'
	<i>shwɔhɔ</i>	<i>sore</i>	'cook' ⁶
c. CVgV roots	<i>tugo</i>	<i>turu</i>	'dig' ⁷
	<i>dugo</i>	<i>duru</i>	'go up'
	<i>múgó</i>	<i>múró</i>	'open'
	<i>sógó</i>	<i>sóré</i>	'burn'
	<i>tìgè</i>	<i>tírí</i>	'go down'

Comparison with cognates from Sucite (data from Garber 1987) shows that the original form of the roots was probably 'CVCi. The Sucite cognates for the CVIV roots are CVli, and the imperfectives for these have /d/: CVdi. Garber (1987: 47) argues that [di] results from the deletion of the root final [i] and the coalescence of the root [l] with the imperfective suffix *-li*. A similar scenario would explain the odd distribution of *-re* (/de/) in Supyire, which is entirely phonologically determined. Those disyllabic roots with medial /l/, /h/, or /g/ which take some other suffix are assumed to have originally ended in some other vowel than /i/. There are some remaining puzzles, however, involving the causative, which will be discussed in section 4.3 below.

4.2.2. Vowel raising

As noted in the previous section, the suffix *-li* sometimes causes an umlaut process of vowel-raising in the preceding root. There are a few monosyllabic verbs which have raised vowels in the imperfective, but which do not have suffixes of any sort in current Kampwo Supyire:

(27) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>fè</i>	<i>fí</i>	'run'
<i>fwɔ</i>	<i>fwu</i>	'blow'
<i>pwɔ</i>	<i>pwu</i>	'tie'

Comparison with the Sucite cognates shows that it is likely that there were at one point suffixes which caused the vowel raising and then were lost. All three verbs have suffixes cognate with Supyire *-li* in the imperfective: *fè* 'run', *fíú* 'run.IMPFV'; *fɔ* 'blow', *fíu* 'blow.IMPFV'; *pɔ* 'tie', *píu* 'tie.IMPFV' (data from Garber 1987).

4.2.3. *-ge* and its variants

The distribution of *-ge* seems to be at least in part semantically determined: over half the verbs which take it are stative. A root medial [r] sometimes elides when the suffix is added. Some examples of stative verbs:

(28) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>cyéré</i>	<i>cyéégé</i>	'be small'
<i>dugo</i>	<i>duguge</i>	'be heavy'
<i>fyá</i>	<i>fyàgè</i>	'be afraid'
<i>lya</i>	<i>lyàgè</i>	'be old'
<i>ɲwɔ</i>	<i>ɲwògè</i>	'be good'
<i>nyaha</i>	<i>nyàhàgè</i>	'be much'
<i>soro</i>	<i>sòrògè</i>	'be bitter'
<i>tɔɔn</i>	<i>tòòngè</i>	'be long'

One verb inexplicably shortens its root vowel in the imperfective: *táán* 'be sweet', *tángé* 'be sweet.IMPFV'.

In addition to the high proportion of stative verbs (much higher than their proportion to active verbs over all), many active verbs take the *-ge* suffix:

(29) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>cyiri</i>	<i>cyìrìgè</i>	'cut in pieces'
<i>kare</i>	<i>kéégé</i>	'go'
<i>paha</i>	<i>pàhàgè</i>	'open wide'
<i>kebe</i>	<i>kyèègè</i>	'break' ⁸
<i>yere</i>	<i>yèrègè</i>	'counsel'

While it is possible that these verbs originally had a stative meaning (e.g. 'be divided in pieces', 'be broken'), that is certainly not the case now. The synchronic distribution of *-ge* is thus not completely semantically motivated.

Three verbs have an imperfective suffix *-ŋi*. This is probably the form *-ge* takes following a root ending in a nasal. In one of these verbs (*pwóró* 'be better', *pwóróŋí / pwóóŋí* 'be better.IMPFV') *-ŋi* is the only suffix allowed, but the other two both have alternate forms with *-ge*: *kare* 'go', *kéégé / kááŋí* 'go.IMPFV'; *wyere* 'be hot', *wyerege / wyeeŋi* 'be hot.IMPFV'. The *-ŋi* form of the suffix indicates that the original must be reconstructed as **-gi*. The vowel has been lowered by the uvular flap in *-ge* [Re], a process common throughout the morphology of Supyire. The cognate suffix in Cebaara (where /g/ is still [g]) is indeed *-gi* (cf. Cebaara *cán* 'know', *cángí* [tʃáɡi] 'know.IMPFV' (Mills 1984: 111)).

Another three verbs undergo what seems to be the reverse process. They are all three-vowel verbs with a final [ŋV] ending, and they form the imperfective by substituting the *-ge* suffix for this final syllable:

(30)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
	<i>cuuŋo</i>	<i>cuuge</i>	'be well'
	<i>buuŋo</i>	<i>buuge / buuŋi</i>	'be big'
	<i>síníŋé</i>	<i>sínagé</i>	'make lie down' ⁹

At present I have no explanation for this phenomenon.

4.2.4. Tone

It has already been noted that changes in tone occur in the imperfective. These changes cross-cut classification by suffixes or other morphological processes, and appear to be independent of them. In current Supyire the imperfective suffixes appear to be toneless, but evidently at some time in the past they did bear a tone which had some effect on the previous root tune. There is one change which appears to have been virtually regularized: the great majority of verbs with strong mid tone change to low (and its variant high-low) in the imperfective. Some examples are:

(31)		Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
a.	with <i>-li</i>	<i>sige</i>	<i>sìgìlì</i>	'wait for'
b.	with <i>-re</i>	<i>kɔɔn</i>	<i>kònrè</i>	'cut throat of' ¹⁰
c.	with <i>-ge</i>	<i>bere</i>	<i>bèrègè</i>	'be short'

A few strong mid verbs exhibit this change in the absence of any suffix:

(32)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
	<i>yaa</i>	<i>yàà</i>	'fashion'
	<i>yige</i>	<i>yìgè</i>	'take out'

The great majority of weak mid and high verbs keep the same tone in the imperfective. A substantial minority of low verbs, however, take a high tune in the imperfective. Like the tone change noted above, this seems to occur with all three imperfective suffixes:

(33)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
a. with <i>-li</i>	<i>yù</i>	<i>yúú</i>	'steal'
b. with <i>-re</i>	<i>nùgò</i>	<i>núú</i>	'sow' ¹¹
c. with <i>-ge</i>	<i>fwòrò</i>	<i>fwórógé / fwòrònì</i>	'skin'

As noted above, *fè* 'run' undergoes this tone change together with vowel raising: *fí* 'run.IMPFV'. There are a few monosyllabic verbs, all with high vowels in the base form, for which the change in tone is the only mark of imperfective:

(34)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
	<i>fyìn</i>	<i>fyín</i>	'sprout'
	<i>lyì</i>	<i>lyí</i>	'eat'
	<i>ɲì</i>	<i>ɲí</i>	'shine'
	<i>wwù</i>	<i>wwú</i>	'take off'

In section 4.1.1 above it was pointed out that most loan verbs take the suffix *-ni* in the imperfective. Those loans which end in a high tone but begin with a low or mid take a low tone on the imperfective suffix, a characteristic found nowhere else in the Supyire vocabulary. The examples in (25) above illustrate this. Note that verbs beginning with a low and which have a final stressed vowel with a rising contour (e.g. *kàlifá* 'entrust' < Bambara *kàlifá* 'guard'; *jàhàvǎ* 'betray' < Bambara *jàànǎ* 'betray') have a simple high on the final vowel of the root when the imperfective suffix is added: *kàlifánì*, *jàhàvánì*. This unique and characteristic pattern is repeated in the reduplicative ideophonic verbs also borrowed from Bambara. These verbs do not take the

-ni suffix. Those whose last consonant is [r] (/d/) or /g/ ([R]) take the [e] form of the *-li* suffix as a replacement of their final vowel. Those whose last consonant is an /l/ which elides take no imperfective suffix. All are marked by the distinctive low-high-low tune, in which the high is linked to the last stressed vowel of the word. In at least one case, this is the antepenultimate vowel, and the penultimate takes High as well, the final Low of the tune being reserved for the final vowel. Some examples are:

(35)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
	<i>klǎ̀rǎ̀klǎ̀rǎ̀</i>	<i>klǎ̀rǎ̀klǎ̀rǎ̀</i>	'walk like an ape'
	<i>kù̀ŋkù̀</i>	<i>kù̀ŋkù̀</i>	'roll'

<i>mòlògòmàlàgá</i>	<i>mòlògòmálágè</i>	‘wriggle’
<i>pàmpàá</i>	<i>pàmpáà</i>	‘flatten’
<i>pìrìpàrá</i>	<i>pìrìpàré</i>	‘be of no value’
<i>pòròpòró</i>	<i>pòròpòré</i>	‘threaten’
<i>sùmùsùmú</i>	<i>sùmùsùmù</i>	‘shuffle’

4.2.5. Consonant mutation

Five verbs change their initial consonant in the imperfective. Two of these represent what is perhaps the remnant of a consonant mutation strategy which is now defunct. Consonant mutation does occur in other Senúfo languages (where *nasal + voiceless obstruent clusters of the proto-language are realized as voiced obstruents) and minimally in Supyire (underlying nasal + voiceless fricative is realized as voiced fricative) and is endemic in the region, occurring in several Mande and West Atlantic languages. The two imperfective forms under discussion must be treated as synchronic exceptions, however. They involve the substitution of a nasal for an oral consonant of the same point of articulation. One of these occurs in conjunction with the *-re* suffix. The two verbs are:

(36)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
	<i>pa</i>	<i>ma</i>	‘come’
	<i>lógó</i>	<i>núró</i>	‘hear’

The three remaining consonant-changing verbs all have secondary release in the base form corresponding to its lack in the imperfective form. It is certainly no accident that the vowel in the imperfective form is raised. The three verbs are:

(37)	Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
	<i>jwo</i>	<i>yu</i>	‘say’
	<i>shya</i>	<i>sí</i>	‘go’
	<i>yyere</i>	<i>yire</i>	‘call’

It was noted above in section 4.2.3 that one verb which takes the *-ge* suffix also shortens its root vowel at the same time: *táán* ‘be sweet’, *tángé* ‘be sweet.IMPERF’. There is one other verb whose sole mark of the imperfective is the shortening of its vowel: *teen* ‘sit’, *ten* ‘sit.IMPERF’.

4.2.6. Verbs with no separate imperfective form

There is a substantial minority of verbs whose base and imperfective forms are identical. It was noted above in section 4.2.1 that many trisyllabic verbs which have /i/ or /e/ as the root vowel (and would therefore end in [e] by the rules of vowel harmony) have imperfective forms for which it is impossible to tell if they have the *-li* suffix or not. See (14) for examples. In addition to these verbs, there are about twenty others where a suffix would be detectable if there were one. Some examples are:

(38) Base form	Imperfective form	Gloss
<i>bégélé</i>	<i>bégélé</i>	'prepare'
<i>cèè</i>	<i>cèè</i>	'sing'
<i>cwo</i>	<i>cwo</i>	'fall'
<i>faa</i>	<i>faa</i>	'cultivate'
<i>kèèngè</i>	<i>kèèngè</i>	'change'
<i>pyi</i>	<i>pyi</i>	'do'
<i>wíí</i>	<i>wíí</i>	'look at'

4.2.7. The origin of the imperfective suffixes

It has been noted in languages around the world that progressive and other imperfective constructions are frequently descended from clause types with a finite auxiliary together with a nominalized verb. It has been claimed that the auxiliaries of Mande and Kru languages (see Heine and Reh 1984, Marchese 1986) were originally main verbs, and the present day main verbs were originally nominalized verbs. In view of this hypothesis, it is very interesting that the imperfective suffixes bear some resemblance to noun class suffixes. Specifically, imperfective *-li* resembles the gender 3 singular indefinite noun suffix *-IV*, the imperfective suffix *-ge* resembles the gender 2 singular indefinite noun suffix *-gV*, and the imperfective suffix *-re* certainly looks not unlike the gender 4 indefinite noun suffix *-rV*.

While these etymologies are possible, it is necessary to inject a note of caution. It was suggested in section 4.2.1 above that *-re* is quite likely a phonologically conditioned reflex of *-li*. This would reduce the set of imperfective suffixes to just two, *-li* and **-gi*. Furthermore, imperfective *-li* and nominal *-IV* differ in their phonological behavior, the latter undergoing vowel harmony as a matter of course, while the former is more resistant. *-ge* and *-gV* differ in the same way. Finally, the causative suffix to be discussed in the next section may also be reconstructed as **-gV*.

These considerations make a nominal etymology for the imperfective forms slightly less attractive. An alternate hypothesis, also highly tentative,

might be a verbal etymology. It is certainly interesting that several Senufo languages have a copula *li* or *ni*. This copula is in fact so widely distributed in Niger-Congo that it can plausibly be reconstructed for the whole family. It has independently developed into a progressive auxiliary in some Senufo languages (e.g. Cebaara).

The similarity of form between the imperfective *-ge* and the causative *-gV* also suggests a verbal rather than a nominal etymology. Recall that over half of the verbs taking imperfective *-ge* in Supyire may be classified as stative. In their imperfective use (e.g. in the progressive or habitual) they are active, however. This suggests an etymology from a verb such as ‘do’, which accords well with development into a causative. To the best of my knowledge no verb *ki* or *gi* meaning ‘do’ or ‘make’ occurs in Senufo languages. Bole-Richard (1988) does suggest **ke* as a possible Niger-Congo root meaning ‘do’. The question must remain unsettled for the moment. At any rate, a nominal etymology for the imperfective suffixes must not be regarded as certain.

4.3. The causative

In present-day Supyire most verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively. Even many stative verbs can be used in a transitive clause without any causative or transitivizing morphology, as is seen by comparing the following two sentences:

- (39) a. *Ka à bere.*
 G2S PERF be.short
 ‘It (G2S) is short.’
- b. *Mi a kù bère.*¹²
 I PERF G2S shorten
 ‘I have shortened it.’

While most verbs show this flexibility, there is a small group of about twenty verbs which require a causative suffix in order to be made transitive. This suffix has the form *-gV*, the quality of the vowel being determined by vowel harmony. The high degree of morphophonemic irregularity associated with it points to an early origin. Only four verbs actually retain the form *-gV*. One of them simply adds the suffix:

- (40) *yìrì-gè* from *yìrì*
 rise-CAUSE ‘rise, get up’
 ‘raise’

Another loses its medial consonant and raises its vowel when the causative suffix is added:

- (41) *súú-gó* from *sógó*
 burn-CAUS 'burn (intr)'
 'burn (tr)'

The remaining two verbs have the form CVgV. When the causative suffix is added, the medial consonant of the root changes from /g/ to /d/ ([r]). It is probably not accidental that both of these verbs belong to the class which substitutes *-re* for a final [gV] to form the imperfective (see section 4.1.2). It is unlikely, however, that the imperfective form is the stem in the causative, since the tone in one of the verbs is different in the imperfective. Other possibilities, such as that the [gV] of the root is the reflex of some now defunct suffix, or that the [r] in the causative form arose through dissimilation, must await comparative evidence before they can be rejected or confirmed. The two verbs are:

- (42) a. *tírì-gè* from *tìgè* / *tírí*
 go.down-CAUS go.down go.down.IMPERF
 'put down, bring
 or take down' 'go down'
- b. *duru-go* from *dugo* / *duru*
 go.up-CAUS go.up go.up.IMPERF
 'put up, bring
 or take up' 'go up'

In the remaining verbs, the causative suffix takes the form *-ŋV*. For most of these verbs, there is independent evidence that they originally ended in a nasal consonant, so the [ŋ] is due to the process of assimilation of the nasal to the following suffix consonant which is familiar from nominal morphology. Some examples are:

- (43) a. *núúŋó* from *núú* cf. *núúní*
núúN-gV return *núúN-li*
 return-CAUS return-IMPERF
 'bring back,
 cause to return'
- b. *síníŋé* from *síní* cf. *yasiniŋe*
síníN-gV lie.down *ya-síníN-gV*
 lie.down-CAUS 'lie down' thing-lie-G2S
 'lay down' 'bed'

c. <i>toroŋɔ</i> 'make pass'	from	<i>toro</i> ¹³ 'pass'	
d. <i>faanna</i> <i>fʌʌN-gV</i> wilt-CAUS 'make wilt'	from	<i>faan</i> 'wilt'	cf. <i>ŋwɔfaanna</i> <i>ŋwɔ-fʌʌN-dV</i> mouth-wilt-G4 'trickery'

Three verbs lose a medial [r] when the causative suffix is added:

(44) a. <i>cyééŋé</i> <i>cyéréN-gV</i> be.small-CAUS 'make small'	from	<i>cyéré</i> be.small 'be small'	cf. <i>niŋcyerena</i> <i>niN-cyéréN-IV</i> ADJ-be.small-G3S
b. <i>pwóóŋɔ</i> <i>pwóróN-gV</i> be.better-CAUS 'make better'	from	<i>pwóró</i> be.better 'be better'	cf. <i>pwóóŋí</i> <i>pwóróN-gi</i> be.better-IMPERF
c. <i>yyééŋé</i> <i>yyéréN-gV</i> stop-CAUS 'stop (tr)'	from	<i>yyéré</i> stop 'stop (intr)'	

There is another small class of three verbs which appear to have the causative suffix, but for which there are no corresponding verbs without the suffix. Since these verbs are like most Supyire verbs in that they can be used intransitively (in fact, they are all three stative) as well as transitively, there would be no reason to even suspect that their final [ŋV] was the causative if they did not have corresponding adjectival forms. The adjective roots and the corresponding verbs are:

(45) Adjective	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
- <i>fyɪn-</i>	'white' ¹⁴	<i>fɪnɪŋé</i>	'be white, whiten'
- <i>ɲya-</i>	'red'	<i>ɲaanna</i>	'be red, redden'
- <i>bwo-</i>	'big'	<i>buuŋɔ</i>	'be big, enlarge'

The verbs all show evidence of an extra syllable between the original root and the causative suffix, which can be reconstructed as **/VN-*. It is possible that this was some kind of verbalizing suffix, though why the verbs without the causative suffix did not survive remains a mystery.

4.4. The iterative / intensive

A suffix *-IV*, which like the causative *-gV* seems to be non-productive, derives verbs with “plural” and/or intensive meaning. The plural may denote (a) repeated actions involving the same participants, i.e. iterative, (b) actions involving plural absolutive participants. The common denominator is that the action is performed more than once, whether by the same agent/actor or by different agents/actors. This suffix has also developed an intensive meaning with some verbs. Sometimes the intensive and plural meanings are both present. It is not clear which meaning came first, though it is certainly suggestive that the extra plural suffix in noun genders 1 and 3 has the same form *-IV*.

Following are some examples of verbs with this suffix, together with attendant notes on the meanings:

- (46) *láhálá* < *láhá*
 peel, separate let go, take off

This verb can be used transitively to denote the action of peeling fruit, which involves repeated actions of taking bits of peel off, or with a plural direct object to denote separation of the objects. It can also be used intransitively, with a plural subject, to indicate separation. Compare the following sentences:

- (47) a. *U a làhà.*
 s/he PERF let.go
 ‘S/he left (to go somewhere else).’
- b. *Pi a làhà-là.*
 they PERF let.go-PL
 ‘They separated (from each other).’
- c. *U a pì láhá-lá pí-yè nà.*
 s/he PERF them let.go-PL they-REFL on
 ‘S/he separated them from each other.’

Other examples:

- (48) *mígílé* < *mígé*
 coil up (long rope) coil up (short rope)
- múgúló* < *múgó*
 open (several objects) open (one object)

<i>murulo</i> smash completely (with repeated motions)	<	<i>muru</i> squash (with one motion)
<i>pahala</i> split open (several objects)	<	<i>paha</i> split open (one object)
<i>páán</i> sever by chopping	<	<i>pán</i> sever with a chop

As noted in the previous section, the causative suffix *-gV* has also developed a plural and/or intensive meaning in some verbs. Some examples of this are:

(49) <i>cúróg</i> stick in (several objects or with repeated motions)	<	<i>cùrù</i> ¹⁵ stick in (one object, or with one motion)
<i>cyirige</i> cut in lots of pieces	<	<i>cyiri</i> cut in a few pieces
<i>fúróg</i> pierce with twisting motion	<	<i>fùrù</i> pierce with a thrust
<i>mínágá</i> scrape badly	<	<i>mìnì</i> scrape

There are numerous pairs of verbs which could well be etymologically related through derivation with one of these two suffixes, but which most speakers (at least, all of the ones I consulted on the subject) no longer see a connection between. Thus *wuli* ‘bathe’ (an action accomplished by repeatedly dipping water from a bucket and pouring it over oneself) may be related to *wu* ‘pour’, and *pilige* [pli:Re] ‘scatter about (intransitive, plural subject)’ is probably related to *pili* [pli:] or [p^əli] ‘spread out (transitive)’. It is perhaps worth pointing out that my questions on many of the verb pairs given in this section engendered heated debates whenever more than one speaker of Supyire was present. In view of this lack of agreement, only verbs for which I have textual evidence have been used.

4.5. Incorporated objects

Supyire employs a rudimentary form of object incorporation or verb compounding. A small set of nouns occur in the direct object position in their indefinite singular forms although they are possessed by definite nouns. In or-

dinary genitive constructions, if the possessor is definite and referential, the head noun is as well. The following is typical:¹⁶

- (50) *ba-gé fùŋŋ-ké*
 house-DEF(G2S) interior-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the inside of the house’

The possessed noun will likewise be plural if it refers to plural entities:

- (51) *pi ɲwɔ̄-yi*
 their mouth-DEF(G2P)
 ‘their mouths’

But both these nouns are used in their singular indefinite form with certain verbs, even though they are possessed by definite, referential, and plural nouns. It is evident that they are themselves no longer referential, but are being reanalyzed as the first part of compound verbs. They are only partially incorporated into the verb phonologically, and are therefore written separately in the orthography. The noun *ɲwɔ̄-ga* ‘mouth-G2S’ in this position normally does not even take an indefinite suffix, but appears in its root form *ɲwɔ̄*. Some examples are:

- (52) a. *Guvernami-ŋi ɲye na pi ɲwɔ̄ càà.*
 government-DEF be PROG their mouth seek.IMPFV
 ‘The government feeds them.’
- b. *Kà nū-ŋi sɪ ù ɲwɔ̄ shwɔ̄ sáháŋkì.*
 and mother-DEF NARR her mouth take again
 ‘Then her mother answered her again.’
- c. *Kà zàntùŋɔ̄ sɪ keshú-ŋi ɲwɔ̄ múgó...*
 and hyena NARR box-DEF mouth open
 ‘Then Hyena opened the box...’

Other incorporated nouns keep their indefinite noun class suffixes. The most common is *fùŋŋɔ̄* ‘interior, inside’. When incorporated, its final vowel is a greatly reduced [u], which is the form expected for a non-final vowel according to the rules of vowel harmony. The insertion of downstep before the verb, however, shows that the compounding is still quite loose, since downstep is not allowed within words. Some examples are:

- (53) a. *Kà li í pí fùŋŋú ' wwóóŋó.*
 and it NARR them inside.G2S be.black.CAUS
 ‘And it worried them.’

- b. *Ma á ná fúnjú cwó kú ná.*
 you SUBJUNC my inside.G2S fall it on
 ‘Remind me of it.’

The second of these examples is particularly interesting in that the verb *cwo* ‘fall’ is always and only intransitive except in this expression (the transitive counterpart is another verb *cyán* ‘make fall, drop’). Its use here is derived from an expression in which *fúnjú* and its possessor are the subject:

- (54) *Mì fúnjá á cwò kù ná.*¹⁷
 my inside.G2S PERF fall it on
 ‘I remembered it.’

There is evidence that the erstwhile possessor of an incorporated noun is now simply a direct object like any other. In the following example the compound *ɲwɔ tó* ‘close’ is used twice. The second use is parallel to (53) above, the possessor of *ɲwɔ* being the item closed. The first use, however, shows an extension in that the possessor is no longer the item closed, but something enclosed in that item. While *ɲwɔ* ‘mouth’ still bears a part-whole relation with ‘hole’, it has no such relation with ‘toads’. The latter therefore could not have arisen as a genitive possessor, but is a simple direct object.

- (55) *Kà m̀pi sí zhìbannàɲwɔ ká-ká na*
 and hare NARR ground.hornbill tap-tap that
 ‘Then Hare signalled Ground Hornbill that
 ‘*Pila a ñtasèmi-píí ɲwɔ tó wyĩ-ge e.*’
 spread SSC toads-DEF mouth close hole-DEF in
 “Spread (your wings) and enclose the toads in the hole.”
Kà zhìbannàɲwɔ mú ' sí ñ-tílá á
 and ground.hornbill also NARR IP-be.straight SC
 Then Ground Hornbill immediately
fukàn-yi tàha à wyĩ-ge ɲwɔ tó...
 wing-DEF use SC hole-DEF mouth close
 closed the hole with (his) wings...’

Further evidence that the former possessor is now a simple direct object is provided by reflexivization. A reflexive possessor in the third person is coded simply with the ordinary anaphoric pronoun:

- (56) *Kà u ú ñ-tílá à u yaa-yí /wɔ...*
 and he NARR IP-be.straight SC his things-DEF take
 ‘He; immediately took his; things...’

A direct object coreferential with the subject must be coded with a reflexive pronoun, however (for the forms of the reflexive pronouns see chapter 5, sections 5.1.1.3 and 5.1.2.3):

- (57) *Kà u ú ú-yè nàhana...*
and she NARR she-REFL stretch
'Then she stretched herself...'

The former possessor of an incorporated object, when it is coreferential with the subject, is coded with a reflexive pronoun, i.e. as a direct object, rather than as a possessor:

- (58) *U a kàrè Gáni i sí sà ù-yé wyere pyi.*
he PERF go Ghana to SUBJUNC go he-REFL medicine do
'He went to Ghana to treat (lit. do medicine) himself.'

A second type of incorporated noun arose from "cognate" direct objects, i.e. objects whose *denotata* are created or brought into being only through the activity indicated by the verb. Some examples of these quasi-compounds are:

- (59) a. *mε-ε céè* 'sing'
voice-G3S sing
b. *mε-ε sú* 'cry'
voice-G3S pound
c. *ηᵛᵛ-gᵛ ηᵛᵛ* 'dream'¹⁸
dream-G2S sleep
d. *yo-go kwón* 'quarrel'
quarrel-G2S cut

Other incorporated objects without possessors are similar to the first sort discussed above in that they are derived from body parts:

- (60) a. *ɲwᵛ cû* 'begin'
mouth grab
b. *funᵛ sᵛnᵛᵛ* 'think, mull over'
inside.G2S think
c. *kàntu-go wá* 'abandon'
back-G2S throw
d. *yya-ha le* 'do one's best'
face-G2S put

It should be pointed out that several of these expressions appear to be calques on Bambara idioms. For example, *ɲwɔ cû* ‘mouth take = begin’ is a literal translation of Bambara *da-minê* ‘mouth-take = begin’. This is probably a fairly recent calquing, since Supyire has a simple verb *sii* meaning ‘begin’. Other Bambara expressions which have been directly translated are *kɔɔ-miiri* ‘inside-think = mull over’, *da-tugu* ‘mouth-close = shut’, *da-yèlè* ‘mouth-open = open’.

Chapter 5

Other word classes

In this chapter the various word classes besides nouns and verbs are introduced: pronouns, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, adverbs, auxiliaries, adpositions, conjunctions, and interjections. Only the forms and meanings of these word classes are described here. Their function in the grammar will be dealt with in detail in other chapters. The use of the determiners, adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers is described in chapter 6 (noun phrases), that of adverbs and postpositions in chapter 7 (simple clauses), that of the tense, aspect, and modality auxiliaries in chapter 9 (tense, aspect, modality, and negation). The conjunctions and subordinators, are dealt with in connection with the various constructions they mark in chapters 11-15.

5.1. Pronouns and determiners

Supyire pronouns may be divided into two quite distinct groups on the basis of morphological form: first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns. Third person pronouns are intimately tied to the noun gender system. There are separate pronouns for each gender, singular and plural. The anaphoric pronouns are phonologically clitics, and undergo many tonal rules which do not apply to nouns. First and second person declarative pronouns, on the other hand, behave tonally like nouns, and from the point of view of the gender system, they resemble gender 1 nouns. None of the Supyire pronouns is sensitive to case (with the exception that the first person singular non-declarative pronoun cannot be subject). The same form is used for subject, direct object, indirect object, and possessor.

5.1.1. First and second person pronouns

There are two sets of first and second person pronouns in Kampwo Supyire. One set is used mainly in declarative sentences. The other set is used only in non-declarative sentences such as commands, prohibitions, questions, blessings, vocatives, and exclamations.

5.1.1.1. Declarative first and second person pronouns

Table 6 gives the four first and second person pronouns used in declarative sentences.

Table 6. Declarative first and second person pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>m̀li</i>	<i>ẁdu</i>
2	<i>mu</i>	<i>ỳli</i>

The first person singular and both plural pronouns all have a low-weak mid tone tune. They behave for the most part like low-weak mid nouns with respect to tone rules. In the following examples *m̀li* is used, but *ẁdu* and *ỳli* would have the same tones if they were substituted. Just as in nouns, the mid surfaces if the following word begins with a low:

- (1) a. *m̀li ɲk̀d̀d̀ɲi*
 my chicken.DEF
 'my chicken'
- b. *M̀li à pa.*
 I PERF come
 'I have come.'

Also like low-weak mid nouns, the mid causes a following weak mid (in certain syntactic constructions, e.g. genitive constructions, verb phrases) to become high and then is elided:

- (2) a. *m̀li núɲi* cf. *nu* (MwL)
 my mother.DEF mother
 'my mother'
- b. *Mu a m̀li kánhá.* cf. *kanha* (Mw)
 you PERF me tire tire
 'You have annoyed me.'

Verbs and postpositions with strong mid tone become low just as when following a low-weak mid noun:

- (3) a. *U a m̀li ɲyà.*
 s/he PERF me see
 'S/he has seen me.'
- b. *U a li cyéè m̀li nà.*
 s/he PERF it show me at
 'S/he has shown it to me.'

Unlike the nouns, however, the mid remains in a genitive construction when the possessed word begins with a strong mid:

- (4) *mìi bagé*
 my house.DEF
 ‘my house’

The second person singular pronoun *mu* has a simple strong mid tone tune. It does not perturb in any known environment.

The vowels of *mìi*, *wùu*, and *yìi* are somewhat unusual. They are noticeably longer than ordinary single vowels, but usually not as long as ordinary long vowels. This may be due to the fact that they are not stressed. However, it should be pointed out that every other instance of word final long vowels can be demonstrated to have developed through the elision of a medial consonant. This consonant (usually /l/ or /n/) resurfaces when a vowel-initial clitic follows the long vowel. In the case of these pronouns, no such consonant surfaces. Instead, the vowels of the pronoun are merely replaced with the corresponding approximant ([w] for /u/ and [y] for /i/), and an additional mora is assigned to the clitic vowel, just as if the pronoun vowel were short.¹

For purposes of agreement, first and second person pronouns are in gender 1, which is semantically the gender of human beings. Thus, for example, when a pronoun in subject position is fronted for focus, the resumptive pronoun which holds its subject position is *u* (gender 1 singular) for the singular and *pi* (gender 1 plural) for the plural:

- (5) a. *Mìi u a lì pyl.*
 I s/he PERF it do
 ‘It’s I who did it.’
- b. *Yìi pi a ù kàn ya à.*
 you(PL) they PERF him give them(G2P) to
 ‘It’s you who gave him to them.’

5.1.1.2. Non-declarative pronouns

Supyire has a distinct set of first and second person pronouns for use in non-declarative sentences. Their use in such sentences is often not obligatory (depending on the type of sentence, and sometimes on the person of the pronoun): the “declarative” pronouns may also be used in such sentences. The non-declaratives, on the other hand, cannot be used in declarative sentences, with one exception: they can be used as reflexive genitive possessors in both declarative and non-declarative sentences (see chapter 6, section 6.1). Table 7 gives the forms of the non-declarative pronouns.

Unlike the declarative pronouns, which as we have seen resemble nouns, the non-declaratives resemble the third person pronouns tonally. They all have the weak mid-low tone tune characteristic of the latter. See chapter 2 section 2.3 for a discussion of the tonal behavior of the pronouns.²

Table 7. Non-declarative first and second person pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>na</i>	<i>wu</i>
2	<i>ma</i>	<i>yi</i>

The first person singular *na* cannot be used as subject of a clause. The others can all be so used, as the following subjunctive imperative and hortative clauses show:

- (6) a. *Ma* \emptyset *pa.*
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC come
 'Come.' (polite command)
- b. *Wu* *a* *sí.*
 we.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV go.IMPFV
 'Let's go.'
- c. *Yi* *a* *wá.*
 you(PL).NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV go.IMPFV
 'Go.' (polite command)

All four pronouns may be used in all the other functions pronouns can ordinarily serve, such as direct or oblique object and genitive possessor:

- (7) a. *Na* *wì.*
 me.NONDECL look.at
 'Look at me.' (imperative)
- b. *Ku kan na* *à.*
 it give me.NONDECL to
 'Give it to me.' (imperative)
- c. *Na* *cevoo ñkùù,* *taá* *ma*
 my.NONDECL friend chicken where you.NONDECL
kéégé *ke?*
 go.IMPFV LOC.Q
 'My friend chicken, where are you going?'

5.1.1.3. First and second person reflexive pronouns

The non-declaratives form the base for the derivation of the first and second person reflexive pronouns. The reflexive suffix is *-ye* (weak mid tone). The resulting reflexive forms are used in declarative and non-declarative sentences alike. Table 8 gives the forms.

Table 8. First and second person reflexive pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>nayè</i>	<i>wuyè</i>
2	<i>mayè</i>	<i>iyiyè</i>

As shown below in section 5.1.2.3 the third person reflexives are formed with the same suffix.

5.1.2. Third person pronouns and determiners

It is important at the outset to make clear that for most of the forms in question Supyire makes no formal morphological distinction between third person pronouns and determiners. Although in the following discussion the term pronoun will usually be used, it should be born in mind that any of the forms described may also function as determiners. When used as determiners, these forms agree in gender and number with their head noun. When used as pronouns, they agree with their antecedent. There is one set of determiners which cannot be used as pronouns: the definite ‘other’ determiners. Similarly, only reflexive, identifier, and independent possessive pronouns cannot be used as determiners.

For each gender (and for both singular and plural) there are four basic pronoun forms with a CV shape (except in genders 1 and 3 plural, where the shape is CVIV in two of the four forms). The initial consonant of this form is the class consonant (see chapter 3 section 3.1 for a list of these consonants and a description of the gender system of Supyire). Each of the basic pronoun sets has its characteristic vowel or vowels and tone tune which differentiate it from the other three sets. The gender 2 singular basic forms are typical:

(8) Pronoun	Function
<i>ku</i>	anaphoric
<i>kà</i>	indefinite/partitive
<i>ki</i>	identifier
<i>ke</i>	deictic identifier

From these basic sets a further seven sets are derived by affixation, giving a total of eleven sets.

5.1.2.1. Anaphoric pronouns

All the anaphoric pronouns except the gender 1 singular have the form CV, where the consonant is the class consonant and the vowel is a high vowel, /i/ or /u/. There is an alternate gender 1 singular form, *wu*, which does conform to the common template, but it is much rarer than the *u* form. An even rarer form *wi* has been recorded. All simple pronouns have a weak mid-low tone tune in which the low is a floating tone. Table 9 shows the forms.

Table 9. Anaphoric pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>u</i>	<i>pi</i>	
2	<i>ku</i>	<i>yi</i>	
3	<i>li</i>	<i>ci/ki</i>	
4			<i>ti</i>
5			<i>pu</i>

Anaphoric pronouns are unstressed and normally cliticize on the following word.³ Except for the gender 1 pronouns and the gender 3 plural pronoun, the vowel of a simple pronoun behaves like other unstressed vowels in assimilating completely to a following vowel initial enclitic, such as a tense-aspect auxiliary or a postposition. This assimilation is written in the orthography, as in the following examples with the dative postposition *á*:

- (9) *ka á* ‘to it’ *ya á* ‘to them’ *la á* ‘to it’
 G2S to G2P G3S
- ta á* ‘to them’ *pa á* ‘to it’
 G4 G5

The remaining three pronouns undergo approximant formation in this environment. The mora of their vowels is bestowed on the following clitic vowel, but the other features become an approximant. This approximant forms a secondary palatal release to the pronoun consonant if there is one. Neither the lengthened vowel nor the approximant are written in the orthography:

- (10) *u á* [wa:] ‘to him/her/it’
 G1S to
- pi á* [p^ya:] ‘to them’
 G1P
- ci á* [c^ya:] ‘to them’
 G3P

5.1.2.2. Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronouns are formed from the anaphoric pronouns by the addition of the suffix *-re*. This suffix has weak mid tone, and it allows the final low of the anaphoric pronoun to move to its right, yielding a weak mid-low tune for the emphatic. The forms are given in Table 10.

Table 10. Emphatic pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>ure</i>	<i>pire</i>	
2	<i>kure</i>	<i>yire</i>	
3	<i>lire</i>	<i>cire</i>	
4			<i>tire</i>
5			<i>pure</i>

When in predicate nominal position, the suffix vowel is stressed and retains its quality in all classes. In other positions, however, the suffix vowel is unstressed and it harmonizes with a preceding back vowel. The following are thus the most common forms for the three classes with back vowels:

- (11) Gender 1 singular: *uru*
 Gender 2 singular: *kuru*
 Gender 5: *puru*

Phonologically, emphatic pronouns behave like independent nouns rather than like clitics.⁴ Their final vowels readily assimilate to following clitics, as in the following:

- (12) *ura* *à* 'to him/her/it'
 him/her(EMPH.G1S) to

5.1.2.3. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are derived from simple pronouns by the addition of the suffix *-ye*. The low of the pronoun tune displaces the weak mid of the suffix, unless it itself is converted to low-weak mid by the spreading of a low from the preceding word, in which case the weak mid of the pronoun causes the weak mid of the suffix to become high (see chapter 2, section 2.3.4.1). The forms are given in Table 11.

Table 11. Reflexive pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>uyè</i>	<i>piyè</i>	
2	<i>kuyè</i>	<i>iyè</i>	
3	<i>liyè</i>	<i>ciyè</i>	
4			<i>tiyè</i>
5			<i>puyè</i>

The vowel of the reflexive suffix, like other unstressed vowels, assimilates to a following clitic:

- (13) *u-yà á* 'to himself/herself'
 s/he-REFL to

As was noted above (5.1.1.2) the same suffix *-ye* derives the first and second person reflexive pronouns from the non-declarative pronouns.

5.1.2.4. Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns, which may also be used as partitive or indefinite determiners, have the form *Cà* in most classes, and *Cìlì* in the plurals of genders 1 and 3. The /l/ of the latter form usually elides, and is not written in the orthography unless pronounced. The forms are given in Table 12.

Table 12. Indefinite pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>wà</i>	<i>pìl</i>	
2	<i>kà</i>	<i>yà</i>	
3	<i>là</i>	<i>cìl/kìl</i>	
4			<i>tà</i>
5			<i>pà</i>

The indefinite pronoun vowel is unstressed, and consequently assimilates to a following vowel initial clitic. In the same environment the otherwise elided /l/ makes its appearance. Some examples are:

- (14) *wè* *e* 'in one'
 IND(G1S) in
- pìlè* *e* 'in some'
 IND(G1P) in

5.1.2.5. Indefinite 'other' pronouns

The indefinite 'other' pronouns (meaning 'another', 'some others') are formed from the indefinite pronouns by the addition of the suffix *-béréè*. The forms are given in Table 13.

Table 13. Indefinite 'other' pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>wàbéréè</i>	<i>pìlbéréè</i>	
2	<i>kàbéréè</i>	<i>yàbéréè</i>	
3	<i>làbéréè</i>	<i>cìlbéréè</i>	
4			<i>tàbéréè</i>
5			<i>pàbéréè</i>

5.1.2.6. Identifier pronouns

The two types of identifier pronoun constitute the remaining two basic types of pronoun. They are so labeled because they function as predicates in identificational or presentational clauses. The simple identifier pronouns can be translated 'It's a/the X' where X is a noun or pronoun. The deictic identifiers mean 'Here's a/the X.' They have in common that the derivations made from them (which will be described in the following section) are all done by means of a low tone nasal prefix.

The simple identifier pronouns all have the form *Ci*, with Ms tone, as shown in Table 14.

The deictic identifier pronouns differ from the simple predicatives in having a MwL tone tune rather than Ms and the vowel /e/ (except in genders 1 and 3 plural) instead of /i/. Table 15 gives the forms.

Table 14. Simple identifier pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>wi</i>	<i>pi</i>	
2	<i>ki</i>	<i>yi</i>	
3	<i>li</i>	<i>ci/ki</i>	
4			<i>ti</i>
5			<i>pi</i>

Table 15. Deictic identifier pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>we</i>	<i>pji</i>	
2	<i>ke</i>	<i>ye</i>	
3	<i>le</i>	<i>cii</i>	
4			<i>te</i>
5			<i>pe</i>

The remaining sets of pronouns all have in common the fact that they are derived from the identifier pronouns by the addition of a nasal prefix with low-weak mid tone. Two of the sets have suffixes as well.

5.1.2.7. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives are derived from the deictic identifier pronouns by the addition of the low-weak mid nasal prefix just mentioned. By regular tone changes the final tone is low-high. Table 16 gives the forms.

Note that there is only one series of demonstratives, the same form being used with both proximal and distal meaning.

Table 16. Demonstrative pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>ɲgé</i>	<i>m̀píí</i>	
2	<i>ɲké</i>	<i>ɲjé</i>	
3	<i>ɲdé</i>	<i>ɲcíí</i>	
4			<i>ɲté</i>
5			<i>m̀pé</i>

5.1.2.8. Relative pronouns

The relative pronouns are derived from the demonstratives by the simple addition of the suffix *-m̀*,⁵ as shown in Table 17.

Table 17. Relative pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>ɲgém̀</i>	<i>m̀píím̀</i>	
2	<i>ɲkém̀</i>	<i>ɲjém̀</i>	
3	<i>ɲdém̀</i>	<i>ɲcíím̀</i>	
4			<i>ɲtém̀</i>
5			<i>m̀pém̀</i>

5.1.2.9. Simple interrogative pronouns

The simple interrogatives function as pronouns or determiners with the meaning ‘which?’ or ‘which one(s)?’⁶ They are derived from the simple identifier pronouns by the addition of the same nasal prefix which forms the demonstratives, with low-weak mid tone. The application of ordinary tone rules allows the low of the prefix to spread to the strong mid of the identifier pronoun, resulting in a simple low surface tune. Table 18 gives the forms.

Table 18. Simple interrogative pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>ɲgɪ</i>	<i>m̄pɪ</i>	
2	<i>ɲkɪ</i>	<i>ɲjɪ</i>	
3	<i>ɲdɪ</i>	<i>ɲcɪ</i>	
4			<i>ɲtɪ</i>
5			<i>m̄pɪ</i>

5.1.2.10. Emphatic interrogative pronouns

The emphatic interrogatives, like the non-interrogative emphatics described above (section 5.1.2.2), are formed from their simple counterparts by the addition of the suffix *-re*. The final mid of the simple interrogative tune (resulting from the spread of the prefix low-weak mid to the strong mid of the presentative root) causes the weak mid of *-re* to become high, and the final tune is thus low-high. The forms are given in Table 19.

Table 19. Emphatic interrogative pronouns

Gender	Singular	Plural	Non-count
1	<i>ɲgɪré</i>	<i>m̄pɪré</i>	
2	<i>ɲkɪré</i>	<i>ɲjɪré</i>	
3	<i>ɲdɪré</i>	<i>ɲcɪré</i>	
4			<i>ɲtɪré</i>
5			<i>m̄pɪré</i>

5.1.2.11. Definite ‘other’ determiners

The definite ‘other’ determiners (meaning ‘the other(s)’, ‘the rest’) are the sole determiners which do not also function as pronouns. They differ also in form from the other pronoun/determiners, which as we have seen are all based on the template:

(prefix)—class consonant—suffix

In contrast, the definite ‘other’ determiners are composed of a root *sanN-* followed by ordinary noun class suffixes. The root also functions as an ad-

jective meaning ‘last’. The determiners were apparently originally nominalizations of this root. Table 20 gives the forms.

Table 20. Definite ‘other’ determiners

Gender	Singular		Plural		Non-count	
	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite
1	<i>sanŋa</i>	<i>sānŋi</i>	<i>sanmii</i>	<i>sanmpíí</i>		
2	<i>sanŋa</i>	<i>sānŋke</i>	<i>sanya</i>	<i>sānyi</i>		
3	<i>sanna</i>	<i>sānni</i>	<i>sanŋii</i>	<i>sanŋkíí</i>		
4					<i>sanna</i>	<i>sānnte</i>
5					<i>sanma</i>	<i>sānmpe</i>

An example of a noun phrase using this determiner is:

- (15) *cyìl-ni* *sān-ni*
 thigh-DEF(G3S) OTHER-DEF(G3S)
 ‘the other thigh’

See chapter 6, section 6.1.2.3 for more examples.

5.1.2.12. The independent possessive pronouns

A special set of pronominal forms is used as the head of genitive constructions. The independent possessives are not typical pronouns in that they cannot be used as determiners. Moreover, in form they are like the definite ‘other’ determiners, viz. root-plus-gender suffix, rather than like ordinary pronouns.

The root used to construct the possessed pronouns is *wu-*, with MwL tone. It is obviously cognate with the contrastive genitive particle *u/wu* (see chapter 12, section 12.1.3). It combines with the noun class suffixes as shown in Table 21.

The gender 5 forms have the variants *wubo* and *wūbe*. In addition, there are diminutive forms (in gender 3) *wūró* and *wūrúni*.

Like other pronouns, the possessed pronoun agrees in noun class with its antecedent. It can be loosely translated as ‘one’ or ‘ones’, and when the possessor is pronominal, the entire construction is the equivalent of a possessive pronoun (*mine, ours*, etc.) in English. One example must suffice here. The reader is referred to chapter 6, section 6.2.3 for more examples.

Table 21. The independent possessive pronouns

Gender	Singular		Plural		Non-count	
	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite
1	<i>wu</i>	<i>wūŋi</i>	<i>wuu</i>	<i>wuubŋf</i>		
2	<i>wogo</i>	<i>wōge</i>	<i>wuyo</i>	<i>wūyi</i>		
3	<i>wuu</i>	<i>wuūni</i>	<i>wugii</i>	<i>wugigŋf</i>		
4					<i>woro</i>	<i>wodre</i>
5					<i>wumɔ</i>	<i>wūmpe</i>

- (16) *mŋ wūŋ-ni*
 my POSS-DEF(G3S)
 ‘mine’ (referring to something in gender 3)

The possessive pronoun has developed a couple of other functions besides filling the role of head of a genitive construction. It is used in the formation of ordinal numbers (see section 5.3.2 below), and in one type of modifying phrase within a noun phrase (see chapter 6, section 6.4.2).

5.2. Adjectives

The function of qualifying nouns that is filled by adjectives in Indo-European languages is accomplished in two ways in Supyire: by means of compounding and by means of derived independent adjectives. Most of the meanings coded by adjectives in an adjective-rich language like English are coded by stative verbs in Supyire. These (as well as a great many active verbs) can be readily compounded with a noun root, as described in chapter 3 section 3.2.4.2 above. The same verbs can function as the root of the derived independent adjectives to be described below.

There is, however, a small set of true adjective roots which are not currently used as verbs in Kampwo Supyire. These also can be compounded with nouns, or they can form the root of a derived independent adjective. Following is an exhaustive list of those recorded so far:

- (17) Root Gloss
- bile*- ‘small (singular)’⁷
 - bwo*- ‘big’⁸
 - cenN*- ‘good’
 - cyii*- ‘first’
 - fɔnN*- ‘new’

<i>-fu-</i>	‘hot’
<i>-fyìn-</i>	‘white’ ⁹
<i>-nu-</i>	‘same’
<i>-nyε-</i>	‘red’ ¹⁰
<i>-puN-</i>	‘all, whole’ ¹¹
<i>-pyi-</i>	‘small (plural)’ ¹²
<i>-sanN-</i>	‘last’ ¹³
<i>-sìnaN-</i>	‘beautiful’

Following are some examples of these adjective roots compounded with noun roots.

- (18) a. *can-zānŋ-ke* ‘the last day’
day-last-DEF(G2S)
- b. *canŋ-cènŋè* ‘good day’
day-good.G2S
- c. *lu-bwo-o* ‘lake’
water-big-G3S
- d. *kafee-fu-go* ‘hot wind’
wind-hot-G2S
- e. *dù-puŋɔ* ‘whole stream’
stream-all.G2S

The independent adjective is formed from one of the adjective roots or from virtually any verb by adding the prefix *niN-*. The final nasal of this prefix of course assimilates in point of articulation to the first consonant of the verb, and for most speakers most of the time its unstressed vowel assimilates in labiality (i.e. to [u]) when the consonant is labial. Verbs with high or low tone become mid when adjectivized, and strong mid verbs remain mid. Weak mid verbs have a weak mid-low tune when adjectivized. Independent adjectives do not undergo any tone perturbation at all, which indicates that the prefix has strong mid tone. The independent adjective takes ordinary noun class suffixes which normally agree with the class of the head noun.

Following are examples of adjective roots as used in independent adjectives:

- (19) a. *nù-ŋi* *num-pu-ŋí*
cow-DEF(G1S) ADJ-all-DEF(G1S)
‘the whole cow’
- b. *ˊneŋ-ké* *num-bwɔ̄-he*
tail-DEF(G2S) ADJ-big-DEF(G2S)
‘the big(gest) tail’

- c. *kya-à nin-cenne*
 thing-G3S ADJ-good.G3S
 ‘a good thing’
- d. *sùpyì-ré nin-cyil-re*
 person-DEF(G4) ADJ-first-DEF(G4)
 ‘the first people’
- e. *puru yà-m-pe ni-nũ-m-pe*
 that(EMPH) be.sick-G5-DEF(G5) ADJ-same-G5-DEF(G5)
 ‘that same illness’

As noted above, virtually any verb (not just stative ones) can be adjectivalized by the prefixation of *niN-* and the addition of noun class suffixes. Following are some examples:

- (20) a. from *tara* ‘tamp down, make firm’¹⁴

jwu-bo nin-tara-ba
 say-G5 ADJ-firm-G5
 ‘resolute words’

- b. from *nyaha* ‘be much, many’

tèrii ni-nyaha-gii
 time.G3P ADJ-much-G3P
 ‘many times’

- c. from *síní* ‘lie down’

*u ni-zini-ŋí*¹⁵
 he ADJ-lie.down-DEF(G1S)
 ‘him lying down’

- d. from *yyéré* ‘stop’

u motó-ge nin-jyere-gé
 his motorcycle-DEF(G2S) ADJ-stop-DEF(G2S)
 ‘his parked motorcycle’

A few verbs have “adjectival” forms, that is, they have slightly different forms when used as adjectives. Among these are the following:

- | (21) Verb | Meaning | Adjective form |
|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <i>pa</i> | ‘come’ | <i>-panN</i> ¹⁶ |
| <i>waha</i> | ‘dry, hard’ | <i>-wa-</i> |
| <i>bere</i> | ‘be short’ | <i>-bir-</i> |

5.3. Numerals

5.3.1. Cardinal numbers

The Supyire numeral system has monomorphemic forms for the numbers 1–5, 10, 20, 80, and 400:

(22)	<i>nìnkìn</i>	‘one’ ¹⁷
	<i>shùùnnì</i>	‘two’
	<i>tàànrè</i>	‘three’
	<i>sìcyèèrè</i>	‘four’
	<i>kaṅkuro</i>	‘five’
	<i>ke</i>	‘ten’
	<i>beṅjaaga</i>	‘twenty’
	<i>ḡkùù</i>	‘eighty’
	<i>kàmpwòò</i>	‘four hundred’

The first four and the last of these forms (1–4, 400) have a low-weak mid tone tune. ‘Five’, ‘ten’, and ‘twenty’ have a weak mid-low tune. ‘Eighty’ has a simple low tune.

All of these monomorphemic forms belong to gender 1 except *kàmpwòò*, which is gender 3. All are only singular except *ḡkùù* and *kàmpwòò*, which have both singular and plural forms. There are obvious nominal etymologies for two of these forms. *Kaṅkuro* ‘five’ also means ‘fist’, a compound formed from an old root *kaN-* ‘hand’ and the verb *kuru* ‘fold, bend’. *ḡkùù* ‘eighty’ also means ‘chicken’. The etymology is confirmed by the identical irregular plural *ḡkwuu* ‘eighties, chickens’, although I could find no one who could give me an explanation of the semantic shift. I assume that it has something to do with the price of a chicken at some time in the past.

All other cardinal numbers are formed by combining the above elements. The numbers 6–9 are formed from 1–4 by the addition of a prefix *baa-*. This is most probably an old root meaning ‘five’.¹⁸ Note that ‘one’ is shortened drastically in ‘six’, and the initial /s/ of ‘four’ is rhotacized in ‘nine’:

(23)	<i>baa-nì</i>	‘six’	<	5+1
	<i>baa-shùùnnì</i>	‘seven’	<	5+2
	<i>baa-tàànrè</i>	‘eight’	<	5+3
	<i>baa-rìcyèèrè</i>	‘nine’	<	5+4

The numbers 11–19 and 21–29 are formed by adding 1–9 to 10 and 20 by means of the conjunction *ná* ‘and’:

(24)	<i>ke nà nìnkìn</i>	‘11’	=	10+1
	<i>ke nà shùùnnì</i>	‘12’	=	10+2
	<i>ke nà baatàànrè</i>	‘18’	=	10+5+3
	<i>beṅjaaga nà nìnkìn</i>	‘21’	=	20+1

$$\begin{aligned} \text{bejjaaga nà kànkùrò '25'} &= 20 + 5 \\ \text{bejjaaga nà baani '26'} &= 20 + 5 + 1 \end{aligned}$$

The numbers 30–39 are formed by adding 10–19 to 20:

$$\begin{aligned} (25) \text{ bejjaaga nà kè '30'} &= 20 + 10 \\ \text{bejjaaga nà kè ná nìnkìn '31'} &= 20 + 10 + 1 \\ \text{bejjaaga nà kè ná bááshùùnnì '37'} &= 20 + 10 + 5 + 2 \end{aligned}$$

The numbers 40 and 60 are formed as multiples of 20: a prefix *bee-*, evidently a reduced form of *bejjaaga*, is added to 2 and 3. The numbers 50 and 70 are obtained by adding 10:

$$\begin{aligned} (26) \text{ bee-shùùnnì '40'} &= 20 \times 2 \\ \text{bee-shùùnnì ná nìnkìn '41'} &= 20 \times 2 + 1 \\ \text{bee-shùùnnì ná kè '50'} &= 20 \times 2 + 10 \\ \text{bee-shùùnnì ná kè ' ná bááricyèèrè '59'} &= 20 \times 2 + 10 + 5 + 4 \\ \text{bee-tàànrè '60'} &= 20 \times 3 \\ \text{bee-tàànrè ná nìnkìn '61'} &= 20 \times 3 + 1 \\ \text{bee-tàànrè ná kè '70'} &= 20 \times 3 + 10 \\ \text{bee-tàànrè ná kè ' ná tàànrè '73'} &= 20 \times 3 + 10 + 3 \end{aligned}$$

The numbers 81–159 are formed by adding 1–79 to 80:

$$\begin{aligned} (27) \text{ ñkùù nà nìnkìn '81'} &= 80 + 1 \\ \text{ñkùù nà kè '90'} &= 80 + 10 \\ \text{ñkùù nà bèṅààgà '100'} &= 80 + 20 \\ \text{ñkùù nà bèṅààgà nà kè '110'} &= 80 + 20 + 10 \\ \text{ñkùù nà beeshùùnnì '120'} &= 80 + 20 \times 2 \\ \text{ñkùù nà beeshùùnnì ná kè '130'} &= 80 + 20 \times 2 + 10 \\ \text{ñkùù nà beetàànrè '140'} &= 80 + 20 \times 3 \\ \text{ñkùù nà beetàànrè ná kè '150'} &= 80 + 20 \times 3 + 10 \\ \text{ñkùù nà beetàànrè ná kè ' ná bááricyèèrè '159'} &= 80 + 20 \times 3 + 10 + 5 + 4 \end{aligned}$$

The numbers 160–399 are formed with multiples of 80:

$$\begin{aligned} (28) \text{ ñkwuu shuunnì '160'} &= 80 \times 2 \\ \text{ñkwuu shuunnì ' ná béṅjáágá '180'} &= 80 \times 2 + 20 \\ \text{ñkwuu shuunnì ' ná bééshùùnnì '200'} &= 80 \times 2 + 20 \times 2 \\ \text{ñkwuu taanré '240'} &= 80 \times 3 \\ \text{ñkwuu taanré ' ná kè '250'} &= 80 \times 3 + 10 \\ \text{ñkwuu taanré ' ná béétàànrè '300'} &= 80 \times 3 + 20 \times 3 \\ \text{ñkwuu sicyeeré '320'} &= 80 \times 4 \\ \text{ñkwuu sicyeeré ' ná béṅjáágá ' ná kè '350'} &= 80 \times 4 + 20 \end{aligned}$$

ɲkwuu sicyɛɛré 'ná béétaànrè
ná ké 'ná bááricyèèrè '399' = $80 \times 4 + 20 \times 3 + 10 + 5 + 4$

The numbers 401 to 799 are formed by adding 1–399 to 400. Above that, multiples of 400 are used:

(29) *kàmpwòd ná nìnkìn* '401' = $400 + 1$
kàmpwòd ná ɲkùù nà bènjààgà '500' = $400 + 80 + 20$
kàmpwòd ná ɲkwuu shuunní 'ná bééshùùnnì '600' = $400 + 80 \times 2 + 20 \times 2$
kàmpwòd ná ɲkwuu sicyɛɛré 'ná béétaànrè ná ké 'ná 'bááricyèèrè '799' = $400 + 80 \times 4 + 20 \times 3 + 10 + 5 + 4$
kàmpwòdhii shuunní '800' = 400×2
kàmpwòdhii shuunní 'ná ɲkwuu shuunní 'ná bééshùùnnì '1000' = $400 \times 2 + 80 \times 2 + 20 \times 2$
kàmpwòdhii taanré 'ná ɲkwuu taanré 'ná béétaànrè '1500' = $400 \times 3 + 80 \times 3 + 20 \times 3$

All this is fairly confusing and difficult to master. It is not surprising that there are signs that people are beginning to abandon these complications in favor of the simpler decimal system of standard Bambara. Especially for higher numbers, Bambara forms are frequently used, and sometimes Supyire forms are even used with inflated meanings. For example, I have witnessed disputes engendered by one person using *ɲkùù* in the traditional sense of '80', while another understood it as equivalent to Bambara *keme* '100'. The demise of the system is probably being hastened by the additional complication of the method used for counting money. Supyire, in common with the surrounding languages, uses a system in which the basic unit is five francs rather than one franc. Thus one *darashí* (a word borrowed from Jula and ultimately from English *dollar*) = 5 francs, two *darashí* = 10 francs, twenty *darashí* = 100 francs, and so forth. Matters are not helped by the common practice of dropping the noun *darashí*, and one often hears questions like 'do you mean in money?' when numbers are used. It is therefore hardly surprising that there is a marked tendency to switch to the Bambara counting system to clarify matters.

5.3.2. Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers, with the exception of 'first' and 'last',¹⁹ are created by suffixing the possessive pronoun *wu-* (see section 5.1.2.6 above) to ordinal root forms. Actually, special ordinal forms of the number roots only exist for 'two', 'three', and 'four'. Unlike the cardinals, ordinals agree in gender and number with the head noun, as well as in definiteness. The gender 1 singular definite forms are given here together with the corresponding cardinals:

(30) Cardinals

shùùnnì 'two'
tàànrè 'three'
sìcyèèrè 'four'

Ordinals

shòn-wù-ńí 'the second'
tanra-wù-ńí 'the third'
sicyere-wù-ńí 'the fourth'

A comparison of these forms shows that the ordinal roots differ from the cardinal roots in two principal ways: 1) the long vowel of the cardinal is shortened in the ordinal, and 2) the low-weak mid tone tune of the cardinal is switched to a mid-low tune in the ordinal.²⁰ This may explain why 'ten' and 'five' have no special ordinal form: the cardinals do not have a long vowel, and their tone tune is already mid-low. The composite numbers 7–9, whose cardinals are formed by adding 2–4 to *baa*- 'five', substitute the ordinal forms of 2–4. The ordinal for 'six' ('five-one') simply uses the cardinal form, since there is no ordinal form of 'one'. Thus the ordinal forms for 5–10 are:

(31) Cardinal

kaṅkuro 'five'
baanì 'six'
baashùùnnì 'seven'
baatàànrè 'eight'
baarìcyèèrè 'nine'
ke 'ten'

Ordinal

kaṅkuru-wù-ńí 'the fifth'
baanì-wù-ńí 'the sixth'
baashòn-wù-ńí 'the seventh'
baatanra-wù-ńí 'the eighth'
baaricyere-wù-ńí 'the ninth'
ke-wù-ńí 'the tenth'

Higher ordinals ending with 'one' behave like 'sixth' above. That is, *-wu-* is simply added to the cardinal form. Those ending with 'five' or 'ten' are also identical in form to the cardinals, except for the addition of *-wu-*:

- (32) a. *ke nà nìṅkìn-wú-ńí*
 ten and one-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 'the eleventh'
- b. *ke nà kàṅkùrù-wú-ńí*
 ten and five-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 'the fifteenth'
- c. *beṅaaga nà kè-wú-ńí*
 twenty and ten-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 'the thirtieth'

For higher ordinals ending with 'two', 'three', or 'four', there is a choice: either the ordinal or the cardinal form may be used:

- (33) a. *ke nà shòn-wù-ńí*
 ten and second-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 'the twelfth'

- b. *kε nà shùùnnì-wú-ŋi*
ten and two-POSS-DEF(G1S)
‘the twelfth’

5.4. Quantifiers

There is a small set of seven postnominal modifiers which can be characterized as quantifiers. As shown in Table 22, the quantifiers can be classified into ‘universal’, ‘exclusive’, and ‘inclusive’.

Table 22. Quantifiers

Type	Quantifier	Gloss
Universal	<i>puní</i>	‘all’
	<i>mùjyè</i>	‘all’
Exclusive	<i>káná / káni</i>	‘only’ (DEF/INDEF)
	<i>ye</i>	‘only’
Inclusive	<i>mú</i>	‘also’
	<i>bá</i>	‘even’
	<i>jùùlì</i>	‘many, much’

Unlike the independent adjectives, but like the cardinal numerals, the quantifiers do not agree in noun class with the noun they modify. Two of them (*puní* and *káná*) are nominalizations, and one of these has both definite and indefinite forms (*káná / káni*).²¹

The quantifiers, again like the cardinal numerals, behave tonally like possessed nouns. If they originated as heads of genitive constructions, then their lack of agreement with the head noun would follow naturally. At present none of the quantifiers can be used alone as head of a noun phrase, however, unlike English *all*, for example, in the sentence ‘All were present on time.’

Jùùlì ‘many’ also functions as the interrogative quantifier ‘how many?’, ‘how much?’, and in fact it is most frequently met in that capacity. Its non-interrogative function is more often filled by the adjectival form *ninyahara* ‘much, many’, from the verb *nyaha* ‘be much, many’.

Five of the quantifiers can ‘float’. That is, they can be used adverbially, placed after the verb and separate from any noun phrase. In this use they may differ quite a bit in meaning from the quantifier use.

A set of four closely related “emphatic” modifiers can be included here because they behave syntactically like the quantifiers. Etymologically, these modifiers are denominal. Three of them derive from the gender 3 noun *biliní* ‘seed’ and its plural *pyàagíí*. The other has an otherwise unknown gender 1

root *-bà-*. In three of the forms the nominal prefix *ya-* ‘thing’ is added. The four forms are:

- (34) *bìlìní*
ya-bìlìní
ya-pyàagíí
ya-bàní

These four modifiers can be used interchangeably. The alternation between singular and plural or between genders 1 and 3 has nothing to do with the number or gender of the head noun they modify. Syntactically they behave like the quantifiers, viz. like the possessed head of a genitive construction. Semantically they fill roughly the function of the emphatic use of the reflexive pronouns in English. They have nothing to do with reflexivity *per se*, however. Following are two examples of noun phrases with an emphatic modifier, one with a pronoun head, the other with a noun head. The reader is referred to chapter 6, section 6.3.3.4 for more examples.

- (35) a. *mìlì yábìlìní*
 I EMPH
 ‘I myself’
 b. *sèèní yàbàní*
 truth.DEF(G1S) EMPH
 ‘the truth itself’

5.5. Adverbs

Except for the ideophones (see below section 5.5.1.2), Supyire does not have a large class of adverbs. Unlike the adjectives, there is no productive morphological process for forming adverbs from other word classes. Most of the work done by manner adverbs in languages like English and French is done by serial verb constructions in Supyire. There is a rich set of verbs used in such constructions, so that Supyire is certainly not impoverished in its means in this regard. See chapter 8 for a description of the “adverbial” serial verbs. In a similar vein, Supyire, like most languages, codes adverbial expressions of location and time mainly as postpositional phrases. These will not be dealt with in this section, which is concerned only with the class of one word adverbs. For the interrogative adverbs (*dì* ‘how?’ and *taá* ‘where?’), see section 5.9 below.

The adverbs may be divided into two groups for expository purposes: adverbs of quantity and manner, and adverbs of location and time.

5.5.1. Adverbs of quantity and manner

The adverbs of quantity and manner fall into two major groupings. The first (called ‘ordinary’ for lack of a better label) is a closed class, only nine forms having been recorded so far. Most of these have etymological connections with other parts of the vocabulary. The second is a much larger and more open class: the so-called “ideophones” characteristic of West African languages.

5.5.1.1. Ordinary adverbs of quantity and manner

It was pointed out in section 5.4 that several of the quantifiers lead a double life as adverbs. For those quantifiers which are grammaticalizations of the definite forms of nouns, the corresponding indefinite forms are used for the adverbs. Following is a list:

(36) Adverb	Meaning	Meaning as quantifier
<i>punɔ</i>	‘completely’ ²²	‘all’
<i>káná</i>	‘only’	‘only’
<i>yɛ</i>	‘very’ ²³	‘only’
<i>mú</i>	‘also, too’	‘also’
<i>yapyàa</i>	‘actually, even’ ²⁴	‘emphatic’

Five other adverbs are not derived from quantifiers:

(37) <i>nínkì</i>	‘again, still, yet’
<i>sáhánkì</i>	‘again, still, yet’
<i>sìncyan</i>	‘together’
<i>yééńkwɔ́</i>	‘on and on’
<i>àmunì</i>	‘thus, like this/that’

The first of these, these, *nínkì* ‘again’, bears an interesting similarity to the cardinal number *nìńkìn* ‘one’, though the resemblance may be accidental. Certainly, the tone is different, and the denasalization of the final vowel unexplained. The next, *sáhánkì* ‘again, still, yet’, combines the tense-aspect auxiliary *sáhá* ‘still, yet’ with the same ending *-ńkì* as appears on *nínkì*. *Yééńkwɔ́* ‘on and on’, with its variant *ńkwɔ́*, has a rather restricted distribution: it is used only with imperfective verbs to show great duration. Finally, *àmunì* has several shortened variants which cliticize onto a preceding verb: *àmũ*, *àmē*, *mũ*, as well as a longer, but rare variant *kàmunì*, evidently the original form.

5.5.1.2. Ideophones

The adverbial ideophones of Supyire exhibit the typical characteristics frequently noted in this class in other West African languages: they are often hard to define semantically, they employ sounds not found elsewhere in the language, length and pitch are frequently exaggerated, and reduplication is very common. Because of their peculiar phonology, they are often difficult to transcribe. The transcriptions offered here are to be taken as mere pale reflections of the effect produced in spoken discourse. The class is open, and speakers readily adopt ideophones from other languages. Those given in this section are only a few of those recorded.

Semantically, many ideophones function to intensify the verb they accompany. They may have rather general meaning, as the following:

- (38) *fééfée* 'very'
bérébéré 'very'
péw 'completely'²⁵

Others have more specific meanings, and accordingly accompany only a few, semantically appropriate, verbs:

- (39) *kíkí* 'very full'
náréjáré 'very full (stomach)'
trrrr 'very straight'
wúrrrr 'very far'
fáruúw 'immediately'
wáháwáhá 'very fast'
myéhemyéhé 'in lots of small pieces'

A few do not so much intensify as simply add a manner meaning:

- (40) *lílí* 'shimmering'
kikakika 'back and forth'
sàyi 'emerging suddenly'
cíbé 'coming together just right'

A number of ideophones evoke various sounds. Most of these are onomatopoeic:

- (41) *círá* 'clicking, clacking'
gbénhgbénh '(teeth) snapping'²⁶
gòdò '(sound of gunshot)'
kòkò '(sound of knocking)'
ncáncáncá '(sound of ax striking a dead tree)'
ncòncòncò '(sound of ax striking a green tree)'

It should be pointed out that there are a number of ideophonic verbs in Supyire as well. See chapter 4, section 4.1.5 for some examples of these.

5.5.2. Locative adverbs

As noted above, most adverbial expressions of location are coded with postpositional phrases. These will not be dealt with here (see chapter 7, section 7.5.5, for examples). There are only three one word adverbs of location. Two of these are deictic:

- (42) *waní* ‘there’
náhá ‘here’

The first of these, *waní*, appears to be a gender 3 singular nominalization of the locative copula *wá* ‘be there’. The second, *náhá*, is identical in form to the locative copula *náhá* ‘be here.’ Whatever the origin of these forms, they can both be nominalized by the addition of the gender 1 definite singular suffix: *waní-ŋi* ‘there-DEF’ and *náhá-ŋi* ‘here-DEF’.

One other noun can be used as a locative adverb without the addition of a postposition: *pyenga* ‘home’. This is the indefinite singular form of the gender 2 noun *pyenga* ‘compound, home’. It can only be used adverbially with verbs of motion or location.

5.5.3 Adverbs of time

There are several one word adverbs denoting time. All of them are deictic. The three denoting present time seem to have a prefix *niN-* or *nín-* (or its rounded variant *nún-*, reminiscent of the adjectivalizing prefix described in section 5.2. The root which this prefix is attached to is in two cases of uncertain origin:

- (43) *númê* ‘now’
nínjâà ‘today’

In the other word the root is *yyee* ‘year.G3S’:

- (44) *nínjyéé* ‘this year’

The same roots form the basis of the past reference adverbs, which take the prefix *taN-* or *táN-*. Supyire had adverbs denoting three units of time in each direction from the present. The units farther from the present are derived morphologically from the units closer to the present. There is thus an iconic lengthening of the form the farther from the present one goes. The past forms for one unit back seem to be indefinite forms, and the past forms for two units back are formed by adding definite noun suffixes. The past forms

for three units back are formed from these definite forms by reduplicating the root. The past forms for days apparently belong to gender 2:

- (45) *tánjáà* 'yesterday'
tánjáàṅké 'the day before yesterday'
tánjáàṅjáàṅké 'the day before the day before yesterday'

The past forms for years belong to gender 3:

- (46) *tanjyéé* 'last year'
tanjyééni 'the year before last year'
tanjyééṅjyèèní 'the year before the year before last year'

The forms for the future do not display so much regularity. The forms for days employ what appears to be a grammaticalization of the adjective *numpanṅa* 'coming', formed from the verb *pa* 'come'. The prefix takes a low tone, however, which remains unexplained. The form for two units forward is derived by adding the suffix *-nijcyé*, of unknown provenance. The form for three units forward is derived by adding the suffix *-lyágá*, evidently from the verb *lya* 'be old':

- (47) *nùmpañṅa* 'tomorrow'
nùmpañṅanijcyé 'the day after tomorrow'
nùmpañṅanijcyílyágá 'the day after the day after tomorrow'

The future form for one year forward merely adds the suffix *-la*, of uncertain origin, to the noun *yyeé* 'year'. Two units forward is derived by adding the noun *nùmpañṅa* 'tomorrow', and three units forward, which takes the prize for size, is formed by adding the suffix complex *-nijcyílyágá* from the form for three days forward:

- (48) *yyeela* 'next year'
yyeelinumpañṅa 'the year after next year'
yyeelinumpañṅanijcyílyágá 'the year after the year after next year'

While on the subject of deictic time adverbs, a word should be said about time units other than day and year. With the time units week, month, rainy season, and dry season, deictic expressions can be derived by compounding with the verbs *pa* 'come' for future and *toro* 'pass' for past. These expressions must be accompanied by postpositions, but are given here for the sake of completeness:

- (49) a. from *cibílaaga* 'week':
cibílaapanṅké 'next week'
cibílaatoróge 'last week'

- b. from *nùŋgwàhò* ‘rainy season’
nùŋgwòpanŋké ‘next rainy season’
nùŋgwòtòrògé ‘last rainy season’
- c. from *bèngà* ‘dry season’
bènpañké ‘next dry season’
bèntòrògé ‘last dry season’
- d. from *yinɛ* ‘month, moon’
yimpanŋké ‘next month’
yinŋkwugé ‘last month’

Note that the last form employs the verb *kwù* ‘die’ rather than *toro*. The expression *yivɔ̀nni* ‘the new moon’ is also sometimes used to mean ‘next month’.

Before leaving the time adverbs, mention should also be made of a common adverb borrowed from Bambara: *dóóní* ‘in a bit, in a short while’. In Kampwo Supyire this seems to be in the process of eliminating the native adverb *fyàhàrà* ‘soon’, and its variant *fyaharoo*²⁷ ‘soon’, which are derived from the verb *fyàhàrà* ‘do soon’ (used only in serial verb constructions). These adverbs differ from all others in being used almost exclusively in clause initial position.

5.6. Tense, aspect, and modality auxiliaries

In common with other Senufo languages, Supyire has a class of auxiliaries marking tense, aspect, and modality. These are placed following the subject, and preceding the direct object if there is one. Most of them cannot be described as auxiliary *verbs*, since they do not retain the ability to act as the main verb in any clause. Most if not all of them are derived historically from verbs, however. The most common auxiliaries are given in Table 23. For descriptions of their function, and possibilities of combination, see chapter 9.

As can be seen, most of the auxiliaries in Table 23 are very small, consisting of one syllable only. Many of them in addition suffer varying degrees of phonological erosion as they are cliticized onto the preceding subject noun phrase.

All five of the copulas (*nyɛ* ‘be’, *mpyi* ‘be (Past)’, *sii* ‘be (Emphatic)’, *náhá* ‘be here’, and *wá* ‘be there’) are used as supplementary auxiliaries in various constructions. The verbs *pa* ‘come’ and *sa* ‘go’ have also developed quasi-auxiliary functions.

Table 23. Auxiliaries

Auxiliary	Function
<i>na</i>	Progressive
<i>màha</i>	Habitual; Formal Past
<i>ná</i>	Past
<i>à</i>	Perfect
<i>sí</i>	Future
<i>kú</i>	Potential
<i>sáhá</i>	Still, Yet
<i>sí</i>	Narrative/Sequential
<i>ta</i>	Imperfective imperative
<i>sí</i>	Subjunctive
<i>a</i>	Imperfective subjunctive
<i>kà</i>	Prohibitive/Negative subjunctive
<i>ká</i>	Conditional

5.7. Adpositions

Supyire marks oblique cases by means of several postpositions and three prepositions. These adpositions can be conveniently divided on the basis of form into simple and complex. The simple adpositions occur alone. The complex postpositions are composed of a denominal first part followed by one of the simple postpositions.

5.7.1. Simple adpositions

There are eight simple postpositions. I have argued elsewhere (see Carlson 1989) that most of these derive historically from verbs. They behave tonally like transitive verbs preceded by a direct object. Some of them are quite old, going back to proto-Senufo and beyond. Others are of more recent origin, and are shared by only a few other Senufo languages. Some of the older postpositions show the ravages of time in phonological erosion. These have lost their initial consonants, and are reduced to being mere vowel clitics on the noun phrases they mark. The dative marker *á* 'to, for, from' comes from *má*, a form still encountered in poetry. The locative *i* comes from **ni*, which is the form found in other Senufo languages. Table 24 gives the simple postpositions.

Table 24. Simple postpositions

Postposition	Gloss
<i>á</i>	to, for, from
<i>i</i>	in, at, to, from
<i>i</i>	with
<i>na</i>	on, at, to, from
<i>bàà</i>	without ²⁸
<i>kurugo</i>	alongside, through
<i>táán</i>	beside
<i>yyéré</i>	toward, <i>chez</i> ²⁹

As can be seen in Table 24, most of the postpositions have a variety of translations. This is because much of the information associated with prepositions in English is carried in the verb in Supyire.³⁰ Thus the verb indicates direction of motion, and the postposition merely codes abstract location. Compare the following, all using the postposition *i* (for the alternation [i/e] in this postposition, see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.6):

- (50) a. *U nye bagé e.*
 s/he be house.DEF in
 'S/he is *in* the house.'
- b. *U à fword bagé e.*
 s/he PERF go.out house.DEF from
 'S/he has come/gone *out of* the house.'
- c. *U a jyè bagé e.*
 s/he PERF go.in house.DEF into
 'S/he has gone *into* the house.'
- d. *U a kàrè Sukwole e.*
 s/he PERF go Sikasso to
 'S/he has gone *to* Sikasso.'

As noted above, there are three prepositions in Supyire. All of them are related to conjunctions with other functions in the language. All of them may and one of them must be accompanied by a postposition as well. Table 25 gives these details.

Ná 'with' is historically related to and has the same form as the noun phrase conjunction *ná* 'and'. As a preposition it must be accompanied by the postposition *i* 'with'.³¹ Although the latter looks identical to the locative postposition *i* 'in, at', it is not. The locative postposition has strong mid tone, whereas *i* 'with' has weak mid tone. The tone rules are such that the two almost never have the same tone in a given context. The combination *ná...i* is used to code both associative and instrument, as shown in (51).

Table 25. Prepositions

Preposition	Gloss	Accompanying postposition	Meaning as conjunction	
<i>ná</i>	'with'	<i>i</i>	'with'	'and'
<i>fó</i>	'till'	(<i>i</i>)	'in, to'	'until'
	'as far as'	<i>na</i>	'at, on'	
<i>kàbyíí</i>	'since'	<i>i</i>	'in, from'	'since'

- (51) a. *U à pa ná ' wyéréni ì.*
 s/he PERF come with money.DEF with
 'S/he has come with the money.'
- b. *U a tì kwòn ná ñwòni ì.*
 s/he PERF it cut with knife with
 'S/he cut it with a knife.'

Fó 'till, as far as' is borrowed from Bambara *fó* 'till, except for'. As a preposition by itself, it can be used with a time word to mean 'until':

- (52) *U à báráni pyi fó yàkònké.*
 s/he PERF work.DEF do till afternoon.DEF
 'S/he worked till afternoon.'

When used with a locative noun, it has the meaning 'as far as' or 'up to', and must be accompanied by a locative postposition:

- (53) *U a kàrè fó Sukwole e.*
 s/he PERF go as.far.as Sikasso to
 'S/he went as far as Sikasso.'

With a noun accompanied by the exclusive quantifiers *káná* or *ye* 'only', it means 'except for':

- (54) *Pi puná à pa fó mu yé.*
 they all PERF come except you only
 'They all came except you.'

The third preposition *kàbyíí* 'since' is also borrowed from Bambara (*kàbi*). It must be accompanied by the locative postposition *i* 'in, to, from':

- (55) *Pi a tààn pì-yá à*
 they PERF be.sweet they-REFL to
 'They've loved each other (lit. they have been sweet to each other)

kàbyíí nànkòcyèèré e.
 since childhood.DEF from
 since childhood.'

5.7.2. Complex postpositions

The complex postpositions have developed from genitive constructions followed by simple postpositions. The head (possessed) noun in these constructions most often referred to a body part or to some physical part of an object. Over time it was reanalyzed as part of the postposition. Table 26 lists the most common of the complex postpositions.

Table 26. Complex postpositions

Postposition	Gloss	Source noun	
<i>funji i</i>	inside	<i>funjɔ</i>	'belly'
<i>ɲunji i</i>	on top of	<i>ɲunjɔ</i>	'head'
<i>nìjì nà</i>	above	<i>nìjì</i>	'above part' ³²
<i>`ɲwɔhi i</i>	beneath	<i>`ɲwɔhɔ</i>	'bottom part'
<i>ɲkèrè nà</i>	beside	<i>ɲkèrè</i>	'side'
<i>kàmpañà na</i>	on side of	<i>kàmpañà</i>	'side, piece'
<i>ɲwɔ na</i>	at edge of	<i>ɲwɔ</i>	'mouth' ³³
<i>yyaha na</i>	in front of	<i>yyaha</i>	'face'
<i>yyaha yyèrè</i>	ahead of	<i>yyaha</i>	'face'
<i>kàntugo (yyéré)</i>	behind	<i>kàntugo</i>	'back' ³⁴
<i>fyè e</i>	after	<i>fyè</i>	'footprints'
<i>shwðhole e</i>	between	<i>shwðholɔ</i>	'part between'
<i>cye e</i>	by means of	<i>cyeɣa</i>	'hand'
<i>`baare e</i>	except for	?	
<i>mɛɛ na</i>	for sake of	<i>mɛɛ</i>	'voice, name'

At least one complex postposition is formed with an initial root which no longer has a corresponding noun in Kampwoo Supyire: *`baare e* 'except for'.

The denominal part of the complex postpositions still undergoes the tonal changes of a possessed noun in a genitive construction. Note the changes in the following examples:

- (56) a. *mìlì yyáhá nà*
 me in.front at
 'in front of me'
- b. *ɲgé yyàhà nà*
 DEM in.front at
 'in front of this/that one'

There is good evidence, however, that it is no longer syntactically a possessed noun, but functions rather as a postposition. Ordinarily a definite suffix is required on a possessed noun if its possessor is definite and referential:

- (57) *mìl yyá-he*
 my face-DEF(G2S)
 'my face'

The denominal part of a complex postposition does not take a definite suffix (see notes 32 and 33, however), as the examples above show.

Another bit of evidence involves the reflexive. Ordinarily a third person reflexive possessive is coded simply with an anaphoric pronoun:

- (58) *Kà u ú ú yyáhe kèènṅè.*
 and she NARR her face.DEF turn
 'Then she turned her face.'

A reflexive indirect object is coded with a reflexive pronoun:

- (59) *Kà u ú kú dírá à file u-yè ná.*
 and he NARR it pull SC bring.near he-REFL at
 'Then he pulled it to himself.'

A reflexive indirect object occurring with a complex postposition is coded with a reflexive pronoun, just as it would be with a simple postposition, thus showing that it is not treated syntactically as if it were a genitive possessor of the postposition noun. In the following example, note the use of a simple anaphoric pronoun to code the reflexive possessor in direct object position, but a reflexive pronoun to code the indirect object:

- (60) *Kà ceṅṅi sì u pyàṅi yaha*
 and woman.DEF NARR her child.DEF leave
 'The woman placed her child
u-yè yyáhá ná.
 she-REFL face at
 in front of herself.'

5.8. Conjunctions

In this section the various conjunctions, both coordinating and subordinating, will be briefly introduced. They can conveniently be divided into conjunctions used to conjoin noun phrases and those used to conjoin clauses.

5.8.1. Noun phrase conjunctions

There are three types of noun phrase coordination in Supyire, and each has its characteristic conjunction: additive *ná* ‘and’, alternative *lâa* ‘or’, and distributive *mâha* ‘each, every’.

The conjunction *ná* ‘and’ is etymologically related to the preposition *ná* ‘with’, and undoubtedly also to the conditional subordinator *ná* ‘if’. There is abundant evidence that they all descend from a copula or verb meaning something like ‘be with, be at, be joined’ (see Carlson 1990). Accordingly, *ná* behaves like a high tone verb, undergoing tonal changes caused by the preceding conjunct as if that conjunct were its direct object. It keeps its high tone following a mid (either simple or in a low-weak mid tune):

- (61) a. *Sukwoo ná Bàmàko*
 Sikasso and Bamako
 ‘Sikasso and Bamako’
 b. *mìlì ná mu*
 I and you
 ‘you and I’

A low at the end of the preceding conjunct spreads onto it, including a floating low:

- (62) a. *dùfàànnà nà ku pyà*
 donkey and its child
 ‘a donkey and its foal’
 b. *kafinara nà sèè*
 lies and truth
 ‘lies and truth’

Although the conjunction *ná* is confined to conjoining noun phrases, the same is not true of *lâa* ‘or’, which may also conjoin clauses. *Lâa* is of uncertain etymology. Its tone tune and behavior are rather unusual. In most contexts it keeps its low-mid tune:

- (63) *nûñjì lâa pyìibíí*
 mother.DEF or children.DEF
 ‘the mother or the children’

Following a mid, however, the low is raised to high:

- (64) *mu láa mìlì*
 you or I
 ‘you or I’

The distributive conjunction *máhá* does not actually conjoin noun phrases. It is rather used to link a repetition of the same (indefinite, non-referential) noun to give a distributive meaning ‘each, every’. It has an alternate tune *màha*, which confirms that it is related etymologically to the habitual auxiliary *màha*. The two are probably also related to the verbs *màhà* ‘do all over the place’ (second verb in a serial construction) and *màhàrà* ‘go round in a circle repeatedly’. The semantic connection between these various items is not difficult to imagine. *Máhá* keeps its high tone following conjuncts ending in a high or a mid:

- (65) a. *yee máhá yee*
 year DIST year
 ‘every year’
- b. *fàràfìn ' máhá fàràfìn*³⁵
 black DIST black
 ‘every black’

Following a low tone, it sometimes switches to *màha*, though some low tone words do not cause the change. With others, speakers vary. The following, for example, were produced by the same speaker within a couple of minutes of each other:

- (66) a. *kànhà máhá kànhà*
 town DIST town
 ‘every town’
- b. *kànhà màha kànhà*
 town DIST town
 ‘every town’

Many speakers also use the Bambara distributive conjunction *o*. The preceding vowel, if it is unstressed, normally assimilates:

- (67) *yaago o yaaga*
 thing DIST thing
 ‘each thing’

5.8.2. Clausal conjunctions

Conjunctions used to conjoin clauses can be broadly classified into coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Although this traditional classification has its limitations (e.g. coordinated clauses are rarely “equal” in status pragmatically), it is useful as a means to obtain rough categories. With few exceptions, the conjunctions are placed at the boundaries of the clauses they join, either at the beginning, or at the end. Several of the subordinating conjunctions come in pairs, one at the beginning of the clause and another at the

end. Table 27 gives the most commonly used conjunctions. The table includes cross-references to parts of this grammar where the conjunction in question is treated.

Table 27. Clausal conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions		Section
<i>kà</i>	'and then (different subject)'	15.3
<i>mà</i>	'and then (same subject)'	15.3
<i>sí</i>	'but'	15.2.2
<i>ɲkàà</i>	'but'	15.2.2
<i>làa</i>	'or'	15.2.3
Subordinating conjunctions		
<i>na</i>	'that'	11.5.2
<i>ké</i>	relative clause marker	14.1
	time adverbial clause marker	15.1.1.1
<i>sána</i>	'before'	15.1.1.3
	'rather than'	15.1.8
<i>fó</i>	'until'	15.1.1.6
<i>kàbyíí</i>	'since'	15.1.1.7
<i>kámpyí</i>	'if'	15.1.5.1
<i>ná</i>	'if'	15.1.5.1
<i>ám̄pyí</i>	'if (counterfactual)'	15.1.5.4
<i>bà...mé</i>	'like, as if'	15.1.4
<i>kóo</i>	'like, as if'	15.1.4

Supyire uses many connective phrases in addition to one word conjunctions. A few are mentioned here simply as illustrations of this common way of marking adverbial clauses. *Áni bà me* 'otherwise' derives from a conditional clause meaning 'if it is not this'. *Mà ìl tà* 'although' means literally 'and find it'. *Lire e* 'therefore', 'that's why' is literally 'in this'. *Lire nà ìl wùùní mù í* 'nevertheless', 'in spite of this' means literally 'this together with its own'. *Mu gú ñjwò* 'like', is literally 'you would say' (cf. French *on dirait* 'one would say'). *Ñàhá ná ye* 'because' is literally 'on/at what?'. A variant of this is *ñàhá kúrúgò ye* 'through what?'. Nowadays in the speech of young people one often hears *pàské* or *pàsígé* 'because' (from French *parce que*) substituted for the phrasal conjunction.

All these connective phrases are placed at the beginning of the clause they mark, which ordinarily follows the main clause.

5.9. Question words

In section 5.1.2.9 above the forms of the interrogative pronoun/determiners which are integrated into the noun gender system were given. Table 28 gives the other common question words used in the formation of constituent questions. As can be seen, half of them are borrowed from Bambara.

Table 28. Question words

Question Word	Gloss	Bambara Source
<i>jò</i>	'who, whom'	<i>jɔn</i>
<i>nàhá</i>	'what'	
<i>juuli</i>	'how much, how many'	<i>jòl</i>
<i>taá</i>	'where'	
<i>dì</i>	'how'	<i>dì</i>

5.10. Clause final markers

A number of clause final markers are used in Supyire to indicate mood, polarity, insistence, or politeness. These are generally small, one syllable words which often cliticize onto the preceding word. Table 29 gives some of the common markers.

5.11. Interjections

Like any language, Supyire has a large, heterogenous class of interjections. Only a few will be mentioned here. Agreement is shown with *ɔ̀n* or *àn* or *m̀m* 'yes', disagreement with *ɔ̀nhɔ* or *m̀hm* 'no'. The agreement interjections are regularly used by a listening interlocutor to indicate that the discourse is being monitored. This role is extremely important even when the discourse is a monologue, such as a folk tale, and is known as *ɔ̀nɲí shwɔ* 'to answer the yes'.

Surprise or disbelief is indicated by a variety of interjections: *é*, *éi*, *hàán*, *éhe*, *pápapà*. More elaborate exclamations are greatly favored by some: *bismilahi* 'in the name of God' (from Arabic), *pátísánkáná* '(exclamation of surprise or embarrassment)' (from Bambara).

An extremely common interjection is *nyɛ*, which can mean a variety of different things, including 'well', 'all right', 'and so'. It is exactly equivalent in function to Bambara *ayiwa*.

Table 29. Clause final markers

Marker	Function
<i>la</i>	Yes/No question
<i>bé</i>	Yes/No question
<i>mé</i>	Negative
<i>mà</i>	Negative question
<i>ye</i>	Constituent question
<i>ké</i>	Locative question
<i>dé</i>	Exclamation (loan from Bambara)
<i>sá</i>	Exclamation (loan from Bambara)
<i>kē</i>	Exclamation (loan from Bambara)
<i>yō, yò</i>	Politeness, Attenuation, Listing

Chapter 6

Noun phrases

In Supyire noun phrases some modifying elements precede and some follow the head noun. In very general terms (there are exceptions), those elements which precede the head indicate a definite reference, while those elements which follow the head are either descriptive or else indicate indefinite reference. Thus definite determiners precede the head, while indefinite and interrogative determiners follow the head. Genitive (possessor) noun phrases precede the head (possessed) noun phrase, while quantifiers and adjectives follow the head.

The head of a noun phrase may be either a noun or a pronoun. As will be shown in the ensuing discussion, the latter can admit a variety of modifying elements.

6.1. Determiners

The class of determiners in Supyire is nearly coextensive with the class of third person pronouns. Anaphoric, emphatic, demonstrative, indefinite, and interrogative pronouns may all be used as determiners. Only reflexive, identifier, and independent possessive pronouns are ineligible for this use. Only definite 'other' determiners cannot be used as pronouns.

Determiners agree in gender and number with their head noun. Determiner and head do not affect each other tonally in any way, despite the close syntactic relationship between them.

The determiners may be divided into two groups on the basis of their placement. The pre-head determiners all indicate definite reference, while the post-head determiners for the most part indicate indefinite reference.

6.1.1. Pre-head determiners

Anaphoric, emphatic, and demonstrative pronouns may be used as determiners placed before the head noun, which takes a definite suffix. Functionally the genitive is like a pre-head determiner, and cannot co-occur with any other pre-head determiner. The genitive construction is described in section 6.2.

The demonstratives (for the forms, see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.7) indicate deictic definite reference. Supyire makes no distal/proximal distinction in its demonstratives. The use of the demonstrative therefore amounts to a general instruction to the hearer to look somewhere in the extralinguistic context for the referent of the noun phrase (for a minor, anaphoric use of the demonstra-

tives, see below). If the referent is within sight, the demonstrative is often accompanied by a gesture.

Following are some examples of noun phrases with demonstrative determiners illustrating agreement with the head noun:

- (1) a. *ɲgé ba-ɲí*
DEM.G1S river-DEF(G1S)
'this/that river'
- b. *m̀píí cyèe-bíí*
DEM.G1P women-DEF(G1P)
'these/those women'
- c. *ɲké kàn-he*
DEM.G2S village-DEF(G2S)
'this/that village'
- d. *ɲcíí kàri-gíí*
DEM.G3P affairs-DEF(G3P)
'these/those affairs'
- e. *ɲté nàɲkòpyì-ré*
DEM.G4 children-DEF(G4)
'these/those children'

Following are some examples in which the demonstrative is used as a pronoun. Note that it may be modified by a definite 'other' determiner, and by an indefinite determiner:

- (2) a. *Mu à pyi a ɲgé cè la?*
you PERF PAST PERF DEM.G1S know Q
'Did you know this/that one?'
- b. *Fyì-ɲa à pyi m̀píí sanm-píí jò.*
python-DEF PERF PAST DEM.G1P OTHER-DEF(G1P) swallow
'The python had swallowed those others.'
- c. *Mli ɲye a m̀píí wà cè me.*
I NEG PERF DEM.G1P IND.G1S know NEG
'I don't know any of these/those.'

In addition to their deictic function, demonstratives also have developed a secondary anaphoric use. Following are some examples:

- (3) a. as a pronoun
- Mìl shin-céɲé u à pyi ú wí...*
my person-know.G1S he PERF be he it.is
'He was a person known to me...'
(12 clause interval)

Àmū ṅgé à pyi.
 thus DEM.G1S PERF do
 'It was thus that this one did.'

b. as a determiner

Kà cij-jyè-ṅf sɪ jwò...
 and woman-old-DEF(G1S) NARR say
 'Then the old woman said...

(56 clause interval)

mà sà nò ṅgé cij-jyè-ṅf ni-nū-ṅi na
 and go arrive DEM.G1S woman-old-DEF ADJ-same-DEF at
 and (she = participant introduced in the interval) met with that
 same old woman...'

This anaphoric use of the demonstratives is quite rare in the corpus.

The demonstratives have a post-head use in relative clauses. As noted in 5.1.2.8 the relative pronouns/determiners are derived from the demonstratives by the simple addition of the suffix *-mù*. The demonstrative without this suffix may also be used as a relative determiner provided the head of the relative clause is fronted to the beginning of the clause:

(4) *Mobílf-yi ṅjé yi mpyi*
 truck-DEF(G2P) DEM.G2P they(G2P) be.PAST
 'The trucks that were

Bòbo kú-ni ṅà-ní na ké,
 Bobo road-DEF route-DEF on REL
 on the Bobo route,

yire puní mpyi na sí ṅ-jyé-é shwòhṅf i.
 they(EMPH.G2P) all were PROG FUT FP-stop between in
 they were all going to stop in between (i.e. were not going all the
 way to Bobo).'

The post-head demonstrative may preserve a proximal/distal distinction which has been lost elsewhere. This will be discussed below in connection with the simple determiners. See chapter 13 for a description of relative clauses.

The anaphoric and emphatic pronouns (for the forms, see chapter 5, sections 5.1.2.1 and 5.1.2.2) are used only for coreference, and have no deictic function. Anaphoric pronouns, which are phonologically clitics, may not be placed in focus or topic position nor may they appear in predicate nominal position. In all these places emphatics must be used instead.

Following are some examples of both anaphoric and emphatic pronouns used as determiners:

(5) simple determiners

- a. *u pyà-ŋi*
this.G1S child-DEF(G1S)
'this/that child'
- b. *pi cyèe-bíí*
these.G1P women-DEF(G1P)
'these/those women'
- c. *li kũ-ni*
this.G3S road-DEF(G3S)
'this/that road'

(6) emphatic determiners

- a. *uru nà-ŋi*
this(EMPH.G1S)man-DEF(G1S)
'this/that man'
- b. *yire vâàn-yi*
these(EMPH.G2P)cloth-DEF(G2P)
'these/those clothes'
- c. *tire kya-à-re*
this(EMPH.G4)chew-G4-DEF(G4)
'this/that meat'

As shown in these examples, the head noun in such a noun phrase normally takes the definite suffix. There is one frozen expression where this is not the case. The simple gender 2 singular determiner *ku* is used with the indefinite *canna* 'day' in time expressions meaning 'that day':

- (7) *Ku canna nùmpanna na,*
that.G2S day.G2S tomorrow on
'The next day (lit. on that day's tomorrow),

bu-ŋí tò-tò nàmpwuun-bíí màha ɲ-caala.
dead.person-DEF bury-bury guests-DEF HAB IP-disperse
the guests who have come to bury the dead person disperse (to their respective villages).'

The use of the simple and emphatic determiners parallels their use as pronouns. The anaphoric pronouns, as the label implies, are used for ordinary anaphoric coreference. The antecedent may be one or many clauses back in the text. The emphatics, on the other hand, typically have their antecedent in the preceding clause or at most two clauses back. They are used in contexts of high referential interference, that is, when more than one potential coreferent is in the preceding discourse. They can often be translated with a de-

monstrative, but it is important to note that they have no extra-discourse deictic function.

As determiners, both the simple (anaphoric) and the emphatic pronouns may be translated with demonstratives. The antecedent for a noun phrase with an emphatic must be in the immediately preceding context.

Both the anaphoric and the emphatic pronouns have developed specialized uses in complex sentences, which are dealt with in chapters 11, 12, and 13. In general, the simple pronouns are used in more tightly bound constructions, and the emphatics are used in more loosely bound constructions. For example, anaphoric pronouns must be used as resumptive pronouns for preposed focused subject noun phrases, where no pause intervenes, whereas emphatic pronouns may be used as resumptive pronouns for preposed topics, where a pause commonly intervenes:

(8) a. focus construction, no pause

Mu u a li pyì.
 you she PERF it do
 'It is you that has done it.'

b. topic construction, with pause

Sukwoo Cèbà, ura a kwù.
 Sikasso Tiéba he(EMPH)PERF die
 'Tiéba of Sikasso, he died.'

An emphatic may be used together with a demonstrative as a double determiner. The function of this combination is anaphoric rather than exophoric. Following is an example:

(9) *Lira a ù tà ú á kàra a kwò*
 this PERF him find he.COMP PERF go SC finish
 'Meanwhile he had already gone

wùù yyáhá ná motó-bwóhó ná.
 us face at motorcycle-big.G2S on
 ahead of us on a big motorcycle.

Kuru òké motó-ge
 this(EMPH.G2S)DEM(G2S) motorcycle-DEF(G2S)
 That motorcycle

nye u wogo.
 be his POSS.G2S
 belongs to him.'

A noun phrase consisting of a demonstrative as head and a simple pronoun as determiner may function as the predicate in a non-verbal presentative clause. The meaning is either deictic or cataphoric. Recall that the demon-

stratives are derived from the identifier pronouns by the addition of the prefix *N-*. This prefix has mid tone in this construction:

- (10) a. *Jò u ɲgé ye?*
 who s/he DEM(G1S) Q
 'Who is that?'
- b. *Lire nùɲ-ke ku ɲkê:...*
 this(EMPH.G3S)head-DEF(G2S) it DEM(G2S)
 'The meaning of this is this:...'
- c. *Pwûn-ɲi fún-ɲká-ni li ndé:...*
 dog-DEF consider.totem-manner-DEF(G3S)is DEM(G3S)
 'The manner in which the dog came to be considered a totem is this:...'

This same kind of phrase consisting of a determiner plus a demonstrative may be used in place of a simple demonstrative as the determiner following a preposed relativized noun phrase. The reference is then often, but not necessarily deictic. The simple determiner has a tendency to be reduced phonetically in this context. The determiners in genders 2 and 3 singular in particular are often replaced by a lengthening of the demonstrative prefix. The noun may also be *preceded* by a demonstrative. It is noteworthy that a proximal/distal distinction is preserved in this context, though only by some speakers. The distinction is marked by tone, the proximal having a simple high tune (like the demonstrative used as a pronoun or determiner) and the distal a high-low tune.

- (11) *ɲké ci-gé ku ɲké [ɲkɛ] ' náhá ke,*
 DEM(G2S) tree-DEF(G2S) it(G2S) DEM(G2S) here REL
 'This tree (which is) here,
- ná ɲké ci-gé ku ɲkê [ɲkê] méɲi i ké*
 and DEM(G2S) tree-DEF(G2S) it(G2S) DEM(G2S) there at REL
 and that tree (which is)
- ci-nú-yí yi ɲye yí yí.*
 tree-same-G2P they be they.COMP they.are.G2P
 they are the same (kind of) tree.'

6.1.2. Post-head determiners

The three major types of post-head determiner all signal less-than-definite reference. In one type the reference is unknown by the hearer, in another it is unknown by the speaker, and in the third it requires an additional computation beyond that necessary to establish the reference indicated by a simple definite determiner.

6.1.2.1. Indefinite/partitive and indefinite ‘other’

Like all the other determiners, the indefinite determiners (for the forms, see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.4) normally require a definite head noun. The noun phrase as a whole, however, is indefinite.

- (12) a. *pùcwò-ɲí wà*
 girl-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S)
 ‘a (certain) girl’
- b. *cyèe-bíí pìì*
 women-DEF(G1P)IND(G1P)
 ‘some women’
- c. *kū-ní là*
 road-DEF(G3S) IND(G3S)
 ‘a (certain) road’
- d. *kya-à-re tà*
 chew-G4-DEF(G4) IND(G4)
 ‘some meat’

It could well be asked why such a complex form is needed when the noun in its indefinite form (i.e. with the basic gender suffix only) would do as well. The answer lies in the domain of referentiality. Simple indefinite nouns can be either referential or non-referential. In the former case, they are often of low discourse topicality. The more complex construction with an indefinite determiner, when used in a non-partitive sense in an affirmative clause, is referential, and moreover, participants introduced in this way tend to be highly topical. One can therefore say that the simple noun is often non-referential from a *pragmatic* point of view, and that one major function of the indefinite determiner is to code referential indefinites of importance in the discourse. The indefinite determiner or pronoun basically instructs the hearer *not* to search the environment or the preceding discourse for a referent, but rather to store the information for future reference.

The indefinite determiner may also be used with partitive meaning. In this case the determiner does not need to agree in number with the head, but only in gender. That is, a singular determiner may follow a plural head, as in the following examples:

- (13) a. *pi cèen-bíí wà*
 their younger.siblings-DEF(G1P)IND(G1S)
 ‘one of their younger siblings’
- b. *wùu wà*
 we IND(G1S)
 ‘one of us’

As the latter example shows, the head of an indefinite determiner may be a pronoun. Some examples with third person pronoun heads are:

- (14) a. *Kà u ú ñ-káré*
and he NARR IP-go
'Then he went
màsàkwú kòò-gé kè e,
sweet.potatofield-DEF(G2S) IND(G2S) in
into a sweet potato field,
mà sà uru wà kùn.
and go it(EMPH.G1S) IND(G1S) crunch
and ate one.'
- b. *Mbèèmbàà-ñf màha kàri-gíf puní pyi,*
discord-DEF HAB things-DEF(G3P) all do
'Discord does all (sorts of) things,
ñkàà li là nye nijcenne mé.
but it(G3S) IND(G3S) be good.G3S NEG
but not one (of them) is good.'

The last example above illustrates a further point that should be made. In most cases in affirmative, realis clauses, the noun phrase containing an indefinite determiner is referential, but this is not the case in negative and ir-realis clauses, where such a noun phrase usually must be understood to be non-referential.

As stated above, the head noun ordinarily takes the definite suffix even with the indefinite determiner. There are a couple of exceptions to this rule however, in which the head noun is indefinite. One is the common time phrase *cany kà* 'one day', much used in narratives. The more regular *canyke kà* is possible, but rarely heard. Another exception is found in the subject of an exclamatory clause with a deictic identifier pronoun as predicate. In some cases this seems to have a slightly pejorative force, as in the following example:

- (15) *Pyà wà wè!*
child IND(G1S) it.is(G1S)
'What a (troublesome) child! (lit. Here's a child!)

It should be noted that the ambiguity occasioned by the dual function pronoun/determiner together with the similar word order of genitive and pre-head determiner is naturally absent for post-head determiners. When these occur before a noun, they must be interpreted as (genitive) pronouns. The head (possessed) noun in this case must be in the *indefinite* form:

- (16) a. *wà pyà*
 IND(G1S) child
 ‘someone’s child’
- b. *wà jwù-mù*
 IND(G1S) say-G5
 ‘someone’s words’

Of course a head noun plus indefinite determiner may be a genitive noun phrase, in which case the determiner is sandwiched between the nouns. The possessed noun must still be indefinite:

- (17) a. *nà-ŋi wà cwɔ*
 man-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S) wife
 ‘a (certain) man’s wife’
- b. *ceè-ŋi wà ba-ga*
 woman-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S) house-G2S
 ‘a (certain) woman’s house’

The indefinite ‘other’ determiners (see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.5 for the forms) differ from the indefinite determiners/pronouns in having antecedents of sorts, perhaps better described as “alterantecedents”. That is, the indefinite ‘other’ means “another of the category mentioned before”. For example, when one woman has already been mentioned, another may be introduced with the phrase:

- (18) *ceè-ŋi wà-béré*
 woman-DEF(G1S)IND(G1S)-OTHER
 ‘another woman’

Examples from other genders are:

- (19) a. *mobíí-ge kà-béré*
 car-DEF(G2S) IND(G2S)-OTHER
 ‘another truck’
- b. *yacē-ni là-béré*
 belly-DEF(G3S) IND(G3S)-OTHER
 ‘another pregnancy’
- c. *kàri-gíí cìl-béré*
 affairs-DEF(G3P) IND(G3P)-OTHER
 ‘other affairs’

Like the simple indefinites, the indefinite ‘other’ forms can be used as pronouns. In the following example, the “alterantecedent” is in the same sentence:

- (20) *Mpi asi yírì kuru cyà-ge e*
 hare HAB.SEQ rise that(EMPH.G2S)place-DEF(G2S) at
 ‘Hare would get up from that place
màha sá ñwóhɔ kà-béré e.
 HAB go hide IND(G2S)-OTHER in
 and go hide in another.’

6.1.2.2. Interrogative determiners

The interrogative and emphatic interrogative determiners (see chapter 5, sections 5.1.2.9 and 5.1.2.10 for the forms) are ‘indefinite’ in the sense that the speaker does not know the reference, but assumes that the hearer does. As with the indefinite determiners, the head noun takes a definite suffix. For a description of the use of these determiners as well as examples, see chapter 14, section 14.2.2.6.

6.1.2.3. Definite ‘other’ determiners

The definite ‘other’ determiners (see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.11 for the forms) differ from all other determiners in that they cannot be used as pronouns. They require either a noun or pronoun head, with which they agree in gender and number like the other determiners. In meaning, they are the definite counterparts of the indefinite ‘other’ determiners and the indefinite/partitives. They mean either ‘the other(s)’ or ‘the rest/remainder’. They thus require an (alter)antecedent.¹ Some examples with noun heads:

- (21) a. *Kà u ú s̀̀nciyyí taha*
 and he NARR firewood.DEF set
 ‘He set the firewood
fukān-ge kà na,
 shoulder-DEF(G2S) IND(G2S) on
 on one shoulder,
maá marafáǹ̀puní taha
 and.NARR gun.barrel.DEF(G3S) set
 and put the gun barrel
fukān-ge s̀̀aǹ̀-ke na
 shoulder-DEF(G2S) OTHER-DEF(G2S) on
 on the other shoulder and was coming.’
na ma.
 PROG come.IMPFV
 and was coming.’

- b. ...*mu ari ù táá ke kè,*
 you HAB.SEQ it apportion ten ten
 ‘...you divide it (=the thread) into (two groups of) ten each,
maá ke le
 and.NARR ten put
 and put ten
kàmpan-ké kà u ndíri e,
 side-DEF(G2S)IND(G2S) GEN heddles in
 in the heddles of one side,
maá kè-ŋi sãn-ŋi le
 and.NARR ten-DEF(G1S) OTHER-DEF(G1S) put
 and put the other ten
kàmpan-ké sãn-ke e.
 side-DEF(G2S)OTHER-DEF(G2S) in
 in the other side.’

Any of the pre-head determiners/pronouns may function as the head of the definite ‘other’ determiner. Some examples are:

- (22) a. *Pòò-ŋi nu-vworo-ŋí lwòhé e*
 catfish-DEF(G1S) ADJ-go.out-DEF(G1S) water.DEF from
u tunmpá à pi sanm-píí kòrò.
 GEN noise.DEF PERF they OTHER-DEF(G2P) chase
 ‘The noise of the catfish coming out of the water frightened the others away.’
- b. *Ŋyège na kà m̀̀ túŋi s̀̀ yírà*
 morning.DEF at and my father.DEF NARR rise
 ‘In the morning my father got up
à u ñkwuu-bíí sanm-píí ta
 SC his chickens-DEF(G1P)OTHER-DEF(G1P) find
 and found the rest of his chickens
sìcyèèrè. Fyìŋa à pyi a
 four python.DEF PERF PAST SC
 were (only) four. The python had
̀̀píí sanm-píí jò.
 DEM(G1P) OTHER-DEF(G1P) swallow
 swallowed the others.’

Like all determiners, the definite ‘other’ determiners take a definite head noun. Because their noun gender marking is that used on nouns, they themselves may take either definite or indefinite suffixes. In all the above examples, the definite form is used, and this is by far the most common usage. In

fact, although speakers will readily supply the indefinite forms if asked for them, only two naturally occurring cases have been recorded, compared to more than fifty of the definite forms. It is curious that both these cases are in gender 4, but no explanation for this has been found. The meaning appears to be the same as when the definite form is used.

6.2. Genitive constructions

Genitive (possessor) noun phrases are like pre-head determiners in that they precede the head noun. They are functionally similar in that they most frequently indicate definite reference, though indefinite genitives are also possible. In the following description, genitives with nominal heads will be dealt with first, followed by a description of genitives with pronominal heads.

6.2.1. Simple genitives

The genitive construction in Supyire is marked solely by tonal changes. The genitive (possessor) noun phrase precedes the head (possessed) noun, and most of the tone changes which are possible in the language affect the head. Briefly, the changes are: 1) a mid tone genitive raises a low tone head to mid; 2) a low tone spreads from a genitive onto a following weak mid head; 3) a mid tone genitive raises a following weak mid head to high tone. See chapter 2 sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 for details of how these rules work.

There is a marked genitive construction which has a genitive particle *u* between the possessor and the possessed nouns. It functions to encode contrastive focus on the possessor nominal. This construction is described in section 12.1.3 of chapter 12.

Semantically, the genitive construction covers a much wider range of relationships than legal ownership of property. Supyire makes no syntactic distinction between inalienable “possession” such as part-whole and kinship relations and alienable possession.

There are no special possessive pronouns in Supyire. Any pronoun except the reflexives, independent possessives, and identifiers may function as a genitive. The pronoun agrees with its antecedent and not with the head (possessed) noun. Determiners may be distinguished from genitives on this basis:

- (23) a. determiner, agrees with head

ɲké *ba-gé*
 DEM(G2S) house-DEF(G2S)
 ‘this/that house’²

b. genitive, agrees with antecedent

ɲgé ba-gé
 DEM(G1S) house-DEF(G2S)
 ‘this/that one’s house’

If the antecedent happens to be of the same number and gender as the head (possessed) noun, then the genitive will appear to agree. Here is where tonal changes are of service. Determiners cause no tone perturbations at all, but in a genitive construction the floating low tone which follows every definite pronoun spreads onto the following head noun if it can. If this spread of low tone takes place, therefore, one immediately knows that one is in the presence of a genitive construction rather than a determiner plus head noun. Following are some examples:

(24) a. determiner, no tone changes in head

ɲgé ceè-ɲi
 DEM(G1S) woman-DEF(G1S)
 ‘this/that woman’

uru pwûn-ɲi
 this(EMPH.G1S)dog-DEF(G1S)
 ‘this/that (previously mentioned) dog’

b. genitive, tone changes in head

ɲgé cèè-ɲí
 DEM(G1S) woman-DEF(G1S)
 ‘this/that one’s wife’

uru pwùn-ɲí
 his/her(EMPH.G1S)dog-DEF(G1S)
 ‘his/her dog’

The simple determiner/pronoun *u*, which behaves phonologically as a clitic, does not provide as much help here. If the noun’s tune is mid-low, as in *ceèɲi* and *pwûnɲi*, the mid-low tune of the pronoun merges with it to produce a mid-low tune over all. Thus *u pwûnɲi* could mean either ‘his/her dog’ or ‘this/that dog’. Only when the head noun has a basic weak mid tune does the floating low of the simple pronoun/determiner provide any distinction, the low of the pronoun turning up on the noun. Thus ‘this/that vervet monkey’, with the noun tune intact, is *u kooɲí*, but ‘his/her vervet monkey’ is *u kòɲi*.

First and second person pronouns, when they precede nouns, may only be interpreted as genitives. They cause the same tonal perturbations as nouns with similar tunes. In the following examples the underlying tones are given above, the surface tones being marked on the vowels:

- (25) a. LMw MwL-Mw L
mìlì tǔ-ŋí
 my father-DEF(G1S)
 'my father'
- b. Ms L-Mw L
mu pya-ŋí
 your child-DEF(G1S)
 'your child'
- c. LMw MwL-Mw L
yìlì tǔ-ŋí
 your.PL father-DEF(G1S)
 'your father'
- d. LMw MwL-Ms L
wùù nǔ-ŋí
 our mother-DEF(G1S)
 'our mother'

The first and second person non-declarative pronouns may be used in genitive constructions in *declarative* clauses when they are reflexive, i.e. when they are coreferential with the subject of the clause:

- (26) *Kà mìlì í ná yááyí lwò a kàrè...*
 and I NARR my.NONDECL thing.DEF take SC go
 'Then I took my things and went...'

The non-declarative first person pronouns are also used as genitives in vocatives (ordinary first person pronouns are excluded in this function):

- (27) *Na cevoo Zhyé, taá mu na*
 my.NONDECL friend Zié where you PROG
ŋ-kéégé ke?
 IP-go.IMPFV LOCQ
 'My friend Zié, where are you going?'

Nominal genitives, like pronominal ones, have no special form, the genitive construction being signalled solely by the application of the tonal changes if the tonal environment is right. Examples with tonal changes are:

- (28) a. L Mw L Mw Mw L
kàn -he mèn -gé
 village -DEF(G2S) name -DEF(G2S)
 'the village's name'

- b. L Mw L Mw L Mw L
ɲkùù -ɲi fùkàn -yí
 chicken-DEF(G1S) wing -DEF(G2P)
 ‘the chicken’s wings’
- c. L H LMw MwL Mw L
Yàkú bà pyén -ge
 Yakuba compound-DEF(G2S)
 ‘Yakuba’s compound’

Of course often the initial tone of the head (possessed) noun is not the one required for a tone rule, and so there is no overt marking of the genitive construction, the two nouns simply being juxtaposed, as in the following examples:

- (29) a. *kàn-he dù-ge*
 village-DEF(G2S) stream-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the village’s stream’
- b. *pyèn-ge nògòlyè-ɲí*
 compound-DEF(G2S) old.man-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the old(est) man of the family’

Multiple genitives are possible:

- (30) a. *u tũ-ɲi ba-ge*
 his father-DEF(G1S) house-DEF(G2S)
 ‘his father’s house’
- b. *mìlì nú-ɲi nu-lyà-ge*
 my mother-DEF(G1S) mother-old-DEF(G2S)
 ‘my mother’s grandmother’

As stated above, the genitive is functionally like a pre-head determiner, and therefore does not co-occur with any pre-head determiners. It is compatible with post-head determiners, however:

- (31) a. *ceè-ɲi pyà-ɲi wà*
 woman-DEF(G1S) child-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S)
 ‘one of the woman’s children’
- b. *ceè-ɲi pyà-ɲi sãn-ɲi*
 woman-DEF(G1S) child-DEF(G1S) OTHER-DEF(G1S)
 ‘the woman’s other child’

In the examples given so far both the genitive (possessor) and the head noun have been referential and definite. In the following example the geni-

tive is referential but indefinite. Note that in Supyire the head must also be indefinite, contrary to the usual practice in English:

- (32) *ceè-ŋi wà ba-ga*
 woman-DEF(G1S)IND(G1S) house-G2S
 ‘the house of a certain woman’

When the possessor is *non*-referential and indefinite, the possessed noun may be definite. Such genitives are widely used to indicate the category of the head, as shown in the following:

- (33) a. *màsàkwû kòò-gé*
 sweet.potato field-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the sweet-potato field’
 b. *si-ge nii-yí*
 bush-G2S cows-DEF(G2P)
 ‘the bush-cows’
 c. *kànhà yàtɔɔ-ré*
 village.G2S animals-DEF(G4)
 ‘domestic animals’

This type of “classifying” genitive functions like a loose compound. Even when preceded by a definite genitive themselves, they remain non-referential (and indefinite in form):

- (34) a. *u pyen-ga shìn-bíí*
 his/her compound-G2S people-DEF(G1P)
 ‘the people of his/her compound’
 i.e. his/her extended family
 b. *wùu kàn-hà faapyii-bíí puní*
 our village-G2S farmers-DEF(G1P) all
 ‘all the farmers of our village’

One other use of indefinites in genitive constructions should be briefly mentioned. The noun *kànhà* ‘village, town’ when used as the head in a place name is normally indefinite:

- (35) a. *Fáágá Kànhà*
 Farakala village
 ‘Farakala’
 b. *Sogo Kanha*
 Sikasso village
 ‘Sikasso’

- b. *Kila gâ mu wú-ú-ni labá,*
 God COND your POSS-G3S-DEF(G3S) finish
 ‘When God brings your life to an end,
ma mù ahà ð-jwù
 you.NONDECL also PROH IP-say
 you must not say
na mu a cyì mé.
 that you PERF refuse NEG
 that you refuse.’

The gender 3 singular form can also mean ‘will’ or ‘desire’:

- (38) *Wà wù-u ðye na n-tuu-li*
 IND POSS-G3S be PROG IP-pass-IMPV
 ‘No one’s will surpasses
Kile wù-ù-ní na mé.
 God POSS-G3S-DEF(G3S) on NEG
 God’s.’

Two further uses of the possessive pronoun root will be dealt with below: in ordinal numbers (section 6.3.2) and in post-head descriptive genitive phrases (section 6.5).

6.3. Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers follow their head noun. They differ from post-head determiners in several ways. Whereas determiners agree with the head noun in gender, the quantifiers and cardinal numbers (the ordinal numbers are an exception) do not agree with the head noun, but instead belong to a gender of their own (for the most part either gender 1 or 3) or else have no gender. No tone rules apply between a determiner and its head, but such rules do apply between head and following quantifier. In fact, numerals and quantifiers behave tonally exactly as if they were possessed nouns in a genitive construction (again with the exception of the ordinals).

The cardinal and ordinal numerals form the subject of the next two subsections. The final subsection will deal with the quantifiers.

6.3.1. Cardinal numbers

When the head noun is indefinite, the bare number is used. The singular form of the noun is used with the number ‘one’ and the plural form with all other numbers. Numbers behave tonally as if they were possessed nouns.⁵

Low-weak mid numbers, for example, become mid-high following a head which ends in a mid tone:

- (39) a. *baga nìnkín*
house one
'one house'
- b. *wyìgii shuunní*
holes two
'two holes'
- c. *canmpyàa taanré*
days three
'three days'

Weak mid-low numbers become high in the same environment:

- (40) a. *tooyi kánkúró*
times five
'five times'
- b. *cyèe ké*
women ten
'ten women'
- c. *tɔɔnmpyàa bénáágá*
bullets twenty
'twenty bullets'

When the head is definite, the number may take a definite suffix. All the numbers except 400 belong to gender 1, and are singular in form, regardless of the gender or number of the head. Following are examples with the number 'one':

- (41) a. *ku kàn-he nìnkìn-ńí*
that village-DEF(G2S) one-DEF(G1S)
'that one village'
- b. *lire nìnkìn-ńí*
this(EMPH.G3S)one-DEF(G1S)
'this one (thing)' or, 'this alone'

With the numbers 'two' and 'three', two codings are available if the head is definite. One, the less common, is to use the definite form of the number, as with one:

- (42) a. *pi cyèe-bíí shù̀nnì-ńí*
those women-DEF(G1P)two-DEF(G1S)
'those two women'

- b. *yire* *vààn-yi* *tàànrè-ŋí*
 those(EMPH) cloth-DEF(G2P) three-DEF(G1S)
 ‘those three cloths’

An alternate, more common coding, is to place the inclusive quantifier *mú* ‘also’ between the head and the number, which appears without a suffix.⁶ The *mú* is obligatory with a simple or demonstrative pronoun head. I have not been able to detect a difference in meaning between the definite suffix and the *mú* codings. Speakers insist that they are equivalent. Note that *mú* accepts the floating low tone following the definite noun or pronoun and thus appears as *mù*:

- (43) a. *cire* *wyìgi-gíí* *mù shùùnnì*
 those(EMPH) holes-DEF(G3P) also two
 ‘those two holes’
- b. *pi* *mù shùùnnì*
 they also two
 ‘they two’
- c. *ma* *cyèe-bíí* *mù tàànrè*
 your.NONDECL women-DEF(G1P)also three
 ‘your three wives’

With numbers higher than ‘three’, only the definite suffix coding is employed. Naturally occurring (unelicited) examples with definite heads are rare. The following is an example with a pronoun head. Note that the definite suffix appears only on the last word of the composite number:

- (44) *ci* *bènaaga nà kè-ŋí*
 they(G3P) twenty and ten-DEF(G1S)
 ‘they thirty’

The noun *shin* ‘person’, when head of a numeral, does not take a definite suffix even when it is definite. It is regularly used in expressions such as ‘we three’, ‘you five’. The number may or may not take the definite suffix:

- (45) a. *wùu shìin* *taanré*
 we person.G1P three
 ‘we three’
- b. *yìi shìin* *kánkúru-ŋi*
 you.PL person.G1P five-DEF(G1S)
 ‘you five’

It should be pointed out that anaphoric agreement in gender and number with a noun phrase containing a definite number (bearing a gender 1 singular definite suffix) is determined by the head noun, not by the number:

- (46) a. *Pire nànjji-bíí shù̀̀nnì-ńí*
 These(EMPH) young.men-DEF(G1P) two-DEF(G1S)
 These two young men
nà pì tù-ńí nà pì nù-ńí...
 and their(G1P) father-DEF and their(G1P) mother-DEF
 and their father and their mother...'
- b. *Mí a dùfààn-yí shù̀̀nnì-ńí nya*
 I PERF donkey-DEF(G2P)two-DEF(G1S) see
 I saw two donkeys
yí i n-tuu-lo.⁷
 they(G2P).COMP PROG IP-pass-IMPFV
 passing by.'

The number follows the indefinite/partitive determiner when they co-occur:

- (47) a. *ńdé jiri-ńí là nìńkìn*
 DEM breast-DEF IND one
 'one of these breasts'
- b. *bu-ńí pyì-bíí pì shù̀̀nnì*
 deceased-DEF children-DEF IND two
 'two of the children of the deceased person'

No unelicited examples of numbers co-occurring with other post-head determiners or with other quantifiers have been recorded. However, speakers readily produce noun phrases containing both numbers and quantifiers such as 'only' and 'all'. In such phrases, the number precedes the quantifier:

- (48) a. *m̀píí nàmi-píí kē-ńí kàní⁸*
 DEM men-DEF ten-DEF only
 'only those ten men'
- b. *m̀píí fyàa-bíí kē-ńí puní*
 DEM fish-DEF ten-DEF all
 'all of those ten fish'

The definite 'other' determiner likewise follows the number, at least for some speakers. Note that the determiner agrees in noun class with the number rather than with the head noun:⁹

- (49) *m̀píí cyèe-bíí bejaagà-ńí sãn-ńí*
 DEM women-DEF(G1P)twenty-DEF(G1S) OTHER-DEF(G1S)
 'those remaining twenty women'

Repetition of a number has a distributive meaning:

- (50) a. *Ká pi í wùù sàrà*
and they NARR us pay
'Then they paid us
támii shùùnni shùùnni.
5.francs.G1P two two
ten francs each.'
- b. *U ahá ní-pyí tórɔŋii béŋáágá,*
it COND IP-be units.G3P twenty
'When it is twenty,
mu arì ù tàà ké kè...
you HAB.SEQ it divide ten ten
you divide it (into groups of) ten each.'

When the number is complex, only the last element is repeated:

- (51) a. *baa-shùùnni shùùnni*
five-two two
'seven each'
- b. *ke nà kàŋkùrò káŋkúró*
ten and five five
'fifteen each'
- c. *beŋaaga nà kè ké*
twenty and ten ten
'thirty each'

Repetition of 'one' may also mean 'a few':

- (52) *Mi a nìŋkin nìŋkin cé.*
I PERF one one know
'I know a few (e.g. numbers).'

Similar to this last example is the simple juxtaposition of successive numbers to indicate an indeterminate amount. This is most common with 'two' and 'three', but is possible with higher numbers:

- (53) a. *Cibílaayi shuunní tàànrè ta-toro-ge e...*
weeks two three LOC-pass-G2S in
'After about two or three weeks...'
- b. *shìin káŋkúró báánì*
people five six
'five or six people'

A true disjunction ('either two or three') must use the conjunction 'or':

- (54) ... *pi í yíré wwú vâan-yi í,*
 they SEQ them(EMPH) take.out cloths-DEF from
 ‘...they take them from among the cloths,
vâanyì tàànrè wálá sìcyèèrè.
 cloths three or four
 three or four cloths.’¹⁰

Numbers may be used substantivally, without a head noun, when the reference is clear from the context. Some examples are:

- (55) a. *Kà u ú... ñkwuubíí jò*
 and it NARR chickens.DEF swallow
 ‘Then it (=the python)...swallowed the chickens,
mà pi sanmii yaha sìcyèèrè.
 and them OTHER.G1P leave four
 leaving four (lit. and left the others four).’
- b. ... *gàabíí sí ñ-tòrò kaṅkuro na mé.*
 families FUT FP-pass five on NEG
 ‘...the families would not number more than five.’
- c. *Ḥyàhii luuzuubíí kàní*
 people.of.Nyaha hunters.DEF only
 ‘The hunters from Nyaha alone
nà bejaaga nà kè bó bòmipílé è.
 PASTtwenty and ten kill baboons.DEF in
 killed thirty of (lit. in) the baboons.’

Before leaving the cardinal numbers, some further observations on the use of *niṅkìn* ‘one’ are necessary. Although it may be used simply to mean ‘one’, it is far more frequently used to mean something more like ‘only one’, or ‘one alone’. That is, it is used rather like the exclusive quantifiers to be discussed in section 6.3.3.2 below. Such quantifiers tend to draw the focus of assertion to themselves. This makes sense in the case of ‘one’ once it is recalled that the simple singular form of the noun has singular meaning, at least when used referentially. The addition of the number thus makes a highly marked noun phrase.¹¹ Some examples of this focus use of ‘one’ are:

- (56) a. *Kà mii í lí dííí mà lí tà*
 and I NARR it pull and it find
 ‘I pulled it (=the fishing line) and found it
lá á dùgò cye niṅkìn nà.
 it.COMP PERF be.heavy hand one on
 too heavy for just one hand.’

- b. *Shín nìnkìn u a jà a kù bò la?*
 person one he PERF be.able SC it kill Q
 ‘Could one person alone have killed it?’

One further use of *nìnkìn* should be mentioned. Used substantively as a predicate nominal, it means ‘the same’:

- (57) a. *Pi kàri-gíí num-pyiŋ-kíí nà wùù wo-gíí*
 their things-DEF ADJ-do-DEF and our POSS-DEF
 ‘Their customs and ours’
wa nìnkìn mé.
 NEG.be.there one NEG
 are not the same.’
- b. *Pi puná á sù nìnkìn.*
 they all PERF be.EMPH one
 ‘They are all the same.’

6.3.2. Ordinal numbers

In contrast to the cardinals, ordinal numbers agree with their head in noun class, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (58) a. *léré-ŋi kaŋkuru-wù-ŋí*
 hour-DEF(G1S) five-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 ‘the fifth hour’
- b. *yîŋ-ke tanra-wò-gé*
 month-DEF(G2S) third-POSS-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the third month’
- c. *kànjyìl-ní shòn-wùù-ní*
 neighborhoods-DEF(G3S) second-POSS-DEF(G3S)
 ‘the second neighborhood’
- d. *bile-re shòn-wò-rò*
 slave-G4 second-POSS-G4
 ‘a second (time of) slavery’

Some time words typically form compounds with the following ordinal, so that there is only one gender suffix for the whole construction. Two nouns are exclusively used this way when modified by an ordinal: *canŋa* ‘day’ (root = *canN-*; the individuated form *canm-pyi-* ‘day-seed’ is also commonly used with the ordinals) and *tɔ̀gɔ̀* ‘time’¹² (root = *toN-*). Both of these nouns are in gender 2:

- (59) a. *cann-tanra-wò-gé*
 day-third-POSS-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the third day’
- b. *canm-pyi-ke-wò-gé*
 day-seed-ten-POSS-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the tenth day’
- c. *to-zhɔn-wò-gé*¹³
 time-second-POSS-DEF(G2S)
 ‘the second time’

Like cardinal numbers, ordinals may be used without a head noun as long as the referent is recoverable from the context. The recovery is of course helped by the ordinal agreeing in noun class with the referent. An example is:

- (60) *Nà-ŋi wà u ná m-pyí' ná cyèe shuunní i.*
 man-DEF IND he PAST IP-be with women two with
 ‘A man had two wives.
- Ceè-ŋi nijjyè-ŋi,*
 woman-DEF(G1S)ADJ.old-DEF(G1S)
 The older woman,
- kà uru sì pyà nɪŋkɪn tà.*
 and she(EMPH.G1S)NARR child one get
 she got one child.
- Kà shɔn-wù-ŋi sì wà tà.*
 and second-POSS-DEFG1SNARR IND.G1S get
 Then the second got one.’

6.3.3. Quantifiers

The small set of quantifiers (for the forms, see chapter 5, section 5.4) follow the head noun like the cardinal numbers. They evidently originated as heads of genitive constructions, and accordingly do not agree with their head noun. They also undergo tone changes as if they were possessed nouns.

All of the quantifiers are mildly contrastive. They all indicate counterexpectation to varying degrees. Speakers would not generally include them unless they believed that hearers were inclined, for whatever reasons, to believe wrongly on the point. This is a characteristic which they share with all restrictive modifiers (see Givón 1990, chapter 12).

It should be noted that some meanings which are coded by quantifiers in languages like English are expressed by other means in Supyire. Partitive meanings like ‘some’ and ‘one of’ are indicated by using the indefinite determiners, as explained in section 6.1.2.1 above. Meanings like ‘many’,

‘much’, ‘lots of’, ‘a few’ are usually expressed by means of adjectives derived from verbs, as will be shown in section 6.4 below.

6.3.3.1. Universal quantifiers

There are two universal quantifiers with the meaning ‘all’, ‘each’, ‘every’, ‘the whole’. One of these, *punɔ* / *puní*, is used much more frequently than the other and consequently will be treated first and allotted more space. The other, *mujyè*, will be dealt with briefly at the end of this section.

The two forms of the quantifier *punɔ* / *puní* look very much like the indefinite and definite forms of a gender 3 singular noun with strong mid tone. The quantifier in fact is the nominalization of the adjective root *puN-* ‘all, whole’ (see chapter 5, section 5.2).

There are some peculiarities in the distribution of these various forms. To express a universal quantifier meaning in a noun phrase with an indefinite head, the adjective form *-puN* must be used, and not the indefinite form of the quantifier *punɔ*, as one might expect. The latter is used only as an intensifying adverb (see chapter 7, section 7.6, and chapter 9, section 9.4.1.4). This means that the definite form *puní* is used only as a quantifier in a noun phrase with a definite head. This is by far the most common use of any of the three forms, a fact which follows from the meaning: pragmatically the entirety of a given category is easy to identify, and even if not previously mentioned may be treated as definite. Following are some examples of the use of *puní*, with both noun and pronoun heads.

- (61) a. *Kà cyèe-bíí puní sì fwòro na fí*
 and women-DEF all NARR go.out PROG run.IMPFV
 ‘Then all the women came out running’
- na ma ná lwo-hé e.*
 PROG come.IMPFV with water-DEF with
 with water.’
- b. *Pi a nùngwà-hé puní pyi náhá.*
 they PERF rainy.season-DEF all do here
 ‘They have spent the whole rainy season here.’
- c. *Katē-ge nye wùu puní na.*
 hunger-DEF be us all on
 ‘We are all hungry.’

The other universal quantifier, *mujyè*, is used much less frequently.¹⁴ It seems to behave just like *puní*, being used only with definite heads. I was unable to induce any informants to use it as an adverb similar to *punɔ*. Phonologically it looks like a compound, and it is possible that the first syllable is etymologically related to the quantifier *mú* ‘also’ to be discussed below.

However, no etymology for the remainder of the word has yet come to light. Some examples of its use are:

- (62) a. *U sí ò-jà pìrè jàmàtígi-bíí*
 he FUT IP-be.able those(EMPH) paramount.chiefs-DEF
mùjyè mé-yi cè la?
 all name-DEF know Q
 ‘Will he be able to know the names of all those paramount chiefs?’
- b. *Wùù mújyè ná mpyi a tèn náhá.*
 we all PAST be SN sit here
 ‘We had all settled here.’

In time phrases, *mujyè* has developed the meaning ‘precisely’, ‘exactly’, as in the following example:

- (63) *Lire tèt-nùù-ní mùjyè è,*
 that(EMPH) time-same-DEF exactly at
 ‘At just that same time,
ká tètèfóní-ŋi sì ùrù bwón...
 and telephone-DEF NARR it(EMPH) hit
 the telephone rang...’

While on the subject of universal quantification, the means Supyire employs to obtain the distributive meaning ‘each’, ‘every’ should be mentioned, although it is syntactically quite different from the structures described so far. In fact, it involves the repetition of the noun, an obviously iconic coding already seen in the distributive function with numbers (section 6.3.1 above). However, whereas the repeated numbers are simply juxtaposed, the nouns must be joined with the conjunction *máhá* (see chapter 5, section 5.8.1 for the tonal behavior and likely etymology of *máhá*). The nouns involved must be unmodified and in their base, indefinite form. In ordinary clauses, the meaning of the construction closely approximates that of *puní* and *mujyè*. Thus beside the phrase ‘every time’ in examples such as the following, one also often hears *tèrigíí puní í* ‘in/at all times’:

- (64) *Tèrè máhá tètè wyéré-lyìlìni òyè a tààn*
 time DIST time money-eat.DEF NEG PERF be.sweet
 ‘Spending money all the time is not pleasing
pì á mɛ.
 them to NEG
 to them.

As head noun of a relative clause, the distributive noun phrase means ‘whatever’:

- (65) *Sũra à nɔ cyaga màha cyage e ké,*
 mush.DEF PERF arrive place DIST place in REL
 ‘In whatever place the mush arrives,
pire màha ti lyì.
 they(EMPH) HAB it eat
 they (i.e. the people in that place) eat it.’

6.3.3.2. Exclusive quantifiers

There are two exclusive quantifiers, which indicate that only the referent of the noun they modify is involved in the event, in contexts where the hearer might be inclined to believe that other potential referents could possibly also be involved. The first of these, like *puní*, seems to be a gender 3 nominalization: it has both an indefinite (*káná*) and a definite (*káni*) form, the latter ending in what appears to be the gender 3 singular definite suffix. The root *kán-* does not appear elsewhere in Kampwo Supyire. The indefinite form *káná* must be used with an indefinite noun head:

- (66) *nàha à yaaga ta mé*
 I NEG.be.here SC thing find NEG
 ‘I haven’t found a thing
fó sìŋkombìlìgè káná.
 except cane only
 except a cane.’

The context makes it clear that the speaker was expected, and had herself been expecting, to find something more than a cane.

The definite form is used with a definite head. The following example is taken from a story in which Dahazeen, one of two Siamese twins, dies. The people prepare to bury both twins, until someone hits on the idea of cutting them apart, at which point only Dahazeen is buried, instead of the expected pair:

- (67) *maá Dàhàzéén káni tò*
 and.NARR Dahazeen only bury
 ‘and (they) buried only Dahazeen’

Like *punɔ*, the indefinite form *káná* is used as an adverb (see chapter 7, section 7.6).

The other exclusive quantifier, *ye*, does not appear to be a nominalization. There is only one form, used with both definite and indefinite nouns. Speakers usually insist that it means the same as *káni*, and in many contexts, such

as in the following examples, the two seem to be interchangeable. Note that the weak mid tone of *ye* becomes high following a mid tone, and low when it accepts the floating low of a definite noun suffix.

- (68) a. *Kà sige yááre puní sì wá*
 and bush things.DEF all NARR be.there
 ‘All the wild animals were
na ma cin pyéngá, mà pa ñkwò
 PROG come.IMPFV leopard compound and come finish
 coming to leopard’s compound, until at last
à yaha kùcwuun yé.
 SC leave monkey only
 only monkey was left.’
- b. *Mì wá à mu fwotóyááge ta*
 I be.there PERF your debt.repayment.DEF get
 ‘I have got the repayment for the debt I owe you,
fó ku paŋkà-ni yè.
 except its come.manner-DEF only
 (and lack) only the means to bring it.’

In spite of the similarity in meaning, *ye* differs from *káni* in a number of minor ways. There are in fact at least two constructions where only *ye* can be used. The first is in the predicate of copular sentences, where a pronoun followed by *ye* means ‘different, separate, set apart’. The following example follows an exchange in which one speaker kept perversely using the wrong name for the other speaker. The latter finally in some irritation said:

- (69) *Pi à jwu Kìbajwo. Nùmpañajwo nyé u yè.*
 they PERF say Kibajwo Numpangajwo be him only
 ‘I’m called Kibajwo. Numpangajwo is someone else.’
 lit. ‘They said Kibajwo. Numpangajwo is different.’

The following example comes from an exchange in which one speaker asks if the Vietnamese are not the same as the Chinese. The other speaker responds:

- (70) *Shiniwáabíí, Tòòñkéebíí na wá pí yè.*
 Chinese.DEF Vietnamese.DEF PROG be.there they only
 ‘(As for) the Chinese, the Vietnamese are different.’

The other construction unique to *ye* involves the addition of the numeral one. It appears simply to reinforce the exclusive meaning:

- (71) *Ŋkàà uru gànjí fūnṅì ì,*
 but that(EMPH) family.DEF interior in
 ‘But within that family,
gà-tígíjì yè nìncìn
 family-owner.DEF only one
 it is the head of the family alone
u nyè na gànjí kàrigí kèènṅì.
 he be PROG family.DEF affairs.DEF turn.IMPFV
 who directs the affairs of the family.’

The two exclusive quantifiers can appear together, though some speakers appear to dislike the combination:

- (72) *Ŋgé yè káni na m̀ì cáá.*
 DEM only only on I want
 ‘It is only that one that I want.’

The two can even be compounded together:

- (73) *Sukwoo yénkáni na m̀ì mpyi a kàrè.*
 Sikasoo only.only to I PAST PERF go
 ‘It was only to Sikasso that I went.’

It is significant that these combinations are most acceptable in focus, that is, clause initial, position.

For the adverbial use of *yè* see chapter 7, section 7.6.

6.3.3.3. Inclusive quantifiers

Like *yè*, the inclusive quantifier *m̀ú* ‘also’ does not appear to be a nominalization. There is only one form, used with both definite and indefinite nouns. It behaves tonally like *yè* and like the first syllable of *káni*. Semantically, the inclusive quantifier tells the hearer that the referent of the noun is also involved, at least sometimes clearly contrary to what might be expected. Immediately preceding the following example, a man pinches a calabash to see if it is ripe:

- (74) *Kà kúbogé mù sí ú tóngá á ẁì.*
 and calabash.DEF also NARR him pinch SC see
 ‘Then the calabash also pinched him to see.’

Following is another example. The context makes it clear that the hearer expected the speaker to give him far more than five francs.

- (75) *Darashí ' mú nàha sù m̀̀ á*
 5.francs also be.here.NEG be.EMPH me to
 'I also don't have five francs
- m̀̀ í kán mu á punu mé.*
 I SUBJUNC give you to at.all NEG
 to give you at all.' More freely: 'I absolutely don't even have
 five francs to give you either.'

Like *ye*, *mú* has also developed a number of specialized uses. It is used with a pronoun head with two main functions. The first seems to be to emphasize inclusive totality, which accords well with its basic meaning. It is this use which was discussed above in section 6.3.1: the numerals two and three with pronoun heads are obligatorily preceded by *mú*. Another specialized use is as a suffix forming relative pronouns from demonstratives: see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.8. This function appears to be connected to focus, and a few examples are available which seem to show *mú* being used to indicate a mild focus. Of particular interest is one example where a pronoun head appears with two *mús*, one functioning as an inclusive quantifier, the other as a focus marker:

- (76) *Yire mù mú ' ná m̀̀ pí ǹ̀ yè.*
 those(EMPH) FOC also PAST be cows
 'Those also were cows.'

For the adverbial use of *mú*, see chapter 7, section 7.6.

The Bambara inclusive quantifier *fáná* is also increasingly used by speakers of Kampwo Supyire. Although it is by no means as common as *mú*, one occasionally hears examples such as the following:

- (77) *Bunf tàyigigé e fáná*
 deceased.DEF LOC.take.out.DEF in also
 'When the body is brought out also
- pi màha wyéréni wwù na waa.*
 they HAB money.DEF take.off PROG throw.IMPFV
 they take money and throw it (to the crowd).'

Some speakers enthusiastically put both quantifiers together in the same noun phrase, as in the following example from an excited young speaker during a heated debate:

- (78) *Yli tonf fana mú à nɔ ké,*
 your feast.DEF also also PERF arrive TC
 'When it came time for your feast also,

ká m̀lì fana m̀ú ' sí yíré jwó...
 and I also also NARR them(EMPH) say
 'I also said these things...'

The quantifier *bá* 'even' expresses strong concession in the face of counterexpectation. It can only occur in the subject noun phrase, as in the following example:

(79) *U bá nyɛ a m̀lì shyééré me.*
 he even NEG PERF me greet NEG
 'He didn't even greet me.'

The quantifier *jùùlì* 'much, many' (borrowed from Bambara *jòli* 'how much?') is used only rarely in declarative clauses. Its function there is much more frequently filled with adjectival forms based on the verb *nyaha* 'be much, many' (see section 6.4). Only three unelicited examples like the following have been recorded:

(80) *Ŋkàà nɛnjáà tìbɛ́ jùùlì nyɛ na*
 but today fathers.DEF many NEG PROG
 'But nowadays many fathers are not
jíní kúrú yeregé na mé.
 be.able.IMPFV this(EMPH) counsel.DEF on NEG
 able to give this counsel.'

Jùùlì is much more frequently used in questions, where it is the regular interrogative quantifier 'how much, many?' For this function, see chapter 14, section 14.2.2.5.

6.3.3.4. Emphatic modifiers

Although these modifiers (for the forms, see chapter 5, section 5.4) cannot properly be described as 'quantifiers', in Supyire they pattern along with the other modifiers discussed in this section. In spite of there being both singular and plural and gender 1 and 3 forms, there is no connection between the "gender" of the modifier and the gender of the head noun, nor between the "number" of the modifier and the number of the head noun. In the following example, a speaker uses two forms in one sentence, each modifying a first person singular pronoun:

(81) *Ŋkàà m̀lì yábànjí s̀ì kɛ̀ŋi yaha*
 but I EMPH FUT ten.DEF leave
 'But I myself will leave the ten

na yapyàagí ù dufáji i.
 I.NONDECL EMPH GEN pocket.DEF in
 in my own pocket.'

Note that in spite of the translation these forms cannot be used as reflexive pronouns. They have only the emphatic function of the 'self' forms of English.

As with the quantifiers, the emphatic modifiers most often encode counter-expectation of varying degrees. The above example, for instance, caused some surprise and not a little consternation in the person to whom it was said. In the following example, the speaker is setting straight a misconception on the part of the hearer, who has just quoted the fatalistic proverb 'No one's will surpasses God's.' The speaker repeats the proverb, and then proceeds to supplement it with some good advice:

(82) *Sèè wì: wà wùu nye na ntuuli*
 truth it.is IND POSS.G3S be PROG pass.IMPV
 'It's true, no one's will surpasses

Kile wùùní na mé, ñkàà Kilēji yàbàṅá
 God POSS.DEF(G3S) on NEG but God.DEF EMPH
 God's, but God himself

à hákìlìṅí kan sùpyàṅá à
 PERF intelligence.DEF give person.DEF to
 has given intelligence to people (lit. the person)

u ú já u a sòṅṅì.
 s/he SUBJUNC be.able s/he SUBJUNC.IMPV think.IMPV
 so that they can think.'

Note in the following example the use of the singular form with a plural noun. The context shows clear counterexpectation.

(83) *Mu pyiibíí yabìlíní gú ñjwù*
 your children.DEF(G1P) EMPH POT say
 'Won't even your children themselves say

na pire sì ñ-jà ñ-tèèn
 that they(EMPH) NEG.FUT FP-be.able FP-sit
 that they can't live

ṅgé 'júgúṅi¹⁵ i mà?
 DEM evil.DEF in NEG.Q
 in that bad way?'

The emphatic modifiers can also be used to indicate (unexpected) coincidence:¹⁶

- (84) a. *Wùu kòòṅ-cààngé càṅṅké yàbàṅí,*
 our cotton-market.DEF day.DEF EMPH
 ‘The very day of our cotton market,

kà u ú nípá ' náhá.
 and he NARR come here
 he came here.’

- b. *Yaarejááni yyetéénni bìlíní*
 Yaarejaani year.sit.DEF EMPH
 ‘The very same year of Yaarejaani’s accession to power

uru bìlíní nà yyéré ù zòṅi na dé.
 he(EMPH) EMPH PAST stand his heart.DEF on EMPH
 he himself confessed (lit. stopped on his heart).’

Like the quantifiers, the emphatic modifiers, or more precisely, one of them, *yapyàagíí*, can “float”, that is, be used as adverbial modifiers after the verb. Like *punɔ* and *káná*, the indefinite form of the emphatic is used: *yapyàa*. For a description of this adverbial use, see chapter 7, section 7.6.

6.4. Adjectives

The morphology of adjectives has been dealt with in chapter 5, section 5.2. As noted there, adjectives (and verb roots used adjectivally) may be incorporated into compound forms with the noun root. These compounds are discussed in detail in chapter 3 section 3.2.3.2 (see also chapter 5 section 5.2), and nothing further will be said of them here, except to note that the function of these incorporated adjectives is generally not restrictive. The “free” adjectives, formed as described in chapter 5, are by contrast generally restrictive in function, with qualifications to be noted below. Like the determiners (and unlike the quantifiers), the adjectives agree in gender and number with the head noun. In addition, the adjective generally agrees with its head in definiteness, with some exceptions to be noted below.

For the most part, definite adjectives are restrictive semantically. Certain adjectives are more apt from their meaning to be used restrictively. Among these are ‘the same’ and the ordinals ‘first’ and ‘last’, which of course render their referent immediately identifiable by the hearer. Although it is possible to obtain indefinite forms of the ordinal adjectives, only definite forms have been recorded in texts. Following are some examples:

- (85) a. *Uru u à pyi*
 he(EMPH) he PERF be
 ‘It was he who was

fānhà fòò-ṅí nìṅ-cyì-ṅi
 power owner-DEF(G1S) ADJ-first-DEF(G1S)
 the first ruler

mà kɔ-ni naara-ŋf sɪ̀.
and country-DEF walk-DEF begin
to begin touring the country.'

- b. *Hɛɛ, sùpyì-ré nɪŋ-cyì-ra a*
person-DEF(G4) ADJ-first-DEF(G4) PERF
'Wow, the people of long ago (lit. the first people)

kàrii nyɛ dé!
things see EXCL
sure experienced (lit. saw) a lot of things!'

- c. *Ti mpyi à pyi ti ni-zànn-te fìgè.*
it PAST PERF be it(G4) ADJ-last-DEF(G4) like
'It was like the last one.'

Indefinite forms of *-nu-* 'same' have been recorded only as the subject of a negative identificational sentence, as in (86a). Otherwise, as would be expected, this adjective also is used primarily restrictively, and consequently is definite, as in (86b):

- (86) a. *Cire kàri-gíí*
those(EMPH) things-DEF(G3P)
'Those things (i.e. the customs of the past)

nà nɪŋjáà wò-gílé è yò,
with today POSS-DEF(G3P) with NF
and those of today,

ni-nu-gii ba à dé!
ADJ-same-G3P they.are.not NEG EXCL
they are not at all the same!'

- b. *Puru yām-pe ni-nūm-pe*
this(EMPH) illness-DEF(G5a) ADJ-same-DEF(G5)
'It was that same sickness

pa a pà ù cū.
it PERF come him catch
that caught him.'

When the quality is scalar, definite adjectives have superlative meaning, which may simply be viewed as the limit of restrictiveness. In the following example, the agent had the choice of a number of tails, which the bush cows had removed and left on the bank while they bathed:

- (87) *Kà u ú sá `neŋké numbwɔ̀he lwò*
and she NARR go tail.DEF(G2S) ADJ.big.DEF(G2S) take
'She went and took the biggest tail

na *fi*.
 PROG run.IMPFV
 and ran.'

The father in the following example had several sons:

- (88) *Ká u ú jyañi niñjyēñi tùùgò*
 and he NARR son.DEF(G1S) ADJ.old.DEF(G1S) send
 'He sent his oldest son
mli fyè e.
 my footprints in
 after me.'

In general, indefinite adjectives are non-restrictive. Some examples are:

- (89) a. *Màhàtúgii ñcwósunñké,*
 Mahadugu.inhabitants pool.sacred.DEF
 'The sacred pool of the people of Mahadugu,
pòò-lii num-bwo-o pi nyε
 catfish-G1P ADJ-big-G1P they be
 big catfish are
ku lwòhé e.
 that water.DEF in
 in that water.'
- b. *Jwu-bo nin-tan-ma pu nyε pure.*
 say-G5 ADJ-sweet-G5 they(G5) be those(EMPH.G5)
 'Those are good words.'

Just as the meaning of some adjectives makes them apt to be used restrictively, the meaning of others makes them more likely to be used non-restrictively. Among the latter, the two most obvious are *niñyaha-* 'many, much' (from the verb *nyaha* 'be much, many') and *niñcen-* 'good' (from the adjective root *cenN-* 'good'). The almost obligatorily non-restrictive use of these two adjectives is underlined by the fact that they are often used in the indefinite form even when the head noun is definite. In fact, no unelicited definite form of *niñcen-* has been recorded. Following are some examples with both indefinite and definite heads:

- (90) a. *Kuru nyε à pyi bàhà-gà niñ-cenña à?*
 that(EMPH)NEG PERF be play-G2S ADJ-good.G2S NEG.Q
 'Wasn't that a good game?'
- b. *Ká mli í yajòðre tà-tùgù-gé*
 and I NARR bait.DEF LOC-dig-DEF(G2S)

nij-cenɲe wíí...
ADJ-good.G2S see

‘I saw a good place to dig bait...’

- c. *Kile ù Ø ma nij-cenɲe nɔ.*
God he SUBJUNC you ADJ-good.G1S arrive
‘May God make you arrive in safety.’

A total of nine occurrences of *ninyaha-* ‘a lot, much’ with a definite head noun have been recorded. Of these, only two are definite. Examples of both definite and indefinite with a definite head noun follow:

- (91) a. *Yi kàri-gíí ni-nyahi-gíí màha ŋkèègè.*
your affair-DEF(G3P) ADJ-much-DEF(G3P) HAB spoil
‘Many of your affairs go wrong.’
- b. *ŋwðhðpyì-ré ni-nyaha-ra na nyɛ aní.*
children-DEF(G4) ADJ-much-G4 PROG be there
‘There are lots of children.’

Occasionally the ‘collective’ (gender 4) form is used even when the head belongs to some other gender. It is perhaps developing into a non-agreeing quantifier. Note in the following example this lack of agreement:

- (92) *Ti-bíí ni-nyaha-ra na nyɛ aní.*
fathers-DEF(G1P) ADJ-much-G4 PROG be there
‘There are lots of fathers.’

One other non-agreeing adjective is also placed in an appropriate gender for semantic reasons. The adjective *numbílêré* (definite: *numbílěni*, from the adjective root *-bile* ‘small’ plus the diminutive suffix *-rV*) is in gender 3 (the gender of small things; note that all nouns with the diminutive suffix are in this gender) regardless of the gender of the head noun. Note in the following example that while *numbílěni* does not agree in class with *pyàŋi*, *ninyjěŋi* does.

- (93) *Pyà-ŋi num-bílě-na à pyi à*
child-DEF(G1S) ADJ-small.DIM-DEF(G3S) PERF PAST CN
‘The younger child
- kyaa cè a tòrò nij-jyě-ŋi na.*
thing know SN pass ADJ-old-DEF(G1S) on
knew more than the older.’

As a general rule, nothing is allowed to intervene between the adjective and its head noun. Thus postnominal determiners and numerals follow the adjective:

- (94) a. ... *maá kile jwùmpé nin-tanm-pé pà kàlà.*¹⁷
 and God words.DEF ADJ-sweet-DEF IND read
 ‘...and (I) read some of God’s good words.’
- b. *ba-yí nin-tòòn-yi shùùnnì-ńí*
 houses-DEF ADJ-tall-DEF two-DEF
 ‘the two tall houses’

Those adjectives which are derived from verbs may be analyzed as participles, and the noun phrases to which they belong as nominalized clauses. The head noun corresponds to the absolutive argument of the adjectivized verb. The agent of a transitive verb may be encoded as the genitive possessor of the head noun, as in the following example:

- (95) *pi kàri-gíí num-pyíń-kíí*
 their affairs-DEF(G3P) ADJ-do-DEF(G3P)
 ‘their deeds’, or ‘the things they do’

The adjectivalized verb may also have postpositional adjuncts. These normally follow the adjective, as in the following example:

- (96) *pòò-ńi nu-vworo-ńí lwo-hé e*
 catfish-DEF ADJ-go.out-DEF water-DEF from
u tunmpé
 GEN noise-DEF
 ‘the noise of the catfish coming out of the water’

However, when the nominalized clause is the object of a verb or a postposition, the postpositional adjunct must be placed *after* that verb or postposition. The following is an example of a nominalized clause functioning as the object of the postposition *táán* ‘beside’. The finite clause corresponding to the nominalized clause is given in (97b):

- (97) a. *Kà uru sì ńkànhá yíńcwòńi*
 and she(EMPH) NARR be.tired co-wife.DEF
 ‘She grew tired of (her) co-wife’s
kàrigíí numpyíńkíí tààn
 affairs.DEF ADJ.do.DEF beside
 treatment (lit. things done)
- ná ú pworoní ì.*
 with her daughter.DEF with
 of (lit. with) her daughter.’
- b. *Yíńcwòńa a kàrigíí pyi ná ú pworoní ì.*
 co=wife PERF affairs do with her daughter with
 ‘Her co-wife did things/actions with/to her daughter.’

As an example of the placement of the adjunct after a verb, compare the following:

- (98) *Ká m̀̀̀́ ń́ ń́pá u ń́-zini-ń́́ ta*
 and I NARR come him ADJ-lie.down-DEF find
 ‘I came and found him lying
moblń́ń́ 18 tń́ń.
 car.DEF beside
 beside the car.’

Although no examples have been recorded in texts, elicitation reveals that a predicate nominal, which normally follows its verb just as postpositional adjuncts do, must also be placed after a verb or postposition governing the nominalized clause to which it belongs, as in the following example:

- (99) *U u-yè ńń-kèèn-ńń na zń̀tń̀ń̀,*
 he he-REFL ADJ-change-DEF on hyena
 ‘While he was (lit. on his) changing himself into a hyena
ńń a ù tń́ a cù.
 they PERF him get SN catch
 they caught him.’

Adjectives may be used substantivally, that is, without a head noun. Following is an example:

- (100) *ńń cáń ńń-vyńń kan ńńlń́ à*
 they FUT ADJ-white.G3S give IND(G1P) to
 ‘They will give a white one to some
ńń ńń-ńńyè kan ńńlń́ à.
 SEQ ADJ-red.G3S give IND(G1P) to
 and a red one to others.’

In the absence of a head noun, a genitive possessor may still encode the agent of an adjectivalized transitive verb:

- (101) *ńńgé u ńń-tń́-yń́*
 DEM(G1S) GEN ADJ-get-DEF(G2P)
 ‘this one’s gettings’ i.e. what this one has obtained

Headless adjectives may fill any syntactic position which an ordinary noun phrase can fill. When they occur as predicate nominals, and when in addition they are indefinite, they resemble predicate adjectives in English and similar languages. Two comments are in order, however. The first is that the normal function of predicate adjectives in English, viz. the predication of a quality, is ordinarily performed by simple verbal clauses with stative verbs in Supy-

ire. The use of adjectives in predicate nominal position is relatively rare. The other fact which must be noted is that frequently the adjective in predicate nominal position has a deontic reading: it indicates what should or must be done.¹⁹ Following are some examples without such deontic meaning:

- (102) a. *ɲkàà li là nyɛ niɲ-cenne mé.*
 but it(G3S) IND(G3S) be ADJ-good.G3S NEG
 ‘but not one of them is (a) good (thing).’
- b. *Kà li í ú síɲa à pyi num-pampaɲa.*
 and it NARR him(G1S) press SN do ADJ-flat.G1S
 ‘It pressed him flat.’

Examples showing deontic modality are:

- (103) a. *Faapyiibílá à jwo na ɲké cyàgé*
 farmers.DEF PERF say that DEM(G2S) place.DEF(G2S)
 ‘The farmers have said that that place
nyɛ num-pyi-ge mé.
 be ADJ-do-G2S NEG
 should not be farmed (lit. is not done).’
- b. *Yi wà làmpú nya ni-zara-wa mé.*
 you IND tax.G1S be ADJ-pay-G1S NEG
 ‘None of you has to be taxed.’ Lit.: ‘The tax of one
 of you is not paid.’

6.5. Descriptive genitive phrases

A genitive phrase consisting of a noun possessor followed by the possessive pronoun *wu-* may follow a noun as a modifying phrase. The pronoun agrees in number and gender with the head noun. Note that this is essentially the same structure as the ordinal numeral construction described in section 6.3.2 above. In its ordinary use as the pronominal head of a genitive construction (see section 6.2.3, where numerous examples are given) *wu-* agrees with an antecedent in number and gender. It means then ‘(the) one(s) belonging to X’ where X is the genitive possessor. Of course the construction covers much more than legal possession of property, and such phrases as *níɲjyéé wúɲi* ‘the one (gender 1 singular, speaking of the head tax) of this year’ and *lwɔhé wòdré* ‘the ones (gender 4, speaking of honeycombs) of (i.e. with) liquid’ are common. If such a phrase is placed in apposition to a noun, with the *wu-* pronoun agreeing with that noun, the construction under discussion is obtained.

Over half of the examples collected so far have pronoun heads. No other means is available to modify such heads using nouns (recall that adjectives are constructed solely from adjective or verb roots). The construction is very

versatile, and frequently difficult to translate succinctly into English. Most commonly the modifying noun, syntactically the possessor of the *wu-* pronoun, is indefinite, an indication that it is not referential in any way, but is being used descriptively. The *wu-* itself may be definite or indefinite:

- (104) a. *Mu nitìcùù-wò wú bà*
 you healthy.person-G1S POSS.G1S it.is.not
 ‘Wasn’t it you a healthy person
u a kàrè Cúji i mà?
 he PERF go Côte.d’Ivoire to NEG.Q
 that went to Côte d’Ivoire?’ More naturally: ‘Weren’t
 you in good health when you went to Côte d’Ivoire?’
- b. *Mji sòròlashí wúji yyèe shònwùùní j*
 I soldier POSS.DEFG1S year second in
 ‘Wasn’t it I a soldier in the second year
bà u a kwù náhá mà?
 it.is.not he PERF die here NEG.Q
 that he died here?’ More naturally: ‘Wasn’t it during my
 second year in the army that he died here?’

An alternate to the adjectival way of forming the ordinal ‘the last’ employs the noun *kàsànràgà* ‘last one’ in a modifying genitive phrase:

- (105) *Lire na nye kómi²⁰ bunf*
 this(EMPH) PROG be as.if dead.person.DEF
 ‘This is as if it is the deceased’s
sárágáji kàsànràgà wùní
 sacrifice.DEF(G1S) last.one.G2S POSS.DEF(G1S)
 last sacrifice
yi nye na wwú.
 you be PROG offer.IMPFV
 that you are offering.’

The modifying noun may also be definite, at least in meaning, as in the following example in which a deictic time word is used:

- (106) *Kàsunté ' nñjyée' wóóre ta a tààn.*
 feast.DEF(G4) this.year POSS.DEF(G4) it PERF be.sweet
 ‘This year’s feast was good.’

It is also possible for the modifying noun to form a compound with the *wu-* pronoun, much like the procedure in forming ordinals:

- (107) a. *Kà pi lù-yìrì-wùu-bíí sí fwòro*
 and they gall-rise-POSS-DEF(G1P) NARR go.out
 ‘They angry ones got out

Iwòhé e mà kàrè pi pyèngà.
 water.DEF from and go their compound
 of the water and went home.’ More naturally:
 ‘They got out of the water angry and went home.’

- b. *Wùu nànkòpyì-wùu-bíí mù á*
 we children-POSS-DEF(G1P)also PERF
 ‘As children we also

yire kàrii cé.
 these(EMPH) things know
 were acquainted with these.’

The place of the modifying noun may be taken by a postpositional phrase, which illustrates the great versatility of the construction:

- (108) *Pi a tètérìjì*
 they PERF train.DEF(G1S)

kàntugo yyéré wújì bómbararé.²¹
 back towards POSS.DEF(G1S) bomb

‘They have bombed the next train behind.’

In the following example, the modifying genitive phrase is separated from its direct object head noun by the verb. I have been assured by several speakers that it is perfectly natural this way, but that it can also be placed before the verb:

- (109) *Yìi màha sàhà-lì lwò wyi-i bàà wú-ú*
 you HAB basket-G3S take hole-G3S without POSS-G3S
 ‘You take a basket without holes

ná cere ...
 and calabash.G3S
 and a calabash...’

6.6. Reduplicated verb modifying phrases

A modifying phrase consisting of a reduplicated verb together with a genitive noun possessor may precede a head noun. The whole noun phrase is thus a type of nominalized clause. The head noun corresponds semantically to either a nuclear (e.g. agent) or peripheral (e.g. instrument, circumstance) participant of the finite clause. The possessor noun preceding the reduplicated verb corresponds in general to the absolutive argument of the verb,

that is, the subject/agent of an intransitive verb, and the direct object/patient of a transitive verb. The reduplicated verb itself behaves tonally as if it were a noun rather than a verb, but it does not take a noun class suffix. Although it is written separately in the orthography, it is perhaps better thought of as forming a compound with the following (head) noun. Nothing may intervene between the reduplicated verb and the head noun.

In the following examples, the head noun represents an accompanying circumstance: the noise produced in the event. The verb is intransitive, and the genitive noun consequently corresponds to the subject/agent. Note that a time word may intervene between the genitive noun and the verb, as in (110b):

- (110) a. *Nàṅkàabíí fèfè màhàṅá á*
 thieves.DEF(G1P) run.run noise.DEF(G1S) PERF
 ‘The noise of the thieves running’
mìl jé pílagá.
 me wake night
 woke me last night.’
- b. *Mu níṅjáà yìrìyìrì jwùmpé náhà*
 your today rise.rise words.DEF(G5) be.here.PERF
 ‘Your words on getting up today are really’
nyaha mìl nà de!
 be.much me on EXCL
 too much for me!’

In the following example, the head corresponds to the subject/agent of an intransitive verb, while the possessor noun is a locative:

- (111) *Bòbo shyéshyé wúge kà*
 Bobo go.go POSS.DEF(G2S) IND(G2S)
 ‘one of the ones going to Bobo Dioulasso’²²

Following is an example in which the head noun corresponds to the subject/agent of a transitive verb, and the possessor noun to the direct object/patient:

- (112) *buṅí tòtò nàmpwuunbíí*
 deceased.DEF(G1S) bury.bury guests.DEF(G1P)
 ‘the guest who came to bury the dead person’

More commonly, the head noun corresponds to the instrument:

- (113) a. *téji yìrìgìyìrìgè yààyí*
 tea.DEF(G1S) raise.raise thing.DEF(G2P)
 ‘the things for making tea’²³

- b. *u bèbè mobílíjì*
 her meet.meet car.DEF(G1S)
 'the car (sent out) to meet her'

6.7. Coordination of noun phrases

In this section the two basic types of noun phrase coordination will be described: conjunction and disjunction. The section will close with an examination of the problems involved in agreement with coordinated noun phrases.

6.7.1. Conjunction

The conjunction *ná* 'and' is used to coordinate noun phrases. For the tonal behavior of this conjunction, and for several examples of its use, see chapter 5, section 5.8.1. A simple anaphoric pronoun may be the first conjunct of a coordinate noun phrase but may *not* function as the second conjunct. An emphatic must be used in this position:

- (114) a. *Dàhá ' ná úrú mpyi na síní bage e.*
 Daha and he(EMPH) PAST PROG lie.down house in
 'Daha and he were sleeping in a house.'
 b. **Dàhá ' ná ú...*

In the great majority of cases, the conjunction is repeated between multiple conjuncts:

- (115) *Cipòdji màha... shya cii-cwòjí wà yyèrè*
 husband.DEF HAB go potter-woman.DEF IND toward
 'The husband ... goes to a potter
maá fùncwògà nà pyàhii ná
 and.NARR water.pot and bowls and
 and orders a water pot and bowls and
siniŋe ná cwòhii shénré jwo.
 collander and cooking.pots speech say.
 a collander and cooking pots.'

Only two examples of multiple conjuncts without the repetition of the conjunction have been recorded. The place of the conjunction is taken by a pause, indicated with commas in the following example:

- (116) *Cànràgà, zàntùŋ, sika-pèrè ná cin*
 lion hyena billy.goat and leopard
 'Lion, Hyena, Billy Goat, and Leopard'

pi màha jwɔ wwɔ...
 they HAB mouth unite
 formed a cooperative society...'

6.7.2. Disjunction

The conjunction coding disjunction, the alternative conjunction *làa*, (see chapter 5, section 5.8.1) is not confined to coordinating noun phrases, and indeed is more frequently employed in coordinating clauses. Only two unelicited examples of *làa* functioning to coordinate noun phrases have been recorded so far. Both are given here as illustrations of its use:

- (117) a. *Jàhá mu sí ñkàn ye,*
 what you FUT FP.give Q
 'What will you give (to be eaten by the dogs),
ma nūji làa pylibíí?
 your mother.DEF or children.DEF
 your mother or your children?'
- b. *mu arì ... sootánhánke làa*
 you HAB.SEQ loom.pedal.DEF or
 'then you ... step on the pedal
soobííni tànhà ...
 loom.stick.DEF step.on
 or the treadle...'²⁴

One occasionally hears the Bambara conjunction *wala* 'or' used instead of *làa*, as in example (54) above.

6.7.3. Agreement with coordinate noun phrases

Two strategies for agreeing with coordinate noun phrases must be distinguished. The first is used for ordinary anaphoric agreement. As one would expect, in this type of agreement the number of the agreeing item is plural. When the conjuncts are of the same gender, there is no further complication:

- (118) *Lira a nà-ñi*
 this(EMPH) PERF man-DEF(G1S)
 'Meanwhile the man
nà u pworò-ñí ta
 and his daughter-DEF(G1S) find
 and his daughter (lit. this found the man and his daughter)

pf á tèèn nā-ge tààn.
 they(G1P).COMP PERF sit fire-DEF beside
 say down by the fire.'

When the conjuncts are of different genders, if one of the conjuncts is gender 1 and has an animate referent, the agreement will be with gender 1. Proper nouns referring to human beings belong to gender 1.

- (119) a. *Ká m̀l̀ í sá p̀k̀wòrò-ge ná Kàrája ta*
 and I NARR go girl-DEF(G2S) and Karaja find
 'I went and found the girl and Karaja

pf á yyèrè.
 they(G1P).COMP PERF stop
 standing (there) (lit. they had stopped).'

- b. *Lira à pyi a b̀m-pèè-gé nà*
 this(EMPH) PERF PAST SC baboon-male-DEF(G2S) and
 'Meanwhile the male baboon and

k̀ù cwò-ŋ́f ta ba-yí yà
 its wife-DEF(G1S) find houses-DEF IND
 its wife were in two cages

sh̀ù̀nnì ì pi-yè táán.
 two in they(G1P)-REFL beside
 beside each other.'

Gender 2 wins over gender 3, as the clause following example (115) (repeated here for convenience) shows:

- (120) *Cipò̀ŋ́j m̀aha... shya cii-cwò̀ŋ́f wà yyèrè*
 husband.DEF HAB go potter-woman.DEF IND toward
 'The husband ... goes to a potter

maá f̀ũ̀ŋ̀cwò̀gà nà pyàhii
 and.NARR water.pot.(G2S) and bowls.(G3P)
 and orders a water pot and bowls

ná siniŋe ná cwò̀hii
 and collander.(G2S) and cooking.pots.(G3P)
 and a collander and cooking pots.

shénré jwo. Pire kà
 speech say. they(EMPH) COND
 When they

yìrè yàla à pa...
 these(EMPHG2P) make SC come
 have made and brought these...'

Gender 2 can even win out over gender 1 if the referent of the gender 1 noun is inanimate:

- (121) *Fègemi-píí nà v à à n n -k e m ì i à k a n*
 rings-DEF(G1P) and cloth-DEF(G2S) I PERF give
 ‘The rings and the cloth I gave
mu á g e, t a á y i n y e g é ?
 you to REL where they(G2P) be LOC.Q
 to you, where are they?’

When either of the single class genders 4 (collectives, masses, abstracts) or 5 (liquids, abstracts) is one of the conjuncts, even if the other conjunct is not gender 2, the agreement is gender 2 plural. The following examples were elicited:

- (122) a. *Ce-ní nà n i -j i r i m -p é,*
 calabash-DEF(G3S) and cow-breast-DEF(G5)
 ‘The calabash and the milk,
t a á y i n y e g é ?
 where they(G2P) be LOC.Q
 where are they?’
- b. *N i -j i r i m -p é n à k y a à -r e,*
 cow-breast-DEF(G5) and meat-DEF(G4)
 ‘The milk and the meat,
t a á y i n y e g é ?
 where they(G2P) be LOC.Q
 where are they?’

The other strategy of agreement with coordinate noun phrases has been recorded in only two syntactic environments so far: focus of the subject noun phrase, and modification by an independent adjective. Both may be characterized as being “tight” constructions, and the agreement is not anaphoric in nature. In both cases the agreeing item agrees *only* with the final conjunct.

Contrastive focus is accomplished in Supyire by moving the focused item to the front of its clause (for a full description see chapter 12). When a subject, which is already at the head of its clause, is focused, it is immediately followed by a resumptive pronoun which holds its place and is the sole indication that focus is intended. No pause may intervene between the focused noun phrase and the place-holding pronoun. The pronoun agrees only with the last conjunct of a coordinate noun phrase in both number and gender. In the following example, both conjuncts are gender 1. The place-holding pronoun agrees in number only with the final conjunct. Note that the predicate nominal agrees in both gender *and* number:

- (123) *Mì ná `Zá u nya númê nògò-lyèe-bílá à?*
 I and Za he(G1S) be now man-old-DEF(G1P) NEG.Q
 ‘Isn’t it I and Za who are now the oldest men?’

The following example illustrates what happens when the conjuncts are from different genders. The place-holding pronoun agrees with the final conjunct (gender 2 plural) even though the other conjunct is gender 1 and has animate referents. Note that the anaphoric pronoun beginning the following clause uses the more familiar strategy, resolving the conflict in favor of gender 1:

- (124) *Kùcwuun-bíí ná bòn-yi*
 patas.monkey-DEF(G1P) and baboon-DEF(G2P)
 ‘It was the patas monkeys and the baboons
- yi mpyi aní.*
 they(G2P) be.PAST there
 that were there.
- Pi puná a pyi na ñjyì-ñj ñààrè*
 they(G1P) all PERFPAST PROG food-DEF beg.IMPV
 They were all begging food
- sùpyì-rá à.*
 person-DEF from
 from the people.’

The agreement is with the final conjunct even if both conjuncts refer to human beings:

- (125) *Mì ná ñké nàñ-ke ku nya cèm-pe na.*
 I and DEM man-DEF(G2S) it(G2S) be know-DEF on
 ‘It is I and that big oaf who are friends (lit. on friendship).’

When an adjective modifies a coordinate noun phrase, it also agrees only with the final conjunct. Note how gender 3 is used in the following example, even though the first conjunct is gender 1 and both refer to human beings:

- (126) *Mu à cee-we ná pùcécébilè*
 you PERF woman-G1S and girl.little.G3S
 ‘Have you seen a woman and a little girl
- nín-toro-lo nyé kù-ni i la?*
 ADJ-pass-G3S see path-DEF in Q
 passing in the road?’

Chapter 7

Simple clauses

In this chapter the structure of simple (non-complex) clauses will be described. Simple clauses fall into three basic categories based on the type of predicate they have: those with pronominal predicates (identifier pronouns), those with copular predicates, and those with verbal predicates. Aside from this basic categorization, verbal clauses can further be subclassified according to the semantic and pragmatic nominal roles (“cases”) that they have.

After an initial section dealing with the order of constituents in a simple clause, each of the above categories will be described in turn. The final category (verbal clauses) comprises by far the greatest variety of subtypes, and will consequently occupy the bulk of this chapter. The chapter concludes with a section on optional nominal case roles and another on adverbs.

7.1. Basic word order in simple clauses

The three basic types of simple clause all share in common the constituent order subject–predicate. The subject in Supyire is typical from a cross-linguistic point of view, and has the most common subject properties noted in Hopper and Thompson (1980). From a pragmatic point of view, it is the unmarked topic of the clause (see Givón 1984: 139). From a semantic point of view, it is for the most part the participant which is highest on the scales of animacy and control. From a syntactic point of view, apart from the obvious word order criterion (which in the context of this section would be a circular identification), it is the noun phrase which controls reflexivization (chapter 10, section 10.4), “equi-NP” deletion in complements of modality verbs (see chapter 11, section 11.2), switch reference (see chapter 15, section 15.3), and the “logophoric” alternation between anaphoric and emphatic pronouns in complements of verbs of speech (see chapter 11, section 11.5.1). All these are typical syntactic properties of subjects cross-linguistically. In addition, the subject is the only syntactic role in Supyire which requires a resumptive pronoun when fronted for focus (see chapter 12, section 12.1.1). Following are examples of each of the three major clause types, illustrating the order subject—predicate.

(1) a. identificational:

Miɪ wɪ.
 I it.is(GIS)
 ‘It’s me.’

b. copular:

Mli nye yìl nùjì.
 I be your.PL mother.DEF
 'I am your mother.'

c. verbal:

Mli à pa.
 I PERF come
 'I have come.'

Identificational clauses have no further constituents (see following section for a description). As can be seen from the examples above, however, copular and verbal clauses can and usually do consist of more than simply a subject followed by a copula or verb. Except in the case of existential clauses, copular clauses have something following the copula, either a predicate nominal, as in the above example, or an adpositional phrase functioning as a locative or dative, or an adverb:

(2) a. with locative phrase

U nye bagé e.
 she be house.DEF in
 'She's in the house.'

b. with dative phrase

Ku nye mìl á.
 it be me to
 'It's mine (lit. it is to me).'

c. with adverb

U nye aní.
 she be there
 'She's there.'

The basic structure of copular clauses can thus be summarized as follows:

(3) SUBJECT COPULA { PREDICATE NOMINAL
 LOCATIVE OR DATIVE PHRASE
 ADVERB

Verbal clauses have many more possible constituents. Except in very limited cases, verbal clauses require one or more tense-aspect-modality (TAM) auxiliaries, which immediately follow the subject, and are frequently phonologically cliticized to it. Like copular clauses, verbal clauses may also have adpositional phrases (functioning as indirect objects with various se-

mantic roles), a predicate nominal, and adverbs, all of which follow the verb, as they do the copula:

(4) a. with indirect object

U a kàrè sigé e.
 she PERF go bush.DEF to
 'She went to the bush.'

b. with predicate nominal

U à sí ceewe.
 she PERF be.born woman
 'She was born a girl.'

c. with adverb

U sí m-pà númê.
 she FUT FP-come now
 'She will come now.'

In addition, transitive verbs may take a direct object, which is placed between the auxiliary and the verb:

(5) with direct object

U màha suro shwǎhǎ.
 she HAB mush cook
 'She cooks mush.'

The basic structure of verbal clauses is thus:

(6) SUBJECT TAM (DO) VERB (PN) (INDIR OBJS) (ADVERB)

The relative order of the postverbal elements is variable, and a single clause may have more than one indirect object.

It should be pointed out that any nominal and many adverbs in a copular or verbal clause may be moved to the beginning of the clause for focus purposes. See chapter 12 for a discussion of this construction. Note that this means that the subject must be defined (in structural terms) not as the first nominal of the clause, but as the nominal which immediately precedes the copula or the auxiliary.

7.2. Identificational clauses

This clause type consists of a nominal or pronominal subject followed by one of the identifier pronouns. As pointed out in chapter 5, section 5.1.2.6,

Supyire has two sets of such pronouns, one ordinary and one with deictic meaning. The identifier pronoun agrees with the subject in number and gender. Its basic meaning is 'it's (a/the) X'. The predication may function to identify, or better, classify the referent of the subject. For example, this type of clause is often given in answer to a question such as 'What is that?' When visiting for the purpose of greeting, a visitor is often asked why he or she has come. A common reply is then something such as the following:

- (7) *Yàkònké fwùji wí.*
 afternoon.DEF(G2S) greeting.DEF(G1S) it.is(G1S)
 'It's (your) afternoon greeting.'

Similarly, (1a) above would be said by someone outside a closed door who has just been asked, 'Who's there?'

In view of the predicative function of the identifier pronouns, it is quite likely that the final [i] in which they all end is the relict of a copula which has become fused with the pronouns. The obvious candidate would be the copula *li/ni* which is found throughout Niger-Congo. This does not survive as a copula in Supyire, but is probably the source of the locative postposition *i* (from **ni*), and is certainly the source of the *ni* progressive auxiliary found in central Senufo languages.

The subject of an identificational clause may be either definite, as above, or indefinite:

- (8) *Sajncyen-wíí-yáá-gá kí.*
 bird-look-thing-G2S it.is(G2S)
 'It's a thing for looking at birds.'¹

As in the last example, the function of this type of clause can go beyond mere classification. In fact, such a clause is semantically equivalent to a copular clause with a third person pronominal subject.² Even non-present tense can be indicated by the context:

- (9) *Ná u à pa nò, wùù cévóó wí,*
 if s/he PERF come man our friend.G1S it.is(G1S)
 'If s/he is born a boy (lit. comes a man), he will be our friend,
ɲkàà u sí ká m-pá ceewe,
 but s/he ADV COND IP-come woman
 but if s/he is born a girl,
wùù cwó wí.
 our wife.G1S it.is(G1S)
 she will be our wife.'

The deictic identifier pronouns have the meaning ‘Here/There is X.’

- (10) *Ku kè.*
 it(G2S) here.is(G2S)
 ‘Here/There it is.’

None of the identifier pronouns may occur in a negative clause. Instead, they are all replaced with the negative identifier *bà* ‘it’s not (a/the) X.’³ There is thus no agreement between subject and predicate in negative clauses. Some examples are:

- (11) a. *Senufo mé-gé bà mε.*
 Senufo name-G2S it.is.not NEG
 ‘It’s not a Senufo name.’
- b. *Sèe bà mε.*
 truth(G1S) it.is.not NEG
 ‘It’s not true.’ Lit. ‘It’s not truth.’
- c. *Kànhà fòð ká-pyi-i káná bà mε.*
 village owner affair-do-G3S only it.is.not NEG
 ‘It’s not a matter only for a village chief.’
 Lit. ‘It’s not only a deed of a village chief.’

7.3. Copular clauses

There are five verbs in Kampwo Supyire which may be classified as copulas: elements whose primary function is to link a predicate nominal to a subject. Two are actually copular uses of verbs which have other non-copular senses. The other three have only copular uses. All five, however, have been grammaticalized in various functions as auxiliaries. The next subsection will describe each of the copulas in turn. The following subsection will deal with additional functions of copular clauses, viz. their use in locative, existential, and possessive predications.

7.3.1. The copulas

The five copulas are given in Table 30.

The commonest and semantically most neutral copula is *nyε* ‘be’ (also pronounced *nyá*, see chapter 2, section 2.2.1.3). Ordinarily it has present tense time reference, and does not take any tense-aspect auxiliary. The predicate nominal may be either indefinite or definite:

Table 30. Copulas

Copula	Gloss	
<i>nye</i>	'be'	(neutral)
<i>pyi/mpyi</i>	'be'	(nonpresent tense)
<i>sii</i>	'be'	(emphatic)
<i>náhá</i>	'be here'	(deictic)
<i>wá</i>	'be there'	(deictic)

- (12) a. *Fáágá nye ta-teen-yi tàànrè.*
 Farakala be LOC-sit-G2P three
 'Farakala is (composed of) three sections.'⁴
- b. *Nònurugu-nyégà nye mobíllí-fèṅè.*
 Nonurugo-red be car-run.G1S
 'Red Nonurugo is a chauffeur.'
- c. *Pire ù jìgíjì⁵ nye faaṅí.*
 their(EMPH) GEN hope.DEF be farming.DEF
 'Their hope is (in) farming.'

The only tense-aspect auxiliary that can be used with *nye* is the progressive auxiliary *na*. It adds nothing to the meaning but a slight emphasis. It is possible that its use was required in the past and now lingers only in contexts of emphasis. Some examples:

- (13) a. *Mìlì mége na nya Bùwára.*
 my name.DEF PROG be Buwara
 'My name is Buwara.'
- b. *Kuru bà na nye kàn-bwòhò.*
 that(EMPH)even PROG be village-big
 'That even is a big village.'

Since *nye* is used in the present tense only,⁶ another copula, *mpyi / pyi*, must be used in other tenses. This copula is actually only one use of the extremely versatile verb *pyi* 'do, make'. The form *mpyi*⁷ is used for past tense. It is in the great majority of cases used alone (i.e. without accompanying TAM marker) as in the following examples:

- (14) a. *Bòm-pèègé mè-gé mpyi*
 baboon-male.DEF name-DEF was
 'The male baboon's name was

'Sámà na η-kwòhò-lì'.

Samba PROG IP-dance-IMPFV

'Samba is Dancing'.

b. *Lire tēni i kuru cyāge puní*

that(EMPH)time.DEF in that(EMPH)place.DEF all

'At that time that whole place

mpyi tába-cí-lyé-yá.

was taba-tree-old-G2P

was (covered with) old 'taba' trees.'⁸

A very few cases have been recorded of *mpyi* preceded by the progressive marker *na*, without any apparent change in meaning:

(15) *Lire tēni i támii shuunníji*

that(EMPH)time.DEF in five.franc.pieces two.DEF

'At that time ten francs

na mpyi kàmpwò-hii sicyaaré.

PROG were four.hundred-G3P four

was (worth) one thousand six hundred (cowries).

The form *pyi* is used together with auxiliaries to function as a copula in other tense-aspects. Note that most of the auxiliaries require the intransitive nasal prefix on the following verb. Some examples are:

(16) a. habitual

Fwùun màha m-pyi sùre cyèngé.

peanuts HAB IP-be mush.DEF sauce.DEF

'Peanuts are the sauce for the mush.' i.e. the mush is habitually eaten with peanut sauce

b. narrative

Kà lire sì m̀-pyì m̀pi shwo-ηkàni.

and that(EMPH)NARR IP-be hare save-manner.DEF

'And that was how Hare was saved.' Lit. And that was Hare's way of being saved.

c. future⁹

Ku sí m̀-pyì wùù á silege.

it FUT FP-be us to shame

'It will be a shameful thing for us.'

The past auxiliary *ná* and the perfect auxiliary *à* may be used with *pyi* to give a past tense reading synonymous with *mpyi*. Note that *à* does not take the intransitive nasal prefix on its verb:

- (17) a. *Fantér-ji ná m-pyí shìin taanré.*
 Fanterela-G1P PAST IP-be people three
 ‘The inhabitants from Fanterela were three (in number).’
- b. *Kùluwú Sàànoḡo u à pyi*
 Kuluwo Saanogo he PERF be
 ‘It was Kuluwo Saanogo who was
- kàñhe sù-fòòḡí.*
 village.DEF begin-owner.DEF
 the founder of the village.’

The copula *sii*, like *pyi*, is actually a copular use of a verb with other senses, in this case the verb *sii* ‘begin’. It differs from the other copulas in being emphatic or contrastive, meaning something like ‘really/certainly be’. It indicates a higher than expected level of certainty on the part of the speaker, sometimes in the face of skepticism on the part of the addressee. In its copular use, it occurs only with the perfect marker *à*, and its time reference is present.¹⁰ The shift in meaning from ‘have begun (at some time in the past)’ to ‘be (at the present moment)’ is not great. Some examples are:

- (18) a. *Mu a sùl èmpòòrespòrí*
 you PERF be.EMPH import.export.merchant
ḡmìl ḡyíínl í.
 my eye in
 ‘You really are an import-export merchant in my opinion.’
- b. *Kàshì a sùl ya-pege dè!*
 war PERF be.EMPH thing-bad EXCL
 ‘War really is a bad thing!’
- c. *Pi puná á sùl nìḡkìn.*
 they all PERF be.EMPH one
 ‘They certainly are all the same thing.’

The remaining two copulas may be described as “deictic”. In addition to the copular meaning of ‘be’ they include deictic information about relative distance from the speaker. The proximal copula *náhá* ‘be here’ is identical in form to the deictic adverb *náhá* ‘here’, which is obviously derived from it (or vice versa). The use of *náhá* with predicate nominals is rare (its use in the other functions of existential, locative, and possessive is rather more

common—see the following section for examples). The following example was obtained by elicitation, no unelicited examples being available:

- (19) *Lire náhá sèè.*
 this(EMPH) be.here truth
 ‘This is true.’ Lit. ‘This is truth.’

The distal copula *wá* ‘be there’ is the source of the distal adverb *wanf* ‘there’. Like *náhá* it is somewhat rare with predicate nominals, but some naturally occurring examples are available:

- (20) a. *Yire wá pyìyè.*
 they(EMPH) be.there children
 ‘They (the elephants in the zoo in the far away capital city) are children.’
- b. *Yìlì wá cyèe.*
 you.PL be.there women
 ‘You are women.’¹¹

7.3.2. Locative and related functions

Clark (1978) points out that in many languages existential and possessive constructions resemble locatives, from which they are evidently historically derived by analogical extension. Supyire provides textbook examples of this generalization. In effect, in addition to the prototypical copular function of linking predicate nominals to a subject described in the foregoing sections, copular clauses in Supyire are regularly used to express location of a subject, and these same clause types are also used to express existence and possession.

7.3.2.1. Locative copular clauses

The copulas can all be used to link locative postpositional phrases and adverbs to the subject. Examples with postpositional phrases:

- (21) a. *Mìlì póóŋi na nyɛ Sukwoo na.*
 my husband.DEF PROG be Sikasso at
 ‘My husband is in Sikasso.’
- b. *Cigé kà ku mpyi kuru wyìge nìjìnjì na.*
 tree.DEF IND it was that(EMPH) hole.DEF above at
 ‘A tree was above that hole.’

- c. *Pi puná à pyi pi mэгè baye e.*
they all PERF be their name houses in
'They were all in their own cages (in the zoo).'
- d. *Pu puná á sìl káfinara nà sèe shwòlòle e.*
it all PERF be.EMPH lies and truth between in
'It is really all between lies and truth.'
- e. *Mìl káni u náhá bagé e.*
I only he be.here house.DEF in
'I'm alone in the house.'
- f. *Wùù puní na wá kwùùgò nìnkìn ì.*
we all PROG be.there enclosure one in
'We were all there in one enclosure.'¹²

Examples of the copulas used with locative adverbs:

- (22) a. *Kuru ñanjé, u màràmpé na ñye aní.¹³*
that(EMPH)hill.DEF his treasure.DEF PROG be there
'That hill, his treasure is there.'
- b. *Kùcwuunbíf nà bònýi mpyi aní.*
patas.monkeys.DEF and baboons.DEF were there
'The patas monkeys and the baboons were there.'
- c. *Nògò-lyèñá à pyi aní tire bilère e.*
man-old.DEF PERF be there that(EMPH) slavery.DEF in
'Your father (lit. the old man) was there in that (condition of) slavery.'
- d. *Wùù ñye a sìl ànì me.*
we NEG PERF be.there there NEG
'We really weren't there.'
- e. *Wùù na náhá ' náhá.*
we PROG be.here here
'We are here.'¹⁴
- f. *Pi na wá aní.*
they PROG be.there there
'They are there.'

7.3.2.2. Existential copular clauses

All five copulas may also be used in existential clauses, i.e. assertions of the existence of the subject. Existentials often, but not always, have a locative adverb or postpositional phrase following the copula.

- (23) a. *Lù-kùù na nyɛ.*
 water-lack PROG be
 ‘There is a drought.’
- b. *Supyîre ñ-dàhà-ñí pî-yè nà,*
 people.DEF NOM-let.go-DEF they-REFL on
 ‘People separating from each other,
tòòn nyɛ le e mé.
 profit be it in NEG
 there’s no profit in it.’
- c. *Yaagé kà cèègè ku náhá ' náhá.*
 thing.DEF IND egg it be.here here
 ‘There’s a big egg of something here.’
- f. *Wà na wá ' méñi i.*
 IND PROG be.there there.DEF at
 ‘There is someone over there.’

When the subject is human and definite, the meaning can be ‘still alive’:

- (24) *Ŋgé u a náhá zíí ñ-tàha*
 DEM he PROG be.here FP.be.EMPH FP-succeed
 ‘The one who is to succeed
Bambeme na gé, kámpyí uru na nyɛ,
 Babemba on REL if he(EMPH) PROG be
 Babemba, if he is still alive,
Kùlùncúnḡ ' ú Ø jwó u na nyɛ.
 Kuluncungo he SUBJUNC say he PROG be
 Kuluncungo should say (that) he is still alive.’¹⁵

However, even the dead are alive in the Supyire way of thinking:

- (25) *Wùu a cè ā jwo na cyāge kè e*
 we PERF know SC say that place.DEF IND in
 ‘We know that at someplace
wùu tìbíf ñiḡ-kwuu.bíf nyɛ.
 our fathers.DEF ADJ-dead.DEF(G1P) be
 our dead fathers exist.’

7.3.2.3. Possessive copular clauses

The copulas are also used to construct possessive clauses, in which the subject is the thing possessed, and a dative or locative postpositional phrase following the copula encodes the possessor (the dative of possession, cf. Givón 1984: 103).¹⁶

- (26) a. *Ceèŋi la-nye-sànŋke na nye u à.*
 woman.DEF pregnancy-full-last.DEF PROG be her to
 ‘The woman (still) had her last child (with her).’ lit.: ‘The woman’s last offspring was to her.’
- b. *Kàntugo na nye u na.*
 back PROG be him at
 ‘He has relatives.’ lit.: ‘Back is at him.’
- c. *Tánjyéé Wàhàdugu kalaní cyàgé*
 last.year Ouagadougou study.DEF place.DEF
kàlàváabíí sàhà pi mpyi wùù á Bòbo e.
 teacher.DEF again they were us to Bobo at
 ‘We had the (same) teachers (as for) last year’s course in Ouagadougou (for this year’s course) in Bobo Dioulasso.’
- d. *Tugu-foo nye à pyi u na mé.*
 help.put.load.on.head-agent NEG PERF be her at NEG
 ‘One to help put the load on her head was not at her.’ More naturally: ‘She had no one to help her put her load on her head.’
- e. *Pyi-ŋkana náhá wùù á la?*
 do-manner be.here us DAT Q
 ‘Do we have an option?’
- f. *Katêge náhá mîl nà.*
 hunger.DEF be.here me at
 ‘I’m hungry.’ Lit.: ‘Hunger is at me.’
- g. *Tafwónrê-boro na wá òpi á.*
 rotting-sack PROG be.there hare to
 ‘Hare has a sack which causes rotting.’
- h. *Là wà pi nà mé.*
 IND NEG.be.there them at NEG
 ‘They are fine.’ Lit.: ‘Something is not at them.’¹⁷

Two other types of possessive copular clauses are used, though neither is as common as the kind just described. In the first, the possessed item is still

the subject, but the copula is followed by a genitive construction with an indefinite pronominal head. The possessor is coded as the genitive. The pronominal head of the genitive construction agrees in noun class with the subject. Following are some examples:

- (27) a. *Ŋgé nyɛ m̀̀ wú de!*
 DEM(G1S) be my POSS(G1S) EXCL
 ‘That is mine!’
- b. *Mpíí cyèebíí mù shù̀̀nìŋí nyɛ m̀̀ wúu.*
 DEM women.DEF also two.DEF be my POSS(G1P)
 ‘These two women belong to me.’
- c. *Taaré mpyi Sèrii wóró.*
 land.DEF(G4) was Sere.inhabitants POSS(G4)
 ‘The land belonged to the inhabitants of Sere.’

In the second type, the subject is the possessor, and the possessed item is encoded as an associative, marked with the preposition–postposition combination *ná...i* ‘with’:

- (28) a. *M̀̀ túŋi mpyi ná pwunm-pole è.*
 my father.DEF was with dog-male with
 ‘My father had (lit. was with) a male dog.’
- b. *Nàŋi wà u mpyi ná cyèe ké i...*
 man.DEF IND he was with women ten with
 ‘A certain man had ten wives...’
- c. *U nyɛ ná lale é.*
 she be with pregnancy with
 ‘She is pregnant.’

7.4. Verbal clauses

In this section simple finite verbal clauses will be examined. The difficulties attendant upon trying to classify Supyire verbs will be explained in the first subsection, and subsequent subsections will deal with stative intransitives, active intransitives, and transitives.

7.4.1. Problems of verb classification

It was pointed out in chapter 3 that frequently it is difficult to classify noun roots as belonging to a particular gender, since the same root can often ap-

pear in more than one gender, and there may be no independent criteria for deciding that membership in one of the genders is basic and the other uses derived. A similar problem besets any attempt to exhaustively classify verbs in Supyire. It is of course relatively easy to classify specific *uses* of a verb: a particular clause is usually obviously stative or active, transitive or intransitive, and so forth. But the verb itself can be used in a variety of different clause-types, and it would often be arbitrary to decide that one use is more basic than another.

Some pairs of uses, however, recur repeatedly, and in these cases it is possible to discern the underlying structure of the verbal system. For example, the great majority of stative verbs can also be used to denote active processes (inceptive or otherwise) when used in an appropriate tense-aspect, such as progressive:

(29) a. stative

Mu a pèè.
you PERF be.fat
'You are fat.'

b. active

Mu na m-pèrè.
you PROG IP-become.fat.IMPFV
'You are getting fat.'

Nearly half of them can be used in transitive clauses with a causative meaning as well:

(30) *Pi à mu péè.*
they PERF you make.fat (=praise)
'They praised you.'

This sort of principled double membership will be noted repeatedly in the following subsections. It is not of course exempt from the type of idiosyncratic behavior typical of the lexicon. One stative verb may be used transitively with causative meaning, while another may not be so used (at least by the speakers I consulted on the question). This is not the proper place to explore these individual behaviors in detail. A dictionary is projected which will contain this sort of information.

One type of systematic variation should be addressed here, however, and that is the problem of passive voice. Virtually all transitive active verbs can be used in intransitive clauses, with the semantic patient as the subject, and with passive meaning, but without any further morphological marking of voice. The agent of the passive may *not* appear, and the clause resembles syntactically in every way a simple intransitive clause:

(31) a. active

Nàŋa à sikāŋi bò.
 man.DEF PERF goat.DEF kill
 ‘The man has killed the goat.’

b. passive

Sikāŋa a bò.
 goat.DEF PERF kill
 ‘The goat has been killed.’

Because of this lack of morphological marking, some would say that Senúfo languages lack a passive voice. It is obvious, however, that the semantic and pragmatic functions of passive are filled by this particular construction, and therefore from a functional point of view it is desirable to identify such uses as passive. The reader should keep in mind, however, that such clauses are not syntactically differentiated from simple intransitive clauses. Passive and other voice phenomena will be examined in greater detail in chapter 10.

7.4.2. Stative verbs

Stative verbs are those which denote an unchanging state rather than an event. They encode many concepts which correspond to adjectives in Indo-European languages, such as color, size, flavor, and consistency. The subject has the role of “patient of state”. Given the difficulties of verb classification mentioned above, namely that most of the members of this class can be used with a non-stative sense as well, a useful diagnostic (which is not, however, foolproof, see below) is to put the verb in a simple clause with perfect tense/aspect. In such a clause, this class of verbs has stative meaning with present time reference. There is no construal of the present state being the result of a previous event. In the following examples the state of affairs has always obtained:

(32) a. *Kafáága a pèè.*
 stone.DEF PERF be.big
 ‘The stone is big.’

b. *Ku laagá à tɔɔn.*
 its distance.DEF PERF be.long
 ‘It is far away.’ Lit. ‘Its distance is long.’

c. *Yyèe ŋkula à nyaha.*
 years eighty PERF be.a.lot
 ‘Eighty years is a lot.’

Following are some examples of stative verbs, roughly subclassified into semantic categories.

(33) stative verbs:

a. color:	<i>wwɔ</i>	'be dark colored'
	<i>nááná</i>	'be warm colored'
	<i>fíníḡé</i>	'be light colored'
b. size:	<i>cyéré</i>	'be small'
	<i>pèè</i>	'be big, fat'
	<i>bile</i>	'be thick'
	<i>cwɔga</i>	'be thin'
	<i>bere</i>	'be short'
	<i>tɔɔn</i>	'be long, tall'
	<i>cùḡò</i>	'be deep'
c. flavor:	<i>táán</i>	'be sweet, good tasting, pleasing'
	<i>pen</i>	'be tasteless, bad tasting, displeasing'
	<i>tanha</i>	'be sour'
	<i>soro</i>	'be bitter'
	<i>pòò</i>	'be good tasting'
d. consistency:	<i>fya</i>	'be too runny'
	<i>fɔɔḡɔ</i>	'be too soft'
	<i>waha</i>	'be hard, dry'
	<i>fyinne</i>	'be fine textured'
	<i>pànhàḡà</i>	'be tough'
	<i>tara</i>	'be firm'
	<i>lo</i>	'be gooey'
	<i>shiile</i>	'be hard'
	<i>pi</i>	'be soft, ripe, ready' ¹⁸
e. temperature:	<i>nínḡé</i>	'be cool, wet'
	<i>wyere</i>	'be hot'
f. surface appearance:	<i>nénḡé</i>	'be spotted'
	<i>cwɔ</i>	'be hairy'
	<i>wɔɔḡɔ</i>	'be smooth'
	<i>pi</i>	'be ugly, bad, dangerous' ¹⁹
	<i>nwɔ</i>	'be beautiful, good'
	<i>nwɔhɔ</i>	'be dirty'
g. shape:	<i>tíf</i>	'be straight'
	<i>nahana</i>	'be twisted, crooked'

h. weight:	<i>dugo</i>	'be heavy'
	<i>faha</i>	'be light'
i. psychological state:		
	<i>fere</i>	'be happy'
	<i>wurugo</i>	'be mistaken'
	<i>pwugo</i>	'be stupid'
	<i>cylligè</i>	'be smart'
	<i>sflégé</i>	'be ashamed'
j. quantity:	<i>nyaha</i>	'be a lot'
	<i>kuunjo</i>	'not be enough'
k. appropriateness:		
	<i>yaa</i>	'be appropriate' ²⁰
	<i>bè</i>	'be right'
	<i>para</i>	'not be appropriate'

There are other stative verbs which do not fall into any of the above semantic categories:

(34) miscellaneous stative verbs

<i>kanha</i>	'be tired'
<i>faba</i>	'be weak'
<i>lye</i>	'be old'
<i>cùnnù</i>	'be deaf'
<i>bubo</i>	'not be well shut'

There are a few intransitive stative verbs which require another nominal argument in addition to the subject. This further argument is coded as an indirect object with the postposition *na* 'at, on'. One such verb has a patient-of-state subject (though the state is not a prototypical sensorily perceivable one): *nara* 'be a child of a female blood relative of the referents of the indirect object':

- (35) *Mji à nara Zhìr-ij na.*
 I PERF — Zerila-inhabitants at
 'I am a child of a woman from Zerila.'²¹

Two other verbs have a dative/experiencer subject rather than patient of state:

- (36) *dá* 'believe, have confidence in'²²
yaha 'believe'²³

Following are example sentences using these verbs:

- (37) a. *Mi nyε a dà mu na mé.*
 I NEG PERF have.confidence you on NEG
 'I don't trust you.'
- b. *Pi à yaha li na.*
 they PERF believe it on
 'They believe it.'

Many stative verbs can also have a dynamic process reading when they are used in a tense-aspect other than the perfect. For example, in the progressive aspect they mean 'is becoming X' and in the future 'will become X'. Although some speakers willingly supply such sentences on demand, others are more reluctant (perhaps from lack of imagination) and no-one seems to produce them spontaneously with anything near the frequency of the stative uses. Of the following examples, only the first was culled from a text; the others were all elicited.

- (38) a. *Ŋùŋgaga fóó cààná*
 boldness owner things.spread.out.to.dry.G4
 'It is the bold persons things
ti nyε na ware.
 they(G4) be PROG dry.IMPFV
 that get dry.'²⁴
- b. *U na lyà-gè.*
 s/he PROG be.old-IMPFV
 'He/she/it is growing old.'
- c. *U na η-kanre.*
 s/he PROG IP-be.tired.IMPFV
 'He/she/it is getting tired.'

Even the perfect can have an event interpretation if the conditions are right. Thus

- (39) *Mu a pèè.*
 you PERF be.fat

can mean 'You have gotten fat (and are therefore in a state of being fat)' as well as 'You are fat.'

Entry into a state (inceptive aspect) is much more commonly coded with a serial verb construction than with a simple clause as in the last example. The verb *pa* 'come' precedes the stative verb in this construction. This will be

described more fully in chapter 9, section 9.1.5. An example is given here for comparison:

- (40) *Kà sige shíinbíí sì pì lwó á màrà...*
 and bush people.DEF NARR them take SC keep
 ‘Then the bush spirits took and kept them...’
- fó kà pí í mí-pá lyé.*
 till and they NARR IP-come be.old
 till they grew up.’

The two-argument statives mentioned above do not appear to have a dynamic/process use. There is one further stative with a dative/experiencer subject which retains a stative meaning even with the progressive aspect: *cáá* ‘like, love, want’. Following are some example sentences with this verb:

- (41) a. *Míi na n-cáá kú ná.*
 I PROG IP-like it on
 ‘I want/like it.’
- b. *Pí a càà pì-yé ná kàbyí nànkòcyèéré e.*
 they PERF like they-REFL on since child.DEF in
 ‘They have loved each other since childhood.’

A substantial subset (almost half) of stative verbs can also be used transitively with causative meaning. For this use, see chapter 10, section 10.3.2.

7.4.3. Active intransitive verbs

Many intransitive verbs are active rather than stative in meaning. When these occur with the perfect tense/aspect, the current situation is necessarily construed as resulting from a past event. They retain the same reference to a dynamic event in the other tense/aspects. As might be expected, there are some verbs which have both a stative and an active meaning, even in the perfect. Thus *byanhara* can mean both ‘be near’ (stative) and ‘approach’ (active). Such indeterminacy does not invalidate the entire classification, but should be a warning against any attempt to establish fixed boundaries in the constantly changing geography of lexical semantics.

In the following subsections, the simple, or ‘prototypical’ active intransitive verbs will be reviewed first. Then those verbs which often take a locative indirect object will be described, followed by a section on verbs which permit the addition of a predicate nominal. Like the statives, many active intransitives can be used transitively with causative meaning. For a description of this use, see section 10.3.2 of chapter 10.

7.4.3.1. Simple active intransitive verbs

Active intransitive verbs can be subclassified semantically into those which typically take an involuntary, patient subject, and those which take a voluntary, agent subject. Obvious examples of the former are those which denote a change of state in the subject. These verbs commonly have a stative interpretation as well. Some examples are:

(42) change of state verbs

<i>kwù</i>	'die'
<i>fwónhó</i>	'rot, be rotten'
<i>sógó</i>	'burn, be burnt'
<i>keege</i>	'spoil, ruin, be spoilt, be ruined'
<i>tin</i>	'swell, be swollen, be satiated'
<i>cwón</i>	'tear, be torn'
<i>fuu</i>	'burst'

Another common category of involuntary intransitives are some of the bodily functions:

(43) bodily function verbs

<i>ciri</i>	'sneeze'
<i>círígé</i>	'faint'
<i>cwùùlò</i>	'belch'
<i>féngé</i>	'sniffle'
<i>fùn</i>	'perspire'
<i>koo</i>	'cough'
<i>kwooro</i>	'snore, purr'
<i>je</i>	'wake up'
<i>sán</i>	'fart'
<i>tùgò</i>	'vomit'
<i>wúrúló</i>	'itch'
<i>wwðhðrð</i>	'retch'
<i>yààlà</i>	'yawn'
<i>yègèlè</i>	'hiccough'

Verbs denoting plant functions are semantically closely related:

(44) plant function verbs

<i>faan</i>	'wilt' ²⁵
<i>fyen</i>	'flower'
<i>fyìn</i>	'sprout, germinate'
<i>se</i>	'produce lots of fruit'

A number of verbs denote adverse and presumably unwanted events which may be gathered under the general rubric of adversity:

(45) verbs of adversity

<i>córógó</i>	'bungle'
<i>fò</i>	'miss, fail, be poor'
<i>kyaala</i>	'suffer'
<i>pòò</i>	'miss, fail'
<i>pòòn</i>	'lose in a transaction'
<i>ya</i>	'hurt, be sick'

There are a few verbs involving bodily motion which are involuntary:

(46) <i>cwo</i>	'fall'
<i>búrúgò</i>	'stub toe'
<i>fwu</i>	'run' (liquid)
<i>péélé</i>	'float'

The voluntary, agent-subject verbs are more numerous than the involuntary ones. They include voluntary bodily function verbs:

(47) voluntary bodily function verbs

<i>cyaha</i>	'laugh'
<i>fyeere</i>	'urinate'
<i>muguro</i>	'smile' ²⁶
<i>ḡḡ</i>	'go to sleep, sleep'
<i>ḡḡ</i>	'rest, breathe'
<i>ḡwḡḡ</i>	'suckle'
<i>su</i>	'defecate'
<i>wuli</i>	'bathe'

Also voluntary are many verbs denoting change of posture:

(48) change of posture verbs

<i>bùrù</i>	'lie face down'
<i>kèèḡḡ</i>	'turn' ²⁷
<i>kúrúnó</i>	'coil up' (snake)
<i>lyèèlè</i>	'stoop down'
<i>sínf</i>	'lie down'
<i>suulo</i>	'squat'
<i>teen</i>	'sit down'

Most verbs of motion denote voluntary events. Only verbs which do not normally require an accompanying locative expression are listed here:

(49) motion verbs

<i>caala</i>	'disperse'
<i>caanra</i>	'arrive first'
<i>fè</i>	'run'
<i>filili</i>	'crawl'
<i>klòròklòrò</i>	'walk like an ape' (ideophone)
<i>kwòhò</i>	'dance'
<i>mòlògòmàlàgá</i>	'wriggle like a snake' (ideophone)
<i>núró</i>	'return'
<i>na</i>	'swim'
<i>naara</i>	'walk'
<i>yi</i>	'jump'
<i>yyéré</i>	'stop'

Many verbs denoting vocal sounds, including some verbs of speech, are agentive active intransitives:

(50) verbs of vocalization

<i>finé</i>	'lie'
<i>fyàhà</i>	'remain silent, hold one's peace'
<i>kwúúló</i>	'shout, cry'
<i>kyáálá</i>	'bellow, shout'
<i>kyen</i>	'grunt'
<i>séré</i>	'do muslim prayers'
<i>shúúnnó</i>	'make dental clicks expressive of disapproval'
<i>tìn</i>	'make a loud noise'

There are of course many verbs which do not fit neatly into the above semantic categories:

(51) miscellaneous voluntary verbs

<i>bàhàrà</i>	'play'
<i>bégélé</i>	'pack, get ready to go'
<i>cyé</i>	'refuse'
<i>mò</i>	'stay a long time'
<i>ɲwòhò</i>	'hide'
<i>shwòn</i>	'pass the night'
<i>sígé</i>	'suspect something'
<i>tun</i>	'quarrel' ²⁸

7.4.3.2. Intransitive verbs with locative objects

A subclass of active intransitive verbs take two arguments. Among these are motion verbs which frequently take locative arguments (though with many the extra argument is not obligatory):

(52) motion verbs with locative arguments

<i>dugo</i>	'go up'
<i>file</i>	'approach'
<i>fworo</i>	'go out'
<i>jye</i>	'go in'
<i>kare</i>	'go, leave' ²⁹
<i>kèènɲè</i>	'move' ³⁰
<i>nɔ</i>	'arrive'
<i>pa</i>	'come'
<i>shya</i>	'go, leave'
<i>tìgè</i>	'go down' ³¹
<i>toro</i>	'pass' ³²
<i>`wá</i>	'go' ³³
<i>yìrì</i>	'leave, get up' ³⁴

With a few of the verbs (*dugo* 'go up', *fworo* 'go out', *kèènɲè* 'move', *tìgè* 'go down'), the locative phrase can code either the locative goal or the locative source of the motion. Thus *fworo bagé e* means 'go/come out of the house' (locative source), whereas *fworo ntààni na* means 'go/come out to the courtyard' (locative goal). With the other verbs the locative phrase can only refer to the locative goal.

A number of verbs involving movement without change of location also take locative arguments:

(53) <i>fèèn</i>	'lean on' ³⁵
<i>láhá</i>	'let go of'
<i>màrà</i>	'cling onto'
<i>nɔɔ</i>	'hang from'
<i>suru</i>	'hook onto'
<i>tɛɛ</i>	'touch, set on head'
<i>tííjé</i>	'lean on'

A few verbs take abstract "locatives":

(54) <i>sànrà</i>	'get tired of'
<i>tèè</i>	'become accustomed to' ³⁶
<i>tìgè</i>	'have no confidence in' ³⁷
<i>yàfǎ</i>	'forgive' ³⁸

Some examples of these verbs in sentences follow:

- (55) a. *Kà m̀ì sá sánrà bàshì táán.*
and I go get.tired.of trouble beside
'I got really tired of the trouble.'
- b. *Mu a t̀è u t̀nmpe na.*
you PERF become.accustomed its noise.DEF on
'You have become accustomed to its noise.'
- c. *Cyengé n̄en̄í nȳe a t̀è*
sauce.DEF taste.DEF NEG PERF be.accustomed
Cà̀ndugo na mé.
Chandogo on NEG
'Chandogo is not used to tasting the sauce (to see if it has enough salt).'
- d. *M̀i a t̀gè ù è.*
I PERF have.no.confidence him in
'I have no confidence in him.'
- e. *Yàfá ná ná, m̀i a yàfá mu na.*
forgive me.NONDECL on I PERF forgive you on
'Forgive me, (for) I have forgiven you.'

7.4.3.3. Intransitive verbs with predicate nominals

A few intransitive verbs have a quasi-copular function. They may take a predicate nominal (i.e. a noun phrase following the verb unmarked by any adposition), which encodes what the subject *becomes*. The following are the verbs so far recorded which occur with this construction:

- (56) *ciri* 'hatch'
fyìn 'sprout'
pa 'come'
pyi 'become'³⁹
si 'be born'⁴⁰
toro 'pass'

Following are some examples. The verb and the predicate nominal are in regular type:

- (57) a. *Kà u ú sá c̄egé ta ká à*
and he NARR go egg.DEF find it.COMP PERF
'Then he went and found (that) the egg had

ciri nò nà ceewe.
hatch man and woman
hatched (into) a man and a woman.’⁴¹

b. *Kà pyàŋi nùŋf sù... fyîn cige.*
and child.DEF mother.DEF NARR sprout tree
‘Then the child’s mother ... sprouted (as) a tree.’⁴²

c. *Númê wùùnf kà sù,*
now POSS.DEF COND be.born
‘When this one is born,

ná u á pa nò, wùù cévóó wí ...
if s/he PERF come man our friend it.is(GIS)
if it is a boy (lit. it s/he comes a man), he will be our friend...’

d. *Ma á sùŋkombùnf wà ma-yè*
you.NONDECL SUBJUNC cane.DEF throw you-REFL
‘You must throw the cane behind

kàntugo: lire sí ì-pyì taha num-bwóhó.
behind it(EMPH) FUT FP-become thicket ADJ-big
yourself: it will become a big thicket.’

e. *Ká lire laanf sù ì-pà si*
and this(EMPH) pregnancy.DEF NARR IP-come be.born
‘Then that pregnancy was born

pùcéé-bilè.
girl-little
a little girl.’

f. *Kà lire kile-wwoòni sù ì-tòrò kafeege.*
and that(EMPH) sky-be.dark.DEF NARR IP-pass wind
‘Then that threatening storm (lit. sky-darkness) passed (as mere) wind.’

If an indirect object is present, it normally follows the predicate nominal, but occasionally may precede it, as in the following example:

(58) *Ám̀pyi yì cyèebíf màha m-pyi*
if.COUNTERFACT you.PL women.DEF HAB IP-be
‘If you women weren’t

àmuni mé, m̀li mpyi na sí ì-pyì mu á pyà.
thus NEG I PASTPROG FUT FP-become you to child
like that, I would have become a child for you.’

7.4.4. Transitive verbs

In this section we will examine those verbs which ordinarily take a direct object. Before proceeding to a closer look at the various configurations of semantic roles possible with this large group, a word should be said about the intransitive use of these verbs. For the great majority, the intransitive has passive meaning, the subject in this case coding the patient of change. This passive use is described in section 10.2.1 of chapter 10. Besides the passive, there are two other constructions which detransitivize transitive verbs. These are the suppression of the patient of certain verbs and the demotion of the patient to an indirect object role with a few other verbs. Both of these are relatively minor constructions in terms of the number of verbs they can occur with. They are dealt with in sections 10.2.2 and 10.2.3 of chapter 10.

7.4.4.1. Prototypical transitive verbs

The prototypical transitive verbs are those encoding events in which a voluntary, potent agent causes a visible, physical change in a patient within a short space of time (cf. Givón 1984: 96-97). These include such verbs as the following, which generally take inanimate objects:

- | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| (59) | <i>ffí</i> | 'beat smooth' |
| | <i>fùrù</i> | 'pierce through' |
| | <i>jya</i> | 'split, break' |
| | <i>kùrù</i> | 'fold, bend' |
| | <i>kwɔn</i> | 'cut' |
| | <i>nɔ</i> | 'bite, sting' |
| | <i>paha</i> | 'split open' |
| | <i>pìní</i> | 'spin (cotton into thread)' |
| | <i>sú</i> | 'pound in a mortar' |
| | <i>súúgó</i> | 'burn' ⁴³ |

Sometimes the change undergone by the patient is not quite so drastic, although there is still physical contact between the agent and patient. The following verbs take mostly inanimate patients:

- | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------|
| (60) | <i>bwɔn</i> | 'hit' |
| | <i>cwùùn</i> | 'wipe' |
| | <i>fyinme</i> | 'soak' |
| | <i>gyé</i> | 'wash' |
| | <i>kúú</i> | 'knock, rap' |
| | <i>lwɔ</i> | 'take' |
| | <i>múgó</i> | 'open' |

<i>sámá</i>	'comb'
<i>saanra</i>	'stroke'
<i>siije</i>	'press on, prop up'
<i>to</i>	'close, cover, bury'
<i>yùgò</i>	'squeeze to extract liquid' ⁴⁴

A few verbs require animate patients:

(61)	<i>bàni</i>	'wound'
	<i>bo</i>	'kill'
	<i>kɔɔn</i>	'cut throat of'
	<i>bèè</i>	'cause pain in a wound'
	<i>fwóóŋó</i>	'step on heels while walking behind'
	<i>légélé</i>	'tickle'

A number of verbs denote actions in which the patient is created:

(62)	<i>cìn</i>	'weave'
	<i>faanra</i>	'build'
	<i>jwoolo</i>	'sew'
	<i>nìni</i>	'roll (brick)'
	<i>si</i>	'engender' ⁴⁵

With many verbs the patient is affected primarily by undergoing a change of location:

(63)	<i>bílé</i>	'gather up'
	<i>càà</i>	'spread out'
	<i>cenme</i>	'transplant'
	<i>cyán</i>	'drop'
	<i>diri</i>	'pull'
	<i>nàhà</i>	'herd, drive (animals)'
	<i>ŋɔɔŋɔ</i>	'push'
	<i>síníŋé</i>	'lay down' ⁴⁶
	<i>tugo</i>	'carry'

A number of verbs denote primarily the removal of something from the patient:

(64)	<i>cwɔ</i>	'remove peanuts from plants'
	<i>fèrè</i>	'remove blade (of knife or hoe) from handle'
	<i>fíígé</i>	'remove kernels from cob'
	<i>kùlì</i>	'shave'
	<i>láhálá</i>	'peel' ⁴⁷

<i>námá</i>	‘prune’
<i>sírá</i>	‘remove husks by pounding in mortar’
<i>wàà</i>	‘break off from main body’ ⁴⁸

With a few verbs, it is the agent who moves, rather than the patient:

(65) <i>jiile</i>	‘cross’
<i>kwùùlò</i>	‘encircle, surround’
<i>màhàrà</i>	‘go round’
<i>yaha</i>	‘leave, let alone’ ⁴⁹

7.4.4.2. Transitive verbs with experiencer subjects

A small group of perception verbs take an experiencer subject. The patient is typically not affected by the action. These verbs are:

(66) <i>lógó</i>	‘hear’
<i>nééné</i>	‘taste’
<i>núúnó</i>	‘smell’ ⁵⁰
<i>nye</i>	‘see’

With the first three of these verbs, the subject can also be agentive (thus *lógó* can also mean ‘listen’). The verb *nye*, on the other hand, has another verb *wíí* ‘look’ as its agentive counterpart.

7.4.4.3. Verbs with recipient direct objects

A number of verbs take a recipient direct object. Most of these involve speech:

(67) <i>fɔ̀wɔ̀wɔ̀</i>	‘console’
<i>négé</i>	‘flatter, persuade’
<i>sòmò</i>	‘warn, inform in advance’ ⁵¹
<i>shyééré</i>	‘greet, thank’
<i>yyere</i>	‘call’
<i>yere</i>	‘counsel’
<i>yíbé/yígé</i>	‘ask’ ⁵²

A few have decidedly negative consequences for the recipient:

(68) <i>cèègè</i>	‘accuse’
<i>cyahala</i>	‘insult’

<i>kyáálá</i>	'contradict'
<i>lájá</i>	'curse'

The following three verbs, all borrowed from Bambara, do not necessarily involve speech:

(69) <i>bén</i>	'raise (a child)'
<i>jáhávǎ</i>	'betray'
<i>pòròpòró</i>	'threaten'

Finally, there is one verb which takes an experiencer (rather than recipient) direct object. It also differs from the above verbs in requiring an inanimate subject. The subject of *kakyanhala* 'surprise' must instead refer to a situation or event. Following is an example:

(70) <i>Kà u jyiili-ŋkāni</i>	<i>sì</i>
and her cross-manner.DEF	NARR
'Her way of having crossed (the river)	
<i>kànhe</i>	<i>shìnbíí</i>
village.DEF	people.DEF
<i>puní</i>	<i>kàkyànhàlà.</i>
all	surprise
astonished all the people of the village.'	

7.4.4.4. Transitive verbs with predicate nominals

In section 7.4.3.3 above intransitive verbs which optionally take a predicate nominal were introduced. There are several transitive verbs which similarly take a predicate nominal in addition to a direct object. Some of these verbs are simply the transitive counterparts of the intransitives. Others are primarily transitive. The predicate nominal in either case indicates what the patient-direct object becomes. The verbs in this category so far recorded are:

(71) <i>kèèŋŋè</i>	'change into' ⁵³
<i>le</i>	'put, name'
<i>pyi</i>	'make, call'
<i>shwǎhǎ</i>	'cook'
<i>ta</i>	'find' ⁵⁴
<i>yyere</i>	'call, name'

The verb *kèèŋŋè* most frequently takes a reflexive direct object. It thus means 'turn oneself into':

- (72) *Kà fyiibíí sì pì-yé ' kéénnè nànjii.*
 and pythons.DEF NARR they-REFL change young.men
 'Then the pythons turned themselves into young men.'

It is frequently coupled with the verb *pyi* 'become, do, make' in a serial construction:

- (73) *Kà u ú ... ú-yè kéénnà à pyi kafege*
 and she NARR she-REFL change SC become wind
 'Then she ... turned herself (into) wind
mà fworo u nūji cyè è.
 and go.out her mother.DEF hand in
 and went out of her mother's hand.'

To express the action of naming something, three verbs (*le* 'put', *yyere* 'call', and *pyi* 'call, become, do, etc.') take the noun *mēge* 'name' as direct object and the name given as predicate nominal. The person or thing named is the genitive possessor of *mēge*:

- (74) a. *Kà pi í ú mēge le Yoṅoyaṅa.*
 and they NARR her name.DEF put Yoṅoyaṅa
 'They named her Yoṅoyaṅa.'
- b. *Pi kilēji mēgé pi màha yyera àmē jínà.⁵⁵*
 their god.DEF name.DEF they HAB call thus jinn
 'It is their god which they call thus 'jinn'.'
- c. *Ntasēmipíí pìl na nyε,*
 frogs.DEF IND PROG be
 'There are some frogs,
pi màha pire mēgè pyi yimajono.
 they HAB their(EMPH) name call yimajono
 they call them 'yimajono'.⁵⁶

The verb *pyi* can dispense with the noun *mēge* and still retain its sense of 'name' or 'call':

- (75) *Kuru pìṅṅke pi nyε na m-pyi 'bogo'.⁵⁷*
 this(EMPH) drum.DEF they be PROG IP-call bogo
 'It is this drum which they call 'bogo'.'

The predicate nominal with the verb *shwǎho* 'cook' denotes a meal:

- (76) *Jyège na maá ' núra á wà wwù*
 morning.DEF on and.NARR return SC IND take.out
 'In the morning, (they) again took out some (grain)
à kan pi a sore zàneegé.
 SC give they SUBJUNC.IMPFV cook.IMPFV meal.DEF
 and gave (it to them) for them to cook (as) the mid-morning meal.'

With the verb *ta* 'find' the patient-direct object does not actually change into anything. The agent-subject rather finds it to be what is indicated by the predicate nominal:

- (77) *Kà wà sɪ lɪ lwɔ́ á jò, kà mɪlɪ f*
 and IND NARR it take SC swallow and I NARR
 'One (= a fish) took and swallowed it (= the hook), and I
lɪ dífɪ mà ù tà ǹtasana.
 it pull and it find species.of.fish
 pulled it and found it (= the fish) (was) a *ntasana*.'

7.4.4.5. Transitive verbs with locative indirect objects

A number of transitive verbs are normally construed with a locative expression, either a locative adverb or a locative adpositional phrase. The most common of these verbs are:

- (78) *bàrà* 'add to'
durugo 'raise, put up'
láhá 'take off of'
le 'put'
leŋe 'put'
tìrìgè 'lower, put down'
yige 'take out of, bring out to'

The verb *bàrà* 'add to' requires a locative marked with the postposition *na* 'on, at', which codes what the patient is added to:

- (79) *Uru na ŋ-káágé sà ù kàcìlɪfɪ bàrà*
 he(EMPH)PROG IP-go.IMPFV go his bones.DEF add
 'He was going to go add his bones
Bàmbeme wúyi na Sogo Kanha na.
 Babemba POSS.DEF(G2P) on Sikasso town at
 to Babemba's in Sikasso.'

This verb is sometimes used without any auxiliary (a sign of non-finiteness) to simply conjoin two noun phrases. The second noun phrase retains its postposition, but it is clear that the verb is functioning as a proto-conjunction:

- (80) *Mu bárá mìl nà, wùù sí ñ-kàré Sukwoo na.*
 you add me on we FUT FP-go Sikasso at
 ‘You and I, we will go to Sikasso.’

The verbs *durugo* and *tirigè* are the causatives of the intransitives *dugo* ‘go up’ and *tigè* ‘go down’ respectively, both of which take locative arguments. With the all four verbs, the locative phrase can indicate either the locative goal or the locative source, though goals are more frequent, probably because they are more useful to talk about.

The intransitive use of the verb *láhá* ‘let go’ was noted in section 7.4.3.2 above. Its transitive meaning is the corresponding causative, ‘take off of, remove’:

- (81) *Ká pí í yírì maá cèmpòò*
 and they NARR get.up and.NARR antelope.male
 ‘Then they got up and
lyee sèègà láhá ñtàsùùñi na...
 same.size skin take.off elephant.DEF on
 removed a piece of skin the same size as that of a buck antelope
 from the elephant...’

The locative can be abstract, referring not to a location, but to an activity. The meaning then is ‘cause to cease from’. This meaning is common in a formulaic expression at the end of folktales, many of which recount why people (or men, or women, etc.) no longer do some particular activity (e.g. men no longer cook for themselves, women no longer expose their children, people no longer call back the dead, etc.). A typical example is:

- (82) *Kà lire sí sùpyìré làhà ìrè nà.*
 and this(EMPH) NARR people.DEF take.off this(EMPH) on
 ‘This stopped people from doing this.’

The verb *yige* ‘take/bring out’ is the transitive equivalent of *fworo* ‘go/come out’. The locative may code either the goal or the source:

(83) a. locative goal:

Mi a na ya-teěnni lwò á
 I PERF my thing-sit.DIM.DEF take SC
 ‘I took my little chair and

yige ntaàni na ...
 take.out courtyard.DEF at
 brought it out to the courtyard...’

b. locative source:

U á mu yige wyige e la?
 he PERF you take.out hole.DEF in Q
 ‘Did he take you out of the hole?’

The verb *lege* is morphologically the causative of *le*. Both mean ‘put’, and usually take a locative marked with *i* ‘in’. Examples of their use are:

(84) a. *Kà pwun sì ... neéni le seéré e.*
 and dog NARR tail.DIM.DEF put honey.DEF in
 ‘Then Dog ... put his little tail in the honey.’

b. *Kà zàntùgò sì ... nùŋke puní lèŋè wyige e.*
 and hyena NARR head.DEF all put hole.DEF in
 ‘Then Hyena ... put his whole head in the hole.’

With a locative referring to clothes and a human direct object, *le* means ‘clothe’:

(85) *Pi á pi-yè lè v à ànyí i.*
 they PERF they-REFL put clothes.DEF in
 ‘They clothed themselves.’

This has given rise to a similar expression, with the clothes as direct object and no locative:

(86) *U á mu vaanyí le.*
 she PERF your clothes.DEF put
 ‘She’s wearing (lit. has put on) your clothes.’

7.4.4.6. Transitive verbs with dative indirect objects

A few verbs are usually construed with a dative participant in addition to the agent and patient:

(87) Verb	Gloss	Postposition	Role of dative
<i>kan</i>	'give'	<i>á</i>	recipient
<i>jwo</i>	'say'	<i>á</i>	recipient
<i>ɲáárá</i>	'beg'	<i>á</i>	source
<i>cyèè</i>	'show'	<i>na</i>	recipient
<i>tuugo</i>	'send'	<i>á</i>	recipient

Jwo 'say', *kan* 'give', and *tuugo* 'send' take a dative/recipient marked with the postposition *á* 'to':

- (88) a. *Kà nògò-lyèŋí sí ñkùù kan u à.*
and man-old.DEF NARR chicken give him to
'Then my father gave a chicken to him.'
- b. *Kà pí í tũnturé jwo u à.*
and they NARR message.DEF say him to
'They told him (lit. said to him) the message.'
- c. *U nyè à letérí ' túúgó m̀̀l̀ á me.*
he NEG PERF letter send me to NEG
'He didn't send a letter to me.'

Of these, only *kan* 'give' permits dative shift (promoting the dative participant to direct object):

- (89) *Mu à Zhán kan la?*
you PERF Jean give Q
'Have you given Jean (some)?'

The dative of *jwo* 'say' can be marked with the complex postposition *nyii na* 'in the presence of' (lit. 'at eye'):

- (90) *Kà m̀̀l̀ í m̀̀-pá Pyééré pa-ñkàni jwo*
and I NARR IP-come Pierre come-manner.DEF say
'Then I came and told how Pierre had come
na pyenga sh̀̀inb́́í nỳ̀l̀ nà.
my family people.DEF eye at
to my family.'

The verb *ɲáárá* 'beg, pray' takes an indirect object marked with *á*, but the semantic role is (animate) source rather than dative/recipient:

- (91) *Pi puná à pyi na òjyìni nààrè*
 they all PERF do PROG food.DEF beg.IMPFV
 ‘They (=the animals in the zoo) were all begging food
sùpyìrá à.
 person.DEF from
 from the people.’

Like *kan* ‘give’, *náára* ‘beg’ allows the dative participant to be ‘shifted’ to direct object position. The thing prayed or begged for is then coded as an indirect object marked by *na* ‘on’:

- (92) *Yi a Kile nààrè mìn nà.*
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV God beg.IMPFV me on
 ‘You must pray God for me.’

The verb *cyèè* ‘show’ takes a semantic dative/recipient marked with *na* ‘at’, never with *á* ‘to’:

- (93) *Kà u ú sá pyàni cyèè nògò-lyèni na.*
 and he NARR go child.DEF show man-old.DEF at
 ‘Then he went and showed the child to the old man.’

7.4.4.7. Transitive verbs with two indirect objects

With certain verbs of transaction such as *shwɔ* ‘buy’ and *péré* ‘sell’ there are four participants involved: the person selling, the person buying, the item being bought and sold, and the money or barter item used to buy it. It is possible, with a little persuasion, to elicit sentences such as the following:

- (94) *U à sika shwɔ mìn á '*
 s/he PERF goat buy me from
 ‘S/he bought a goat from me
ná ' wáhji shuunní ò.
 with 5.000.francs.G3P two with
 for 10.000 francs.’

It is certainly significant, however, that no such example has yet turned up in recorded discourse. Supyire speakers much prefer either leaving one or more of the arguments implicit (it will usually have been mentioned in the preceding discourse) or coding the transaction with more than one verb in a serial construction.

This is not to say that clauses with more than one indirect object are impossible, and in fact they are far from rare. In such clauses, however, at least one of the indirect objects is “peripheral” rather than “nuclear”, i.e. it is not a necessary part of the event, but is rather some adverbial modification of the specific event in question. See section 7.5 below for a discussion of such peripheral roles.

7.4.4.8. Verbs with sentential complements

A number of verbs can take sentential complements. These will be more fully described in chapter 11, and will only be briefly mentioned here. They fall into several major groups according to the type of complement clause they take. Verbs of speech and cognition take relatively independent indicative complements optionally introduced with the complementizer *na* ‘that’. The most common of these are:

(95)	<i>jwo</i>	‘say’
	<i>cyèè</i>	‘show, inform’
	<i>sànnjò</i>	‘think’
	<i>ce</i>	‘know’
	<i>dá</i>	‘believe’ ⁵⁸
	<i>yaha</i>	‘believe’
	<i>kàànmùcya</i>	‘notice’

An example with this type of complement is:

(96)	<i>Pi màha jwo na yire</i>	<i>yi nyε na</i>
	they HAB say that these(EMPH)	they be PROG
	‘They say that it is these (=the sacred catfish of Mahadugu) which	
	<i>pyìibíí</i>	<i>kààn.</i>
	children.DEF	give.IMPFV
	give the children.’	

A number of verbs of manipulation take realis complements (marked with a high tone complementizer) if they themselves are realis, and irrealis subjunctive complements if they themselves are irrealis. The verbs in this category recorded so far are:

(97)	<i>pyi</i>	‘make, tell, order’ ⁵⁹
	<i>náára</i>	‘beg’
	<i>tun</i>	‘send on an errand’
	<i>yyere</i>	‘call’
	<i>yaha</i>	‘let, permit’

<i>tege</i>	'help'
<i>kan</i>	'give' ⁶⁰
<i>nee</i>	'agree'

Examples of each complement type with the same main verb are:

(98) a. realis (high tone) complement

Mi a pyàŋi yaha ú á kàrè
 I PERF child.DEF let he.COMP PERF go
 'I let the child go

Sukwoo na.
 Sikasso at
 to Sikasso.'

b. irrealis subjunctive complement

Mi sí pyàŋi yaha u Ø kare Sukwoo na.
 I FUT child.DEF let he SUBJUNC go Sikasso to
 'I will let the child go to Sikasso.'

Two verbs of perception (they encode no manipulation of the patient) take only realis, high tone, complements:

(99) *nye* 'see'⁶¹
ta 'find'

A few modality verbs take same-subject subjunctive clauses:

(100) *yaa* 'should, ought'
mírfí 'contemplate, think of'⁶²
sɔŋŋɔ 'plan'⁶³
cya 'try'⁶⁴

Following is an example:

(101) *Mu à yaa mu ú ' láchá kú ná.*
 you PERF should you SUBJUNC let.go it on
 'You should let go of it.'

Finally, a couple of verbs take indirect question complements:

(102) *wíí* 'look (to see if)'
yíbé/yígé 'ask'

Following is an example:

- (103) *Sa ku wìl ámpyí ka à nwo.*
 go it look if it PERF be.good
 'Go see if it is good.'

It should be pointed out that numerous multi-predication sentences which are coded by means of a main clause with a complement clause in many languages are in Supyire expressed by means of a serial verb construction. See chapter 8 for a description of serial constructions.

7.5. Peripheral case roles

In this section we will examine those case roles that are peripheral or 'optional', in the sense that they are not a necessary ingredient of the mental representation of the events in which they participate. They are instead circumstantial to specific events. Like nuclear or "obligatory" roles, the peripheral cases are coded in two basic ways in Supyire: as indirect objects marked with adpositions, or as direct objects of serial verbs. The latter coding method will be dealt with in chapter 8. This section will be concerned only with the various types of indirect objects which can appear in a simple, one-verb clause.

7.5.1. Benefactive

The benefactive case role is most frequently coded by means of the dative postposition *á*:

- (104) *U sí s̀nciiyí cya mìl á.*
 she FUT firewood.DEF seek me for
 'She will fetch firewood for me.'

To avoid possible ambiguity with a dative meaning, the complex postposition *mée na* 'for the sake of', literally 'on voice/name of' is used. Compare the following examples:

- (105) a. *U a yì jwò mìl mée ná.* BENEFACTIVE
 s/he PERF them say me name on
 'S/he said it (lit. them) for me.'
- b. *U a yì jwò mìl á.* DATIVE
 s/he PERF them say me to
 'S/he said it to me.'

With *ɲáárá* ‘pray, beg’, the person prayed for (or about) is marked with the postposition *na*:

- (106) *Kile ɲààrà mìlì nà.*
 God pray me on
 ‘Pray to God for me.’

The benefactive case role may also be encoded by means of the verb *kan* ‘give’ in a serial verb construction. See chapter 8, section 8.3.4.2, for a description of this construction.

7.5.2. Associative and instrumental

As in many languages, the associative (‘with’) and the instrumental (‘with’) cases are coded the same in Supyire, by means of the preposition-postposition pair *ná...i* ‘with’. Compare the following examples:

- (107) a. associative

Mìlì póóɲa a kàrè Sukwoo na
 my husband.DEF PERF go Sikasso at
 ‘My husband has gone to Sikasso

ná yāɲi ì.
 with sick.DEF with
 with the sick person.’

- b. instrumental

Mìlì sí mu tó ' ná vāàn-tò é.
 I FUT you cover with cloth-cover with
 ‘I will cover you with a blanket.’

This is the predominant means of coding the associative, the corresponding serial construction (with the verb ‘take’) being comparatively infrequent. It is a minority means of coding the instrumental, however, the serial construction (with the verb ‘use’; see chapter 8, section 8.3.4.1) being roughly twice as frequent.

7.5.3. Manner

Manner is much more frequently coded with serial verbs than with postpositional phrases. However, a few postpositional manner phrases have been recorded. In the following example, the noun involved is a compound consist-

ing of *lù-* ‘gall bladder, bile’ and *táán* ‘be sweet’. The resulting noun, *lùtààn* means ‘calmness’, and in a manner phrase, ‘slowness’ or ‘softness’:

- (108) *Yi jwo lùtààn nà.*
 them say gall.bladder.sweet on
 ‘Say it (lit. them) slowly.’

Nominalizations with the nominalizer *-ɲkàni* ‘manner, method’, are also common in manner phrases. As with the above example, they are marked with the postposition *na*:

- (109) *Pyìibíí sàhà nyɛ na byíí*
 children.DEF yet NEG PROG raise.IMPFV
 ‘Children are no longer raised
- pi táɲjáà byí-ɲkàni na mé.*
 their yesterday raise-manner.DEF on NEG
 the way they were in the past (lit. on their manner of being raised
 of yesterday).’

7.5.4. Standard of comparison

The comparative with stative verbs is marked with the overworked postposition *na* ‘on, at’:

- (110) *Mi à tɔɔn mu na.*
 I PERF be.tall you on
 ‘I am taller than you.’

With many verbs, however, a serial verb construction using the verb *toro* ‘pass’ is required. The standard of comparison is still marked with *na* in such a construction. See chapter 8 section 8.3.4.3 for examples.

7.5.5. External locatives

Most of the postpositions have a basic locative sense. With motion verbs which take a nuclear locative (see sections 7.4.3.2 and 7.4.4.6 above) the meaning is dynamic, either locative goal or locative source. When functioning as peripheral roles, the meaning is static (as it is with the copulas, see section 7.3.2 above). The large variety of simple and complex locative postpositions will not be dealt with in detail here. See chapter 5, section 5.7, tables 26 and 27 for lists of those recorded so far. The following examples must suffice to illustrate the use of peripheral locatives:

- (111) a. *Shwò-shàhàna à mu já '*
 millet-basket.DEF PERF you defeat
 'The basket of millet overcame you (i.e. was too heavy
 for you to carry)
náhá ' ná Sinta shwòhòle e.
 here and Sinta between in
 between here and Sinta.'
- b. *Wùu a nìyi pwo-pwo pwooré 'nwohi i.*
 we PERF cows.DEF tie-tie adobe.DEF behind in
 'We had tied the cows here and there behind the houses.'
- c. *U asì nàge fyìngè-fyìngè*
 he HAB.SEQ fire.DEF shake-shake
 'Then he (=the honey collector) waves the fire
saragé nwògé na.
 beehive.DEF mouth.DEF at
 at the opening of the beehive.'

It should be noted that there are certain lexical idiosyncracies in the choice of postpositions. Most town and village names and the noun *cyaga* take the postposition *i*, whether they are static or dynamic (either source or goal), e.g. *Bàmako e* 'in, at, to, from Bamako'. The noun *kànhà* 'village, town' and the town of Sikasso (*Sukwoo* or *Sogo Kanha*) may take either *na* or *i* for any of the meanings 'in, at, to, from'. The village of Farakala (*Fáágá*) requires *na*, probably due to its etymology 'rock': *Fáágá ná* 'in, at, to, from Farakala'.

7.5.6. Time

Many time nominals are marked with the postposition *i* 'in, at', including the noun *tèrè* 'time, moment'. Note that time phrases are quite frequently placed in topic position at the beginning of their clause:

- (112) *Lire tèni i ci-kwònrò mpyi à*
 that(EMPH) time.DEF at woman-cut.G4 PAST PERF
 'At that time getting married was
waha mó.
 be.hard NEG.POL
 not hard.'

Years, months, and weeks are marked with *i*: *lire yyeení i* 'in that year', *ku-ru yìŋke e* 'in that month', *kuru cibílaagé e* 'in that week'. Night also takes *i*:

- (113) *Kuru numpilāge e kà zànhé sị ò-cwò.*
 that(EMPH) night.DEF in and rain.DEF NARR IP-fall
 ‘That night it rained.’

Other nouns referring to parts of the day, however, and the noun *canna* ‘day’ itself, require *na*: *nyège na* ‘in the morning’, *canvùge na* ‘at noon’ (lit. ‘day-hot’), *canvyìnge na* ‘in the middle of the afternoon’ (lit. ‘day-white’), *yàkònké na* ‘in the late afternoon, evening’, *lùnjìnké na* ‘in the middle of the night’ (lit. ‘cold-water’).

There is a tendency to leave off the postposition *na* with some frequently used time nouns when the time phrase is fronted. Compare the following examples:

- (114) a. *Wùu màha n-tìgè kànhe fùnjké e*
 we HAB IP-go.down town.DEF inside.DEF in
 ‘We go down into the town
yàkònké na.
 afternoon.DEF at
 in the afternoon.’
- b. *Yàkònké (na) wùu màha n-tìgè*
 afternoon.DEF at we HAB IP-go.down
 ‘In the afternoon we go down
kànhe fùnjké e.
 town.DEF inside.DEF in
 into the town.’

7.6. Adverbs in simple clauses

The placement of adverbs in simple clauses is similar to that of the peripheral nominals dealt with in the previous section: they either follow the verb or they come first in the clause, in topic position before the subject.⁶⁵ While adverbs of location and time can appear in either of these positions, adverbs of quantity and manner for the most part occupy only the postverbal position. In fact, only *àmuni* ‘thus’ can take both positions:⁶⁶

- (115) a. *Kà u ú ò-kwù àmuni.*
 and he NARR IP-die thus
 ‘And he died in that way.’
- b. *Àmuni mìi a ù tà.*
 thus I PERF her get
 ‘It was that way that I got her.’

The position of quantity and manner adverbs relative to postverbal indirect objects is variable. Compare the following examples, where *mú* ‘also’ both precedes and follows a postverbal object:

- (116) a. *Ura a kwù*
 he(EMPH)PERF die
 ‘He died

lire kwù-ḡkàní na mú.
 that(EMPH) die-manner.DEF on also
 in that way also (i.e. he also died in that way).’
- b. *Kà zàntùḡḡ sì m-pà ḡ-cwò mú*
 and hyena NARR IP-come IP-fall also
 ‘Hyena finally also fell

wḡḡḡḡya à.
 snakes.DEF to
 to the snakes.’

There are numerous restrictions in the use of individual adverbs. For example, though *punḡ* ‘completely’ (from the universal quantifier *puní* ‘all’, itself derived from the adjective root *puN-* ‘all’) can occur in affirmative sentences, as in (117a), it is much more frequent in negative clauses, as in (117b), where it has the function of intensifying the negation, meaning roughly ‘at all’:

- (117) a. *Pi ḡú mu bó punḡ.*
 they POT you kill completely
 ‘They would really finish you off.’
- b. *Darashí ' mú nàha sì m̀lì á*
 5.francs also NEG.be.here be.EMPH me to
 ‘I really don’t have five francs

m̀lì í kán mu á punu mé.
 I SUBJUNC give you to at.all NEG
 to give you at all.’

While the adverb *káná* ‘only’ (from the exclusive quantifier *káná/káni* ‘only’) can occur in a wide variety of clauses, the adverb *yε* (from the exclusive quantifier *yε* ‘only’) is very restricted in its occurrence. It is confined to sentences where the verb is repeated to show duration. The addition of *yε* emphasizes the duration. Compare the following examples from the same text, one without and one with *yε*. The latter, which occurs later in the text, emphasizes the length of time involved, and underscores the futility of

the action. Note that *jaara* ‘walk’ in this context means ‘walk in the bush in search of game’, i.e. ‘hunt’.

- (118) a. *Kà u ú f̄-kará á sà jàara mà jaara.*
and he NARR IP-go SC go walk and walk
‘Then he went and walked and walked.’
- b. *Kà lùzù rì nùrá à f̄woro níŋkì...*
and hunter NARR return SC go.out again
‘Then Hunter again went out...’
- mà jaara ye mà jaara ye mà jaara ye.*
and walk only and walk only and walk only
and walked and walked and walked.’

The adverb *yééŋkwó* ‘on and on’ is used only with imperfective verbs to show continuation:

- (119) *Zànhá á s̄ì na ma yééŋkwó.*
rain.DEF PERF be.EMPH PROG come.IMPFV on.and.on
‘It keeps on raining endlessly.’

The ideophones are for the most part confined to the immediate postverbal position. Some examples are:

- (120) a. *Pi puná á cyè fééfééféé.*
they all PERF refuse very
‘They all absolutely refused.’
- b. *Cànŋka a pà wyèrè lílí.*
day.DEF PERF come be.hot shimmering
‘The day had become shimmering hot.’
- c. *Mobilíŋi jùŋke kà f̄wòro*
car.DEF head.DEF COND go.out
‘When the car would appear’
- pi í màràf̄áŋi jya gòdò.*
they SEQ gun.DEF shoot pow!
they would shoot the gun pow!’

Adverbs of time and location often take the clause initial position, though the postverbal one is common as well. Two time adverbs, however, *fyàhàrà* or *fyaharoo* ‘soon’ and its supplanting rival borrowed from Bambara *dóóní* ‘a bit’ are almost exclusively confined to initial position:

- (121) a. *Fyaharoo u sí m̀-̀pà.*
 soon s/he FUT FP-come
 ‘Soon s/he will come.’
- b. *Dóóní kà pí sanm-̀píf sí m̀-̀pà.*
 soon and they OTHER-DEF(G1P) NARR IP-come
 ‘In a bit the rest of them came.’

Chapter 8

Serial verb constructions

8.1. Serials versus consecutives

In common with most other West African languages, Supyire makes frequent use of serial verb constructions. These are mid-way in complexity between simple clauses as described in the preceding chapter, and the complex sentences to be described in chapters 11 through 15. There is a considerable literature on serial verbs. Much of the early debate revolved on the question of whether or not serial verbs should be derived from coordinate clauses (cf. Stahlke 1970, Schachter 1973, Lord 1973; cf. also Matisoff 1969, Foley and Van Valin 1984). The general consensus was that they should not. The chief reason for this is the grammaticalization so common in the construction (see Lord 1973, Givón 1975, 1984) which means that the verb involved has one sense when a main verb and quite another when in a serial construction. It is therefore better to treat these constructions as belonging to multi-verb clauses, rather than as a variety of conjoined sentence.

Supyire has four different types of serial verb construction (described in detail in section 8.2 below). The choice of which one to use is mainly governed by tense-aspect and modality. Two of the types employ what might be analyzed as connectives, which by some definitions disqualifies them as serial verbs. On this view serial verbs must be concatenated without the use of any coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. Constructions which use conjunctions but which otherwise resemble serial constructions must in this analysis be classified as “consecutive constructions” (cf. Hyman 1971). The four constructions which will be classified here as serial, however, share important common characteristics which serve to differentiate them as a group from other same subject concatenations.

In Supyire, chains of same subject clauses in sequentially organized discourse are conjoined with a variety of conjunctions which signal greater or lesser semantic and pragmatic closeness between the conjuncts. Fairly loose connection is signaled by the complex conjunctions *maá* (for perfective) and *maríi* (for imperfective). Both of these conjunctions incorporate the narrative tense-aspect auxiliary *sí*.¹ They both also share the initial element *ma*, which when it occurs by itself (and with a low tone) signals a much closer connection between the conjuncts.

It is certainly no accident that *mà* is identical to the original form of the perfect auxiliary, i.e. *mà*, now found mostly in poetry, the [m] regularly

eliding in ordinary speech to yield à.² Like the perfect, *mà* requires the following verb to be in its neutral, perfective form.

Three things should be noted about this level of concatenation. First, indirect objects are allowed to intervene between verbs. The individual conjuncts look simply like clauses without subjects (of course the tense-aspect marking is minimal as well). Second, a direct object of an earlier verb can be coded with an anaphoric pronoun as the direct object of a later verb in the chain. Although an anaphoric object is usually *not* repeated, that is, zero anaphora is most often used, what is important is that an anaphoric pronoun direct object *can* be interpreted as being coreferential with an earlier noun phrase in the chain. Following is an example of this type of coreference:

- (1) *Kà zàntùṅḁ sì pwun`neéni nèèné*
 and hyena NARR dog tail.DIM.DEF taste
 'Then Hyena tasted Dog's little tail
mà lì tà lá á tààn.
 and it find it.COMP PERF be.sweet
 and found it tasted sweet.'

The third important thing to note about this relatively close level of concatenation is that a verb may be repeated in order to show duration:

- (2) *Kà u ú ḡ-kára á sà jàara mà jaara.*
 and he NARR IP-go SC go walk and walk
 'Then he went and walked and walked.'

It is this type of concatenation which will be called the "consecutive construction" in this grammar. Although this label is not entirely satisfactory, since concatenation through repetition of the progressive aspect auxiliary *na* more often codes simultaneity than sequentiality, it is a term familiar in African linguistics for a similar level of conjoining. For a description of this construction and higher levels of concatenation, see chapter 15 below.

The serial verb constructions to be described in this chapter represent a closer level of connection than the consecutive construction. Each of the three points noted as being true of the consecutive are disallowed in the serial construction. Thus regarding the first point, in contrast to the consecutive construction, indirect objects are not generally allowed to intervene between the verbs of a serial construction. In the following exchange, taken from a conversation between three men, the first speaker, recounting the end of a story about one of his interlocutors, conjoins two clauses with *mà*. The first verb of the construction has a locative indirect object which immediately follows it. The second speaker echoes the first in a question to the person about whom the story has been told. He encodes the same propositional information as the first speaker, but using a serial construction (the serial

connective is *à*). Note how the locative phrase must be moved to the right so as not to intervene between the serialized verbs, even though it belongs semantically with the first verb.

- (3) Y: *Kà M sì ù jòóní yìrì-gè,*
and M NARR his penis.DEF get.up-CAUS
'Then M got himself an erection

kà M sì ìì lè cyi-shwàhòmíplé e
and M NARR it put thigh-between.DEF in
and M put it between (his) thighs

mà shwàñ. Pùkwòròge nye à pa mé.
and pass.the.night girl.DEF NEG PERF come NEG
and spent the night (that way). The girl didn't come.

- E: *Mu a ìf lé á shwàñ*
you PERF it put SC pass.the.night
You put it and spent the night

cyi-shwàhòmíplé e la?
thigh-between.DEF in Q
between (your) thighs?'

The restriction on modifiers intervening between the verbs of a serial construction is not absolute. Occasionally the postverbal deictic adverb clitic *anf* (from *waní* 'there') is allowed to follow the verb *yìrì* 'leave' when it is the first verb in a serial construction. Note that the locative in this case is an integral, nuclear argument of its verb. An example of this is:

- (4) *Kà wùù ú yírà àná á kàrè*
and we PERF leave there SC go
'Then we left there and went

sige cáabíí yyèrè.
bush pigs.DEF toward
towards the warthogs.'

Very occasionally a short postpositional locative phrase is allowed to interrupt a serial construction if it is a nuclear argument of a non-final verb of the construction. Only four instances of this have been recorded. Following is one of them:

- (5) *u ahà ñ-kwà ñ-tòrò ñ-kàrè Sukwole e*
he PROH FP-finish FP-pass FP-go Sikasso to
'...lest he end up by passing by and going to Sikasso

m̄-páà m̀l̀ l̀ mé.
 FP-surprise me in NEG
 without my knowing it (lit. and surprising me).’

Regarding the second point, a pronoun object coreferential with an earlier object within the construction is disallowed in serials. If two verbs in a serial construction have the same object, it can be mentioned only once, before the first verb:

- (6) a. *U à ɲwɔɔnɪ dɪra a wwù.*
 he PERF knife.DEF pull SC take.out
 ‘He pulled out his knife.’
- b. **U à ɲwɔɔnɪ dɪra a l̀ wwù.³*
 it
- c. **U a dɪra à ɲwɔɔnɪ wwù.*

Note that two transitive verbs in a serial construction may have *different* objects, in which case both may be mentioned. This is rare except with the instrument marking verb *taha*, which always takes a different object from the following verb. An example is:

- (7) *Kà shɔn-poðɲi wà sɪ ... tɔɔgé tàha*
 and horse-male.DEF IND NARR leg.DEF use
 ‘Then one of the stallions ... used (his) foot
- à zàntùɲɔ sà a cyàn.*
 SC hyena kick SC drop
 and kicked Hyena down.’

See below section 8.3.4.1 for more examples.

The third characteristic noted about consecutive constructions is likewise illegal in serial constructions: the verb may not be repeated to indicate duration or intensity. Thus the serial equivalent of example (2) is simply ungrammatical:

- (8) **Kà u ú ɲ-kára á sà ɲàara à ɲaara.*
 and he NARR IP-go SC go walk SC walk

Aside from these three negative characteristics shared by all four types of serial construction, there is one very important positive one which serves to differentiate them as a group from the consecutive construction. All verbs in the latter, apart from a very few exceptions, have their “main” verb sense. That is, they are used as full lexical verbs. In contrast, many verbs in serial constructions have grammaticalized uses. These grammaticalized functions

simply are not available in simple, one verb clauses or in consecutive constructions. Section 8.3 below gives a survey of verbs with grammaticalized functions in serial constructions.

The syntactic “tightness” of the serial construction is merely an iconic reflection of a semantic “tightness”. Placing verbs together in a serial construction is an indication by the speaker that they are *very* closely related conceptually. Most often there is a causal connection between the verbs: the second event may simply be the result of the first, as in (9a), or the first event may have the second as its purpose, as in (9b):

- (9) a. *U a kùlà à cwo.*
 he PERF trip SC fall
 ‘He tripped and fell.’
- b. *Kà u ń tũŋi bwàn a cyàn.*
 and she NARR father.DEF hit SC drop
 ‘Then she knocked her father down (lit. hit and made fall).’

Often the two events are essential subparts of one overall action, as in the following examples:

- (10) a. *Kà mĩ́ í yajõŋke kà nora a cyàn.*
 and I NARR bait.DEF IND hook SC drop
 ‘Then I put some bait on the hook and dropped it (in the water).’
- b. *Kà u ń If nyé á kò.*
 and he NARR it see SC extract
 ‘Then he saw it (=the bad tooth) and pulled it out.’

Of course if one of the verbs is grammaticalized, it is reduced to modifying the other verb in some way. Numerous examples of this are given in section 8.3 below.

Besides the common type of serial construction in which the shared syntactic subject is the semantic agent (or at least actor, in the sense of Foley and Van Valin 1984) of all the verbs, Supyire also allows what have been called “causative” serial constructions (cf. Schachter 1974) in which the direct object of the first verb is the agent or actor of the second. Note in the following examples that the second verb, *pa* ‘come’, is ordinarily intransitive, and that the participants doing the coming are not the subjects:

- (11) a. *Mĩ́ a ù kárímá à pa.*
 I PERF him force SC come
 ‘I forced him to come.’⁴

- b. *U a pì yyèra à pa.*
 she PERF them call SC come
 ‘She called them to come.’

In addition to the sharing of a common subject, another manifestation of the close semantic connection between verbs in a serial construction is the sharing of tense-aspect. In the great majority of cases, tense-aspect remains the same throughout the entire construction. There are however a few exceptions, in which there is a switch from imperfective to perfective or vice versa, as the following examples show. In the former case, the progressive must always have habitual rather than true progressive meaning. In both cases, the first verb is grammaticalized.

- (12) a. *Zàntùḡḡ nyè na n-tílá à yaaga cù me.*
 hyena NEG PROG IP-be.straight SC thing grab NEG
 ‘Hyena does not grab anything straightaway.’
- b. *Kà zàntùḡḡ sì sà njīni tàhà na*
 and hyena NARR go tongue.DEF use PROG
 ‘Then Hyena went and used his tongue
- sèéré lààlì cigé wyìgé e.*
 honey.DEF lick.IMPFV tree.DEF hole.DEF in
 and was licking honey from the hole in the tree.’

The switch to progressive aspect, as in (12b) actually represents a somewhat looser level of concatenation than in serials where such a switch does not occur. This is shown by the fact that an indirect object not uncommonly intervenes between the verbs. Several examples like the following have been recorded:

- (13) a. *Kà m̀̀l̀̀ f̀̀ ' s̀̀ǹ̀f̀̀ l̀̀f̀̀ ǹ̀á ǹ̀a ḡḡ-ni.*
 and I NARR lie.down it on PROG rest-IMPFV
 ‘I lay down on it and was resting.’
- b. *Kà u ú wála a yyèrè nyegé e*
 and she NARR leave.path SC stop grass.DEF in
 ‘Then she left the path and stood in the grass
- na kam̀̀ḡḡji kyéé-gè.*
 PROG sp.of.grass.G3P break-IMPFV
 breaking (i.e. collecting) *kami* (a species of grass whose thick stems are used as torches to carry fire).’

Supyire speakers make frequent use of serial constructions. In a random sample of eight narratives and six procedural texts (explanations of how

something is done), with a total of 1033 clauses, 235 clauses (= 23%) had serial constructions. For the individual texts, the percentages of clauses with serial constructions ranged from 5% to 32%, with the median at 24%.

8.2. Types of serial construction

The most frequent serial constructions have two verbs. Serial constructions with three or even four verbs are not uncommon, however. Following is an example with four verbs:

- (14) ... *mà kwɔ a yyèlà a kù tònnga a wìl...*
 and finish SC stoop SC it pinch SC look
 ‘...and ended up by stooping down and pinching it to see (if it was ripe)’

For the purposes of grammaticalization, however, only two positions are important. The grammaticalized verb either precedes or follows the verb it modifies. In the above example, for instance, the verb *kwɔ* ‘finish’ is grammaticalized in initial position with the meaning ‘end up by’, or ‘finally’. In the following descriptions the preceding and following positions will be labeled V1 and V2 respectively. Thus in this example, *kwɔ* will be said to have the meaning ‘finally’ when it is V1.

8.2.1. The ‘come and go’ serial construction

As its name implies, this construction is restricted to the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ in initial, or V1, position. Of the four types of serial construction, the ‘come and go’ serial is the most common, accounting for nearly half (48%) of all serials in the sample alluded to in the previous section. It is also the one which most closely approximates the prototypical serial from a cross-linguistic point of view, namely a concatenation of verbs in a single clause without the use of any connectives. Unlike the other three types of serial construction, it can be used with virtually any tense-aspect, and with either realis or irrealis modality. It can also co-occur with any of the other three types.

The initial verbs, *pa* ‘come’ and *sà* ‘go’, are highly grammaticalized in this construction. They behave in fact like auxiliaries, which they resemble in two ways:⁵ 1) they require the intransitive prefix on V2 (if V2 has no immediately preceding direct object and begins with a voiceless stop: see chapter 4, section 4.1.1), and 2) they take the short form *a* of the progressive auxiliary *na* if the following verb is imperfective:

(15) a. with intransitive prefix

Kà u pyènge sɪ m-pà m-péè.
 and his family.DEF NARR IP-come IP-be.big
 ‘And then his family became big.’

b. with a progressive

U a sà a byànhàrè kànhe na.
 she PERF go PROG approach.IMPFV village.DEF at
 ‘She was getting near (lit. went and was approaching) to the village.’

Both *pa* and *sa* show formal evidence of their less than independent status in this construction. *Pa* ‘come’ as a main verb has strong mid tone, but as V1 in this construction it frequently has weak mid. *Sa* cannot occur as a main verb by itself. It is a reduced form of the verb *shya* ‘go’, and occurs only in serials.

In many cases the verbs *pa* and *sa* keep close to their original meanings of ‘come’ and ‘go’:

(16) a. *Kà u ú m-pá li ta aní*
 and he NARR IP-come it find there
 ‘He came and found it there’

kuru ta-nùgé e.
 that(EMPH) LOC-same-DEF in
 in that same place.’

b. *Kà u ú sá jyé yòòge e.*
 and it NARR go enter mud.DEF in
 ‘Then it (=the car) went into the mud.’

Usually however they have instead or in addition a grammaticalized meaning. For their adverbial function see 8.3.5.14 below. For their aspectual and modality functions see chapter 9, sections 9.1.5, 9.2.7.2, and 9.3.5.

8.2.2. The future serial construction

The future serial construction is restricted to tense-aspects with future time reference. These include the future (auxiliaries *sí* and *caa*), the potential (auxiliary *kú*), and the prohibitive (or negative subjunctive, with auxiliary *kà*). All of these auxiliaries require the low tone nasal future prefix (FP) on a following verb if it is not immediately preceded by a direct object (see chapter 4, section 4.1.2). In the future serial construction the nasal prefix is

repeated on each verb (as long as it is not preceded by a direct object). Following are some examples:

- (17) a. *Kùcwuun u màha jwo na uru sí*
 monkey he PAST say that he(EMPH)FUT
 ‘Monkey decided (lit. said) that he would
sùpyà cyà ñ-kyà.
 person seek FP-chew
 look for a person to eat (lit. seek and eat a person).’
- b. *U gú ñ-jà ñ-tìri mé.*
 she POT FP-be.ableFP-grind NEG
 ‘She wouldn’t be able to grind.’
- c. *Kà m̀l̀ í ‘ nùrá á sà ñ-tèèn*
 and I NARR return SC go IP-sit
 ‘Then I again went and sat
na yatèènni na na Orobéèrè sígf-ì,
 my chair.DIM.DEF on PROG Robert wait.for-IMPFV
 on my little chair waiting for Robert,
u ahà ñ-kwò ñ-tòrò ñ-kàrè Sukwole e
 he PROH FP-finishFP-pass FP-go Sikasso to
 lest he end up by passing by and going to Sikasso
m̀-páà m̀l̀ ì me.⁶
 FP-surprise me in NEG
 without my knowing it (lit. and surprising me).’

8.2.3. The subjunctive serial construction

The subjunctive serial construction is used with modalities expressing obligation: the imperative, and the subjunctive (both the “zero” subjunctive and the *sí* subjunctive; see chapter 9, section 9.3.3). Verbs in the subjunctive serial construction are joined with the connective *a*, which has weak mid tone. This *a* is to be distinguished from the imperfective subjunctive auxiliary *a* (with strong mid tone) which must be followed by an imperfective verb, whereas the subjunctive serial connective (SSC) joins perfective verbs.⁷ Following are some examples with the imperative:

- (18) a. *Sika-pèrè, sika-pèrè lwó á fwó.*
 goat-male goat-male take SSC roast
 ‘Billy Goat, take and roast a billy goat.’

- b. *Tora a síní.*
 pass SSC lie.down
 ‘Go lie down.’

Following are examples with the *sí* subjunctive:

- (19) a. *Mu ahá ' bú lyl à kwò, ma á*
 you COND EVTL eat SC finish you.NONDECL SUBJUNC
 ‘When you finally finish eating, you must
- ná wyéréni wùlà à kàn náhá.*
 my.NONDECL money.DEF take.out SSC give here
 take out my money and give it here.’
- b. *Mìl sí ù lwó ñ-kàn yìl á,*
 I FUT him take FP-give you.PL to
 ‘I’ll take and hand (lit. give) him to you,
- yìl í ú yála a síníyé.*
 you.PL SUBJUNC him do.well SSC lie.down.CAUS
 in order for you to lay him down well.’

Following are examples with the “zero” subjunctive. Note that the perfective has no auxiliary (hence the label zero):

- (20) a. *Kà santu sì jwò*
 and francolin NARR say
 ‘Francolin said
- na m̀pi ú Ø fyánhà à sà ñwòhò.*
 that hare he SUBJUNC be.first SSC go hide
 that Hare should go hide first.’
- b. *Kà u ú jwó*
 and he NARR say
 ‘Then he said
- pi Ø shɔnga shwɔ a kan ura à.*
 they SUBJUNC horse buy SSC give him(EMPH) to
 (that) they should buy a horse and give it to him.’

8.2.4. The realis serial construction

The realis serial construction is used with tense-aspects with past time reference (with past auxiliaries *ná*, *ní*, *màha*, with the narrative/sequential auxiliary *sí*,⁸ and with the perfect auxiliary *à*), with generic time reference

(with the habitual auxiliary *màha* and with the habitual-sequential auxiliary *asi*), as well as with the conditional (auxiliary *ká*). It is no accident that these tense-aspects are precisely those which take the type of consecutive construction introduced by *mà* (see section 8.1 above). In fact, the realis serial connective (SC) *à* is most likely derived from *mà* by the elision of the initial [m]. As such, it is identical in form to the perfect auxiliary *à*, which also surely is no accident.

Because of the variety of the tense-aspects with which it can occur, the realis serial construction is second only to the ‘come and go’ serial in frequency. Following are some examples with past time reference:

- (21) a. *Kà pi í yí á màrà bagé tòtompé e.*
and they NARR jump SC cling house.DEF rafters.DEF to
‘They jumped up and clung to the rafters.’
- b. *Yòðge fànhe mpyi a pèla a tòrò.*
mud.DEF power.DEF PAST PERF be.big SC pass
‘The mud’s power was too great (for the car to get unstuck)
(lit. the mud’s power was big and passed).’

Examples with generic time reference are:

- (22) a. *Cànnà máhá cànnà u màha u cù à bwèn.*
day DIST day she HAB her grabSC hit
‘Every day she would grab and beat her.’
- b. *U asì nùrá á sà kù ní,*
she HAB.SEQ return SC go it fill
‘She would again go fill it,
ka asì láhá à wu.
it HAB.SEQ let.go SC pour
(and) it would again pour out.’

An example with the conditional is:

- (23) *Mu ahá já á kùcwuun kyára cyá á mìl kàn,*
you COND be.able SC monkey meat seek SC me give
‘If you can get some monkey meat for me (lit. if you can seek
monkey meat and give me (it)),
mu sí-kyááre sí ñ-cwò.
your give.birth-flesh.DEF FUT FP-fall
your placenta will be born (lit. fall).’

8.3. Grammaticalized verbs

In this section we will survey the verbs which have developed specialized, more abstract meanings when they occur in serial constructions. They are roughly categorized semantically into deictic motion verbs, temporal and aspectual verbs, modality verbs, case marking verbs, and “adverbial” verbs.

Before proceeding with this survey, it should be pointed out that although a given verb *may* be grammaticalized it is not necessarily so, even when it occurs in the right position in a serial construction. In the following example the verb *yaa* is in the right position (V1) to have its grammaticalized sense of ‘V2 well’ (see section 8.3.5.9 below), but in fact retains its basic lexical meaning of ‘fashion, make, create’.

- (24) *Pire kà yìrè yàla à pa ...*
 they(EMPH) COND these(EMPH) make SC come
 ‘When they have made these (=the pots you have ordered) and brought (them) ...’

8.3.1. Deictic motion verbs

Motion verbs, usually accompanied by a locative indirect object or a locative adverb, are often used as V2 in order to indicate the direction of the action designated by V1. They often thus are equivalent in information value to prepositions in a language like English. The most commonly used verbs for this purpose are: *pa* ‘come’, *kare* ‘go’, *jye* ‘enter’, *fworo* ‘exit’, *dugo* ‘ascend’, *tìgè* ‘descend’, and *yìrì* ‘get up, leave’. Sometimes *cwo* ‘fall’ is also used to indicate downward motion. A very common combination is the verb *lwó* ‘take’ plus *pa* ‘come’ or *kare* ‘go’ to mean ‘bring’ or ‘take’:

- (25) a. *Kà u ú ' wyéréni lwò à pa náhá.*
 and she NARR money.DEF take SC come here
 ‘Then she brought the money here.’
 b. *Kà m̀l̀ í c̀ì̀nìkíí lwò a k̀à̀r̀è pyenga.*
 and I NARR poles.DEF take SC go home
 ‘Then I took the poles home.’

Another frequent type of combination involves motion verbs as both V1 and V2. There are a number of motion verbs which do not ordinarily take a locative adjunct (see chapter 7, section 7.4.3.1), but which regularly combine with one of the above verbs, whose function is to indicate the direction of the motion. Note the following examples with the verbs *fè* ‘run’ and *yí* ‘jump’:

- (26) a. *Kà pi í fé à fwoɾo lwɔhé e.*
and they NARR run SC exit water.DEF in
'Then they ran out of the water.'
- b. *Wùu a fè a jyè náhá nyàge na.*
we PERF run SC enter here morning.DEF on
'We ran in here this morning.'
- c. *Kà u ú fé à kàrè kànhe fùnṅì ì.*
and she NARR run SC go village.DEF inside in
'Then she ran into the village.'
- d. *Kà kùcwuun sí fé à yìrì kù táán.*
and monkey NARR run SC leave it beside
'Then Monkey ran away from him (=Lion).'
- e. *Kà pi í yí á kàrè dùgé e.*
and they NARR jump SC go stream.DEF in
'Then they (the frogs) jumped to the stream.'
- f. *Kà kùcwuun sí yí à fwoɾo fínatríṅi i.*
and monkey NARR jump SC exit window.DEF in
'Then Monkey jumped out the window.'
- g. *Kà santu sì ... yí á dùgò nṅnṅí na.*
and francolin NARR jump SC ascend above at
'Then Francolin ... jumped up into the air.'
- h. *Kà m̀pi sí yí à cwo nṅke na.*
and hare NARR jump SC fall ground.DEF on
'Then Hare jumped down to the ground.'

8.3.2. Temporal and aspectual verbs

A number of verbs modify the temporal or aspectual interpretation of the other verb they occur with in a serial construction. These are dealt with in chapter 9, and will only be mentioned here. The verbs *pa* 'come' and *sa* 'go' are used to code the inceptive with states and durative events (see chapter 9, section 9.1.5). The verb/copula *pyi* 'do' is used to code past tense in compound tense-aspects (see chapter 9, section 9.2.7.1). The verb *kwɔ* 'finish' forms the terminative aspect (focusing on the terminal point of an event (see chapter 9, section 9.1.6). The verbs *nyɛ* 'see' and *tèè* 'be accustomed to' form varieties of the experiential perfect (see chapter 9, section 9.2.4). The verb *mɔ* 'be a long time' can be used to code durativity (see chapter 9, section 9.1.4). Finally the verb *ná* 'afterwards' is used in narrative clauses in a function rather like that of an adverbial 'after' clause (see chapter 15, section 15.1.1.4).

8.3.3. Modality verbs

A number of serial verbs are used to express modalities of purpose, ability, and success or failure. Most of these take the V1 position, and are thus in an excellent position to be incorporated into the auxiliary system. These verbs will be covered in chapter 9, and are therefore only mentioned here. The verbs *pa* ‘come’ and *sa* ‘go’ can be used to encode the modality of purpose (see chapter 9, section 9.3.5). The verbs *ja* ‘be able’, *ta* ‘get, find’, and *kanha* ‘be tired’ are used to encode various facets of the modality of ability (see chapter 9, section 9.3.4).

8.3.4. Case marking verbs

Supyire does not extensively use serial verbs as case markers in the way common in many other West African languages (cf. Givón 1975, Lord 1973, 1989). In fact only three verbs are regularly so used. A few other verbs seem to be on the verge of developing such a function. One such verb is *lwɔ* ‘take’, which is extremely common as V1, and which could develop into an accusative marker with the proper encouragement. I have found no examples so far, however, in which it did not retain its original basic sense of taking something in one’s hands. The verbs treated below, however, have indisputably developed a case marking function.

8.3.4.1. Instrument: *taha* ‘use’

The etymology of *taha* is not certain.⁹ Whatever it is, *taha* is highly specialized in V1 position as a marker of instrument case. It is roughly twice as common as the preposition-postposition combination *ná...i* which also marks instrument case. Following are some examples:

- (27) a. *Kà Kile sɪ kafaáge num-bwɔhɔ lwɔ sɪ*
 and God NARR rock.DEF ADJ-big take PURP
 ‘Then God took a big rock in order to
- mí-pá kú táhá á kùrùbo-gé jyà.*
 IP-come it use SC piece.of.calabash.DEF break
 come break the piece of calabash with it.’
- b. *Uru dɪlɪzɪŋɪ u mpyi màha já á*
 this(EMPH) thread.DEF it PAST HAB be.able SC
 ‘It was this thread that could be

pèrè maá ní-táhá á làmpúji wwù.
 sell and.NARR IP-use SC tax.DEF take.out
 sold and (the money) used to pay the taxes.

8.3.4.2. Benefactive: *kan* ‘give’

Kan usually retains its basic meaning (the physical transfer of an object from one person to another) in serial constructions, but the beginnings of grammaticalization as a benefactive and even dative marker are apparent.¹⁰ As a main verb *kan* usually takes its dative participant as an indirect object marked with the postposition *á* ‘to’, and this is the configuration often used in serial constructions:

- (28) a. *Kà pi í shwóha à kan pi à.*
 and they NARR cook SC give them to
 ‘They cooked for them.’
- b. *Kà mìl í yíré jwú à kan u à.*
 and I NARR these(EMPH) say SC give him to
 ‘I said that (lit. these) to him.’

The dative participant can also be ‘shifted’ to be the direct object of *kan*, and when this occurs in a serial construction, the stage is set for the verb to turn into a postposition:

- (29) *Mu ahá já á kùcwuun kyára cyá á mìl kàn...*
 you COND be.able SC monkey meat seek SC me give
 ‘If you can get some monkey meat for me...’

8.3.4.3. Standard of comparison: *toro* ‘pass’

As a main verb, *toro* ‘pass’ is intransitive, and takes a locative indirect object. As V2 in a serial construction it has two distinct functions. The first is to code the adverbial meaning ‘V1 very much’, as in the following examples:

- (30) a. *Yire tà-tèèngé nùgé wá*
 their(EMPH) LOC-sit.DEF smell.DEF be.there
 ‘Their cage’s (lit. dwelling place) smell
- à pyi à pen a tòrò.*
 SC be SC be.bad SC pass
 was very bad.’

- b. *Pi fūnya à pyi a tanna a tòrò.*
 their insides.DEF PERF be SC be.sweet SC pass
 ‘They were very happy.’ Lit. ‘Their insides were very sweet.’

The second function is to mark the standard of comparison case. The noun phrase introduced in this way is an indirect object marked by the postposition *na*. Following is an example:

- (31) *Pyàŋi num-bílě.na à pyi à kyaà cè*
 child.DEF ADJ-small.DIM.DEF PERF be SC affair know
 ‘The younger child knew
a tòrò nŋj-jyēŋi na.
 SC pass ADJ-be.old.DEF on
 more than the older.’

8.3.5. Serial verbs functioning as manner adverbs

A number of verbs have an adverbial function. Most of these are like manner adverbs, specifying the way in which the event encoded by the other verb is carried out. A few are like adverbs of quantity, with meanings like ‘again’ and ‘first’. In this section the adverbial verbs recorded so far will be described in turn.

8.3.5.1. *núru* ‘return, again’

As a main verb, *núru* means ‘return’ or ‘go/come back’. It is very common in V1 position in a serial construction, where it means ‘V2 again’:

- (32) *U a kwò gé, maá ' núra à*
 she PERF finish TC and.NARR return SC
 ‘When she was finished, she again
u kùtùnù-sèègé wwù ā yaha,
 her monkey-skin.DEF take.off SC leave
 took off her monkey skin and left it,
maá ' núra á nŋji fàanyi
 and.NARR return SC husband.DEF cloth.DEF
 and again took the clothes (her) husband
nizhwoyí lwò ā le mà kàrè pyenga.
 ADJ.buy.DEF take SC put and go home
 had bought for her and put (them) on and went home.’

8.3.5.2. *láhá* ‘let go, again’

As a main verb, *láhá* means ‘let go of’ (intransitive) or ‘take off’ (transitive). As V1 in a serial construction, it has the same meaning as *núrá*, that is, ‘V2 again’. Following are some examples:

- (33) a. *Kà mìl í lí dírí mà cijncìṅè tà,*
and I NARR it pull and sp.of.fish get
‘I pulled it (= the fishing line) and got a *cijncìṅè* (a kind of fish),

maá ' láhá á lì lè.
and.NARR let.go SC it put
and put it in (the water) again.’

- b. *U asì núrá á sà kù ní,*
she HAB.SEQ return SC go it fill
‘She would again go and fill it

ka asì láhá à wu.
it HAB.SEQ let.go SC pour
(and) it would again pour out.’

8.3.5.3. *wyere* ‘be hot, quickly’

As a main verb *wyere* is stative, with the meaning ‘be hot’ or ‘be warm’. As V1 in a serial construction, it means ‘V2 quickly’, as in the following examples:

- (34) a. *Kà wùù ú wyérá á yìrà àní mà kàré*
and we NARR be.hot SC leave there and go
‘Then we quickly left there and went

kòntìrìṅke cyàgé e.
hippopotamus.DEF place.DEF to
to where the hippopotamus was (lit. to the hippo’s place).’

- b. *To-ṅí nyé a já a wyèra a tìṅè mé.*
feast.DEF NEG PERF be.able SC be.hot SC seat NEG
‘The feast could not be celebrated quickly.’¹¹

8.3.5.4. *fyàà* ‘hurry’

As a main verb, *fyàà* means simply ‘hurry’ or ‘walk quickly’, as in the following proverb:

- (35) *Ntasènmiij naha-fóó nye na fyàà me.*
 toads herd-owner NEG PROG hurry NEG
 ‘The toadherd does not hurry.’ (a proverb)

As V1 in a serial construction, *fyàà* is similar to *wyere*, meaning ‘V2 in a hurry’. Following are some examples:

- (36) a. *Mu ahá nùmpañña canña lyìge lyì,*
 you COND tomorrow day eat.DEF eat
 ‘When you have eaten dinner tomorrow,
mu ú fyálà à pa.
 you SUBJUNC hurry SSC come
 come quickly.’
- b. *Cin fúnjú mpyi sí pwun cù ñ-kyà,*
 leopard inside PAST SUBJUNC dog catch FP-chew
 ‘Leopard intended to catch God and eat (him),
maá fyálà à pa a pwun
 and.NARR hurry SC come PROG dog
 and (so he) quickly came and was stepping
fwòòñì.
 step.on.heels.IMPFV
 on Dog’s heels.’

8.3.5.5. *tíí* ‘be straight, immediately’

As a main verb, *tíí* ‘be straight’ is stative. As a serial verb, it means ‘V2 immediately’, or ‘V2 right away’, rather like the English adverb ‘straightaway’. Following are some examples:

- (37) a. *Kà u pworoní sí ñ-tílá á*
 and her daughter.DEF NARR IP-be.straight SC
 ‘Her daughter immediately
kùrù dírá á kò.
 it(EMPH) pull SC extract
 pulled it off.’
- b. *U a pà nò gé, maá ñ-tílá*
 she PERF come arrive TC and.NARR IP-be.straight
 ‘When she arrived, (she) straightaway

à faànrá yígé.
 SC cripple.DIM ask
 questioned Little Cripple.'

8.3.5.6. *pàà* 'surprise, suddenly'

As a main verb, *pàà* can be either transitive or intransitive, and means 'surprise' or 'startle'. As V1 in a serial construction, it means 'suddenly V2' or 'unexpectedly V2'. If V2 is transitive, its direct object is placed before *pàà*. Following are some examples:

(38) a. *U a kù pàlà à pyi.*
 he PERF it surprise SC do
 'He did it suddenly.'

b. *Canj kà ká tùnturu sí m-pàlà à pa*
 day IND and message NARR IP-surprise SC come
 'One day a message came unexpectedly

mìl á na...
 me to that
 to me that...'

8.3.5.7. *fyànhà* and *fyènrà* 'be first'

These verbs have the same meaning and are evidently descended from a common ancestor. They occur only rarely as main verbs, where they mean 'be first (at something)'. As V1 in a serial construction, they mean either 'V2 first' or 'V2 previously'. The following examples show the first of these meanings:

(39) a. *Cànràgà, mu u sí vyànhà wùù nwó cyá.*
 lion you he FUT FP.be.first our mouth seek
 'Lion, you will be the first to get food for us.'

b. *Fyènrà à lyí ma á ' ná*
 be.first SSC eat you.NONDECL SUBJUNC afterwards
 'Eat first and only then

ma à wá sigé e.
 you.NONDECL IMPFV.SUBJUNC go bush.DEF to
 go to the bush.'

Following are some examples with the second meaning: ‘V2 formerly/previous’:

- (40) a. *Fànhà fòòñí mpyi màha fyànha a tèèn*
 power owner.DEF PAST HAB be.first SC sit
 ‘The ruler formerly always used to stay
cyaga nìnkìn ì.
 place one in
 in one place.’
- b. *Ɔámipíí mpyi màha fyánhà a fàra à pa.*
 twins.DEF PAST HAB be.first SC be.stuck SC come
 ‘Twins formerly always used to be born (lit. come) stuck
 together.’

8.3.5.8. *sòò* ‘be early in the morning’

This verb, borrowed from Bambara *sòl* ‘be early in the morning’, is used in Supyire only as V1 in serial constructions, where it means ‘V2 early in the morning’, as in the following examples:

- (41) a. *Wùù sí zóò ñ-kàrè.*
 we FUT be.early.in.the.morning FP-go
 ‘We’ll leave early in the morning.’
- b. *U à jwo na ma sòla*
 she PERF say that you.NONDECL be.early.in.morning
 ‘She said you must do it early in the morning.’
- a li pyi.*
 SSC it do

8.3.5.9. *yaa* ‘fashion, do well’

As a main verb, *yaa* means ‘repair, fashion, create’ (transitive), or ‘be appropriate, be fine’ (intransitive). As V1 in a serial construction, it means ‘V2 well’. With this meaning it occurs only with transitive verbs. The direct object is placed before *yaa*:

- (42) a. *Kà pi í yí yála a tò*
 and they NARR them do.well SC cover
 ‘Then they covered them well’

ná vâân-tòle é.
with cloth-cover with
with a blanket.'

- b. *Kà u ú ú yála a byè.*
and she NARR her do.well SC carry.on.back
'She tied her on her back very well.'

Yaa can also function in a modal capacity as a hearsay evidential (see chapter 9, section 9.3.2.2).

8.3.5.10. *pee* 'lie in wait for, stealthily'

As a main verb, *pee* is transitive, and means 'lie in wait for', or 'ambush'. As V1 in a serial, it means 'V2 surreptitiously' or 'V2 stealthily'. If V2 is transitive, its direct object is placed before *pee*. Following are some examples:

- (43) a. *Kà pi í pí-yè pèela a jè.*
and they NARR they-REFL stealthily SC wake.up
'They stealthily woke each other up.'
- b. *Kà ku ú cyâge pee* à *yiga*
and it NARR hand.DEF stealthily SC put.out
'It (=the baboon) surreptitiously put out (its) hand
a mìl cù na kùlùshî tððgé na.
SC me grab my.NONDECL trouser leg.DEF on
and grabbed my by the trouser leg.'

8.3.5.11. *ɲwɔhɔ* 'hide, secretly'

As a main verb, *ɲwɔhɔ* 'hide' can be either transitive or intransitive. As V1 in a serial, it means 'V2 secretly'. Following are some examples:

- (44) a. *Kà zàntùṅḁ sɪ ɲwɔha a kàrè u ɲwɔhi i.*
and hyena NARR hide SC go him behind in
'Then Hyena secretly followed him.'
- b. *Zàntùṅḁ nà pwun pi màha ɲ-kara a sà*
hyena and dog they PAST IP-go SC go
'Hyena and Dog went and

nànjí wà nù ñwóhà a lwò.
 man.DEF IND cow hide SC take
 stole (lit. hid and took) a certain man's cow.'

8.3.5.12. *màhà* 'do all over'

This verb occurs only in serial constructions. It is probably related to *màhàná* 'turn around, go around', and to the habitual auxiliary *màhà* and the distributive noun phrase conjunction *máhá*. As V2 in a serial construction, it means 'V1 all over the place', or 'V1 all around'. Following are some examples:

- (45) a. *Ñkùùṅà a cèrigíí cyàn a màhà.*
 chicken.DEF PERF eggs.DEF drop SC do.all.over
 'The chicken has laid its eggs all over.'
- b. *U a sigè ké, maá ' wílá á màhà*
 he PERF suspect TC and.NARR look SC do.all.over
 'When he suspected something, (he) looked around
- mà còon-foòṅjì fyèṅjì nyè.*
 and younger.sibling-owner.DEF tracks.DEF see
 and saw his younger brother's footprints.'

8.3.5.13. *jwo* 'say'

The verb *jwo* 'say' has developed a specialized use as V2 in manner questions which are introduced by the question word *dí* 'how'. It seems to be related semantically to the use of *jwo* in the comparative phrase *mu gú ñjwò* 'like' (lit. 'you would say'). It apparently serves to reinforce the question. Following are some examples:

- (46) a. *Dì fanṅké màhà n-tuga à jwu ye?*
 how grave.DEF HAB IP-dig SC say Q
 'How is the grave dug?'
- b. *Dì m̀ì sí ñgé banf jyiile ñ-jwù ye?*
 how I FUT this river.DEF cross FP-say Q
 'How will I cross the river?'

8.3.5.14. *pa* ‘come’ and *sa* ‘go’

Both *pa* and *sa*, in the right context, can emphasize the end of an action which has lasted some time, meaning something like ‘at length’. With this function they are common in adverbial clauses introduced by *fó* ‘until, to the point that’.¹² Following are some examples:

- (47) a. *Kà pi í fwóra a nàji lùpàànre bwòn*
and they NARR go.out SC man.DEF mosquito.DEF hit
‘Then they came out and hit the man’s mosquitoes

fó mà sà ù bò.
till and go him kill
till at last they killed him.’

- b. *Ka há jwó faànrá ú Ø bagé mùgò*
it COND say cripple.DIM he SUBJUNC house.DEF open
‘Whenever he (=Hyena) would tell Little Cripple to open the door,

ura asì jwò ‘Sí kù sùjé sèlè è la?’
he(EMPH)HAB.SEQ say FUT it prop truth in Q
he would say “(Did you say to) barricade it very well?”

fó kà zàntùṅṅò sì m̀-pà ḡ-cwò mú
till and hyena NARR IP-come IP-fall also
till at last Hyena also fell

wògòya à.
snake.DEF to
to the snakes.’

With a stative verb, *sa* is an intensifier, equivalent to ‘very’:

- (48) *Ceèṅji wà u a sà à lye mà lye*
woman.DEF IND she PERF go SC be.old and be.old
‘A certain woman was very very old.

mà lye. Numpé-cínya a sà ñ-tòḡn.
and be.old toe-nail.DEF PERF go IP-be.long
(Her) toenails were very long.’

As an intensifier with active verbs, *sa* can mean something like ‘really’:

- (49) *Mi a sà yì lógó!*
I PERF go them hear
‘I really did hear you (lit. them, i.e. the words you said).’

8.3.5.15. *kwɔ* ‘finish, finally’

As V1, *kwɔ* means ‘end up by V2ing’ or ‘finally V2’. Following is an example:

- (50) *U a sà nò gé, maá ' yyéré na ku wìl,*
 he PERF go arrive TC and.NARR stop PROG it look
 ‘When he arrived, (he) stood looking at it,
mà kwɔ a yyèlèlà a kù tònnga a wìl
 and finish SC stoop SC it pinch SC look
 and finally stooped down and pinched it to see
ámpyí ka à nɔ.
 if it PERF arrive
 if it was ripe.’

8.3.5.16. *kanha* ‘be tired, finally’

As V1, *kanha* has an adverbial or meaning of ‘finally V2’, or ‘at last V2’:

- (51) a. *Kà m̀l̀ í ' ná na lyí na*
 and I NARR afterwards PROG eat PROG
 ‘Afterwards I was eating
n-tin-ni, màha η-kánhá á lyì
 IP-swell-IMPV HAB IP-be.tired SC eat
 my fill (lit. and swelling), and finally ate
mà yaceège pyi nárénárénaré.
 and stomach make ‘very full’
 and stuffed my big belly.’
- b. *Ka há ' bá a η-c̀r̀r̀ mà sà j̀-c̀r̀r̀*
 it COND EVTV PROG IP-hatch and go IP-hatch
 ‘Whatever kind of thing it eventually
shinjí ηgé-m̀ k̀,
 kind.DEF DEM-REL RC
 hatches into,
ẁ̀ k̀ η-kànha a k̀ f̀l̀g̀ cé de.
 we POT FP-be.tired SC its type know EMPH
 we would at last know what type (of animal) it (is).’

Chapter 9

Aspect, tense, modality, and negation

Supyire has a rich tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) system which is encoded in three principal ways. The first is directly on the verb: imperfective aspect is marked by means of verbal suffixes. The opposing category of perfective is unmarked. The second and by far the richest way of coding TAM is by means of auxiliaries. These occupy a distinctive position in the clause, between the subject and the direct object. Most of the auxiliaries, although they derive historically from verbs, are synchronically restricted in their function to the marking of TAM. All five of the copulas are also used as auxiliaries. The great majority of clauses have at least one auxiliary,¹ and many combinations of two, three, and even four or more auxiliaries are possible. The third way of coding TAM in Supyire is by means of serial verbs. This is, so to speak, the cutting edge of TAM marking. I have argued elsewhere (Carlson 1987, 1990) that most if not all of the present auxiliaries in Supyire developed from serial verbs. The process is continuing, and new periphrastic expressions of aspectual and modal distinctions are constantly being grammaticalized.² This process is endemic in the region, as numerous scholars have pointed out (see in particular Lord 1973 and 1989, and Givón 1975 and 1984).

TAM systems are notoriously difficult to analyze. Here if anywhere the indeterminacy of grammatical categories is typically felt. As in other areas of the grammar, the best way to approach TAM categories is as prototypes. Each coding will be assumed to have a “core” or prototypical function, around which other functions may cluster. The boundaries of categories are often not clear, and there may be considerable overlap between two categories. An extreme example is in the marking of past tense, where the two auxiliaries *ná* and *màha* are almost (but not quite) equivalent to each other in function.

Like any other part of the grammar, the TAM system is dynamic and constantly changing. The semantic territory of a given coding may be expanding through metaphorical extension, or contracting in the face of a competing coding. An expanding category may eventually split if one of its secondary meanings gains an equal importance with the original core meaning. All these processes are discernible in Supyire. At some point in the past, for example, the categories of habitual and past, both marked with the auxiliary *màha*, split from each other. In current Kampwo Supyire the progressive marker *na* is encroaching on the territory of the habitual *màha*, so that there is considerable overlap.

The rather messy picture presented by the Supyire TAM system is a typical result of the dynamic processes alluded to above. A detailed description would be inordinately long, and therefore only the essentials of the system will be presented in this chapter. The major tense, aspect, and modality auxiliaries are given in Table 31 for reference.

Table 31. Aspect, tense, and modality auxiliaries

Auxiliary	Function	Form of verb required	Verb prefix*	Section
<i>na</i>	progressive	IMPFV	IP	9.1.2
<i>màha</i>	habitual	PFV / IMPFV	IP	9.1.3
<i>màha</i>	formal past	PFV / IMPFV	IP	9.2.2
<i>ná</i>	remote past	PFV	IP	9.2.2
<i>nî</i>	recent past	PFV	none	9.2.2
<i>sí</i>	future	PFV	FP	9.2.3
<i>cáá</i>	future	PFV	FP	9.2.3
<i>bú/bá</i>	remote (future)	PFV	IP	9.2.3
<i>à</i>	perfect	PFV	none	9.2.4
<i>sáhá</i>	still, not yet	PFV	IP	9.2.5
<i>sí</i>	narrative/sequential	PFV	IP	9.2.6
<i>asì</i>	habitual/sequential	PFV	IP	9.2.6
<i>kú</i>	potential	PFV	FP	9.3.2.2
<i>ta</i>	impfv imperative	IMPFV	IP	9.3.3
<i>sí</i>	subjunctive	PFV	IP	9.3.3
<i>a</i>	impfv subjunctive	IMPFV	IP	9.3.3
<i>kà</i>	prohibitive	PFV	FP	9.3.3
<i>ká</i>	conditional	PFV	IP	9.3.6

*IP = intransitive prefix; FP = future prefix

Supyire has many of the categories typically encountered cross-linguistically. In the area of aspect, which will be treated first, the basic distinction between perfective and imperfective is marked on the verb (9.1.1). Progressive (9.1.2) and habitual (9.1.3) are coded by auxiliaries. Other aspectual distinctions, such as inceptive (9.1.5), and terminative (9.1.6) are coded by means of serial verbs. Apart from the progressive, durativity is expressed through a variety of means including serial verbs, repetition, and adverbs (9.1.4).

In the area of tense Supyire makes the common distinctions between past (9.2.2), present (9.2.1), future (9.2.3), and perfect (9.2.4). There is a remoteness distinction in the past, between 'earlier today' and 'yesterday and ear-

lier'. Remoteness in the future is confounded with the epistemic modality of reduced certainty. As in many other African languages, there is a special coding for events in a sequence, which will be called "narrative" and "sequential" depending on its specific function (9.2.6). Also in common with many Niger-Congo languages, there is a "still" or "yet" tense (9.2.5).

Numerous combinations of tenses and aspects are possible. Combinations with past yield the past perfect, past progressive, past habitual, future in the past, and the past "still" (9.2.7.1). Progressive aspect also combines with future, sequential/narrative, and the "still" tense (9.2.7.2).

In the area of modality, the basic distinction is between realis and irrealis (9.3.1). The various auxiliaries can all be classified into these two categories. Crosscutting this distinction is the realm of epistemic modality. Copular auxiliaries are used to code increased certainty (9.3.2.1). Reduced certainty with irrealis modality is coded by means of a special auxiliary which also can encode temporal remoteness. There is also a difference in the level of certainty between the various future markers. Reduced certainty in realis contexts is less grammaticalized. It can be indicated by means of adverbs and serial verbs (9.3.2.2).

The modality of obligation will be touched on only briefly in this chapter (9.3.3), since the subjects covered (imperative, subjunctive, hortative, and prohibitive) will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 14 on non-declarative speech acts. Brief sections on the modalities of ability (9.3.4) and purpose (9.3.5) follow.

The section on modality in subordinate clauses (9.3.6) is likewise brief, since the topics covered are described in detail in chapters 11 and 15.

The chapter concludes with a section on negation (9.4). Negation is encoded in two positions in the sentence. In most of the TAM categories, there is some marking in the auxiliary position, either the addition of a copular auxiliary, or a tonal marking on the auxiliary already there. In addition, negation is marked sentence finally with a negative particle.

9.1. Aspect

9.1.1. Perfective versus imperfective

The distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect is basic to the Supyire TAM system. As shown above in chapter 4, section 4.2, the great majority of verbs have, in addition to the unmarked base form, an imperfective form derived principally through suffixation. In every use of a verb one or the other of these forms must be chosen. The distinction thus crosscuts all other TAM categories. Most TAM auxiliaries require one form and disallow the other (unless another auxiliary is added). Those that take the base form of the verb, such as the perfect auxiliary *à* are more numerous than those

that require the imperfective form of the verb, such as the progressive auxiliary *na*. In fact, there are only three auxiliaries in the latter class. There is only one auxiliary which can take either form: *màha*, which has the two distinct functions of marking habitual and past.

The imperfective form of the verb is properly so-called because it indicates that the event is construed without a terminal boundary (see Givón 1984: 276). The two major functional reasons for so construing an event are to code durativity and to indicate simultaneity with some other event. The commonest use of the imperfective verb form is in the progressive, which encodes ongoing, durative action. In combination with past, future, and sequential/narrative, the progressive frequently is used to show simultaneity.

The imperfective is incompatible with a stative interpretation. As pointed out in chapter 7, many stative verbs do have imperfective forms, but these always have a dynamic reading of entry into the state. The dynamic use of most stative verbs is extremely rare, but speakers consulted usually showed no reluctance to produce imperfective forms for such verbs.

The unmarked, base form of the verb, by contrast with the marked imperfective form, can be labeled “perfective” as long as this is understood to be mostly a default characterization (see Dahl 1985: 19 for the notion of default category).

The use of the imperfective to code durativity can be briefly illustrated with the imperative. The “bare” (and relatively impolite) imperative, which takes no auxiliary, requires the perfective, or base form of the verb, as in the following example.

- (1) *Nté kyaàre kwòn.*
 this meat.DEF cut
 ‘Cut this meat.’

This form would be used if the quantity of meat to be cut was small and the action could therefore be quickly completed. The imperfective imperative (marked with the auxiliary *ta*), as in

- (2) *Ta nté kyaàre kwùòn.*
 IMPER.IMPFV this meat.DEF cut.IMPFV
 ‘Cut this meat.’

would be used if there was a lot of meat to cut and the task would therefore last a long time. Similarly the perfective

- (3) *Na wì).*
 me.NONDECL look.at
 ‘Look at me.’

would be used if the speaker were about to perform some compact, punctual action such as a cartwheel. The imperfective

- (4) *Ta na wìl.*³
 IMPER.IMPFV me.NONDECL look.at
 'Look at me.'

would be used if the speaker were going to perform an action which would require a certain amount of time, such as a dance.

The use of the imperfective to indicate that the event is construed as incomplete can also be illustrated with the imperative. Thus the perfective, bare imperative

- (5) *Nté sûre lyl.*
 this mush.DEF eat
 'Eat this mush.'

implies that the addressee is expected to finish the indicated mush. The imperfective

- (6) *Ta nté sûre lyl.*
 IMPER.IMPFV this mush.DEF eat.IMPFV⁴
 'Eat this mush.'

by contrast implies that the addressee is not expected to finish the mush, perhaps because the quantity is too great.

For the use of the imperfective to indicate simultaneity with another event, see the following sections on the progressive and habitual.

9.1.2. Progressive

The progressive auxiliary in simple clauses is *na*. This undoubtedly derives historically from a copular verb 'to be at', widespread in Niger-Congo, and is related to the postposition *na* 'at, on', which has identical form, including strong mid tone (see Carlson 1987 and 1990). The verb following *na* must be in its imperfective form and it takes the intransitive prefix (if it begins with a voiceless stop and is not immediately preceded by a direct object). One verb, *kare* 'go' (imperfective *kéégé*) allows the auxiliary *na* to be dropped when the subject is first or second person. Thus one often hears *mìl kéégé* 'I'm going' rather than *mìl na nkéégé*.

The progressive used alone most often indicates ongoing action with present time reference:

- (7) a. *U na dùfìnìmè bée-ì.*
 she PROG potash evaporate-IMPFV
 ‘She is evaporating potash.’
- b. *U na lyl.*
 he PROG eat.IMPFV
 ‘He is eating.’

If the event involved is by nature punctual, the progressive indicates repetition (iterativity) rather than one durative event:

- (8) a. *U na pìnṅke bwùùn.*
 he PROG drum.DEF hit.IMPFV
 ‘He is beating the drum.’
- b. *Fyàabíí na ḡ-kúú-ìí.*
 fish.DEF PROG IP-tap-IMPFV
 ‘The fish are nibbling (lit. tapping).’

Even with non-punctual events, the progressive may on occasion encode separate events, rather than one single event. This is especially clear when plural absolutive participants are involved (either the direct object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb). Following is an example:

- (9) *Pi na ma dé.*
 they PROG come.IMPFV EXCL
 ‘They are coming!’

This could have a simple progressive meaning: a number of people could actually be moving together toward the speaker at the moment of utterance. However, just such a sentence was recorded in a conversation where it obviously had a less clearly progressive meaning. In this case the subject pronoun referred to young men who were returning to the village one by one from working as migrant laborers in Côte d’Ivoire. The time frame was relatively short—the few weeks at the beginning of the cultivating season. There were thus several separate acts of coming, ‘present’ in the sense that while some had begun (and been completed) before the moment of speaking, others were expected to take place after that moment.

This reference to separate events by means of the progressive is not confined to clauses with plural participants. In the following example, the past progressive is used (see section 9.2.7.2 below):

- (10) *Mu mpyi na lyí la?*
 you PAST PROG eat.IMPV Q
 'Were you eating?'

Like the preceding example, this could have a purely progressive meaning: 'Were you engaged in the act of eating (when something else happened)?' Its actual meaning in the conversation from which it was taken is different however. The addressee has just complained that he had not enjoyed the village festival, an annual event lasting several days which had just been completed. The speaker, puzzled by this admission, asks the question. Since one of the great attractions of the festival is the frequent large meals, he asks if the addressee participated in those meals. The reference is not to a single act of eating, but to several acts, spread out over a well-defined time frame of the previous few days.

From such examples it is a small step to the use of the progressive to mark the habitual.⁵ The habitual use of the progressive is actually fairly common, approaching nearly a third of the examples recorded in the corpus.⁶ The habitual can be of the ordinary sort: characteristic repeated actions over an unspecified but relatively long and above all open-ended time span. Following is an example uttered by a man concerning his nephew. The individual acts of stealing had begun at some unspecified time in the past and were continuing up to the moment of speaking.

- (11) *U na yúú, u na nànkààge pyi.*
 he PROG steal.IMPV he PROG thievery.DEF do
 'He is stealing, he is thieving.'

The progressive cum habitual can also be used for general truths, sometimes called the generic habitual (see Dahl 1985: 98) or gnomic (cf. Longacre 1983: 251). It is commonly found in proverbs such as the following:

- (12) *Lùtàn fóó u nye na ntaràfwùù múnaa lyí.*
 patience owner s/he be PROG wild.yam nose eat.IMPV
 'It is the patient person who eats the wild yam's nose.'⁷

It should be noted that both of these types of habitual meaning are the ordinary domain of the habitual TAM to be discussed in the next section. It may be that the progressive is encroaching on the territory of the older habitual.

In addition to having present and habitual time reference, the progressive can also have a near future time reference. This usage seems to be rather rare, and to be confined to the motion verbs 'come' and 'go'. Following is an example:

- (13) *U na ma nùmpaŋa.*
 s/he PROG come.IMPFV tomorrow
 ‘S/he is coming tomorrow.’

The progressive, like all imperfectives in Supyire, is incompatible with a stative interpretation. As Givón (1984: 275) points out, semantically states are durative *per se*, and thus do not require additional durative marking. Many stative verbs in Supyire have a secondary (and in many cases vanishingly rare) dynamic interpretation as well. Thus the verb *waha* can mean either ‘be dry’ or ‘become dry’. The imperfective form *ware*, required by the progressive, can have only the latter meaning:

- (14) *Vàanyi na ware.*
 clothes.DEF PROG dry.IMPFV
 ‘The clothes are drying.’

The incompatibility of the progressive with stativity has one glaring exception: four of the five copulas can take the progressive marker without any lessening of their stativity. The addition of the progressive marker seems to have no semantic effect at all, though it may sometimes be used for greater emphasis. In some common expressions, such as the following replies to greetings, it seems to be almost obligatory:

- (15) a. *Pi na wá aní.*
 they PROG be.there there
 ‘They are there.’ (= ‘They are fine.’)
 b. *Wùu na náhá ' náhá.*
 we PROG be.here here
 ‘We are here.’ (= ‘We are fine.’)

In most cases, however, it is not required:

- (16) a. *Mì mége (na) nye Bùwára.*
 my name.DEF PROG be Buwara
 ‘My name is Buwara.’
 b. *Lire tènì i támii shuunníŋi*
 that(EMPH)time.DEF in five.francs(G1P) two.DEF
 ‘At that time ten francs
 (na) mpyi kàmpwòhii sicyaaré.
 PROG be.PAST four.hundred(G3P) four
 was (worth) one thousand six hundred (cowries).’

Besides its use in simple clauses, the progressive is also employed in loose serial constructions (see chapter 8, section 8.1). The most common use in narratives is as V2 (second verb) in a construction in which the first verb is perfective. In such a case, the beginning point of the progressive event is clear: it follows or coincides with the preceding event. Indeed, the most natural translation in English is often with an inceptive ('begin to'). The termination of the event is not construed, and the action is generally understood to be in progress when the following event occurs, which is thus simultaneous with it. Following is an example:

- (17) *Kà yi í Nìngàà kàra a kàrè náhá ' ná*
 and they NARR Ningaa chase SC go here and
 'They (=the bush cows) chased Ningaa about (the distance
 between) here and
- sokúráji fìgè mà sà ñdòña a cyàn*
 new.quarter.DEF like and go push SC make.fall
 and the new quarter and pushed (him) down
- na ñ-cwùùgè. Kà tũji sì ñ-tígè*
 PROG IP-crush.IMPFV and father.DEF NARR IP-go.down
 (and began to) trample (him). Then his father got down
- cigé e mà tì kwòra a kàrè pyenga.*
 tree.DEF in and it pound SC go home
 from the tree and tore home (lit. pounded it (=running) and went
 home).'

The preceding description shows clearly that the Supyire progressive is more than a simple progressive in the narrow sense of the term. It seems to be taking over many of the functions associated with imperfectivity in general: the encoding of repetitive and habitual aspect, of simultaneity in sequential discourse, and even of some the territory of the future tense.⁸

Before leaving the progressive, for the sake of completeness two further facts should be briefly noted. They will both be dealt with elsewhere in more detail. The first involves the use of the copula *nyɛ* 'be' before the progressive marker, as seen above in example (12). There are two distinct environments where this is required. The first is in negative clauses (see section 9.4.1.2 below), the second is in clauses where the main proposition is presupposed (i.e. in constituent questions (see chapter 14, section 14.2.2), clefts (chapter 12, section 12.1.1), and relative clauses (chapter 13, section 13.2.1)). An example is:

- (18) *Ñàhá mu nyɛ na m-pyi yɛ?*
 what you be PROG IP-do Q
 'What are you doing?'

The second fact to note is that the progressive marker *na* precedes other auxiliaries in some combinations, where it does not necessarily add progressiveness. This is apparently due to many of the auxiliaries having developed from a progressive or at least imperfective use. These occurrences of *na* will be duly noted in the proper places in this chapter.

9.1.3. Habitual

The habitual auxiliary is *màha*. It is probably related to the verb *màhà*, which is currently used in Kampwo Supyire only as the second verb in a serial construction, where it means ‘V1 all over the place’. Both the habitual auxiliary and the verb *màhà* are in turn probably related to the verb *màhàrà* ‘go round in a circle’. Like most of the TAM auxiliaries, *màha* requires the intransitive prefix on the following verb if a direct object does not intervene.

The habitual used alone has a present time reference. It encodes customary or characteristic events, rather than merely repetitive. These events are understood to have started at some unspecified time in the past, to continue up to the present, and are expected to continue into the future. The combination of habitual and past will be described in section 9.2.7.1 below.

The habitual presents a peculiar difficulty in terms of the distinction between perfective and imperfective. Viewed as a series of events, it falls together with the imperfective, in that the beginning and the termination of the series is not construed. This is why in many languages the imperfective is used to code habitual action, and why habitual is frequently talked of as a species of imperfective (see Givón 1984: 277). This seems to be the explanation for the extension of the progressive to code habituality noted in the preceding section. As Dahl (1985: 75) points out, however, there is another way to view habitual events. Although the series of events is open-ended, each individual event in the series is, or at least may be, bounded, with a well defined beginning and terminal point. The individual events may thus be viewed perfectively. The Slavic languages differ among themselves as to how to deal with this potential conflict. Some languages use the imperfective to code habitual action, but others use the perfective. Serbo-Croatian uses both.

Supyire has available a nice solution to this problem since its imperfective/perfective marking is separate from the auxiliaries. Either form of the verb can occur with the habitual. The function of the alternation is much the same as elsewhere in the TAM system. The base form of the verb is used when the individual events are to be viewed perfectively. A very common use of the habitual is to encode “habitual narrative”, that is, sequences of customary events which habitually occur together. Several texts in the corpus were obtained by asking such questions as ‘How do you bury a person?’ or ‘How do people collect honey?’ The resulting discourses, which I have

labeled procedural, are invariably coded primarily with the habitual. The following is a typical opening, from a text on how to build a granary:

- (19) *Mu màha yìrì, maá ' fááyì taanna a kwùùlò...*
 you HAB rise and.NARR rock.DEF line.up SC encircle
 'You get up and place the stones round in a circle...'

In such a discourse, the tense-aspect is “generic” habitual in the sense that the actions are customary and not tied to any particular time. None of the participants are referential in the semantic sense. However, each individual event is part of a larger “script” which is arranged sequentially like a narrative. Within this universe of discourse the participants become pragmatically referential. In such a context, the perfective form of the verb is entirely appropriate. Just as in a past tense narrative, most main line events are presented as being terminated before the following event occurs.

Given this use of the perfective, the use of the imperfective verb form is just what one would expect: the imperfective is used principally to show duration and simultaneity within the sequence of events. Note the use of perfective and imperfective forms in the following excerpt from a discourse on how to collect honey:

- (20) *Yì asì weyì kwòñ,*
 you.PL HAB.SEQ leaves(G2P) cut
 'Then you cut (PFV) some leaves,
maá tì wwú à tìrìgè
 and.SEQ them(G4) take.off SC put.down
 and take (PFV) them (= the honeycombs) out and put (PFV)
 (them) down
yìre jùrì ò,
 them(EMPH.G2P) head at
 on top of them
marí⁹ tí cwòònrè.
 and.SEQ.PROG them(G4) sort.IMPFV
 and (begin) sorting (IMPFV) them.
Lwòhé wòòré, tíre
 water.DEF POSS.DEF(G4) they(EMPH.G4)
 Those with honey (lit. water), they
màha lè-nì cení í,
 HAB put-IMPFV calabash.DEF in
 are put (IMPFV) in the calabash,

maríi pyìibíí nà òkàrà̀m̀ò̀jì lè-nì
 and.SEQ.PROG children.DEF and grubs.DEF put-IMPFV
 and (those with) pupae (lit. children) and larvae are put (IMPFV)

sàhàni i.
 basket.DEF in
 in the basket

Ta há cwóónra a kwò,
 they(G4) COND sort SC finish
 When they are finished being sorted (PFV)

yìi màha tà lyì
 you.PL HAB IND(G4) eat
 you eat (PFV) some

maá tí sã̀nnte l̀wò a kà̀rè pyenga.
 and.SEQ they(G4) OTHER.DEF(G4) take SC go home
 and take (PFV) the rest and go (PFV) home.'

In this sequence, the actions of cutting leaves, taking the honeycombs and putting them down on the leaves are all encoded as perfective. Each one is completed before the following action begins. The next three verbs are imperfective, indicating that the action of sorting the honeycombs is durative, consisting of the simultaneous (or at least alternating, if only one person is involved) actions of putting some honeycombs in the calabash and others in the basket. The sequence then returns to perfective actions.

The habitual is not confined to sequentially arranged procedural texts such as those illustrated above. It is also used to make statements about habitual action in many other contexts. Just as with the habitual function of the progressive, the reference can be to habitual actions of referential participants, as in the following excerpt from a conversation in which the speaker is talking about his younger brother who lives in the capital city:

(21) *Yyee máhá yyee làmpú̀jì wàhà̀tí̀jì kà nò,*¹⁰
 year DIST year tax.DEF time.DEF COND arrive
 'Every year when tax time arrives

u màha kè kan.
 he HAB ten give
 he gives ten (i.e. ten notes of five thousand francs each).'

Note that the perfective form of the verb is used here. The perfective is also usually used when the reference is generic or gnomic, as in the following proverb:

- (22) *Cwònròmò pu màha òpi léjé wyige e.*
 difficulty it HAB hare put.CAUS hole in
 ‘It is difficulty which puts Hare in a hole.’

The imperfective habitual (which overall accounts for only about 9% of the total occurrences of the habitual) apart from the use in process texts noted above, appears to closely approximate the use of the progressive in its habitual sense described in the preceding section. Note the following exchange, where the first speaker used the progressive in its habitual sense, and the second echoes the same information using the habitual with the imperfective verb form. The two appear to be equivalent:

- (23) A: *Empòorespòrí nyé na jìjé shin lé-nà à?*
 import.export NEG PROG these kind put-IMPFV NEG.Q
 ‘Doesn’t an import-export merchant wear this kind (of clothes)?’
- B: *Ònkè, píre bà*
 of.course they(EMPH) it.is.not
 Of course! Isn’t it they
- pi màha jìjé numbwōnyi lè-ni mà?*
 they HAB these ADJ.big.DEF(G2P) put-IMPFV NEG.Q
 who wear these big ones?’

Another context in which the imperfective habitual is preferred is in the summary statement often used to close a procedural discourse. Such a statement does not encode an event in the sequence, but rather sums up the whole discourse in some such expression as ‘This is how we X.’ The use of the imperfective here seems designed to show that the event encoded is not part of the preceding sequence. Following are a couple of examples:

- (24) a. *Àmuni pi màha sarayí bùù.*
 thus they HAB beehive.DEF kill.IMPFV
 ‘It is thus that they collect honey (lit. kill beehives).’
- b. *Ayiwà, àmuni senufóobíí¹¹ kwùubíí màha*
 well thus Senufos.DEF(G1P) dead.DEF(G1P) HAB
 ‘Well, it is thus that the Senufo dead
n-tu-ni.
 IP-bury-IMPFV
 are buried.’

One final function of *màha* should be noted. As seen in examples (19) and (20), same subject sequences of clauses in process discourses may be linked with the same subject conjunction *mà* (alone or in combination with the se-

quential/narrative TAM marker *sf*), which is also used in other sequentially arranged discourses such as narratives. Same subject sequences of clauses can also be linked simply by repetition of the habitual marker *màha* without a subject. A similar construction with the progressive was noted in the previous section. Indirect objects are regularly allowed between the linked verbs, showing that the concatenation is looser than an ordinary serial verb construction. Following is an illustrative passage from a text on how to bury the dead:

- (25) *Pi màha lwǎhé kà kwǎ màha le pege e,*
 they HAB water.DEF IND draw HAB put pot in
 ‘They draw some water and put it in a large pot,
maá mí-pá kuru yyèèhè,
 and.SEQ IP-come it(EMPH) stand.CAUS
 and come and stand it up,
maá cyēyi le kuru lwǎhé e
 and.NARR hands.DEF put that(EMPH) water.DEF in
 and put (their) hands in that water
màha n-táhá á ù tòdǎf cwuugo.
 HAB IP-use SC his feet.DEF rub
 and use it to rub his feet.’

9.1.4. Other means of coding durativity

In this and the three following sections we will briefly look at some means of marking aspectual distinctions other than by auxiliaries. These constructions represent various stages on the continuum from lexical meaning to grammaticalization. There are several devices for indicating durativity, three of which will be mentioned here.

The first device, used exclusively (as far as I have been able to ascertain) in narrative, is simply the repetition of the verb, linked by the same subject conjunction *mà* for perfective or with the progressive marker *na* for imperfective. This obviously iconic coding can be lengthened at will to indicate greater duration, as the third example below shows:

- (26) a. *Kà u ú cyēyi tàha à nwǎseēyi cù*
 and he NARR hands.DEF use SC cheeks.DEF grab
 ‘He grabbed his cheeks with his hands
a ðìrì mà ðìrì...
 SC pull and pull
 and pulled and pulled.’

- b. *Kà jyāji sɪ wá na*
and son.DEF NARR be.there PROG
'The son was
sige yááre bùù na buu.
bush things.DEFG4 kill.IMPFV PROG kill.IMPFV
killing and killing the wild animals.'
- c. *Kà pi í yírì Sèrè Kànhà na*
and they NARR rise Sere village at
'Then they left Sere
na η-káágé Fantéré é tateènge
PROG IP-go.IMPFV Fanterela to LOC.sit.DEF
(and started) to go to look at the site
tawiige e na η-káágé
LOC.look.at.G2S to PROG IP-go.IMPFV
of Fantere, and (they) were going
na η-káágé na η-káágé
PROG IP-go.IMPFV PROG IP-go.IMPFV
and going and going
na η-káágé na η-káágé.
PROG IP-go.IMPFV PROG IP-go.IMPFV
and going and going.'

Another way of coding duration is with the verb *mɔ* 'be a long time' in second position in a serial verb construction:

- (27) *Zànhá à pa à mɔ.*
rain.DEF PERF come SC be.long.time
'The rain has fallen (lit. come) a long time.'

The third and final way (to be mentioned here) of indicating duration is by means of the adverb *yééṅkwɔ́* 'endlessly, continuously', which can only be used with the progressive:

- (28) *U na íyí yééṅkwɔ́.*
s/he PROG eat.IMPFV continuously
'S/he keeps on eating continuously.'

9.1.5. Inceptive

The inceptive, focusing on the point of entry into a state or durative event, is principally coded in Supyire by the verbs *pa* ‘come’ and *sa* ‘go’ as initial verbs in serial constructions. With stative verbs, the use of *pa*, and to a lesser extent *sa*, codes entry into the state denoted by the verb. The base form of the verb is used, as in the following examples with *pa*:

- (29) a. *Kà sige shíinbíí sì pì lwó á màrà...*
and bush people.DEF NARR they take SC keep
‘The bush people took them and kept (them)...¹²

fó kà pi í mí-pá lyé.
till and they NARR IP-come be.old
‘till they grew up.’

- b. *Ŋjyŋa à pa m-pi ké...*
food.DEF PERF come IP-be.soft TC
‘When the food was cooked (lit. came to be soft)...’

Sa with stative verbs usually calls attention to the duration of time preceding the entry into the state (see chapter 8, section 8.3.5.14 for the quasi-adverbial function of *pa* and *sa* to mean ‘finally’ or ‘at length’). Note in the following example the repeated use of *sa* to give the effect of a great lapse of time. The ‘it’ in the final clause refers to a lake in the middle of a town. The speaker’s point is that the town was so large that a person could spend a great deal of time, in fact a whole lifetime, without ever seeing the lake:

- (30) *Pyàŋi màha si kànhe na*
child.DEF HAB be.born town.DEF at
‘A child would be born in the town
màha sá lyé màha sá má shíre finŋè
HAB go be.old HAB go your hair.DEF be.white
and grow up and get white hair
màha sá f-kwû, mu gú kù nyè mε.
HAB go IP-die you POT it see NEG
and finally die, (yet) s/he (lit. you) would not see it.’

The inceptive requires that the state of affairs entered into be durative (there is not much use in talking about the beginning of a punctual event). Active verbs therefore appear in their imperfective form. As noted in section 9.1.2 above, progressive verbs can follow perfective verbs in a loose serial construction. It was pointed out there that in such cases the beginning of the imperfective event was clear, and in fact often the most felicitous translation

into English is ‘begin to V2’. The inceptive construction with active verbs is apparently a direct descendant of this type of serial construction. The first verb is *pa* or *sa* in perfective form. These often retain no vestige of their main verb meaning of physical displacement, and instead function merely to mark the beginning of the following durative event. They are followed by a reduced form *a* of the progressive marker *na* and by the second verb in its imperfective form. This use of the reduced form of the progressive marker, which is the form used following many auxiliaries, is an indication of the advanced degree of grammaticalization of *pa* and *sa* in this construction. Following are some examples:

- (31) a. *Kà sige shínbíí sì ... fé à pa*
and bush people.DEF NARR run SC come
‘Then the bush people ... came running

ná kàsòrigílé è
with whips.DEF with
with whips

mà pà a zàntùṅḅò bwùṅ.
and come PROG hyena hit.IMPFV
and began to beat Hyena.’

- b. *Kà u ú ... ḡ-káré dùgé e*
and she NARR IP-go stream.DEF to
‘Then she ... went to the stream

mà sà a kùlùshíṅi jyìl.
and go PROG trousers.DEF wash.IMPFV
and began to wash the trousers.’

With a few verbs which have an inherently durative meaning, the perfective form of the verb (without the progressive marker, of course) can be used in the inceptive construction:

- (32) a. *Téṅi kà ní-pá ḡ-ká ...*
tea.DEF COND IP-come IP-boil
‘When the tea comes to a boil...’

- b. *Kà u ú ... pyàṅi byè*
and she NARR child.DEF raise
‘She raised ... the child

fó kà u pá jaara.
till and she come walk
till she (= the child) began to walk.’

Another much less common way of encoding inceptivity is by means of a verb or phrase meaning ‘begin’ together with a complement clause. There are two such expressions in Supyire, *sii* and *ɲwɔ cû*. *Sii* ‘begin’ is evidently the oldest. We have already met this verb as a copula (see chapter 7, section 7.3.1), and in section 9.3.2.1 below its function as an auxiliary is described. Its original meaning however was ‘begin’. It takes only the most highly nominalized type of complement, a verbal noun in direct object position:

(33) *Fáággi wá á nùgùnte*
 Farakala.inhabitants be.there PERF sow-DEF

sila a kwɔ.
 begin SC finish

‘The people of Farakala have already begun to sow.’

In view of the advanced state of the grammaticalization of *sii* it is not surprising that its function of coding the meaning ‘begin’ is being supplanted by a new expression: *ɲwɔ cû* ‘begin’, literally ‘catch/grab mouth’. This is a direct calque on the Bambara compound verb *damìne* ‘begin’, literally ‘catch mouth’. The Bambara verb takes an extraposed complement, and the Supyire copy follows suit. Compare the following examples:

(34) a. Bambara

À y’a da-mìnè kà dumuni ke.
 s/he PAST.it mouth-catch INF eat.NOM do
 ‘S/he began to eat.’

b. Supyire

U a ɲ ɲwɔ cû na lyí.
 s/he PERF it mouth catch PROG eat.IMPFV
 ‘S/he began to eat.’

9.1.6. Terminative

The unmarked base, or perfective form of the verb, as pointed out in section 9.1.1 above, does not call particular attention to the termination of an event, though of course that termination is included in the reference to the “complete” event. The special coding of the end point is accomplished by adding the verb *kwɔ* ‘finish’ as the second verb in a serial construction:

- (35) *Wùdù pyéngá shínbíslá à pyi a lyì a kwò*
 our compound people.DEF PERF PAST SC eat SC finish
 'Our family had finished eating
mà sìnì.
 and lie.down
 and gone to bed.'

From a practical point of view, the motivation for calling special attention to the termination of an event is generally because it is unexpected or at least newsworthy at that particular time. As such, a good translation often includes the adverb 'already'. The speaker of the following question was surprised that the addressee was returning so soon with the dishes from which the men had eaten:

- (36) *Nàmbaa wá á lyì à kwò la?*
 men be.there PERF eat SC finish Q
 'Have the men already finished eating?'

The advanced state of grammaticalization of the terminative construction is shown by the fact that it can be used with the verb *kwò* 'finish'. Note that in the following example, the 'finishing' is actually durative, a necessary characteristic, for obvious reasons, of an event whose terminal boundary is to be highlighted:

- (37) *Lira a càṅke ta*
 this(EMPH) PERF day.DEF find
 'Meanwhile the day (lit. this found the day)
ká á kwò a kwò.
 it.COMP PERF finish SC finish
 had already ended.'

The terminative construction is especially suitable in time adverbial clauses which provide a setting for a following main clause. In many pragmatic situations, the termination of one event is a necessary prerequisite for another event. In the following example, the men could not be called to eat until the cooking is finished:

- (38) *Pi à shwòha a kwò gé,*
 they PERF cook SC finish TC
 'When they had finished cooking,
kà mụncwōṅi sì u còṅi tun
 and older.sister.DEF NARR her younger.sibling.DEF send
 the older sister sent her younger sister

na u Ø sà uru nàmbaabí yyere.
 that she SUBJUNC go her(EMPH) men.DEF call
 to call her men.'

Time clauses in procedural discourses can have the same function:

(39) *Ta há cwóónra a kwò, yìi màha tà lyì.*
 it COND sort SC finish you.PL HAB IND eat
 'When it is finished being sorted, you eat some.'

Note that with the perfective habitual, the use of the terminative highlights the termination of each *individual* event. In the following extract from a narrative, the daughters of two co-wives are sent every morning to fetch water. The daughter of the younger wife is given a pot, whereas her companion is given a sieve. Of course the former always finishes drawing water before the latter:

(40) *Ceèni numblěni pyàní màha*
 woman.DEF ADJ.little.DIM.DEF child.DEF HAB
 'The younger (lit. little) woman's child would
sá kú ' kwó á kwò.
 go it draw SC finish
 go finish drawing it.'

The terminative construction with stative verbs does not refer to an end point. This is hardly surprising since states are not ordinarily construed with end points. With statives the terminative functions rather to indicate that the state *already* obtains. Following is an example with a copula. In the narrative, about events during the colonial era, the speaker's father suggests that he had better go to Sikasso to enroll his name for the draft. The speaker reports that his name is already there:

(41) *Mìl mége na wá aná á kwò.*
 my name.DEF PROG be.there there SC finish
 'My name is already there.'

One example has even been recorded of this use of the 'terminative' with an active imperfective verb. I was once recording the reminiscences of an old man who did not understand the working of a tape recorder very well. He broke off his narrative at one point to ask why my companion was not repeating his words to me so that I could write them down. My colleague then explained the tape recorder to him, concluding with the following statement:

- (42) *Cyi wá na yúú na yara*
 they be.there PROG take.IMPFV PROG put.down.IMPFV
a kwò.
 SC finish

‘They are already being taken and stored.’

9.1.7. Repetitive and distributive

It was pointed out in section 9.1.4 above that durativity could be coded in a narrative by repeating a verb together with a conjunction (either *mà* or *na*). The repetitive aspect is coded in a similar fashion by the reduplication of the entire verb, only without any conjunction. This repetition of the verb of course simply iconically mirrors the repetition of the event. Each individual event is usually punctual, but characteristically performed in a series. Note the following examples:

- (43) a. *kà sanntu sì tɔɔgé nyàhà-nyàhà.*
 and francolin NARR leg.DEF move-move
 ‘then Francolin shook his foot.’
- b. *u asì nùŋke kwòrò-kwòrò.*
 he HAB.SEQ head.DEF bob-bob
 ‘he would nod his head.’
- c. *Kà pwun sì jyè bìróŋi i,*
 and dog NARR enter office.DEF in
 ‘Then Dog came into the office,
maá kùmíŋi cù níngéyi na
 and.NARR commis.DEF grab ears.DEF at
 and grabbed the *commis* by the ears
mà tùrùgò-tùrùgò.
 and dash-dash
 and dashed him repeatedly (against the ground).’¹³

The reduplication of the verb indicates plurality—more than one instance of the event takes place. With a singular agent this plurality must obviously arise from a repetition of the event by the same participant. When the participants are plural, however, the construction has a distributive meaning. The event indeed takes place more than once, but this time because it is being performed (or undergone) separately, and perhaps even simultaneously, by different individuals. In the following example, each different owner of a cow had tied his or her cow in a separate place:

- (44) *Wùu a yìrè pwo-pwo pwooré `jwəhi i.*
 we PERF them(EMPH) tie-tie adobe.DEF behind at
 ‘We had tied them (the cows) behind the houses.’

Similarly, in the following example, the Fulas were scattered about in the fields in small camping sites, not all sleeping in one place together:

- (45) *Fílabíí jye a sìnì*
 Fulas.DEF NEG PERF lie.down
 ‘Hadn’t the Fulas lain down
maá nāyi ni-ni à?
 and.NARR fires.DEF put-put NEG.Q
 and lit fires all around?’

Occasionally a speaker will repeat a verb more than once. In the following example this seems to indicate a ‘thorough’ distribution, that is, that the warlords were in power in every part of the (known) world:

- (46) *Kèrèmasáabíí pi a tèn-tèn-tèn-tèn dijye i.¹⁴*
 warlords.DEF they PERF sit-sit-sit-sit world in
 ‘It was the warlords who were in power throughout the world.’

Another way to encode the distributive is by means of a serial construction with the verb *màhà* ‘do all over’ as V2. This verb is related etymologically to the verb *màhànà* ‘go round in a circle’, and most likely also to the habitual marker *màha* and the distributive noun conjunction *máhá*. It is only used in serial constructions in current Kampwo Supyire. See chapter 8, section 8.3.5.12 for examples.

9.2. Tense

9.2.1. Present

Present tense is not overtly marked in verbal clauses in Supyire. As pointed out in 9.1.2 and 9.1.3 above, the progressive and habitual have present time reference if they are not accompanied by another tense marker. The same thing will be seen in connection with other categories below. The perfect without the addition of a past tense marker, for example, could be described as a “present perfect” when it is used with active verbs, in the sense that a previous event has *current* relevance. With stative verbs, the perfect encodes a present state, without implication that it is the result of a previous event.

The “still” tense also has present time reference, in that a state or action begun previously is asserted to still continue at the present moment.

In all these cases, the auxiliary marks some TAM category, and the absence of any further marking indicates present time reference. The present *per se* is unmarked. Of all tense categories, this is the most likely to be unmarked, the time-of-speech being at the deictic center of temporal space, at least for absolute tenses (see Givón 1984: 302).

While there is no auxiliary marking present tense in verbal clauses, there is an overt tense distinction between copulas: the “neutral” copula *nye* ‘be’ is present tense, in contrast with the past tense copula *mpyi*. Even where *nye* is used as an auxiliary (e.g. marking negative with progressive *na* and perfect *à*) it is always present tense. The other copulas (*náhá* ‘be here’, *wá* ‘be there’, *sii* ‘be (emphatic)’) all have present time reference unless they are accompanied by other tense markers.

9.2.2. Past

Before describing what the past tense is in Supyire, it is worthwhile pointing out what it is not. It might seem that the prototypical use of a past tense would be to encode the foregrounded sequential events in a narrative, and indeed this is a major function of past tense in languages such as French and English. In many languages, however, this is not a function of the past tense. Rather, the main line events of a narrative are coded in some way as less than finite. Once the past time reference has been set, it can be assumed to persist until the speaker notifies otherwise, and thus does not need to be marked again and again in each clause. This is a fairly common practice in Niger-Congo languages, and indeed in languages around the world (cf. Givón 1990, chapter 19; see also Dahl 1985: 112). In Supyire a special narrative/sequential auxiliary which does not have past time reference *per se* is used for main line events in narratives. This will be described in section 9.2.6 below (see also chapter 15, section 15.3).

In narratives the overt marking of past tense is confined to the very beginning, when the stage is set, and to background material where the initial time setting cannot be relied on to indicate past time reference. Outside of the narrative genre, past tense is frequently encountered in ordinary conversational exchanges, whenever a past time reference is needed. Not surprisingly, many of the instances of past auxiliaries in narratives are found in reported conversations.

There are three past tense auxiliaries in Supyire: *màha* ‘formal past’, *ná* ‘remote past’, and *ní* ‘recent past’. In addition to these three, past time reference can also be indicated by the past tense copula *mpyi/pyi*, which can combine with other TAM markers to make compound past tenses. These will be described in section 9.2.7.1 below. The perfect also includes past time

reference with active verbs, and as we shall see below, may be in the process of usurping some of the territory of the past tense markers proper.

The three past tense auxiliaries all have distinct functions, though they overlap somewhat. The formal past marker *màha* is used exclusively to introduce “formal” narratives, i.e. folktales or myths. A total of 64 folktales have been recorded, and 42 (=66%) have the auxiliary *màha* in their first clause. The only other place it has been recorded is in the first clause of one personal narrative told by Mr. Ely Sanogo. Significantly, this narrative was written, not recorded, and the author seems to have been imitating the formal style of oral literature.

The attentive reader will have noticed that the formal past auxiliary is homophonous with the habitual auxiliary *màha*. They undoubtedly descend from the same ancestor, but it is unclear how the past tense use developed.¹⁵ Like the habitual and most other auxiliaries, *màha* ‘formal past’ requires the intransitive prefix on a following verb if it begins with a voiceless stop. Also like the habitual, and *unlike* most other auxiliaries, the formal past can take either the base/perfective or the imperfective form of the verb. The perfective, which is more common, is used when the first event of the narrative is simply the first in a series, as in the following examples:

- (47) a. *Ceèŋi wà u màha ŋ-kare sigé e*
 woman.DEF IND she FORM.PAST IP-go bush.DEF to
 ‘A certain woman went to the bush

mà sà nò ñkèémórò na...
 and go arrive chameleon at
 and came upon a chameleon...’

- b. *Canŋ kà ìpi ná zàntùŋò sùmàŋí*
 day IND hare and hyena grain.DEF
 One day Hare’s and Hyena’s grain

màha ŋ-kwɔ, kà ìpi sí jwó
 FORM.PAST IP-finish and hare NARR say
 ran out, and Hare said

na pi Ø pi nèebíí pèrè.
 that they SUBJUNC their mothers.DEF sell
 that they should sell their mothers.

As expected, the imperfective form of the verb is used when the speaker wishes to highlight the durativity of the event, or show that it overlaps with the following event:

- (48) a. *Ceèŋi wà u màha*
 woman.DEF IND she FORM.PAST
 ‘A certain woman was
- pyìi sí-nì*
 children give.birth-IMPFV
 giving birth to children
- maríi pi kyaa.*
 and.NARR.PROG them eat.IMPFV
 and eating them.
- Kà u ú mí-pá pyàŋi nijcyiìŋi ta...*
 and she NARR IP-come child.DEF ADJ.first.DEF get
 She had the first child...’
- b. *Cann kà nyàge na pwùn-naara-ŋí wà*
 day IND morning.DEF at dog-walk-DEF IND
 ‘One day in the morning a certain hunter
- u màha ŋ-kéégé u ntɔɔŋŋ-cwoo*
 he FORM.PAST IP-go.IMPFV his termite-pot
 was on his way (lit. going) to empty his
- ta-sògò-ge e mà sà kwòro-círìné tá ’*
 LOC-pour-DEF to and go monkey-orphan.DIM find
 termite pot and went and found an orphan monkey
- ná pìŋŋi ì.*
 with drum with
 with a drum.’¹⁶

The remaining two past tense markers differ in remoteness: *nî* is used for events occurring earlier in the same day as the moment of speaking, and *ná* is used for events earlier than that. Both require the base or perfective form of the verb. *Ná* takes the intransitive prefix on a following verb, whereas *nî* does not.

Ná overlaps functionally with *màha*, in that it also can be used to ‘set the stage’ in a narrative. Of the 64 folktales in the corpus, 14 (=22%) have *ná* in their initial clause. Following is an example:

- (49) *Ceèŋi wà u ná pyà si*
 woman.DEF IND she REM.PAST child give.birth
 ‘A certain woman gave birth to a child
- maá ŋ-kwû.*
 and.NARR IP-die
 and then died.’

Unlike *màha*, however, *ná* is also used elsewhere. Most of the 135 examples recorded in the corpus occur in conversations, where the overt marking of time reference is often necessary. Following are some examples taken from such conversations:

- (50) a. *U ná ní-pá motóni shwɔ à pa.*
 he REM.PAST IP-come motorcycle.DEF buy SC come
 ‘He finally bought a motorcycle and brought it.

U toŋ-cyil-ge wyéréni niŋ-kanní
 his time-first-DEF money.DEF ADJ-give.DEF
 That was the first time he gave money (lit. It was

u nyɛ ure.

it be that(EMPH)

this which was his first time’s giving the money).’

- b. *Jò u ná sá lí 'lwó yɛ?*
 who s/he REM.PAST go it take Q
 ‘Who went and took it?’¹⁷

Ná can also be used in non-main line material in a narrative. Subordinate clauses such as adverbial clauses and relative clauses can take overt past marking. Following is an example of the latter:

- (51) *U num-puruní na,*
 it ADJ-cut.up.DEF at
 ‘While they were cutting it (= the elephant) up,

tɔnm-pyàagí pi ná sá ní-tírígè
 metal-seeds.DEF they REM.PAST go IP-put.down
 the bullets which they put down

wùù táán ñkàni-fógóni i ké, sɛ̀̀ge na gé,
 us beside lute-circle.DEF in REL skin.DEF on REL
 beside us in the lute-players’ circle, on the skin (we were sitting

tɔnm-pyi-fyìn-gii bénáágá ' ná ké.
 metal-seed-white-G3P twenty and ten
 on) (they were) thirty bullets.’¹⁸

The recent past auxiliary *ní* primarily encodes events which took place earlier on the day of speaking.¹⁹ This marker is very rare in the text corpus, only nine examples being found. This scarcity is partly because the narratives collected are biased towards more remote events. In fact, the auxiliary is not infrequently heard in conversation. However, it is not nearly as often heard as the perfect, probably due to the fact that recent events are more

likely to have current relevance, and therefore are more appropriately coded with the perfect. *Nî* and the perfect auxiliary *à* are the only two auxiliaries which do not take the intransitive prefix on a following verb. The significance of this is not at present known, but there is an obvious similarity of function which is probably at the basis of the similarity in behavior. It is possible that *nî* was originally a perfect marker which moved to marking recent past (cf. the similar movement in some romance languages, such as Limouzi and Catalan, and an earlier stage of French; Dahl 1985: 125). Following are some examples of the use of *nî*.

- (52) a. *Mîl nî mu pyi dî yé?*
 I REC.PAST you tell how Q
 'What did I tell you (earlier today)?'
- b. *Cààndùgò nî jwo na wyéréŋi uru*
 Caandugo REC.PAST say that money.DEF he(EMPH)
 'Caandugo said (earlier today) that the money he
- nye na bíní-ní mu yyéré ge, na mu gú*
 be PROG gather-IMPFV you toward REL that you POT
 is saving with you, that you
- jà-jà ùrù tégé nyagé shwɔ.*
 FP-be.able it(EMPH) use grass.DEF buy
 can use it to buy grass (for your roof).'

As might be expected, time adverbs that are inappropriate for the time span covered by the past tense markers are not allowed in the same clause. Thus the *nî* is incompatible with 'yesterday', and conversely *ná* is incompatible with 'today':

- (53) a. *U nî pa *tájjàà.*
 s/he REC.PAST come yesterday
 'S/he came *yesterday.'
- b. *U ná ní-pá ' *níjjàà.*
 s/he REM.PAST IP-come today
 'S/he came *today.'

When asked the difference between *ná* and *nî*, speakers readily supply such explanations as 'You use *ná* if the event was long ago' or 'You use *nî* if it happened today.' The system, however, is not really as rigid as this seems to imply. Dahl (1985: 123) and Comrie (1986: 83) both note that quite frequently speakers do not strictly abide by the "rules" in remoteness systems. That is, speakers may exploit the system for various other purposes than strictly the coding of objective tense. This is the case in Supyire. Spe-

cifically, speakers do not adhere to their own definition of the recent past. Three of the nine examples recorded refer to remote rather than recent events. Apparently the use of *nî* renders the event emotionally closer, more immediate. In the following example, recorded in 1986, the speaker is referring to an event which took place around 1900: the installation by the French of a district chief shortly after their conquest of Sikasso.

- (54) *Kùlùncúŋs, pi nî mé Sanyè kulùni*
 Kuluncungo they REC.PAST there Sanyè country.DEF
 ‘Kuluncungo, they gave the whole of Sanyè country

puní kan Kùlùncúŋá a.
 all give Kuluncungo to
 to Kuluncungo.’

Before leaving the subject of past tense, a word should be said concerning the relationship of the perfect and the past tenses. There are real and persistent differences between the two, and these will be dealt with in section 9.2.4 below. But, as has been alluded to above, there are also significant overlaps in function. On the whole, the perfect gives the impression of being in the process of taking over the territory of the past tense. For one thing, it is overwhelmingly more frequent. In the corpus, there are 9 examples of *nî*, 44 of *màha*, and 135 of *ná*, but at least 2,500 of the perfect auxiliary *à*. At least two thirds of the examples of *ná* are from elderly speakers. In what might be considered the privileged domain of the past tense, the initial setting of the stage in narratives, the perfect rather than one of the pasts is regularly used by younger speakers for personal narratives (they still tend to use *màha* or *ná* for folktales).

9.2.3. Future

Future tense is doubly coded in Kampwo Supyire, by means of auxiliaries, and by means of a future prefix on the verb which co-occurs with the auxiliaries. This prefix only surfaces in segmental form (a low-tone nasal) when the verb is intransitive (that is, when no direct object intervenes between the auxiliary and the verb). When a direct object is present, only the low tone appears, attached either to the auxiliary (if the direct object is a noun, or a pronoun beginning with strong mid tone) or to the direct object (if it is a pronoun beginning with weak mid tone). If the direct object already begins with a low tone, the low of the prefix is indistinguishable. The prefix is repeated on each verb in a serial construction. See section 4.1.2 for details of the behavior of this prefix.

There are two future auxiliaries. The most common is *sí*,²⁰ which almost certainly descends historically from the imperfective form of the verb *shya*

'go', which in Kampwo Supyire is most often *sí*, although the forms *si* and *se* are also heard. Following are some examples. The future prefix is glossed FP even when it is reduced to a low tone on the auxiliary or a pronominal object.

- (55) a. *U sí ñ-kàn.*
 it FUT FP-give
 'It will be given.'
- b. *Pi sí ù bò.*
 they FUT FP.him kill
 'They will kill him.'
- c. *Taá wùù sí ñ-jà zhyè gé?*
 where we FUT FP-be.able FP.go LOC.Q
 'Where can we go?'
- d. *Yaagé ku sí mu bó ke,*
 thing.DEF it FUT.FP you kill RC
 'The thing which will kill you,
kuru ku sí mìn bó.
 that(EMPH)it FUT (FP)me kill
 it is that which will kill me.'

Much less common than *sí* is the future auxiliary *caá* (only 55 examples occur in the corpus, versus more than 400 examples of *sí*). I have been unable to discover any difference in function between these two auxiliaries. The obvious etymology of *caá* is the verb *caá* 'want, like, love'. It would be convenient if this future auxiliary had a more modal meaning such as 'desiderative future', but if it ever had such a function, it is no longer evident. *Caá* thus easily co-occurs with non-volitional subjects:

- (56) *Lwɔhɔ caá ñ-kwɔ kè è mé.*
 water FUT FP-finish it in NEG
 'Water will not run out in it (= the lake).'

I could induce no speaker of the language to consent to my hypothesis that *caá* indicates a greater degree of emphasis than *sí*, nor does it occur noticeably more frequently in contrastive contexts. It probably has a stylistic or dialectal flavor of its own, but this is speculation at this stage. Here are some more examples:

- (57) a. *Mìn caá m-pà mu wíf.*
 I FUT FP-come you look
 'I'll come see you.'

- b. *Mu cáà kapij cè kuru cànké e.*
 you FUT.FP act.bad know that(EMPH) day.DEF in
 ‘You will know (i.e. experience) a bad deed on that day.’

There is a third auxiliary with future time reference, but which is distinguished modally from the future auxiliaries. This is the potential auxiliary *kú*. It will be dealt with in section 9.3.2.2 below.

The future auxiliaries do not differ from each other in degree of remoteness from the moment of speech, as the past auxiliaries do. Increased remoteness is instead indicated through the use of a supplementary auxiliary *bú* or *bá* following the future marker. These seem to be variants of the same morpheme, the vowel being occasionally rounded under the influence of the labial consonant. No specific degree of remoteness is attached to the use of *bú/bá*. For some speakers it is not compatible with a time expression referring to ‘today’, but it does allow ‘tomorrow’. Note that the low tone of the future “prefix” precedes the remote auxiliary, docking leftward onto the future auxiliary:

- (58) *Pi sí bá mu bwón (nùmpaŋa / *níjǎà).*
 they FUT.FP REM you hit tomorrow today
 ‘They will beat you (tomorrow / *today).’

For other speakers, *bú/bá* cannot occur with a specific time adverb. The degree of remoteness is unspecified, and accordingly sometimes a good translation is ‘eventually’:

- (59) *Pi cáà bá mu wíí ò-kànha náhá wùu kànhe na.*
 they FUT REM you look FP-be.tired here our village at
 ‘They will eventually look for you in vain here in our village.’

The remote auxiliary has quite naturally developed a modal function as well. It can be used much like *kú* to indicate a decrease in likelihood of the predicted event coming to pass. Thus a sentence like the following could have two interpretations, as indicated. Note that *bú/bá* requires the intransitive prefix on a following verb:

- (60) *Mìì sí bú m-pá.*
 I FUT.FP REM IP-come
 a. ‘I will eventually come.’
 b. ‘I might/probably will come.’

The modal function of the remote auxiliary will be described in section 9.3.2.2 below.

At the other extreme of remoteness is a periphrastic expression which might be labelled “immediate future”, though “prospective” (following Comrie 1976: 64) might be more accurate. Its basic meaning is ‘to be about to’ or ‘be on the point of’. The expression consists of the verb *ko* ‘say’ (borrowed from Bambara *ko* ‘say’) followed by a subjectless subjunctive complement with an imperfective verb:

- (61) a. *U nyε na η-ko rá a η-kéégé.*
 s/he be PROG IP-say SUBJUNC PROG IP-go.IMPFV
 ‘S/he is about to go.’
- b. *Canη kà m̀pi màha shye sà u-yè nàara*
 day IND hare FORM.PAST go go he-REFL walk
 ‘One day Hare went for a walk (lit. went to walk himself)
- mà sà fwòro zhìbannàηwɔ na ká á sìnì*
 and go exit ground.hornbill at it.COMP PERF lie.down
 and came upon Ground Hornbill lying
- na η-ko rá a η-kwúú*
 PROG IP-say SUBJUNC PROG IP-die.IMPFV
 about to die
- katêge cyè è.*
 hunger.DEF hand in
 from hunger.’

The same expression, but with the complement verb in perfective rather than imperfective form, has the modality meaning of ‘almost, nearly’:

- (62) *Kuru ku mpyi na η-ko rí*
 this(EMPH) it PAST PROG IP-say SUBJUNC
 ‘It was this which almost
- ka-taanmpé nyàha η-gùrùgò.*
 affair-sweet.DEF stir FP-mix.up
 ruined the good thing.’

9.2.4. Perfect

The perfect auxiliary is *à*. This is derived from an original form **mà*,²¹ which has also given rise to the same subject narrative conjunction *mà*, which in turn through elision of the initial consonant has yielded the serial connective *à*. The latter is homophonous in every way with the perfect auxiliary. The etymology of *mà* is not clear at this point, but the best contender seems to be *ma*, the imperfective form of the verb ‘come’. The tone is

wrong, but the sense is right, ‘come’ being a not infrequent source of the perfect (Anderson 1982).²²

The perfect in Supyire has all the “ingredients” of a prototypical perfect which have been frequently noted in the literature (see especially Anderson 1982, Givón 1984: 278): perfectivity, current relevance, anteriority, and counter-sequentiality. There are signs, however, that the perfect is moving on to other functions. These will be duly noted in the following discussion.

The typical perfect is perfective, and the Supyire perfect is no exception. Only the perfective form of the verb can be used with the auxiliary *à*, and there is no equivalent of the “perfect progressive” (‘I have been eating’) that is possible in English. Having said this, it is necessary to qualify the notion of perfectivity. The perfective form of the verb in Supyire cannot be characterized as “completive” in the sense of being specially construed with a terminal point. It is rather perfective in the sense of referring to the complete event or state. Although the event coded by active verbs is completed, the state encoded by stative verbs is certainly not, as we shall see below. Construal of the terminal point is accomplished by means of the terminative serial construction (see 9.1.6). Note however that this construction with a stative verb does not encode the terminal point of the state, but rather the fact that the state already obtains at the temporal reference point.

The “current relevance” ingredient of the Supyire perfect is clearly seen in contrasting it with the past tense auxiliaries *ná* and *nî*. It has frequently been noted that the notion of “current relevance” is rather difficult to pin down. In Supyire as in other languages with a typical perfect there can be a number of pragmatic sources of such relevance. Perhaps the commonest is when the result of a past action persists and impinges in some way on the present moment. Compare the following examples:

- (63) a. *U ná m-pá ' táñjáà.*
 s/he REM.PAST IP-come yesterday
 ‘S/he came yesterday.’
- b. *U à pa táñjáà.*
 s/he PERF come yesterday
 ‘S/he came yesterday.’

(63a), using the past auxiliary, strongly implies that the referent of the subject has gone away again, i.e. the person came and also left yesterday. (63b), on the other hand, strongly implies that the referent of the subject is still here, i.e. the state of affairs resulting from the past action of coming is still in effect: ‘S/he came yesterday, and so s/he is here.’ Note incidentally that the Supyire perfect co-occurs freely with time phrases, unlike its English counterpart.

Sometimes the previous event is the cause of a present one. Compare the following examples. The first, with the past, encodes an event of seeing

which did not issue in any current event. The perfect in the second, in contrast, marks an event of seeing which is directly responsible for the current event of going:

- (64) a. *U ná nanjyááyi kànf nya.*
 he REM.PAST wild.animals.DEF only see
 'He saw only the wild animals.'

Canŋ kà kà u ú mí-pá ñgurugo nya...
 day IND and he NARR IP-come smoke see
 'One day, he finally saw some smoke...'

- b. *Tuwyige mìl à nye kamini i,*
 beehive I PERF see sp.of.grass.DEF in
 'I have seen a *beehive* in the *kamine* grass,
kuru tà-bòŋi ì mìl kéégé.
 it(EMPH) LOC-kill.G2S to I go.IMPFV
 (and) I am going (i.e. I'm on my way) to collect the honey
 (lit. I am going to kill it).'

It has often been noted that the perfect is frequently more compatible with recent events than with remote ones, evidently because recent events are more likely to have special relevance at the moment of speaking.²³ This tendency can be seen in the Supyire perfect as well. With a verb such as *jwo* 'say', there is a tendency to use *ná* if the event of saying was far in the past, and *à* if it was quite recent. The current relevance of the perfect here seems to stem from the content of what was said still being vividly in the hearer's mind. Compare the following two examples, in both of which the verb 'say' is in a relative clause. In the first the event of saying took place many months before the moment of speaking, in the second, only a matter of minutes:

- (65) a. *Jwu-bé mìl ná jwó mu nyíí ná ke,*
 say-DEF I REM.PAST say your eye at REL
 'The words I said in your presence,

mu a pù nyè numé.
 you PERF they see now
 you have seen them (come true) now.'

- b. *Mpé kùcwunna à jwo ké, sèè wì la?*
 this monkey PERF say REL truth it.is(G1S) Q
 'What Monkey has said, is it the truth?'

It can be demonstrated, however, that *à* also contrasts with the recent past auxiliary *ní*. Just as in example (63a) above, the following implies that the

referent of the subject has gone away again at some time prior to the moment of speaking:

- (66) *U nî pa.*
 s/he REC.PAST come
 ‘S/he came (earlier today).’

In the following example, the recent past *nî* codes the first event, but the perfect is used for the second, this time to show that the expected result does not obtain at the moment of speaking:

- (67) *U nî jwo na uru sí m-pà,*
 he REC.PAST say that he(EMPH)FUT FP-come
 ‘He said he would come,
ɲkàà u ɲye à pa mé.
 but he NEG PERF come NEG
 but he hasn’t come.’

In fact, we shall see below that the perfect is not at all confined to the recent past, but can be used for events quite remote in time.

The current relevance component has triumphed completely over the other meanings of the perfect in clauses with stative verbs.²⁴ Here the meaning was probably originally that of a current state resulting from a past event, and this construal is still possible, though it seems to be rather rare in practice. Instead, the current state is normally the only part of the meaning left, with no implication that it is the result of some past event. Both meanings are possible in the following example, though the first usually has to be coaxed from a consultant (it can be made more natural by adding an adverb such as *numé* ‘now’, and forced by adding context such as ‘You were thin last time I saw you, but...’):

- (68) *Mu a pèè.*
 you PERF be.fat
 a. ‘You have gotten fat.’
 b. ‘You are fat.’

In the following example, only the stative meaning is available, unless the consultant has a very lively imagination:

- (69) *Fáága a pèè.*
 rock.DEF PERF be.big
 ‘The rock is big.’

The time reference with a stative verb can be in the past if something in the context requires it. In the following example, the subject, referring as it does to a past event, requires that the state have past time reference:

- (70) *Toŋf tɪŋkànf ' fana*
 feast.DEF establish.manner.DEF also
 'The way the party was arranged also
nye à nwo mé.
 NEG PERF be.good NEG
 was not good.'

Similarly, a stative verb with the perfect may be embedded in a narrative, where it receives a past time reading from the time reference of the discourse as a whole.

The anteriority component of the perfect has been implicit in the foregoing discussion. With active verbs, the event takes place prior to the moment of speaking. As noted above, there is no necessity that the event be recent. In the following example, the event took place a full year before the moment of speaking:

- (71) *Jwùnurú ' ú pyìbíf nà Numémwô wùubíf,*
 Jwunuru GEN children.DEF and Numemwo POSS.DEF
 'Jwunuru's children and those of Numemwo,
pire pi à tanjyéé ' ú làmpúŋi sàrà.
 they(EMPH) they PERF last.year GEN tax.DEF pay
 it was they who paid last year's taxes.'

A common use of the perfect in narratives is in preposed time clauses, in which the event antedates and provides the setting for the main clause event. The following example is the beginning of a folktale:

- (72) *Nàŋi wà u ná sá ú kérégé ' cyán*
 man.DEF IND he REM.PAST go his field establish
 'A certain man went and made his field
sige shín cyágé é.
 bush people place in
 in a place (where there were) bush people.
Ciré tèè-paanná à no gé,
 tree.DEF time-chop.DEF PERF arrive TC
 When the time to chop the trees arrived,

kà u ú ò-káré sà a ciré pààn-nì.
 and he NARR IP-go go PROG trees.DEF chop-IMPV
 he went and began chopping the trees.'

The fourth “ingredient” of the prototypical perfect, counter-sequentiality, refers to the coding of an event out of its chronological order in a narrative. This is most easily illustrated by the pluperfect,²⁵ which is formed from the perfect by the addition of the past tense copula *cum* auxiliary *mpyi/pyi*. Following is an example:

(73) *Ŋyège na kà m̀̀ túŋi sì yírà*
 morning.DEF at and my father.DEF NARR get.up
 ‘In the morning my father got up

à u òkwuubíí sanmpíí ta sìcyèèrè.
 SC his chickens.DEF OTHER.DEF find four
 and found he had only four chickens left (lit. and found the rest of his chickens four).

Fyìŋa à pyi a òpíí sanmpíí jò.
 python.DEF PERF PAST PERF those rest.DEF swallow
 The python had swallowed the rest of them.

Kà u ú ú-yè céégà,
 and he NARR he-REFL accuse
 Then he blamed himself

maá sá pwũŋi cù na n-taali...
 and.NARR go dog.DEF grab PROG IP-caress.IMPV
 and caught the dog and petted him...’

The middle event in this example, the swallowing of the chickens by the python, occurred prior to the event encoded immediately before it, the father waking up in the morning to find that he had only four chickens left. This being out of sequence is clearly indicated by using the pluperfect. The simple perfect also encodes counter-sequentiality in some types of subordinate clause. Note the following example of a relative clause, which codes an event which had occurred before any of the other events in the extract:

(74) *Kà m̀̀ í ... sá úrú yibe-gé pyi*
 and I NARR go his(EMPH) asking-DEF do
 ‘Then I ... went and asked after him

mishyóŋi fũŋŋò shíinbílá à,
 mission.DEF inside people.DEF to
 from the people inside the mission,

narratives were all under forty years of age. As noted above, over two thirds of the examples of the past auxiliary *ná* were from old men. It looks very much as though the perfect is beginning to supplant the past in the speech of the young, at least in this relatively narrow domain of monologue narrative.

In addition to the simple perfect described above, Supyire has a periphrastic “experiential” perfect formed by adding the verb *nye* ‘see’ as V2 in a serial construction. The meaning is basically ‘have had the experience of Vling’. Note that in the following examples the sense of sight is not involved at all:

- (76) a. *Mu à jwo na weená a tààn gé,*
 you PERF say my.NONDECL leaf.DIM PERF be.sweet TC
 ‘You say my little leaf tastes good (lit. when you have said my little leaf is sweet),
- ma à na bwuu múgà à nye la?*
 you.NONDECL PERF my.NONDECL fruit suck SC see Q
 (but) have you ever tasted (lit. sucked and seen) my fruit?’
- b. *U ceèñi mpyi na sáhá pyà ta à nye mé.*
 this woman.DEFPASTPROG yet child get SC see NEG
 ‘This woman had not yet ever had a child.’
- c. *U darashíñi wùu sáhá lyí à nye*
 his 5.francs.DEF we NEG.yet eat SC see
 ‘We have not yet spent (lit. eaten) five francs of his
- wùu fwòròbàñf²⁸ i mé.*
 our association.DEF in NEG
 in our association.’

This construction can even be used with the verb *nye* itself:

- (77) *Mu a cànràgà nye à nye la, nògòlyèñf?*
 you PERF lion see SC see Q man.old.DEF
 ‘Have you ever seen a lion, old man?’

A more restricted kind of experiential perfect is formed with the verb *tèè* ‘be accustomed to’ as V1 in a serial construction.²⁹ The meaning is ‘have V2ed once before’:

- (78) a. *Mìi a tèlà à pa náhá.*
 I PERF once.before SC come here
 ‘I have come here once before.’

- b. *Hálì m̀ì a t̀èla a ù ỳíbé*
 even I PERF once.before SC him ask
 ‘I once even asked him
- ‘Mu na ǹànkààge pyi la?’*
 you PROG thievery.DEF go Q
 ‘Are you thieving?’”

9.2.5. ‘Still’, ‘again’, ‘no longer’, and ‘not yet’

These tenses, rare among the world’s languages, are relatively common in Niger-Congo, being widely attested in Bantu (Comrie 1986: 53).³⁰ In Supyire they are morphologically unified, the ‘no longer’ and ‘not yet’ forms being two different ways of negating the ‘still’ and ‘again’ tenses. The auxiliary is *sáhá*, obviously related to the adverb *sáháŋkì* ‘still, yet, again’. In the ‘still’, ‘again’, and ‘no longer’ tenses, this auxiliary is added to other auxiliaries.

All four of these tenses are interesting from a pragmatic view in that their use implies a certain amount of counterexpectation. Speakers use them when they wish to show that the situation which actually obtains is different from what would normally be expected.

The ‘still’ tense presupposes that some durative event or state began or was the case in the past, and asserts that it continues at the reference point, usually the present. Pragmatically, the fact that the event or state still obtains is somewhat unexpected (cf. the use of the adverb *still* in English). The auxiliary *sáhá* is followed by the progressive marker *na*, indicating durativity. The construction is common with the neutral copula *nyɛ* and with the deictic copulas *náhá* and *wá*. Note in the second example below how the adverbial time clause provides a past reference point for the ‘still’ tense in the main clause.

- (79) a. *Fwòròbà sáhá na nyɛ la?*
 cooperative STILL PROG be Q
 ‘Do co-operative associations still exist?’
- b. *U à pa nɔ gé, caawa sáhá na*
 he PERF come arrive TC warthog STILL PROG
 ‘When he finally arrived, Warthog was still
- wá ú mééni na na ɲ-cèè.*
 be.there his song.DEF on PROG IP-sing
 singing his song (lit. was still on his song singing).’

Active verbs of course appear in their imperfective form. Either a progressive or a habitual meaning is possible. (Note that a simple low tone spreads onto *sáhá*.)

- (80) a. *U sáhá na lyí.*
 s/he STILL PROG eat.IMPFV
 ‘S/he is still eating.’
- b. *Ŋkèémórò sàhà na lire nāni*
 chameleon STILL PROG this(EMPH) walk.DEF
 ‘Chameleon still walks that walk
- nààrè sigé e yyeheke yyeheke yyeheke.*
 walk.IMPFV bush.DEF in (ideophone)
 in the bush *yyeheke yyeheke yyeheke.*’

The ‘again’ tense is similar to the ‘still’ tense, except that the verb is perfective. The meaning is then that the event is repeated at the reference point, after having occurred at least once in the past. Pragmatically, the repetition of the event is somewhat unexpected. When the reference point is the present, the perfect auxiliary follows *sáhá*. Although this is written separately (*sáhá à*), in the speech of most people all that remains of the perfect is its low tone (*sáhà*):

- (81) *Mu sáhá à pa.*
 you AGAIN PERF come
 ‘You have come again.’

The reference point may also be in the future, in which case the future auxiliary *sí* (preceded by the progressive auxiliary *na*)³¹ follows the ‘again’ auxiliary. In the future, the element of counterexpectation is often not present, as in the following example.

- (82) *Kwùŋi sàhà na sí m̀-̀pà*
 die.DEF AGAIN PROG FUT FP-come
 ‘Death will come again
- lire t̀eni i sáhàŋk̀i.*
 that(EMPH) time.DEF in again
 at that time.’

One example with the conditional has been recorded:

- (83) *U sáhá ' gá ' nùrá á pà s̀oǹnà à ta ỳo...*
 he AGAIN COND return SC come think SC get POL
 ‘If he thinks again (of something more)...’

The ‘not yet’ tense is by far the commonest of any of the tenses discussed in this section. It is also the simplest from a morphological point of view. It consists solely of the auxiliary *sáhá* together with the negative low tone, which in this case *precedes* the auxiliary and consequently docks rightwards onto its first vowel, yielding *sàhá*. No other auxiliary is used. The intransitive prefix appears on the verb if it immediately follows (and if it begins with a voiceless stop). The basic meaning of the tense is that some event did not occur in the past, and is not occurring in the present. It is presupposed that the event was and is expected (it is not, however, asserted that it will happen in the future). Following are some examples:

- (88) a. *Kùcwuun sàhá mí-pá mɛ.*
 monkey NEG.STILL IP-come NEG
 ‘Monkey hasn’t come yet.’
- b. *Mu sàhá sigɛ nu bó mɛ.*
 you NEG.STILL bush cow kill NEG
 ‘You haven’t killed a bush cow yet.’

The ‘not again’ construction can also, at least for some speakers, have the rather different meaning of ‘still not yet’. For these speakers, the following examples are virtually equivalent:

- (89) a. *Wùu sàhá lyí mɛ.*
 we NEG.STILL eat NEG
 ‘We (still) haven’t eaten yet.’
- b. *Wùù sáhá nyɛ a lyì mɛ.*
 we STILL NEG PERF eat NEG
 ‘We still haven’t eaten (yet).’

The latter can also have the somewhat commoner meaning ‘we haven’t eaten again’ as explained above.

The point of reference of the ‘not yet’ tense can be placed in the past by adding the past auxiliary *mpyi*, as will be shown in section 9.2.7.1 below.

9.2.6. Coding sequence: the narrative/sequential

A striking feature of narrative in Supyire, which it has in common with many Niger-Congo languages, is the use of a special tense-aspect in all but the initial main line clauses.³³ The narrative/sequential auxiliary is *sí*, superficially similar to the future auxiliary *sí*, and perhaps deriving from the same source, namely *sí*, the imperfective form of the verb *shya* ‘go’. This auxiliary undergoes a number of debilitating phonological processes, an indica-

tion of its early grammaticalization. It is, in the right environment, rhotacized to *ri* (see chapter 2 section 2.1.2.2); following most pronouns its initial consonant is elided (see chapter 2 section 2.1.1.5), and its vowel assimilates to the pronoun vowel if this is [u]. It is thus reduced to *i* after *pi*, *li*, *cyi* etc., and *ú* after *u*, *ku*, *pu* etc. Following the same subject conjunction *ma* it is similarly reduced to *á*.³⁴ And lastly, it also accepts a spreading low tone from the left, and consequently frequently appears as *sí* (see chapter 2 section 2.3.3.1).

In attempting to account for “narrative” tenses, Dahl (1985: 112) speaks of the “narrative context”, in which the temporal reference point is not the moment of speech, but rather “the point in time at which the last event related in the preceding context took place.” The function of a narrative tense would then be to indicate subsequence to that temporal reference point, and the result would be a chronological sequencing of events.

There are some difficulties with this analysis which are clearly illustrated by the Supyire data. Dahl himself notes that the marking of narrative tenses (which in his data base were confined to Africa) frequently resembles that of subordinate clauses in some way. In Supyire, the identical auxiliary *sí* (with all its allomorphs) also marks subjunctive clauses (used principally as complement clauses, but also for polite commands or requests) and adverbial purpose clauses. This points to a somewhat different explanation, suggested by Givón (1990, chapter 19; cf. also Carlson 1992): the “narrative” auxiliary is essentially a non-finite form.³⁵ The use of a non-finite, or at least less-than-fully finite, form in narrative capitalizes on the principle of “inertia” in discourse (cf. Longacre 1983: 140). Once a setting is established in discourse, the tendency is to assume that it remains the same until notified otherwise.

This principle is well documented in the domain of topic continuity (see in particular Givón 1983), where it has been repeatedly demonstrated that languages tend to prescribe very little coding for continued reference to highly “continuous” topics, i.e. participants which have already been installed in center stage. Verb agreement, unstressed pronouns, or even zero anaphora are the rule cross-linguistically. The same principle can be invoked in the domain of tense-aspect, above all in the narrative genre. The speaker can count on the hearer’s expectation that the time setting established at the beginning will remain in force for the entire narrative, and that the main events will be recounted in the order that they happened. This allows the speaker to “economize” on the coding, and not repeat the temporal setting in each clause. In Kampwo Supyire the narrative auxiliary is not actually phonologically shorter than the other auxiliaries (though the trend is certainly in that direction—no other auxiliary suffers phonological erosion to the same extent) but it carries less information. The tense setting must be gotten somewhere else. Thus as we shall see below, it is used to code sequential action

not only in past tense narrative, but also in habitual generic “narrative”, and in the future and potential tenses.

Past tense narrative in Supyire is distinguished from other sequentially arranged discourse types by the use of the different subject conjunction *kà/ká*. Main line clauses begin either with this conjunction (followed directly by the subject) or with the same subject conjunction *mà/ma* (in which case the subject is zero).³⁶ Except for a handful of examples in the corpus, clauses beginning with *kà* always take the narrative auxiliary. Clauses beginning with *mà/ma* may or may not have the narrative auxiliary. The use of the auxiliary indicates a slightly lesser degree of thematic continuity with the previous context than its absence. The combination of the same subject conjunction and the narrative auxiliary is written conjoined in the orthography (*maá*). The reduced forms *í* and *ú* are, however, written separately from the pronouns which condition them (and with which they form a single phonological syllable). The following example, the beginning of a folktale, illustrates these various clause types. Note how the tense setting is established in the initial clause and is not subsequently repeated:

(90) *Ceèŋi wà u màha u poo*
 woman.DEF IND she FORM.PAST her husband
 ‘A certain woman was scorching her husband’s

baga yanɔɔnɔ pááré
 house bedbugs scorch.IMPFV
 house’s bedbugs

mà tóra à u podŋi `nenké sùùgò.
 and pass SC her husband.DEF tail.DEF burn
 and burned her husband’s tail (= his flywhisk).

Kà nðŋi sɪ ù pyɪ
 and husband.DEF NARR her tell
 Then (her) husband told her

na u Ø sà kà cya.
 that she SUBJUNC go IND look.for
 that she must go get one (to replace it).

Kà u ú yírà a kàrè sigé e
 and she NARR get.up SC go bush.DEF in
 So she got up and went to the bush

mà sà a ɲààrè,
 and go PROG walk.IMPFV
 and was hunting (lit. walking),

mà sà nò cijnjènf wà na,
and go arrive woman.old.DEF IND at
and met an old woman,

maá ú 'shyééré. Kà u ú ú 'yígé...
and.NARR her greet and she NARR her ask
and greeted her. She (= the old woman) asked her...'

The narrative/sequential auxiliary (which we will call simply sequential in its non-narrative uses) is also employed in habitual/generic (procedural) discourse. Although the different subject conjunction *kà* is not used at all in this discourse type, the same subject conjunction *mà* and its amalgamated form with the sequential auxiliary are common. Following is an example, from a discourse on how the dead are buried (note also the use of the habitual auxiliary *màha* in a loose serial construction):

(91) *Wà gà ñ-kwú, pi màha u wuli,*
IND COND IP-die they HAB him/her bathe
'When someone dies, they bathe him/her,

maá ú pwó '
and.SEQ him/her tie
and tie him/her

ná v à à n n t ò w á l á c e v à à n n t i n j i í,
with blanket or robe with
with a blanket or a robe,

màha síníjé u n t à à n i na,
HAB lie.down.CAUS his/her courtyard.DEF at
and lay (him/her) down in his/her courtyard,

maá ñ-karé bàànní i,
and.SEQ IP-go entrance.house.DEF in
and go to the entrance house (of the village),

maá sá sànyi yige màha wyi.
and.SEQ go death.announcement take.out HAB whistle
and make the formal announcement of the death.'

The sequential auxiliary is also used in procedural discourse when there is more thematic discontinuity, so that there is an overt subject. Often a thematic paragraph is introduced by a time adverbial clause (with a conditional auxiliary), followed by a main clause with the sequential auxiliary. The following example is taken from the same discourse as the preceding one:

- (92) *Pi ahá pwooré tàha a kù jì,*
 they COND dirt.DEF use SC it fill
 ‘When they have filled it with dirt,
pi í kwùnni tò fò màha li durugo.
 they SEQ grave.mound.DEF cover till HAB it go.up.CAUS
 they heap up the grave mound till it is raised.’

In contexts such as the last one described (where the sequential auxiliary follows an overt subject, in procedural discourse only) many speakers use a complex form *asì* instead of the simple sequential auxiliary *sí*. The second part of this form is obviously the sequential auxiliary, but the etymology of the first part is unknown at this point.³⁷ Many speakers use this form in procedural discourse to the total exclusion of the simple form *sí*. Others mix the two to varying degrees, and still others seem only to use the simple form, although they understand and accept the complex form. The two forms appear to be functionally equivalent. Just as with the simple form, the [s] of *asì* is frequently rhotacized to [r] (*arì*). Following is an example from a speaker who uses *asì/arì* exclusively. The topic is how to cultivate yams.

- (93) *Ci ahá mí-pá fyín,*
 they(G3P) COND IP-come sprout
 ‘When they (= the yams) sprout,
pi arì wēyi làhà cì nà,
 they(G1P) HAB.SEQ leaves.DEF take.off them(G3P) on
 they (= the farmers) take the leaves off of them,³⁸
maá kàbìlyè cùrùgò m̀pògíí na...
 and.SEQ sticks plant mounds.DEF on
 and stick poles into the mounds...’

Another function of the sequential auxiliary is to code sequential events in the future. In the great majority of examples appearing in the corpus, the sequences of clauses with future time reference are same subject, and the subject is not repeated after the first clause, subsequent clauses merely starting with the sequential auxiliary. Following are some examples:

- (94) a. *Mì náhá na sí zhyà yaare e sí mí-pá.*
 I be.here PROG FUT FP.go things to SEQ IP-come
 ‘I am going to go relieve myself and come back.’
 b. *Mu sí byàni sìn*
 you FUT.FP forehead.DEF put.perpendicular
 ‘You will put your forehead

nìŋke *na sí cyēyi* *yìrìgè*
 ground.DEF on SEQ hands.DEF rise.CAUS
 to the ground and raise your paws

nìŋìŋí *na.*
 above.DEF at
 into the air.'

As noted above, the same auxiliary *sí* also functions as a subjunctive. See section 9.3.3 below, and also chapters 11 (complement clauses) and 14 (non-declarative speech acts).

9.2.7. Combinations of tense-aspects

In this section the two most common types of tense-aspect combination will be examined. The first subsection will deal with combinations with the past, the following subsection with combinations with the progressive.

9.2.7.1. Combinations with past

A number of tense-aspect auxiliaries can be combined with the past tense copula to form compound tense-aspects with past time reference. These are summarized in Table 32.

Table 32. Combinations with past tense

Auxiliaries	Function
<i>(m)pyi na</i>	past progressive
<i>(m)pyi màha</i>	past habitual
<i>(m)pyi à</i>	pluperfect
<i>mpyi na sí</i>	future in the past
<i>mpyi kú</i>	potential in the past
<i>mpyi na sáhá</i>	past not yet

The past tense copula has two forms. The first is simply the verb *pyi* 'do, make, become' with a past or perfect auxiliary. The second is derived from the same verb by the addition of a nasal prefix: *mpyi*. The two forms are equivalent in meaning (see chapter 7 section 7.3.1 for a description of these copulas and examples of their non-auxiliary use).

The combination of these copulas with other tense-aspects could be analyzed as serial verb constructions, from which they do not differ at all in form. In view of the fact that the majority of auxiliaries arose out of the same type of construction, it seems most insightful to regard the past tense copula as an auxiliary in the making. In the examples it will simply be glossed as ‘past’.

Combination with the progressive auxiliary *na* yields the past progressive, which is used to encode durative (and usually simultaneous) action at some reference point in the past. The implication is usually that the event is no longer ongoing at the moment of speaking, since otherwise the present progressive would be used. Following are examples:

- (95) a. *Sere m̀li mpyi na lyí cige wyígé é,*
 honey I PAST PROG eat.IMPV tree hole in
 ‘I was eating honey in a hole in a tree
kà m̀li j̀ǹgke sì j̀-cwónrè.
 and my head.DEF NARR IP-stick
 and my head got stuck.’
- b. *Mli cyèb́í mù jye à pyi pyenga mè,*
 my women.DEF also NEG PERF be home NEG
 ‘My wives also were not at home,
pira à pyi na `múváápyi
 they(EMPH) PERF PAST PROG tigernut.beds.DEF
 they were harvesting the tigernut beds.’
bìlì-lì.
 gather-IMPV

Just as in the present, the past progressive can also have a habitual rather than strictly progressive meaning:

- (96) a. *Pi puní mpyi na η-kàlà-lì wùu t̀eni i.*
 they all PAST PROG IP-study-IMPV our time.DEF in
 ‘They all (= soldiers) used to study in our time.’
- b. *Ŋgé u à pyi na ma m̀li yyéré.*
 that he PERF PAST PROG come.IMPV me toward
 ‘That one used to come to my place.’

The past copula can also combine with the habitual auxiliary *màha* to produce a past habitual. This has the same meaning as the habitual use of the progressive just described. Note the use of both forms in the following exchange. The first speaker uses the habitual auxiliary, the second replies using the progressive with habitual meaning:

- (97) A: *Dì yì mpyi màha cìnnyí kwùùn*
 how you.PL PAST HAB logs.DEF cut.IMPFV
 ‘How did you used to cut the logs?’

na ŋ-ko ye?
 PROG IP-say Q

- B: *Wùu bà pi mpyi na cìnḡkũḡnyì*
 we it.is.NEG they PAST PROG log.pillars.DEF
 ‘Wasn’t it us who used to cut the logs?’

kwùḡna à?
 cut.IMPFV NEG.Q

Just as in the present, the verb can be perfective as well:

- (98) *U à pyi màha yiga a càà cànḡke na.*
 he PERF PAST HAB take.out SC spread.out sun.DEF at
 ‘He used to be brought out and laid out in the sun.’³⁹

The past copula plus the perfect auxiliary yields the pluperfect (or “past perfect”). Just as the perfect with a stative verb gives a simple present tense reading, the pluperfect with a stative verb gives a simple past tense reading, with no implication that the past state is the result of some anterior event:

- (99) *Ura à pyi a pèè sèlè è.*
 he(EMPH) PERF PAST PERF be.big truth in
 ‘He was very big.’⁴⁰

With active verbs, however, the pluperfect encodes an anterior event which is relevant at the past reference point. The following example is from a narrative recounting how the speaker (Mr. Ely Sanogo) went to a training course in a foreign town (Bobo Dioulasso, in Burkina Faso). Note how the anterior event of attending a training course the previous year in Ouagadougou is relevant at this particular place in the narrative:

- (100) *Wùu a lyì a kwò ge,*
 we PERF eat SC finish TC
 ‘When we had finished eating,

kà wùù ú ŋ-kàré ta-shwõnyì i.
 and we NARR IP-go LOC-pass.night.DEF in
 we went to the dorm rooms (lit. the places for spending the night).

Mìl ná nànjìlìjì wà u mpyi cyaga nìnkìn.
 I and youth.DEF IND he PAST place one
 I and a certain young man were in one room (lit. place).

Wùu à pyi à kàlànjí pyi
 we PERF PAST PERF study.DEF do
 We had studied

Wàhàduge e sìnryan.
 Ouagadougou in together
 in Ouagadougou together.

Kà nàmpɔ̀nné sì ñ-kwà...
 and stranger.DEF(G4) NARR IP-finish
 My feeling of being a stranger came to an end...'

The pluperfect function of coding countersequential events has already been illustrated in section 9.4.2 above.

The past copula can combine with the future auxiliary *sí* or *caa* to yield a “future in the past”. The future auxiliary in these combinations is preceded by the progressive auxiliary *na*, a relict of the origin of the future auxiliaries as imperfective verbs. The original function of this combination appears to have been to encode an event as being about to happen at some reference point in the past, as in the following example:

- (101) *Mìl mpyi na sí ti ñkèè jwo.*
 I PAST PROG FUT.FP its praise say
 ‘I was just going to commend it (lit. say its praise).’

The current function, however, is overwhelmingly to code counterfactual events: events which were going to happen, or were expected to happen, but which did not in fact transpire. The speaker of the following example had narrowly escaped being trampled to death by bush cows earlier in the day:

- (102) *Sige niyí mpyi na sí mìl bó ' nínjáà.*
 bush cows.DEF PAST PROG FUT me kill today
 ‘The bush cows were going to kill me today.’

The commonest use of the “future in the past” is in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals, where it is usually best translated ‘would have’:

- (103) *Mìl nàmpyi mìl nyɛ a sà ā mu nyɛ mé,*
 I if.COUNTERFACT I NEG PERF go SC you see NEG
 ‘If I hadn’t found (lit. gone and seen) you,

m̀li mpyi na sí nà-yé ' b́.
 I PAST PROG FUT FP.me-REFL kill
 I would have killed myself.'

The potential auxiliary *kú* is also used in a very similar construction. Note that it does not require the progressive auxiliary. The following example is a proverb:

- (104) *Ám̀pyi ndé ñkêéni bà mé,*
 if.COUNTERFACT that branch.DIM.DEF it.is.not NEG
 'If it hadn't been for that twig,
- m̀li mpyi gú ndé m̀pân-ríni b̀,*
 I PAST POT that dove-DIM.DEF kill
 I would have killed that little dove,
- ñkàà ámpyi ndé ñkêéni bà mé,*
 but if.COUNTERFACT that branch.DIM.DEF it.is.not NEG
 but if it hadn't been for that twig,
- ndé m̀pân-ríni mpyi gú ñ-tèèn mé.*
 that dove-DIM.DEF PAST POT FP-sit NEG
 that little dove wouldn't have perched (there).'

The final combination with the past tense copula to be described here is with the “yet, still” auxiliary *sáhá*. Like the future auxiliaries, *sáhá* in this combination is preceded by the progressive auxiliary *na*. So far only the “not yet” tense has been recorded in this combination. The meaning coded is that of an event or state of affairs that was expected at a certain point in the past but which had not yet occurred. Following are some examples:

- (105) a. *Ǹnji wà u mpyi ná cyèe ké i.*
 man.DEF IND he was with women ten with
 'A certain man had ten wives.
- Ceènji wà mpyi na sáhá pyà ta mé.*
 woman.DEF IND PAST PROG YET child get NEG
 Not one of them had yet gotten a child.'
- b. *M̀li à ñaara ná ná ǹmpyiibílé è*
 I PERF walk with my comrades.DEF with
 I walked with my friends
- kànhe e sèlè è*
 town.DEF in truth in
 in the town a great deal

sí ní-tá ku cógónjì⁴¹ cè,
 SUBJUNC IP-get its manner.DEF know
 in order to get to know it,

nàhá ná yè, m̀lì mpyi na sáhá shyá à nyè
 what on Q I PAST PROG YET go SC see
 because I had not yet ever gone

lì k̀nì i mé.
 that country.DEF in NEG
 to that country.'

9.2.7.2. Combinations with progressive

The progressive can combine with several different auxiliaries. These combinations are summarized in Table 33.

Table 33. Combinations with progressive aspect

Auxiliaries	Functions
<i>sí wá na</i>	narrative progressive
<i>marfi</i>	narrative progressive (same subject)
<i>sí rà a</i>	future progressive
<i>cáá rà a</i>	future progressive
<i>gú rà a</i>	potential progressive
<i>ká a</i>	conditional progressive
<i>bá a</i>	remote (future) progressive

In most cases the form of the progressive auxiliary *na* is reduced by the elision of the initial consonant and the assimilation of the vowel to the quality of the preceding vowel. The only combination in which the progressive keeps its full form is with the narrative *sí*. In switch subject clauses the progressive is not allowed to combine directly with *sí*, but requires the addition of the distal deictic copula *wá* 'be there'. Whatever the historical reasons for this restriction are, it serves to differentiate the narrative/sequential *sí* from the other auxiliaries of the same shape, which combine with the progressive in distinct ways (see below).

The progressive together with the narrative auxiliary serves to code durative events occurring at a particular place in the narration. Usually the durativity is needed to show simultaneity with another (most often the following) event:

- (106) *Mà wùù yàha kùni i,*
and us leave road.DEF in
'While we were on the road,
kà wùù ú sá jyé yððge e.
and we NARR go enter mud.DEF in
we went into the mud.
Kà mobííge sí wá na n-tèrèni.
and truck.DEF NARR be.there PROG IP-slide.IMPFV
The truck was sliding.
Dóóní kà wùù ú sá jí-cúru.
in.a.bit and we NARR go IP-stick
In a moment we got stuck.'

In same subject clauses, two ways of combining with the progressive are possible. One, the less frequent, is the same as that just described, with the mediation of the distal copula:

- (107) *Kà wùù ú sá fwùñi pyi,*
and we NARR go greeting.DEF do
'Then we greeted
maá wù-yé ñcèñf pyi,
and.NARR us-REFL knowledge.DEF do
and made each other's acquaintance,
maá wá na ñjyìñi lyì.
and.NARR be.there PROG food.DEF eat
and then we ate.'

The other uses the reduced form of the progressive. Recall that the form *maá* is the result of the combination of the same subject conjunction *mà* with the narrative auxiliary *sí*. When the reduced progressive auxiliary is added onto the end of this combination, the [s] of the narrative auxiliary is prevented from eliding (otherwise a sequence of three vowels would result). Instead, it rhotacizes to [r]. The vowel of the progressive auxiliary assimilates to the [i] of the narrative auxiliary, and the result is *maríi*. While the combination *maá wá na* most often does not code simultaneity with a preceding event (simultaneity with a following event is frequent), the alternate form *maríi* freely allows such an interpretation. In the following example the final three events are all simultaneous, the last two being coded with *maríi*, but the first being coded with *maá wá na*. Note that the latter is subsequent to rather than simultaneous with the preceding event:

- (108) *Kà u ń ñ-kára á sà nò nũji na,*
 and she NARR IP-go SC go arrive mother.DEF at
 ‘Then she left and went to her mother
- maá meení cèè,*
 and.NARR song.DEF sing
 and sang the song,
- maá kùlùshíji wà nũja à,*
 and.NARR trousers.DEF throw mother.DEF to
 and threw the trousers to her mother,
- maá wá na ñ-kéégé sigé e*
 and.NARR be.there PROG IP-go.IMPFV bush.DEF in
 and went to the bush
- u si-ñkãni na,*
 her be.born-manner.DEF on
 in the way she was born,
- maríi meení cèè,*
 and.NARR.PROG song.DEF sing
 singing the song
- maríi mee súú.*
 and.NARR.PROG voice cry.IMPFV
 and crying.’

The reduced form of the progressive auxiliary is used with the quasi-auxiliaries *pa* ‘come’ and *sa* ‘go’. The use of *pa* with the progressive to code the inceptive has already been described above (section 9.1.5). Another example is given here, as well as one with *sa*. Note that the progressive auxiliary is written separately in this case, although it forms one syllable with the preceding auxiliary.

- (109) a. *Kà kãhe cyèebíí sí wá na*
 and village.DEF women.DEF NARR be.there PROG
 ‘Then the women of the village were
- ma wùù pyéngá,*
 come.IMPFV our compound
 coming to our compound,
- maá mí-pá a ñ-kwòhò-lì*
 and.NARR IP-come PROG IP-dance-IMPFV
 and (they) began dancing

na màhàni mìl núnjì òtáàni na,
 PROG circle.IMPFV my mother.DEF courtyard.DEF at
 in a circle (lit. and circling) in my mother's courtyard,
marfi myèhii cèè.
 and.NARR.PROG songs sing
 and (they were) singing songs.

- b. *Zàn-cyiyá à cwo gé,*
 rain-first.DEF(G2P)PERF fall TC,
 'When the first rains had fallen,

kà Faasúmà sí fí-kará á
 and Faasuma NARR IP-go SC
 Faasuma went and

sà a kerège sàà-ìl.
 go PROG field.DEF scrape-IMPFV
 began clearing the field (of weeds).'

It should be noted that the surface form *sá a* (and *sà a*) can also result from the combination of the subjunctive marker *sí* and the imperfective subjunctive *a* (see section 9.3.3 below). The homophony of these forms with the combination of *sa* plus the progressive marker just described leads to a certain amount of confusion, since it is not always clear which is which, or if speakers continue to differentiate the two forms in all environments.

The future and potential auxiliaries cannot combine directly with the progressive, but require the mediation of *sa* 'go'. The [s] of *sa* is normally rhacized.⁴²

- (110) a. *Mìl àhá mobiletínjì yaha ná-yè cyé é,*
 I COND mobylette.DEF leave me-REFL hand in
 'If I keep the mobylette with me,

mìl sí rà a fí rà a mǎré.
 I FUT go PROG run.IMPFV go PROG all.over.IMPFV
 I will be running all over.'

- b. *Mu cáá rà a hɔ̀ɔ̀nɔ̀jí shwùù bɛ́?*
 you FUT go PROG yes.DEF answer.IMPFV Q
 'Will you be answering the yes?'⁴³

- c. *Mu gú rà a bááré*
 you POT go PROG work.IMPFV
 'Are you going to be working

làa mu gú rà a bàrà yúú?
 or you POT go PROG conversation take.IMPFV
 or are you going to be talking?'

The progressive also combines with other auxiliaries not yet introduced. The conditional auxiliary *ká* yields *ká a* or *kà a* (see section 9.3.5 below). The remote auxiliary *bú/bá*, mentioned above in connection with the future (section 9.2.3) can also combine with the progressive (the combination is always *bá a*, never **bú u*).⁴⁴ Following is an example of the progressive with the conditional and with the remote auxiliaries:

- (111) *Si-shyéebíí kà a ma yàkòṅḍè,*
 bush-goers.DEF COND PROG come.IMPFV afternoon
 'When those who have gone to the bush (to work) are coming
 back (in the) afternoon,
pi ahá mí-pá a jìjé-mù pyì gé,
 they COND IP-come PROG DEM.G2P-REL do REL
 whatever they start doing,
ma hà bá a ṅ-cyaha-li mé.
 you.NONDECL PROH REM PROG IP-laugh-IMPV NEG
 don't laugh.'

The adversative particle *sí* (see chapter 15, section 15.2.2), which follows the subject in auxiliary position, also combines with the reduced form of the progressive, as in the following example:

- (112) *U à pa jye bagé e*
 she PERF come enter house.DEF in
 'She came into the house
mà numpilāge ta tragé tààn,
 and night.DEF find grindstone.DEF beside
 and found the grain for the evening meal (lit. the night) next
 to the grindstone,
ṅtàsón sí i yì-nì káná.
 toad ADV PROG jump-IMPV only
 while Toad only hopped about.'

It should be noted also that the reduced form of the progressive is used without any other auxiliary in realis complement clauses of manipulative verbs (see chapter 11, section 11.3).

9.3. Modality

Most of the topics in this section will be dealt with more fully in other chapters, so their treatment here will be brief. The major distinction in modality, between realis and irrealis, is discussed in the first subsection. Subsequent sections deal with epistemic modality (degrees of certainty), obligation (imperative, prohibitive, subjunctive), and the modalities of ability and purpose. A final subsection briefly touches on the topic of modality in subordinate clauses insofar as it has not been covered in the previous subsections.

9.3.1. *Realis versus irrealis*

There is no uniform way of marking realis or irrealis modality in Supyire. Rather, the various TAM auxiliaries can be classified in either category. Thus auxiliaries with past or present time reference in general have realis modality. Those with future time reference have irrealis modality. The distinction between realis and irrealis is most clearly seen in complement clauses. The type of complement clause taken by a typical manipulative verb varies according to the modality of that verb. If the verb is realis, the complement is realis-indicative (marked by high tone on the subject pronoun, with the perfect or progressive auxiliary), whereas if it is irrealis, the complement is subjunctive. Compare the following examples with the same main verb, but in different tense-aspects. The perfect is realis, the future is irrealis.

- (113) a. *Mli a ù pylì ú á kàrè.*
 I PERF him/her make s/he.COMP PERF go
 'I made him/her leave.'
- b. *Mli sí ù pylì u ú ñ-karé.*
 I FUT FP.him/her make s/he SUBJUNC IP-go
 'I will make him/her go.'

For a description of these complement types, see chapter 11.

Besides this difference in behavior with complement clauses, the realis/irrealis distinction has one other obvious correlate: the remote auxiliary *bú/bá* co-occurs only with irrealis auxiliaries (and it co-occurs with all of them except the imperative). See section 9.3.2.2 below.

9.3.2. Epistemic modality

There are a number of devices for indicating increased or reduced certainty. This section will deal with the use of auxiliaries and serial verbs for this purpose. The more lexical means (adverbial phrases like *shwðhole e* ‘perhaps, maybe’ (lit. ‘in between’) and *sèèñf na* ‘certainly’ (lit. ‘on the truth’)) will not be dealt with here.

9.3.2.1. Increased certainty

The coding of a higher level of confidence than might be expected overlaps with the coding of other meanings. The addition of the emphatic copula *sii*, for example, may code the “quantity adverbial” meaning of ‘very’ or ‘really’ as well as the modal meaning of increased certainty. Sometimes one or the other meaning seems to predominate, sometimes they are both present. Not many auxiliaries admit this addition. One that does so is the progressive *na*. The copula *sii*, together with its own perfect auxiliary, is placed before *na*. The following example illustrates the ‘adverbial’ function of *sii*.

- (114) *Mà lwð kuru cànnké ' fó ' níñjáà*
 and take that(EMPH) day.DEF till today
 ‘From that day to this
- mì a sù na fyà-gè waníji na.*
 I PERF be.EMPH PROG fear-IMPV there.DEF on
 I am really afraid of that place.’

Compare this with the following example in which the modal meaning predominates:

- (115) *Mì nye a sù na fín mé.*
 I NEG PERF be.EMPH PROG lie.IMPV NEG
 ‘I am most assuredly not lying.’

The use of *sii* is not confined to first person utterances such as the above examples. The following is a proverb, in which the expression of certainty is of course highly conventionalized:

- (116) *Kafege nye a sù na bílíní*
 wind NEG PERF be.EMPH PROG seed.DEF
 ‘Wind assuredly/really does not

lyùù mé.
 take.IMPFV NEG
 take the seed.’ (i.e. what is fated to occur will certainly occur)

The only other tense-aspects with which *sii* regularly occurs are the future (*sí* and *caa*), potential (*kú*), and subjunctive or prohibitive (*ka*). With all of these, the auxiliary precedes the copula which in turn takes the nasal future prefix. The lexical verbs which follow all take the future prefix, exactly as though they were in a serial construction. Following are some examples:

- (117) a. *Wà mù rú cää zíf jì-cè*
 IND also ADV FUT FP.be.EMPH FP-know
 ‘Certainly no one will know
kilèñi ñgé ññkìññí nye kile mè.
 god.DEF this one.DEF be god NEG
 (that) this one god is God.’
- b. *U sì zíf jì-jà ù mára*
 he FUT.NEG FP.be.EMPH FP-be.able it keep
 ‘(That) he will in fact be able to save it (= his salary)
wà kan, mii nye a dà mè.
 IND give I NEG PERF believe NEG
 (and) give some (to us), I don’t believe.
- c. *Wà gù zíf jì-jà yàrè tàha*
 IND POT FP.be.EMPH FP-be.able these(EMPH) tell
 ‘Certainly no one could tell that (lit. these)
wà à màà de!
 IND to NEG EXCL
 to another!’
- d. *Wà gà zíf vùne na*
 IND PROH FP.be.EMPH FP.lie that
 ‘One should not lie that
‘Méñi i mii à jínàñi⁴⁵ nya.’
 there.DEF in I PERF jinn.DEF see
 “It was over there that I saw the jinn.”’

There is one other principal way of coding increased certainty, like the first involving the addition of a copula. The deictic copula *náhá*, in addition to its locative function (‘be here’), may also serve in a kind of proto-evidential capacity to code higher certainty. It is used when the speaker has incontrovertible evidence for the information asserted.⁴⁶ The copula is placed before the auxiliary. In the following example, the speaker has asked how far

away another town is. On hearing that it is thirty days' journey by foot, he says:

- (118) *Kuru náhà à tɔɔn.*⁴⁷
 it(EMPH) be.here PERF long
 'It really is far away.'

In the following example, also with the perfect, the “evidence” is a black ball of condiment made from *néré* seeds which the speaker (Hyena) has just extracted from the mouth of Hare and which he mistakenly takes for a rotten tooth:

- (119) *Ŋké wìl! Ka à lye fó mà wwð.*
 this look.at it PERF be.old till and be.black
 'Look at this one! It's so old it's black.
E, mu náhá á kànhà pìlàgà!
 you be.here PERF be.tired night
 Boy, you sure suffered last night!'

Náhá can occur with the pluperfect, as in the following example. The speaker has just been presented with evidence that the referent of the subject pronoun had been very old when she died (her fingernails were so long that they were honored with sacrifices):

- (120) *A, uru náhà mpyi à lye.*
 she(EMPH) be.here PAST PERF be.old
 'Ah, she really was old.'

When *náhá* occurs with the future auxiliary *sí*, the latter is preceded by the progressive marker, pointing to its etymological origin as an imperfective verb.⁴⁸ In the following example, the speaker has just had abundant evidence of his inability to hide from the addressee: every time he tried to hide, the addressee had pointed out his hiding place. Finally he says:

- (121) *Mli nàhà na sí jì-jà ḡwðhɔ*
 I be.here.NEG PROG FUT FP-be.able FP.hide
 'I obviously will not be able to hide
mu na mé.
 you at NEG
 from you.'

Náhá can combine in its “evidential” function with several other auxiliaries. As a last example, consider the following, in which it combines with

the progressive auxiliary *na*. The speaker had asked earlier in the conversation if the migrant workers were returning from Côte d'Ivoire to begin the cultivating season. The addressee then lists a number who have recently returned, and on hearing this evidence the speaker replies:

- (122) *Éé, pi náhá na ma.*
 they be.here PROG come.IMPFV
 'Well, they really are coming.'

9.3.2.2. Reduced certainty

There are several devices a speaker may use to show a lower than expected level of certainty. Just as with the methods of indicating increased certainty, these devices have other functions which they continue to fill. The remote auxiliary *bú*, for example, which has a tense function of indicating greater distance in the future (see section 9.2.3 above), has also developed the function of coding a reduced level of certainty. Thus compare the following, in which it occurs with the future auxiliaries in what must be regarded as no very distant future:

- (123) a. *Mìl sí bú ní-pá nùmpañña.*
 I FUT.FP REM IP-come tomorrow
 'I might come tomorrow.'
- b. *Nùmpañña mìl cáà bú shyá sà yyaha yige*
 tomorrow I FUT.FP REM go go face take.out
 'Tomorrow I will perhaps go visit
- u na.*
 her on
 her (lit. bring out face on her).'

Bú is regularly used with the conditional to indicate both temporal remoteness and reduced certainty (see section 9.3.5 below and chapter 15, section 15.1.5.2).

As noted in section 9.2.3 above, a reduced level of certainty regarding a predicted event may be indicated by using the potential (*kú*) rather than the future (*sí* or *cáà*). In many respects *kú* resembles the so-called conditional tense of French or English. The difference between the following examples is largely a difference in degree of expectation:

- (124) a. *Li sí ò-táán mìl ì dé.*
 it FUT FP-be.sweet me in EXCL
 'I will like that (lit. it will be sweet for me).'

- b. *Li gú ñ-táán mìlì ì dé.*
 it POT FP-be.sweet me in EXCL
 'I would like that.'

This difference in expectation is especially clear when *sí* or *kú* occur in a main clause following a conditional subordinate clause. The conditional covers in Supyire (as in most of the surrounding languages) the functional territory of both 'when' clauses (with future time reference) and 'if' clauses. The 'when' meaning (showing greater certainty) is normal when the main clause has the future auxiliary:

- (125) *Mu ahá mí-pá, mìlì sí kù kàn mu á.*
 you COND IP-come I FUT it give you to
 'When you come, I'll give it to you.'

When the main clause has the potential auxiliary *kú*, however, only the true conditional meaning is available:

- (126) *Mu ahá mí-pá, mìlì gú kù kàn mu á.*
 you COND IP-come I POT it give you to
 'If you come, I'll give it to you.'

The addition of the remote auxiliary *bú* reduces the certainty even further:

- (127) *Mu ahá ' bú mí-pá, mìlì gú (bú) kú kàn mu á.*
 you COND REM IP-come I POT REM it give you to
 'If you were to come, I would give it to you.'

A final device for indicating reduced certainty is the use of the verb *yaa* 'create, repair, fashion' in a serial verb construction. As described in chapter 8, section 8.3.5.9, *yaa* as V1 in a serial construction with a transitive verb means 'V2 the direct object very well'. With a copula (or the quasi-copular passive of *ta* 'get, find'), *yaa* has a quite different meaning. It resembles a hearsay evidential, meaning something like 'is reputed to',⁴⁹ and is used when the speaker is not at all sure of the truth of the information. Following are some examples:

- (128) a. *U à yala à ta ú á nàṅkààgà pyì.*
 he PERF reputed SC find he.COMP PERF thievery do
 'He is reputed to have stolen.'
- b. *Bùwára kóná à yala à pyi*
 Buwara TOP PERF reputed SC be
 'As for Buwara, he is said to have been

Kó kwòŋj wà.
 Kong Samogo.DEF IND
 a Samogo from Kong.’⁵⁰

9.3.2.3. Counterfact

It was noted in section 9.2.7.1 above that the combination of the future or potential with the past copula *mpyi* is regularly used to code not only the secondary tense of “future in the past”, but also “counterfact”, that is, events known by the speaker not to have actually occurred. This shift in meaning makes good sense pragmatically, since in the majority of cases the imminence of an event in the past is not nearly as important at the moment of speech as the event itself. The recording of a voluntary event presupposes a prior intention, and that intention does not need to be explicitly mentioned. If the intention was frustrated, however, and the expected event did not in fact occur, the “future in the past” is a handy coding.

The counterfactual “future in the past” is the tense-aspect most often used in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional (see chapter 15, section 15.1.5.4). Following is an example:

- (129) *Ám̄pyi yì cyèebíí màha m-pyi àmunì mé,*
 if.COUNTERFACT you.PL women.DEFHAB IP-be thus NEG
 ‘If you women weren’t like that,
m̄i mpyi na sí m̄-pyì mu á pyà.
 I PAST PROG FUT FP-become you to child
 I would have become a child for you.’

9.3.3. Obligation

In this section the coding of manipulative speech acts will be briefly examined. All of the topics covered are treated in more depth elsewhere, the imperative and prohibitive chiefly in chapter 14, the subjunctive mainly in chapter 11.

The perfective imperative has no auxiliary. The imperfective imperative auxiliary is *ta*. Following are examples:

- (130) a. perfective imperative

Pa náhá.
 come here
 ‘Come here.’

b. imperfective imperative

Ta ma náhá.
 IMPER.IMPFV come.IMPFV here
 ‘Come here.’

The subjunctive is used in complements of manipulative and modality verbs and in purpose adverbial clauses as well as in polite commands, requests, and hortatives. There are two ways to mark the subjunctive in Supyire. The two types overlap almost completely in function, but one or two differences do remain. The “zero” subjunctive, as its name implies, has no auxiliary. If the subject is a noun, it must be immediately followed by a coreferential pronoun which undergoes the same tonal changes as the possessed noun in a genitive construction. This is the type of subjunctive used in blessings:

(131) *Kile ù Ø kūni pwò.*
 God s/he SUBJUNC path.DEF sweep
 ‘May God sweep the path.’

The *sí* subjunctive is so named for its auxiliary *sí*, which is identical in form to the narrative/sequential auxiliary *sí* (see section 9.2.6). This is the subjunctive which must be used in complement clauses whose subjects are deleted:

(132) *Mìl lá nye sí lyí.*
 my desire be SUBJUNC eat
 ‘I want to eat.’

The imperfective subjunctive auxiliary is *a*. It may be used alone:

(133) *Yi a ma náhá.*
 you(PL) SUBJUNC.IMPFV come.IMPFV here
 ‘Come here.’ (plural addressees)

or it may combine with the *sí* subjunctive (*sá a*):

(134) *Mu lá nye sá a*
 your desire be SUBJUNC SUBJUNC.IMPFV
 ‘You don’t want to

wà jwùmù nùrú me.
 IND words listen.IMPFV NEG
 listen to anyone’s words.’

The imperative and subjunctive forms described above are used in the affirmative only. There is only one negative corresponding to all three. I have chosen to call it the “prohibitive”, but it could just as easily be labeled the “negative subjunctive”. The auxiliary is *kà*, which looks very much like the negative form of the conditional auxiliary *ká*, and in fact has similar allomorphs: *ahà* [aʔà] or *hà* [ʔà] after pronouns, *gà* [Ra] after most stressed vowels. It differs from the conditional, however, in taking the future prefix on a following verb, rather than the intransitive prefix which follows most auxiliaries. Although they may have the same tone (since the conditional may accept a floating low tone from the preceding subject) the conditional and the prohibitive are easily distinguished since the latter always occurs in a negative clause (signalled by the clause-final negative marker) whereas the former never does. The following example illustrates this:

- (135) *ŋkàà cyāge e uru sí sà ù kyà gé,*
 but place.DEF in he(EMPH)FUT go her eat REL
 ‘But the place in which he will go eat her,
uru kà nùŋke yìrìgè,
 he(EMPH) COND head.DEF raise
 when he raises his head,
uru kà kile nye mé.
 he(EMPH) PROH sky see NEG
 he must not see the sky.’

The imperfective of the prohibitive is formed by adding the imperfective subjunctive auxiliary *a*:

- (136) *Ma hà a Kàrája*
 you.NONDECL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV Karaja
cyera à de!
 insult.IMPFV NEG EXCL
 ‘Don’t insult Karaja!’

9.3.4. Ability

The modality of ability is coded by means of serial verb constructions. The principal verb used in this way is *ja*, which as a main verb means ‘overcome, defeat’,⁵¹ as in the following example:

- (137) *Càṅkè shwò-shàhàna à mu já '*
 day.DEF millet-basket.DEF PERF you overcome
 'The day the basket of millet overcame you (i.e. was too heavy
 for you to carry)
náhá ' ná Fantéré shwòhole e gé,
 here and Fantéré between in REL
 between here and Fantere,
jò u ná sá lí ' lwó ye?
 who s/he PAST go it take Q
 who went and took it?'

As V1 in a serial construction, *ja* is intransitive and means 'be able to V2':

- (138) a. *Cyèebíí nye a já à*
 women.DEF NEG PERF be.able SC
 'The women couldn't
jáhámá pyí sáhánkì me.
 funeral.dance do again NEG
 do the funeral dance again.'
- b. *Wà nye à na le ku ñwóhi i mé:*
 IND NEG PERF fire put it beneath in NEG
 'No one has put fire under it:
ku sí ñ-jà ñ-gyèrè la?
 it FUT FP-be.able FP-be.hot Q
 can it get hot?'

The imperfective form of *ja* (*jína*) seems to be developing an auxiliary use, albeit in a restricted context. It can be used in generic habitual contexts without any preceding auxiliary, and with the following verb in perfective rather than imperfective form. It takes a low tone negative marking, just as do other high tone auxiliaries. Following is an example of this use in a proverb:

- (139) *Wà jina a fààṅà cìn*
 IND NEG.be.able.IMPFV SC cloth weave
 'One can't weave cloth
fààṅdi bàà mé.
 shuttle without NEG
 without a shuttle.'

As frequently happens cross-linguistically with the modality of ability, there are signs that this construction is being extended to cover permission. Compare the following example:

- (140) *M̄i s̄i ɲ̄-jà zhyè ná yìì é mà?*
 I FUT.NEG FP-be.ableFP.go with you.PL with NEG.Q
 ‘Can’t I go with you?’

The verb *ta* ‘get, find’ is used to code success. As V1 in a serial construction, it means ‘succeed in V2ing’, or ‘manage to V2’. The direct object of V2 is usually placed before *ta*:

- (141) *Zh̄ìbannàṅwɔ m̄p̄íí pi ɲyɛ pi ɲyɛ a*
 ground.hornbill those they be they be PERF
 ‘Ground Hornbill swallowed those which
- wȳìḡii ta a wwù mé, mà p̄irè jò.*
 holes get SC take.out NEG and them(EMPH) swallow
 hadn’t managed to dig holes (to hide in).’

Just as with *ja*, volition is not necessarily involved:

- (142) *Ku ɲyɛ à ta a kèègè mɛ.*
 it NEG PERF get SC spoil NEG
 ‘It didn’t get spoiled.’ Lit.: ‘It didn’t manage to spoil.’

Also as with *ja*, an extension in the direction of permission is detectable:

- (143) *Ma cyèebíí mù tàànrè è n̄ìk̄ìn mu s̄í*
 your women.DEF also three in one you FUT
 ‘Of your three wives, one you will
- ɲ̄-kàn mìl á ‘s̄í’ ná n̄-tà n̄-tòrò.*
 FP-give me to SEQ afterwards FP-get FP-pass
 give me and only then may you pass.’

The negative counterparts of *ta* is coded with the verb *kanha* ‘be tired’ as V2 in a serial construction. As one might expect in the case of a relatively recent grammaticalization, in some instances *kanha* keeps its original meaning, so that the construction means ‘V1 to the point of fatigue’:

- (144) *U a fè a kànha gé,*
 she PERF run SC be.tired TC
 ‘When she was tired of running,

maá jyé á tèn sarage e na ɲɔ-ni.
 and.NARR enter SC sit beehive in PROG rest-IMPV
 she went into a beehive and sat down to rest.'

This construction has developed the further meaning 'V1 in vain', 'V1 unsuccessfully', and this is in fact more common than the original meaning just illustrated. Following are some examples:

- (145) a. *Mi à mu wílá á kànhá,*
 I PERF you look SC be.tired
 'I looked for you in vain,
mìi ɲye à mu ɲye mé.
 I NEG PERF you see NEG
 I didn't see you.'
- b. *Kile mù ɲye à ɲena a ù pyì*
 God also NEG PERF agree SC him make
 'God also did not agree to make him
ú á ù cyà a kànhá me.
 he.COMP PERF him seek SC be.tired NEG
 seek for her in vain.'

9.3.5. Purpose

In section 9.1.5 above the function of *pa* 'come' and *sa* 'go' as V1 in serial constructions to code inceptive meaning was described. An even more frequent function of these verbs is to code purpose. Often the idea of motion remains, so that the construction means 'come/go in order to V2':

- (146) a. *Kà m̀̀l̀́ í ní-pá*
 and I NARR IP-come
 'Then I came
Eribéérì wyééréjì kan u à.
 Herber money.DEF give him to
 (and) gave Herber's money to him.'
- b. *Kà ẁ̀ù ù sá ɲáára kànhe e.*
 and we NARR go walk town.DEF in
 'Then we went (and) walked in the town.'

A clear indication that these verbs are losing their function of coding deictic motion is shown by their co-occurrence with *kare* 'go' and *pa* 'come'. Their only function in such cases is to code purpose. Note that frequently *pa*

takes a nasal prefix, evidently the same one used on the past tense copula and auxiliary *mpyi*, derived from the verb *pyi* ‘do, make’ (see section 9.2.7.1; also chapter 7, section 7.3.1).

- (147) a. *Kà túbabú-nàŋi wà sɪ ŋ-kàra a*
and white.person-man.DEF IND NARR IP-go SC
‘Then a white man went

sà mɪ̀ tá-shwónge cyèè mɪ̀ nà.
go my LOC-pass.night.DEF show me to
to show my sleeping quarters to me.’

- b. *Kà pi ɪ fé à pa*
and they NARR run SC come
‘Then they came running

mpa a pi còrè.
come PROG them catch.IMPFV
to catch them.’

Subordinate adverbial clauses may also be used to code the modality of purpose (see chapter 15, section 15.1.10).

9.3.6. Modality in subordinate clauses

The material mentioned in this section will be dealt with more fully in chapters 11 and 15.

As pointed out in 9.3.1 above, the distinction between realis and irrealis modality is important in complement clauses. Certain verbs take only irrealis complements, others take either type depending on the modality of the main clause. Still others take only realis complements. See chapter 11 for details. The distinction between realis and irrealis is important in adverbial clauses as well. Certain types, such as ‘before’ time clauses and purpose clauses, can only be subjunctive (irrealis). Conditional clauses are also irrealis. The conditional auxiliary is *ká*. Following a stressed vowel the initial /k/ is often voiced and flapped to /g/ ([R]). Following a simple pronoun, the initial /k/ becomes a glottal stop (see chapter 2 sections 2.1.1.1 and 2.1.1.3). Clauses with this auxiliary cover both the semantic territory of conditions (‘if’ clauses in English) and that of irrealis time clauses. See chapter 15, section 15.1.5.1 for several examples.

9.4. Negation

As in many West African languages, negation in Supyire is a rather complicated affair from the point of view of marking. The first part of this section will accordingly deal with the various types of negative marking in simple clauses. There follows a short section on negative polarity items. The next, more substantial, subsection deals with the scope of negation, in particular looking at indefinite subjects and subjects with quantifiers. Next comes a section dealing with negation in complex sentences. Since these sentence types have not been covered in the preceding chapters in any detail, this subsection is merely a brief summary of material to be treated in later chapters. A final section deals with word and phrase negation.

9.4.1. The marking of negation

In most TAM categories negation is doubly marked in the clause. A clause final negative particle is obligatory. It is in most tense-aspects supplemented by a marking in the auxiliary position, i.e. immediately following the subject. This kind of double marking is widespread in central and northern Senufo languages. In most cases it is not clear what the etymology of the negative markers is, so it is difficult at this point to say whether the double marking arose from a reinforcing strategy (with the clause final marking being added to reinforce the earlier auxiliary strategy) or from some other source. Whatever the etymological source of the clause final markers, they are not derived from direct objects in the manner of French *pas* or English *not*, since they come in the wrong position in the clause for that. The most likely source would be some sort of adverb.

9.4.1.1. Clause final negative marking

There are two clause final negative particles, each of which has more than one form. The particle used in ordinary declarative clauses is *mé*.⁵² It is always placed at the very end of the clause, after any indirect objects or adverbs which follow the verb:⁵³

- (148) a. *Ka-pègíí sàhà nyé na yu*
 affair-bad.DEF STILL NEG PROG say.IMPFV
 ‘Bad deeds are no longer told

pyìibíí nyìl nà mé.
 children.DEF eye at NEG
 to the children.’ (i.e. children are no longer taught what is bad)

- b. *Cyèebíí nyɛ a já a*
 women.DEF NEG PERF be.able SC
 'The women were not able
jáhámá pyí 'sáhánkì mé.
 funeral.dance do again NEG
 to do the funeral dance again.'

If the negative marker immediately follows a noun unaccompanied by a postposition (such as a noun used adverbially as in example (149a) below, or a predicate nominal as in (149b), it may allow a low tone originating with the noun to dock, and thus become *mè*:

- (149) a. *Míi sí sà yì jwù pyenga mé.*
 I NEG.FUT go them say home NEG
 'I will not go and tell it (lit. them) (at) home.'⁵⁴
 b. *Ti mpyi yatɔɔɔ⁵⁵ mé.*
 they were domestic.animals NEG
 'They were not domestic animals.'

The etymology of *mé* is uncertain, but it is possibly related to the locative adverb *mé* 'over there'. It is identical in form with the clause final marker for a type of comparative clause initiated with the conjunction *bà* and terminated by *mé* (see chapter 15, section 15.1.4). This seems to point to an origin as some sort of reinforcer.

Mé combines with the clause final politeness marker *yō* (see chapter 5, section 5.10) to yield *mō* (sometimes pronounced [mbō]):

- (150) *Yi nyɛ à nyaha a tòrò mō.*
 they NEG PERF be.much SC pass NEG.POL
 'They weren't very many.'

The other major clause final negative marker, *mà*, is used principally in questions. The initial [m] frequently elides if the metrical conditions are right, but this is not obligatory. For yes/no questions, the ordinary question marker *la* is simply replaced by *mà*, and the result is a negative yes/no question. Such negative questions are almost always rhetorical in force, and are strongly biased towards a positive response, just as negative questions are in English:

- (151) a. *Mu nyɛ à ma shyèrè-fóó nyé mà?*
 you NEG PERF your witness-owner see NEG.Q
 'Didn't you see your buddy?'

- b. *Lire nye a tòrà àná à?*
 this(EMPH) NEG PERF pass there NEG.Q
 'Didn't this pass there?'

It should be noted that the type of yes/no question formed with a clause initial marker *tá(há) / tàhà* does not take *mà* in the negative, but rather *mé*:

- (152) *Tá ceèŋi wà nye à si náhá '*
 Q woman.DEF IND NEG PERF give.birth here
 'Didn't a woman give birth here
nŋjáà mé?
 today NEG
 today?'

Although the etymology of *mà* is not known, internal evidence shows that it has been shortened in clause final position. When it appears in negative constituent questions, it is no longer final, but is placed before the interrogative marker *ye*. In this position its vowel is usually long:

- (153) *Ŋàhá ná mu sí zhyè nègèsúŋi na màà ye?*
 what on you FUT FP.go bicycle.DEF on NEG.Q Q
 'Why don't you go on bicycle?'

If the [m] elides, however, the vowel is short:

- (154) *Ŋàhá ka a ù tà u sàhá wà ta à*
 what it PERF him get he NEG.YET IND get SC
 'What has prevented (lit. gotten) him (so that) he has not yet managed to
yaha u-yè tánná à ye?
 leave he-REFL beside NEG.Q Q
 save any (lit. leave some beside himself)?'

It should be pointed out that negative constituent questions appear to be rather rarely used: the two just cited are the only unelicited ones occurring in the corpus. By contrast, negative yes/no questions are relatively common: nearly 150 unelicited examples appear in the corpus.

Although *mà* used alone seems to currently carry interrogative meaning, it is evident that it originally did not do so: when it occurs with the exclamative marker *de*, there is no trace of interrogative function. Rather, the combination serves as an emphatic negator. In the great majority of cases, the [m] of *mà* is elided:

- (155) a. *U nyɛ à jwu nɛnjálà à dɛ!*
 he NEG PERF say today NEG EXCL
 ‘He (emphatically) didn’t say today!’
- b. *Ma hà a Kàrája*
 you.NONDECL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV Karaja
cyera à dɛ!
 insult.IMPFV NEG EXCL
 ‘Don’t insult Karaja!’

When the [m] is pronounced, the vowel is always long before *dɛ*:

- (156) *Sèè nyɛ ye e màà dɛ!*
 truth be them in NEG EXCL
 ‘They (the claims some people make) aren’t true!’
 lit. ‘Truth is not in them!’

9.4.1.2. Negative marking in auxiliary position

Just as with the clause final marking, there are two major kinds of negative marking in the auxiliary position, as well as some minor ones. They are distributed strictly according to the tense-aspect to be negated. Table 34 summarizes the combinations.

The least complicated marking is that used with the (present) perfect and the (present) progressive. In these two tense-aspects, the copula *nyɛ* ‘be’ is simply added in front of the perfect or progressive auxiliary. In the examples above and following, this extra auxiliary is simply glossed NEG, although etymologically it appears to have nothing to do with negation. With the perfect and progressive auxiliaries, however, it provides a signal of negation early in the clause:⁵⁶

- (157) a. *Mìl nyɛ à yaaga ta mé.*
 I NEG PERF thing get NEG
 ‘I didn’t get a thing.’
- b. *Wùu nyɛ na jínà jàà mé.*
 we NEG PROG jinn see.IMPFV NEG
 ‘We don’t see (a) jinn.’

This is the only kind of construction in which the copula *nyɛ* appears regularly with the perfect marker, but the combination of the progressive with *nyɛ* is not unique. If one examines the various constructions in which *nyɛ na* appears, an interesting fact emerges: the characteristic they all have in common is their presuppositional character. Besides the negative, the

Table 34. Negative marking in auxiliary position

Auxiliaries which take <i>nye</i>		Negative form
<i>à</i>	perfect	<i>nye à</i>
<i>na</i>	progressive	<i>nye na</i>
Auxiliaries which take a low tone		
<i>sí</i>	future	<i>sì</i>
<i>cáá</i>	future	<i>càà</i>
<i>ná</i>	remote past	<i>nà</i>
<i>ní</i>	recent past	<i>nì</i>
<i>sáhá</i>	still, yet	<i>sàhá</i>
<i>náhá</i>	be here	<i>nàhá</i>
<i>wá</i>	be there	<i>wà</i>
Auxiliaries which take no marking		
<i>màha</i>	habitual	<i>màha</i>
<i>kú</i>	potential	<i>kú</i>
<i>mpyi</i>	past	<i>mpyi</i>
Auxiliaries which cannot be negated		
<i>sí</i>	narrative/sequential	
<i>ká</i>	conditional	

combination is used in restrictive relative clauses, in the presupposed (“out of focus”) part of cleft constructions, and in the presupposed part of constituent questions. These latter three tend to contain presupposed information in the usual sense. It is therefore interesting that they share the auxiliary structure of the negative. As Givón (1989: 159; see also Givón 1979, 1984) points out, negatives are used in a context in which the corresponding affirmative is “presupposed”—not in a strictly logical sense, of course, but in the sense that the speaker judges that the information is being or might possibly be entertained by the hearer.⁵⁷

More widespread, in terms of the number of different tense-aspects it occurs with, is the other major negative marking in auxiliary position. It is used exclusively with auxiliaries with high tone (the majority), and consists of a floating low which is introduced to the left of the auxiliary and docks rightwards on to it. Presumably the low tone is all that is left of an earlier negative auxiliary with some sort of segmental form and a low tone.⁵⁸ Examples of negatives in each tense-aspect follow, beginning with the futures. Here the negative low tone simply replaces the high of the auxiliary:

- (158) a. *Yi sì ð-jà ùrù jylile mé.*
 they NEG.FUT FP-be.able it(EMPH) cross NEG
 ‘They (the bush cows) won’t be able to cross it (the river).’
- b. *U càà ðèè m-pà náhá me.*
 it NEG.FUT FP.agree FP-come here NEG
 ‘It (the bushcat) will not try (lit. agree) to come here.’

With the future (and sometimes with the other tense-aspects described below), if the subject ends in a mid tone, this raises the negative low tone and thus cancels it out, leaving the future with its usual high tone. This rule is not obligatory, and one occasionally hears examples such as (159a), with the negative low tone intact. Much more common, however, are examples like (159b):

- (159) a. *Mu sì zhyè nègèsúji na mà?*
 you NEG.FUT FP.go bicycle.DEF on NEG.Q
 ‘Won’t you go on bicycle?’
- b. *Pworo sí nò ù nà mé.*
 dirt FUT FP.arrive it on NEG
 ‘Dirt will not get on it (the body).’

The past tense auxiliaries *ná* and *ní* also become low tone:

- (160) a. *Waráji sijéréji ná fylinna à?*
 Wara.DEF celebration.DEF NEG.REM.PAST cancel NEG.Q
 ‘Wasn’t the celebration of the Wara cancelled?’⁵⁹
- b. *U ní pà mé.*
 he NEG.REC.PAST come NEG
 ‘He didn’t come (earlier today).’

The “yet” auxiliary *sáhá* retains the high tone on the final syllable:

- (161) *Wùù sàhá sá à nɔ à?*
 we NEG.YET go SC arrive NEG.Q
 ‘Haven’t we arrived yet?’

Note that when *sáhá* combines with the perfect or the progressive, the latter are negated as normally, the *nyɛ* coming in between the two auxiliaries:

- (162) a. *Mìl sáhá nyɛ à jena à jwo mé.*
 I STILL NEG PERF agree SC say NEG
 ‘I didn’t any longer try (lit. agree) to speak.’

- b. *Kerège báraŋi sàhà nyɛ na m-pyi*
 field.DEF work.DEF STILL NEG PROG IP-do
 ‘Farming is no longer done
u cógóŋi na mé.
 its manner.DEF on NEG
 the way it should be (lit. on its manner).’

Similarly, when *sáhá* combines with the future, the latter is negated in the normal way by means of a low tone:

- (163) a. *Li sáhá sì lwɔhɔ bya dùgé e mé.*
 he YET NEG.FUT water drink stream.DEF in NEG
 ‘He (Hare) will never again drink water from the stream
 again.’
- b. *Ŋgé sàha càà zíf jèè*
 that STILL NEG.FUT FP.be.EMPH FP.agree
 ‘That one will really never again try (lit. agree)
m-pà náhá mɛ.
 FP-come here NEG
 to come here.’

The high tone deictic copulas *náhá* ‘be here’ and *wá* ‘be there’, both when functioning as the main verb and when functioning as auxiliaries, are negated with a low tone. Note that *náhá* loses its high tone altogether, rather than retaining it on the final syllable as *sáhá* does.

- (164) a. *U nàhà · náhá mɛ.*
 she NEG.be.here here NEG
 ‘She isn’t here.’
- b. *Mìi nàhà à kàshì-kwɔ̀n-yààya nyè*
 I NEG.be.here PERF war-cut-things see
 ‘I don’t see that you have any weapons.’
mu á mɛ.
 you to NEG
- c. *Ba-tóónyó wà pì á*
 house-be.tall.G2P NEG.be.there them to
 ‘They don’t have tall buildings there (lit. tall buildings are
 not to them)
Bàmàkwo fíígé mɛ.
 Bamako like NEG
 like Bamako.’

- d. *Ŋkàà pi wà à ɲɛna a yì lèɲè*
 but they NEG.be.there PERF agree SC them put
 ‘But they haven’t tried (lit. agreed) to put them
baga niɲkín í mɛ.
 house one in NEG
 in one cage.’

Although it does not vary with an affirmative with a different tone, the prohibitive auxiliary *kà* may also be said to be marked with the negative low tone.

A minor and probably archaic negative auxiliary *ɔ* also carries the negative low tone.⁶⁰ So far this auxiliary has only been recorded with the copula *sii*, and only in the speech of very old people. In the speech of younger people, *sii* in its copular function must be preceded by the perfect auxiliary, and this is negated in the usual way by the addition of *ɲyɛ*:

- (165) *Siga*⁶¹ *ɲyɛ a sɪ̀ lè è mɛ.*
 doubt NEG PERF be.EMPH it in NEG
 ‘There’s no doubt about it.’ lit. ‘Doubt is not in it.’

Sometimes very old people have *ɔ* in place of the expected *ɲyɛ a*:

- (166) *Kuru càɲkɛ na wyeri ɔ sɪ̀*
 that(EMPH) day.DEF on medicine NEG be.EMPH
 ‘At that time (lit. on that day) there was really no medicine
nù na mɛ.
 cow on NEG
 for cows.’

A couple of tense-aspects do not take any negative marking in the auxiliary position. In one of these, the habitual, the auxiliary (*màha*) already begins with a low tone, and the addition of a negative low tone would therefore go unnoticed:

- (167) *U màha ɲɛna a kù jò*
 it HAB agree SC it swallow
 ‘It (=the python) doesn’t agree to swallow it (=newly shed skin)
uru fòð ɲyíí ná mɛ.
 that(EMPH) owner eye on NEG
 in the presence of that person.’

The other tense which usually does not have a negative marking in auxiliary position is the potential *kú*. Here there is no simple explanation for the

lack of marking as there is with *màha*. An example of *kú* in a negative clause is:

- (168) *Mìlì gú ò-jà òsò mé.*
 I POT FP-be.able sleep NEG
 ‘I won’t/wouldn’t be able to sleep.’

Two of the copulas, *nye* ‘be’ and *mpyi* ‘be.PAST’, also do not take any negative marking:

- (169) a. *Mìlì pòòjì nye náhá mé.*
 my husband.DEF be here NEG
 ‘My husband isn’t here.’
 b. *Pì mpyi u òjì í mé.*
 they were him head in NEG
 ‘They (the papers) weren’t on him.’

When *mpyi* is used as a past auxiliary with other auxiliaries, no negative marking is used:

- (170) a. *Òkàà wýéréjì mpyi à nyaha*
 but money.DEF PAST PERF be.much
 ‘But there wasn’t much money
mìlì òjì í mé.
 my head on NEG
 on me.’
 b. *Òkàà yyaha fòòjì mpyi na*
 but face owner.DEF PAST PROG
 ‘But the older brother did not
cire jàcyí⁶² cwòrè mé.
 their(EMPH) importance grab.IMPV NEG
 grasp their importance.’
 c. *U ceèjì mpyi na sáhà pyà ta à nye mé*
 this woman.DEF PAST PROG YET child get SC see NEG
 ‘This woman had not yet ever had a child.’
 d. *Pítétì⁶³ pí mpyi na sí ò-kwù*
 maybe they PAST PROG FUT FP-die
 ‘Maybe they would not have died
òdè kwù-òkàní na mé.
 that die-manner.DEF on NEG
 in that way.’

In addition to these tense-aspects in which negation is not marked in the auxiliary position, there are a few in which negation is not allowed at all. Thus the narrative/sequential cannot be negated. In a narrative the clauses marked with the narrative *sf* encode main-line events. By their very nature (or lack of it), non-events cannot fill this function. If a non-event is important in a narrative, it must be coded with some other auxiliary, usually the perfect, as in the following example:

(171) *Kà u ú yí jwó ú tùmipyiibílá à*
and he NARR them say his blood.relatives.DEF to
'Then he said to his relatives

pi Ø pa sùmànjí kwòn.
they SUBJUNC come grain.DEF cut
(that) they should come cut the grain.

Sùpyíi nyé à pa mé.
people NEG PERF come NEG
No one came (lit. people didn't come).

Kà u ú ñ-kará á sà Ŋguulii cya.
and he NARR IP-go SC go Nguu.people seek
So then he went to get the people of Nguu.'

The conditional likewise cannot be negated in any simple way. See chapter 15, section 15.1.5.3 for the complex structure required to encode a negative conditional.

Note further that the negative counterpart of the imperative, hortative, and subjunctive (i.e. the prohibitive) is not simply any of these with an added negative marking, but is instead suppletive.

9.4.1.3. Negative polarity items

Supyire does not have a large set of negative polarity items (i.e. words or phrases which can appear only in negative clauses). As will be shown in the next section, it gets along fine without negative quantifiers. There is one quantifier, however, which can only be used in negative clauses: *yafyîn*. It appears to contain the root *ya-* 'thing',⁶⁴ and can be translated variously as 'anything', 'a thing', or 'nothing'. It is not commonly used, and only three unelicited examples occur in the corpus. Here are two of them:

(172) a. *Mii nya à yafyîn ta mé.*
I NEG PERF anything get NEG
'I didn't get anything.'

- b. *Yafyîn nàhà náhá ' nínjáà mé.*
 anything NEG.be.here here today NEG
 'Nothing is here today.' i.e. Everything is all right
 today—there are no problems.

The adverb *puno*, related to the quantifier *puní* 'all', has a particular affinity for negative clauses, where it acts as a reinforcer meaning roughly 'at all'. Although one example has been recorded in an affirmative sentence (see chapter 7, section 7.6), for all the speakers I consulted on the issue *puno* was acceptable only in negative sentences. Following is an example (see the section referred to above for another example):

- (173) *U nye a kyà kyaàre e punu mé.*
 he NEG PERF eat meat.DEF in at.all NEG
 'He didn't eat any of the meat at all.'

As pointed out in chapter 7, section 7.2, identificational clauses (i.e. clauses with an identifier pronoun as predicate) are negated by substituting the negative identifier *bà* for the identifier pronoun. *Bà* thus means 'it is not a X' or 'they are not X'. It is followed directly by the clause final negative particle *mé*:

- (174) *Mu wú bà mé.*
 your POSS it.is.not NEG
 'It's not yours.'

Just as with the negative clause final particle *mà* (to which it may be related etymologically), *bà* has an alternate form *bàà*. This is used when *bà/bàà* is followed by *mà*, in which case the [m] of *mà* almost always elides:

- (175) *Mpi bàlà à?*
 hare it.is.not NEG.Q
 'Isn't it Hare?'

The long form is not necessarily used, however, when the *mà* is followed by the exclamative particle *dε*. Thus both of the following are possible, though the first is more common:

- (176) a. *Sèe bà à dε!*
 truth it.is.not NEG EXCL
 'It's not true!'
 b. *Sèe bàlà à dε!*
 truth it.is.not NEG EXCL
 'It's not true!'

Aside from these three words, no other negative polarity items have been detected in Kampwo Supyire.

9.4.2. The scope of negation

Supyire is like other languages (cf. Givón 1984: 324) in that only asserted information in a clause normally falls under the scope of negation. Presupposed information, in particular definite subjects (at least in verbal clauses), remain outside the scope of negation. Adverbs and indirect objects tend to arrogate the negation to themselves. Thus

- (177) *Pi nyε a li pyi sɪncyan mé.*
 they NEG PERF it do together NEG
 ‘They didn’t do it together.’

does not deny that they did it, but only that they did it *together*. Similarly,

- (178) *U si zíní bagé ɲwògé na mé.*
 he NEG.FUT FP.lie.down house.DEF mouth.DEF at NEG
 ‘He will not lie down at the door of the house.’

does not deny that he will lie down. “Adverbial” serial verbs also attract the negation to themselves. Thus

- (179) *Zàntùnnɔ̀ nyε na n-tílá à yaaga cú mé.*
 hyena NEG PROG IP-be.straight SC thing catch NEG
 ‘Hyena does not catch anything straightaway.’

does not imply that Hyena does not catch anything, but only that he doesn’t do it directly, without first carefully circling it.

Indefinite nouns in the scope of negation must be non-referential (cf. Givón 1984: 331). In the last example above the indefinite noun *yaaga* ‘thing’ was translated as if it were a quantifier. In fact, *yaaga* is used in this way in negative sentences much more frequently than the quantifier *yafyîn* described in the previous section. Indefinite pronouns under the scope of negation must likewise be non-referential:

- (180) *Mpi nyε a wà ù nu tò mé.*
 hare NEG PERF IND GEN mother bury NEG
 ‘Hare hasn’t (helped) bury anyone’s mother.’

Subjects are not invariably outside the scope of negation. In fact, indefinite subjects normally fall within its scope and are non-referential. Thus

- (181) *Wà nyε à pa mé.*
 IND NEG PERF come NEG
 ‘No one has come.’

does not ordinarily mean that a particular person unknown to the hearer did not come, though with some considerable prompting some speakers have been willing to admit that it might mean this. Even the combination of definite noun with indefinite determiner, the form generally used to introduce important referential indefinite participants in narrative, cannot be referential when the subject of a negative sentence. Compare the two uses of this construction in the following example, one in an affirmative the other in a negative clause:

- (182) *Nàji wà u mpyi ná cyèe ké i.*
 man.DEF IND he was with women ten with
 ‘A certain man had ten wives.’

Ceèñji wà mpyi na sáhá pyà ta mé.
 woman.DEF IND PAST PROG YET child get NEG
 None of the women had yet gotten a child.’

The negative clause cannot mean that a certain one of the women had not gotten a child, though the same noun phrase in the affirmative counterpart of this sentence would be interpreted as referential in this way.

In a similar fashion, quantifiers in the subject noun phrase also attract the negation. The following example manifestly does not mean that no domestic animal is taxed (i.e. with *puní* ‘all’ falling outside the scope of negation rather than within it). Everyone knows, on the contrary, that taxes are levied on sheep, goats, cows, and donkeys.

- (183) *Kànhà yàtòdré puní làmpúñji*
 village domestic.animals.DEF all tax.DEF
 ‘The tax of all domestic animals
nyε na wwú mé.
 NEG PROG take.off.IMPV NEG
 is not taken.’ (i.e. not all domestic animals are taxed)

Similarly, the following example is not a predication about the many people who stayed away from the market, but rather about the few who came:

- (184) *Sùpyfi juulí wà caangé na mé.*
 people many NEG.be.there market.DEF at NEG
 ‘Not many people are at the market.’

9.4.3. Negation in complex sentences

There is room here only for a brief survey of this large and complicated topic. A disproportionate amount of space will be allotted to negation in sentences with complement clauses, where the phenomenon of ‘Neg-raising’ is of interest.

Certain types of subordinate clause are not amenable to negation. In particular, no unelicited examples of a negative time adverbial clause with past time reference occur in the corpus. I was able only with the greatest difficulty to persuade a speaker to produce one, and it is better left unrecorded. There are of course good pragmatic reasons for this lack (cf. Givón 1984: 348): the function of a time clause is to provide, through reference to some known (or at least predictable) event, a setting for some other event. In general, non-events simply aren’t of sufficient saliency to provide this setting.

Negative restrictive relative clauses are rare for the same reason (Givón 1984: 349): participation in a non-event or non-state does not usually have the saliency to provide adequate identification. If the context is right, however, negative relative clauses are possible. They have two peculiarities which set them apart from other relative clauses. The first and most obvious is that the final relative clause marker *ké* is replaced with the clause final negative marker *mé*.⁶⁵ The second is not obligatory, but is very common. It applies in general only to relativized subjects, and consists in the placement of the copula *nɲɛ* after the resumptive subject pronoun, and then the repetition of that pronoun followed by the rest of the clause, including, if applicable, negative marking in the auxiliary position. Note that restrictive relative clauses are preposed to the main clause, and the *mé* is placed at the end of the relative clause, before the main clause. The following example, in which the subject noun phrase is relativized, shows how a non-event in the relative clause is rendered salient by the immediately preceding context:

- (185) *Kà pìlì sɪ wɪ̀gɪj wwù fannké e,*
 and IND(GIP) NARR holes take.off grave.DEF in
 ‘Some of them (=the frogs) dug holes in (the side of) the grave
- maá ɲwóhɔ cɪrɛ e. Zhìbannàɲwɔ*
 and.NARR hide them(EMPH) in ground.hornbill
 and hid in them. Hornbill
- m̀pɪ́f pi nɲɛ pi nɲɛ a wɪ̀gɪj ta a*
 those they be they NEG PERF holes get SC
 swallowed those which didn’t manage
- wwù mé, mà pìrè jó...*
 take.off NEG and them(EMPH) swallow
 to dig holes.’

We turn now to complex constructions in which negation is rather more common. Negative clefts are frequently used. They are formed by placing the focused item at the head of the clause followed by the negative identifier *bà* 'it is not'. Then follows the 'out of focus' clause, which is affirmative, and last of all comes the final negative marker *mé* or *mà*:

- (186) *Cyàge kè e bà*
 place.DEF IND in it.is.not
 'It is not in any particular place
- mì nyé na u tàà mé.*⁶⁶
 I be PROG it get.IMPFV NEG
 that I am getting it.'

For more examples of negative clefts, see chapter 11, section 11.1.1.

Sentences with complement clauses are like clefts in that the final negative particle is placed at the end of the sentence, regardless of whether it belongs logically with the first (main) or second (complement) clause. The placement of the negative marking in auxiliary position of course indicates where the negation belongs. We will look first at negative complement clauses, giving an example of each of the three major types of complement clause (for descriptions of these complement types, as well as of minor types and their numerous variations, see chapter 11 below). Complements of verbs of speech and cognition may be either indicative (example (187a) also includes a negative conditional) or subjunctive (= prohibitive, as in (187b)):

- (187) a. negative declarative

U yyaha wùubílá à jwo
 his face POSS.DEF(G1P) PERF say
 'His ancestors (lit. the ones of his face, i.e. those 'in front'
 of him) have said

na ná u nyé a nùra à
 that if he NEG PERF return SC
 that unless (lit. if...not) he returns

katàhe lèyè mé,
 original.site.DEF put NEG
 and inhabits (lit. puts) the original site of the village

na suní sì ñ-kwò mé.
 that defecate.DEF NEG.FUT FP-finish NEG
 that the dysentery will not end.'

b. negative subjunctive (= prohibitive)

Sùpyìré ... á yì jwù u à
 people.DEF PERF them say him to
 'The people ... told him (lit. said them to him)

na u ahà kuru cyàge pyi mé.
 that he PROH that(EMPH)place.DEF do NEG
 that he must not farm that place.'

Realis complements of manipulative verbs, which take a high tone marking on the subject pronoun when they are affirmative, lose this marking in the negative, and are formed simply like negative declarative clauses. The construction is thus paratactic, with no morphological marks of subordination:

(188) *Kà sààge sì ù sìge*
 and laziness.DEF NARR him prevent
 'Laziness prevented him

u nyε a jà a ò lyí mé.
 he NEG PERF be.able SC it eat NEG
 from being able to eat it.' lit. 'Laziness prevented him; he wasn't able to eat it.'

Irrealis complements of manipulative verbs and complements of modality verbs take the negative subjunctive (=prohibitive):

(189) a. *Mì lá nyε pi ahà m-pà mé.*
 my desire be they PROH FP-come NEG
 'I want them not to come.'

b. *Pi à yaa pi ahà m-pà mé.*
 they PERF ought they PROH FP-come NEG
 'They ought to not come.'

We turn now to negation in the main clause rather than in the complement clause. Note that the final negative marker is still placed after the complement clause, and not directly after the main clause. This is true even with the relatively loosely integrated complements of verbs of speech and cognition (in the following examples the main clauses are in regular type for ease of identification):

(190) a. *Wùu nyε à pyi a cè*
 we NEG PERF PAST PERF know
 'We didn't know

*na karadantíibíí*⁶⁷ *màha wíí me.*
 that identity.cards.DEF HAB look.at NEG
 that identity cards are required (lit. are looked at).'

- b. *Wùu nye à jwo ma a ḡṇi*
 we NEG PERF say you SUBJUNC.IMPFV rest.IMPFV
 'Didn't we say you should rest

ma rá a fūṅke
 you SUBJUNC SUBJUNC.IMPFV inside.DEF
 and search your memory (lit. inside)?'

càla à?
 search.IMPFV NEG.Q

It is equally true of the more tightly integrated realis complements of manipulative and perception verbs:

- (191) a. *Mii nye a ù pyl ú á ù sàrà mé.*
 I NEG PERF him make he.COMP PERF it pay NEG
 'I didn't make him pay it.'

- b. *Tàhà mu wà a mìl séége*
 Q you NEG.be.there PERF my skin.DEF
 'Don't you see my

shìré nye tí i mìnì mé?
 hair.DEF see it.COMP PROG come.off NEG
 fur is falling out?'

and the subjunctive complements of irrealis manipulative verbs and modality verbs:

- (192) a. *Mii sì wà pyi u na tugo mé.*
 I NEG.FUT IND make s/he me help.with.load NEG
 'I won't make anyone help me put the load on my head.'

- b. *Sùpyà ná sùpyà nye à yaa*
 person and person NEG PERF ought
 'People (lit. a person and a person) ought not

pi ∅ láhá pí-yè nà
 they SUBJUNC separate they-REFL on
 to separate from each other

nàfùṅji kùrùgò mé.
 wealth.DEF through NEG
 because of money.'

Supyire appears to behave much like other languages in regard to “Neg-raising” (or “Neg-transport”, as some call it), the placement in the main clause of negation which in some sense semantically belongs to the complement clause. As noted by Horn (1989: 309; see also Givón 1984: 342), the Neg-raising phenomenon tends to be confined to “middle” strength verbs on the scales of epistemic certainty, degree of manipulation, and degree of obligation. These generalizations hold true for Kampwo Supyire. Among epistemic verbs, *ce* ‘know’, which is high on the scale of certainty, is not compatible with Neg-raising (the placement of the negation in one or the other clause yields a quite different meaning, rather than the same meaning). Thus the following two examples are not at all equivalent, just as in English:

(193) a. negation in complement

U a li cè na mli nye a kàrè mé.
 he PERF it know that I NEG PERF go NEG
 ‘He knows that I didn’t go.’

b. negation in main clause

U nye a li cè na mli a kàrè mé.
 he NEG PERF it know that I PERF go NEG
 ‘He doesn’t know that I went.’

Verbs encoding a lesser degree of certainty, on the other hand, are compatible with Neg-raising. In Supyire these verbs are *sɔŋŋ* ‘think’, *da* ‘believe’ (borrowed from Bambara *da* ‘put down, believe’), and *yaha* ‘believe’ (one of the senses of a word whose basic meaning is ‘put down’ or ‘leave’). The following pairs of examples are nearly equivalent in meaning, though there may be subtle differences I was not able to detect in elicitation:

(194) a. negation in main clause

Mli nye na sɔŋŋ na u à pa mé.
 I NEG PROG think.IMPFV that he PERF come NEG
 ‘I don’t think he came.’

b. negation in complement

Mli na sɔŋŋ na u nye à pa mé.
 I PROG think.IMPFV that he NEG PERF come NEG
 ‘I think that he didn’t come.’

(195) a. negation in main clause

Mli nye a dà u sí jè-jà
 I NEG PERF believe he FUT FP-be.able
 ‘I don’t believe he will be able

ù tà ò-jú mé.
 him get FP-rob NEG
 to succeed in robbing him.'

b. negation in complement

Mì a dà u sì ò-jà
 I PERF believe he NEG.FUT FP-be.able
 'I believe he won't be able

ù tà ò-jú mé.
 him get FP-rob NEG
 to succeed in robbing him.'

A similar situation obtains with the middle of the scale of strength of manipulation. Verbs coding strong manipulation, such as *pyi* 'make', *tun* 'send', and *tege* 'help', do not allow Neg-raising. In fact only the relatively weak 'want' is compatible with it. The most common way to express 'want' in Supyire is by means of a construction meaning literally 'X's desire is' followed by a subjunctive complement clause. Here, just as reported for other languages (cf. Horn 1989: 315; Givón 1984: 343), a sentence with "raised" negation is weaker, and consequently more polite than the corresponding sentence with the negation in the complement clause:

(196) a. negation in main clause

Mì lá nye mu ú shyá mé.⁶⁸
 my desire be you SUBJUNC go NEG
 'I don't want you to go.'

b. negation in complement

Mì lá nye ma hà zhyà mé.
 my desire be you.NONDECL PROH FP.go NEG
 'I want you not to go.'

Not surprisingly, the "raised" version is much more common than the "unraised" version. When both clauses have the same subject (and consequently the main predication is more like a modality verb than a manipulative one), only the "raised" version is permitted. There is thus no counterpart of example (197) with the negation in the complement rather than in the main clause. Note that the subject of the complement clause is omitted under identity with the main clause subject:

(197) *Mì lá nye sí shyá mé.*
 my desire be SUBJUNC go NEG
 'I don't want to go.'

Finally, among verbs expressing obligation, the verb *yaa* ‘ought, should’ is compatible with Neg-raising. In fact, no example of a negative complement of *yaa* occurs in the corpus, nor have I ever heard one spontaneously produced. The “unraised” counterpart of the following was only obtained through elicitation:

(198) a. negation in main clause

Zànhé nye à yaa
rain.DEF NEG PERF ought
‘The rain must not

ku ú canmpyàa shuunní pyí mé.
it SUBJUNC days two do NEG
stay away (lit. do) (longer than) two days.’⁶⁹

b. negation in complement

Zànhá à yaa
rain.DEF PERF ought
?‘The rain ought

ka hà canmpyàa shuunní pyí mé.
it PROH days two do NEG
to not stay away longer than two days.’

Before leaving the topic of negation in complex sentences something should be said about coordinate clauses. The Supyire equivalent of clauses conjoined by *neither...nor* is simply a construction in which the first coordinate clause is negated, and the final negative particle is placed after the second clause:

(199) *Yìi nye a sùpyigiré le*
you.PL NEG PERF kindness.DEF put
‘You have not put kindness

yì-yè shwàhòle e,
you.PL-REFL between in
between each other,

maríi yì-yè kàànmùcàà mé.
and.NARR.PROG you.PL-REFL watch.IMPFV NEG
nor (have you) been watching out for each other.’

The same structure may be used for quite different purposes, however. The following example is syntactically coordinate, but the second clause, by virtue of the serial verb *ná* ‘(only) afterwards’, functions in reality like an adverbial ‘before’ clause. Just as with adverbs and adverbial phrases, this ad-

verbal clause attracts the scope of negation to itself (or rather, since this is a negative yes/no question, the adverbial clause is strongly *affirmed*.)

- (200) *Tá Canjyee nyε a kwù*
 Q Canyee NEG PERF die
 'Didn't Canyee die'

ká Kànhacyee rí ' ná á kwù mé?
 and Kanhacyee NARR afterward SC die NEG
 before Kanhacyee did?' Lit. 'Didn't Canyee die
 and (only) then Kanhacyee died?'

9.4.4. Word and phrase negation

Supyire does not have a rich negative morphology. In fact there is only one negative affix, attached only to verbs, a privative nominalizer: *-mbàà-* 'without'. Several examples with this affix are given in chapter 3, section 3.2.2.8, and will not be repeated here. *-Mbàà-* is related to the privative postposition *bàà* (both are evidently derived from the Bambara verb *bàli* 'prevent from, forbid'). Some examples follow:

- (201) a. *Cèñji wà u màha m-pyi pyà bàà.*
 woman.DEF IND she PAST IP-be child without
 'A certain woman was childless (lit. was without a child).'
- b. *U à pyi na sòñji*
 he PERF PAST PROG think.IMPFV
 'He (Francolin) was thinking
- na shire na nyε u na,*
 that feathers PROG be him on
 that he had feathers (lit. feathers are on him)
- kùnùṅḍ sị nyε tà bàà.*
 tortoise ADV be IND without
 whereas Tortoise didn't (lit. was without some).'

Using *bàà* in a negative clause is a strong way of affirming something:

- (202) a. *Mìl àhá sá yí tá ' cógó ó cógó,*
 I COND go them find manner DIST manner
 'Whatever condition I find them in,

mli càà m̀-̀pà yi bàà nfnjáà mé.
 I NEG.FUT FP-come them without today NEG
 I won't come without them today.' i.e. 'I certainly will
 come with them.'

- b. *Wà jina à cewe ta*
 IND be.able.IMPFV SC woman get
 'One cannot get a wife

jàtìge⁷⁰ bàà mé.
 host without NEG
 without a host.' (a proverb)

The complex postposition `baare e 'except for' may be related to *bàà* (the initial floating low tone makes it look like a nominalization), though the tone is not what would be expected if *bàà* were the source. If the etymology were correct, `baare would mean 'lack' or 'absence', and the complex postposition would be literally 'in the absence of'. Following is an example of this postposition in a sentence:

- (203) *Mu baare e wà sì j̀-̀jà gù lwó mé.*
 you except for IND NEG.FUT FP-be.able it take NEG
 'Except for you no one is able to pick it up.'

Chapter 10

Transitivity and voice

From a morphological point of view, the domain of voice is very uncomplicated in Supyire. This chapter is accordingly brief. After an initial discussion of transitivity, there are two major sections, one on types of detransitivization, the other on transitivization. The former includes a description of the passive, followed by two sections on what might be broadly (and hopefully not too misleadingly) termed “antipassive” constructions. The section on transitivization deals first with the morphological causative, a relatively minor construction in Supyire. There follows a section treating the much more common unmarked causative construction. The chapter ends with a short section on the reflexive.

10.1. Transitivity in Supyire

From a purely structural point of view, it is easy to distinguish transitive from intransitive sentences in Supyire merely by the presence versus the absence of a direct object. Subjects and direct objects are easily distinguishable by their fixed position in the sentence.¹ It is now generally agreed, however, that a merely structural account of transitivity is hopelessly inadequate. As a means of making cross-linguistic generalizations, categories such as subject and direct object run into all sorts of difficulties, since a structural definition valid for one language is often not applicable to another. There is a considerable literature on this topic (see in particular Keenan 1976, Hopper and Thompson 1980, Givón 1984, 1989, DeLancey 1987). Two major points have been established in this literature. The first is that transitivity from a functional point of view is a scalar phenomenon and not a binary one. The second is that to gain a clear picture of what the function of a given syntactic role is, one must take into account both semantic and pragmatic factors.

Assuming the correctness of this approach, what can be said of the roles of subject and direct object in Kampwo Supyire? The subject is a largely pragmatic role, just as it is in languages like English and French (see Givón 1983, 1984: 139). This means that one cannot simply equate the syntactic role of subject with a semantic role such as agent. The subject of a clause can in fact also be the semantic patient, recipient, or even some other role. The choice of which semantic role is to be subject is a pragmatic one. Having said this, it is necessary to affirm that the hierarchy of “accessibility” to

subject (see Keenan 1976, Keenan and Comrie 1977, Givón 1984) which has been found valid for other languages is also valid for Supyire:

(1) Agent > Recipient > Patient > Other

According to this hierarchy, subjects are more likely to be agents than they are to be any of the other roles. From a pragmatic point of view, of course, agents tend to be more interesting and relevant, and are therefore better candidates on the whole for the position of subject.

The choice of direct object, in contrast, is largely semantic: it is almost always the patient. This sets Supyire apart from languages such as English which freely allow recipients, and sometimes even roles lower on the hierarchy, such as instrumental or locative, to be “promoted” to direct object (the so-called “dative shift” rule). In such languages the direct object can be defined in pragmatic terms as a secondary clause-level topic. Supyire allows dative shift with only one verb, *kan* ‘give’, which may be characterized as the prototypical three-participant verb, and whose equivalents in other languages are cross-linguistically the most likely to allow recipient direct objects. Most often when the recipient is made the direct object of *kan* the patient is suppressed altogether. It is, however, possible to include the patient as an indirect object marked with the postposition *na* ‘on, at’:²

(2) *Mli a ù kàn bikí³ ná.*
 I PERF him give pen at
 ‘I have given him a pen.’

Even where they are allowed (i.e. with the verb *kan*), recipient direct objects are quite rare. Of 270 occurrences of *kan* in the corpus, only 8 (= 3%) have recipient direct objects. It is significant that all eight are either anaphoric pronouns or proper names, an indication that only a highly topical recipient can be promoted. However, by far the great majority of highly topical recipients (coded by anaphoric pronouns or proper names) are not made direct object.

A few verbs take direct objects with the semantic role of locative, instrument, or time. Thus the normally intransitive verb *naara* ‘walk’ may take such direct objects as *sigé* ‘the bush’, *kūni* ‘the road’, or *tatɔngɔ* ‘a long way’ to indicate where or how far the walking occurs. An example of an instrumental direct object is the use of *lwɔhɔ* ‘water’ as the object of *wuli* ‘bathe’ to mean ‘take a bath’ (lit. ‘bathe water’). The verb *pyi* ‘do’ may have the sense ‘spend’ when it has a direct object referring to a span of time. Very few verbs have been found so far which permit this kind of non-patient direct object.

It is clear therefore that the direct object role is not primarily a pragmatic one. Its major function is to code the semantic role of patient. It should be

pointed out though that it does not have a corner on patients. As already noted above, patients can be coded as subject, and as will be shown below, patients may be “demoted” to indirect object.

The ensuing discussion will demonstrate that the factors affecting “structural” transitivity (i.e. whether or not a direct object is present) are of two sorts. One is pragmatic, involving the relative topicality of participants in the clause. The other is semantic, involving such things as semantic case roles (agent, patient, recipient, etc.) and the degree of affectedness of the patient.

10.2. Detransitivization

As shown in chapter 4 above, verbs in Supyire can be broadly categorized into transitive and intransitive, according to whether they ordinarily take a direct object or not. The use of the word “ordinarily” should alert the reader to the fact that there are exceptions, and it is precisely with these exceptional cases that this chapter is concerned. The exceptions are of two sorts: intransitive verbs which occur in transitive clauses, and transitive verbs which occur in intransitive clauses. The latter form the topic of this section.

There are two major types of detransitivization in Supyire. The first, the passive, is accomplished through the suppression of the agent, for pragmatic reasons. The remaining patient (or some other participant) is then made subject. The other type of detransitivization may be called “antipassive” because it involves the suppression or “demotion” of the patient. It may in turn be classified into two types. The first involves the simple suppression of the patient/direct object of certain verbs. This suppression, like that of the agent in the passive, is done mainly for pragmatic reasons. The second type of “antipassive” detransitivization is in contrast done mainly for semantic reasons, and involves the “demotion” of the patient to an indirect object role.

10.2.1. Passive

It is important to recall at the outset that passive clauses in Supyire are not morphologically distinguished in any way from simple intransitive clauses (see chapter 7, section 7.4.1).⁴ They can only be differentiated from ordinary (active or stative) intransitive clauses on the basis of their meaning. Like the statives, passives have subjects with the semantic role of patient. They can be differentiated from the statives and the active intransitives on the basis of the verb: an intransitive clause with a patient subject and a normally transitive verb must be passive.

In order to give some substance to the “normally” of the last sentence, the most commonly occurring transitive verbs in the corpus were tabulated. A

total of 21 transitive verbs occur more than 20 times each in the corpus.⁵ These are given in Table 35 together with the percentages of occurrences of each verb in transitive, passive, and active intransitive clauses.

Table 35. Occurrences of common transitive verbs in various clause types

Verb	Gloss	Active Transitive Total		Passive		Other Intransitive		N
		N*	%	N	%	N	%	
<i>bo</i>	kill	88	96.7	2	2.2	1	1.1	91
<i>bwɔn</i>	hit	63	86.3	1	1.4	9	12.3	73
<i>cù</i>	catch	98	94.2	3	2.9	3	2.9	104
<i>cya</i>	seek	85	97.7	2	2.3	0		87
<i>cyán</i>	drop	21	87.5	2	8.3	1	4.2	24
<i>diri</i>	pull	25	100.0	0		0		25
<i>jya</i>	break	34	87.2	5	12.8	0		39
<i>kɔɔ</i>	chase	21	91.3	1	4.3	1	4.3	23
<i>le</i>	put	95	96.9	3	3.1	0		98
<i>péré</i>	sell	21	95.5	1	4.5	0		22
<i>pwɔ</i>	tie	31	91.2	3	8.8	0		34
<i>shwɔ</i>	buy	67	94.4	2	2.8	2	2.8	71
<i>tìrìgè</i>	lower	28	87.5	0		4	12.5	32
<i>to</i>	cover	70	92.1	4	5.3	2	2.6	76
<i>tugo</i>	carry	30	100.0	0		0		30
<i>wwù</i>	take off	70	89.7	6	7.7	2	2.6	78
<i>yíbé</i>	ask	34	91.9	0		3	8.1	37
<i>yígé</i>	ask	37	100.0	0		0		37
<i>yige</i>	take out	58	95.1	3	4.9	0		61
<i>yìrìgè</i>	raise	39	95.1	2	4.9	0		41
<i>yyere</i>	call	85	100.0	0		0		85
Median Percentage			94.4		2.9		0	

*N = number of occurrences in the corpus

The percentages of passive clauses for the 21 verbs range from 0% to 12.8%,⁶ with the median at 2.9%. Ten of the 21 verbs also occurred in active intransitive clauses (i.e. in “antipassive” clauses), but the percentages of these were equally low, ranging from 0% to 12.5%, with a median of 0%. The lowest percentage of transitive uses for any of the verbs is 86.3%, and the median percentage is 94.4%. These verbs can therefore clearly be clas-

sified as transitive. Their use in intransitive clauses, and specifically in passive clauses, is relatively uncommon.

From a functional point of view, the passive in Supyire is principally a means of suppressing mention of the agent. This is in keeping with the function of the passive in other languages (cf. Givón 1984). Even in languages which allow an agent phrase (in an oblique case) in the passive, such a phrase is usually relatively uncommon, and the ordinary passive simply doesn't mention the agent. Supyire is one of a number of languages which do not allow an agent phrase.⁷ The agent is suppressed presumably because of its low topicality. This unusually low topicality can arise from a number of factors. One is low referentiality. The following example is taken from an expository discourse on the causes of discord in contemporary Supyire society. The agent of the passives in the final three clauses is mentioned in the preceding clause. Note that this agent ('the fathers') has generic rather than specific reference: the speaker does not have any particular fathers in mind, but is speaking about fathers in general:

- (3) *Ŋkàà u fotíŋi*⁸ *num-bwɔŋi*...
 but this fault.DEF ADJ-big.DEF
 'But the biggest fault ...

mu gú sà ù tà tìibíí kàmpaŋa na,
 you POT go it find fathers.DEF side on
 you will find it on the side of the fathers,

*pàrské*⁹ *yeregé sàhà nye na m-pyi*
 because counsel.DEF STILL NEG PROG IP-do
 because counsel is no longer given (lit. done)

*ku cógóni*¹⁰ *na mé,*
 its manner.DEF on NEG
 the way it should be (lit. on its manner),

pyìibíí sàhà nye na ŋ-kèèŋŋi
 children.DEF STILL NEG PROG IP-raise.IMPFV
 children are no longer raised

pi cógóni na mé,
 their manner.DEF on NEG
 in the way they should be,

pyìibíí sàhà nye na byíí
 children.DEF STILL NEG PROG rear.IMPFV
 children are no longer brought up

pi taŋjáà byí-ŋkání na mé.
 their yesterday rear-manner.DEF on NEG
 the way they were in the past.

Sometimes the patient is highly topical at the same time that the agent is non-referential. In the following example, the patient-subject of the passive in the last clause is established as the primary topic of the discourse in the previous context. The agent of the action, by contrast, is non-referential: it could refer to anybody.

(4) A: *U mege nye Koogogòò.*
his name be Koogogoo
'His name is Koogogoo.'

B: *Gòò kònì u cáá cìrè tà.*
Goo TOP he FUT these(EMPH) get
As for Goo (= a short form of Koogogoo), he could be that old
(lit. he will get them (= 130 years)).

A: *U à pyi màha yiga a càà*
he PERF PAST HAB take.out SC spread.out
He used to be taken out and spread out
cànjke na.
sunlight.DEF at
in the sun (to get warm).'

The non-referentiality of the agent is probably the reason why passives are more common in procedural discourse than in narrative. As Longacre (1976) points out, procedural discourse (explanations of how to do something) tends to be patient-oriented, whereas narrative is agent-oriented. In procedural discourse, the focus of attention is generally on the patient and what is done to it. The agent is only important insofar as s/he brings about the desired changes in the patient. In narrative, on the other hand, the focus of attention is on the agent and what s/he does. This is borne out by the proportions of passives in procedural texts and narratives in Supyire. The figures in Table 36 are based on five randomly chosen texts of each type in the corpus. In the narratives (total clauses = 643), the proportion of passive clauses was only 2.5%. In the procedural texts (total clauses = 284), on the other hand, the proportion was 9.2%.

One clause-type that favors the passive and that occurs in both procedural and narrative discourse is time adverbial clauses. Over 9% of all time adverbial clauses occurring in the corpus are passives.¹¹ Often time clauses refer to the termination of an event which is taken as a setting for the event in the main clause (see the section on the terminative construction, chapter 9, section 9.1.6). In many such cases, the important fact for the purposes of providing a setting is what has happened to the patient. This may account for its promotion to subject position.

Following is a typical example. The preceding sentence has just stated that Lion, Hyena, Billy Goat, and Leopard have formed a cooperative to build a

house. The completion of the house then provides the temporal setting for the next main event in the story:

- (5) *Pyênga* *a* *cyàn a kwò gé,*
 compound.DEF PERF build SC finish TC
 ‘When the home was finished being built,

Table 36. Proportion of passives in narrative and procedural texts

Narrative Texts	Clauses	Passives	Percentage of passives	Speaker
Poison	281	12	4.3	A
Baobab	191	1	0.5	C
Fish	70	1	1.4	B
Jinchild	53	1	1.9	D
Friday	48	1	2.1	B
Total	643	16	2.5	
Procedural Texts				
Burial	126	14	11.0	A
Honey	44	3	6.8	E
Waa	44	4	9.1	B
Tea	41	2	4.9	B
Weaving	29	3	10.3	F
Total	284	26	9.2	

kà pi í jwó...
 and they NARR say
 they said...’

Another possible motive for suppressing mention of the agent may be politeness. Once during an interview with two old men, I asked one of them how many years ago a certain event had occurred. He gave a wild estimate, which the other man took exception to. The latter proceeded to explain just what event I was seeking the date of, ending with the following sentence. He evidently suppressed the mention of the agent in order to avoid mentioning me directly:

- (6) *Cire ci nyε na n-càà sá.*
 these(EMPH) they be PROG IP-see.IMPFV EXCL
 ‘It is these (years) that are being sought.’

One final point should be noted about the passive. Not all transitive clauses have a passive counterpart. Some direct objects which are not patients may not be promoted to subject position. The locative, instrumental, and time direct objects referred to in section 10.1, for example, cannot be made subject. The promoted recipient direct object of *kan* ‘give’, on the other hand, can become the subject. While no such examples occur in the corpus, speakers are not at all unwilling to produce them on demand, nor is it uncommon to hear sentences such as the following when something is offered to a person who has already been served:

- (7) *Mi à kan.*
 I PERF give
 ‘I have been given (some).’

That only promoted recipients are eligible to become subject is demonstrated by the impossibility of the passive interpretation of such examples as the following:

- (8) *Mi à téŋi wà kan.*
 I PERF tea.DEF IND give
 a. ‘I gave some tea (to someone).’
 b. *‘I was given some tea (by someone).’

When the patient is coded as indirect object (cf. example 2 above), only the passive interpretation is possible:

- (9) *Mi à kan bikí ná.*
 I PERF give pen at
 ‘I have been given a pen.’

In addition to the passive described above, there is another means of downplaying the importance of the agent: the so-called “impersonal” passive. In Supyire a non-referential gender 1 plural pronoun (*pi* ‘they’) can be used as subject of a transitive clause to give much the same effect as a syntactic passive. The following example is from the opening of a personal narrative:

- (10) *Nàŋkààge nyε à nwo mé.*
 thievery.DEF NEG PERF be.good NEG
 ‘Thievery is not good.’

Pi ahá mu yû, li màha mu yá.
 they COND you rob it HAB you hurt
 When you are robbed (lit. when they rob you), it hurts you.'

10.2.2. Verbs which allow patient suppression

There is a small set of verbs which regularly allow the outright suppression of the patient-direct object. These verbs are semantically transitive in that they denote events in which there is always a patient as well as an agent. The intransitive use of such verbs, however, is much more common than that of other transitive verbs. Moreover, while passives (subject = patient) are possible with these verbs, active intransitives, in which the subject is the agent and the patient simply is not mentioned, are much more common.

The focus of interest in these events is usually not on the patient, which may be predictable to the point of being uninteresting. It is rather on the agent. Structurally intransitive clauses with these verbs are indistinguishable from ordinary intransitive clauses. The patient-direct object is merely suppressed, and everything else is left alone.

Only six such verbs have been recorded so far in Kampwo Supyire. These are given in Table 37, together with the number and percentages of their occurrences in various clause types in the corpus. Note that while none of the percentages of occurrences in transitive clauses for prototypical transitive verbs is below 80%, for none of these verbs is the corresponding percentage above 60%.

Table 37. Occurrences of verbs allowing patient suppression in various clause types

Verb	Gloss	Transitive		Active Intransitive		Passive		Total N
		N*	%	N	%	N	%	
<i>lyl</i>	eat	49	59.8	33	40.2			82
<i>wff**</i>	look at	42	56.8	29	39.2	3	4.1	74
<i>shwǎhǎ</i>	cook	16	50.0	15	46.9	1	3.1	32
<i>bya</i>	drink	10	45.5	12	44.5			22
<i>bégélé</i>	pack	4	50.0	4	50			8
<i>tugo</i>	vomit	2	50.0	2	50			4

*N = number of occurrences in the corpus

**Sentences in which *wff* takes a complement clause have been excluded from these calculations.

By way of illustration, the following examples of the verbs *lyì* ‘eat’ and *shwǒhǒ* ‘cook’ in transitive, intransitive active, and intransitive passive clauses are offered. Note that the passive use of *lyì* was elicited. The other examples are all taken from texts.

- (11) a. transitive: agent subject, patient direct object

Kà pi í tíré sūre lyì...
and they NARR that(EMPH) mush.DEF eat
‘Then they ate that mush...’

- b. intransitive active: agent subject, patient suppressed

Tanjyééni canŋ kà nùmpìlàgè è
the.year.before.last day IND night in
‘The year before last, one night

wùù pyéngá shínbílá à pyi a lyì a kwǒ
our home people.DEF PERF PAST PERF eat SC finish
our family had finished eating

mà sínì.
and lie.down
and gone to bed.’

- c. intransitive passive: patient subject, agent suppressed

Sūre puná á lyì.
mush.DEF all PERF eat
‘All the mush has been eaten.’

- (12) a. transitive: agent subject, patient direct object

Kà mu ú tíré sūre shwǒhǒ...
and you NARR that(EMPH) mush.DEF cook
‘Then you cooked that mush...’

- b. intransitive active: agent subject, patient suppressed

Sána kilēŋi ù wwǒ à kwǒ ké,
before sky.DEF it get.black SSC finish TC
‘Before the night had completely fallen (lit. before the sky
had finished getting black),

mìl cwóŋi mpyi à shwǒha a kwǒ.
my wife.DEF PAST PERF cook SC finish
my wife had finished cooking.’

c. intransitive passive: patient subject, agent suppressed

... *pira asl m̀-pà sũre shwɔ́hɔ́...*
 these(EMPH) HAB.SEQ IP-come mush.DEF cook
 ‘...then these come and cook the mush...’

Ta há shwɔ́ha a kwɔ́, pi màha ŋ-kare...
 it COND cook SC finish they HAB IP-go
 ‘When it is finished being cooked, they go...’

The frequent suppression of the patient-direct object of these verbs is attributable to pragmatic factors. Most of the verbs imply a specific type of patient: one eats and cooks food, and not anything else. One drinks liquids, one packs one’s belongings, one vomits the food one has eaten. In many contexts in which these verbs occur, further specification of the patient simply isn’t relevant.

While the above generalization holds for five of the verbs involved, the sixth verb *wíí* ‘look at’ does not seem to fit the same description, in that a specific type of patient is not at all implied. It may be that the non-mention of the patient in this case is due to other factors.

10.2.3. Coding less affected patients as indirect objects

The intransitive uses of transitive verbs discussed in the previous two sections are primarily pragmatically motivated. In this section we will examine an intransitive use of transitive verbs which is semantically motivated. Like the object suppression just described, it is “antipassive” in function, and consists of “downgrading” the patient to indirect object rather than coding it as direct object. The coding as indirect rather than direct object conveys the semantic notion of less affectedness. The prototypical patient from a semantic point of view undergoes a drastic and visible change of state. From a syntactic point of view, the prototypical patient is coded as direct object. It thus makes sense to indicate a lesser degree of affectedness syntactically by coding the patient as something other than direct object.

This semantically motivated intransitive construction is not in fact very widespread either in terms of the number of lexical verbs which allow it or in terms of its frequency of use with those verbs that do. It is possible to distinguish two kinds of lessening of affectedness of the patient. In the first kind, the transitive use of the verb codes a physical manipulation of the patient, while the “antipassive”, with the patient marked with the postposition *na*, codes a much less drastic manipulation or even no manipulation at all. Only a few verbs allow this alternation. The clearest example from a semantic point of view is the verb *bwɔ́n*, which in the transitive means ‘hit’ and in

the “antipassive” means ‘touch’. The difference in degree of affectedness of the patient is obvious. Note the following examples:

(13) a. transitive: ‘hit’

Pyàŋa a lirè cé ke,
child.DEF PERF this(EMPH) know TC
‘When the child found this out,

maá tũŋi bwòŋ a cyàn.
and.NARR father.DEF hit SC make.fall
(she) knocked (her) father down (lit. hit the father and made fall).’

b. “antipassive”: ‘touch’

Wà sàhà nye a bwòŋ lì nà mé.
IND STILL NEG PERF touch it on NEG
‘None (of the fish) touched it (=the hook) any more.’

A similar alternation is seen with the verb *láhá*, for which the basic transitive meaning is ‘take off of, remove’, with a patient that undergoes actual physical displacement (and a locative indirect object coding the participant the patient is removed from). In the “antipassive”, the meaning is ‘let go of, leave alone’, and it is the agent which undergoes the displacement, the patient being unaffected, at least physically:

(14) a. transitive: ‘take off of’

Ci ahá ní-pá fyîn,
they(G3P) COND IP-come sprout
‘When they (=the yams) sprout,

pi arì wēyi làhà cì nà.
they(G1P) HAB.SEQ leaves.DEF take.off them(G3P on
they (=the farmers) take the leaves (which have been covering
the yam mounds to keep the moisture in) off of them (=the
yams).’

b. “antipassive”: ‘let go of’

Kà u ú ' láhá tiragé na
and she NARR let.go millstone.DEF on
‘Then she let go of the millstone

ká à cwo.
it.COMP PERF fall.
(and) it fell.’

Other examples of this kind of alternation are:

(15)	Verb	Transitive meaning	“Antipassive” meaning
	<i>ja</i>	‘beat up, overcome’	‘be able to cope with’
	<i>cù</i>	‘grab, catch’	‘refrain from’
	<i>sònnò</i>	‘warn’	‘think about’
	<i>círí</i>	‘meet and pass’	‘meet’

The other kind of lessening of the affectedness of the patient may be characterized as “partitive”: only part of the patient is affected, rather than the whole. In this type the patient is usually marked with the postposition *i/e* ‘in, at’. With verbs such as ‘eat’ and ‘drink’, if a definite patient is direct object, the implication is that all that was available or offered is eaten or drunk. If the “antipassive” is used, only part of the patient is affected:

(16) a. transitive: total patient affected

U à lwòhé bya.
s/he PERF water.DEF drink
‘S/he drank the water.’

b. “antipassive”: only part of patient affected

U à bya lwòhé e.
s/he PERF drink water.DEF in
‘S/he drank some of the water.’ or
‘S/he drank from the water.’

Following is a similar example with the verb *péré* ‘sell’. The “antipassive” form was said to me one day by a friend. The transitive counterpart was elicited on the spot:

(17) a. transitive: total patient affected

Mì sí nà sùmànjí pèrè.
I FUT FP.my grain.DEF sell
‘I will sell my grain.’

b. “antipassive”: only part of patient affected

Mì sí m-péré ná sùmànjí i
I FUT FP-sell my grain.DEF in
‘I will sell some of my grain’

nijnjyé, ni n-tàha ñkyàrà shwɔ.
 this.year PURP FP-use fertilizer buy
 this year, in order to buy fertilizer.'

Sometimes the “total” versus “partial” affectedness of the patient is more figurative. The following example was occasioned by someone asking, in reference to a young woman passing by, whether or not she was a *pùwɔ* ‘unmarried girl’. The person asked replied with (18a). When I asked what he meant, a considerable discussion arose among the onlookers, the consensus of which was that the reply implied that the woman had been married, but subsequently left her husband. The entering into marriage was total in the sense of being completed and over with. If the reply had been intransitive as in (18b) (and *jyé* ‘enter’ is almost exclusively an intransitive verb apart from this particular usage) it would have implied that the woman was still married:

(18) a. transitive

A, u a nàmbaga jyé.
 ah she PERF marriage enter
 ‘Well, she has been married (but has since left her husband).’

b. intransitive

A, u a jyè nàmbage e.
 ah she PERF enter marriage in
 ‘Well, she’s married.’

A similar, but more concrete, example occurs with the verb *dugo* ‘climb’. In the following, the use of the transitive implies that the agent climbed *over* the hill, whereas the intransitive counterpart implies only that the agent climbed onto the hill. Note that the indirect object (which, it might be argued, has a locative rather than patient role) is marked with *na* rather than *i/e*:

(19) a. transitive

Ya à pa nɔ ñaŋké na,
 they PERF come arrive hill.DEF at
 ‘They (=the bush cows) arrived at the hill,
sána yi kuru dùgò ké,
 before they it(EMPH) climb TC
 (and) before they climbed over it,

kà u ú wá na byànhàrè
 and she NARR be.there PROG approach.IMPFV
 she was approaching

kànhe na.
 village.DEF at
 the village.'

b. intransitive

Canj kà u a dùgò Pi Sáhá Kànha ñanjé na.
 day IND he PERF climb Pi Saha village hill.DEF on
 'One day he climbed the hill of Pi Saha Town.'

It should be noted that this method of encoding a partially affected patient is not the only one. Probably more common is the use of the indefinite/partitive determiners (see chapter 6, section 6.1.2.1). Note also in this connection the alternation between perfective and imperfective aspect, and the implications this sometimes has for total versus partial affectedness of the patient (see chapter 9, section 9.1.1).

10.3. Transitivity

Just as verbs which are basically transitive can be used in intransitive (passive or "antipassive") sentences, many verbs which are basically intransitive can be used in transitive sentences. As we saw in the preceding sections, detransitivization in Supyire has no morphological correlates. The most common type of transitivity is equally devoid of morphological marking. There is a morphological causative used with a few verbs, and this will be dealt with first before going on to the more common pattern.

10.3.1. The morphological causative

For the forms of the causative suffix, see section 4.3, chapter 4. This suffix derives a transitive verb from either a stative or active intransitive. The meaning of the derived verb is causative: the subject-agent brings about the denoted change in a direct object-patient. As noted in other languages (cf. Comrie 1976, 1985), the causee of morphological causatives, unlike that of periphrastic causatives, tends to be a typical patient, having no (relevant) volition and exercising no control over the event (for the periphrastic causative in Supyire see chapter 11, section 11.3). The derived verbs consequently behave just like other transitive verbs.

The morphological derivation of causatives in Kampwo Supyire is not a productive process. Only about twenty verbs with the causative suffix have

been recorded so far, and apparently no new ones have been introduced for some considerable time. Following are two examples, together with examples of the intransitive counterpart, the first stative, the second active:

(20) a. intransitive stative: *cyéré* ‘be small’

U ahá cyāge ñké-mù cū ge,
he COND place.DEF DEM-REL grab REL
‘Whatever part he grabbed,

pi í jwó na kura a cyèrè.
they SEQ say that it(EMPH) PERF be.small
they would say that it was too small.’

b. transitive/causative: *cyééñá* ‘cause to be smaller’

Lire màha mu shyiñí cyèèñà.
this(EMPH) HAB your life.DEF be.small.CAUS
‘This reduces your life expectancy.’

(21) a. intransitive active: *yyéré* ‘stop’ (intr.)

Kà fānhà feebíí sì suflíñi wyi
and power owners.DEF NARR whistle.DEF whistle
‘The police blew the whistle

Pyééré nà, kà u ú ’ yyéré.
Pierre at and he NARR stop
on Pierre, and he stopped.’

b. transitive/causative: *yyééñé* ‘stop’ (tr.)

Kà u ú mobíñi yyèèñé.
and he NARR car.DEF stop.CAUS
‘Then he stopped the car.’

10.3.2. Unmarked transitivization

In contrast to the type of transitivization described in the last section, the unmarked use of intransitive verbs in transitive sentences appears to be productive and perhaps spreading. This kind of “derivation” is similar to that described in the section on detransitivization above in that no morphological or syntactic process is involved other than the introduction of a direct object into the clause. The semantics, of course, shifts radically.

Nearly half of all the recorded stative verbs and probably an equally high proportion of active intransitive verbs are amenable to this kind of treatment. This should not be taken to mean that in actual practice this kind of transi-

tivization is common. In fact, it appears to be used only rarely. For the great majority of verbs, the possibility of a transitive use was only discovered in elicitation, no naturally occurring examples having so far turned up.

The meaning in most cases is causative. The agent-subject of the transitive causes the patient-direct object to acquire the state or undergo the event encoded by the intransitive verb. Just as with the morphological causatives, the volition of the patient-causee is not in question, nor does it have any control over the event. Following are examples of stative and active intransitive verbs, together with their transitive, causative counterpart:

- (22) a. intransitive stative: *bere* ‘be short’

Kūna à bere.
road.DEF PERF be.short
‘The road is short.’

- b. transitive/causative: ‘shorten’

*Mi a kù bère.*¹²
I PERF it shorten
‘I shortened it.’

- (23) a. intransitive active: *fwòrò* ‘shed skin’ (reptile)

Fỳlji kà fwóró,
python.DEF COND shed.skin
‘When the python sheds its skin,

u màha fwóróge lwà a jò.
it HAB shed.skin.DEF take SC swallow.
it takes and swallows the cast off skin.’¹³

- b. transitive/causative: ‘peel off skin’

Lù-fùgá á m̀l̀l̀ séége fwòrò.
water-hot.DEF PERF my skin.DEF peel.off
‘The hot water has peeled my skin off.’

There does not seem to be any non-arbitrary way of predicting which verbs will allow a transitive use and which will not. Thus in contrast with *bere* ‘be short’, as in the example above, *cùgò* ‘be deep’ cannot be used transitively to mean ‘deepen’. *Tanha* ‘be sour’ can be used transitively to mean ‘make sour’, but *táán* ‘be sweet’ cannot be used to mean ‘make sweet’.¹⁴ As one might expect, those verbs which have a morphological causative form do not allow the transitive use of the unmarked form. Thus *níjé* ‘be cool’ can be used transitively to mean ‘make cool’, but *wyere* ‘be warm’ cannot be used transitively, presumably because the derived form *wyeeɲa* ‘make warm’ already exists.

As often happens in lexical semantics, there are some verbs which have developed idiosyncratic meanings in their transitive use. Thus the transitive of *pèè* ‘be big’ does not mean ‘enlarge’, but ‘praise, commend, honor’ (cf. the now archaic use of English *magnify* to mean ‘honor’):

- (24) *Tèè-cyìlíní sùpyìré mpyi a tì-yé pèè.*
 time-first.DEF people.DEF PAST PERF they-REFL honor
 ‘The people of long ago honored each other.’

Similarly, the transitive of *pi* ‘be ugly, bad, dangerous’ means ‘sell at a price too high for the quantity’; the transitive of *faha* ‘be light (in weight)’ means ‘scold’; and the transitive of *lye* ‘be old’ means ‘make tall’:

- (25) *Mu màha ... tahagii shuunní táha*
 you HAB layers two lay.down
 ‘You ... (keep) lay(ing) two layers
fó màha m-pá lí lyé.
 till HAB IP-come it make.tall
 till (you) finally make it (=the granary you are building) tall.’

10.4. The reflexive and transitivity

The reflexive pronouns (see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.3 for the forms) are used to code direct and indirect objects which are coreferential with the subject of their clause:

- (26) a. direct object

U a ù-yé bání.
 he PERF he-REFL wound
 ‘He has wounded himself.’

- b. indirect object

Kà u ú ' wíí ú-yè ñkèrè na.¹⁵
 and he NARR look he-REFL side at
 ‘He looked beside himself (i.e. at his side).’

Supyire makes no morphological distinction between reflexives and reciprocals. Plural reflexives usually have a reciprocal meaning, but this is not necessary:

(27) a. reciprocal meaning

*Pi a pì-yé kánù.*¹⁶
 they PERF they-REFL love
 ‘They loved each other.’

b. reflexive meaning

Kà pi í pí-yè kéénnè fyì.
 and they NARR they-REFL change pythons
 ‘Then they turned themselves into pythons.’

Occasionally with a reciprocal meaning the coreference of a reflexive indirect object is with the direct object rather than with the subject:

(28) *Kà u ú ní-pá pí mù shùnni lwó*
 and he NARR IP-come them also two take
 ‘Then he came and took them both

mà sà síníjé pí-yè táán òpitalíji i.
 and go lay.down they-REFL beside hospital.DEF in
 and laid (them) down beside each other in the hospital.’

In many languages the reflexive develops into a means of detransitivization or even into a passive.¹⁷ The Supyire reflexive does not have such an extended function. While the reflexive is less transitive semantically than an ordinary transitive clause (by virtue of having one less participant in the event), it can also be conceived as being more transitive than an ordinary intransitive, in that it has a direct object noun phrase. There are a couple of uses of the reflexive in Supyire which show that speakers may be exploiting the construction to indicate greater rather than lesser transitivity. For example, the common expression for ‘go for a walk’ is literally ‘walk oneself’, as in the following example:

(29) *Canj kà nìpi màha shyé sà u-yè nàara.*
 day IND hare FORM.PAST go go he-REFL walk
 ‘One day Hare went for a walk.’

The verb *nàara* ‘walk’ is otherwise intransitive (except that it can take a locative such as ‘road’ or ‘distance’ as direct object). In its intransitive use, unless a locative adverbial phrase is added, the event is conceived of as open-ended:

(30) *Kà li í fí-kará á sà nàara canm-puní.*
 and he NARR IP-go SC go walk day-all
 ‘Then he (Billy Goat) went and walked all day.’

The use of the reflexive, formally transitive clause implies that the walking is a purposeful activity engaged in for a circumscribed period of time. These characteristics make it more semantically transitive, and thus a more transitive coding is appropriate.

The verb *yìrì* ‘get up’ provides another example of the transitivizing function of the reflexive. This verb is strictly intransitive. It is often used as the first verb in a series to indicate the beginning of an important sequence of events, as in the following example:

- (31) *Kà u ú yírà a kàrè sigé e*
 and she NARR get.up SC go bush.DEF in
 ‘Then she got up and went to the bush
mà sà a nààrè.
 and go PROG walk.IMPFV
 and was walking.’

The transitive counterpart of *yìrì* is derived by means of the causative suffix: *yìrìgè*. Normally, as pointed out above in section 10.3.1, this transitive form takes an involuntary, non-controlling patient-direct object. However, a rather common use of *yìrìgè* is in a reflexive clause, where it means ‘get up in a hurry’ or even simply ‘(begin to) run’. The quicker, more vigorous action is higher on the scale of semantic transitivity, and thus justifies the use of a transitive clause, even though there is still only one participant. Following is an example:

- (32) *Kà pwun sì u-yè yírí-gà a tìl*
 and dog NARR he-REFL get.up-CAUS SC be.straight
 ‘Then Dog ran straight
pyènge na.
 home.DEF at
 home.’

The verb *kèènnè* ‘change into’ will serve as a final example of the transitivizing function of the reflexive. While this verb is transitive in its sense of ‘turn’, it is intransitive in its sense of ‘change/turn into’ when the participant which is changing is inanimate (the thing which it turns into is coded as a predicate nominal):

- (33) *Kà u ú sìnkombìní wà,*
 and she NARR walking.stick.DEF throw
 ‘Then she threw the stick,

kà lire sɪ ɲ-kéénɲà à pyi taha.
 and it(EMPH) NARR IP-turn SC become thicket
 and it turned into a thicket.'

When the participant doing the changing is animate, however, the reflexive is used:

(34) *Kà jínàɲi wà sɪ sá ú-yè kéénɲà à*
 and djinn.DEF IND NARR go he-REFL turn SC
 'Then a jinn turned itself

pyi sùpyà u yyaha yyèrè.
 become person his face toward
 into a person in front of him.'

The addition of volition makes the event more transitive semantically, and this increased transitivity is realized in syntactic terms by means of the reflexive.

Chapter 11

Complement clauses

As in most languages, certain verbs in Supyire can take a clause as an argument in place of a noun phrase. These “complement” clauses can fill the role of subject or object. The bulk of this chapter (sections 11.1 through 11.5) is concerned with the latter type, for which the term “complement clause” will be reserved. Section (11.6) will briefly examine sentential subjects. The final section discusses the theoretical implications raised by the unusual complement structures of Supyire.

11.1. Types of Complement Clause

On the basis of form one can distinguish three basic types of complement clause in Kampwo Supyire.¹ These basic types in turn broadly classify the verbs which they complement into semantic groupings. The pairing of complement type with verb type is similar to that found in other languages (see in particular Givón 1980, 1984: 117, and 1990, chapter 13). These pairings will be briefly introduced in this section, and then will be dealt with in detail one by one in the following sections.

One characteristic common to all complement clauses (not counting full nominalizations) is their position: they are all “extraposed”. They are placed after the verb even when they function as the direct object. Sometimes an “anticipatory” pronoun is placed in the object position before the verb. This obligatory “extraposition” raises the question of whether the complement clauses are embedded at all: perhaps they should rather be analyzed as a special case of parataxis. This question is addressed in section 11.7 after the relevant structures have all been described.

The “modality” verbs (expressing obligation, desire, and intention) take subjunctive complements in which the subject must be coreferential with the main clause subject:

- (1) *Mi à yaa m̀̀̀́ í ń-káré Sukwoo na.*
 I PERF must I SUBJUNC IP-go Sikasso at
 ‘I must go to Sikasso.’

Manipulative verbs also take subjunctive complements when the main clause is irrealis. The complement subject is coreferential with the main clause direct object:

- (2) *Mì sí ù pyì u ú ñ-kàré Sukwoo na.*
 I FUT him make he SUBJUNC IP-go Sikasso at
 ‘I will make him go to Sikasso.’

The same verbs take a realis complement (marked with a high tone on the subject pronoun) when the main clause is realis (and when implicativity is intended). The realis complement may be perfective, in which case it takes the perfect auxiliary *á*, or imperfective, in which case it takes the reduced form of the progressive auxiliary:

- (3) a. perfective complement

Mì a ù pyì ú á kàré Sukwoo na.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF go Sikasso at
 ‘I made him go to Sikasso.’

- b. imperfective complement

Kà mu ú wá na u pyì
 and you NARR be.there PROG her make
 ‘You were having her

ú u ñjỳ̀̀ni yàà mu á.
 she.COMP PROG food.DEF prepare.IMPFV you for
 prepare food for you.’

In complements of manipulative verbs, whether subjunctive or realis, the subject is never omitted, even though it is always coreferential with a noun phrase in the main clause.

Verbs of speech and cognition take complements which are optionally introduced with *na* ‘that’:

- (4) *Mu à jwo na mì à mu bó.*
 you PERF say that I PERF you kill
 ‘You have said that I have killed you.’

A small subset of verbs denoting asking, wondering, and doubting may take question complements:

- (5) *Kà mì í ú 'yígé jò yyéré u má ye.*
 and I NARR her ask who toward she come.IMPFV Q
 ‘Then I asked her whose place she was going to (lit. toward whom she is going).’

Perception verbs take either realis (high tone) complements like manipulative verbs or *na* complements like verbs of cognition, with an appropriate shift in meaning:

(6) a. realis (high tone) complement

Mi a ù nyè ú u η-kéégé.
 I PERF him see he.COMP PROG IP-go.IMPFV
 'I saw him going.'

b. *na* complement

Mi a li nyè na u a kàrè.
 I PERF it see that he PERF go
 'I saw that he had gone.'

The major part of this chapter is devoted to the description of the sentence-like complement clauses introduced in the preceding paragraphs. There are a few other constructions which share some of the same functions, but which are much less like full finite clauses. These will be briefly outlined here.

A few verbs allow nominalized clauses as complements (for nominalizing morphology, see chapter 3, section 3.2.2). These retain no vestige of tense-aspect marking, and are not extraposed, but are placed in the normal position for objects. Following is an example with the main verb *jwo* 'say':

(7) *Kà mli í u n̄-pa-ŋí mli yyéré-ŋi jwo*
 and I NARR her NOM-come-DEF me toward-DEF say
 'Then I announced her coming to my place

mli túŋa à.
 my father.DEF to
 to my father.'

Note that a definite gender 1 singular suffix is placed at the end of the nominalized clause signalling that the entire clause functions as a noun phrase.

Perception verbs allow "participial" complements, in which the verb is given an adjectival form (see chapter 5, section 5.2). These, like the nominalized clauses just described, are also not extraposed. However, if the participial clause has postverbal adverbs or postpositional phrases, these are usually placed *after* the main verb, and are thus separated from their own verb. In the following example, the agent of 'go', not the speaker, is the one in the car:

(8) *Mi à u niŋ-karà-ŋi nyè mobilíŋi i.*
 I PERF him(G1S) ADJ-go-DEF(G1S) see car.DEF in
 'I saw him going in the car.'

A small number of intransitive verbs can be turned into causative transitive verbs by the addition of the causative suffix *-gV* (see chapter 4, section 4.3; chapter 10, section 10.3.1). It is possible that this suffix was originally a complement-taking verb meaning ‘make’ or ‘cause’. At any rate, a sentence with such a causative verb resembles a manipulative verb-plus-complement clause in meaning. Following is an example with the verb *yyééngé* ‘cause to stop’, formed from the intransitive verb *yyéré* ‘stop’:

- (9) *Kà u ú moblíŋi yyèèngè*
 and he NARR car.DEF stop.CAUS
 ‘Then he stopped the car (or, caused the car to stop)

Yákúbà pyéngé nwògé na.
 Yakuba compound.DEF edge.DEF at
 at the edge of Yakuba’s compound.’

A number of verbs which correspond to complement-taking modality and manipulative verbs in other languages in Supyire occur in serial verb constructions instead. These verbs are described in chapter 9, sections 9.3.4 and 9.3.5 (see also chapter 8, section 8.1). Serial verb constructions resemble modality verb-plus-complement clause constructions in having an “equi-subject” coreference restriction. There is, however, no evidence that the modality serial constructions evolved from a complement clause construction. They simply seem to be an alternate route some languages take to encode a similar function. Following is an example of a modality serial verb construction with the verb *ja* ‘be able’, which encodes the modality of ability and is roughly equivalent to the English modal ‘can’:

- (10) *Sàmórò jye a jà à Sukwoo jya mé.*
 Samory NEG PERF be.able SC Sikasso break NEG
 ‘Samory could not defeat Sikasso.’

Complement clauses and the related structures just discussed can be ranked on a scale of increasing integration into the main clause. The degree of syntactic integration is a roughly iconic reflection of the strength of the semantic connection between the propositions involved (cf. Givón 1980, 1990, chapter 2). There are several parameters along which integration can be gauged. One is the relative independence of the tense-aspect and modality of the complement clause. *Na*-complement clauses are essentially unrestricted in their tense-aspect and modality, whereas realis (high tone) and subjunctive complements are severely restricted, both allowing only the variation between perfective and imperfective aspect. Serial verb constructions are in general even more restricted, as the tense-aspect and modality must be held constant for all verbs in the construction. Finally, nominalized clauses are

the most restricted of all, since tense-aspect and modality marking is not allowed in them.

Coreference restrictions are another measure of integration. There are no coreference requirements between the main and complement clauses with *na*-complement constructions. There are strict coreference requirements for subjunctive and realis (high tone) complements, however: object-subject for perception and manipulative verbs,² and subject-subject for modality verbs. Obviously, when events have common participants they are likely to be more closely linked conceptually than when there are no shared participants.

11.2. Modality verbs

Modality verbs (i.e. verbs of obligation, intent, desire) have a requirement of coreference for their complements: the subject of the complement must be coreferential with the subject of the main clause. As noted in the previous section, some concepts which are coded by means of complement-taking modality verbs in many languages are coded by means of serial verb constructions in Supyire. Thus the modalities of ability, success, failure, and purpose are usually expressed with serial verbs.

The modality verbs properly speaking (i.e. those which take non-serial complements) take either a subjunctive complement or a fully nominalized one. Those which take a subjunctive complement can be divided into those which allow and those which prohibit “equi-deletion”—the omission of the complement subject noun phrase. These facts are summarized in Table 38.

Table 38. Modality verbs

Verb	Gloss	Equi-deletion?	Nominalized complement?
<i>yaa</i>	ought	no	no
<i>cya</i>	try	yes/no	no
<i>míírf</i>	intend	yes	no
<i>sɔ́nɲɔ</i>	think of	yes	no
<i>la nyɛ</i>	want	yes	no
<i>sii</i>	begin	—	yes
<i>cyé</i>	refuse	—	yes

The modality of obligation is coded by the verb *yaa* ‘ought, should, must’. As a transitive verb it means ‘repair’, ‘fashion’, and ‘create’ and as a stative intransitive ‘be right’, ‘be fitting’. As a modality verb it does not allow equi-deletion. The subject of its subjunctive complement is always therefore a

pronoun coreferential with the subject of the main clause. Following are some examples:

- (11) a. *Sùpyà ká ñ-kwù,*
 person COND IP-die
 ‘When a person dies,
u c̀nmpyiibíí pi à yaa
 his/her blood.relatives.DEF they PERF ought
 it is his/her blood relatives who ought
pi Ø u to.
 they SUBJUNC him/her bury
 to bury him/her.’
- b. *U mpyi à yaa u Ø kare*
 he PAST PERF ought he SUBJUNC go
 ‘He ought to have gone
ná cènji ì Bàmàkwo e.
 with woman.DEF with Bamako to
 with the woman to Bamako.’

Yaa is the only modality verb which does not allow equi-deletion. For one other verb it is optional: *cya*. As an ordinary verb, *cya* has the meaning ‘seek’ or ‘look for’. As a modality verb it is closer to ‘try’. Uniquely among the modality verbs it requires an anticipatory pronoun, *li* (gender 3 singular), in direct object position. For many speakers, it can take a full complement like that of *yaa*:

- (12) *Sùpyìré puná à yaa pi a li càà*
 people.DEF all PERF ought they SUBJUNC.IMPFV it seek
 ‘All people ought to try
pi Ø bê.
 they SUBJUNC be.in.harmony
 to live together in harmony.’

Other speakers I consulted on the issue insisted that examples such as the above one could only be interpreted as manipulatives: the ‘they’ of the complement are different from the ‘they’ of the main clause. For these speakers, the modality use of *cya* requires equi-deletion, which in turn requires the use of the *sí* subjunctive rather than the zero subjunctive. The equivalent for the above example would be:

- (13) ... *pi a li càà sí bē.*
 they SUBJUNC.IMPFV it seek SUBJUNC be.in.harmony
 ‘...they should try to live together in harmony.’

The verbs *míírf*³ and *səŋŋə*, which both mean ‘think’ and can take *na*-complements, can also be used with same subject subjunctive complements to mean ‘intend’ or ‘think of’. In this case they both require equi-deletion. *Míírf* ‘plan, intend’ may optionally take the anticipatory pronoun *li* as direct object:

- (14) a. *Mli a li míírf,*
 I PERF it intend
 ‘I intend,
kile kà bú nungwəgé tòròmò lé mú
 god COND REM rainy.season.DEF passing appearance
 if God causes the passing of the rainy season
ŋwó, sí sá yyaha yige
 be.good SUBJUNC go face bring.out
 to be good, to go visit (lit. bring face out on)
na tu-bilěni na Bàrámbà è.
 my.NONDECL father-little.DIM.DEF on Baramba in
 my uncle in Baramba.’
- b. *Mli mpyi na míírf ‘ sí ú wóógo sáhánkì.*
 I PAST PROG plan SUBJUNC him smear again
 ‘I was planning to smear him again.’

Səŋŋə, which is less common in this function than *míírf*, does not take an anticipatory pronoun:

- (15) *Yyaha fòðŋf màha səŋŋə*
 face owner.DEF HAB think.IMPFV
 ‘The older brother always intended
sí ‘wyéréŋi kèègè.
 SUBJUNC money.DEF spoil
 to spend the money wastefully (lit. spoil the money).’

The expression *la nyé* ‘want’ is not strictly speaking a verb but consists of the gender 2 noun *la* ‘desire’ (related to *lara* ‘intestines’ (gender 4) and *laa* ‘pregnancy’ (gender 3)) plus the copula *nyé* ‘be’. The noun *la*, which must be possessed by a noun phrase referring to a human or at least animate participant, is historically the subject of the copula. The fact that it is in its ba-

sic, indefinite form (the definite is *lāge*), however, shows that it forms a loose compound with the copula.

The subject of the complement of *la nye* is coreferential with what is properly the possessor of *la*. Like *míírf* and *sɔ́nɔ́*, *la nye* requires equi-deletion:

- (16) a. *Melyágá ' lá mpyi rí m-pá*
 Melyaga's desire was SUBJUNC IP-come
 'Melyaga wanted to come
wùù ká-taanmpé punf nyàha ñ-gùrùgò.
 our matter-sweet.DEF all stir FP-mix
 spoil (lit. stir and mix) our good thing.'
- b. *Mu lá nye sí wà pèè mé.*
 your desire be SUBJUNC IND make.big NEG
 'You don't want to honor anyone.'
- c. *Mìì lá mpyi sí yfà àní mɛ.*
 my desire was SUBJUNC get.up there NEG
 'I didn't want to leave there.'

Supyire does not generally use modality verbs to encode inception and termination (for the constructions used, see chapter 9, sections 9.1.5 and 9.1.6). However, the verb *sii* 'begin' is occasionally used with a nominalized complement as direct object to indicate inception. There is no restriction on the type of nominalization. In the following examples, gender 3 and gender 4 nominalizations are used:

- (17) a. *Fáágii wá á*
 Farakala.people.of be.there PERF
 'The people of Farakala have
nùgùnte síla a kwò.
 sow.DEF(G4)begin SC finish
 already begun to sow.'
- b. *Pi sí nāni sùl Sukwoo na*
 they FUT walk.DEF(G3S) begin Sikasso at
 'They will begin walking at Sikasso
fó Bàmàkwo e.
 till Bamako to
 (and go) all the way to Bamako.'

Cyé 'refuse' is equally unusual as a modality verb. It takes a postposed complement in which the verb is nominalized by being put into a gender 2 singular indefinite form. This type of nominalization is not found elsewhere

in the language, and in spite of diligent searching, I have been unable to discover any other verbs which take a complement of this sort. In the examples below the gender 2 suffix is set off from the complement verb with a hyphen. Note that 'refuse' is used with inanimate subjects in two of the examples:

- (18) a. *Kà sunɔ sí m-pá ú tá*
and diarrhea NARR IP-come him get
'He got sick with dysentary (lit. diarrhea came and got him
mà cyè kwɔ-ga.
and refuse finish-G2S
and (it) refused to end.' (i.e. he didn't get better in spite of
all his efforts)
- b. *Kà pyàŋi sì núra à meení cèè*
and child.DEF NARR return SC song.DEF sing
'The child sang the song again
maá jí'-cyé tìgì-gè.
and.NARR IP-refuse descend-G2S
and refused to get down.'
- c. *Dóóní kà zàntùŋð sì jwò*
in.a.bit and hyena NARR say
'After a bit Hyena decided
na uru sí nùŋke yige,
that he(EMPH)FUT head.DEF take.out
to take his head out
kà ku ú jí'-cyé fwo-ro-go wyige e.
and it NARR IP-refuse go.out-G2S hole.DEF from
but it refused to come out of the hole.'

11.3. Manipulative verbs

One of the major parameters in the description of causative constructions has to do with the strength of manipulation (cf. Givón 1990, chapter 13; Comrie 1976, 1985). From the point of view of the causer, the question is how much control he or she has over the causee. From the point of view of the causee, the question is how capable of independent action he or she or it is. Languages tend to reflect these factors iconically in the relative integration of the coding of the causing and the caused events. In general the more control the causer has and the less independent the causee, the greater will be the syntactic integration.

Supyire is like many other languages in reserving the morphological causative, the form showing the greatest degree of syntactic integration, for situations in which the causee exhibits no agentivity at all (see chapter 10, section 10.3.1). The use of a “periphrastic” causative construction (i.e. one employing a high tone complement) by comparison indicates that the causee retains at least some capacity to act agentively.

In addition to the basic distinction between morphological and “periphrastic”, within the latter there are differences in the syntax of complement-taking manipulative verbs which further reflect differences in degrees of manipulation. One distinction involves the modality of the complement. Verbs encoding strong manipulation (e.g. *pyi* ‘make’) are implicative and can take realis complements when they are themselves within the scope of realis modality. This is presumably due to an inference to the effect that if the causer has a high level of control over the causee, the manipulation is more likely to be successful. By contrast verbs denoting a much weaker degree of manipulation (e.g. *la nye* ‘want’) may only take subjunctive complements, even when they themselves are realis. Compare the following examples:

(19) a. strong manipulation, realis complement

Mi a ù pyi ú á kàrè.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF go
 ‘I made him leave.’

b. weak manipulation, subjunctive complement

Mi lá mpyi u ú íj-káré.
 my desire was he SUBJUNC IP-go
 ‘I wanted him to go.’

One other syntactic parameter which is sensitive to the strength of manipulation is “raising”. The basic principle here seems to be that the less capable of independent action the causee is, the more likely it is that he, she, or it will be coded as the direct object of the main clause (recall that in Supyire the coreferential subject of the complement clause must always be overtly mentioned as well). With verbs high on the scale of strength of manipulation, “raising” is required. With verbs at the other end of the scale (e.g. *nye* ‘agree’), it is forbidden:

(20) a. strong manipulation, “raising” required

Mi a ù pyi ú à pa.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF come
 ‘I made him come.’

b. weak manipulation, “raising” forbidden

Mi à jee u Ø pa.
 I PERF agree he SUBJUNC come
 ‘I agree (that) he come.’

The manipulative verbs are listed in Table 39, together with information on what type of complement they can take when they are realis and on whether or not they require a coreferential NP in the main clause.

Table 39. Manipulative verbs

Verb	Gloss	Complements possible with		Subjunctive complement may take <i>na</i>
		realis main clause*	‘Raising’	
<i>tege</i>	help	R	yes	no
<i>yaha</i>	permit	R	yes	no**
<i>pyi</i>	make	R, S	yes	yes
<i>tun</i>	send	R, S	yes	yes
<i>yyere</i>	call	R, S	yes	yes
<i>kan</i>	give	R, S	yes	no
<i>jàárá</i>	beg	S	yes	yes
<i>jee</i>	agree	S	no	no
<i>lá nye</i>	want	S	no	no

*R = realis (high tone) complement; S = subjunctive complement

***Yaha* may take a *na*-complement, but only when it has the sense ‘believe’, not when it has the manipulative sense ‘permit’.

As indicated in Table 39, *tege* ‘help’ and *yaha* ‘let, permit’ take only realis complements when they themselves are realis. Like all other manipulative verbs, they must take subjunctive, irrealis complements when they themselves are irrealis. Following are examples:

(21) realis main clause, realis complement

a. *Kà u ú kú tégé ' ká à fwo*
 and he NARR him(G2S) help he(G2S) PERF go.out
 ‘Then he (=Monkey) helped him (=Hyena) get out

wyige e.
 hole.DEF from
 of the hole.’

- b. *Kà u ú mìl núŋi yaha*
 and he NARR my mother.DEF permit
 'So he let my mother
- ú á kàrè sà u cɪŋ-jyèŋf kàànmùcya.*
 she.COMP PERF go go her woman-old.DEF care.for
 go care for her old woman (i.e. for her grandmother).'

(22) irrealis main clause, subjunctive complement

- a. *Kà nògò-lyèŋf sɪ u pylibíí pyi*
 and man-old.DEF NARR his children.DEF tell
 'Then the old man told his children
- na pi Ø fwora a u tege*
 that they SUBJUNC go.out SSC him help
 that they must come out and help him (=the farmer, not the
 old man)
- pi Ø lùpàànre bwòn.*
 they SUBJUNC mosquitoes.DEF hit
 swat the mosquitoes.'
- b. *Pyènge nògò-lyèŋá á pyàŋi wà tun*
 compound.DEF man-old.DEF PERF child.DEF IND send
 'The old man of the family sent a child
- ú á pà yi jwo mìl túŋa à*
 he.COMP PERF come them say my father.DEF to
 to come say to my father
- na u Ø mìl núŋi yaha u Ø shyà.*
 that he SUBJUNC my mother permit she SUBJUNC go
 that he should let my mother go.'

As with the English verb 'help', two scenarios are possible with *tege*: 1) the causer (= helper) and the causee may both perform the caused action together (e.g. 'She helped him paint the house.')

In this case the subject pronoun of the complement will agree with both the subject and direct object of the main clause. The following example makes this plural agreement clear:

- (23) *Kà u ú ú tégé' pí à ciré pààn.*
 and he NARR him help they.COMP PERF trees.DEF chop
 'Then he helped him chop the trees.'

2) The causee alone may perform the caused action, albeit with assistance from the causer (e.g. 'She helped him escape.')

In this case the complement subject will agree only with the direct object of the main clause, as in (21a).

With both *tege* and *yaha* when the main clause is imperative and the causee is first person singular the subject of the complement may be omitted. In this case the complement of *tege* may be future rather than subjunctive:

- (24) a. *Pa na tege sí vwòro ñké wyîge e.*
 come me.NONDECL help FUT FP.go.out this hole in
 ‘Come help me get out of this hole.’
- b. *Nà tэгè sí ñàara.*
 me.NONDECL help FUT FP.walk
 ‘Help me walk.’

The complement of *yaha* must be subjunctive:

- (25) *Kà u ú ' nùrá à jwo*
 and he NARR return SC say
 ‘Then he again said
- “*Nà yàha sí lyé.*”
 me.NONDECL permit SUBJUNC be.old
 “Let me grow up.” (i.e. instead of killing me now)

The verbs in the middle section of Table 39 may all take irrealis, subjunctive complements when the main clause is realis. Speakers of Supyire can thus indicate whether or not they intend the main clause to be implicative by their choice of complement type. By using a realis complement they assert that the complement event actually took place. By using a subjunctive complement they leave open the possibility that it did not occur or has not yet occurred. Compare the following examples. The use of the realis complement precludes a following denial, whereas such a denial is compatible with a subjunctive complement:

- (26) a. implicative (H-complement)

Mi a ù tòn ú á mðð shwɔ m̀̀ á
 I PERF him send he.COMP PERF rice buy me to
 ‘I sent him to buy rice for me

**ñkàà u fũñka a wwð ù nà.*
 but his inside.DEF PERF be.black it on
 but he forgot.’

- b. non-implicative (subjunctive complement)

Mi a ù tòn u ú m̀̀ðð shwɔ m̀̀ á
 I PERF him send he.COMP SUBJUNC rice buy me to
 ‘I sent him to buy rice for me

ɔ̀kàà u fũ̀nɔ̀ka a wwò ù nà.
 but his inside.DEF PERF be.black it on
 but he forgot.'

Most of the verbs which can take a subjunctive complement when they are realis may be characterized as manipulative verbs of speech. Even *pyi* 'make, do', when used in this way, generally is taken to mean 'tell, order':

(27) *Kà pyà̀ɔ̀ji tìibíí⁴ sɪ ù yyère...*
 and child.DEF fathers.DEF NARR her call
 'Then the child's fathers called her...

maá Nteencwó pyí u a bégélé.
 and.NARR Nteencwo make she SUBJUNC.IMPFV pack
 and told Nteencwo to pack.'

As indicated in Table 39, a subjunctive complement of most of these verbs may be preceded by the complementizer *na* 'that', which is used with complements of ordinary, non-manipulative verbs of speech and cognition. Following is an example:

(28) *Pi à ù yyère (na) u Ø pa*
 they PERF him call that he SUBJUNC come
 'They called him to come

yi yyà̀he jwo pi à.
 their(G2P) face.DEF say them to
 explain it to them.'

The verb *kan* 'give', by contrast, cannot be interpreted as a verb of speech and cannot take the complementizer *na*, though it can take subjunctive complements when the main clause is realis:

(29) a. *Jyè̀ge na maá ' nùrá á wà wwù*
 morning.DEF on and.NARR return SC IND take.off
 'In the morning, (they) (=the men) again took out some (grain)

à kan pi a sore zà̀nɛ̀gɛ̀,
 SC give they SUBJUNC.IMPFV cook.IMPFV meal.DEF
 and gave (it to them) (=to the women) to cook for dinner

maá ɔ̀-káre.
 and.NARR IP-go
 and then left (i.e. the men left).'

- b. *Isà a òjé v à à nyi kan m ò l í pá*
 Isa PERF these cloths.DEF give I SUBJUNC come
 ‘Isa gave this cloth (to me) to come’
- íj-kán mu á ma Ø jwoolo.*
 IP-give you to you.NONDECL SUBJUNC sew
 give to you to sew.’

Note that the “causee” of *kan* may be coded as an indirect rather than direct object of the main clause, as in the second example above. Often the dative-causee argument in the main clause is omitted, and in this case the subject of the complement may be a noun rather than a pronoun. Such a noun subject must be immediately followed by a coreferential pronoun, however:

- (30) *Kà santu sì u sí-shyé-boní wwù*
 and francolin NARR his bush-go-bag.DEF take.off
 ‘Then Francolin took his sack⁵ off’
- yacìge e mà kan m̀pi ú á cù.*
 neck.DEF from and give hare he.COMP PERF grab
 his neck and give (it to Hare) to hold.’

The dative-causee may also be promoted to direct object. The resulting structure then closely resembles that used with other manipulative verbs. The patient argument is generally suppressed in such examples, as in the following:

- (31) *Kà cìj-jyèebí sí m̀pi kan ú á bya.*
 and women-old.DEF NARR hare give he.COMP PERF drink
 ‘Then the old women gave Hare (water) to drink.’

We now come to those verbs which are not able to take realis (high tone) complements, a sign of the relatively weak manipulation they encode. *Ḥáárá* ‘beg, pray’, which is a manipulative verb of speech, resembles *kan* ‘give’ in that the role of the causee in the main clause is dative-recipient rather than patient. If it is encoded as an indirect object, then an anticipatory pronoun *lí* (gender 3 singular) must be placed in the direct object position:

- (32) *M̀lì na lí òààrè ỳlì á*
 I PROG it beg.IMPFV you(PL) to
 ‘I am begging you’
- yì a ma*
 you(PL).NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV come.IMPFV
 to come

ná ' wyéréjì Ì.
with money.DEF with
with the money.'

The dative argument can also be shifted to direct object position:

- (33) *Pi màha sá jínabíí jààrà*
they HAB go jinns.DEF beg
'They beg the jinns
- na pi Ø zànhé kan.*
that they SUBJUNC rain.DEF give
to give the rain.'

When the dative participant is God, the requirement of coreference is relaxed. Presumably, as some sort of super-agent, God does not need to be mentioned in the complement clause. The following example is taken from a letter:

- (34) *Mì sí na lí jààrè kila à*
I ADV PROG it beg.IMPFV God to
'However, I am praying to God
- ìgé letéréjì ù Ø mu ta tìcùmpè e.*
this letter.DEF it SUBJUNC you find health.DEF in
(that) this letter finds you in health.'

The remaining two manipulative verbs do not allow "raising", that is, the causee is not an argument of the main clause. The verb *jɛɛ* 'agree' occurs with a complement clause only infrequently. It takes a simple subjunctive complement (the complementizer *na* is not permitted):

- (35) a. *Mì à jɛɛ pi Ø kare.*
I PERF agree they SUBJUNC go
'I agree (that) they go.'
- b. *U jɛɛ na jéégé*
he NEG PROG agree.IMPFV
'He doesn't agree
- yyaha fɔ̀d̀n̄jì ù a wyéréjì kèègè mé.*
face owner he SUBJUNC.IMPFV money.DEF spoil NEG
(that his) older brother waste the money.'

As shown in the preceding section, *la jɛɛ* 'want' is frequently used in a modality sense (i.e. when the subject of the complement = the possessor of

/a). It can also be used in a manipulative sense. Its complement is subjunctive (without the complementizer *na*):

- (36) a. *Mì lá nyɛ*
my desire be
'I want

ma á nɛnjáà shwɔhɔre wyèèɲà.
you.NONDECL SUBJUNC today cook.DEF(G4) heat
you to speed up the cooking today.'

- b. *Yyaha fɔ̀dɔ̀ɲí là ka à pyí*⁶
face owner.DEF desire it(G2S) PERF be
'The older brother wanted

*dìlɔ̀ɲí sɪ lwɔ́ á kán úrá*⁷ à
thread.DEF SUBJUNC take SSC give him(EMPH) to
the thread to be given to him

uru ù Ø péré u lyí.
he(EMPH) he SUBJUNC sell he eat
to sell and spend (lit. eat) (the money).'

Before leaving the manipulative verbs, mention should be made of two verbs which fit semantically into the class but which do not take realis or subjunctive complements. One of these, *cyé* 'refuse', was introduced in the preceding section as a modality verb. In that capacity it takes a unique kind of nominalized complement. Its behavior as a manipulative verb is equally unusual, but here at least it is joined by one other verb *jye*, whose original meaning is 'enter', but which has developed the manipulative meaning of 'agree, accept'. Both verbs take nominalized complements using the *N*-type of nominalizer (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.2), and in both cases the complement follows the verb. Following is an example with *cyé*.

- (37) *Mu ahá ceewe cya sigé e,*
you COND woman seek bush.DEF in
'If you have sexual relations with a woman in the bush,

wà há mí-pyí wà nyɛ à mu nyɛ mé,
IND COND IP-be IND NEG PERF you see NEG
and no-one sees you

kile màha ɲ-cyé
god/sky HAB IP-refuse
God (or the sky) prevents

zànhé m̀-paní kuru cyàge na.
 rain.DEF NOM-come.DEF that(EMPH) place.DEF on
 the rain coming to that place.'

The complement of *jye* must be followed by the postposition *i* 'in, to':

(38) *Mi a jyè u ñ-kàràní i.*
 I PERF agree his NOM-go.DEF to
 'I agree to his going.'

11.4. Perception verbs

The three verbs discussed in this section (*jye* 'see', *ta* 'find', and *fworo* 'go out, come upon') are between the manipulative verbs and the verbs of cognition in behavior. They take realis (high tone) complements like manipulative verbs when the event of perception occurs at the same place and time as the complement event:

(39) *Mi a ù jyè ú u ma.*
 I PERF her see she.COMP PROG come.IMPFV
 'I saw her coming.'

They take indicative *na* complements like verbs of cognition when they denote events of cognition rather than perception per se, e.g. when *jye* means 'realize that' rather than 'see':

(40) *Mi a li jyè na u jye a cyìlgè mé.*
 I PERF it see that he NEG PERF be.smart NEG
 'I realized that he isn't smart.'

Unlike manipulative verbs, perception verbs cannot take subjunctive complements even when they are irrealis:

(41) *Mu cáà zí ù jyè*
 you FUT FP.be.EMPH him see
 'You will not see him
ú à jwo ná shin í mé.
 he.COMP PERF say with person with NEG
 speak to anyone.'

Of the verbs to be discussed here, only *jye* properly fits the label of perception verb. When used with a realis complement, it denotes a physical event of perception.

The complement can be perfective, in which case it takes the perfect auxiliary *à*. The temporal relationship of the two clauses may be of two sorts in this case: 1) The two events can be more or less simultaneous. The complement event is then fairly punctual in nature:

- (42) *U a mìlì nyè mìl á jyè náhá.*
 he PERF me see I.COMP PERF enter here
 'He saw me enter here.'

2) The complement event can be anterior to the main clause event. In this case what is seen is the state resulting from the prior event:

- (43) *Mu ahá ògé-mù òkyànhíí nyè*
 you COND DEM-REL teeth.DEF(G3P) see
 'Whoever you see whose teeth (lit. if you see whose teeth)
cí á wwù gé...
 they(G3P) PERF take.out REL
 have been removed...'

An imperfective complement is used to show simultaneity and durativity: the event of seeing takes place during the ongoing event encoded in the complement. Following are some examples:

- (44) a. *Kà ceèji wàbéré sì m-pà ù jyè*
 and woman.DEF another NARR IP-come her see
 'Then another woman came and saw her
ú u ku tìrì-nì.
 she.COMP PROG it grind-IMPFV
 grinding it (= the grain).'
- b. *Kà u ú ò-kará á sà jyè òké e...*
 and he NARR IP-go SC go enter this in
 'Then he went and entered this one (= a thicket)...
mà cànrà-zege nyè u-yè òkèrè na
 and lion-give.birth(G2S)see he-REFL side at
 and saw beside him a lioness which had just given birth
 (lit. saw a parturient lioness beside him)
kú u u wìl.
 it(G2S)PROG him look.at
 watching him.'

The verb *ta* 'find' is perhaps not properly a perception verb, but it patterns in the same way as *nyè* 'see'. When used with a complement clause, it de-

notes an event of coming to know the information encoded in the complement. With a perfective realis complement the temporal relation between the two events is one of anteriority: the complement event always temporally precedes the event of ‘finding’. Thus what is ‘found’ is the resulting state of affairs. Frequently the best translation into English is a ‘that’ clause rather than one on the model of the manipulative verbs. Note that in the following example, the referent of the direct object is not really ‘found’ at all. It is rather the absence of the referent which is perceived:

- (45) *Mi a ù tà ú á kàrè.*
 I PERF her find she.COMP PERF go
 ‘I found her gone.’ or ‘I found that she had gone.’

Often of course the referent of the direct object is still present at the time of the event encoded in the main clause. The event encoded in the complement, however, has always already occurred. Following are a couple of typical examples:

- (46) a. *Kà faapyiibíí sí wá*
 and farmers.DEF NARR be.there
 ‘The farmers
na íí na ma,
 PROG run.IMPFV PROG come.IMPFV
 came running
mà pà yapwogé ta ká á sògà à cwo.
 and come roof.DEF find it.COMP PERF burn SC fall
 and found the roof had burned and collapsed.’
- b. *Kà u ú mìl lwó mà sà nò,*
 and he NARR me take and go arrive
 ‘Then he took me (in his truck) and we arrived
mà pìrè tà pí á sìní.
 and them(EMPH) find they.COMP PERF lie.down
 and found they had gone to bed.’

A perfective high tone complement of *ta* can also be stative, however:

- (47) *Kà cànràgà sí ìrè kyá mà lì tà*
 and lion NARR it(EMPH) eat and it find
 ‘Then the lioness ate it and found it
lá á tààn.
 it.COMP PERF be.sweet
 tasted good.’

An imperfective complement with *ta* encodes an ongoing event during which at some point the main clause event of ‘finding’ takes place:

- (48) a. *Tère o tère o*
 time DIST time DIST
 ‘All the time

mu gú zìl múnáaní ta
 you POT FP.be.EMPH nose.DEF(G3S) find
 you would actually find (his) nose

lí i fùn-nì na sòòlì.
 it(G3S).COMP PROG sweat-IMPVPROG drip.IMPV
 dripping with sweat (lit. sweating and dripping).’
- b. *Kà u ú ñ-kàré mà sà yì tà*
 and she NARR IP-go and go them(G2P) find
 ‘Then she went and found them (= the bush cows)

yí i wulí.
 they(G2P) PROG bathe
 bathing.’

Speakers frequently combine aspects in one complement of *ta* by means of a loose serial construction. An anterior event is recorded in the perfective, and an ongoing resulting event is tacked on in the imperfective:

- (49) a. *Kà pi í mí-pá ú tá*
 and they NARR IP-come it(G1S) find
 ‘They came and found it (= the python)

ú á ñkù-baaní fùla a mùgò
 it(G1S).COMP PERF chicken-house.DEF push SC open
 had pushed open the chicken coop

na fwòrè.
 PROG go.out.IMPV
 and was coming out.’
- b. *Kà m̀lì í yírà a kàré mà sà ù tà*
 and I NARR get.up SC go and go him find
 ‘So I got up and went and found

ú á m̀d̀d̀ shwɔ na lyí.
 he.COMP PERF rice buy PROG eat.IMPV
 he had bought rice and was eating it.’

Occasionally the pattern of coreference with a *ta* construction is different from that in the examples above. When the coreferential participant is a *patient* in the complement clause, a speaker may choose to encode it as direct object there rather than as subject. Under coreference with the main clause direct object, it is deleted, leaving a gap. Since the subject of the complement clause is not now coreferential with anything in the main clause, it may be coded with a noun instead of just a pronoun. The subject noun must be followed immediately by a coreferential anaphoric pronoun. Following is an example of this pattern:

- (50) *Dóóní kà sige shínjì sí wá*
 in.a.bit and bush person.DEF NARR be.there
 ‘In a bit the bush person
- na fí na ma zànhé ̀jwɔhi i...*
 PROG run.IMPFV PROG come.IMPFV rain.DEF under in
 came running in the rain...
- mà pa tí ta sikaɓɓè ́ u á kuu.*
 and come it(G4) find goat.male he.COMP PERF gather
 and came and found Goat had gathered it (=the things the bush
 person had spread out to dry) up.’

This pattern of coreference is quite rare in the corpus.⁸

The verb *fworo* ‘go out’ is used in an expression which is closely allied to *ta* in meaning: *fworo X na*, literally ‘go out on X’, means to ‘come upon’ or ‘discover’. When a complement clause is added, the subject of it must be coreferential with the indirect object of *fworo* (this is analogous to the coreference requirements of *kan* ‘give’, described in the preceding section). Following are some examples:

- (51) a. *Canj kà m̀pi màha shyɛ sà u-yè ̀nàara*
 day IND hare PAST go go he-REFL walk
 ‘One day Hare went for a walk
- mà sà fwòro zhìbannàjwɔ na*
 and go go.out ground.hornbill on
 and came upon Ground Hornbill
- ká á sìnì...*
 it.COMP PERF lie.down
 lying down...’
- b. *U màha sá fwóro yaagé kà na*
 she HAB go go.out thing.DEF IND on
 ‘She is always finding something

ká à ɲwɔ a tòrò.
 it.COMP PERF be.beautiful SC pass
 very beautiful.'

11.5. Verbs of speech and cognition

Verbs of speech and cognition can be divided into two groups: 1) a large group of verbs of saying, knowing, and thinking, and 2) a much smaller group of verbs of asking, wondering, and doubting. The latter are distinguished by their ability to take indirect question complements. A few verbs of the first group may belong to the second group (some of them only if they are negative). The two groups of verbs are examined separately in the final two subsections of this section (11.5.2 and 11.5.3). The first subsection is devoted to topics common to the complements of both types of verb: the contrast between direct and indirect speech, and coreference between the subject of the main clause and a noun phrase in the complement in indirect speech.

11.5.1. Direct versus indirect speech

For most of the verbs of speech and cognition, the complement clause can be thought of as a quotation: it is reported speech whether actually uttered or only thought. For the majority of these verbs in turn the quotation can be either direct or indirect. That is, the speaker can purport to convey the exact words of the original speaker, or can rework them to provide only an approximate rendering. The use of direct quotation is much favored in folktales. Indirect quotation tends to predominate in personal narratives, especially those produced by speakers who are not particularly skilled at storytelling.

Indirect speech in Supyire is usually slightly less reworked than in languages like English or French. Ordinarily in these latter languages all of the deictic systems (person, tense, time and location adverbs, and deictic motion verbs) are altered in the indirect quotation to reflect the deictic center of the utterer of the entire sentence rather than that of the original speech situation. In Supyire, in contrast, while person, deictic verbs, and location and time adverbs are so altered, tense is left alone.⁹ Compare the following examples. In the indirect speech of (52b) the pronouns and adverbs have been altered, but the tense remains the same as in (52a), in spite of the oddness of its collocation with the time adverb. Note that the tense in the English translation is altered. The time of utterance of the whole sentence is three days following the original utterance of the quoted speech, and the location is changed.

(52) a. direct quote

U à jwo “Mìl sí ñ-kàrà àní nùmpañja”.
 s/he PERF say I FUT FP-go there tomorrow
 ‘S/he said “I will go there tomorrow.”’

b. indirect quote

U à jwo uru sí m-pà náhá ' táñjàà.
 s/he PERF say s/he FUT FP-come here yesterday
 ‘S/he said she would (lit. will) come here yesterday.’

Although there are no requirements of coreference with the complements of verbs in this group, as there are for the complements of manipulative and modality verbs, there often is coreference in fact. The most common type of coreference is between the subject of the main verb (the original speaker or thinker) and some noun phrase in the complement clause. The reason that this is common is of course because people like to talk about themselves. Many African languages have special pronouns to use in indirect speech complement clauses in order to show coreference with the main clause subject.¹⁰ Supyire does not have a special set of pronouns for this purpose, but instead uses the emphatic pronouns (*uru*, *pire*, etc. see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.1.2, for the forms). These are used only for third person, there being no special first or second person forms. The following examples illustrate this special function of the emphatics:

(53) a. complement subject = main clause subject

U à jwo na uru sí ñ-kàrè.
 s/he PERF say that s/he(EMPH) FUT FP-go
 ‘S/he said that s/he would go.’

b. complement subject ≠ main clause subject

U à jwo na u sí ñ-kàrè.
 s/he PERF say that s/he FUT FP-go
 ‘S/he said that s/he would go.’

In contrast to the coreferential noun phrase in complements of modality or manipulative verbs, whose syntactic role is restricted (to subject and direct object, respectively), the coreferential noun phrase in indirect speech may have any syntactic role. In view of the unpredictability of its role, the use of the marked emphatic pronoun to indicate coreference (rather than the unmarked anaphoric pronoun as in the other two complement types) makes sense. The following examples show the coreferential noun phrase in a variety of syntactic roles.

(54) a. coreferential noun phrase = direct object

Kà ñgé kùntunŋí sí jwò
and this monitor.DEF NARR say
'Then this monitor lizard said

mìl àhá úrú ' bó,
I COND him(EMPH) kill
if I kill him,

mìl cwónjì wà sí ñ-kwú.
my wife.DEF IND FUT FP-die
one of my wives will die.'

b. coreferential noun phrase = indirect object (dative)

Kà u ú jwó pí Ø shɔŋga shwɔ a
and he NARR say they SUBJUNC horse buy SSC
'Then he said they should buy a horse and

kan ura à.
give him(EMPH) to
give (it) to him.'

c. coreferential noun phrase = genitive possessor

Ká Kùlùncúnjú ' rí jwó pí Ø yìrì
and Kuluncungo NARR say they SUBJUNC get.up
'Then Kuluncungo said they must get up

pí Ø uru shòngé pwɔ...
they SUBJUNC his(EMPH) horse.DEF tie
(and) saddle (lit. tie) his horse...'

There is an interesting class of systematic exceptions to the use of the emphatic pronouns to show coreference. The verb *jwó* 'say' has acquired the quasi-modal senses of 'decide' and 'try'. When it has these senses it still takes a *na*-complement, but there are two restrictions which make it look more like the complement of a modality verb: the tense-aspect is restricted (to either subjunctive or potential) and the subject must be coreferential with the main clause subject. In view of the latter restriction, it is of interest to note that the subject in such a complement is not necessarily coded with an emphatic pronoun. In fact in the majority of cases it is coded with a simple anaphoric pronoun, as in the following examples:

(55) a. *Kà pí í jwó na pí Ø pí pwɔ náhá,*
and they NARR say that they SUBJUNC them tie here
'Then they decided that they would tie them here,

pi í sá sú.
 they SUBJUNC go defecate
 and go defecate.'

- b. *Kà caawa sí ú plínni yyèèhè,*
 and warthog NARR his drum.DIM.DEF stop.CAUS
 'Then warthog stopped (playing) his drum,
maá jwó u gú jwɔgé tò.
 and.NARR say he POT mouth.DEF close
 and tried to close his mouth.'

These examples show that in a context of more predictability, that is, when a same subject constraint holds, the extra marking of the emphatic pronoun is not needed.

Note that, apart from their use in *na*-complements, the emphatic pronouns are used in situations of high "referential interference", that is, in contexts where there is more than one possible antecedent in the immediately preceding discourse (see Givón 1983). They are often best translated in English as demonstratives, and in fact they cover in large part the anaphoric function of the latter (they cannot, however, be used "exophorically", i.e. to point to something outside of the discourse). As shown in chapter 12, section 12.2.1, the resumptive pronoun for left dislocated topics is most frequently an emphatic. Such topics are usually a switch from the immediately preceding topic. The resumptive pronoun for preposed noun phrases which are modified by relative clauses is also generally an emphatic (see chapter 13, sections 13.1 and 13.3).

11.5.2. *Na complements*

For convenience some of the facts about the verbs discussed in this section are summarized in Table 40.

The first thing to note about *na* complements is that the *na* complementizer itself is optional. In fact, it is more often omitted than included. Unlike English *that*, it can occur with direct quotations:

- (56) *Kà u í yí jwó u nyii na*
 and he NARR them say his eye at
 'Then he said to him
na "Cyèe ké pi nyɛ mii á,
 that women ten they be me to
 that "I have ten wives,

Table 40. Verbs which take *na* complements

Verb	Gloss	Subjunctive possible?	Anticipatory pronoun	Direct quote possible?
<i>jwo</i>	'say'	yes	yi*	yes
<i>pyi</i>	'tell'	yes	—	yes
<i>cyèè</i>	'tell'	yes	li, yi, ku, pu	yes
<i>ce</i>	'know'	no	li*	yes
<i>nyε</i>	'realize'	no	li	no
<i>ta</i>	'find out'	no	li	no
<i>sɔŋŋɔ</i>	'think'	no**	—	no
<i>mɪrɪf</i>	'think'	no**	li*	yes
<i>yaha</i>	'believe'	no***	—	no
<i>dá</i>	'believe'	no	li, yi, pu*	no
<i>lógó</i>	'hear'	no	yi*	yes

*Anticipatory pronouns are optional for these verbs.

**Can be used as a modality verb with a same subject subjunctive complement.

***Can take a subjunctive complement when used as a manipulative verb.

ŋkàà pi wà sàhá ɲ-kwɔ
 but they(G1P) IND(G1S) NEG.YET IP-finish
 but not one of them has yet

pyà ta mé."
 child get NEG
 gotten a child."

As one might expect, however, it is much rarer with direct than with indirect quotes. The figures for the examples of the verb *jwo* 'say' in the corpus are as follows:

(57)	without <i>na</i>	with <i>na</i>	% with <i>na</i>
direct quote	323	8	2.5
indirect quote	315	84	26.7

While only a tiny proportion of direct quotes takes *na*, over a quarter of indirect quotes do.

The *na* may be repeated before each clause of a multi-clause complement, presumably to show that what follows is still part of the complement. Following is an example with *sɔŋŋɔ* 'think':

- (58) *Ceèŋi kà a ɲ-cáá mu na,*
 woman.DEF COND PROG IP-want you on
 ‘If the woman loves you,
ma hà rà a sòŋŋì,
 you.NONDECL PROH go PROG think.IMPFV
 don’t think
na mu sí yaaga kan u à,
 that you FUT.FP thing give her to
 that (when) you give something to her,
na kuru ka à mu kwó me.
 that that(EMPH) it PERF you equal NEG
 that that will be as good as yourself.’

From the above discussion it is clear that *jwo* ‘say’ can take direct quote complements. Table 40 shows that not only verbs of speech (*jwo* ‘say’; *pyi* ‘tell’; and *cyèè* ‘tell’) may take such complements, but also some of the verbs of cognition. Following is an example with *ce* ‘know’:

- (59) *Nə ɲye na ɲ-ce “Mìi à ɲye” mé*
 man NEG PROG IP-know I PERF be.old NEG
 ‘A man doesn’t know he’s old (lit. “I am old”)
fó ceewe kà ù cyé.
 till woman COND him refuse
 till a woman refuses him.’

As noted in the preceding section, direct quotation is the most free in terms of restrictions of any of the complement types. The possibilities of tense-aspect, modality and deixis are exactly those of independent clauses. Freedom of deixis is severely restricted in indirect quotes. By comparison with realis (high tone) and subjunctive complements, however, indirect quote *na* complements are relatively free. As pointed out above, tense is not restricted in the way it is in English or French. In fact, any tense-aspect or modality possible in an independent clause is possible in a *na* complement of a verb of speech. This is merely a syntactic manifestation of the relative conceptual independence of the complement event from the main clause event.

The line between manipulative verbs and verbs of speech begins to blur when the latter take subjunctive *na* complements. As noted in section 11.3 above, many of the manipulative verbs can be characterized as verbs of speech, since the manipulation they denote is typically carried out by means of speech. Verbs of speech which most frequently take indicative *na* complements resemble such manipulative verbs when they take subjunctive complements. Following are some examples:

- (60) a. *Kà u ú jwó pi Ø shɔŋga shwɔ a*
 and he NARR say they SUBJUNC horse buy SSC
 ‘Then he said they should buy a horse and

kan ura á.
 give him(EMPH) to
 give (it) to him.’

- b. *U a li cyéè wùù nà*
 he PERF it tell us to
 ‘He told us (lit. showed it to us)

na wu a òjé sùnnì.
 that we.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV these worship.IMPFV
 that we should worship these.’

The verb *pyi* ‘tell’ is a special case. It has already been introduced as a manipulative verb (‘do, make’) with no necessary component of speech. It can take an indicative *na* complement as well, as the following show (note that the direct object of *pyi* encodes the dative-addressee):

- (61) a. *Kà wùù ú ú pyí “Lakólii pi nye wùù.”*
 and we NARR him tell students they be us
 ‘Then we told him, “We are students.”’

- b. *Mu ná mìì pyì na mu nye*
 you PAST me tell that you be
 ‘You told me that you aren’t

ɲwɔfahaga wúŋi wà mé.
 mouth.light POSS.DEF IND NEG
 a gossip (lit. one of the ones with a light mouth).’

When the complement is realis (high tone), or when the main clause is irrealis, *pyi* is simply an ordinary manipulative verb, with no necessary implication that the manipulation is accomplished by means of speech (though of course it may be) (note that when functioning as a manipulative verb, the direct object of *pyi* is the causee, coreferential with the complement subject):

- (62) a. realis (high tone) complement

Mi a ù pyì ú á kàrè.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF go
 ‘I made him leave.’

b. irrealis main clause, subjunctive complement

Mìl sí ù pyì u ú ò-káré.
 I FUT him make he SUBJUNC IP-go
 ‘I’ll make him leave.’

In contrast to the verbs of speech, the verbs of cognition can take only indicative *na* complements, and not subjunctive ones.

We turn now to another variable in the description of *na* complements. As shown in Table 40, some verbs require “anticipatory” pronouns in the main clause. With other verbs such pronouns are optional, with still others they are disallowed. No explanations are available at present for the choice of a particular gender of pronoun. The most popular is gender 3 singular (*li*), but gender 2 plural (*yi*) is a close second. Also used are gender 2 singular (*ku*) and gender 5 (*pu*). With most verbs, the anticipatory pronoun, which in some sense refers to the “extraposed” complement, is put in direct object position:

- (63) a. *Ká mìl í lí cyéè ù nà, “Bɔn, ku kè:*
 and I NARR it tell him to good it here.is
 ‘So I told him, “Good. This is the way it is:

númê yìl yábàṅá à kerège bááráṅi¹¹ nyɛ.”
 now you(PL) EMPH PERF field.DEF work.DEF see
 now you yourselves have seen the work of the field.”

- b. *Pi a lì cè à jwo wà sí ṅ-kwù.*
 they PERF it know SC say IND FUT FP-die
 ‘They know (lit. know and say) one (of them) will die.’

- c. *Wyéréṅi yùṅni kàntugo yyéré,*
 money.DEF theft.DEF behind toward
 ‘After the theft of the money,

mìl a pà ò-tèèn maá ' mílírí,
 I PERF come IP-sit and.NARR think
 I came and sat down, and thought,

mà lì nyà, nàṅkààṅa à pyi a
 and it see thief.DEF PERF PAST PERF
 and realized the thief had

cyìgè mìl nà.
 be.smart me on
 been smarter than me.’

- d. *Kà u ú wá na*
 and he NARR be.there PROG
 ‘So he was

̀̀ce-f̀̀ebíí *ỳ̀l-l̀̀,*
 knowledge-owners.DEF ask-IMPFV
 consulting diviners

m̀̀à p̀̀à l̀̀l t̀̀à ǹ̀a u ỳ̀yaha ẁ̀ubííá
 and come it find that his face POSS.DEF(G1P)
 and came to find out that his ancestors

à j̀̀wo ǹ̀a ǹ̀á u j̀̀ye a ǹ̀ùr̀̀ù...
 PERF say that if he NEG PERF return
 had said that if he didn't return...'

With *da* 'believe' the anticipatory pronoun is an indirect object with the postposition *na* 'on':

(64) a. *Lire e u mú á dà ỳ̀l ǹ̀à*
 this in he also PERF believe them on
 'For this reason he also believes

uru g̀̀à k̀̀ù ỳ̀àla á, ku cáà m̀̀-p̀̀à.
 he(EMPH)COND it repair NF it FUT FP-come
 (that) if he does the ceremony correctly (lit. repairs it), it (= the
 rain) will come.'

b. *U g̀̀ú ò-dá l̀̀í ǹ̀á*
 he POT FP-believe it on
 'He would believe¹²

mu à l̀̀ye uru na.
 you PERF be.old him on
 (that) you are older than him.'

The use of the anticipatory pronouns with those verbs for which it is "optional" is not governed solely by the whim of the speaker. An examination of the occurrences of the pronoun *ỳ̀l* with *j̀̀wo* 'say' shows that its presence is strongly linked to the presence of an indirect object (coding the dative/addressee participant) between the verb and the complement:

(65) *Kà p̀̀ùcwòńí sí ỳ̀l j̀̀wò Mborà á*
 and girl.DEF NARR them say Mboro to
 'Then the girl said to Mboro

uru sí s̀̀à ẁ̀l̀̀l.
 she(EMPH) FUT go bathe
 (that) she would go bathe.'

Following are the figures for the occurrences of *yi* with *jwo*, with and without the presence of an overt dative indirect object:

(66)	with <i>yi</i>		without <i>yi</i>		total
	N	%	N	%	N
dative	57	81.4	13	18.6	70
no dative	6	1.1	562	98.9	568
total	63	9.9	575	90.1	638

While the 70 main clauses with overt datives account for only 11% of the total (638), they account for 90.5% of the occurrences of *yi* (57 = 90.5% of 63). It appears then that use of the pronoun provides extra coherence when the complement is separated from its verb by an indirect object.

Before leaving the verbs of speech and cognition a word should be said about factivity. The three verbs of knowing (*ce* 'know'; *nyε* 'realize'; and *ta* 'find out') are all factive (cf. Givón 1984: 119). The speaker by their use indicates to the hearer that the truth of the information in the complement is presupposed. This is borne out by the fact that the complement remains true even when the main clause is negated. Thus in both of the following examples it remains true that Zhye came:

- (67) a. *U a cè na Zhyé à pa.*
 s/he PERF know that Zhye PERF come
 'S/he knows that Zhye has come.'
- b. *U nyε a cè na Zhyé à pa mé.*
 s/he NEG PERF know that Zhye PERF come NEG
 'S/he doesn't know that Zhye has come.'

All of the rest of the verbs discussed in this section are non-factive, i.e. neither the affirmation nor the denial of the main clause commits the speaker to the truth of the complement clause. Note that *nyε* and *ta* in their capacity as perception verbs ('see' and 'find') are implicative: they can take only realis (high tone) complements, and never subjunctive ones (see section 11.4).

11.5.3. Question complements

A few verbs of speech and cognition can take *na*-complements in the form of questions. The most common of these is the verb *yíbé* 'ask', which has a variant pronunciation *yígé*. The full range of possibilities occurs with this verb in the corpus, and so it will provide a useful means to illustrate the various complement types. Other verbs will be briefly described at the end of the section.

Yíbé allows and indeed seems to favor complements in the direct quotation style. Following are examples of yes/no, alternative, and constituent questions directly quoted. Note that the dative-addressee is coded as the direct object, and that it is obligatorily mentioned.

(68) a. yes/no question

Kà u ú wùù yígé
and he NARR us ask
'Then he asked us,
" *Yí à sémpíí¹³ lwò la?*"
you(PL) PERF writings.DEF take Q
'Have you bought (lit. taken) tickets yet?'"

b. alternative question

Kà zhyènge fùnnù shíinbíí sí zàntùṅṅò yìgè
and baobab.DEF inside people.DEF NARR hyena ask
'Then the people on the inside of the baobab tree asked Hyena
" *Cijj-jyèebíí ù lwòhé e mu sí m-byà*
women-old.DEF GEN water.DEF in you FUT FP-drink
'Is it from the old women's water that you will drink
làa pùcyaabíí wùgé e?"
or girls.DEF POSS.DEF in
or from that of the girls?'"

c. constituent question

Kà pi í ú 'yíbé, "Nteencwó,
and they NARR her ask Nteencwo,
'Then they asked her, "Nteencwo,
jò u à mu jyiile ye?"
who s/he PERF you cross Q
who took you across?'"

Just as with declarative *na*-complements, most indirect question complements are in every respect (apart from intonation) like independent questions except that they are reworked to reflect the deictic center of the main clause. The following examples illustrate indirect alternative and constituent questions:

(69) a. indirect alternative question

Kà u ú m-pá mìl yíbé,
and she NARR IP-come me ask
'She came and asked me

na uru ù Ø mìl lwóhe sògò
that she(EMPH) she SUBJUNC my water.DEF pour
if she should pour my (bath)water

làa uru ù Ø sá òjyòni kan.
or she(EMPH) she SUBJUNC go food.DEF give
or go give the food.'

b. indirect constituent question

Kà mìl í ú 'yígé jò yyéré u má ye.
and I NARR her ask who toward she go.IMPFV Q
'And I asked her whose place she was going to.'

Indirect yes/no questions are interesting in that, at least for some speakers, they preserve the older, alternative form of the question marker (*làa* 'or') instead of using the shortened form employed in direct yes/no questions (*la*).

(70) *Kà uru nàni sí*
and this(EMPH) man.DEF NARR
'Then that man

kuru òké cyàge shyènrè jwò mìl nyíí ná,
that(EMPH) that.DEM place.DEF speech say my eye at
told me about that place (lit. said speech of that place at my eye)

maá mìl yígé na uru ù Ø sá
and.NARR me ask that he(EMPH)he SUBJUNC go
and asked me if he should go

mìl yàha mòbííge e làa.
me leave truck.DEF in or
take (lit. leave) me in the truck.'

There is one further type of complement which might be described as an indirect question, though it takes a conditional rather than interrogative form. In this connection note that in English indirect yes/no questions can be cast in conditional form, as the gloss in the above example shows. In Supyire, the use of a conditional complement indicates a subjective uncertainty or wondering, whereas the use of the question form indicates that a question was actually posed. Thus conditional complements are used with *yíbé/yígé* only when the main clause is reflexive. 'She asked herself...' is the Supyire way

of saying ‘she wondered...’. For most speakers the conditional complement must be in a form with an initial conditional marker *ámpyí* or *kámpyí* (for the formation of conditionals, and the etymology of this marker, see chapter 15, section 15.1.5.1). Following is an example:

- (71) *U a ù-yé ' yíbé ámpyí Pyééré sí m̀-̀pà.*
 she PERF she-REFL ask if Pierre FUT FP-come
 ‘She wondered if Pierre would come.’

Three verbs of cognition introduced in the preceding section can take conditional complements when the main clause is negative. In each case the use of a conditional indicates less certainty than the use of an ordinary *na*-complement. Compare the following examples with the verb *dá* ‘believe’. With a conditional complement, it is closer to ‘doubt’ than to ‘not believe’.

- (72) a. with *na*-complement

Mi nyé a dà na u sí m̀-̀pà mé.
 I NEG PERF believe that he FUT FP-come NEG
 ‘I don’t believe that he’ll come.’

- b. with conditional complement

Mi nyé a dà ámpyí u sí m̀-̀pà mé.
 I NEG PERF believe if he FUT FP-come NEG
 ‘I doubt if he’ll come.’

Some speakers allow a conditional complement with *s̀nnj* ‘think’. As with *dá*, the use of a conditional makes meaning shift closer to ‘doubt’ than to ‘not think’:

- (73) *Mi nyé a s̀ì na s̀nnj*
 I NEG PERF be.EMPH PROG think.IMPFV
 ‘I really doubt

ámpyí pí sí gù s̀ì s̀nnjkeeridemíji na mé.
 if they FUT it begin cinq.heures.et.demi.DEF at NEG
 if they will start it at 5:30.’

It should be noted that some speakers refuse to use sentences of this sort.

The third verb of cognition which can take conditional complements is *ce* ‘know’. Since *ce* is factive, the truth of an ordinary *na*-complement is not affected by the negation of the main clause. It is only through the use of a conditional complement that this presupposition of the truth of the complement can be dispensed with. Compare the following examples:

- (74) a. *U nyε a cè na Pyééré sí m̀-̀pà mé.*
 she NEG PERF know that Pierre FUT FP-come NEG
 ‘She doesn’t know that Pierre is coming.’
- b. *U nyε a cè ámpyí Pyééré sí m̀-̀pà mé.*
 she NEG PERF know if Pierre FUT FP-come NEG
 ‘She doesn’t know if Pierre is coming.’

This means of circumventing the factivity of *ce* is available even when it does not fall under the scope of negation. Thus *ce* can take a conditional complement clause when it is affirmative if the speaker is not sure or does not wish to appear sure of the truth of the complement. The following example illustrates:

- (75) *Músà a cè ámpyí Zhân à pa.*
 Musa PERF know if Jean PERF come
 ‘Musa knows if Jean has come.’

This construction can only be used with second and third person subjects, since speakers presumably know what they know.

Like *yíbé*, *ce* can take indirect constituent question complements as well:

- (76) *U a cè jò u sí m̀-̀pà yε.*
 he PERF know who s/he FUT FP-come Q
 ‘He knows who will come.’

Some speakers (significantly they seem to be younger ones) use the conditional subordinator *ámpyí/kámpyí* even with constituent question complements, as if it were an all-purpose complementizer for indirect question complements (note in the following example that the question marker *yε* is dropped before the negative marker at the end of the sentence):

- (77) *Cè̀nji nyε a cè*
 woman.DEF NEG PERF know
 ‘The woman doesn’t know
- ámpyí jò u sí ùrù tégé me.*
 if who s/he FUT her(EMPH) help NEG
 who will help her.’

Ce has the further unique characteristic of allowing its complement to be preposed. This is particularly frequent when *ce* is the main verb of a purpose clause. The verb in the main clause to which the purpose clause is appended is generally ‘look’ or ‘see’. The preposed conditional complement thus fol-

lows ‘look’ or ‘see’ and precedes the clause containing *ce*, as in the following example:

- (78) *U màha sisónḡ pyí ' ú á sà ñ-tèèn*
 he HAB fly make it.COMP PERF go IP-sit
 ‘He makes a fly go sit
ù nà a wìl
 him on SC look
 on him (=the suitor) and look
ámpyí nḡpiige na nyé u na sí jí-cé.
 if scar PROG be him on PURP IP-know
 to know if a scar is on him.’

This type of structure may have been the origin of the verb *wíí* ‘look’ being able to take a complement clause. The order of the clauses certainly makes it look plausible to interpret the conditional clause as the complement of *wíí*, and all that would be needed to make the transformation complete would be the dropping of the already reduced and postposed purpose clause. Whatever the origin of the construction, in current Kampwo Supyire *wíí* can take a conditional complement without the addition of a purpose clause with *ce*. Following is a typical example:

- (79) *Kà buḡí pyìbísí pìl shùḡnnì*
 and dead.person.DEF children.DEF IND two
 ‘Then two of the deceased’s children
sí ñ-tíḡé fanḡké e
 NARR IP-go.down grave.DEF in
 got down into the grave
mà kù wíí ámpyí ka à ḡwḡ.¹⁴
 and it look.at if it PERF be.good
 and looked to see if it was good.’

11.6. Sentential subjects

Sentential subjects are not common in Kampwo Supyire. I have located only 13 examples in the entire corpus. Many of the examples given in this section are thus elicited.

Fully nominalized clauses can be placed in subject position with stative verbs of evaluation such as ‘be good’ and ‘be difficult’. Following are some examples. Note that serial verbs can be made into compound nouns (see chapter 3, section 3.2.3.3) as in the second example below.

- (80) a. *Tùbabúubíí kàlì-ṅá¹⁵ à ɲwɔ dé!*
 white.people.DEF learn-DEF PERF be.good EXCL
 ‘The learning of the white people is good!’
- b. *Mìlì cwónjì `vworo-ṅ-kàrà-ṅí ɲye à waha*
 my wife.DEF NOM.go.out-NOM-go-DEF NEG PERF hard
 ‘My wife leaving (me) (or: my wife having left (me)) isn’t
 hard/difficult
- mìlì nà mé.*
 me on NEG
 on/for me.’

The verb *táán* ‘be sweet, good tasting’ can be used also to mean ‘please’, with the dative-experiencer coded as an indirect object. When the thing which pleases is a physical object or a person, the indirect object takes the postposition *á* ‘to’. When, however, it is a state of affairs, such as is represented by a nominalized clause, the postposition used must be *i* ‘in’. Compare the following examples:

- (81) a. subject is a thing
- Ṃké cigé yàseerá á tààn mìlì á.*
 this tree.DEF fruit.DEF PERF be.sweet me to
 ‘The fruit of this tree pleases me.’ or ‘I like the fruit of this tree.’
- b. subject is a nominalization
- U ṅ-gyèrè-ṅ-kàrà-ṅí ɲye a tààn*
 his NOM-be.hot-NOM-go-DEF NEG PERF be.sweet
 ‘His leaving early does not please
- mìlì i mé.*
 me in NEG
 me.’

The verb *páà* ‘surprise’ takes its dative-experiencer as a direct object:

- (82) *U ṅ-jà-ṅ-jìrì-ṅa a mìlì páà.*
 his NOM-be.able-NOM-get.up-DEF PERF me surprise
 ‘His being able to get up surprises me.’

The verb *yaa* ‘repair, fashion’, mentioned in section 11.2 in its capacity as a modality verb meaning ‘ought’, can take a nominalized subject when it has its stative meaning of ‘be appropriate, be fitting’:

- (83) *U ñ-kàrà-ñá à yaa.*
 her NOM-go-DEF PERF be.fitting
 ‘Her going/leaving was appropriate/convenient/a good thing.’

All of the above examples contain lexical verbs, whether stative or active. In the following example the predicate consists rather of a copula plus a predicate nominal. The expression has become frozen with the predicate nominal in focus position, however: fronted, with a coreferential anaphoric pronoun immediately following. In such a construction, the erstwhile subject is postposed to the copula (for a description of focus in copular clauses, see chapter 12, section 12.1.2). The focused predicate nominal, *fànhà kyàà* ‘matter of power’, is used to code obligation:

- (84) *Fànhà kyàà li nye u sùmà-shwo-o-ní.*
 power matter it be his grain-buy-G3S-DEF(G3S)
 ‘He is obliged to buy grain.’ lit. ‘His buying grain is a matter of power.’

Beside the fully nominalized clauses illustrated above, a few verbs allow “extraposed” sentential subjects. In most cases the pronoun *li* (gender 3 singular) is placed in subject position, and the subject clause is postposed. The verb *yaa* noted above allows this procedure. When it is used to express appropriateness, the subject clause is subjunctive:

- (85) *La à yaa m̀l̀ í ñ-káré.*
 it PERF be.fitting I SUBJUNC IP-go
 ‘It’s right that I go.’

The same verb can be used with a *na*-complement as subject to mean ‘happen, come about’:

- (86) *Kà li í yáa*
 and it NARR happen
 ‘And it came about
- na mu sáhá nye na jíná à yìrà*
 that you YET NEG PROG be.able.IMPFV SC get.up
 that you were no longer able to get up
- à fwo-ro cỳn̄n̄ji na mé.*
 SC go.out outside.DEF at NEG
 and go outside.’

The verb *ta* ‘find’, which as we have seen above can function as a verb of both cognition and perception, can take an extraposed subject *na*-complement to mean ‘be the case that’ or ‘happen that’:

- (87) *La à ta, pi sàhá nyé aní mé.*
 it PERF find they NEG.YET be there NEG
 ‘It was that case that they weren’t yet there.’

A few verbs allow an extraposed subjectless clause beginning with the same subject conjunction *mà*. In the following example with the verb *ɲwɔ*, the extraposed clause is placed first in the sentence:

- (88) *Mà ndé taha na kyaàre kwùùn,*
 and this use PROG meat.DEF cut.IMPFV
 ‘To use this to cut the meat,
li nyé à ɲwɔ mé.
 it NEG PERF be.good NEG
 it isn’t good.’

Free translation: ‘It wouldn’t be good to use this to cut the meat.’

A subjectless *mà* clause can also be postposed. The following example functions as the subject of ‘be a surprise’. Note that the understood subject of the complement has the same referent as the dative-experiencer of the main clause:

- (89) *La à pyi kakyanhala mìl á mà yì lógó.*
 it PERF be surprise me to and them hear
 ‘I was surprised to hear it.’ lit. It was a surprise to me to hear it.’

11.7. The status of complement clauses

It is time now to address a question which has been held in abeyance during the preceding discussion: what is the syntactic status of complement clauses in Supyire? We have so far proceeded as if they were comparable to English complement clauses (e.g. in the use of the term “extraposed”), but is this assumption justified? Specifically, are Supyire complement clauses in fact embedded clauses functioning as direct object or subject of a main clause, or are they simply independent clauses paratactically conjoined with the so-called main clause?

The following discussion will address this question. The conclusion reached will be that Supyire complement clauses are at an interesting stage between parataxis and full-scale embedding.

At the outset let it be said that from a historical point of view Supyire complements are not and never were “extraposed” if this is taken to mean “removed from direct object or subject position and placed outside the clause.” There is not a shred of evidence that the sentence-like complements (subjunctive, realis (high tone), and *na* complements) were ever placed in subject or direct object position. They cannot be taken to be embedded in this obvious sense.

A second observation is that the structures used as complement clauses are not uniquely confined to that function. In common with many languages in the area (including Bambara), *na* “complements” can be used without a main clause. When queried on this usage, speakers generally say that some such verb as *jwo* ‘say’ is ‘understood’. The *na* complementizer is obligatory when there is no main clause. Following is an example from a conversation:

(90) A: *Yìl f bagé kàní mèé ε*
 you(PL) GEN house.DEF only even.if PROG
 ‘Even if it is your family (lit. house) alone

u sàrà-nì, la à waha la?
 it pay-IMPFV it PERF hard Q
 which pays it (= the tax), is that (so) difficult?’

B: *Yà pá moyen, yà pá moyen!*
 Il.n’y.a pas moyen il.n’y.a pas moyen (French)
 ‘No way, no way!’

Na wùù ú tũji nyε nàŋkò-lyèŋf kè!
 that we GEN father.DEF be man-be.old.DEF EXCL
 (You only think that because you say) that our father is the
 oldest man!’

Frequently the context implies that speech was used. In the following example the *na* clause gives the content of the message:

(91) *Canŋ kà, ká tũnturu sí m-pála à pa mìl á,*
 day IND and message NARR IP-be.sudden SC come me to
 ‘One day, a message came out of the blue

na mìl cévóóŋi na wá Sukwole e,
 that my friend.DEF PROG be.there Sikasso in
 (saying) that my friend was in Sikasso,

na ŋkàà u yaŋi wu u wá.
 that but he sick.person POSS he be.there
 but that he was very sick.’

More telling evidence is supplied by additional functions of the other types of complement. A clause identical in form to an imperfective realis (high tone) complement may be used as a simultaneous time adverbial clause in the absence of any verb of perception or manipulation in the main clause (see chapter 15, section 15.1.1.5). Following is an example:

- (92) *Pi à ti puní tuga à pa ñ-cyán*
 they PERF it all carry SC come IP-drop
 ‘They carried it (= the meat) all and came and dropped it
santu tààn ú u fugure sáhánkì.
 francolin beside he.COMP PROG flop.IMPFV still
 beside Francolin while he was still flopping about.’

A perfective realis (high tone) clause may function something like a relative clause when the modified noun is in direct object position (see section 13.5 of chapter 13). Note that the sentence looks very much like a main clause plus complement clause, but there is no complement-taking verb:

- (93) *Ceèñi wà u ná ñgámii sí*
 woman.DEF IND she REM.PAST twins give.birth.to
 ‘A certain woman gave birth to twins
pí á fàrà pi-yè nà.
 they.COMP PERF stick.to they-REFL at
 (which) were stuck to each other.’

In both the “adverbial” and “relative” uses of realis (high tone) clauses there is a requirement of coreference: the subject of the “subordinate” clause must be coreferential with a participant of the main clause, just as with the “complement” use. Rather than speaking of “subject to object raising” in the case of the complement clause, it would be more accurate to say that the high tone marking the subject of the “subordinate” clause has as its primary function to signal this coreference.

The coreference can be of a rather loose sort even in the case of complement clauses. In section 11.3 above it was noted that the subject of a complement of *tége* ‘help’ can be coreferential with both the main clause direct object and subject, if the latter actually performs the complement event:

- (94) *Kà u ú ú tégé' pí à ciré pààn.*
 and he NARR him help they.COMP PERF trees.DEF chop
 ‘Then he helped him chop the trees.’

This example goes against a “deep structure” analysis of the Supyire manipulative complements. At first sight they look disarmingly like a midway

stage in a derivation from deep to surface structure, a point where “raising” has occurred but the coreferential noun phrase in the complement has not yet been deleted. The above example, as well as the requirement of coreference in the non-complement uses outlined above, shows that this delightful hypothesis is misguided.

Subjunctive clauses, too, can be put to other uses. Both *sí* and “zero” subjunctives can be used as polite commands (see chapter 14, section 14.1.2):

(95) a. *sí* subjunctive

Ma á mí-pá.
you.NONDECL SUBJUNC IP-come
'Come.'

b. “zero” subjunctive

Ma Ø pa.
you.NONDECL SUBJUNC come
'Come.'

Subjunctive clauses can also function as purpose adverbial clauses (note the dual function of infinitive clauses in English and French as both complements and purpose clauses; for purpose clauses see chapter 15, section 15.1.10):

(96) *Mí a sínmpé le ku ná*
I PERF oil.DEF put it on
'I put oil on it

ku jýimu sí ñ-táán.
its entering SUBJUNC IP-be.easy
so it would go in easily.'

There is an equi-subject deletion rule for same subject purpose clauses just as there is (with most verbs) for same subject subjunctive complements:

(97) a. purpose clause

Pi ná wýíge tùrù sí lwóhó ta.
they PROG hole.DEF dig.IMPFV SUBJUNC water get
'They are digging the hole to get water.'

b. complement clause

Pi lá nyé sí lwóhó ta.
their desire be SUBJUNC water get
'They want to get water.'

One further piece of evidence tending towards a non-embedding analysis of Supyire complements is the widespread use of “anticipatory” pronouns. These pronouns, which are placed in the position in the main clause which the complement would occupy if it were truly embedded, have the effect of making the main clause syntactically complete without the addition of a further clause. The main clause in the following example can be a complete clause on its own in a way that ‘he said’ in English cannot:

(98) a. with complement clause

U a yì jwò m̀l̀ á na uru sí m̀-pà.
 he PERF them say me to that he(EMPH)FUT IP-come
 ‘He said to me that he will come.’

b. without complement clause

U a yì jwò m̀l̀ á.
 he PERF them say me to
 ‘He said it (lit. them) to me.’

While this evidence is not overwhelming (the same argument can be applied to most extraposed sentential subjects in English), it does contribute to the accumulating picture of Supyire complements as being only very loosely subordinated if at all.

What is the evidence on the other side? Is there anything which argues against a simple paratactic analysis? The first point to note is that there are elements in the complement clauses which mark them as less-than-independent. The *na* and high tone complementizers are such markers. While these morphemes do not necessarily mark their clauses as *complements*, they do mark them as dependent in some way. Similarly, the subjunctive is quite restricted in its independent clause use. The required omission of an equi-subject in some complement and all purpose clauses is an indication of their less-than-independent status as well.

The most telling evidence against a simple paratactic analysis comes from the placement of clause final markers. These include the relative clause marker *ké*, question markers *la*, *yε*, *bé*, and *ké*, and the negative markers *mé* and *mà*. When clauses which require these markers are followed by a complement clause, the marker is placed *after* the complement. Note the following examples:

(99) a. relative clause (functioning as time clause)

Tèni i u a yìra a yyèrè maá jwó
 time.DEF in he PERF get.up SC stop and.NARR say
 ‘At the time he stood up and said

Chapter 12

Focus and topic constructions

The bulk of this chapter is concerned with two constructions, one coding contrastive focus, the other a marked topic. In both constructions, one noun phrase is placed at the beginning of the clause rather than in its ordinary place. This placement in initial position can be attributed to a very general principle whereby information which is less predictable and/or more important tends to get mentioned first. This in turn is due to a very general cognitive principle that more attention is typically accorded to information which comes first. Speakers exploit this principle in order to make sure the appropriate amount of attention is paid to the various bits of information in a communication (see Givón 1985, 1988, 1990).

In addition to these two constructions, two other means of coding focus and topic are dealt with in this chapter: the contrastive genitive construction, and marking of topic by means of the particle *kən̄*.

12.1. Focus constructions

In Supyire, as in many languages, it is possible to distinguish two major types of focus, which we will label “weak” and “strong” focus (cf. de Vries 1985). These labels are far from satisfactory, but in view of the terminological confusion in this area, it is best to avoid more specific terms which might be misleading. In fact what we are here calling “weak” focus is often termed the “focus of assertion”. It is that part of a proposition which attracts the scope of negation (see chapter 9, section 9.4.2) and, in the corresponding yes/no question, it also attracts the scope of interrogation (see chapter 14, section 14.2.1.3). Quantifiers and adjectives also typically fall under the scope of weak focus (see chapter 6, sections 6.3.3 and 6.4). In a declarative sentence, the information which falls under the scope of weak focus is frequently, but not necessarily, new. It is typically asserted against the background of the hearer’s presumed ignorance.

In this section we will examine the most common devices used in Supyire to encode strong focus. Strong focus is used in a number of pragmatic situations in which the speaker desires to draw particular attention to one noun phrase (or to an adverb). It includes, for example, what is often called “contrastive” focus, when the speaker wishes to indicate one out of two or more possibilities. It also covers situations when a speaker has good reason to believe that the hearer might possibly be mistaken, or is in danger of being mistaken, and wishes to set him or her right. Finally, it includes what

might be called “strong focus of assertion”, such as focus in replies to constituent questions, and focus on new, major participants at the beginning of a narrative (for this last, see section 12.2.1 below).

12.1.1. The cleft focus construction

The “cleft” construction in Supyire differs from the construction so labeled in other languages (e.g. English) in that it has none of the specific trappings of relative clause syntax, and does not appear to be derived from it in any way. Indeed, as will be shown in chapter 13, the influence seems to have been in the opposite direction. The label is justified on two grounds, however. Firstly, the function of the Supyire construction approximates that of clefts in other languages. Secondly, the Supyire construction shares certain syntactic characteristics with clefts in other languages, characteristics quite separate from anything specifically related to relative clauses.

The cleft in Supyire, like that in other languages, functions primarily to code strong focus on one item in the proposition. As noted in the preceding section, a speaker may choose to put an item of information under strong focus for a variety of reasons. The focused item may or may not be new information, but the “out of focus” part of the construction is typically presupposed (in a pragmatic if not strictly logical sense).

From the coding point of view, the Supyire cleft is like other clefts in the following ways: the focused noun phrase is placed first, followed, without a pause, by the rest of the clause containing the presupposed information. The focused item receives heavy stress, and the rest of the clause is correspondingly relatively unstressed. In the affirmative, no copula or other verbal element marks the focused noun phrase:¹

- (1) *Sigé e u a kàrè.*
 bush.DEF to s/he PERF go
 ‘It is *to the bush* that s/he has gone.’

In the negative, the negative identifier *bà* ‘it is not’ is placed after the focused noun phrase.

- (2) *Sigé e bà u a kàrè mé.*
 bush.DEF to it.it.not s/he PERF go NEG
 ‘It isn’t *to the bush* that s/he has gone.’

The three elements of fronting the focused item, heavy intonational stress on the focused item, and use of a quasi-copula (at least in the negative) are all elements shared by typical clefts cross-linguistically. The absence of any relative clause morphology and syntax (specifically the absence of relative

pronouns and of the clause final relative marker) is typical of strong focus constructions in West African languages (see Creissels 1978 for a survey of twenty languages).

The presupposed, “out of focus” clause which follows the focused item is not marked in any special way in Supyire with one exception. If the tense-aspect is present progressive (with the auxiliary *na*), the copula *nyε* is inserted before the auxiliary:

- (3) *Ná mu í m̀i nyε na yu.*
 with you with I be PROG speak.IMPFV
 ‘It is with you that I’m speaking.’

This admittedly restricted marking of the presupposed part of the proposition is also found in questions and relative clauses, and forms part of the marking of negation in progressive clauses (see chapter 9, section 9.4.1.2).

When word order is exploited for pragmatic purposes, its function of coding syntactic roles is disrupted. The cleft construction thus creates a “case-recoverability” problem: how does the speaker let the addressee know what the syntactic case role of the focused item is? With a focused direct object, a simple gap is used. If the verb is transitive, the absence of a direct object between the tense-aspect auxiliary and the verb is a clue to the hearer that this is where the focused item belongs. Note that when the direct object is removed from its normal position, the intransitive prefix appears on the verb.

- (4) a. unfocused direct object

Pi na kuru p̀ɲke pyi ‘bogo’.
 they PROG this(EMPH) drum.DEF call bogo
 ‘They call this drum ‘bogo’.’

- b. focused direct object

Kuru p̀ɲke pi nyε na ∅ m-pyi ‘bogo’.
 this(EMPH) drum.DEF they be PROG IP-call bogo
 ‘It is this drum which they call ‘bogo’.’

When the focused item is the subject, it is immediately followed by a coreferential anaphoric pronoun. Without this pronoun, the focus construction would be morphologically indistinguishable from an ordinary clause, since the subject normally comes first in such clauses. The strong stress on the subject would of course provide an intonational clue, but this is evidently not sufficient. The pronoun, which like ordinary subjects is unstressed, is an unmistakable indication that the construction is marked for focus.² When the focused item is a first or second person pronoun, the resumptive pronoun is third person, gender 1. In the following examples, context has been included where possible to get a feel for the nature of the focus involved.

- (5) a. ‘The monitor lizard said “Of your two women, which do you like the best?” He said “I like them both.” Then the monitor lizard said to him, “If you kill me, your fiancée will die, but if you let me live, the girl who is with you will die.” The man stood there. He didn’t know what to do. Whenever he started to kill the monitor lizard, his fiancée would say:

“Mìlì u sí ñ-kwû la?”
 me she FUT FP-die Q
 ‘Is it me who will die?’

And if he started to leave the monitor lizard alone, the girl would say:

“Mìlì u sí ñ-kwû la?”’
 me she FUT FP-die Q
 “Is it me who will die?” ’

- b. *Yi méeé ú bó,*
 they CONCESS.COND him kill
 ‘Even if they (= the bush cows) kill him,

mu u a ú kán ya à.³
 you he PERF him give them to
 it was you who gave him to them.’

- c. *Hàlì mìn ná Fantér-ji màha*
 even I and Fantéré-people.of HAB
 ‘I and the people of Fantéré even

ti ta nàkaana na pire pi à lye.
 it get discussion that they(EMPH) they PERF be.old
 have disputes over whether it is they who are older (i.e. whether the village of Fantéré is older than the the speaker’s village)

Jlɔwu, “Yli à fine: wùù pi à lye.”
 IP.say you.PL PERF lie we they PERF be.old
 (I) say, “You have lied: it’s us who are older.” ’

- d. ‘I told him, “If you hear that the people are lacking in respect for your (PL) father, you (PL) who are his children,

yìlì pí màha u yyàhe lèṅè.”’
 you.PL they HAB his face.DEF put.CAUS
 it is you who bring this disrespect on him (lit. put his face in).” ’

Noun phrases of course are echoed by pronouns of the same number and gender as the head noun:

- (6) a. 'If you see that not one of them (the men from the village who have jobs in the capital city or in Côte d'Ivoire) gives anything here (to help pay for the head tax) except my younger brother, that means

wùù ú bagé kàní ku sí rà a
our GEN house.DEF(G2S)only it(G2S) FUT go PROG
it is our house (i.e. family) alone which will

u sàrà-nì.
it pay-IMPFV
be paying it.'

- b. *Lira a lì cyèè m̀̀l̀̀ nà sè̀̀n̄f̄ yà̀̀bà̀n̄f̄ na,*
this(EMPH) PERF it show me at truth.DEF EMPH at
'This showed me clearly (lit. on truth itself),

nà̀̀f̄ù̀̀n̄-kw̄̀̀n̄j̄i u a p̄̀̀ kè̀̀è̀̀gè̀̀.
wealth-lust.for.DEF(G1S) it(G1S) PERF them spoil
(that) it is greed that has ruined them.'

Case recoverability for indirect objects is simple: the adpositional marking is placed with the focused noun phrase at the head of the clause. There is no resumptive pronoun to mark the position from which the focused item has been removed. Following are some examples:

- (7) *M̀̀l̀̀ á mu kóná à wyè̀è̀̀re⁴ ta,*
me from you TOP PERF poison.DEF get
'It was from me that you bought the poison,

̀̀n̄kà̀̀ wyè̀è̀̀re lakyárá⁵ n̄ye m̀̀l̀̀ á me.
but poison.DEF antidote be me to NEG
but I don't have an antidote for it.'

- (8) A: *Mu sí zhyè nè̀̀gè̀̀sú̀̀n̄j̄i na mà?*
you NEG.FUT FP.go bicycle.DEF on NEG.Q
'Aren't you going to go by bicycle?

B: *Mobiletí̀̀n̄j̄i na m̀̀l̀̀ sí.*
mobyette.DEF on I go.IMPFV
It's by mobyette that I'm going.'

- (9) *Pi mà̀̀ha yire pyi 'kerì̀̀yi'.*
they HAB these(EMPH) call fields.DEF
'They call these 'the fields'.'

Yire e buŋí màha m-pwɔ
 them(EMPH) to corpse.DEF HAB IP-tie
 It is on them that the corpse is tied

ná meéré è.
 with rope.DEF with
 with the rope.'

Adverbs of time, place, and manner can be focused in the same way. Their lexical meaning indicates their role in the clause.

(10) A: 'Wasn't it after those years that he died?'

B: *Númê sásá⁶ ura a kwù.*
 now right he(EMPH)PERF die
 'It was very recently that he died.'

(11) *Waní mìi à na v à ànyì ta.*
 there I PERF my cloth.DEF find
 'It was there that I found my clothes.'

(12) *Àmunì senufóobíí kwùubíí màha n-tuni.*
 thus Senufo.DEF die.DEF HAB IP-bury.IMPFV
 'It is thus that the Senufo dead are buried.'

It should be noted that ordinary third person anaphoric pronouns cannot be put in the focus position. Emphatic pronouns must be used instead:

(13) *Ŋgé u a cyìlgè ke, uru pi à yyere*
 DEM he PERF be.smart REL he(EMPH) they PERF call
 'The one who is smart, it is him that they called

u Ø pà k ànhe cyàgé le
 he SUBJUNC come village.DEF place.DEF put
 to come pick the site of the (new) village

pira à.
 them(EMPH) to
 for them.'

There are logically three ways that a cleft construction can combine with negation: 1) the focused part is negated, and the presupposed part affirmative ('it wasn't X that did Y'); 2) the focused part is affirmative, and the presupposed part negated ('it was X that didn't Y'); or 3) both parts can be negated ('it wasn't X that didn't Y'). Of these, only 1) occurs unelicited in the corpus. The practical occasions in which the addressee mistakenly believes

X to have not done Y are much rarer than those in which s/he mistakenly believes X to have done Y. In 1) and 3) above, the negation of the focused element is indicated by placing after it the negative identifier *bà* 'it is not'. The negative clause final particle which goes with it is placed not after this initial clause, but at the end of the sentence, after the presupposed clause. The syntactic role of the focused item is recovered in exactly the same way as in affirmative clefts. Following are examples with various syntactic roles focused. They are all type 1) above, viz. with focus, but affirmative presupposed clause. Note that many of them are cast in the form of negative yes/no questions, which have a strong bias toward an affirmative response, just as in English.

(14) a. subject, coreferential pronoun

Yi mée ú bó,
 they CONCESS.COND him kill
 'Even if they (= the bush cows) killed him,

mu ba u a ù kàn ya à mà?
 you it.is.not he PERF him give them to NEG.Q
 wasn't it you that gave him to them?'

b. direct object, gap

Kàmbìlì mée bà
 cowrie name it.is.not
 'Isn't it the name of 'Cowry'

pi à Ø le u na à?
 they PERF put him on NEG.Q
 that they gave him (lit. put on him)?'

c. indirect object (locative)

Cyàge kè e bà
 place.DEF IND in it.is.not
 'It is not in any particular place

mìi nyè na u tàà mé.
 I be PROG it get.IMPFV NEG
 that I am getting it.'

d. indirect object (associative)

Tàhà ná mu í bà
 Q with you with it.is.not
 'Isn't it with you

mìi nyɛ na yu mé?
 I be PROG speak.IMPFV NEG
 'that I am speaking?'

e. manner adverb

Mū bà kàshìge mpyi à?
 thus it.is.not war.DEF was NEG.Q
 'Wasn't it thus that the war was?'

As stated above, only elicited examples are available of clefts in which the focused part is affirmative while the presupposed part is negative. Speakers do not appear to be at all uncomfortable in producing such sentences, though they are apparently used much less frequently than the type just illustrated above. They differ from simple affirmative clefts strikingly in that they require a copula (*nyɛ* 'be') to follow the focused item. The focused item is the (focused) subject of this copula, a fact shown by the addition of a coreferential pronoun between the noun phrase and the copula. The presupposed clause follows, with negation marked as it would be in a simple clause. When the syntactic role of the focused noun phrase is subject of the presupposed clause, there is a coreferential pronoun as the beginning of the latter:

- (15) *Zhyé u nyɛ u nyɛ a kàrè mé.*
 Zhye he be he NEG PERF go NEG
 'It was Zhye who didn't go.'

When the focused item is a direct object, there is a gap in the presupposed clause in the direct object position, just as in affirmative clefts:

- (16) *Wotórónji u nyɛ u nyɛ a Ø pèrè mé.*
 cart.DEF he be he NEG PERF sell NEG
 'It's the cart that he didn't sell.'

Examples with negation of both parts of the cleft were also easy to obtain by elicitation. They use the negative identifier *bà* to set off the focused item, and the presupposed clause is simply negated as an ordinary clause would be. Note that only *one* clause final negative particle appears at the end of the sentence, though both clauses are negated:

- (17) *Mìi bà u nyɛ a kàrè mé.*
 I it.is.not s/he NEG PERF go NEG
 'It isn't me who didn't go.'

One final point should be noted before leaving the subject of verbal clefts. Use of the cleft construction to focus the verb is not possible in Supyire, un-

like in a number of other West African languages (cf. Stahlke 1974, Givón 1990, chapter 16). Only nominal constituents and adverbs can be so focused. When I attempted to elicit sentences with focus on the verb, I was given examples with the exclamatory particle *dé*, which is widely used not only in Senoufo but also in the surrounding languages. Following is an example:

- (18) *U a kàrè dé!*
 s/he PERF go EXCL
 'S/he has *left*!'

This particle does not specifically code emphasis on the verb, however, but rather on whatever item in the sentence is in the focus of assertion. Thus if a locative adverbial phrase is added to the above example, the focus will be on it rather than on the verb:

- (19) *U a kàrè Sukwoo na dé!*
 s/he PERF go Sikasso to EXCL
 'S/he has gone to *Sikasso*!'

12.1.2. Cleft focus constructions in copular clauses

There are two items which can be focused in equative copular clauses, the subject and the predicate nominal. Focus on the subject presents no peculiarities: the construction as described in the preceding section is used, with a resumptive pronoun following the focused noun phrase to show that it has been focused. Following is both an affirmative and a negative example, taken from the same folktale:

- (20) a. *Mu u nyε wùdù núŋi.*
 you she be our mother.DEF
 'It is you who are our mother.'
- b. *Mu ba u nyε wùdù núŋi mē.*
 you it.is.not she be our mother.DEF NEG
 'It is not you who are our mother.'

When the focused item is the predicate nominal, however, there are complications. There are two types of cleft construction which focus the predicate nominal. One is used when the subject is a noun, a first or second person pronoun, or an emphatic or demonstrative pronoun. The other is used when the subject is a simple anaphoric pronoun. The former case is the simpler. The focused item is moved to the front of the clause, just as in verbal clauses. The subject, however, is *postposed* to a position after the copula. The focused item is followed by a resumptive pronoun, just as if it were a

focused subject. It thus looks as if the subject and predicate nominal have switched roles. Following are some examples:

- (21) a. *Cyèe pi wá yìl.*
 women they be.there you.PL
 ‘It is women that you are.’ or ‘You’re a bunch of *women*.’
 (said to a group of cowardly men)
- b. Zookeeper: Have you bought your tickets?
 Boys: No.
 Zookeeper: That will be a hundred francs each.
 Boys: *Lakólii pi nyè wùd.*
 students they be we
 ‘(But) we are *students*.’ (students have free admission to the Bamako zoo)
- c. *Jwubo nin-tanma pu nyè pure.*
 say(G5) ADJ-be.sweet(G5)it(G5) be that(EMPH)
 ‘Those are *good* words.’
- d. *Mìl yyáhá ' fóónjì níntàhigíí fyènjì*
 my face owner.DEF soles.DEF prints.DEF(G1S)
u nyè ñgé.
 it(G1S)be this(G1S)
 ‘Those are *my older brother’s* footprints.’
- e. *Li yyee tanra-wùdúní li nyè níñjyéé.*
 this year third-POSS.DEF it be this.year
 ‘This year is its *third* year.’

When the subject is a simple anaphoric pronoun, a more complex construction is used. The focused predicate nominal is moved to the front and followed by a coreferential pronoun, as in the type just described. The subject, however, is not merely postposed to the copula. It is placed after the copula in a clause of its own, with a predicate consisting of an identifier pronoun (see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.6) of the appropriate gender and number. This extra “subject clause” is marked as subordinate by a high tone on the subject pronoun, rather than the mid-low tune which it normally carries. The high tone carries over onto the identifier pronoun, which becomes high-low.⁷ Following are some examples:

- (22) a. *Shon. Mìl wú u a sùl*
 no my POSS(G1S) it(G1S) PERF be.EMPH

ú wí.
it(G1S) it.is(G1S)

‘No. It’s *mine*.’

b. *Caangé càṅké ku mpyi kú kî.*
market.DEF day.DEF it was it it.is(G2S)
‘It was *market day*.’

c. *Wyere fàná ti nyé tí tí.*
potion also it be it it.is(G4)
‘It is also a *potion*.’

d. *Nàṅkààwà num-pi bà u mpyi ú wí mé.*
thief ADJ-bad it.is.not he was he it.is(G1S) NEG
‘He wasn’t a *dangerous thief*.’

Predicate nominals which occur in verbal clauses can also be focused, but they do not cause any complications there. They are simply fronted as in other clefts, and a gap is left following the verb in the presupposed clause:

(23) *Zàntùṅḍò u à pyi a ù-yé kééṅṅè Ø.*
hyena he PERF PAST PERF he-REFL turn
‘It was a hyena that he turned himself into (not, e.g. into a lion).’

12.1.3. The contrastive genitive construction

Contrastive focus on a genitive (possessor) noun phrase is indicated by placing a genitive particle *u* between the genitive and the head noun. This particle has weak mid tone, and behaves tonally as if it were a possessed noun, becoming high after a mid tone, and low-weak mid after a low tone. It is obviously related to the independent possessive pronoun root *wu-* (see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.11). The head noun following the particle is completely unaffected tonally.

The following examples illustrate the use of *u* to indicate contrastive focus:⁸

(24) C: *Nùmùcê sà à ke kan...*
Numuce go PERF ten give
‘Numuce has given ten...’

Nḍnurugo mú ' rá à pa ná ' dóóní i.
Nonurugo also go PERF come with a.bit with
Nonurugo has also brought a bit.’

E: *Li sãnni náhá á kwòrò mu ú kēñi.*
 it OTHER.DEF be.here PERF remain your GEN ten.DEF
 ‘Then all that remains (to be given) is *your* ten.’

(25) *Pi ù v à à n y i n à w ù w ú y i*
 their GEN clothes.DEF and our POSS.DEF(G2P)
 ‘*Their* clothes and *ours*

nye nìkìn mé.
 be one NEG
 are not the same.’

12.2. Topic constructions

One of the major tasks of any speaker is to let the hearer know what is being talked about. The management of topicality involves both anaphoric continuity (referring back to topics mentioned previously) and cataphoric importance (letting the addressee know which topics to pay particular attention to because they will play a part in the ensuing discourse). In chapter 10 (section 10.1) above it was claimed that the subject in Supyire may be characterized as the clause-level topic. The subject tends to have high continuity with the preceding discourse (the great majority of subjects have been mentioned previously) and high cataphoric importance (most subjects are referred to again in the ensuing discourse). Supyire has a highly grammaticalized system of narrative conjunctions which enable the speaker to indicate to the addressee either continuity of primary topic (same subject as previous clause) or switch of primary topic (different subject from previous clause) (see chapter 15, section 15.3). The voice mechanisms discussed in chapter 10, especially the passive, are another means of managing topicality.

12.2.1. Introducing important new topics with clefts

Subjects tend to be “old” topics, ones which have already been mentioned. How then are new topics introduced into a discourse? A primary means used by speakers of Supyire for introducing new, major participants at the beginning of a narrative is the cleft construction described in section 12.1.1. The construction is used to highlight the importance of the participant so introduced, and signal to the addressee that special attention should be paid to that participant. The noun phrase used usually has an indefinite determiner, indicating that it is to be taken as “pragmatically” referential, i.e. not just *existing* in the universe of discourse, but also of *cataphoric* importance. Following are some examples of the initial sentences of folktales, in which the major participants are introduced with the “cleft topic” construction:

The clause which follows the topic does not have a special form. In narrative, it often takes the switch-subject conjunction *kà*, which is not possible in clefts:

- (28) *Cìnùṅḍ, kà uru sɪ kɛ kan.*
 Cinungo and he(EMPH) NARR ten give
 ‘Cinungo, he gave ten.’

It may also be an adverbial clause, which is also not possible with clefts:

- (29) *Làmini, u a ù jyà a bànì gé,*
 Lamin he PERF it shoot SC wound TC
 ‘Lamin, when he shot and wounded it (= the elephant),
ká niticùubfí sɪ jwò...
 and healthy.ones.DEF NARR say
 the healthy ones (i.e. unwounded elephants) decided (lit. said) ...’

The placing of a noun phrase out of its normal position at the head of the clause creates the same case recoverability problem noted above for clefts. In left dislocation, this problem is solved in a quite different way. No gaps are used as they are in clefts: there is always a coreferential noun phrase in the clause.⁹ The topic noun phrase is never accompanied by adpositional case markers, as it must be in the cleft. The coreferential noun phrase in the clause may be coded with any of a variety of devices, ranging from anaphoric pronoun to emphatic pronoun to a repetition of the topic noun. Even the second person singular pronoun *mu* is sometimes used. The most frequent coding is with an emphatic pronoun, an interesting fact which has implications for understanding the relative clause construction (see chapter 13).

The topic is sometimes mentioned in the immediately preceding context:

- (30) N: *Nàṅi wà u ná m-pyí' ná cyèè shuunní i.*
 man.DEF IND he PAST IP-be with women two with
 ‘A certain man had two wives...’
 E: *m̀m̀m̀*
 N: *Ceèṅi nij-jyèṅi,*
 woman.DEF ADJ-be.old.DEF
 ‘...The older wife...’
 E: *m̀m̀*
 N: *kà uru sɪ pyà nìṅkìn tà.*
 and she(EMPH) NARR child one get
 ‘...she got one child.’

Often the topic is not mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, but rather some distance back, as in the following examples:

(31) previous mention 27 clauses back:

Z: *Fwû*
‘Fwu...’

K: *Fwû*

Z: *Fwû, ká mu rí jwú yô...*
Fwu and you NARR say ATTN
‘...Fwu, then he (lit. you) said,...’

(32) previous mention 53 clauses back

B: *ɔ, Bùwára,*
Buwara
‘uh, Buwara...’

E: *mímì*

B: *mu à kuru ñgurugé nyé gé,*
you PERF that(EMPH) smoke.DEF see TC
‘...when he (lit. you) saw that smoke...’

E: *m̀m̀*

B: *tàhá Ìgùùrò kya-waha-ñgurugé mu*
Q Nguuro meat-dry-smoke.DEF you
‘...wasn’t it the smoke from Nguuro’s fire for drying meat that
mu nyé na ñàà mé?
you be PROG see.IMPFV NEG
he (lit. you) was seeing?’

In some cases, the topic is not actually mentioned in the previous discourse, but is nevertheless expected (or at least unsurprising) on the basis of general knowledge. Any Supyire knows, for example, that rattle-players and hunters are likely to be encountered at a funeral. Note the introduction of these two groups of participants in the following examples, taken from an account of a funeral:

(33) E: ... *cyèbílá à pyi jáhámpe na,*
women.DEF PERF be funeral.dance.DEF on
‘...the women were doing the funeral dance...’

M: *m̀m̀*

E: *cìcàhàm-bwðonbíf, pìre sì i*
 rattle-players.DEF they(EMPH) ADV PROG
 ‘...the rattle-players, they were
cìcàhàjikíf¹⁰ bwùùn...
 rattle.DEF play.IMPV
 playing their rattles...’

(34) E: ... *cyèebíf pìl sì i*
 women.DEF IND ADV PROG
 ‘...some of the women were
buñf kwðhð-feebíf¹¹ fwu ná v àányì ì,
 body.DEF dance-owner.DEF fan with cloths with
 fanning those dancing with the body with cloths...’

M: *mù*

E: *lùùzuubíf, pìre sì i*
 hunter.DEF they(EMPH) ADV PROG
 ‘...the hunters, they were
marafáabíf jyìl.
 guns.DEF shoot.IMPV
 shooting their guns.’

Another environment where the topic has not been mentioned before but is nevertheless in some sense expected is in lists. A speaker will tick off a number of different items in a category, each coded as a left dislocated topic, with a predication attached. The list sets up a local expectation that the topic will switch, but that it will belong to the category in question. In the following example, the speaker ticks off people who have contributed to paying the head tax:

(35) C: *Wùu bà pi a làmpúji wwù à?*
 we it.is.not they PERF tax.DEF take.off NEG.Q
 ‘Isn’t it us who have paid the tax?’

E: *Yì a làmpúji wwù.*
 you.PL PERF tax.DEF take.off
 ‘You have paid the tax.’

C: *ee, Cìnùḡ,*
 Cinungo
 ‘Uh, Cinungo...’

E: *nìmhmm*

- C: *ká uru sɪ kɛ kan.*
and he(EMPH) NARR ten give
'...he gave ten (i.e. ten times 5.000 francs)...'
- E: *mhm̀*
- C: *Fílángúló,*
- E: *m̀m̀hmm̀*
- C: *ká uru r̀ kɛ kan.*
and he(EMPH) NARR ten give
'...he gave ten...'
- E: *á*
'Well...'
- C: *Jwúnúró ' ú pyìbíf nà Numémwò ẁubíf,*
Jwunuru GEN children.DEF and Numemwo POSS.DEF
'...Jwunuru's children and those of Numemwo,
pire pi à tanjyéé ' ú làmpúji sàrà.
they(EMPH) they PERF last.year GEN tax.DEF pay
it is they who have paid this year's tax.'

Time, and to a lesser extent locative, phrases can be placed to the left of their clause in a construction which is similar to the left dislocation described above, but which differs from it in a few details. There is no noun phrase within the clause which is coreferential with the preposed time or locative phrase. The clause may begin with the same subject conjunction *m̀*, which is never the case with a preposed topic. Sometimes (but not always) the preposed phrase retains adpositional case marking. And lastly, sometimes the pause following the preposed phrase is omitted. Note that all of these characteristics tend to make the resulting construction look more like the cleft construction described in section 12.1.1 above.

Functionally, the preposed time or locative phrase is neither the focus nor the principle topic of the following predication. It is like a preposed topic, however, in that it serves to set off a new thematic section, not through a switch of topic, but through a switch in time or location. For example, a frequent expression in narrative is *canj kà* 'one day', preposed to a narrative clause, and serving to indicate a change in time and a corresponding thematic section:

- (36) *M̀ u ǹn̄ji yaha aní,*
and this man.DEF leave there
'While this man was there,

kà u cwōŋi sɪ m-pá ŋ-kwù.
and his wife.DEF NARR IP-come IP-die
his wife died.

Lira à pwoɾo ta u à,
this(EMPH) PERF daughter find him to
Meanwhile, he had a daughter (lit. this found a daughter to him),

kà u ná u pwoɾoŋɪ sɪ n-tèèn tè è.
and he and his daughter.DEF NARR IP-sit it in
and he and his daughter lived in it (= the hut he had built).

Canŋ kà kà sige shínbíí nàŋkò-lyèŋɪ wà
day IND and bush people.DEF man-old.DEF IND
One day, one of the old men of the bush people

sɪ m-pá ŋ-kwù...
NARR IP-come IP-die
died...'

Following is an example of a preposed time phrase with postpositional marking. Note that the following clause begins with the same subject conjunction:

(37) *Kà pi í ú bó,*
and they NARR it kill
'Then they killed it (= the python),

kà mɪl tɪŋi sɪ ù lwó á kàrè
and my father.DEF NARR it take SC go
and my father took it and went

u-yè yyéré.
he-REFL toward
home (lit. *chez* himself).

Ŋyège na maá kú fwó à taha.
morning.DEF on and.NARR it grill SC cook
In the morning, (he) grilled and cooked it.'

12.2.3. The topic marker *kɔ̀nɪ*

Current Kampwo Supyire has borrowed from Bambara another way to highlight a topic. The topic marker *kɔ̀nɪ* can either be used to mark a left-dislocated topic or a subject. It can usually be translated something like 'as for X'. Following are examples of its use in a left dislocated topic phrase:

- (38) a. *Mìlì í nàmpwuunbíf kònlì ;*
 my GEN guest.DEF TOP NF
 'As for *my* guests,
pi nyè à pa mé.
 they NEG PERF come NEG
 they didn't come.'
- b. *Ìjgè kònlì, ìjgè nyè mìlì wú de!*
 this(G1) TOP this(G1S) be my POSS(G1S) EXCL
 'As for this, this is mine!'

The function of *kònlì* seems to differ little when it marks a subject rather than a left dislocated topic, as the following examples show:

- (39) a. *Bùwára kóná à yala à pyi*
 Buwara TOP PERF reputed SC be
 'As for Buwara, he is said to have been
Kó kwòñi wà.
 Kong Samogo.DEF IND
 a Samogo from Kong.'
- b. *Buñf kóna a tò a kwò,*
 body.DEF TOP PERF bury SC finish
 'As for the body, it is finished being buried,
ìjkàà buñf kàrigíf nyè a kwò mé.
 but body.DEF affair.DEF NEG PERF finish NEG
 but the affairs of the deceased are not finished.'

The following example (= example 7) shows that the topic marker can co-occur with a cleft focus construction, in which case it cannot be translated with a phrase such as 'as for X':

- (40) *Mìlì á mu kóná à wyeèrè ta...*
 me from you TOP PERF poison.DEF get
 'It was from me that you got the poison...'

Chapter 13

Relative clauses

This chapter is devoted to the description of relative clauses—subordinate clauses which modify a noun phrase. After an initial section describing the basic structure and function of the commonest type of relative clause, several other sections deal with variables in types of coding and function. The chapter ends with a section discussing the syntactic status of relative clauses.

13.1. Basic structure and function of relative clauses

Relative clauses in such languages as English and French are commonly divided into “restrictive” and “non-restrictive”. This is unnecessary in Supyire for the simple reason that all relative clauses are restrictive. Non-restrictive relative clauses, in those languages which have them, function mainly to code parenthetical assertions. This function is accomplished by simple parataxis in Kampwo Supyire. Thus the following example can reasonably be translated idiomatically in English with a non-restrictive relative clause. Note, however, that there is nothing in the Supyire which resembles the kind of relative clause structure described below in this section.

- (1) *Kà lire sɪ*
and it(EMPH) NARR
'It (= the bird)

wocɔŋɲi nà ceɛŋi jwùmpé puní lògò.
crocodile.DEF and woman.DEF say.DEF all hear
heard all of the crocodile's and the woman's words.

(*Ceɛŋi mɛgà à pyi Nteencwó.*)
woman.DEF name PERF be Nteencwo
The woman's name was Nteencwo.

Kà ceɛŋi sɪ ŋ-kàrè ...
and woman.DEF NARR IP-go
Then the woman went...'

Freely: 'It heard all the words of the crocodile and the woman,
whose name was Nteencwo. Then the woman left...'

All relative clauses in Supyire, then, are restrictive. They serve to restrict the reference or interpretation of the noun they modify (though see below on

“afterthought” relatives). In the most typical case, the speaker provides information in the relative clause which allows the addressee to uniquely identify the referent of the modified noun. In order to accomplish this function, the information provided must be about the referent, and must be known to or inferable by the addressee. Relative clauses thus contain a noun phrase which is coreferential with the noun phrase being modified in the main clause, and the information they contain is most often treated as presupposed by speakers (cf. Givón 1990, chapter 15).¹ It is not surprising that such clauses share basic characteristics with cleft focus constructions and the commonest type of constituent questions, both of which consist of an initial noun phrase followed by a clause containing presupposed information. Neither of these constructions derive historically from the present day relative clause construction, however.

Relative clauses in Supyire are unembedded.² The most typical variety, with definite, referential heads, are preposed to the main clause. The relative clause is terminated by the clause final relative marker *ké*, frequently voiced to *gé*, and is typically followed by a short pause before the main clause.³

- (2) *Yaagé ka a ù bò ké, mu a kùrù cé.*
 thing.DEF it PERF him kill REL you PERF it(EMPH) know
 ‘The thing that killed him, you know it.’

Freely: ‘You know the thing *that killed him.*’

The etymology of *ké* is not certain, but it is undoubtedly related to the locative question marker of the identical form *ké* (see chapter 14, section 14.2.2.7). A connection between a locative question word or marker and the relative clause marker is attested in a number of languages (see Givón 1990b, where Krio, modern Greek, southern colloquial German, and Bambara are cited). Both the relative *ké* and the interrogative *ké* are quite likely derived from the gender 2 singular demonstrative *ɲké*. The corresponding relative marker in Cebaara is *lè*, which is probably derived from the gender 3 singular demonstrative *lèe*. In Cebaara the marker is generally placed after the verb rather than at the end of the relative clause. This placement and the demonstrative etymology can be taken as indications that the markers had a nominalizing function originally.

As noted above, in the canonical relative clause construction there are two coreferential noun phrases, one in the relative clause and one in the main clause. The first of these we will call the “relativized noun phrase”. It is in some respects like the “head” noun phrase in a language like English, since it comes first in the construction and is more fully specified. The noun phrase in the following main clause, which is typically pronominalized, will be labeled simply as the “coreferential noun phrase”. The relativized noun phrase is most frequently placed at the beginning of the relative clause, and may or may not be additionally marked with an ordinary demonstrative or

with a relative determiner. The coreferential noun phrase typically takes the form of an emphatic pronoun (e.g. *uru*, *pire*, etc.; see section 13.3 below for a discussion of the use of these pronouns), and occurs in the position it would normally take in the clause (that is, it is most often not focused). The following example (as well as the previous one) illustrates all these features. In it the relativized noun phrase is the subject of the relative clause, and the coreferential noun phrase is likewise the subject of the main clause:

- (3) *Pùcwòŋí* *u* *nye ná* *mu í* *ke*,
 girl.DEF(G1S) she(G1S) be with you with REL
 ‘The girl who is with you,

uru *sí* *ŋ-kwû*.
 she(EMPH.G1S) FUT FP-die
 she will die.’

Freely: ‘The girl *who is with you* will die.’

The similarity of this construction with the left dislocated topic construction described in chapter 12 (section 12.2.2) should be noted. In a topic construction, the topicalized noun phrase is placed before the main clause, from which it is typically separated by a pause. The position from which it was removed in the main clause is typically indicated by a pronoun, most often an emphatic pronoun. It looks as though the relativized noun phrase together with its modifying clause is being treated syntactically as if it were a topic noun phrase. Looked at from a functional point of view, this is not very strange. As noted in chapter 12, left dislocated topics are generally not highly “continuous”. That is, they most frequently represent a switch from the topic of the previous bit of discourse. Participants introduced with relative clauses tend to be even more discontinuous. About 70% of relativized noun phrases refer to participants not previously referred to in the discourse in which they are found.

The “canonical” structure described in the preceding paragraphs can be varied in a number of ways. These variations are the subject of the remaining subsections of this chapter. One of them can be disposed of immediately, however, since it is rather minor. The final relative clause marker *ké* is sometimes replaced with the functionally equivalent marker *à de*. This is extremely rare in the corpus (3 examples, out of a total of 288 relative clauses). It may be dialectal or archaic (all three examples were produced by two very old men not from Farakala) although I encountered no difficulty in eliciting examples from young people in Farakala. The etymology of the *à de* marker is unknown, though it is quite possibly related to the relative clause marker in Cebaara, /è. Following is an example of an *à de* relative. The relativized noun phrase is the subject of the relative clause, the coreferential noun phrase is a genitive possessor in a focused time phrase in the main

clause. The sentence is taken from a quotation, which accounts for the use of *would* in the English translation:

- (4) *Yîŋke ku cáá rà a fwòra à de,*
 month.DEF(G2S) it(G2S)FUT go PROG go.out.IMPV REL
 ‘The month which is just about to begin (lit. come out),
kuru canmpyàa bɛ́náágá
 its(EMPH.G2S) days twenty
 (on) its twentieth day
uru cáá Sàmbóri cù.
 he(EMPH.G1S) FUT Samory catch
 he would capture Samory.’

Freely: ‘(On) the twentieth day of *the month which was just about to begin* he would catch Samory.’

Another variation which is also not very important in terms of the number of tokens (N=3) recorded so far is the delaying of the relative clause till after the main clause, apparently because it is an afterthought. Following is an example:

- (5) *Mu ahá ' bú lyí à kwò, ma á*
 you COND REM eat SC finish you.NONDECL SUBJUNC
 ‘When you have finished eating, you must
ná ' wyéréjì wùlà à kàn náhá,
 my money.DEF take.out IC give here
 take my money out and give it here,
wyéréjì mu a yú m̀̀l̀̀l̀̀ pyéngá ke.
 money.DEF you PERF steal my home REL
 the money you stole (from) my home.’

The other variations in relative clause structure and function treated below are: the different ways of coding the relativized noun phrase, including whether or not it is fronted (section 13.2); the different ways of coding the coreferential noun phrase in the main clause (section 13.3); the treatment of non-referential relativized noun phrases (section 13.4) and referential indefinite relativized noun phrases (section 13.5); and negative relative clauses (section 13.6). A final section (13.7) describes “semi-embedding” and discusses the syntactic status of relative clauses.

13.2. The coding of the relativized noun phrase

The relativized noun phrase can either be placed at the head of the relative clause, or left in its ordinary position. As pointed out in the previous section, the former procedure is the more commonly used. Of the 288 relative clauses occurring in the corpus of texts, only 64 (=22%) have non-fronted relativized noun phrases. The fronting of the noun phrase effectively marks that noun phrase as the relativized noun phrase. This means that other marking can be dispensed with, specifically the use of the relative pronoun/determiner. As a result the variety of coding possibilities with a fronted relativized noun phrase are much greater than with a clause internal one.

13.2.1. Fronted relativized noun phrases

Placing the relativized noun phrase at the head of its clause creates the same case recoverability problem that is encountered in similar constructions such as clefts and constituent questions: how does the speaker let the hearer know what syntactic case role the fronted noun phrase has in the following clause? The problem is solved in precisely the same way in relative clauses as in clefts (cf. chapter 12, section 12.1.1), and questions (cf. chapter 14, section 14.2.2.1), indicating that all of these constructions share a common focus strategy. A fronted subject is always followed by a place-holding pronoun which agrees with it in number and gender, as in the following example (cf. also 2, 3, and 4 above):

(6) relativized subject, coreferential pronoun

Nànjjiibíí pi nye na u kwòhòlì ké,
 young.men.DEF they be PROG it dance.IMPVREL
 ‘The young men who are dancing with it (= the body),

pi màha wyéréjì kààn pìrà á.
 they HAB money.DEF give.IMPV them(EMPH) to
 they give money to them.’

Freely: ‘They give money to *the young men who are dancing with it.*’

Fronted direct objects leave a gap in the normal direct object position between the auxiliary and the verb (that is, nothing appears in the normal direct object position, although the verb is transitive):

(7) relativized direct object, gap

Myàhíí *u* *a* \emptyset *cèè gé,*
 song.DEF(G3P) she PERF sing REL

‘The songs which she sang,

ci *náhá* *mì* *fúnḡf* *í.*
 they(G3P) be.here my inside in
 they are here inside me.’

Freely: ‘I remember *the songs which she sang.*’

Indirect objects of various sorts retain their adpositional marking in fronted position, and nothing replaces them in their ordinary position. Following are a few examples:

(8) a. dative

*Cinmpyi-cyèèbílá*⁴ *à*
 blood.relative-women.DEF to
 ‘The female blood relatives to whom

sànya *a* *wyì*⁵ *ké,*
 death.announcement.DEF PERF announce REL
 the death has been announced,

pire *nàmbaabíí* *màha* *m-pa*
 their(EMPH) men.DEF HAB IP-come
 their husbands come

ná *vàanyi* *ì.*
 with cloth.DEF with
 with the cloths.’

Freely: ‘The husbands of *those female blood relatives to whom the death has been announced* bring the cloths (to wrap the body in).’

b. locative

Vàanyi *na* *u* *mpyi* *a* *sìni*
 cloths.DEF on he PAST PERF lie.down
 ‘The cloths on which he was lying

maá *ḡ-kwû* *ké,*
 and.NARR IP-die REL
 and died,

buŋí cwòŋjí màha yire v à ànyí jyè...
 buŋí wife.DEF HAB those(EMPH) cloths.DEF wash
 the dead person's wife washes those cloths...'

Freely: 'The dead person's wife washes *the cloths on which the dead person had been lying when he died...*'

c. locative

Tùbabúŋjí yyèrè m̀lì a shwòŋ k é,
 white.person.DEF toward I PERF spend.night REL
 'The white person *chez* whom I spent the night,

lira a ùrù tà
 this(EMPH) PERF him(EMPH) find
 this found him

ú á kàra a kwò...
 he.COMP PERF go SC finish
 he had already gone...'

Freely: 'Meanwhile *the white person at whose place I had spent the night* had already gone...'

Of the preposition-postposition complex *ná...i* marking instrument and associative (see section 7.5.2 of chapter 7), only the postposition accompanies the focused noun phrase, the preposition being simply dropped:

(9) a. instrument

V à ànyí ì u sí m̀-pwò k é,
 cloths.DEF with it FUT FP-tie REL
 'The cloths with which it will be tied,

pi í yíré wwù v à ànyí i...
 they SEQ them(EMPH) take.out cloths.DEF from
 then they take them from among the cloths...'

Freely: 'Then they remove *the cloths with which it (= the body) is to be bound* from the (other) cloths...'

b. associative

Cwoòŋí ì u màha ŋ-kare sigé e k é,
 pot.DEF with he HAB IP-go bush.DEF to REL
 'The pot with which he goes to the bush,

kámpyí mu à lire cwoòŋí c è,
 if you PERF that(EMPH) pot.DEF know
 if you know that pot,

sá lɪ ' l w ɔ ma a ma.
 go it take you.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV come.IMPFV
 go get it and come.'

Freely: 'If you know *the pot which he takes to bush*, go get and and bring it.'

In all of the above examples, the relativized noun phrase is unaccompanied by any additional relative or demonstrative markers. This is the most common pattern. Of a total of 141 fronted relativized noun phrases in the corpus (this figure includes only those with noun heads—pronouns are excluded), 100 (=71%) are not further marked.

Marking a fronted relativized noun phrase with a relative determiner (for the forms see section 5.1.2.8 of chapter 5) is quite rare. In fact, no simple examples occur in the corpus (the three examples which do occur all have variations of another sort—they are either negative or semi-embedded—see below). However, it is not difficult to elicit such examples as the following. They should probably be regarded as overmarked, although speakers seem quite happy to produce them outside of a coherent discourse context. Note that the relative determiner follows the noun it accompanies:

- (10) a. *Nàŋi ñgɛ-mù u à pa gé...*
 man.DEF(G1S) DEM(G1S)-REL he(G1S) PERF come REL
 'The man who came...'
- b. *Nàŋi ñgɛ-mù mɪ à nyɛ gé...*
 man.DEF(G1S) DEM(G1S)-REL I PERF see REL
 'The man whom I saw...'

Rather more common is the practice of marking the focused relativized noun phrase with a simple demonstrative. Ordinarily the demonstrative *precedes* the noun it modifies (see section 6.1.1 of chapter 6), but the demonstrative marking a focused relativized noun phrase *follows* the noun it modifies, just as the relative determiner does. Furthermore, the ordinary demonstrative is most often deictic—pointing outside the discourse to something in the speech context. The demonstrative used to mark a relativized noun phrase, however, is *not* deictic. Some examples of this use of the demonstrative are:

- (11) a. *Mobíŋye ñjé yi mpyi*
 trucks.DEF those they were
 'The trucks which were
- Bobo kúni ñàni na ké,*
 Bobo road.DEF walking.DEF on REL
 on the Bobo route,

yire puní mpyi na sí ð-jyééré
 they(EMPH) all PAST PROG FUT FP-stop
 they all were going to stop

shwðhðŋí i.
 between.DEF in
 in between.'

Freely: 'All of *the trucks which were plying the Bobo route* were going to stop (someplace) in between.' (i.e. none of them were going all the way to Bobo Dioulasso)

- b. *Kìni shìnbíí m̀píí m̀li a cè gé,*
 country.DEF people.DEF those I PERF know REL
 'The people of (our) country whom I know,

pire m̀li a t̀ra àmē.
 they(EMPH) I PERF count thus
 it is they that I have counted thus.'

Freely: 'It is *the people of our country whom I know* that I have counted thus.'

In order to encode deixis with the relativized noun phrase, another construction must be used, consisting of a simple anaphoric pronoun followed by a demonstrative. This construction can be used as the predicate of a verbless presentative clause (see chapter 6, section 6.1.1 for examples). Recall that the demonstratives are derived from the deictic identifier pronouns, which are used exclusively as predicates meaning 'here/there is...' (see chapter 7, section 7.2). When the relative clause is a full verbal clause, the pronoun-plus-demonstrative complex is supplemented by another demonstrative. This extra demonstrative may be placed in the normal demonstrative position before the noun, or it may follow the noun. Compare the following examples:

- (12) a. second demonstrative before head noun

Ŋjé v̀àanyi yi ðjé mu à le gô,⁶
 these clothes.DEF they these you PERF put REL.POL
 'These clothes which you have put on,

yire ðjé ǹgð-lyèná à kan mu á la?
 these(EMPH) these man-be.old.DEF PERF give you to Q
 is it these that the old man has given to you?

Freely: 'Are *these clothes that you are wearing* the ones your father gave you?'

b. second demonstrative after head noun

Mobííyí ñjé yí ñjé yá á yyèrè ké,
trucks.DEF these they these they PERF stop REL
'These trucks which are stopped,

yire kéégé Kologo Kanhé na.
they(EMPH) go.IMPFV Koloko village.DEF at
they are going to Kologo.'

Freely: 'Those trucks which are parked over there are going to Koloko.'

A relative clause consisting solely of the relativized noun phrase plus the deictic "presentative" construction is also possible. The construction does not function to restrict the reference of the relativized noun phrase, but simply to point someone or something out: 'X over there' or 'X here'. The relativized noun phrase can thus be a proper noun, or even a first person singular pronoun. Some speakers preserve a proximal-distal opposition in this construction which has been lost elsewhere in the language. Distal is marked by a falling tone on the demonstrative, proximal by the usual high tone (for a good example of this contrast, see section 6.1.1 of chapter 6). Sometimes a locative adverb is added. Following are some examples:

- (13) a. *Teenzàngà ù pwooré ti nté*
Teenzanga GEN adobe.DEF it that.DISTAL
'Teenzanga's house which (is)

mení i gé, wà sì nye aní...
there.DEF in REL IND ADV be there
over there, one is there...'

- b. *Nìngèndò u ñgé aní ge,*
Ningeno he that there REL
'Ningeno who (is) there,

uru ù tūñi.
his(EMPH) GEN father.DEF
'his father (is the one I'm talking about).'

The relativized noun phrase may also consist solely of a demonstrative or relative pronoun (a construction sometimes called "headless"). Fully a quarter of the relative clauses occurring in the corpus have pronominal relativized noun phrases. The relativized noun phrase in such sentences is typically, but not necessarily, non-referential. When the relativized noun phrase is fronted, either a relative pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun can be used. This use of relative pronouns is rather uncommon, just as the corresponding

use of the same forms as determiners is, as noted above. Following is an example:

- (14) *Ŋgé-mù* *u* *sí* *jà-jà* *mìlì* *lws*
 DEM(G1S)-REL he(G1S) FUT FP-be.able me take
 ‘The one who will be able to take me
- jà-cyán* *ke*,
 FP-make.fall REL
 and make (me) fall,
- mìlì* *sí* *nùñi* *kan* *uru* *fòlà* *á*.
 I FUT cow.DEF give that(EMPH) person to
 I will give the cow to that person.’

Freely: ‘I will give the cow to *the one who can throw me.*’

The use of demonstrative pronouns in this way is much more common. In fact, nearly a fifth (N=53) of all the relative clauses in the corpus have fronted demonstrative pronoun relativized noun phrases. Following are some examples:

- (15) a. relativized noun phrase = subject

Ŋcís *ci* *a* *tààn*
 those(G3P) they PERF be.sweet
 ‘Those which are sweet

mu *túŋa* *à* *ké*,
 your father.DEFG1S to REL
 to your father,

mu *nye* *na* *cire* *pyi* *mé*.
 you NEG PROG them(EMPH) do NEG
 you don’t do them.’

Freely: ‘You don’t do *what pleases your father.*’

- b. relativized noun phrase = direct object

Ŋgé *u* *à* *pyi* *na* *ŋ-càà* *gé*,
 that he PERF PAST PROG IP-see.IMPFV REL
 ‘The one whom he had been seeking,

uru *mēge* *nye* *Ŋgùùrò*.
 his(EMPH) name.DEF be Nguuro
 his name is Nguuro.’

Freely: ‘The name of *the one he had been looking for* is Nguuro.’

Finally, it should be noted that first and second person pronouns can also function as fronted relativized noun phrases. Note that the agreement pronoun for a fronted subject is a third person gender 1 pronoun, just as in clefts:

- (16) a. *Àlf wùu m̀píí pí a sòròlashíjì⁷ pyi gé,*
 even we those they PERF soldiering.DEF do REL
 ‘Even we who served as soldiers,

wùu nyé a sòròlashíjì pyi a kwè,
 we NEG PERF soldiering.DEF do SC finish
 didn’t we finish soldiering,

ká mobííjì sì ná à fwoa à?
 and car.DEF NARR afterward SC go.out NEG.Q
 and afterwards the car appeared?’

Freely: ‘Didn’t *we who served as soldiers* finish our time of service before cars appeared (in the country)?’

- b. *Yìi pí nyé u pyìibíí kè,*
 you.PL they be his children.DEF REL
 ‘You who are his children,

yìi pí màha u yyāhe lèṅè.
 you.PL they HAB his face.DEF put.CAUS
 it is you that put his face in.’

Freely: ‘It is *you who are his children* that bring this disrespect on him.’

13.2.2. Clause internal relativized noun phrases

Although in the majority of relative clauses the relativized noun phrase is placed in focus position at the head of the clause, it is also possible to leave the relativized noun phrase in its ordinary, non-fronted position in the clause. A non-fronted relativized noun phrase is obligatorily marked with a relative determiner.⁸ It would otherwise be impossible to tell which noun phrase in the clause was intended as the relativized one. This procedure is not much used for relativizing subjects. It is possible to use it for direct and indirect objects, as the following examples show:

- (17) a. relativized noun phrase = direct object

Ali nfnjáà jínàṅa⁹ à yaagé jké-mù
 even today jinn.DEF PERF thing.DEF DEM(G2S)-REL
 ‘Even today the jinn which thing

*kàlìfã*¹⁰ *ú ná ge, kuru na wá aní.*
 entrust him on REL it(EMPH) PROG be.there there
 entrusted to him, it is there.'

Freely: 'Even today *the thing which the jinn entrusted to him* is there.'

b. relativized noun phrase = dative indirect object

U kyala a tààn
 his matter PERF sweet
 'His matter is sweet

pùcwòṅí ṅgé-mù á ke,
 girl.DEF DEM(GIS)-REL to REL
 to which girl,

kà uru sì jwò u à...
 and she(EMPH) NARR say him to
 she said to him...'

Freely: 'Then *the girl who loved him* said to him...'

Not fronting the relativized noun phrase is common when its function is coding the semantic role of time. Such relative clauses usually function as time adverbial clauses for the following main clause, and no coreferential noun phrase appears in the latter:

(18) *Nàṅjìṅa à fwoṛo sigé e*
 young.man.DEF PERF go.out bush.DEF in
 'The young man went out into the bush

tèni òdè-mù ì gé,
 time.DEF DEM-REL in REL
 at which time,

u bá nye na sigé niyi kaanmucáà mε.
 he even NEG PROG bush cows look.out.for.IMPFV NEG
 he didn't even look out for bush cows.'

Freely: 'When *the young man went into the bush*, he did not even look out for bush cows.'

Relative clauses can function as locative adverbial clauses in a similar fashion (see chapter 15, section 15.1.2).

Just as with fronted relativized noun phrases, non-fronted ones can consist solely of a pronoun. Only the relative pronouns can be used:

nāni *ndé-mù* *pyi ké,*
 walking.DEF DEM-REL do REL
 done which walk,

la à *pyi* *à* *tɔɔn* *kilometrɔi* *shuunní ná.*
 it PERF PAST PERF be.long kilometers two on
 it was longer than two kilometers.'

Freely: 'The distance we walked in the dark was longer than two kilometers.'

13.3. The coreferential noun phrase in the main clause

As noted in section 13.1 above, the most common way of marking the coreferential noun phrase in the main clause is by means of an emphatic pronoun. This goes well with the other functions of the emphatic pronouns in complex sentences. They are generally used to show coreference in relatively "loose" constructions where a high degree of referential "interference" is common. Thus the emphatics are used in a "logophoric" function in the loosely bound indicative complements of verbs of speech and cognition (i.e. they show coreference with the subject of the main clause; see chapter 11, section 11.5.1). They serve as the coreferential noun phrase in left dislocated topic constructions, where the topic is typically separated from the main clause with a pause (see chapter 12, section 12.2.2). In the latter construction, however, other ways of coding the coreferential noun phrase are allowed, and this is the case with the coreferential noun phrase in the main clause of relative clause constructions. In this section we will briefly examine some of these alternate codings.

When the relativized noun phrase (and consequently the coreferential noun phrase) is non-referential and [+human], the emphatic is sometimes used as a determiner with the noun *foo* 'owner, agent, person'. Following is an example (= example 13):

- (21) *ŋgé-mù* *u sí* *n-jà* *mìlì lwó* *jà-cyán* *ke,*
 DEM-REL he FUT FP-be.able me take FP-make.fall REL
 'The one who will be able to throw me,
mìlì sí *nùŋi* *kan uru* *fòlà á.*
 I FUT cow.DEF give that(EMPH) person to
 I will give the cow to that person.'

Sometimes a simple anaphoric pronoun is used instead of the emphatic pronoun. Examples of this are found in (7) and (20) above. Following is another, taken from an indirect quote attributed to Kuluncungo, one of the sons of Ceba:

- (22) *Ndé u à pyi Sàmbórò nà gé,*
 that(G3S) he PERF do Samory on REL
 ‘What he had done to Samory,

li nye uru fũnḡké e.
 it be his(EMPH) inside.DEF in
 it is inside him.’

Freely: ‘He (= Kuluncungo) remembers what he (= Ceba) had done to Samory.’

Occasionally the noun itself is repeated, usually with an emphatic determiner, as in (9b) above, and in the following example:

- (23) *Cyāge e m̀pi a kàrè*
 place.DEF in hare PERF go
 ‘The place in which Hare had gone

maá ú v̀àanyi ta gé,
 and.NARR his clothes.DEF get REL
 and gotten his clothes,

m̀pi ú Ø kúrú cyāge cyèè
 hare he SUBJUNC that(EMPH) place.DEF show
 hare should show that place

ùrù nà.
 him(EMPH) at
 to him.’

Freely: ‘Hare should show him the place where he had gone and gotten his clothes.’

Occasionally, a coreferential noun is used which is more specific in meaning than the relativized noun:

- (24) *Cyāge e mu à bilēre pyi gé,*
 place.DEF in you PERF slavery.DEF do REL,
 ‘The place in which you were a slave,

kuru k̀anhe m̀gè ẁù cáà.
 that(EMPH) town.DEF name.DEF we seek.IMPFV
 it is that town’s name which we are seeking.’

Freely: ‘It’s that name of the town in which you were a slave that we are seeking.’

mu màha n-toro kànyì tàànrè táán...
 you HAB IP-pass villages three beside
 you pass three villages...'

“Grammatical” gender and “semantic” gender sometimes do not coincide in Supyire, as is common in languages with gender systems. Thus while gender 1 can be characterized semantically as the “human” gender, there are a few words in other genders which can be used to refer to human beings. The gender 2 noun *yaaga* ‘thing’, for example, is sometimes used in a rather informal way to refer to a person. In syntactically “tight” constructions, such as within a noun phrase, agreement is governed entirely by grammatical gender. In “loose” constructions, however, such as between clauses, there is a tendency to revert to a more semantically appropriate gender. Note in the following example that the relative determiner agrees with its gender 2 head noun, but the coreferential noun phrase in the main clause is gender 1, which is more semantically appropriate:

- (27) *Mì kóná á yìrì bilêre e mà pà*
 I TOP PERF get.up slavery.DEF in and come
 ‘As for me, I left slavery and came
yaagé ñké-mù tà
 thing.DEF(G2S) DEM(G2S)-REL find
 (and) found which thing
k̀ni ǹǹj̀ nà gé, uru nyɛ Kafyaa.
 country.DEF head on REL he(EMPH.G1S) be Kafyaa
 at the head of the country, he is Kafyaa.

Freely: ‘The one who was paramount chief when I was freed from slavery and came here was Kafyaa.’

Relative clauses in which the relativized noun phrase functions to encode time frequently function as time adverbial clauses for the following main clause, and in this case there is usually no coreferential noun phrase in the main clause. (18) above is an example of this. Often the noun *cyaga* ‘place’ is used instead of a time word:

- (28) *U a yìrè jwù cyāge ñké-mù ì gé,*
 he PERF these(EMPH) say place.DEF DEM-REL in REL
 ‘He said this (lit. these) in which place,
ká mì l̀ù̀ǹi sì ỳr̀i.
 and my gall.bladder.DEF NARR get.up
 my gall bladder arose.’

Freely: ‘When he said this, I got angry.’

Time adverbial clauses with past time reference are historically derived from such relative clauses by the omission of the relativized noun phrase as well. See chapter 15, section 15.1.1.1 for a description.

A final note on the coding of the coreferential noun phrase: although they are not generally placed in focus position, there is certainly no prohibition against this. Examples (12a), (16b), (19a) and (19b) above illustrate this. The same discourse-pragmatic motivations which lead to focusing of ordinary noun phrases are responsible for the focusing of the coreferential noun phrase.

13.4. Non-referential relativized noun phrases

There are two different types of non-referential noun phrase which can be modified by a relative clause. The first type has a meaning equivalent to English 'whoever', 'whichever', and so forth. These can also often be translated as 'every X' or 'each X'. There are three subtypes of construction which are used to code such a 'whoever' noun phrase. The first subtype is the "headless" relative mentioned in section 13.2 above, in which the relativized noun phrase is coded as a relative or demonstrative pronoun. Examples (14) and (15a) illustrate this type of relative clause. In a second subtype the relativized noun phrase is coded with a distributive noun phrase meaning 'every X'. This type of relative clause is described in the first subsection below. The third way of coding a 'whoever' relative clause is by making it conditional. This type is described in section 13.4.2 below. The coreferential pronoun in the main clause for any of these three types of 'whoever' relative may be a second person pronoun, as noted above in section 13.3, though this is by no means obligatory.

The other type of non-referential noun phrases which can be modified with a relative clause is predicate nominals. Relative clauses which modify non-referential predicate nominals are remarkable for the fact that they are post-posed rather than preposed to the main clause. They are described in the final subsection (13.4.3) below.

13.4.1. Distributive relativized noun phrases

A meaning of 'whichever X' can be obtained by coding the relativized noun phrase as a distributive. This type of noun phrase is described in section 6.3.3.1 of chapter 6. Briefly, it consists of the repetition of a noun in its basic, non-referential form, joined by the particle *máhá* (or the equivalent borrowed from Bambara, *o*). In the following example, the relativized noun phrase is fronted, and the coreferential noun phrase in the main clause

(which in this case is a conditional/time clause) is coded as a second person pronoun:

- (29) *Shin máhá shin u nyε*
 person DIST person s/he be
 ‘Every person who is
- buɲf cìmpworo ké,*
 dead.person.DEF blood.relative REL
 a blood relative of the dead person,
- mu ahá máhána à pa nɔ*
 you COND go.round SC come arrive
 you circle round and arrive
- yatinm-pwɔ́nbiíf tààn...*
 instrument-player.DEF beside
 beside the musicians...’

Freely: ‘*Everyone who is a blood relative of the deceased circles round and arrives beside the musicians...*’

The distributive phrase can be composed of demonstrative pronouns rather than nouns:

- (30) *Ndé ò òdé Tàmbà nyε na m-pyi u na gé,*
 that DIST that Tamba be PROG IP-do him on REL
 ‘Whatever Tamba does to him,
- mìi a lì cè.*
 I PERF it know
 I know it.’

Freely: ‘I know *everything Tamba does to him.*’

The distributive phrase can also be placed in apposition to a demonstrative. Note in the following example that the relativized noun phrase is not fronted, and that the coreferential noun phrase agrees with the demonstrative (gender 1 plural) rather than with the distributive phrase (gender 2 singular):

- (31) *Mpííf yaaga máhá yaaga nyε na*
 those(G1P) thing DIST thing be PROG
 ‘Those every thing
- faaɲf pyi náhá ge,*
 farming.DEF do here REL
 doing farming here,

pi puní yyaha fèe na wá cyññji na.
 their all face owners PROG be.there outside.DEF on
 the older brothers of all of them are out of the country.'

Freely: 'The older brothers of *all who are farming here* are out of the country.'

In a similar way, the distributive phrase can be placed in apposition to a second person plural pronoun. The following example is rather complex syntactically. A conditional time clause interposes between the relative clause and the main clause, which is itself a relative clause. Note that the singular rather than the plural is used as a coreferential noun phrase.¹³

(32) *Yi yaaga máhá yaaga ka a sà a shyà gé,*
 you.PL thing HAB thing it PERF go SC go REL
 You every thing that has gone,

yyeení kà ñ-kééññè, síñi u nyé
 year.DEF COND IP-turn power.DEF it be
 when the year turns, the power that is

mu na gé, jfjà¹⁴ ma á
 you on REL do.your.best you.NONDECL SUBJUNC
 on you, do your best to

úrú pyí u na.
 it(EMPH) do him on
 do it for him.'

Freely: 'At the beginning of the year, *each of you who have left* (the village) must do your best to do what you can for him.'

13.4.2. Conditional relative clauses

The 'whoever' meaning illustrated in the previous section can also be obtained by using the conditional auxiliary in a relative clause with a non-referential relativized noun phrase. The relativized noun phrase cannot be fronted in such a relative clause, and consequently it must always be marked by the relative determiner. Following are some examples:

(33) a. relativized noun phrase = subject

Nàñi ñgé-mù ká nyii yige
 man.DEF DEM-REL COND eye cause.go.out
 'Whatever man brings out (his) eye

u kùrùgò ké, fò uru fòò
 her for.sake.of REL till that(EMPH) person
 for her, unless that person

ú Ø pyàṅi mège cè...
 he SUBJUNC child.DEF name.DEF know
 knows the child's name...'

Freely: 'Whatever man desires her must be able to tell the child's name...'

b. relativized noun phrase = direct object

U ahá pyàṅi ṅgé-mù tà ké,
 she COND child.DEF DEM-REL get REL
 'She would get whatever child,

ura asì ñ-tòrò.
 it(EMPH) HAB.SEQ IP-pass
 it would die.'

Freely: 'Whatever child she got would die.'

c. relativized noun phrase = locative object

Ṃkù-pèè-cyìṅí kà meení
 chicken-male-first.DEF COND voice.DEF
 'The rooster crows

nṅ-cyìṅi sù, maá yí á tèn
 ADJ-first.DEF cry and.NARR jump SC sit
 the first crow, and jumps (up) and sits

keshúṅi¹⁵ ṅgé-mù ṅúṅí í ke,
 chest.DEF DEM-REL head in REL
 on top of whichever chest,

ma á úrú ' lwó.
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC it(EMPH) take
 take it.'

Freely: 'Take whichever chest the first rooster crows and then jumps up on.'¹⁶

Like ordinary relative clauses, conditional relative clauses can be "headless", i.e. have a relativized noun phrase consisting solely of a relative pronoun:

- (34) a. *Ŋgé-mù ká nó pyenga kè,*
 DEM-REL COND arrive home REL
 ‘Whoever arrives home,

uru fòò màha ŋ-kara a sà yyéré
 that(EMPH) person HAB IP-go SC go stop
 that person goes and stops

buŋí ñtààni na...
 dead.person.DEF courtyard.DEF at
 at the dead person’s courtyard...’

Freely: ‘*Whoever arrives home goes and stops by the courtyard of the dead person...*’

- b. *Mu ahá ŋgé-mù ñkyànhii jye*
 you COND DEM-REL teeth(G3P) see
 ‘You see whoever’s teeth

cf á wwù gé,
 they(G3P).COMP PERF take.out REL
 they have been removed,

ura à cipeere pyi.
 he(EMPH) PERF marriage do
 he has married.’

Freely: ‘*Whoever you see whose teeth have been removed is married.*’ (the speaker is referring to an alleged Vietnamese custom)

A distributive relativized noun phrase as described in the preceding section can be placed in a conditional relative clause in a double coding of the ‘whoever’ meaning:

- (35) *U ahá bwón yaaga máhá yaaga na ké,*
 he COND touch thing DIST thing on REL
 ‘He touches whatever thing,

kuru puní màha fwónhá á kwò.
 it(EMPH) all HAB rot SC finish
 it all rots completely.’

Freely: ‘*Whatever he touches rots completely.*’

13.4.3. Relative clauses modifying predicate nominals

Relative clauses which modify non-referential predicate nominals are remarkable for the fact that they are postposed to the main clause rather than preposed, as all other relative clauses are. If they immediately follow the noun they modify, which is usually the case since predicate nominals are most often final in their clause, they have the appearance of being embedded. The relativized noun phrase is coded with a relative pronoun, which if it is fronted occurs next to the predicate nominal, as if it were a determiner. Following is an example:

- (36) *Fáágá nyé kànhà òké-mù ka a*
 Farakala be village DEM-REL it PERF
 'Farakala is a village which
- pèè dóóní¹⁷ ke.*
 be.big a.bit REL
 is a bit big.'

As was shown in section 12.1.2 of chapter 12, a focused predicate nominal is placed in focus position at the head of the clause. If a focused predicate nominal is modified by a relative clause, the latter will be postposed to the main clause and thus separated from the noun phrase it modifies in a way similar to preposed relative clauses. In the following example, the predicate nominal is focused, but the relativized noun phrase is *not* focused. Although it is the predicate nominal which is placed in focus position, it seems to be the information in the relative clause which is particularly highlighted.

- (37) *Jwumɔ pu nyé pú pí*
 say(G5) it(G5) be it(G5) it.is(G5)
 'They are words
- àlì sìcyere fóónì sí ò-jà*
 even madness owner.DEF FUT FP-be.able
 even a fool will be able
- m̀pé-mù jwò gé.*
 DEM(G5)-REL say REL
 to say which.'

Freely: 'Those are *words even a fool could say.*'

The non-referential subject of an identificational clause (see chapter 7, section 7.2) can similarly be modified by a postposed relative clause:

- (38) *Nànjìllwè wi ògè-mù na yu*
 young.man it.is(GIS) DEM-REL PROG say.IMPFV
 'He is a young man who talks
a tòrò gé.
 SC pass REL
 too much.'

13.5. Clauses modifying referential indefinite noun phrases

The relative clause construction described in the preceding sections is not used to modify referential indefinite noun phrases (as in, e.g. 'A man I saw yesterday just went into that store.'). Instead, a clause identical in form to a realis (high tone) complement clause (see chapter 11, sections 11.3, 11.4, 11.7) is used. Such a clause consists of a pronoun subject with high tone, followed by a perfect or progressive auxiliary. It is noteworthy that this clause type can also be used as a simultaneous time adverbial clause (see chapter 15, section 15.1.1.5).

The realis (high tone) complement is used with verbs of manipulation and perception, whose direct objects are coreferential with the complement subject. It is this condition of coreferentiality that has allowed the development of a further relative clause-like function in the absence of any complement-taking verb. So far this extended function has stuck close to its roots in only being employed to modify direct objects. Compare the following example:

- (39) *Ceèjì wà u ná ògámìí sí*
 woman.DEF IND she REM.PAST twins give.birth.to
 'A certain woman gave birth to twins
pí á fàrà pí-yè nà.
 they.COMP PERF be.stuck they-REFL at
 which were stuck to each other.'

Even when a complement-taking verb is present, the best translation of a realis complement is sometimes a relative clause in English. Following is such an example:

- (40) *Canj kà u màha ... tába-wénke kà nyè*
 day IND she FORM.PAST taba-leaf.DEF IND see
 'One day she ... saw a *taba*-leaf
ká á tààn u à.
 it.COMP PERF be.sweet her to
 that pleased her.'

13.6. Negative relative clauses

All of the examples of relative clauses given hitherto in this chapter have been affirmative. Negative relative clauses are also possible, though for pragmatic reasons they are considerably less common. Non-participation in an event is simply not very often a useful means of identifying a particular participant. Only three unelicited negative relative clauses appear in the corpus. Speakers are not at all reluctant to produce them on demand, however.

Negative relative clauses differ from affirmative ones principally in the substitution of the negative clause final marker *mé* for the relative clause marker *ké*, and in the usual negative marking required by the particular tense-aspect of the clause. In the following example, the non-fronted (and non-referential) relativized noun phrase has the syntactic role of a genitive (in the subject noun phrase) in the relative clause:

- (41) *Ŋgé-mù wógjí nyé a wwù mé,*
 DEF(G1S)-REL POSS(G3S) NEG PERF take.out NEG
 ‘The one whose (teeth) have not been removed,

u nyé à cípèèrè pyí mé.
 he NEG PERF marriage do NEG
 he has not married.’

Freely: ‘*Anyone whose (teeth) have not been removed has not married (yet).*’

The relativized noun phrase in a negative relative may also be fronted. The type of negative focus construction used is not the common sort with negation of the focused item followed by an affirmative presupposed clause (‘it is not X that did Y’), but rather the sort with the negation in the presupposed clause (‘it is X that didn’t do Y’). For examples of these types see chapter 12, section 12.1.1. The most striking characteristic of this type of negative cleft construction is the presence of the copula *nyé* just after the focused item (in affirmative clefts there is no such copula). Fronting the relativized noun phrase requires the same construction. In the following example the relativized noun phrase, which is a demonstrative pronoun only, is the subject of the relative clause.

- (42) *Mpíí pí nyé pí nyé a*
 those they be they NEG PERF
 ‘Those who had not

wyígjí tá a wwù mé,
 holes get SC take.out NEG
 managed to dig holes,

zhìbannàṅwɔ a pìrè jó.
 ground.hornbill PERF them(EMPH) swallow
 Ground Hornbill swallowed them.'

Freely: 'Ground Hornbill swallowed *those that had not managed to dig holes.*'

13.7. The syntactic status of relative clauses

In section 11.7 of chapter 11 it was argued that complement clauses in Supyire are neither fully embedded nor fully independent. The same observation can be made of relative clauses. As pointed out in section 13.1 above, relative clauses are either preposed or postposed to the main clause. Just as with complement clauses, there is no evidence that they were at some point in the past normally embedded and owe their present position to a process of "extraposition". Instead, there is evidence that a process of embedding is beginning. A peculiar construction is sometimes used in connected discourse which I will call "semi-embedding".

The relativized noun phrase of a semi-embedded relative clause must be fronted in its clause. The noun plus modifying clause is placed in the main clause in its normal position. So far the structure looks like an ordinary embedded relative clause in a language like English. However, after the relative clause is completed, instead of simply continuing with the remaining portion of the main clause, the speaker *restarts* the main clause from the beginning, this time inserting a coreferential noun phrase in the place where the relative clause was in the preceding unfinished clause. The construction is clearest when the modified noun phrase is a direct object of the main clause:

- (43) a. *Kà pi í bagé e u a tìrìgè ké,*
 and they NARR house.DEF in he PERF get.down REL
 'Then they the house in which he had descended,

kà pi í kúru cyéè m̀̀l̀̀ nà.
 and they NARR it(EMPH) show me to
 then they showed it to me.'

Freely: 'Then they showed me *the house in which he had lodged.*'

- b. *Kà m̀̀l̀̀ í sá nó Katolígìbìs mishónjì i,*
 and I NARR go arrive Catholic.DEF mission.DEF in
 'Then I arrived at the Catholic mission,

maá t̀̀̀babújì nà ù cwònjì
 and.NARR white.person.DEF and his wife.DEF
 and (I) the white man and his wife

pi ná mí-pá ' náhá ke,
 they REM.PAST IP-come here REL
 who came here,

maá píré ' yígé.
 and.NARR them(EMPH) ask.for
 and (I) asked for them.'

Freely: 'Then I went to the Catholic mission and asked for *the white man and his wife who came here* (last year).'

When the modified noun is the subject of the main clause, it is usually impossible to tell if the relative clause is semi-embedded or not, since the subject comes first anyway. However, sometimes there is some element such as a conjunction which precedes the subject. If the relative clause is semi-embedded, this conjunction *precedes* the relativized noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence (with a completely unembedded relative it would only follow the relative clause). Note in the following example how the different subject narrative conjunction *kà* is placed both *before* and *after* the relative clause:

(44) *Kà pyàñi nùñí u a kwù gé,*
 and child.DEF mother.DEF she PERF die REL
 'Then the child's mother who had died,

kà uru sì ñ-kànhà yíncwōñi
 and she(EMPH) NARR IP-get.tired co.wife.DEF
 then she tired of her co-wife's

kàrigíí num-pyíñkíí tààn.
 deeds.DEF ADJ-do.DEF beside
 deeds.'

Freely: 'Then *the child's mother who had died* tired of the things her co-wife was doing.'

"Semi-embedding" as illustrated in the above examples cannot simply be dismissed as "performance" errors. They are not examples of restarting a sentence in midstream. Speakers do not regard them in any way as odd or inelegant, and willingly supply additional examples.

It appears, then, that this type of construction represents the beginning of a process which may end in the full embedding of relative clauses. In the present state of the language, however, relative clauses are like the complement clauses in being neither embedded nor independent. Like complement clauses, they are marked as subordinate by a specific morpheme, in this case the relative clause marker *ké*. Internally they are further marked by either the fronting of the relativized noun phrase or the use of a relative pro-

noun/determiner. While these characteristics may be minor, they do show that the relative clause cannot simply be analyzed as some sort of topic clause adjoined by simple parataxis to another independent clause.

Chapter 14

Non-declarative speech acts

Most if not all languages distinguish three major sentence types: declarative, imperative, and interrogative (Sadock and Zwicky 1985). Supyire, in common with all the Senufo languages, conforms to this generalization. The bulk of this grammar is devoted to declaratives, in conformity with descriptive tradition. This tradition is probably due to the twin factors of the greater text-frequency of declaratives and to the greater degree of syntactic elaboration usually found in declaratives (Givón 1990, chapter 18). This chapter in contrast is devoted entirely to the description of the other two sentence types.

The three major sentence types can be conceived of as grammaticalized means of performing three major functions of language: to convey information (declarative), to give orders, requests, invitations or the like (imperative), and to elicit information (interrogative). In Supyire, as in many languages, imperatives are principally distinguished by what they lack (subject, auxiliary) in comparison to other clause types. There is also one auxiliary used exclusively in a subtype of imperative. Also dealt with in this chapter is the use of the subjunctive to accomplish a politer manipulation than the “bare” imperative.

Questions in Kampwo Supyire are a more marked sentence type than either imperatives or declaratives. All questions have some sort of interrogative particle at the end or, in a few cases, at the beginning of the sentence. In addition, in constituent (“wh”) questions, the use of question words and, in the majority of questions, the use of the cleft focus construction also mark the clause as different.

A further characteristic distinguishing both imperatives and interrogatives from declaratives is the use of the non-declarative set of first and second person pronouns (for the form of these pronouns see chapter 5, section 5.1.1.2). These special pronouns are not obligatory in imperatives and questions, and in fact, ordinary first and second person pronouns are even more common in these sentence types. Further, the first person singular non-declarative pronoun *na* cannot be used as subject. On the other hand, the non-declarative pronouns cannot be used in declarative sentences, except in three functions: as reflexive genitive possessors (see chapter 6, section 6.2.1), as genitive possessors in vocatives (first person only), and in exclamations. Examples of the latter two functions are:

(1) a. vocative, genitive possessor

Na cevoo òpi, mì canmpyi-tanra-wùni
 my.NONDECL friend hare my day-third-POSS.DEF
 ‘My friend Hare, this is my third day

li ndê mì sàhá òtásón tá á jò mé.
 it this I NEG.YET toad get SC swallow NEG
 that I haven’t yet gotten a toad to eat.’

b. exclamation, genitive possessor

Ŋkàà ma bwula a tààn!
 but your.NONDECL gourd PERF be.sweet
 ‘But your fruit is delicious!’

c. exclamation, indirect object

Nù fòlà à cù nà nà!
 cow owner PERF grab me.NONDECL on
 ‘The owner of the cow has caught me!’

The vocative can perhaps be distinguished as a minor speech act (getting the addressee’s attention, or acknowledging or establishing a specific level of politeness or familiarity/formality with the addressee) which is different from the declarative speech act of conveying information. Exclamations, when they are complete clauses, are usually syntactically like declaratives in Kampwo Supyire (there are no ‘interrogative’ type exclamations like English ‘How tall you are!’ or ‘What a mess you’ve gotten into!’). The use of the non-declarative pronouns is an indication that they are not prototypical declaratives. Their major function is certainly not to convey propositional-semantic information. It should also be noted here that the non-declaratives are sometimes used in poetry in what seem to be declarative clauses. This may be an indication that their use was more widespread in the grammar formerly.

Aside from these relatively minor uses, the presence of a non-declarative pronoun constitutes a rather clear indication of the non-declarative status of the clause in which it occurs. There is some anecdotal evidence that the use of non-declarative pronouns is at least in some cases more polite than the corresponding use of ordinary pronouns in the same command or question would be.

14.1. Manipulative speech acts

“Manipulative speech act” as used here encompasses such subcategories as commands, requests, and invitations.¹ For such a speech act to be felicitous,

the manipulee must be both free to perform the desired action and at least theoretically capable of doing so.² It follows that most predications of states (e.g. ‘be tall’, ‘be fat’) and involuntary active verbs (e.g. ‘sneeze’, ‘snore’) would not normally be used in imperatives. At any rate, I was unable to induce any speaker of Supyire to use such verbs in any of the constructions to be described below in this section.

Successful manipulation also normally requires that the manipulator have some socially based right to carry out the manipulation. The social standing of interlocutors can of course vary considerably, and Supyire, like other languages, is sensitive to these differences. Thus one important parameter along which the constructions described below vary is that of politeness or deference. In general the shorter and less finite the form of the utterance, the less polite or deferential it is.

A further condition that usually applies to manipulative speech acts is that the desired state of affairs does not yet exist at the time of utterance. All the forms described here are thus irrealis. It is noteworthy in this regard that the simple future can be used to convey an order, though this practice does not appear to be at all common. Following is an example, taken from a folktale recounting the origins of jealousy:

(2) *Kà nòŋi sɪ pi mù shù̀̀nnì yyèrè*
and husband.DEF NARR them also two call
‘Then the husband called them both

maá yí jwó pi à,
and.NARR them(G2P) say them(G1P) to
and said to them,

“*Yìì sí kà-zhwòngí tǎà*
you.PL FUT affair-spend.night.DEF divide
“You will take turns sleeping with me

numpiliyi shù̀̀nnì shù̀̀nnì.
nights two two
two nights each.

Mu sî zíní má wóge e níŋjáà,
you FUT FP.lie.down your.NONDECL POSS.DEF in today
You will sleep in your own (house) today,

ci-nàmpwunŋí ' sî zíní ' níŋjáà náhá.”
woman-guest.DEF FUT lie.down today here
the new wife (lit. guest woman) will sleep here (with me).”

The first three subsections below describe forms primarily used in manipulative speech acts proper. That is, their subjects are understood to refer to the addressee. The first subsection describes the “bare” imperative, which is

actually the imperative proper. The following two subsections describe imperative uses of the subjunctive and the negative subjunctive (prohibitive). Subjunctives can also be used with first and third person subjects. This “hortative” use is described in the final subsection of this section.

14.1.1. “Bare” imperatives

The “bare” imperative, or imperative properly speaking, is distinguished from other clause types by being without an overt subject. In the perfective it is also without an auxiliary. This lack of the trappings of a finite clause is typical of imperatives cross-linguistically (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 172-173; Givón 1990). This is the least polite form of the various types described in this chapter. It is the one typically used by parents to children, but is also often used among equals. Following are examples with both intransitive and transitive verbs:

- (3) a. *Pa náhá!*
 come here
 ‘Come here!’
- b. *Yrà àní!*
 get.up there
 ‘Get away from there!’
- c. *Lwǎhǎ kan náhá.*
 water give here
 ‘Give me some water!’ lit. ‘Give some water here.’
- d. *Bagé mùgò!*
 house.DEF open
 ‘Open the door!’

Serial verbs are formed with the subjunctive serial connective *a* in the imperative:

- (4) *Tora a teen náhá!*
 pass SSC sit here
 ‘Come (lit. pass) sit here!’

The imperfective form of a few very common verbs can be used in clauses of this sort without an auxiliary:

- (5) *Má!*³
 come
 ‘Come!’

This usage is slightly more polite than the use of the perfective form of the verb.

For most verbs, an imperfective imperative auxiliary *ta* is required when the verb is in imperfective form. The use of the imperfective frequently has the semantic effects which would be predicted based on the aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective. Thus the imperfective imperative can be used to indicate that the desired event is expected to be durative, or incomplete in some way. For examples of imperatives illustrating these distinctions see section 9.1.1 of chapter 9. There is another major motivation for the use of the imperfective, however, which has nothing to do with aspectuality per se: it is more deferential than the perfective. It can, for example, be used to one's superiors in contexts of familiarity. This increased politeness is indicated by the inclusion of 'please' in the free translations of the following examples, although there is no actual lexical equivalent in Kampwo Supyire.

- (6) a. *Ta ma náhá!*
 IMPFV.IMPER come.IMPFV here
 'Come here, please!'
- b. *Na cevoo pwun, ta si*
 my.NONDECL friend dog IMPFV.IMPER go.IMPFV
 'My friend Dog, go
pyenga ná má-yè e!
 home with you-REFL with
 home, please (lit. go home with yourself).'
- c. *Ta ku wyeère càà!*
 IMPFV.IMPER its medicine.DEF seek.IMPFV
 'Find the medicine for it, please!'

A commonly used imperative construction consists of the imperfective of 'come' followed by a perfective verb linked in a serial construction with the subjunctive serial connective *a*:

- (7) a. *Ta ma a wíf!*
 IMPFV.IMPER come.IMPFV SSC look
 'Come and see!'
- b. *Ta ma a na tege!*
 IMPFV.IMPER come.IMPFV SSC me.NONDECL help
 'Come help me!'

The bare imperative is used for the singular only. For plural addressees, the subjunctive forms described in the next section must be used. The bare

imperative is also not used for negative commands. Instead, the negative subjunctive (or prohibitive) is used (see section 14.1.3).

14.1.2. Subjunctive imperatives

The “zero” and *sí* subjunctives are forms that have a dual function. They are used in certain types of subordinate clauses (types of adverbial and complement clause), and also to give polite commands, as described here.

The zero subjunctive in the perfective has no auxiliary. In fact, it is in form the equivalent of the bare imperative with the addition of a second person pronoun as subject:

- (8) a. *Ma taha na fyè e!*
 you.NONDECL follow my.NONDECL footprints in
 ‘Follow me (lit. follow in my tracks), please!’
- b. *Ma u ta!*
 you.NONDECL her get
 ‘Have her!’ (said to a man who had just asked for a woman in marriage)

The imperfective zero subjunctive auxiliary is *a*. As in the bare imperative, the imperfective apparently softens the manipulation somewhat, making it more deferential.

- (9) a. *Ma a ma!*
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV come.IMPFV
 ‘Come, please!’
- b. *Ma a na ɲɲɔ*
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV my.NONDECL head
bè-nà àní!
 meet-IMPFV there
 ‘Meet me there, please!’

The *sí* subjunctive can be used interchangeably with the zero subjunctive. If there are different nuances of meaning associated with the two forms, I have been unable to detect them. All the speakers I consulted on the issue insisted that they were the same in every pair of examples I presented them with. The subjunctive auxiliary *sí* is used alone with a perfective verb, and is accompanied by the imperfective subjunctive auxiliary *a* when the verb is imperfective:⁴

- (10) a. *Ma á mí-pá!*
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC IP-come
 ‘Come, please!’
- b. *Ámpyí mu rí sí ñ-jà ñ-tèèn*
 if you ADV NEG.FUT FP-be.able FP-sit
 ‘If you can’t stay
- rà a u sìgì-lì mé,*
 go PROG it wait.for-IMPV NEG
 and wait for it (= my pay),
- ma rá à wá! ⁵*
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC SUBJUNC.IMPV go
 leave!’

As noted in the previous section, the bare imperative can only be used for the singular. When the addressees are plural, the subjunctive must be used. In this case there is no particular degree of politeness associated with these forms.

- (11) a. *Yì fyàhà!*
 you.PL be.quiet
 ‘Be quiet!’
- b. *Yì à wá!*
 you.PL SUBJUNC.IMPV go
 ‘Go!’
- c. *Yì í ú kán na à!*
 you.PL SUBJUNC her give me.NONDECL to
 ‘Give her to me!’
- d. *Canmpyàa ká ñ-tóró,*
 days COND IP-pass
 ‘When (a few) days have passed,
- yi rá a*
 you.PL.NONDECL SUBJUNC SUBJUNC.IMPV
 come (back)
- ma ná ú é!*
 come.IMPV with GIS with
 with her!’
- ‘When (a few) days have passed, come back with her!’

A particularly strong command may be formed by introducing a subjunctive clause with the preposition/conjunction *fó* ‘until, except’. This seems to have

developed from the use of *fó* to encode negative conditionals ('unless'; see chapter 15, section 15.1.5.3). Following is an example of this type of command:

- (12) *Fó mu ú Ø pá nùmpañã!*
 till you s/he SUBJUNC come tomorrow
 'You *must* come tomorrow!'

14.1.3. Prohibitives

As noted in section 14.1.1 above, the bare imperative cannot be used for negative commands, or "prohibitions". Instead, the negative subjunctive is used. The negative subjunctive/prohibitive auxiliary is *kà* (for the various phonological forms of this auxiliary see chapter 9, section 9.3.3). The clause always ends with a negative marker. Note that *kà* requires the future prefix on a following intransitive verb:

- (13) a. *Ma hà m-bwòn ì nà mé!*
 you.NONDECL PROH FP-touch it on NEG
 'Don't touch it!'
- b. *Ma hà kù shyéérá à de!*
 you.NONDECL PROH it thank NEG EXCL
 'Don't thank it!'

To form the imperfective prohibitive, the imperfective subjunctive auxiliary is added:

- (14) a. *Yì àhà a yu mé!*
 you.PL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV speak.IMPFV NEG
 'Don't talk!'
- b. *Ma hà a Kàrája*
 you.NONDECL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV Karaja
cyera à de!
 insult.IMPFV NEG EXCL
 'Don't insult Karaja!'

14.1.4. Hortatives

The previous sections have been concerned with direct verbal manipulation through the use of imperatives and related forms. The subjunctives and pro-

hibitive are not confined to second person subjects, however. All three can be used with first and third person subjects as well, a function which we have labeled “hortative” following Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 177). When the subject is first person plural, the forms can be translated with ‘let’s’ in English:

- (15) a. *Wu sũre lyɪ.*
we.NONDECL mush.DEF eat
‘Let’s eat the mush.’
- b. *Wu a se!*
we.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV go.IMPFV
‘Let’s go!’
- c. *Wu ú sá ú síga aní.*
we.NONDECL SUBJUNC go her wait.for there
‘Let’s go wait for her there.’
- d. *Wùù àhà zhyè mé.*
we PROH FP.go NEG
‘Let’s not go.’

All of these forms are possible with third person subjects. They can be variously translated ‘Let him/her ...’, or ‘May s/he ...’, or simply ‘S/he should ...’. The perfective zero subjunctive is commonly used in blessings. When the subject is a noun (in blessings it is usually *Kile* ‘God’), it must be immediately followed by a resumptive pronoun. The syntactic connection between the noun and the pronoun must be rather close since the pronoun undergoes the sort of tonal changes found in genitive constructions. Note in the following examples that the pronoun has low tone, due to the lexical floating low which follows *Kile*:

- (16) a. *Kile ù Ø kũni pwò*
God s/he SUBJUNC path.DEF sweep
‘May God sweep the path
mà yyàhà nà.
you.NONDECL face at
in front of you.’ (said to someone beginning a journey)
- b. *Kile ù Ø pa ná mí í.*
God s/he SUBJUNC come with you.NONDECL with
‘May God come with you.’ (i.e. make you return in safety)
- c. *Kile ù Ø ni-nyahawa yaha*
God s/he SUBJUNC ADJ-be.much leave
‘May God put (lit. leave) much

kuru cyàgé e.
 its(EMPH) place.DEF in
 in its place.' (said when given a gift)

For negative blessings, the prohibitive is used:

(17) *Kila gà kàntugo fõ mà nà mé.*⁶
 God PROH back fail you.NONDECL on NEG
 'May God not fail to give you family support.'

The use of the imperfective zero subjunctive and of the *sí* subjunctive with third person subjects is perhaps less common (apart from their use in subordinate clauses, that is), though examples such as the following are certainly far from rare:

(18) a. *U a ma.*
 he SUBJUNC.IMPFV come.IMPFV
 'Let him come.' or 'He should come.'

b. *Pi í tí lyí.*
 they SUBJUNC it eat
 'Let them eat it.'

14.2. Questions

Questions in Supyire, like those in most languages (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 178), can be broadly classified into two major types: yes/no questions and constituent questions (Sadock and Zwicky call them "information" questions). The two types are distinguished in Supyire by the different interrogative particles they require, and by the presence of question words in constituent questions versus their absence in yes/no questions. These two major types of question are dealt with in the first two principal subsections of this section.

In addition to the major question types, there are a couple of minor types. Alternative questions (see section 14.2.1.4) are similar to yes/no questions, and are historically related to them. The 'What about ...' question type (see section 14.2.4) is more like a constituent question in function, but lacks a question word. Two further subsections deal with subjects related to questions: complex questions (section 14.2.3), and non-interrogative uses of questions (section 14.2.5).

14.2.1. Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions are those which solicit a comment on the truth of the questioned proposition (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). The question is not always “open”, however, since the speaker typically expects one answer more than the other (Givón 1990, chapter 18). Nor is the question equally about all the information in the proposition. Instead the scope of the interrogation typically falls on what would be the focus of assertion in the corresponding declarative. These issues are dealt with in separate subsections of the present section, after an initial description of the form of yes/no questions. A fourth section describes the alternative question subtype.

14.2.1.1. Basic structure of yes/no questions

The basic structure of yes/no questions is that of a declarative sentence with the addition of one of a number of interrogative markers. Most of these are sentence final, but one is sentence initial.

The most common of the yes/no interrogative markers is *la*.⁷

- (19) a. *U sí m̀-pà la?*
 she FUT FP-come Q
 ‘Will she come?’
- b. *C̀enkunɔ laagá à tɔɔn náhá ná la?*
 Cenkungo distance.DEF PERF be.long here at Q
 ‘Is Cenkungo far from here?’

Occasionally one hears the particle *wá*, borrowed from Bambara, where it is the most common yes/no question marker:

- (20) *Pi na ma wá?*
 they PROG come.IMPFV Q
 ‘Are they coming?’

Another particle, *gɛ* or *kɛ*, is probably also borrowed from Bambara *kɛ*, although there it apparently does not have an interrogative function, but means rather ‘of course’ or ‘for sure’. It can have this meaning in Supyire as well, but at least for some speakers it has acquired the additional meaning of marking a yes/no question. These speakers insist that it has the same function as *la*. Following is an example:

- (21) *Mu sí m̀-pà ǹmpañɔ kɛ?*
 you FUT FP-come tomorrow Q
 ‘Are you coming tomorrow?’

The clause final marker *bé* can be used in constituent questions, but when it is appended to a clause without any question word, it forms a simple yes/no question, just like *la*:

- (22) *Teénzànṅà mù nyé sigé e bé?*
 Teenzanga also be bush.DEF in Q
 ‘Is Teenzanga also in the bush (i.e. at work in the field)?’

There are two clause initial yes/no question particles which are probably etymologically related. The form *tàhà* is the most common. The variant tone tune *tàhá* also occurs, and at least one instance of *jàhá* has been recorded. The other form, *tá*, is perhaps simply a shorter form of the same particle. The variant *ká* has, however, been recorded in the speech of an old man from Fantéréla. Following are examples of these two particles:

- (23) a. *Tàhà mu supyíibíí pìl na nyé*
 Q your people.DEF IND PROG be
 ‘Are some of your people
cyāge kè e?
 place.DEF IND in
 someplace (else)?’
- b. *Tá wùù wá ' nàhá jì-jà*
 Q we be.there be.here FP-be.able
 ‘Could we please
ta-shwɔnga ta nàhá mu á?
 LOC-spend.night get here you from
 have lodging here with you?’

Negative yes/no questions can be formed in two ways. One is by means of the clause final negative question marker *mà*, frequently reduced to *à*. Negative marking in the auxiliary position is added exactly as in a declarative:

- (24) a. *Mìi sì jì-jà zhyè*
 I NEG.FUT FP-be.able FP.go
 ‘Can’t I go
ná yìl é mà?
 with you.PL with NEG.Q
 with you?’
- b. *Wà nyé à pa pìlàgà à?*
 IND NEG PERF come night NEG.Q
 ‘Didn’t one come last night?’

The other way to form negative yes/no questions is simply by adding the clause initial interrogative particle *tá* or *tàhà* to a negative clause marked by *mé* as in declaratives:

- (25) a. *Tàhà àrajóni nye a mùga à yaha mé?*
 Q radio.DEF NEG PERF open SC leave NEG
 ‘Hasn’t the radio been left on?’
- b. *Tá ceèni wà nye à sí*
 Q woman.DEF IND NEG PERF give.birth
 ‘Didn’t a woman give birth
- náhá ' níjjaà mé?*
 here today NEG
 here today?’

14.2.1.2. Bias in yes/no questions

Quite often, perhaps usually, a speaker expects one response rather than the other to a yes/no question. Sometimes this bias does not seem to overtly affect the form of the question. Thus *la* and *bé* questions are apparently neutral in form, although in context either an affirmative or a negative answer may be anticipated. *Tá* and *tàhà* questions, on the other hand, are always heavily biased. It is not possible to say exactly what the bias is from the form of the question. Both positive and negative questions may have both positive and negative bias. All that the use of *tá/tàhà* seems to contribute is the information that bias is present. Positive bias (i.e. expectation of a ‘yes’ answer, indicating the hearer believes in the truth of the positive proposition, or the truth of the positive proposition corresponding to the negative one) is more common than negative bias. All four examples of *tá/tàhà* questions in the previous section (23) and (25) have positive bias. However, both positive and negative questions can also have negative bias, as the following examples show:

(26) positive question, negative bias

- A: *Tàhà màràfã-buro na wá wùù á níjki?*
 Q gun-horn PROG be.there us to still
 ‘Do we still have guns?’
- B: *míhm*
 no
 ‘No.’

(27) negative question, negative bias

Tàhà kùcwuun nye a cùùṅḍ mé?
 Q monkey NEG PERF be.well NEG
 'Is monkey not well?'⁸

In contrast to negative *tá/tàhà* questions, negative *mà/à* questions are routinely biased to a positive response. The two examples in (24) in the previous section both expect consent to the truth of the corresponding affirmative declarative. This is the most common pattern with negative yes/no questions cross-linguistically (see Givón 1990, chapter 18).

14.2.1.3. Focus in yes/no questions

Normally only the information that would be in the focus of assertion in the corresponding declarative falls under the scope of interrogation in a yes/no question. This is parallel to the way that negation is attracted to the scope of assertion, and seems to be a general characteristic of yes/no questions in all languages (cf. Givón 1990, chapter 18). Thus adverbs and adverbial phrases attract the scope of interrogation, leaving the rest of the clause presupposed as true. In the following example, there is no question that the addressee has come. Only the means of arrival is in doubt:

(28) *Mu à pa nègèsúṅi na la?*
 you PERF come bicycle.DEF on Q
 'Did you come on bicycle?'

Similarly, quantifiers, even in the subject noun phrase, also attract the scope of interrogation. In the following example, it is taken for granted that *some* of them have arrived. The question therefore falls on the quantifier in particular.

(29) *Pi puná à pa la?*
 they all PERF come Q
 'Have they all come?'

It was pointed out in section 12.1 of chapter 12 that information in contrastive focus automatically attracts the focus of assertion. It also consequently attracts the scope of interrogation. Cleft focus constructions are quite common in yes/no questions. The only part of the proposition which is in the scope of interrogation is the focused phrase at the head of the sentence. Following are examples of both positive and negative cleft constructions in yes/no questions:

(30) positive clefts:

- a. *Mìl u sí ñ-kwù la?*
 I she FUT FP-die Q
 'Is it I who will die?'
- b. *Tàhà pìre pí a mìl tùn?*
 Q they(EMPH) they PERF me send
 'Was it they who sent me?'

(31) negative clefts:

- a. *Mu ba u ñye ñìñke fòòñí ' náhá à?*
 you it.is.not he be earth.DEF owner.DEF here NEG.Q
 'Isn't it you who are the chief of the earth⁹ here?'
- b. *Tàhà mìl còòñji bà*
 Q my younger.sibling.DEF it.is.not
 'Wasn't it my younger brother
- u a ù kàn mé?*
 he PERF it give NEG
 who gave it?'

Just as in declarative clefts, the information in the clause following the focused item is presupposed.

Questions are not necessarily complete clauses. Quite often shared information is simply left unuttered by a speaker, and the yes/no question particle is appended to the noun or adpositional phrase which is the focus of interrogation. For example, in the following questions, the clause 'Are you a ...', must be recovered from the context of use:

- (32) a. *Nàmpòññò b'é?*
 guest Q
 '(Are you) a stranger?'
- b. *Lùùzù la?*
 hunter Q
 '(Are you) a hunter?'

Similarly, occasionally a speaker will request confirmation of one bit of information that he or she didn't hear properly, or simply can't believe:

- (33) a. *Kùcwuun lá?*
 monkey Q
 '(Did I hear you say) a monkey?'

- b. *Fáágá ná la?*
 Farakala at Q
 ‘(Do you mean here) to Farakala?’
- c. *Mì la?*
 me Q
 ‘(Do you mean) me?’

14.2.1.4. Alternative questions

Alternative questions, which invite the addressee to choose one member of a disjunction, are formed by means of the “disjunction” *lâa* ‘or’, and have no specifically interrogative morphology. Following are some examples. The first presents a disjunction of declaratives, the second a disjunction of subjunctives (hortatives):

- (34) a. *Cij-jyèebíí ù lwàhé e*
 women-be.old.DEF GEN water.DEF in
 ‘Is it from the old women’s water
- mu sí m-byà lâa pùcyaabíí wùgé e*
 you FUT FP-drink or girls.DEF POSS.DEF(G2S) in
 that you will drink or from that of the girls
- mu sí m-byà?*
 you FUT FP-drink
 that you will drink?’
- b. *Wu ∅ mu núji tò lâa*
 we.NONDECL SUBJUNC your mother.DEF bury or
 ‘Should be bury your mother or
- wu ∅ u wa cyinmpinya à?*
 we.NONDECL SUBJUNC her throw vultures.DEF to
 should we throw her to the vultures?’

The conjunction *lâa* is probably the etymological source of the yes/no interrogative particle *la*. Yes/no questions were evidently originally truncated alternative questions with the second disjunct missing.

14.2.2. Constituent questions

Constituent (“information”, “wh”) questions are different from yes/no questions in both form and function. Speakers typically use constituent questions when they wish to know one bit of information which is missing in an oth-

erwise known proposition (cf. Givón 1990, chapter 18). The bit of desired information is coded with a question word, for which there is no equivalent in a yes/no question.

The basic structure of constituent questions is described in the following subsection. Subsequent sections give specific information about the various types of question, classified according to the question word employed.

14.2.2.1. Basic structure of constituent questions

Constituent questions are doubly marked in Supyire. They contain question words, which have no non-interrogative function (unlike the corresponding words in languages like English or French, in which many of the question words also function as relative pronouns), and they are marked with sentence final interrogative particles. Three such markers are used. Most of the question words are accompanied by the particle *yε*. Some speakers also occasionally use *bε* for these question types.¹⁰ Locative questions take the final marker *ké* (usually voiced to *gε*).

There are five simple question words in Kampwo Supyire, in addition to the interrogative determiners, for which there are both ordinary and emphatic forms for each of the genders. Table 41 lists these question words. Only the gender 1 singular interrogative determiners are included; for the forms of the determiners in other genders see Tables 18 and 19 in chapter 5. ‘When’ and ‘why’ are missing from the table because they are not simple question words (see section 14.2.2.3 for ‘why’ and 14.2.2.6 for ‘when’).

Table 41. Question words

Question word	Gloss	Semantic/syntactic characteristics	Clause final marker
<i>jò</i>	who(m)	+ human (Gender 1)	<i>yε</i>
<i>nàhá</i>	what	– human (Gender 2)	<i>yε</i>
<i>dí</i>	how	manner	<i>yε</i>
<i>jùùlí</i>	how much	quantifier	<i>yε</i>
<i>ńgì/ńgìré</i>	which	determiner	<i>yε</i>
<i>taá</i>	where	locative	<i>ké</i>

The majority of constituent questions in Supyire are in the form of cleft focus constructions. The question word, or the noun phrase containing it, is fronted to focus position at the head of the clause. The same case recoverability strategies are used as in clefts: a resumptive pronoun for subjects, a gap for direct objects, and adpositional marking of the focused item for indi-

rect objects (see chapter 12, section 12.1.1). The information which the speaker and hearer share is placed in the presupposed clause following the focused item. Following are examples illustrating a questioned subject (35a), direct object (35b), and indirect objects (35c, d):

- (35) a. *Jǒ u a kù bò yε?*
 who s/he PERF it kill Q
 ‘Who killed it?’
- b. *Ŋàhá mu mpyi na sí ñ-kàn yε?*
 what you PAST PROG FUT FP-give Q
 ‘What would you have given?’
- c. *Ŋàhá 'yyáhá ná ma nyε na fī yε?*
 what face at you.NONDECL be PROG run.IMPFV Q
 ‘From what are you running?’
- d. *Jǒ-fǒlà á mu a kù péré yε?*
 who-person to you PERF it sell Q
 ‘To whom did you sell it?’

The focused noun phrase containing the question word is not always moved to the absolute beginning of the sentence. It may be preceded by a phrase in topic position, from which it is typically separated by a pause. The topic usually delimits a domain within which the desired information is to be sought. Thus in the following example, taken from a riddle-like story, the answer to the question is to be chosen from the list in topic position:

- (36) *Pire nàñjiibíí shùùnnìñí*
 these(EMPH) young.men.DEF two.DEF
 ‘(Of) these two young men
- nà pì tùñí nà pì nùñí,*
 and their father.DEF and their mother.DEF
 and their father and their mother,
- jò u nyε pí puní shin-fabañí yè?*
 who s/he be their all person-be.weak.DEF Q
 who is the weakest (lit. who is their weakest person)?’

It is also possible to place time or locative phrases in topic position in a cleft-style question:

- (37) *U ta-siige e, nàhá mu à pyi yε?*
 its LOC-begin.DEF in what you PERF do Q
 ‘At its (= the feast’s) beginning, what did you do?’

Not all constituent questions are cast in cleft form. A small minority of examples in the corpus have their question word in the place it would take in a declarative sentence. This may be partly a result of influence from Bambara, which does not place focused items or question words at the beginning of the clause. It may also be due to some as yet undetected pragmatic factor(s). Following is an example of a questioned direct object left in its normal position:

- (38) *Mìlì í sá nàhá jwó kwùu kanha na bé?*
 I SUBJUNC go what say dead(G1P) village at Q
 ‘What must I go say in the village of the dead?’

Supyire also allows “double” questions, in which two constituents rather than just one are questioned. In such questions, only one of the questioned words is fronted, and the other is left in its ordinary place:

- (39) *Jò u sí rà nàhá pyí aní ye?*
 who s/he FUT go what do there Q
 ‘Who will go do what there?’

Just as with yes/no questions, speakers sometimes simply leave obvious, presupposed information unuttered. Thus minimal questions can be formed consisting solely of the question word plus the interrogative marker:

- (40) a. *Jò ye?* b. *Nàhá ye?*
 who Q what Q
 ‘Who?’ ‘What?’
- c. *Dì ye?* d. *Jùùlì ye?*
 how Q how.much Q
 ‘How?’ ‘How much?’

Negative constituent questions are marked with the same negative interrogative clause final marker (*mà/à*) as negative yes/no questions. However, instead of replacing the positive marker, as in yes/no questions, the negative marker is placed in front of the other interrogative particle. The set of non-participants in a specific event is of course infinite. This means that the pragmatic situations in which a speaker would want information on the identity of a specific non-participant are rather rare. It is often of practical use to know why an event did not take place, however, and so negative reason questions like the following are not uncommon:

- (41) a. *Nàhá ná mu nyé à pa tánjáà mà ye?*
 what on you NEG PERF come yesterday NEG.Q Q
 ‘Why didn’t you come yesterday?’

- b. *Jàhá ná mà yɛ?*
 what on NEG.Q Q
 ‘Why not?’

14.2.2.2. *jò* ‘who, whom, whose’

Jò (or *jò*) is borrowed from Bambara *jɔn* ‘who’. It is sometimes combined with the Supyire root *foo* ‘owner, person in charge’ (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.9), which takes a low tone in this context: *jòfòð*. The use of *jò* or *jòfòð* indicates that the speaker believes the referent he or she is asking the identity of is a human being. *Jò* is accordingly treated as being gender 1 singular for the purposes of agreement. Thus when it is the subject which is questioned, a gender 1 singular place-holding pronoun must immediately follow the question word:

- (42) *Jò u mpyi na cáà ñ-tèèn*
 who he PAST PROG FUT FP-sit
 ‘Who would have succeeded’
- Bàmbeme kóóge na yɛ?*
 Babemba inheritance.DEF on Q
 Babemba (lit. sat on Babemba’s inheritance)?’

Jò, like all other pronouns in Supyire, is not marked for case in any way: the same form is used for subject, direct object, indirect object, and genitive:

- (43) a. subject, indirect object

Jò u a sílà àní jò á yɛ?
 who s/he PERF be.EMPH there who to Q
 ‘Who is actually there for whom?’

- b. direct object

Jò pi a tòn yɛ?
 who they PERF send Q
 ‘Whom did they send?’

- c. genitive

Jò ú cwo u ñgê yɛ?
 who GEN wife she that Q
 ‘Whose wife is that?’

Jò is inherently singular. If a speaker wishes to clearly indicate that he or she believes the unknown referent to be more than one person, the combination ‘who and who’ can be used:

- (44) *Jò ná jò u à pa ye?*
 who and who s/he PERF come Q
 ‘Who and who came?’

14.2.2.3. *jàhá* ‘what’

By the use of *jàhá* a speaker indicates that he or she believes the unknown referent is non-human. It is thus appropriate that for the purposes of agreement, *jàhá* is gender 2 singular. Note the use of the gender 2 singular pronoun as a place holder for the focused subject question word in the following example:

- (45) *Jàhá ku nye na mu kóré ye?*
 what it be PROG you chase.IMPFV Q
 ‘What is chasing you?’

Jàhá is used together with the postposition *na* ‘on’ or *kurugo* ‘along, by means of, because of’ to question the reason for something, i.e. the equivalent of English ‘why’:

- (46) a. *Jàhá ná cyèbílá à pi bàhàge pyi*
 what on women.DEF PERF their game.DEF do
 ‘Why did the women do their dance
tooyi shuunní ye?
 times two Q
 twice?’
- b. *Jàhá kúrúgó pi màha ònke yaa ye?*
 what because.of they HAB earth.DEF repair Q
 ‘Why do they restore the earth?’¹¹

In addition to its use as a pronoun, *jàhá* can be used as a determiner meaning ‘which, what’. It differs from the more common interrogative determiners (see section 14.2.2.6 below) in three ways: it precedes rather than follows the head noun, it takes an indefinite head noun rather than a definite one, and it does not agree in any way with the head noun. In the following examples, the noun phrase containing *jàhá* is an indirect (locative) object:

- (47) a. *ɲàhá kànhà na mu a ùrù lwó yɛ?*
 which village(G2S) at you PERF her(EMPH) take Q
 ‘In which village did you get (lit. take) her?’
- b. *ɲàhá kìre e mu a yìrì yɛ?*
 which country(G3S) in you PERF get.up Q
 ‘From which country do you come?’ Lit. ‘In which country did you get up?’

14.2.2.4. *dì* ‘how’

The manner question word *dì* is borrowed from Bambara *dì* ‘how’. It is usually placed in focus position, as in (48a), but occasionally is put in the position where one would normally expect a manner phrase, viz. after the verb, as in (48b):

- (48) a. *Dì wùù sí lì pyì yɛ?*
 how we FUT it do Q
 ‘How shall we do it?’
- b. *Mì nî mu pyì dì yɛ?*
 I REC.PAST you tell how Q
 ‘What did I tell you?’

The second example above shows that *dì* rather than *ɲàhá* is often used when the requested item is something spoken. The standard way of asking someone’s name is accordingly:

- (49) *Dì mu mége nyɛ yɛ?*
 how your name.DEF be Q
 ‘What is your name?’ (cf. French: *Comment t’appelles-tu?*)

Questions with *dì* often include the verb *jwo* ‘say’ as the second verb in a serial verb construction. Although it is clearly grammaticalized in this function (shown by the fact that it can follow itself—the verb *jwo*—see example (50c)), just what the function is remains obscure. The speakers I consulted on the issue insisted that the question means the same thing with or without the *jwo*. One speaker said that often the question sounds more “natural” with *jwo*, but was unable to say why. The following examples are offered for the reader to ponder:

- (50) a. *Dì mìì sí ñgé baní jyiile ñ-jwò yɛ?*
 how I FUT this river.DEF cross FP-say Q
 ‘How am I going to cross this river?’

- b. *Dì fanṅké màha n-tuga à jwo ye?*
 how grave.DEF HAB IP-dig SC say Q
 ‘How is the grave dug?’
- c. *Dì m̀i a nà ẁyí jwo*
 how I PERF my.NONDECL POSS.DEF(G2P) say
à jwo ye?
 SC say Q
 ‘How did I recount my own?’

Dì is used in one other frozen expression which is rather odd from a synchronic point of view. A question consisting solely of *dì* preceded by the yes/no interrogative particle *tàhà* and followed by the clause final interrogative marker *ye* means something like ‘Isn’t that so?’ or ‘Isn’t that right?’:

- (51) *Tàhà dì ye?*
 Q how Q
 ‘Isn’t that so?’

14.2.2.5. *jùùlì* ‘how much, how many’

The interrogative quantifier *jùùlì* ‘how much, how many’ is borrowed from Bambara *jòlì* ‘how much, how many’. Like other quantifiers it follows its head noun, undergoing tone changes as if it were a possessed noun (see chapter 5, section 5.4). Unlike other quantifiers, however, it requires that its head noun be in basic, indefinite form. *Jùùlì* can also be used as a non-interrogative quantifier meaning ‘many, much’, in which case it can modify a definite head (see chapter 6, section 6.3.3.3 for an example). The noun phrase containing interrogative *jùùlì* is usually placed in initial focus position:

- (52) a. *Cyèe juulí pi à pa ye?*
 women how.many they PERF come Q
 ‘How many women have come?’
- b. *Bayi juulí u à faanra ye?*
 houses how.many he PERF build Q
 ‘How many houses has he built?’

It can also be left in the position it would occupy if not focused, however:

- (53) *U à bayi juulí fáánra ye?*
 he PERF houses how.many build Q
 ‘How many houses has he built?’

14.2.2.6. Interrogative determiners

There are two sets of interrogative determiners (for the forms see chapter 5, section 5.1.2.9 and 5.1.2.10). One appears to be derived from the other by the addition of the same *-re* suffix which derives emphatic pronouns from ordinary anaphoric ones (e.g. *u* > *uru*). In the current usage of Kampwo Supyire there seems to be little difference in function between the two sets. The emphatic forms are more common, but the frequency of occurrence in the corpus of texts is so low (2 ordinary, 9 emphatic) that nothing sensible can be said about how they might differ in discourse function.

Like all determiners, the interrogatives agree with the head noun in number and gender. Although the meaning is the same as that obtained with *nàhá* as a determiner (see section 14.2.2.3 above), the interrogative determiners require a head noun in definite form rather than indefinite (in this they resemble the indefinite determiners (see chapter 6, section 6.1.2.1). The questioned noun phrase is most often placed in initial focus position:

- (54) a. *Kìni òdì ì u nya ye?*
 country.DEF(G3S) which(G3S) in he be Q
 ‘Which country is he in?’
- b. *Leríjì¹² ògìré u wá*
 hour.DEF(G1S) which(EMPH.G1S) it(G1S) be.there
 ‘Which hour is there
- mu á ye?*
 you to Q
 to you?’ i.e. What time have you got?

As with other determiners, the head can be a pronoun:

- (55) a. *U ògì mìl sí ò-kàn ye?*
 it(G1S) which(G1S) I FUT FP-give Q
 ‘Which one shall I give?’
- b. *Ku òkìré ná mu nye na ò-cáá ye?*
 it(G2S) which(EMPH.G2S) on you be PROG IP-want Q
 ‘Which one do you want?’

In Kampwo Supyire the determiners are also used as pronouns, and the interrogatives are no exception to this generalization. The following example

illustrates this, as well as the fact that, like the other question words, initial position is not obligatory for the interrogative determiner-pronouns:

- (56) *Sànyi* *màha sá jwó*
 death.announcement.DEF HAB go say
 ‘The announcements of the death are made (lit. said)
m̀pìrá *à yɛ?*
 which(EMPH.G1P) to Q
 to which ones?’

The most common way of questioning the time of some occurrence (‘when’) is by means of the noun *tèni* ‘the time’ together with an interrogative determiner and the postposition *ɛ*:

- (57) *Tèni* *̀ndìré* *e mu à pa yɛ?*
 time.DEF which(EMPH) in you PERF come Q
 ‘When did you come?’

One also occasionally hears the phrase *nàhá tèrè* ‘what time’ for ‘when’.

14.2.2.7. *taá* ‘where’

The locative question word *taá* is obviously related to the locative nominalizing prefix *ta-* (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.3). Both are undoubtedly derived from a noun meaning ‘place’, which although it has not survived in Kampwo Supyire, does occur in other Senufo languages (cf. Cebaara *te?è* ‘place’). At least one speaker has been recorded using the pronunciation *tahá* ([taʔá]). Nouns derived by the prefix *ta-* are in gender 2, the singular suffix for which is *-gV* (definite *-ke* or *-ge*). It is therefore rather interesting that questions formed with *taá* do not take the common clause final question marker *yɛ*, but rather have an exclusively locative clause final question marker *ké* (often *gɛ*). It is probably not accidental that this same clause final marker is the relative clause marker (see chapter 13, section 13.1).

In all but one of the examples of locative questions occurring in the corpus, the question word is placed in focus position:

- (58) a. *Taá ma kéege ke?*
 where you.NONDECL go.IMPFV LOC.Q
 ‘Where are you going?’
 b. *Taá Bùwára á yiri ná tire*
 where Buwara PERF get.up with this(EMPH)
 ‘Where did Buwara get (lit. rise with) this

*nté wyeère*¹³ è *ké?*
 this magic.powder.DEF with LOC.Q
 magic powder?'

14.2.3. Complex questions

The restrictions on the questioning of items in subordinate or coordinate clauses is a large topic which needs to be further explored. Only a few observations will be made here, first on questions with serial verb constructions, and then on questions with complement clauses. Many of the examples in this section were elicited rather than culled from texts, and several of them are manifestly unusual from a pragmatic point of view. The generalizations drawn therefore should only be considered as tentative.

Questioning of the subject in a sentence with serial verbs presents no difficulty, since all the verbs must share a common subject. The usual method, with a resumptive pronoun, is used:

- (59) *Ŋàhá ku sí ò-jà vwòro ògé mobilíni i ye?*
 what it FUT FP-be.ableFP-go.out this car.DEF from Q
 'What will be able to get out of that car?'

There are restrictions on the questioning of direct objects, however. If only one of the verbs in the serial construction is transitive, there is no problem, and the object of either the initial (60a) or the final verb (60b) can be questioned without difficulty:

- (60) a. *Ŋàhá u a lwò a kàrè pyenga ye?*
 what s/he PERF take SC go home Q
 'What did s/he take (lit. take and go) home?'
- b. *Ŋàhá mu a tèèn na wíí ú ' táán ye?*
 what you PERF sit PROG look.at her beside Q
 'What are you sitting and looking at beside her?'

If both verbs are transitive, the direct object of the first (61a) can be questioned in the ordinary way (i.e. by means of placing the question word in focus position), but this is not possible with the direct object of the second verb (61b):

- (61) a. *Ŋàhá u a tàha à kyaàre kwòn ye?*
 what s/he PERF use SC meat.DEF cut Q
 'What did s/he use to cut the meat?'

- b. **Ḥàhá u à ḡwɔɔní tàha a kwòṅ yé?*
 what s/he PERF knife.DEF use SC cut Q
 ‘What did s/he use the knife to cut?’

Only a question in which the question word is not placed in focus position is possible for the direct object of the second of two transitive verbs:¹⁴

- (62) *U à ḡwɔɔní tàha a ḡàhá kwòṅ yé?*
 s/he PERF knife.DEF use SC what cut Q
 ‘What did s/he use the knife to cut?’

Transitivity also affects acceptability of questioning items in complement clauses. In the loosely bound complements of verbs of speech, the subject of an intransitive verb can be questioned (note that the same strategy of a resumptive pronoun in subject position is used):

- (63) *Jò Músà à jwo na u a kàrè yé?*
 who Musa PERF say that s/he PERF go Q
 ‘Who did Musa say left?’

For many speakers, however, neither the subject nor the direct object of a transitive verb can be questioned:

- (64) a. ?*Jò Músà à jwo na u a Zànhàṅò bwón yé?*
 who Musa PERF say that s/he PERF Zanhano hit Q
 ‘Who did Musa say hit Zanhano?’
 b. ?*Jò Músà à jwo na Alí á Ø bwòṅ yé?*
 who Musa PERF say that Ali PERF hit Q
 ‘Who did Musa say Ali hit?’

For many speakers, other items are also sometimes not questionable in complement clauses of this sort. In the following example, some of the people I consulted on the issue stated that the locative could only belong to the main clause, not to the complement clause, in spite of the seeming pragmatic bizarreness of such an interpretation (other speakers found that meaning (65b) was perfectly acceptable, however):

- (65) *Taá Músà à jwo na Alí á kàrègé?*
 where Musa PERF say that Ali PERF go LOC.Q
 a. ‘Where was Musa when he said Ali had gone?’
 (location of Musa questioned)
 b. ?‘Where is it that Musa said Ali had gone?’
 (destination of Ali questioned)

With the more tightly integrated complements of manipulative and perception verbs, the subject can always be questioned since it is also the direct object of the main clause:

- (66) *Jò pi a tòn ú á sà Pyééré yyèrè yè?*
 who they PERF send s/he.COMP PERF go Pierre call Q
 'Whom did they send to call Pierre?'

The questioning of direct objects in the complement clause is dependent on the main verb. It appears that only verbs encoding a high degree of manipulation allow complement direct objects to be questioned, while perception verbs or weaker manipulative verbs do not. Thus *pyi* 'make' allows it, but *tun* 'send', *ta* 'find', and *nyè* 'see' do not:

- (67) a. *Ḥàhá mu a ù pyì ú á Ø bò yè?*
 what you PERF him make he.COMP PERF kill Q
 'What did you make him kill?'
- b. **Jò pi à Zhyé tún ' ú à Ø yyere yè?*
 who GIP PERF Zhye send he.COMP PERF call Q
 'Who did they send Zhye to call?'
- c. **Ḥàhá mu a ù tà ú á Ø bò yè?*
 what you PERF him find he.COMP PERF kill Q
 'What did you find he had killed?' Lit. 'What did you find
 him
 he had killed?'
- d. **Ḥàhá mu a ù nyè ú á Ø kwòn yè?*
 what you PERF G1S see G1S.COMP PERF cut Q
 'What did you see him/her cut?'

Manipulative and perception verbs, however, in certain pragmatic contexts, may allow a pattern of coreference in which it is the direct object rather than the subject of the complement clause which is "raised" to become the direct object of the main clause. This is only possible when this direct object is focused, that is, moved to the front of the main clause rather than being left in direct object position:

- (68) *Ḥkùù m̀i a sà Ø ñ-tà Zhyé ' ú á Ø bò.*
 chicken I PERF go IP-find Zhye he.COMP PERF kill
 'It's a chicken that I went and found Zhye had killed.'

This focused item may be questioned, as the following example shows:

- (69) *Jàhá mu à Ø ta Zhyé ' ú á Ø bò ye?*
 what you PERF find Zhye he.COMP PERF kill Q
 'What did you find Zhye had killed?'

The above information is admittedly sketchy, and needs to be supplemented with further research on the questioning of items in relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and coordinate clauses as well.

14.2.4. 'What about...?' questions

There is a type of question in Supyire which solicits more information than merely a comment on the truth of the proposition as in a yes/no question, but does not ask for the hearer to identify a particular referent as in constituent questions. The speaker rather asks a generalized question 'What about...?', and the specific information desired is usually obvious from the context. The question is marked with the final interrogative particle *dé*, which in the examples below will be glossed 'what about' in order to distinguish it from the interrogative particles discussed in previous sections.

There are two subtypes of 'what about' questions. The first type consists simply of a noun phrase with the interrogative particle appended. The addressee must infer from the speech context what information about the referent of the noun phrase the speaker is seeking. In the following example, a master poses the question to his slave, who had previously been ordered to fill the master's snuff box. The question therefore means something like 'What have you done with my snuff box?':

- (68) *Mi batâŋi dè?*
 my snuff.box.DEF what.about
 'What about my snuff box?'

Similarly, the following example was uttered in the context of a discussion of who would be going to market that day. The question therefore means something like 'Are you going too?':

- (69) *Mu dé?*
 you what.about
 'How about you?'

This type of question is extremely common in greeting exchanges. After an initial inquiry, a string of 'what about' questions can be used to ask after a number of different people. Following is a typical exchange. The questioner is from Farakala, the person replying from Fantéréla:

- (70) A: *Mu a cùùḡḡ la?*
 you PERF be.well Q
 'Are you well?
- B: *Mḡi a cùùḡḡ.*
 I PERF well
 I'm well.
- A: *Fantírrii dé?*
 Fantérela.people.of what.about
 How about the people of Fantérela?
- B: *Là wà pì nà mé.*
 IND(G3S) NEG.be.there them on NEG
 They're fine (lit. Nothing is there on them.)
- A: *Pyenga shìinbíí dè?*
 home people.DEF what.about
 How about your family?
- B: *Là wà pì nà mé.*
 IND(G3S) NEG.be.there them on NEG
 They're fine.
- A: *Ma tūḡi dè?*
 your.NONDECL father.DEF what.about
 How about your father?
- B: *Là wà ù nà mé.*
 IND(G3S) NEG.be.there him on NEG
 He's fine.
- A: *Ma nūḡi dè?*
 your.NONDECL mother.DEF what.about
 How about your mother?
- B: *Là wà ù nà mé.*
 IND(G3S) NEG.be.there her on NEG
 She's fine.
- A: etc. etc.

The second subtype of 'what about' question consists of a conditional clause (the protasis of a conditional sentence) with the interrogative particle *dé* appended. The question means 'What if...' (and the solicited reply is the apodosis of the conditional construction). The following example is extracted from a discussion on how sorcerers can be detected. The speaker has just put forward the hypothesis that the suspected person ('you' in the example) has

been heard to utter a curse against a certain person (the ‘him’ of the example):

- (71) A: *Kanhama kà ù tà dé?*
 suffering COND him get what.about
 ‘What if misfortune (then) befalls (lit. gets) him?’
- B: *Aa, mu wi.*
 well you it.is(G1S)
 ‘Well, (then) it’s you.’ (i.e. ‘you are the sorcerer who has brought the misfortune’)

The following example is taken from a conversation about whether it is right to be envious. Speaker A has maintained that if you do not have nice things, it is all right to spoil the nice things of other people. Speaker B asserts you should instead work in order to get nice things for yourself. The following exchange then ensues (for the form of the conditional, see chapter 15, section 15.1.5.1):

- (72) A: *Mu sí ' gá mí-pyí mu sí ò-jà*
 you ADV COND IP-be you FUT FP-be.able
 ‘But what if you are not able
- kà cya ò-tà à dé?*
 IND(G2S) seek FP-get NEG.Q what.about
 to obtain one?’
- B: *A, mu màha ɲɔ-na à?*
 well you HAB rest-IMPV NEG.Q
 ‘Don’t you (just) be contented (lit. rest) (with what you have)?’

14.2.5. The non-interrogative use of questions

As in many languages, questions can sometimes be put to non-interrogative use in Kampwo Supyire.¹⁵ There are many such uses, but only one will be illustrated here: the cross-linguistically common practice of using rhetorical questions to introduce a new thematic section. This device is apparently confined to procedural and expository discourse in Supyire. The following rhetorical questions are all taken from one discourse explaining Supyire burial customs. Each question begins a new thematic paragraph dealing with the topic raised by the question:

- (73) a. *Sànyi màha sá jwó*
 death.announcement.DEF HAB go say

m̀pirá *à yɛ?*
 which(EMPH.G1P) to Q

‘To whom is the news of the decease announced?’

- b. *S̀anyi* *kà-wyiini*
 death.announcement.DEF reason-announce.DEF(G3S)

li nye p̀c̀eribílá *à*
 it(G3S) be female.clan.members.DEF to

̀ndíré *yɛ?*¹⁶
 which(EMPH.G3S) Q

‘What is the reason for announcing the decease to the female clan members?’

- c. *Dì faǹké* *màha n-tuga à jwo yɛ?*
 how grave.DEF HAB IP-dig SC say Q

‘How is the grave dug?’

- d. *Dì pi màha kẁd̀h̀re* *pyi à jwo yɛ?*
 how they HAB dance.DEF do SC say Q

‘How do they do the dance?’

- e. *Dì uru* *wyéréni màha n-táá*
 how this(EMPH) money.DEF HAB IP-distribute

à jwo yɛ?
 SC say Q

‘How is this money distributed?’

Chapter 15

Interclausal connections

This chapter describes the types of interclausal connection which have not been covered in previous chapters. As might be expected for a category defined negatively in this way, the clause types described here are extremely varied both in form and function. They can however be broadly separated into two groups: adverbial clauses and coordinate clauses.

It should be stated at the outset that “adverbial clause” is used only as a convenient functional label. There is no set of structural correlates serving to define the clauses gathered under the term in the way there is for relative clauses or verb complements. Just as adverbs are an eclectic mix of various subtypes of words which do not fall obviously into more homogenous classes, the clauses treated here as adverbial vary widely in both structure and function.

Structurally, coordinate sentences are not such a mixed bag as the adverbial clauses. Simple juxtaposition of clauses as well as contrastive and alternative coordination are covered briefly in section 15.2 below. The more elaborate system of clause chaining is dealt with in the final section, 15.3.

15.1. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are classified here in terms of their semantic function. It would also be possible to classify them by their form. Using a parameter such as relative degree of integration of the subordinate clause into the main clause would yield a scale ranging from highly integrated nominalized clauses to all but independent indicative clauses. An example of the former is the nominalized manner adverbial clause in the following sentence, which functions syntactically as an indirect object:

- (1) *U a kwù òdé kwù-ńkàní na mú.*
 he PERF die that die-manner.DEF on also
 ‘He too died in that way (lit. on that way of dying).’

At the other end of the scale are reason clauses such as the following, which has the form of an independent clause, and is only loosely connected to the “main” clause by a conjunctive phrase:

- (2) *Wàhàdugo Kanhé wá á tààn mìlì á,*
 Ouagadougou town.DEF be.there PERF be.sweet me to
 ‘I like Ouagadougou (lit. Ouagadougou is sweet to me)

ɲàhá ná yɛ, ku faanrama lé mú à ɲwɔ.
 what on Q its building appearance PERF be.beautiful
 because its buildings look beautiful.’

In between these two extremes are clauses which are marked by a conjunction or a special auxiliary. The following example, a ‘before’ time clause, is marked in three ways: an initial conjunction, a clause final marker, and subjunctive mood (with zero auxiliary):

- (3) *Sána u Ø fwo ro dù-wyìgè e ké,*
 before she SUBJUNC go.out stream-hole.DEF from TC
 ‘Before she gets out of the stream bed,

lwɔhé ɲuni màha wu.
 water.DEF all PERF pour
 all the water pours out.’

The justification for bringing together such diverse structures is entirely semantic. The different forms used to express one general meaning, e.g. concession or simultaneous time, are brought together in one place. A few of the sections have several subdivisions, notably those on time and conditional clauses. After all the different types have been surveyed, a final section (15.1.11) briefly explores the discourse function of adverbial clauses.

15.1.1. Time clauses

Time adverbial clauses provide a temporal setting for their main clauses. The temporal relationship between the events encoded in the two clauses can be one of several types: the subordinate clause event can precede, follow, or be simultaneous with the main clause event, or it can provide the initial or terminal point for a durative or repetitive event or state in the main clause (cf. Givón 1990, chapter 19; Thompson and Longacre 1985). Each of these specific temporal relationships has one or more special codings in Kampwo Supyire, and each is accorded a separate subsection below.

Supyire, like most languages, also has a more general type of ‘when’ clause which does not specify the temporal relationship between the events. In fact, there are two types of ‘when’ clause. Whereas in English both realis and irrealis time clauses are marked with *when*, in Supyire two quite distinct structures are used. Realis time clauses are reduced relative clauses, irrealis

ones are identical in form to conditional clauses. Compare the following examples:

(4) a. realis modality

U à pa gé, kà m̀l̀ sí òkùd̀ kan u à.
 he PERF come TC and I NARR chicken give him to
 ‘When he came, I gave a chicken to him.’

b. irrealis modality

U ahá ní-pá, m̀l̀ sí òkùd̀ kan u à.
 he COND IP-come I FUT chicken give him to
 ‘When he comes, I’ll give him a chicken.’

Each of these types is treated in a separate section below.

15.1.1.1. Realis ‘when’ clauses

In many languages a relative clause with a generic head noun meaning ‘time’ or ‘moment’ can be used as a time adverbial clause (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 179; Givón 1990, chapter 19). This type of relative, which in Supyire usually takes an internal head, was described in chapter 13, section 13.2.2. Since the generic head noun’s function in the main clause is obvious from its meaning (in the majority of examples it can only specify time), the coreferential noun phrase ordinarily required in the main clause in relative constructions is usually omitted. The process of simplifying the construction is thus well under way. Following is an example:

- (5) *U a kwùd̀lò t̀eni òd̀é-m̀ ò g̀é,*
 he PERF shout time.DEF DEM-REL at REL
 ‘At the time that he shouted, (freely: ‘When he shouted,)
kà pi sí wá na u cyàhà-ìl̀.
 and they NARR be.there PROG him laugh-IMPFV
 they laughed at him.’

This type of relative is actually not very common in the corpus. Much more frequently, the head noun with its attendant demonstrative is omitted altogether. All that remains of the original relative clause structure is the clause final relative marker *ké/gé*, which is glossed TC for ‘time clause’ in the examples below. The resulting time adverbial clause, like the original relative clause, must precede its main clause. It is regularly used in past tense narratives:

- (6) a. *Wùu a lyì a kwò ké,*
 we PERF eat SC finish TC
 ‘When we had finished eating,
kà wùù ú f̣j-káré ta-shwònyi i.
 and we NARR IP-go LOC-pass.night.DEF(G2P) to
 we went to (our) lodgings.’
- b. *Zàn-cyiyá à cwo gé,*
 rain-first.DEF(G2P) PERF fall TC
 ‘When the first rains had fallen,
kà Faasúmà sí f̣j-kára á sà a
 and Faasuma NARR IP-go SC go PROG
 Faasuma went and began
kerège sàà-lì.
 field.DEF scrape-IMPFV
 clearing the field.’

The alternate relative clause marker *à de* (see chapter 13, section 13.1) can also be used for adverbial time clauses, though it is as infrequent in this function as in marking relative clauses. Following is an example:

- (7) *U à tòḍṇke bwòn ā de,*
 he PERF metal.DEF hit TC
 ‘When he rang the bell,
kà sùpyìré sí ṃ-pà.
 and people.DEF NARR IP-come
 the people came.’

In the majority of cases the event coded in the time clause chronologically precedes the main clause event, as in the above examples. All but a handful of examples in the corpus accordingly have the perfect auxiliary, which is appropriate for encoding anteriority. The temporal relation can be one of simultaneity, however, the main clause event taking place during a non-punctual time clause event. In this case the time clause is in the progressive:

- (8) *Pi mpyi na tonf̣ ñjyìñi lyì gé,*
 they PASTPROG feast.DEF food.DEF eat TC
 ‘When/while they were eating the feast,
ká ṃlì í ' nùrá á ù négá á lèñè pyènge e.
 and I NARR return SC her persuade SC put compound in
 I again persuaded her into (my) compound.’

The progressive can also be combined with the verb ‘come’ or ‘go’ to code a durative time clause event:

- (9) *Nùṅwàhá á pà a ḡ-kwuu ké,*
 rainy.season.DEF PERF come PROG IP-finish TC
 ‘When the rainy season was coming to an end (lit. came (to be) finishing),
ká u ú ní-pá ’ náhá canḡ kà.
 and he NARR IP-come here day IND
 he came here one day.’

15.1.1.2. Irrealis ‘when’ clauses

In discourse contexts with irrealis modality the time adverbial clause descended from a relative clause described in the previous section is not permitted. Instead a “conditional” clause is used. In this Supyire is like a number of languages which do not distinguish between ‘when’ and ‘if’ in irrealis contexts. The distinction is largely one of certainty of expectation (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 193). Rather than using different subordinating conjunctions, as in English, Supyire speakers rely on inference and context.

The conditional, irrealis time clause is like the realis one in always preceding the main clause. The following examples illustrate its use with the future and the subjunctive in the main clause:

- (10) a. with future tense

Wùù àhá lyí, wùù sí rà á wá.¹
 we COND eat we FUT go PROG go
 ‘When we have eaten, we will leave.’

- b. with subjunctive imperative

Ḥyègà kà múgò,
 morning COND open
 ‘When morning dawns,

ma rá a ma wùù fyè e.
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC PROG come.IMPFV our tracks in
 follow us.’

- c. negative subjunctive (prohibitive)

U ahá nùṅke yìrìgè,
 he COND head.DEF raise
 ‘When he raises his head,

u ahà kile nyé mé.
 he PROH sky see NEG
 he must not (be able to) see the sky/God.²

A very common use of this type of time clause is in procedural discourse which recounts generic ‘how to’ information in chronological order using the habitual auxiliary. This is another indication that the habitual is conceptually somewhat of a hybrid category. It may be thought of as realis in the sense that events of the type do actually occur, but irrealis in the sense that no specific event is intended (cf. Givón 1984: 407). The following examples were taken from a discourse on how to collect honey:

- (11) a. *Canṅa nyìlíní kà a ṅ-cwo,*
 day eye.DEF COND PROG IP-fall
 ‘When the sun is going down,
yi màha sàhàlì lwò...
 you(PL) HAB basket take
 you take a basket...’
- b. *Pi ahá jyé á kwò,*
 they COND enter SC finish
 ‘When they (=the bees) have finished entering (the beehive),
u asì kù ṅwò múgó...
 he HAB.SEQ its mouth open
 he (=the honey collector) opens it (=the beehive)
 (lit. opens its mouth)...’

The use of the conditional time clause with the habitual is not confined to procedural texts. The habitual-sequential is often used for iterative action in past time narratives. Although this is a step in the direction of realis modality, since no single specific event is intended, the conditional, irrealis time clause is used rather than the realis one. The following example illustrates this. The preceding sentence, in the ordinary narrative tense, is provided to show the abruptness of the transition to iterativity, which is initially signalled to the hearer by the use of the conditional:

- (12) *Kà u ú yírà à sà a yu u na.*
 and it NARR rise SC go PROG say.IMPFV it at
 ‘Then it (=the dog) got up and went (and began) barking at it
 (=the python).
U ahá jwó fyìṅji na,
 it COND say python.DEF at
 When it had barked at the python,

u arì nùrá á pà a yu
 it HAB.SEQ return SC come PROG say.IMPFV
 it would return and come bark

bagé nwògé na...
 house.DEF mouth.DEF at
 at the door of the house...'

The conditional time clause together with the habitual/sequential in the main clause shows that the sequence of actions (bark at python, return, bark at door) was repeated several times.

The temporal relation between the two events is the same for irrealis time clauses as for realis ones: the adverbial clause event usually precedes the main clause event, as in all the examples above except (11a). In a minority of cases the time clause event may be durative, and the main clause event is then simultaneous. In this case the progressive aspect marker is added to the conditional auxiliary, as in (11a) and in the following example:

(13) *Si-shyéebí kà a ma yàkòhò,*
 bush-goers.DEF COND PROG come.IMPFV afternoon
 'While/when the farmers (lit. the bush-goers) are coming (home in the) afternoon,

pi ahá jìcyíí-mù pyì gé,³
 they COND DEM(G3P)-REL do REL
 whatever they do,

ma hà bá a j-cyaha-li mé.
 you.NONDECL PROH REM PROG IP-laugh-IMPFV NEG
 don't laugh.'

15.1.1.3. 'Before' clauses

Supyire has borrowed many of its subordinating morphemes from Bambara and French.⁴ The subordinating conjunction for 'before' time clauses (i.e. clauses which encode events over which the main clause event takes chronological precedence) is borrowed from Bambara *sani* 'before'. In Supyire the forms *sáni*, *sána*, and *sá* have all been recorded, with *sána* being the most frequent.

Sána clauses, like the corresponding *avant que* clauses in French, must be in the subjunctive. This seems to be one place where the subjunctive is beginning to take on epistemic rather than exclusively deontic meaning. At least, the use of the subjunctive in *avant que* clauses in French is sometimes attributed to the fact that since the main clause event precedes the adverbial clause event in time, the latter is rendered somehow more hypothetical or

less sure (cf. Judge and Healey 1983: 146). The ‘before’ clause is terminated with the erstwhile relative marker *ké*, a sign that *ké* is being generalized as a time clause marker (though as shown in the previous section, it is not used in irrealis ‘when’ clauses). Like ‘when’ clauses, the ‘before’ clause must precede its main clause:

- (14) *Sána nìyi yi Ø kuru jyìile ké,*
 before cows.DEF they SUBJUNC this cross TC
 ‘Before the cows cross(ed) this (=the river),
kà u ú ta-tɔ̀ngɔ̀ jaara.
 and she NARR LOC-be.long.G2S walk
 she walked a long way.’

The same subjunctive form of ‘before’ clause is used for both realis and irrealis contexts. In the above example, the main clause is in the realis narrative tense. In the following example, taken from the same story, the main clause is in the irrealis potential tense/modality:

- (15) *Sána yi Ø kuru jyiile ké,*
 before they SUBJUNC this cross TC
 ‘Before they cross this,
mu gú ta-tɔ̀ngɔ̀ fé.
 you POT LOC-be.long.G2S run
 you will run a long way.’

The same form of ‘before’ clause is used in habitual contexts, as shown by example (3) above, repeated here:

- (16) *Sána u Ø fwo-ro dù-wyìgé e ké,*
 before she SUBJUNC go.out stream-hole.DEF from TC
 ‘Before she gets out of the stream bed,
lwɔ̀hé puní màha wu.
 water.DEF all PERF pour
 all the water pours out.’

15.1.1.4. ‘After’ clauses

As noted above, the events in ordinary ‘when’ clauses, whether realis or irrealis, normally precede the main clause events, but they are not specifically so marked. The temporal relation of subsequence is overtly marked in Supyire by inserting the grammaticalized serial verb *ná* ‘happen afterwards’ in the second of two independent clauses. The ‘after’ clause is thus not strictly

speaking a subordinate adverbial clause at all. *Ná* can usually be translated something like ‘and only afterwards’, i.e. it expresses the notion that the event in the second clause only took place after the event in the first clause:

- (17) *Wùù kóní ' ná yìṅe pyi,*
 we TOP REM.PAST month do
 ‘As for us, we spent a month (there),
maá ' ná à nɔ Cènkunji i.
 and.NARR afterwards SC arrive Cenkungo at
 and (only) afterwards arrived at Cenkungo.’

Apart from the appearance of *ná* in the second clause, there is nothing to distinguish the above sequence from ordinary narrative clauses. *Ná* in itself constitutes an important marking, however. It only appears in constructions of this sort: it cannot be used as a main verb in its own right, and the clause it appears in cannot be placed first in the sentence. Since *ná* is always first in the serial verb construction, it comes right after the auxiliary and is thus in a prime position to become an auxiliary itself.

Note that the marking in this construction is the opposite of that in an ‘after’ construction in English. In the latter, the chronologically prior event is marked with ‘after’, whereas in Supyire it is the subsequent event which is marked. In fact, sometimes a speaker gives a *ná* construction as a translation of a ‘before’ clause. As far as the temporal relationships are concerned, the *ná* clause is like a postposed ‘before’ clause.

The use of *ná* is not confined to same subject contexts as in the above example. Following is an example with a switch in subject:

- (18) *Bilèra à mu túṅi le,*
 slavery.DEF PERF your father.DEF put
 ‘Your father was taken as a slave (lit. slavery put your father),
kà u ú ' ná à mu si aní.
 and he NARR afterwards SC you beget there
 and afterwards he begot you there (= in slavery).’

The above examples are taken from narratives. *Ná* clauses can also be used in irrealis contexts:

- (19) *Mu mpyi à yaa mu ú kùcwuun shyééré*
 you PASTPERF ought you SUBJUNC monkey greet
 ‘You ought to have thanked monkey
ma á ' ná ú kyá.
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC afterwards him eat
 and only afterwards eat(en) him.’

That *ná* clauses are not yet true subordinate clauses is shown by the fact that they can follow ‘when’ clauses, as in the following example:

- (20) *Wùù àhá lyí, wùù ú ' ná á `zhìji le.*
 we COND eat we SUBJUNC afterwards SSC wrestling put
 ‘When we (have) eat(en), (only) then lets fight.’

15.1.1.5. Simultaneous time clauses

There are three quite different types of subordinate clause which can be used to code simultaneity in Kampwo Supyire. The first type does not usually directly code an event, but rather expresses duration in a given location. In form it is highly unusual: it has neither subject nor auxiliary. It begins with the same subject narrative conjunction *mà*, which is directly followed by a direct object, then the verb *yaha* ‘leave’, and finally a locative adverb or indirect object:

- (21) *Mà ù yàha aní, kà pi í mí-pá ú cú.*
 and him leave there and they NARR IP-come him grab
 ‘While he was there, they caught him.’

Like ‘when’ and ‘before’ clauses, this type of ‘while’ clause must be preposed to its main clause. Since it has the form of an ordinary same subject narrative clause, it would be so interpreted if it followed its main clause unless extraordinary intonational precautions were taken. Coming as it does at the head of its sentence, and yet being without a subject, it is easily recognized as an adverbial clause.

Sometimes an event is implied. For example, when the locative indirect object is ‘in/on the road’, the meaning is ‘while X was walking / going / travelling on the road’:

- (22) *Mà wùù yàha kùni i,*
 and us leave road.DEF in
 ‘While we were (going) in the road,
kà wùù ú sá jyé yððge e.
 and we NARR go enter mud.DEF in
 we went into the mud.’

The “locative” indirect object can also refer more directly to an event:

- (23) *Mà pì yàha tire nàkaanté na,*
 and them leave this discussion.DEF on
 ‘While they were engaged in this discussion,

kà nàjì wàbéré sì m-pà nò àní.
 and man.DEF another NARR IP-come arrive there
 another man arrived there.'

The second type of 'while' clause directly codes a durative event. In form this type of clause is identical to an imperfective realis complement (see chapter 11, sections 11.1, 11.3, and 11.4): a high tone subject pronoun coreferential with a non-subject participant of the main clause is followed by the reduced form of the progressive auxiliary:

- (24) *Kà pí í m-pá jwó ' ná ú é*
 and they NARR IP-come speak with her with
 'They came and spoke with her,
ú u meení sùù.
 she.COMP PROG voice.DEF cry
 while she was crying.'

When used as a complement of a perception verb this type of clause codes simultaneous durative action often best translated with a participial clause in English (e.g. 'I saw him coming.'). It is a small step to using the same type of clause without a complement-taking main verb, but with the same simultaneous/durative meaning:

- (25) *Míi a tòrò Kàbà ná Dàvín' táán kùni i*
 I PERF pass Kaba and Davin beside road.DEF in
 'I passed Kaba and Davin⁵ in the road
pí i ma.
 they.COMP PROG come.IMPFV
 (they were) coming.'

Sometimes the meaning is closer to a more ordinary 'while' clause:

- (26) *Pí à tí puní tuga à pa n-cyán*
 they PERF it all carry SC come IP-drop
 'They carried it (=the meat) all and came and dropped it
santu tààn ú u fugure sáhàkì.
 francolin beside he.COMP PROG flop.IMPFV still
 beside Francolin while he was still flopping about.'

Occasionally there seems to be a slight concessive force in addition to the temporal simultaneity: 'and yet all the while':

- (27) *Kà pí mù shùnnì sí ní-pá jwó ' ná ú é*
 and they also two NARR IP-come say with her with
 'Then they both came and spoke with her
mà sà ñ-kànha, ú u jyi jìñke e.
 and go IP-be.tired she.COMP PROG enter ground.DEF in
 to the point of fatigue, yet all the while she continued sinking into
 the ground.'

The third type of 'while' clause is truly participial. It is in the form of a preposed indirect object (postpositional phrase) whose head noun (or, more often, pronoun) is modified by a verb derived into an adjective by means of the prefix *niN-* (see chapter 5, section 5.2). This clause type does not appear to be used very frequently, but a few examples have been recorded. The following is typical:

- (28) *Pi num-pampíí na,*
 they ADJ-come.DEF(G1P) on
 'While they were coming (lit. on them coming),
cɔɔnfodɔŋa a ñtàsùù bò á pwo
 younger.sibling.DEF SC elephant kill SC tie
 the younger brother killed and elephant and tied it up
á tugo...
 SC carry.on.head
 and carried it on his head...'

As in participial clauses elsewhere in the language, if there are indirect objects they must be placed after the postposition which marks the whole clause:

- (29) *U niñ-karàñi na Sukwole e,*
 he ADJ-going.DEF(G1S) on Sikasso to
 'As he was going to Sikasso (lit. on him going to Sikasso),
fànha fèebíla á ù cù.
 power owners.DEF PERF him catch
 the police arrested him.'

In both of the above examples the participant in the participial clause is also a participant in the main clause (the younger brother of example (28) is included in the 'they' of the participial clause). This is not necessarily the case, as the following example shows:

- (30) *Pi num-bahabíí na, cigá à cwo.*
 they ADJ-playing.DEF(G1P) on tree.DEF PERF fall
 ‘While they were playing, the tree fell.’

15.1.1.6. ‘Till’ clauses

The subordinating conjunction *fó* ‘until’ (some older speakers pronounce it *fá*) is borrowed from Bambara *fó* ‘until’. It is used to form adverbial clauses which indicate a terminal point for a durative or iterative event. Like English ‘till’, *fó* also functions as a preposition (in both Supyire and Bambara) (see chapter 5, section 5.7.1). As a preposition it can have either locative (‘up to’, ‘as far as’) or, rather less commonly, temporal (‘until’) meaning. With the former meaning it must be accompanied by a locative postposition, with the latter meaning it occurs by itself:

- (31) a. locative preposition

U a kàrè fó Bàràkò e.
 he PERF go as.far.as Bamako to
 ‘He went as far as Bamako.’

- b. temporal preposition

Pi màha lire pyi àmē fó níñjáà.
 they HAB this do thus till today
 ‘They do it this way to this very day.’

It is the latter meaning which is similar to the function of *fó* as the subordinator for an adverbial ‘till’ clause. The *fó* clause usually has the perfect auxiliary *à* or else is in the form of a narrative clause. It always follows its main clause, and, if it has narrative form, if its subject has the same referent as that of the preceding main clause subject, it is omitted. Following are examples:

- (32) a. with perfect auxiliary

Kà pi í mí-pyí àmuni
 and they NARR IP-do thus
 ‘They (continued to) do thus

fó pi à nɔ pyɛnge na.
 till they PERF arrive home.DEF at
 ‘till they arrived home.’

b. narrative clause, same subject

Kà zàntùṅḍ sị ñ-tèèn bèenṅké e
 and hyena NARR IP-sit well.DEF in
 ‘So Hyena stayed in the well

fó mà sà ṅ-kwû.
 till and go IP-die
 till (he) died.’

c. narrative clause, different subject

Kà sige shfinbíf⁶ sị pì lwó á màrà,
 and bush people.DEF NARR them take SC keep
 ‘Then the bush people took and kept them,

maá pí ṅwó cyá,
 and.NARR their mouth seek
 and fed them,

fó kà pí í mí-pá lye.
 till and they NARR IP-come be.old
 till they grew up.’

In habitual contexts, the habitual auxiliary is used. The following example is taken from a discourse on how to make tea:

- (33) *U màha u surugo sèlè è fó màha sikáráṅi na.*
 he HAB it pour truth in till HAB sugar.DEF melt
 ‘He (=the teamaker) pour it (=the tea) back and forth a great deal
 till the sugar is dissolved (lit. till (he) dissolves the sugar).’

Following an imperative or an imperative subjunctive, the *fó* clause takes a conditional auxiliary, presumably because it is suitable for irrealis contexts:

- (34) *Kà u ú ṅwó*
 and he NARR say
 ‘Then he said
- na wu a ṅààrè*
 that we.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV walk.IMPFV
 that we must walk
- fó wùù àhá ṅ-kwó yòḍḍge tà-nyahagé na.*
 till we COND IP-finish mud.DEF LOC-be.much.DEF on
 till we came to the end of the muddy part (of the road).’

It is clear from several of the examples above that sometimes the function of the *fó* clause is not so much to provide a temporal endpoint for the event in the main clause, as a logical (or teleological, i.e. an intended goal) endpoint. A further slight shift in function to something like ‘to the point/degree that’ is most noticeable when the *fó* clause is imperfective, as in example (35a), but it also possible in perfective clauses, as in example (35b):

(35) a. imperfective

Kà m̀̀l̀̀ í f̀̀n fó na s̀̀d̀̀l̀̀.
and I NARR sweat till PROG drip.IMPFV
‘I sweated to the point of dripping.’

b. perfective

Ká m̀̀l̀̀ í m̀̀-pá u nizinińf ta
and I NARR IP-come him ADJ.lie.down.DEF find
‘I came and found him lying

mobíńjĩ tààn fó nyi-lw̄ha à pa
car.DEF beside till eye-water.DEF PERF come
next to the car (and I was overcome with pity) to the point that
the tears came

m̀̀i ńyigílé e.
my eyes.DEF to
to my eyes.’

Fó clauses have developed a further peculiar variant which can have both the temporal and nontemporal meanings. In form this subtype begins like a same subject *fó* clause. The same subject conjunction *mà* (or the auxiliary *màha* if the context is habitual) is followed by either of the quasi-auxiliaries *pa* ‘come’ or *sa* ‘go’. Occasionally the verb *nɔ* ‘arrive’ is also added. Then follows a subjunctive clause (with zero auxiliary). It is as if the phrase *fó mà pa* or its variant is acting as a phrasal connective for the following (subjunctive) clause. It is not clear what the history of this peculiar construction is. Following are examples of both the ‘until’ (temporal) and the ‘to the point that’ meanings:

(36) a. *Kà pi í m̀̀-pyí àmunl*
and they NARR IP-do thus
‘And they did thus (i.e. kept on doing thus)

fó mà pà numpilāge ∅ ww̄.
till and come night.DEF SUBJUNC be.black
till night fell.’

- b. *Lire la à pa ná kàrji ni-pyahagile é*
 this it PERF come with matters ADJ-be.much(G3P) in
 ‘It is this which has brought many matters
- supyîre shwàhòle e, fò màha m-pá nɔ*
 people.DEF between in till HAB IP-come arrive
 between people, to the point that
- ti Ø láhá tî-yè na.*
 they SUBJUNC separate they-REFL at
 they fall out with each other.’

15.1.1.7. ‘Since’ clauses

There are two types of subordinate clause which code the initial point of a durative event or state. The first type of ‘since’ clause, like ‘till’ and ‘before’ clauses, has a subordinating conjunction borrowed from Bambara. The following three forms are listed in Bailleul’s dictionary of Bambara: *kàbi*, *kàbji*, and *kàbini*. All three forms have been recorded in Kampwo Supyire, suitably modified to naturalize them to the Supyire sound system: *kàbí*, *kàbyíí*, and *kàbyííné*. Like *fó*, *kàbyíí* can also function as a preposition (though it must be accompanied by a postposition as well). As such it has only a temporal meaning: ‘since’ or ‘from (the time of)’ (see chapter 5, section 5.7.1) Following is an example:

- (37) *Sùpyàñí kà ñ-kèègè kàbyíí nàñkòcyeeré e,*
 person.DEF COND IP-spoil from childhood.DEF in
 ‘When a person (generic) is spoiled from childhood,
- u a kèègè.*
 s/he PERF spoil
 s/he is spoiled (for good).’

The meaning of *kàbyíí* with a clause is similar to its meaning as a preposition: ‘since’, ‘from the time that’. The adverbial clause must take the perfect auxiliary *à*, and like a *sána* ‘before’ clause, it takes the adverbial time clause marker *ké*. Following are examples:

- (38) a. *Kàbyíí nyàga a mùgò ké,*
 since morning.DEF PERF open TC
 ‘Since morning dawned,
- ta-sinagé e mu sáhá nyé la?*
 LOC-lie.down.DEF in you YET be Q
 are you still in bed?’

- b. *Kàbylìné u a yìrì Bàmàko e gé,*
 since he PERF rise Bamako in TC
 'Since he came from Bamako
u sàhá shyá Sukwole e mé.
 he NEG.YET go Sikasso to NEG
 he hasn't yet gone to Sikasso.'

One also occasionally hears the French conjunction *depuis* 'since' used by younger speakers. It simply replaces *kàbyíí* at the head of a clause terminated by *ké*:

- (39) *Dèpwí ' Fáágá á sùl gé,*
 since Farakala PERF begin TC
 'Since Farakala began
pi sàhá ' nínjéé ' wóóre fìgè pyì mé.
 they NEG.YET this.year POSS.DEF(G4) like do NEG
 they have not done one (= festival) like this year's.'

There are signs that *kàbyíí* is expanding its meaning to include something like 'as soon as'. It is sometimes given as a translation for French *dès que*. The following example taken from a text reflects this slight shift in meaning:

- (40) *Kàbyííné nùnjí fòòhá á ùrù nyè ké,*
 as.soon.as cow.DEF owner.DEF PERF him see TC
 'As soon as the cow owner saw him,
kà u ú ' fyá.
 and he NARR be.afraid
 he became afraid.'

The second type of 'since' clause is rather less versatile than the one just described. It begins with the same subject conjunction *mà* alone or accompanied by the narrative auxiliary (*maá*). This is followed by the verb *lwó* 'take', which in turn is followed by an indirect object time phrase, usually the frozen expression *kuru cànké na* 'on that day':

- (41) *Maá ' lwó kúrú cànké na,*
 and.NARR take that day.DEF on
 'Since that day,
kà Sàànogobíí sù wá
 and Saanogos.DEF NARR be.there
 the Saanogos

na sòòji fùn.
 PROG terrapin.DEF have.as.totem
 have the terrapin as their totem.'

Quite often a 'till' phrase or clause is added to indicate that the event or state continues up to the present. The 'till' expression with the verb *bwɔn* 'touch' in the second example below has only been recorded in conjunction with this type of 'since' clause:

- (42) a. *Mà Iwò kuru càṅké na fò níjǎà*
 and take that day.DEF on till today
 'From that day up to today

mìi a sù na fyà-gè waníji na.
 I PERF be.EMPH PROG be.afraid.IMPFV there.DEF on
 I am really afraid of that place.'

- b. *Maá ' Iwó kúrú càṅké na*
 and.NARR take that day.DEF on
 'From that day

à pa bwɔn níjǎà na,
 SC come touch today on
 till today (lit. and come touch today)

kuru kàshìge ku nye pwun nà cin shwòhole e.
 this war.DEF it be dog and leopard between in
 it is this animosity which is between Dog and Leopard.'

15.1.2. Locative clauses

In section 15.1.1.1 above it was pointed out that a relative clause with a generic head noun such as 'time' can function like a time adverbial clause. In a similar way a relative clause with the generic head *cyàge* 'the place' can function as though it were a locative adverbial clause. A true relative clause has an coreferential expression in the following main clause. For locative relatives this is usually the locative adverb *waní*. The following sentence is a common way of closing a folktale:

- (43) *Cyàge e mìi a kùrù tà gé,*
 place.DEF in I PERF this get RC
 'In the place I got this,

waní mìi a kùrù yàha.
 there I PERF it leave
 it is there that I have left it.'

As in the development of realis ‘when’ clauses, the first stage on the road to converting this construction into an adverbial clause construction is the omission of the coreferential expression from the main clause. Following is an example (an expanded version of 10c above):

- (44) *Cyāge e uru sí sà ù kyà gé,*
 place.DEF in he FUT go her eat RC
 ‘In the place where he would eat her,
uru kà jùṅke yìrìgè,
 he COND head.DEF raise
 when he raised his head,
uru kà kile jye mé.
 he PROH sky/God see NEG
 he must not be able to see the sky/God.’

Note that the location represented by the relative/adverbial clause in this example is an “external” or sentence locative, whereas in the previous example it is an “internal” or verb phrase locative. The development of an adverbial function is more likely in the case of external locatives, where a locative expression is not required by the main clause verb.

The further stage of omitting the head noun from the relative clause as has been done with adverbial time clauses has not occurred with location clauses, which therefore continue to more closely resemble relative clauses.

15.1.3. Manner clauses

Manner is expressed by means of a nominalized clause formed with the nominalizer *-ḡkana* ‘manner’ (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.7). This nominalized clause is marked as an indirect object by the postposition *na* ‘on’. Following are some examples:

- (45) a. *U a kwù lire kwù-ḡkàní na mú.*
 he PERF die this die-manner.DEF on also
 ‘He also died in this way (lit. on this way of dying).’
- b. *Pyìbíí sàhá jye na byíí*
 children.DEF NEG.YET NEG PROG raise.IMPFV
 ‘Children are no longer raised
pi tapjáà byí-ḡkàní na mé.
 their yesterday raise-manner.DEF on NEG
 the way they were raised in the past (lit. on their way of being raised of yesterday).’

15.1.4. Comparison clauses

There are three distinct ways of forming a ‘like’ or ‘as’ comparison adverbial clause. They differ principally in the subordinating conjunctions they use. The first type of comparison clause is the simplest to describe. It merely consists of an indicative clause introduced by the subordinator *kóo* ‘like, as if’. An alternate pronunciation favored by some speakers is *kée*. The *kóo/kée* clause is always postposed to the main clause. Following are examples:

- (46) a. *Kà u ń ń-yè pyì kée u a kwù.*
 and he NARR he-REFL do like he PERF die
 ‘Then he made himself as if he had died.’ (i.e. he pretended he was dead)
- b. *Mìj ntùŋka a kànha à pyi*
 my chest.DEF PERF be.tired SC become
 ‘My chest was strained
- kóo ku kú m-pàha.*
 like it POT IP-split
 as if it would split.’

Some speakers occasionally use the French conjunction *comme* ‘like, as’ in place of *kóo*, a borrowing obviously favored by the similarity in sound. Following is an example:

- (47) *La à pyi kóme u nyé u wu.*
 it PERF be like she be his POSS
 ‘It is as if she belongs to him.’

The second type of comparison clause, illustrated in the following example is, rather more complicated:

- (48) *U a ì pyì bà mu a ì pyì tanjyée mé.*
 he PERF it do like you PERF it do last.year like
 ‘He has done it like you did it last year.’

To begin with, the subordinating morphemes *bà* and *mé* which enclose the entire clause are odd to say the least. They seem to be identical in form to the negative identifier *bà* ‘it is not’ and the clause final negative marker *mé*, illustrated in the following example (see also chapter 9, section 9.4.1.3):

- (49) *Mu wú bà mé.*
 your POSS it.it.not NEG
 ‘It isn’t yours.’

The meaning of the comparison clause has no apparent negative component. It is likely that the final negative marker *mé* was originally a reinforcer (like French *pas*) with no specifically negative meaning. It is perhaps descended from the locative adverb *mé* 'there'. There is no comparable etymology available at the present time for *bà*, so it must remain an open question whether the comparative *bà* is historically related to the negative identifier *bà*. Note that, unlike the two uses of *mé*, the two *bàs* appear in quite different syntactic positions.

In contrast to *kóo* clauses, *bà...mé* comparison clauses are quite frequently preposed to the main clause. When they are preposed, they almost resemble relative clauses in that there is often an anaphoric expression in the main clause, usually *àmuni* 'thus' or one of its variants. Following is an example:

- (50) *Bà pi sanmpíí nye mé,*
 like they OTHERS.DEF be like
 'Like the others are,

yìl gú m-pyì àmuni.
 you(PL) POT FP-be thus
 you would be like that.'

Occasionally speakers mark a comparison clause with both *kóo* and *bà...mé*. The following example (which compares giving advice to planting seeds) also shows that the adverbial "clause" can actually consist of more than one clause, in this case a complex of three habitual-sequential clauses:

- (51) *La à pyi kóo bà sùpyà màha neempé nùgò,*
 it PERF be like like person HAB seed.DEF sow
 'It is like (when) a person plants seeds

pi í fyîn maá lyé me:
 they SEQ sprout and.SEQ be.old like
 and sprout and mature:

pu màha η-kworo mu numbwuuní i.
 it HAB IP-stay your head.DEF in
 it (=the advice your father gives you) remains in your head.'

Syntactically the third type of comparison clause is a complement clause to the verb *jwo* 'say'. *Jwo* in turn is the main verb in a short clause consisting of the potential auxiliary *kú/gú* preceded by an "impersonal" second person singular pronoun subject: *mu* 'you'.

- (52) *U à pyi mu gú ò-jwò u nye a cùùgò mé.*
 he PERF be you POT IP-say he NEG PERF be.well NEG
 'He was as if he wasn't well.'

This clause, which literally means ‘you would say’ (cf. French *on dirait*), is beginning to function as a phrasal connective meaning ‘as if’ or ‘like’. Following is another example. Note that it was pronounced without any pauses.

- (53) *Kàrája a yyèra à u ñkyànhíí neme*
 Karaja PERF stop SC her teeth.DEF expose.in.grimace
 ‘Karaja stood grimacing (i.e. smiling grotesquely)

mu gú ñ-jwò shòn-kwugo ki.
 you POT FP-say horse-dead it.is
 like a dead horse (lit. you would say it is a dead horse).’

15.1.5. Conditional clauses

Conditionals in Kampwo Supyire are a complicated topic both from a syntactic and from a semantic point of view. A number of classifications of conditionals have been proposed based on different criteria (cf. Thompson and Longacre 1985:190ff; Comrie 1986). The present section roughly follows the classification proposed in Givón (1990, chapter 19). The basic irrealis conditionals are dealt with first, then ‘low probability’ conditionals, then negative (‘unless’) conditionals, followed by counterfactual conditionals and finally concessive conditionals. These are briefly illustrated here with the same lexical items to facilitate comparison:

- (54) a. simple irrealis conditional

U ahá mí-pá, m̀l̀ sí ù bwò̀n.
 he COND IP-come I FUT FP.him hit
 ‘If/when he comes, I’ll hit him.’

- b. low probability conditional

U ahá mí-pyí u à pa, m̀l̀ gú ù bwò̀n.
 he COND IP-be he PERF come I POT him hit
 ‘If he were to come, I would hit him.’

- c. negative conditional

Kámpyí u nyé à pa mé, m̀l̀ sí ù bwò̀n.
 if he NEG PERF come NEG I FUT FP.him hit
 ‘If he doesn’t come, I’ll hit him.’

d. counterfactual conditional

Ám̀pyi u mpyi à pa,
 if.COUNTER he PAST PERF come
 ‘If he had come,

m̀li mpyi na sí ù bẁn.
 I PAST PROG FUT FP.him hit
 I would have hit him.’

e. concessive conditional

U méé mí-pá, m̀li sí ù bẁn.
 he CONC.COND IP-come I FUT FP.him hit
 ‘Even if he comes, I’ll hit him.’

Note that all types of conditional clause must precede their main clauses.

15.1.5.1. Simple irrealis conditionals

As was shown in section 15.1.1.2 above, the difference in degree of expectation represented in English by the distinction between ‘when’ (with future time reference) and ‘if’ is not grammaticalized in Supyire. Thus a simple conditional clause, i.e. a clause with a conditional auxiliary, can function both as an irrealis time adverbial clause and as a true condition. The context usually makes clear what the speaker intends. In the following extract from a folktale, the *ká* clauses must be translated as ‘if’ rather than as ‘when’ clauses in English, as is clear from the alternative given in the context:

(55) *Kà k̀ntunjí sí ỳi jẁd u à*
 and monitor.DEF NARR them say him to
 ‘Then the monitor lizard said to him

‘Mu ahá m̀li bó, mu tacwóji sí ñ-kẁ,
 you COND me kill your fiancée.DEF FUT FP-die
 ‘If you kill me, your fiancée will die,

mu sí ‘ gá m̀li yàha aní,
 you ADV COND me leave there
 but if you leave me alone (lit. leave me there),

p̀cẁnjí u nye ná mu í ke,
 girl.DEF she be with you with REL
 the girl who is with you,

uru sí ò-kwú.'

she FUT FP-die.

she will die.'" (more naturally: 'but if you leave me alone, the girl who is with you will die.')

15.1.5.2. Low probability conditionals

Simple conditional clauses such as the above correspond to what Thompson and Longacre (1985) call "predictive" and Givón (1990) calls "irrealis" conditionals. Both call attention to the fact that many languages have a distinct means of coding conditionals which are intermediate in likelihood between irrealis and counterfactual conditionals. In Supyire simple *ká* conditionals are used when there is a fair possibility that the event will indeed take place. On the other hand, counterfactuals, to be dealt with below, are used when the speaker is quite certain that the event did not in fact take place. To code conditionals with very low probability ("hypothetical conditionals" in the terminology of Thompson and Longacre 1985), Supyire has recourse to a construction different from both simple irrealis and counterfactual conditionals.

As is common cross-linguistically, Supyire uses the juxtaposition of the clearly irrealis category conditional with a clearly realis category such as past or perfect to express low probability. Since the conditional auxiliary cannot occur side by side with the past tense auxiliaries, a variety of more complex structures have evolved to accommodate this juxtaposition. These all have in common the characteristic that the conditional marking is extracted from the auxiliary position and placed elsewhere in the clause. The simplest such construction uses the subordinator *ná* 'if'. This is obviously related to the noun phrase conjunction *ná* 'and' and the preposition *ná* 'with', and is possibly a calque on the use in Bambara of *ní* for both 'and' and 'if'.⁷ Following is an example:

(56) *Ná u à pa náhá, u gú kù nyè.*

if he PERF come here he POT FP.it see

'If he came here (or, if he were to come here), he would see it.'

Although the above example uses the perfect auxiliary in the conditional clause, it would mean the same thing if the past tense auxiliaries *ná* or *ní* were used.

Another construction which accomplishes the same function splits the condition into a two-clause structure. In form this structure is like a modality verb together with its complement clause. The modality verb in this case is the semantically empty *pyi* 'be'. The real "modality" resides in the conditional auxiliary *ká* which precedes it. The same subject "complement" clause

which follows gives the propositional content of the condition. Following is the above example recast into this two-clause form:

- (57) *U ahá ní-pyí u à pa náhá, u gú kù nyè.*
 he COND IP-be he PERF come here he POT FP.it see
 'If he were to come here, he would see it.'

Occasionally the verb *ta* 'get' is used in place of *pyí*:

- (58) *U ahá ní-tá u à pa náhá...*
 he COND IP-get he PERF come here
 'If he were to come here...'

Speakers of Supyire have evidently come to the conclusion that this two-clause structure is unnecessarily clumsy, for they have begun leaving off the initial subject, which after all is identical with the subject of the complement clause. The remaining truncated clause, consisting solely of the conditional auxiliary, the intransitive prefix, and the verb *pyí*, functions as a phrasal subordinating connective. It is written together as one word in the orthography, *kámpyí*, and indeed does not seem to be any longer felt to be a clause. It is rather more commonly used than the two-clause construction described in the preceding paragraph. The example used above is here recast in this form:

- (59) *Kámpyí u à pa náhá, u gú kù nyè.*
 if he PERF come here he POT FP.it see
 'If he were to come here, he would see it.'

A variant *ámpyí* is also used. It is unclear if this is derived by dropping the initial [k] of *kámpyí* (a process for which there is no precedent in the language) or from an equivalent form *námpyí*. The latter has been recorded, though it does not appear in the corpus. It is apparently formed through fusion with the conditional *ná* mentioned above.

In passing it should be noted that in addition to being incompatible with other auxiliaries, the conditional auxiliary *ká* cannot be used with clause types which do not have auxiliaries, in particular identificational clauses. Either *ná* or *kámpyí* can be used to mark conditionals of this sort:

- (60) a. *Ná mu wógó kí, ku lwò.*
 if your POSS(G2S) it.is(G2S) it(G2S) take
 'If it's yours, take it.'
- b. *Kámpyí mu wógó kí, ku lwò.*
 if your POSS it.is it take
 'If it's yours, take it.'

15.1.5.3. Negative conditionals

As mentioned in the previous section, the conditional auxiliary *ká* is incompatible with most other auxiliaries. Among those it cannot co-occur with are those marking negation (either *nye* or low tone). All three of the alternate ways of marking conditionals can be used with negatives:

(61) a. with *ná* 'if'

Ná ' wyéré nye à ta m̀̀l̀ cyé é me,
if money NEG PERF find my hand in NEG
'If I don't have money,
m̀̀l̀ sì k̀̀shẁ̀d̀ mé.
I NEG.FUT it buy NEG
I won't buy it.'

b. with a two-clause construction

Wyéré ' ká m̀̀-nyé u nye à ta m̀̀l̀ cyé é me
money COND IP-be it NEG PERF find my hand in NEG
'If I don't have money,...'

c. with *kámpyí* 'if'

Kámpyí ' wyéré nye à ta m̀̀l̀ cyé é me...
if money NEG PERF find my hand in NEG
'If I don't have money...'

Following is an example with future tense, which takes the low tone negative marking on the auxiliary:

(62) *Ámpyí mu rí sì ò-jà ò-tèèn*
if you ADV NEG.FUT FP.be.able FP-sit
'But if you won't be able to stay

rà a u sig̀̀l̀l̀ mé
go PROG it wait.for.IMPFV NEG
(and) wait for it (= my pay),

ma rá à wá.
you.NONDECL SUBJUNC SUBJUNC.IMPFV go
leave.'

A negative conditional meaning can also be obtained by using a *fó* clause. As a preposition, in addition to meaning 'till', *fó* can mean 'except for' when the noun it marks is followed by the exclusive quantifiers *káná* 'only' or *ye* 'only' (see chapter 6, section 6.3.3.2):

- (63) *M̄i n̄aha à yaaga ta mé*
 I NEG.be.here PERF thing find NEG
 ‘I haven’t found a thing
fó s̄ìṅkombìḡè káná.
 except cane only
 except a cane.’

This same ‘except for’ meaning is obtained when *fó* is used to introduce a negative clause. In effect such a clause gives a negative condition: ‘if not’ or ‘unless’. Following is an example with a negative identifier clause:

- (64) *Wà nyɛ a sà a cè, fó kile bà mé.*
 IND NEG PERF go SC know except God it.is.not NEG
 ‘No one knows except/if not God.’

The conditional meaning is clearer with a verbal clause. The following example uses the alternate form *fá* for *fó*:

- (65) *Fá b̄òm̄p̄íí nyɛ a sà a yìrì*
 except baboons.DEF NEG PERF go SC rise
 ‘Unless the baboons leave
ṅgé dùwwòṅí i mé,
 that stream.dark.DEF from NEG
 that gallery forest,
pi cáà Kàmpwo-kulo cyè wwú.
 they FUT Kampwo-country hand take.off
 they will destroy Kampwo country.’

The common connective phrase *áni bà mé* ‘otherwise’ is actually a frozen negative conditional clause. The negative identifier *bà* ‘it is not’ and the negative marker *mé* are obvious. The alternate pronunciation *náni bà mé* shows that the first element (*á-* or *ná-*) is most likely the conditional marker *ná*. The variant *ná lire bà mé* shows that the second element *-ni* probably derives from a pronominal source, most likely a gender 3 singular pronoun such as *li* ‘it’. The clause thus means literally ‘if it is not this’, or more freely, ‘it if were not for this’. To this should be compared the French conjunction *sinon* ‘otherwise’, literally ‘if not’. Following is an example:

- (66) *Yli númê cyèebíí ṅwòyí sà à faha,*
 you(PL) now women.DEF mouths.DEF go SC be.light
 ‘You modern women are all gossips (lit. the mouths of you women
 of now are very light),

áni bà mé m̀li mpyi na sí mu jyiile.
 if.this it.is.not NEG I PAST PROG FUT.FP you cross
 otherwise (or, if it were not for this) I would have taken you
 across.'

Ani bà mé is also used to mean something like 'but for this' or 'apart from this'. In this capacity it commonly makes an appearance at the end of folk-stories which purport to explain a custom or feature of the world: if the events recounted in the story had not taken place, the world would be different. The following example, taken from a folktale explaining why people no longer bring the dead back to life, is typical:

(67) *Kà lire s̀ s̀pỳré làhà ìrè nà.*
 and this NARR people.DEF take.off this on
 'This made people stop doing this.'

Áni bà mé, s̀pỳré mpyi a fyànha
 if.this it.is.not NEG people.DEF PAST PERF be.first
 Otherwise (or, but for this), people formerly

na lire pyi.
 PROG this do
 used to do this.'

15.1.5.4. Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals, i.e. those which encode events which the speaker knows did not take place, are coded in a variety of ways which parallel the coding of simple irrealis and low probability conditionals. The following is offered as a possible (but highly tentative) scenario to explain the different forms.

As with simple irrealis conditionals, the oldest counterfactual conditional marking is probably that which is placed exclusively in the auxiliary position. Following is an example:

(68) *U ná á ǹ pa, m̀li mpyi na sí ù bwòñ.*
 he COUNTER come I PAST PROG FUT FP.him hit
 'If he had come, I would have hit him.'

Note that the tense-aspect marking in the main clause (=the apodosis) exploits the 'future in the past' marking to indicate counterfactuality (see chapter 9, sections 9.2.7.1 and 9.3.2.3).

The etymology of the auxiliary complex *ná á ǹ* is unclear, though its division into three separate elements in the above example represents an attempt

at analysis. In effect, it seems reasonable to suppose that the initial element *ná* is related to the remote past tense auxiliary *ná*. The final element *nì* is possibly related to the recent past auxiliary *nî*. Unlike all other auxiliaries with the exception of the perfect *à*, *nî* does not require an intransitive prefix on a following verb beginning with a voiceless stop. It is thus significant that the counterfactual *nì* does not require the prefix either, as the above example shows. The low tone on the *nì* is possibly explained by assuming that the medial *á* is in fact the serial connective *à* whose low tone is shifted to the right as would be expected. Its presence would be appropriate if *ná* and *nî* were originally verbs. In chapter 9, section 9.2.2 it was suggested that perhaps *nî* was originally a perfect marker which subsequently shifted to marking recent past. If this is correct, then the complex *ná á nì* would originally have had a past perfect meaning. This should be compared to the now somewhat literary use of the past perfect (with subject-verb inversion) to mark a counterfactual condition in English: 'Had he come, I would have hit him.'

The auxiliary complex *ná á nì*, like the conditional auxiliary *ká*, is incompatible with the negative auxiliary. Just as with *ká*, a two-clause structure is resorted to in which an initial clause with the semantically empty verb *pyi* 'be' carries the conditional marking. On the model of what happens with *ká* conditionals, the expected form would be as follows:

- (69) **U ná á nì pyi u nyε à pa mé...*
 he COUNTER.COND be he NEG PERF come NEG

Instead, the auxiliary complex is reduced to *ná nî*.

- (70) *U ná nî-pyi u nyε à pa mé,...*
 he COUNTER.COND-be he NEG PERF come NEG
 'If he hadn't come...'

The next stage, again as with *ká* conditionals, is the omission of the redundant initial subject, leaving a truncated clause as a subordinating conjunction. The expected form *nám̐pyi* has not been recorded. Instead, the initial [n] is regularly dropped to yield *ám̐pyi*.

- (71) *Ám̐pyi u nyε à pa mé...*
 if.COUNTER.COND he NEG PERF come NEG
 'If he had not come...'

There are several side trails in the above scenario. One old speaker from the village of Sintani was recorded using the dummy pronoun *ku* 'it' as the initial subject in a two clause conditional, rather than using the same subject for both clauses:

- (72) *Ku ná m̀-nyi màràfáyì yi mpyi b̀m̀pílá à*
 it COUNTER.COND-be guns they were baboons.DEF to
 ‘If the baboons had had guns (lit. if guns had been to the baboons)
wùù mú ‘ lé mú mpyi gú m̀-pì ǹnjáà de!
 our also appearance PAST POT FP-be.ugly today EXCL
 say, we would have been in sorry state today!’

Another variant of the two clause structure involves the omission of the second rather than the first subject. This, in contrast to the type just described, has only been recorded in the speech of younger people:

- (73) *Mu ná m̀-nyi a yì jwù m̀ì á,*
 you COUNTER.COND-be PERF them say me to
 ‘If you had told me,
m̀ì mpyi na sí m̀-pà.
 I PAST PROG FUT FP-come
 I would have come.’

A final variant is rather more puzzling. On two or three occasions the form *kám̀pyi* has been heard instead of the more common *ám̀pyi*. If the scenario outlined above is correct, this must be an innovation formed on the analogy of the pair *kám̀pyí/ám̀pyí* for low probability conditionals. At any rate, I was unable to induce anyone to produce a two-clause structure with *ká m̀-nyi* rather than *ná m̀-nyi*. Following is an example using *kám̀pyi*.

- (74) *Kám̀pyi pi mù shù̀nnì mpyi a b̀è,*
 if.COUNTER they also two PAST PERF be.in.harmony
 ‘If they had gotten along together,
pi mpyi na sí òdè pyi pi-yè nà mé.
 they PAST PROG FUT this do they-REFL on NEG
 they would not have done this to each other.’

15.1.5.5. Concessive conditionals

Concessive conditionals in Kampwo Supyire are marked with a distinct auxiliary *méé*. Following are some examples:

- (75) a. *U méé ò-karé d̀gòtòrò-bagé na,*
 he CONC.COND IP-go doctor-house.DEF to
 ‘Even if he goes to the dispensary,

u sí ò-kwú.
 he FUT FP-die
 he will die.'

- b. *Cinge mée mós lwóhé e,*
 log CONC.COND be.long.time water.DEF in
 'Even if a log stays a long time in the water,
ku sí m-pyi wocón mé.
 it NEG.FUT FP-become crocodile NEG
 it won't become a crocodile.' (proverb)

Often the adverb *àlì* 'even', borrowed from Bambara *hali* 'even', is added at the beginning of the clause:

- (76) *Àlì mu mée m̀lì bwón,*
 even you CONC.COND me hit
 'Even if you hit me,
m̀lì sí yaaga pyi mu na mé.
 I NEG.FUT thing do you on NEG
 I won't do anything to you.'

Just as with the simple conditional *ká*, a two-clause construction with *pyi* 'be' is required for negative or past tense concessive conditionals:

- (77) a. negative concessive conditional

Àlì mu mée m-pyi mu nye na n-tíri
 even you CONC.COND IP-be you NEG PROG IP-go.down
 'Even if you don't get down
tùbùji i mé, m̀lì sí ò-jà mu na.
 back.DEF from NEG I FUT FP-be.able you on
 from (my) back, I will be able to handle you.'

- b. past concessive conditional

Yì mée m-pyi yì a pìna à sí,
 you(PL) CONC.COND IP-be you PERF be.lost SC be.born
 'Even if the dates of your births have been forgotten (lit. even if
 you were lost and born),
mu à pyi ná lye-kacìre è uru na.
 you PERF be with old.age-bones.DEF with him on
 you are older in appearance than he (lit. you have the bones of
 old age over/more than him).'

15.1.5.6. Other uses of the conditional

Two other common uses of conditional clauses are mentioned here. Both are described in other parts of this grammar. The first is the use of conditional relative clauses to obtain a non-referential meaning: ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’, etc. Following is an example:

- (78) *Nàŋi ògé-mù ká m-pá ge,*
 man.DEF DEM-REL COND IP-come REL
 ‘Whoichever man comes,
wyéréŋi kan ura à.
 money.DEF give him to
 give him the money.’

This type of relative clause is described in chapter 13, section 13.4.2.

The other secondary use of conditional clauses is as complements of verbs of asking and doubting. Following is an example:

- (79) *U nyé a cè ámpyí ' wyéréŋi sí ò-kàn mé.*
 he NEG PERF know if money.DEF FUT FP-give NEG
 ‘He doesn’t know if the money will be given.’

This type of complement clause is dealt with in chapter 11, section 11.5.3.

15.1.6. Reason and result clauses

The commonest way of introducing a reason (‘because’) clause is by means of a reduced question, *jàhá ná yé* ‘what for?’ or *jàhá kúrúgó yé* ‘through what?’:

- (80) *Bòm-pèègé mège mpyi “Sámhá na ò-kwòhòlì”,*
 baboon-male.DEF name.DEF was Samba PROG IP-dance
 ‘The male baboon’s name was “Samba is dancing”,
jàhá ná yé, kwòhòra a tààn ka à.
 what on Q dancing.DEF PERF be.sweet it to
 because it likes dancing.’

Note that the connecting question phrase, which is a clause in its own right, is generally separated by a pause not only from the preceding “main” clause, but also from the following reason clause. This together with the fact that there are no additional marks of subordination in the reason clause shows that we are here nearing the limits of syntactic integration. In other

words, although the second clause can be said to function semantically as an adverbial reason clause, its syntactic subordination and integration into the main clause has not progressed very far.

Given the willingness of Supyire speakers to make use of subordinators borrowed from other languages, it is not surprising that a common means of marking reason clauses in French has been borrowed into Supyire, and seems to be making headway, especially in the speech of younger people. The French conjunction *parce que* 'because', suitably modified phonologically to something like *pàsige* or *pàske*, occurs several times in the corpus, as in the following example:

- (81) *Wùù mú à yaa na yi yu*
 we also PERF ought PROG them say.IMPFV
 'We too ought to be telling them (to our children)
pàsige ηwɔhɔyi ba mé.
 because fables they.are.not NEG
 because they are not (just) fables.'

Note that there is no pause following *pàsige*, and the clause is one step closer to being an ordinary adverbial clause. Some enthusiastic younger speakers add *pàsige* to *nàhá ná ye*:

- (82) *Dùgùsónηa⁸ a tààn mìlì nà,*
 festival.DEF PERF be.sweet me on
 'The village festival was good for me
pàsige nàhá ná ye, mìlì a pùcwò yyèra a jyè
 because what on Q I PERF girl call SC enter
 because I seduced (lit. called and made enter) a girl
nàhá pyēnge e.
 here compound.DEF in
 here at home.'

In connection with reason clauses, brief mention should also be made of result clauses. These are coded in Supyire by placing the phrase *lire e* 'in this', *lire na* 'on this', or *lire kùrùgò* 'through this' at the head of the clause. Like the marking of reason clauses, this does not really amount to subordination. Following are examples:

- (83) a. *Kà u ú wá na sí rà a mìlì kyá,*
 and she NARR be.there PROG FUT go PROG me eat
 'Then she was going to eat me,

lire e miì à fwo-ro na na ta-shwɔɔ cáà.
 this in I PERF go.out PROG my LOC-save seek
 so/therefore I went out and am seeking a safe place.'

- b. *Wà nye a sà a jìjyìjì wà kwò-n a*
 IND NEG PERF go SC food.DEF IND cut SC
 'No one took any food and

cyàn à yò,
 drop NEG POL

offered (it) (lit. dropped it) (i.e. no one offered any food to the jinns by dropping it into the sacred pool)

lire na zànhá á yìra à cwo níŋkì pì nà.
 this on rain.DEF PERF rise SC fall again them on
 therefore the rain fell on them again (and spoiled their feast).'

- c. *Dùgé tà-jyiigé puní nye fáágá,*
 stream.DEF LOC-cross.DEF all be rock
 'The whole fording place of the stream is rock,

lire kùrùgò pi a kànhe mège le
 this through they PERF village.DEF name.DEF put
 therefore they named the village

Fáágá Kànhe.
 rock village.DEF
 Rock Town (i.e. Farakala).'

15.1.7. Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses, like reason and result clauses, are only loosely integrated into the sentence in which they occur. Sentences containing concessive clauses code a situation in which the actual outcome is in some way contrary to expectation. The concessive clause gives the grounds for expecting a different event or state, while the other (usually the "main") clause gives the actual unexpected event or state. In Kampwo Supyire two distinct constructions are used to encode this semantic relationship. They differ in the order of elements: in one the concession follows the counterexpectation clause, in the other it precedes. In both types it is the second clause which is marked, in each case with a phrasal connective. Following are the two constructions contrasted:

(84) a. counterexpectation—concession

U na bááráŋi⁹ pyi mà lì tà u na ya.
 he PROG work.DEF do and it find he PROG be.sick
 ‘He is working although he is sick.’

b. concession—counterexpectation

U na ya,
 he PROG be.sick
 ‘He is sick,

lire nà lì wùùní mù í, u na bááráŋi pyi.
 this with its POSS.DEF also with he PROG work.DEF do
 but in spite of this he is working.’

In the first construction the second, concessive clause is syntactically the complement of the verb *ta* ‘find, get’ which in turn is the verb in a subjectless clause beginning with the same subject conjunction *mà*. A variant has the pronoun *lire* (gender 3 singular, emphatic) as subject. Following is an example:

(85) *Pi a m̀bín-tirige kan kànha à,*
 they PERF flour-mill give village.DEF to
 ‘They have given a flour mill to the village,

lira a lì tà kà na nye náhá á kwò.
 this PERF it find IND PROG be here SC finish
 although one is here already.’

The alternate construction, with the concession first, makes use of the rather elaborate connective phrase *lire nà lì wùùní mù í*, literally ‘this with its own also’.¹⁰ More freely it means something like ‘in spite of this’, ‘nevertheless’, or ‘and yet’. Following is another example: ù

(86) *Mi a ù cyàhala,*
 I PERF him insult
 ‘I insulted him,

lire nà lì wùùní mù í
 this with its POSS.DEF also with
 and yet

u na n-cyàhà-lì.
 he PROG IP-laugh-IMPV
 he’s laughing.’

15.1.8. Substitutive clauses

As Givón (1990, chapter 19) points out, substitutive ('instead of', 'rather than') clauses are semantically rather similar to concessive clauses. In both cases the event or state which actually obtains is contrary to expectation. While concessive clauses indicate some grounds for this counterexpectation, substitutive clauses encode the expected event which does not actually take place.

Substitutive clauses in Supyire are identical in form to 'before' clauses: they begin with the subordinator *sána*, are subjunctive, and terminate with the relative clause marker cum adverbial clause marker *ké*. Unlike 'before' clauses, however, they may be postposed to the main clause:

- (87) a. *U a cyè lyìgè*
 he PERF refuse eating
 'He refused to eat (at all)
- sáni u Ø na njyìjì lyì gé.*
 rather.than he SUBJUNC my food.DEF eat TC
 'rather than eat my food.'
- b. *Kà mìl í wyérá á kàrè pyènge e,*
 and I NARR be.hot SC go home.DEF to
 'I quickly went home,
- sána mìl í ní-téén dùgé e*
 rather.than I SUBJUNC IP-sit stream.DEF in
 'rather than stay at the stream
- fyìjì ù Ø kwó á cù gé.*
 python.DEF he SUBJUNC finish SSC catch TC
 'for the python to catch.'

Substitutive clauses may also be preposed to their main clause. They are often used with simple or subjunctive imperatives. Note in the following examples the alternate tone pattern on the subordinating morpheme, *sàna* rather than *sána*. This, like *sána*, is also borrowed from Bambara, which has both tunes (*sáni* and *sàni*). No examples with this alternate tune have been recorded with the meaning 'before'. It may be that some speakers are beginning to use this tune for substitutive clauses, and reserve the other tune for 'before' clauses.

- (88) a. *Sàna mu ú a ku la pyi gé,*
 rather.than you he SUBJUNC.IMPFV its desire do TC
 'Instead of (just) wanting it,

kà shwɔ.

IND buy

buy one.’ (said by a seller to a prospective buyer)

b. *Sàna mu ú a*

rather.than you he SUBJUNC.IMPFV

‘Instead of you

ma supyɪnèèŋí yààgé nyèpèèn pyì gé,

your neighbor.DEF thing.DEF envy do TC

envying your neighbors thing,

ma á kà cya a ta.

you SUBJUNC IND seek SSC get

you should try to get one yourself.’

15.1.9. Additive clauses

The clause type which is used to express the additive relation (‘beside’ or ‘in addition to’) is not really a subordinate adverbial clause. It is analogous to the ‘after’ time clause described in section 15.1.1.4 above in that the additive clause is marked by means of a serial verb, in this case the verb *núró* ‘return’. This is regularly used as an initial verb in a serial construction to mean ‘again’. However, in the appropriate context it clearly means something closer to ‘and in addition’. Following is a good example of this latter use:

(89) *Làmísa-yíí na sòòŋi fùn,*
Lamisa-people PROG terrapin.DEF count.as.totem
‘Lamisa’s family have the terrapin as their totem

maá ’ núró na pwùŋŋi fùn.
and.NARR return PROG dog.DEF count.as.totem
and in addition have the dog as their totem.’

The second, additive clause here is in form merely a same subject narrative clause. Coming as it does after a progressive clause, however, and moreover at the very beginning of a narrative, its additive function is clear.

15.1.10. Purpose clauses

There are four distinct clause types regularly used as purpose adverbial clauses. The first is a simple subjunctive clause, as in the following example:

- (90) *Pi na wyīge tūrù sf lwòho ta.*
 they PROG hole.DEF dig.IMPV SUBJUNC water get
 ‘They are digging the hole in order to get water.’

Such a purpose clause can only be postposed to its main clause. If the purpose clause has the same subject as the main clause, its subject is omitted, leaving the clause to begin with the subjunctive auxiliary, as in the above example. The purpose clause can also have a different subject:

- (91) *Kà pi í sùmàñf wu sañcyèèna à,*
 and they NARR grain.DEF pour bird.DEF to
 ‘So they poured grain out for the bird (to delay it)
Nteencwó ' sí ní-tá á lí cáánra
 Nteencwo SUBJUNC IP-get SSC it arrive.before
 so that Nteencwo would manage to arrive ahead of it
banf ñwògé na.
 river.DEF mouth.DEF at
 at the river’s edge.’

Sometimes a speaker puts the Bambara purpose clause conjunction *walisa* in front of a different subject subjunctive purpose clause. The following example contains two purpose clauses, the second giving the purpose of the first, which is preceded by the subordinator *walisa*:

- (92) *Pi màha m̀pògíf ñìñìf tò ná weyi ì*
 they HAB mounds.DEF top.DEF cover with leaves with
 ‘They cover the (yam) mounds with leaves
walisa mbyĩmpe sí ñ-kwòrò fwuùna à
 so.that moisture.DEF SUBJUNC IP-remain yam.DEF to
 so that moisture will remain for the yam
lí fyìnmì sí ñ-táán.
 its sprouting SUBJUNC IP-be.sweet
 so that its sprouting will be good.’

Negative purpose (‘lest’) clauses are expressed with the negative subjunctive (or prohibitive) *kà*. The following example is taken from the same text as the preceding one:

- (93) *Ñjé yi ñye ná ' fyínyi ì gé*
 those they be with sprouts.DEF with RC
 ‘Those that have sprouts

maríi yire kàànmùcàà
 and.NARR.PROG them take.care.with.IMPFV
 (they) are careful with them (as they are planting them)

ya hà ñ-kwò ñ-kyèège mé.
 they PROH FP-finish FP-spoil NEG
 lest they end up being spoiled.'

The second type of purpose clause has the marker *ní*.

(94) *Pi na wyíge tùrù ní lwòhò ta.*
 they PROG hole.DEF dig.IMPFV PURP water get
 'They are digging the hole in order to get water.'

The etymology of *ní* is unknown at present. This type of purpose clause can only be equi-subject with the main clause. The *ní* purpose marker is followed by the future prefix, a fact obscured in the above example since a direct object immediately follows it. Following is a clearer example, with two *ní* clauses:

(95) *Mìl sí m-pà móbiletíjì pèrè*
 I FUT FP-come mobyette.DEF sell
 'I will come sell the mobyette
ní ñ-tàha à kíléjì¹¹ shwò,
 PURP FP-use SC wrenches buy
 in order to use (the money) to buy wrenches
ní ñ-taha rà a mekanishyéngére¹² pyi.
 PURP FP-use go PROG mechanics.DEF do
 in order to go be a mechanic (lit. do mechanics).'

The third type of purpose clause has the form of a special type of *bà...mé* clause. Ordinary *bà...mé* clauses were described above (section 15.1.4) in their function as comparison clauses. To function as purpose clauses they must have a distinctive internal structure consisting of an initial potential clause with the verb *pyi* 'do, be', followed by a same subject subjunctive clause which is in fact identical to a subjunctive purpose clause as described above. The entire two clause structure is bracketed by subordinators *bà* and *mé*.

(96) a. *Pi na wyíge tùrù*
 they PROG hole.DEF dig.IMPFV
 'They are digging the hole

bà pi gú m̀-pyì sí lwɔhɔ ta mé.
 like they POT FP-do SUBJUNC water get like
 in order to get water.'

- b. *Pi a bàhe kan mìl pwúnŋa à*
 they PERF poison.DEF give my dog.DEF to
 'They gave poison to my dog

bà u gú m̀-pyì sí í-kwú mé.
 like he POT FP-do SUBJUNC IP-die like
 so that he would die.'

The fourth type of purpose clause is introduced in chapter 3, section 3.2.2.3. It consists of an indefinite locative nominalization (with the prefix *ta-*) followed by the postposition *i/e* 'in, to'. It can only be used with verbs of motion, most frequently *kare* 'go':

- (97) *U a kàrè lwɔhɔ tá-cya-ge e.*
 she PERF go water LOC-see-G2S to
 'She went to fetch water.'

15.1.11. The discourse-thematic function of adverbial clauses

A number of recent studies have drawn attention to the use of various types of adverbial clause to signal the thematic organization of the discourse in which they occur (see in particular Haiman 1978, Thompson 1985, 1987, Marchese 1987, Ramsay 1987). This is a large and varied subject which warrants further research.

In a number of languages, and probably in most, some types of adverbial clause have a discourse-thematic function far beyond merely providing adverbial modification of their main clauses. In some languages, where there is freedom to place the subordinate clause on either side of its main clause, preposed adverbial clauses have been found to have a markedly different discourse function from postposed ones. In general, preposed clauses have both a linking and a demarcating function: they recapitulate or recall information in the preceding thematic paragraph, while simultaneously indicating the beginning of a new thematic paragraph (cf. Thompson and Longacre 1985:207ff). For most adverbial clause types in Supyire, this freedom of placement is not available. 'When' clauses, for example, must be preposed to their main clause, while purpose clauses must be postposed.

It is nevertheless not difficult to demonstrate that preposed adverbial time clauses in sequentially ordered discourse function at the thematic level in a way similar to preposed 'when' clauses in English. This is illustrated in the following extract from a procedural discourse on how to construct a granary.

Note how the content of each adverbial time clause (in form they are conditional) provides a coherence ‘hook’ linking the clause to the information in the previous section, as well as setting the stage for the following section. This thematic organization is exactly like that reported for Godié in Marchese 1987.

- (98) *Mu màha ... cỳnɲikíí taanna a tòrò*
 you HAB sticks.DEF line.up SC pass
 ‘You ... line up the sticks along

yire fááyí ɲùɲì ì, maá ɲ-kwɔ́,
 these rocks.DEF head at and.SEQ IP-finish
 on top of these rocks, and finish,

maá cìì taanna fááyí ɲiɲ-kwuuyí ɲùɲì ì
 and.SEQ IND line.up rocks.DEF ADJ-surround.DEF head at
 and then line up some of them on top of the circle of rocks

na ma na n-tare
 PROG come.IMPFV PROG IP-set.down.IMPFV
 setting (the other end of each stick)

ɲiɲké wògé ɲùɲì ì.
 middle.DEF POSS.DEF head at
 on the one in the middle.

Mu ahá círé yála à taanna,
 you COND them do.well SC line.up
 When you have lined them up well,

mu arì ɲ-kwɔ́,
 you HAB.SEQ IP-finish
 you stop doing that (lit. you finish)

maá cí mára,
 and.SEQ them cover.with.layer.of.adobe
 and cover them with a layer of adobe,

maá íf yáha lá à waha.
 and.SEQ it let it.COMP PERF dry
 and let it dry.

La há wáha,
 it COND dry
 When it has dried,

mu arì pwooré tà cwònhò
 you HAB.SEQ adobe.DEF IND mix
 you mix some adobe

ná finzígíré e,
with fonio.stems.DEF with
with the fonio stems,

maríi kùjikíí jìní na n-tare.
and.SEQ.PROG balls.DEF roll PROG IP-set.down.IMPFV
and then roll balls (of adobe) and set them down (i.e. to make a wall).

Mu ahá tahagii shuunní pyí,
you COND layers two do
When you have done two layers,

mu màha cire yaha cí à waha dóóní,
you HAB them let they.COMP PERF dry a.bit
you let them dry a little bit,

maá ' nùrá á kùjikíí cìì jìní,
and.SEQ return SC balls.DEF IND roll
and roll some more balls,

maá tahagii shuunní táha
and.SEQ layers two set.down
and then lay two (more) layers

fó màha m-pá lí lyé.
till HAB IP-come it be.old
(and keep on thus) till it is tall.

La há fáánra à nɔ jùŋke kà na,
it COND build SC arrive head.DEF IND at
When it is built up to a certain height,

mu màha bwùncèngí yaha,
you HAB granary.opening.DEF leave
you leave a hole for the doorway,

maá ' nùrá à tahagii shuunní táha...
and.SEQ return SC layers two set.down
and again lay two layers...'

Analogous examples of 'when' clauses could be cited from past tense narratives, though such narratives are not typically as tightly organized into episodes as procedural discourses.

15.2. Coordinate clauses

As noted in the previous section, the syntactic coding of adverbial clauses ranges from clearly subordinate structures such as nominalized clauses to nearly independent clauses whose only mark of “subordination” is a particular serial verb. The category of adverbial clause thus shades off on one side into the domain of coordination: the placing together in one sentence of clauses which are syntactically, if not semantically, of equal status. It is time now to turn to this latter domain and examine ways in which coordinate clauses are combined in Supyire.

The most elaborate type of coordination is found in narrative discourse. There is a system of conjunctions which interact with a narrative auxiliary to provide one of the most important elements of cohesion in narratives. This system is sufficiently complex and important to warrant a section of its own at the end of this chapter (15.3).

By comparison, other types of coordination are minimally marked in Supyire. There is no single equivalent of the conjunction *and*. The noun phrase conjunction *ná* ‘and’ cannot be used to conjoin clauses. The narrative conjunctions *kà* and *mà*, in addition to indicating switch or continuity of subject, include the meaning of sequence, and thus mean something like ‘and then’. No sentences have been discovered in the corpus which are equivalent to English sentences like ‘John likes to cook and Mary likes to shoot.’ Instead, in Supyire, the latent contrast is always signaled, as in ‘John likes to cook, while/on the other hand Mary likes to shoot.’

The following three subsections deal with the commonest types of coordination occurring in the corpus, aside from the narrative system which is dealt with separately. Restatement or paraphrase is coded by the juxtaposition of clauses, without any overt conjunction. This is dealt with in the first subsection below (15.2.1). The relation of contrast (‘but’) is dealt with in the next subsection (15.2.2). Finally, the relation of disjunction (‘or’) is briefly covered in the third subsection (15.2.3).

15.2.1. Paraphrase

A much used rhetorical device is the recasting of the same or similar information in parallel clauses, without any conjunction. Following is a typical example from an expository discourse:

- (99) *Tèè-cyìlní sùpyìré mpyi na fyàgè*
 time-first.DEF people.DEF PAST PROG fear.IMPFV
 ‘The people of long ago used to respect (lit. fear)’

tì-yé ná,
 they-REFL on
 each other,

sùpyìré mpyi na sílégé tí-yè nà,
 people.DEF PAST PROG be.ashamed they-REFL on
 the people used to be modest towards each other,

sùpyìré mpyi a tí-yé péè.
 people.DEF PAST PERF they-REFL honor
 the people used to honor each other.'

This type of paraphrasing is cultivated by people who pride themselves in their rhetorical skill. In certain types of discourse, notably expository, it is quite frequently used. The above example is extracted from a discourse 50 clauses long, of which exactly half (25) of the clauses are parallel in this way.

This is not to say that the paraphrase type of sentence is not found in other discourse types, and spoken by relatively unskilled speakers. A common subtype consists in restating in a negative clause what has just been said in an affirmative clause, or vice versa. Following are examples, both produced by younger speakers not particularly noted for their speaking skills:

(100) a. affirmative—negative

Mi a fò, mì nye à yafyîn ta mé.
 I PERF fail I NEG PERF anything get NEG
 'I failed, I didn't get anything.'

b. negative—affirmative

Yafyîn nàhà náhá ' nǎjǎà mé,
 anything NEG.be.here here today NEG
 'Nothing is amiss here today,'

ticuùmpe pu náhá ' náhá.
 health.DEF it be.here here
 it is (only) health which is here.'

15.2.2. Contrast

Of the two principal means of coding contrastive coordination in Supyire one is "homegrown" and the other borrowed. The homegrown way is unusual in that the mark of coordination, *sí* (labelled 'adversative'), is placed after the subject.¹³

- (101) *U yyāhe nyε à tɔɔn mé,*
 her face.DEF NEG PERF long NEG
 'Her face isn't long,
ku sɪ nyε a pɛ̀la a tɔ̀rɔ̀ mé.
 it ADV NEG PERF be.fat SC pass NEG
 but/on the other hand it isn't very fat (either).'

The imported way uses a borrowed conjunction: *ɲkàà* 'but', from Bambara *ɲka*:¹⁴

- (102) *U mpyi náhá ɲkàà u a kàrè méɲi i.*
 he was here but he PERF go there.DEF to
 'He was here, but he went over there.'

The adversative marker *sɪ* is always placed immediately after the subject, before any auxiliaries the clause may have. Like the narrative auxiliary *sɪ* (but unlike the future auxiliary *sɪ*) it can also be rhotacized if it follows a stressed vowel:

- (103) *Mìl sɪ nɪɲjáà wùubɪ́ sɪ ta,*
 I FUT.FP today POSS.DEF(G1P) get
 'I will take today's (catch of fish),
mu rú ' sɪ nùmpaɲa wúubɪ́ sɪ ta.
 you ADV FUT tomorrow POSS.DEF(G1P) get
 but you will/can take tomorrow's.'

The *sɪ* is placed before the agreement pronoun which must follow a focused subject:

- (104) *Mi sùmàɲá á kèègè,*
 my grain.DEF PERF spoil
 'My grain is spoiled,
yìl sɪ pi a ù kèègè.
 you(PL) ADV they PERF it spoil
 but it is you who have spoiled it.'

ɲkàà always comes at the head of its clause. Occasionally it is supplemented by the addition of *mèè*, from French *mais*:

- (105) *Yi nyε Sɪrigè nùmbwuunɪ i,*
 they be Sirige head.gourd.DEF in
 'They (= girls to seduce) are in Sirige's skull,

ɲkàà mèè Sinkare nyɛ Sirigè lakyááre.
 but but Sinkare is Sirige antidote.DEF
 but Sinkare is the antidote for Sirige (to get them out).'

ɲkàà can also combine with *sf* in the same clause:

(106) *Ná u à pa nɔ, wùù cévóó wí,*
 if s/he PERF come man our friend s/he.is
 'If it (=the unborn baby) is a boy (lit. comes as a man), he will

be

our friend (lit. he is our friend),

ɲkàà u sf ' ká mí-pá ceewe, wùù cwó wí.
 but s/he ADV COND IP-come woman our wife s/he.is
 but if it is a girl (lit. woman), she will be our wife.'

The two methods of coding contrast differ slightly in function. The adverbative marker *sf* covers a wider range of situations, including many that are only very weakly contrastive. Thus it can be on occasion rendered 'while' (in its nontemporal sense) or 'on the other hand':

(107) a. *Pìl na fwòrè, pìl sì i jye.*
 IND(G1P) PROG go.out.IMPFV IND(G1P) ADV PROG enter
 'Some go out, while some go in.' (=a common formula for ending a folktale)

b. *U à pyi na sɔnɲi*
 he PERF be PROG think.IMPFV
 'He (=Francolin) was thinking

na shire na nyɛ uru na,
 that feathers PROG be him on
 that he had feathers,

kùnùɲɔ sì nyɛ tà bàà.
 tortoise ADV be IND without
 while Tortoise had none.'

At a higher discourse level, that is, conjoining sentences or paragraphs rather than clauses, *sf* can mean something like 'however'. Following is an example:

(108) ... *Kà nɔɲi nà ceɛɲi sì sá nɔ*
 and man.DEF and woman.DEF NARR go arrive
 'Then the man and the woman arrived

baní nwàgé na, maá yí jwó
 river.DEF mouth.DEF at and.NARR them say
 at the edge of the river, and said

kwápuruná à “Wu jyiile.”
 canoe.paddler.DEF to us cross
 to the ferryman, “Take us across.”

Kà kwápuruní sí ñ-cyé.
 and canoe.paddler.DEF NARR IP-refuse
 And the ferryman refused.

Pùcéé-bilè sí mpyi u à,
 girl-little ADV was him to
 However, he had a little girl (lit. a little girl however was to him),

kà lire pùcéé-bilíní sí ù bwòn a cyàn
 and this girl-little.DEF NARR him hit SC make.fall
 and this little girl knocked him down

lwàhé e...
 water.DEF in
 into the water...’

The conjunction *ñkàà* codes only strong contrast. Sometimes the specific item which is the source of the contrast is focused in the second clause:

- (109) *Yi puní nyé sèè mé,*
 they all be truth NEG
 ‘They aren’t all true,
ñkàà yà yi nyé sèè dé!
 but IND they be truth EXCL
 but some of them are true!’

Like English *but*, both *sí* and *ñkàà* can have concessive force:

- (110) a. *Mìlì pójí na lyí mìlì táán,*
 my husband.DEF PROG eat.IMPFV me beside
 ‘My husband is eating without me,
katége sí nyé wùu puní na.
 hunger.DEF ADV be us all on
 and yet we are all hungry.’
- b. *Mìlì á mu kóná à wyeère ta,*
 me from you TOP PERF poison.DEF get
 ‘It was indeed from me that you obtained the poison,

ɲkàà wyeère lakýará nyɛ m̀l̀ á mɛ.
 but poison.DEF antidote be me to NEG
 but/yet I don't have an antidote (lit. but an antidote of the
 poison is not to me).'

15.2.3. Disjunction

In comparison with contrast, coordinate clauses with the relation of disjunction ('or') are only infrequently used in the corpus. There are two distinct ways of coding disjunction, neither of which has a very general use. The first was mentioned in chapter 14, in the section on alternative questions (14.2.1.4). It was pointed out there that when it is used to conjoin clauses, the "disjunction" *l̀aa* 'or' normally creates a question (moreover *l̀aa* is the probable source of the yes/no question marker *la*), though in its use as a noun phrase conjunction this is not true (see chapter 6, section 6.7.2). Following are examples of this type of alternative question:

- (111) a. *U a k̀arè l̀aa u na nyɛ bagé e?*
 she PERF go or she PROG be house.DEF in
 'Has she gone or is she in the house?'
- b. *Mu gú rà a báaré*
 you POT go PROG work.IMPFV
 'Are you going to work'
- l̀aa mu gú rà a bàrà yúú?*
 or you POT go PROG conversation take.IMPFV
 or are you going to talk?'

The other type of alternation is equally restricted in function. It makes use of the clause final marker *ỳo* or *ỳoð*, which is most commonly employed as a politeness or attentuation marker.¹⁵ *Ỳo* is also frequently used to mark off items in a list, especially in a list in topic position, as in the following example:

- (112) *M̀l̀ ỳo, K̀ul̀sigi Fanháka ỳo,*
 me LIST Kulusigi.people Fanhaka LIST
 'Me, Fanhaka from the Kulusigi family,
- T̀aànfùn Zhyé ỳo, ẁùù ná m̀-pyí.*
 Taanfun Zhye LIST we REM.PAST IP-be
 Zhye from Taanfun, we were (there).'

The same use of repeated *ỳo*s can be used to code disjunctive clauses, meaning roughly 'whether...or...'. The clauses must contain either a pair of anto-

noms or must be opposed as affirmative and negative. Moreover, they must be related to a third clause. They can be the preposed complements of an irrealis clause with the verb *ce*, for example:

(113) a. affirmative—negative

Sèè wì yō, sèe bàlà à yō,
truth it.is OR truth it.is.not NEG OR
'Whether it is the truth, or (it is) not the truth,

wà nyé a cè mé.
IND NEG PERF know NEG
no one knows.'

b. antonyms

Mu ahá "búgàun" lógó lwché e,
you COND (IDEO) hear water.DEF in
'When/if you hear "splash" in the water,

kà pi kwóré yò, kà pi lé-nì yò,¹⁶
and they draw.IMPFV OR and they put-IMPFV OR
whether they are drawing, or (they are) putting in,

mu a cè la?
you PERF know Q
do you know?'

The *yō* clauses can also be related to another clause somewhat like concessive clauses to a counterexpectation clause:

(114) *Wà à cyìlgè yō, wà nyé a cyìlgà à yō,*
IND PERF be.smart OR INDNEG PERF be.smart NEG OR
'Whether one is smart or (one is) not smart,

byé-mù a pùrù nyà.
all-also PERF this see
everyone has see (i.e. understood) this.'

15.3. Clause chaining in narrative

Narrative discourse in Kampwo Supyire is characterized by a distinctive system of clause chaining. The initial clause in a narrative typically sets the tense-aspect stage with one of the past tense auxiliaries. After that the narration is for the most part carried forward by clauses in the narrative or sequential tense (see chapter 9, section 9.2.6), each of which must begin with

one of two narrative conjunctions, *kà* or *mà*. The following example is the beginning of a folktale:

- (115) *Mpi u màha η-kare sòròlashí¹⁷ í,*
 hare he PAST IP-go soldier in
 ‘Once Hare went to join the army,
mà sà nò zhyèn-cìgè nà.
 and.SS go arrive baobab-tree at
 and arrived at a baobab tree.
Kà zhyèn-cìgé wèéni là sì jì-cwò,
 and.DS baobab-tree.DEF leaf.DIM.DEF IND NARR IP-fall
 Then a little leaf of the baobab tree fell,
kà m̀pi sí líré ' lwó á kyà,
 and.DS hare NARR it take SC eat
 and Hare took and ate it,
ma-á jwo....
 and.SS-NARR say
 and said...’

There are several points to note in the above example. First, a *kà* clause with an overt subject is used every time there is a switch in subject. Part of the function of *kà* (or its variant *ká*) is to signal different subject (glossed DS in the example). The second point to note is that *mà* clauses have no overt subject. Their understood, zero anaphora subject must always be the same as the subject of the preceding narrative clause. Note further that a *mà* clause may have a narrative auxiliary (as in the final clause of the above example) or no auxiliary at all (as in the second clause). A *mà* clause with no auxiliary corresponds rather well to what has been called a “consecutive” clause type in descriptions of other African languages. It was pointed out in chapter 8 (section 8.2.4) that the serial verb connective *à* is most likely derived from *mà*.

15.3.1. The narrative auxiliary and finiteness

The vast majority of *kà* clauses have the narrative auxiliary, but it is sometimes omitted, as the following example shows:

- (116) *Ká pire ∅ nùrù na yalyire bá ' jíáará mìlì á.*
 and.DS they return PROG food even beg me from
 ‘Then they came back and were begging even food from me.’

This possibility of narrative clauses having no auxiliary points to an important observation: narrative clauses are non-finite, or at least not fully finite. Note that if they are same subject their subject is not overtly mentioned. Moreover, their auxiliary marking (or lack of it) corresponds closely to subjunctive marking. Recall that there are two types of subjunctive. The ‘zero’ subjunctive, illustrated in the following example, corresponds to the zero auxiliary in a narrative clause:

- (117) *U à yaa u Ø pa.*
 he PERF ought he SUBJUNC come
 ‘He ought to come.’

The *sí* subjunctive auxiliary, illustrated in the following example, has the same form as the *sí* narrative auxiliary.

- (118) *U à yaa u ú mí-pá.*
 he PERF ought he SUBJUNC IP-come
 ‘He ought to come.’

Both auxiliaries lose their initial consonant following a pronoun subject, and their vowel then assimilates to the pronoun vowel. The narrative *sí* also undergoes this reduction following the narrative conjunction *mà*. The two auxiliaries in fact differ only in the way that they combine with imperfective aspect. The subjunctive *sí* combines with the imperfective subjunctive auxiliary *a*:

- (119) *Mu lá nyε*
 your desire be
 ‘You don’t want
- sá a wà jwùmù núrú mε.*
 SUBJUNC IMPFV.SUBJUNC IND words hear.IMPFVNEG
 to be listening to anyone’s words.’

The narrative *sí*, however, combines with the progressive auxiliary in one of two ways. In a *mà* clause, the narrative auxiliary and the reduced form of the progressive auxiliary combine with the *mà* to form the complex *maríí*:

- (120) *Ceèñi wà u màha pyì sí-nì*
 woman.DEF IND she PAST children give.birth-IMPFV
 ‘A certain woman was giving birth to children
- ma-rí-i pi kyaa.*
 and.SS-NARR-PROG them eat.IMPFV
 and was eating them.’

In a *kà* clause, on the other hand, the intervention of the locative copula *wá* ‘be there’ is required in order to add the progressive auxiliary:

- (121) *Kà u ú wá na meenf sùù...*
 and.DS he NARR be.there PROG voice.DEF cry
 ‘And he was crying...’

Aside from these combinations with the imperfective, neither the subjunctive nor the narrative auxiliaries combine with any other auxiliaries.

The similarities between subjunctive and narrative marking are much more striking than the minor differences noted above. What is the connection between two such seemingly different functions? The explanation, as suggested by Givón (1990, chapter 19), lies in the fact that both types of context favor non-finite coding. The subjunctive is used in complements (of modality and manipulative verbs) and in polite commands. Both types of clause are associated cross-linguistically with lowered finiteness, because the appropriate tense of the complement clause or the command, and the identity of the main participant (usually the agent) can be read off the main clause or the speech situation. The lowered finiteness of narrative clauses has a similar origin. In recounting a series of events, speakers can rely on a basic principle of cognitive inertia: the hearer will assume that things remain the same unless alerted otherwise. Continuity, whether of time, place, or participants, requires less coding than discontinuity.

The time setting of a Supyire narrative is set at the beginning in one of the first clauses of the discourse. No further tense setting is required for the rest of the narrative. There may be time phrases such as ‘one day’ or ‘the next morning’, or adverbial clauses such as ‘when they arrived there’, but the basic events of the story which are reported in their expected chronological order require no further tense marking than the narrative auxiliary. Note in the following opening of a folktale that the narrative auxiliary is used after an adverbial time clause in one case and a time phrase in the other:

- (122) *Nàji wà u mpyi a tàcwò cù*
 man.DEF IND he PAST PERF fiancée grasp
 ‘A certain man had gotten a fiancée
kànhe kà na,
 village.DEF IND at
 in a certain village,
ma-á wá na si
 and.SS-NARR be.there PROG go.IMPFV
 and was going

*na u faàŋi pyi.*¹⁸
 PROG her farming.DEF do
 and farming for her.

Mà ù yàha uru faaŋi na, TIME CLAUSE
 and him leave this farming.DEF on
 While he was doing this farming,

kà u kyaa sì ò-táán
 and.DS his matter NARR IP-be.sweet
 his matter became sweet

pùcwòŋf wàbérà à.
 girl.DEF another to
 to another girl (i.e. another girl fell in love with him).

Càŋké kà kà u ú f-káré ' TIME PHRASE
 day.DEF IND and.DS he NARR IP-go
 One day he went

ní zà u cwòŋi lwò...
 PURP go his wife.DEF take
 to take his wife...'

Referential continuity similarly lends itself to less coding. In same subject chains, the subject need only be mentioned once at the beginning, and subsequent clauses begin with *mà*:

(123) *Kà u ú tíré sùre shwòhò,*
 and.DS she NARR that mush.DEF cook
 'Then she cooked that mush,

ma-á lyí kárágátá
 and.SS-NARR eat IDEO (= full to bursting)
 and ate till she was stuffed,

ma-á nàmbaa wóóre kan,
 and.SS-NARR men POSS.DEF give
 and went and gave the men's (food to them),

ma-á f-kwó,
 and.SS-NARR IP-finish
 and finished (giving out the food)

ma-á sá yíré yaayí lwò,
 and.SS-NARR go those things.DEF take
 and went and got the dishes (lit. things),

ma-á *mí-pá,*
and.SS-NARR IP-come
and came

ma-á *ú-yè* *nàhana,*
and.SS-NARR she-REFL twist
and stretched herself

ma-á *jwó...*
and.SS-NARR say
and said...'

The Supyire type of clause chaining, in which the stage is set at the beginning and subsequent clauses are less finite, is typical of African languages. The Swahili narrative tense (-*ka*-; see Givón 1990, chapter 19) works rather similarly to Supyire *sí*, as does the sequential auxiliary *yi* in Godie (Marchese 1988).

15.3.2. Switch reference

What distinguishes Supyire from other African languages is the use of the conjunctions *kà* and *mà* to signal switch reference. The development of switch reference markers from conjunctions is well documented. Cases have been reported in such widely diverse languages as Polish (see Frajzyngier 1986), Green Hmong (see Li 1990), Pima and Papago (see Scancarrelli 1989), and Paez (see Gerdel and Slocum 1976).

Switch reference systems of the Supyire sort, on the other hand, differ from the type found in New Guinea, in which the clause with the finite verb is placed at the end of the clause chain rather than at the beginning. Preceding clauses in the chain are in a medial, less finite form. There is a cline of finiteness, ranging from the most finite final verb form through the different subject medial verb form, with the least finite form being the same subject medial verb form. Supyire displays the same cline, although the finite clause comes first rather than last in the chain.

The Supyire switch reference system, like those reported in other languages, has the ability to “skip” over subordinate clauses. Thus a same subject clause may be used following a different subject subordinate clause, if the preceding narrative clause has the same subject. Following are examples of this:

(124) a. direct quote complement of verb of speech

Kà *zàntùŋð* *sì* *jwò*
and.DS hyena NARR say
'Then Hyena said

Jò u sí shõnyi yaha
 who s/he FUT horses.DEF leave
 ‘Who would leave the horses

sí sá ' síní ' ná ñkwuubílé è ye?’
 SUBJUNC go lie.down with chickens.DEF with Q
 in order to go sleep with the chickens?’

ma-á ñ-kára á sà síní '
 and.SS-NARR IP-go SC go lie.down
 and (he) went and slept

ná shõnyi ì.
 with horses.DEF with
 with the horses.’

b. realis (high tone) complement of perception verb

Kà pi í sige niyí yà nya
 and.DS they NARR bush cows.DEF IND see
 ‘Then they saw some of the bush cows

yá á pí tégèlè kwón yyaha na,
 they.COMP PERF their limit cut face at
 had cut them off in front

ma-á yà nye
 and.SS-NARR IND see
 and (they) saw others

yá á pí tégèlè kwón kàntugo...
 they.COMP PERF their limit cut behind
 had cut them off behind.’

c. relative clause

Kà mìl í ñ-tílá à
 and.DS I NARR IP-be.straight SC
 ‘Then I straightaway

na yaayí lwò a kàrè mishyóni i,
 my things.DEF take SC go mission.DEF to
 took my things and went to the mission,

ma-á sá túbabúni u mpyi
 and.SS-NARR go white.person.DEF he was
 and went and the white person who was

mìl yyáhá ná ke,
 my face at REL
 ahead of me

ma-á *sá úrú yigege pyi*
 and.SS-NARR go his asking do
 and asked after him

mishyóni fùnnò shíinbílá à.
 mission.DEF inside people.DEF from
 from the people in the mission.'

As in a number of other switch reference systems, the different subject conjunction *kà* is sometimes used even when the preceding main clause is same subject, but when there is some type of discontinuity other than referential. This is conveniently illustrated with what happens following a time adverbial clause. In section 15.1.12 above it was pointed out that such clauses generally introduce a new thematic paragraph. It is thus interesting that a *kà* clause may be used following a time clause even when both it and the preceding main clause are same subject:

(125) *Ŋké cànnké kà mu ú ŋ-káré*
 that day.DEF and.DS you NARR IP-go
 'That day she (lit. you)FN went

mà sà a yire càà
 and.SS go PROG them seek.IMPFV
 and was gathering them (= sticks of firewood),

mà kwùbíf ta aní.
 and.SS dead.DEF find there
 and found the dead were there.

Mu a s̀nciif cya a kwò ké,
 you PERF firewood.DEF seek SC finish TC
 When she (lit. you) had finished gathering the firewood,

kà mu ú yí jwó pi à
 and.DS you NARR them say them to
 she (lit. you) said to them

na pi Ø ma tugo.
 that they SUBJUNC you help.put.load.on.head
 that they should help you put the load on her head.'

Much further evidence for the correlation of *kà* with thematic discontinuity is presented in Carlson (1987).

A final point should be mentioned. Items which are left dislocated at the head of the clause in topic position precede the narrative conjunction. An example of a preposed time phrase is seen in the first clause of the above passage. An example of a preposed topic is:

- (126) *Cìnùḡḡ, ká uru sì kε kan.*
Cinungo and.DS he NARR ten give
'Cinungo, he gave ten.'

Appendix 1

Texts

The following sample of texts includes the major genres in the corpus. There are three narratives: two short folktales, “The Farmer and the Bush People” and “Warthog’s Laughter Teeth”, and a true, personal narrative, “The Python”. These are followed by two procedural texts “How to Cultivate Yams” and “How the Senufo Bury Their Dead”. “The Cause of Discord Between Children and Parents” is an expository text. There follows an extract from a conversation and finally a sampling of proverbs.

Unlike the examples in the main body of the grammar, where glosses are frequently simplified to avoid unnecessary clutter, the morpheme by morpheme translation in the following texts is exhaustive. Note that third person pronouns are glossed according to their number and gender. Thus *u* is glossed ‘G1S’ (gender 1 singular), and not ‘s/he’.

I have in general not attempted to translate the various ejaculations of surprise or assent (including the use of French *bon*, literally ‘good’), or the murmers of interlocuters which mean something like ‘I’m listening.’ I have instead merely transcribed them phonetically.

Narratives

The Farmer And The Bush People

1. *Nà-ŋi wà u ná sá ú kéré-gé ' cyán*
 man-DEF.G1S IND.G1S G1S PAST go G1S field-G2S drop
 A certain man went and made his field

si-ge shí-in cyé-gé é. 2. *Ci-ré*
 bush-G2S person-G1P place-G2S in tree-DEF.G4
 in a place where there were bush people.

tèè-paan-ná à nɔ gé, 3. *kà u ú ŋ-karé*
 time-chop-DEF.G3S PERF arrive TC DS G1S NARR IP-go
 When the time to chop the trees arrived, he went

sà a ci-ré pàan-nì. 4. *Lira a*
 go PROG tree-DEF.G4 chop-IMPFV EMPH.G3S PERF
 to chop the trees. Meanwhile

sùpyì-ré ta 5. pí á yì jwò u à
 person-DEF.G4 find G1P.COMP PERF G2P say G1S to
 the people had said to him

6. *na u ahà kuru cyê-ge pyi mé,*
 that G1SPROH EMPH.G2S place-DEF.G2S do NEG
 that he should not farm (lit. do) that place,

7. *na si-ge shí-in na nyé kuru cyê-ge e.*
 that bush-G2S person-G1P PROG be EMPH.G2S place-DEF.G2S in
 that there were bush people in that place.

8. *Kà u ú jí-'cyé,* 9. *ma-á ñ-karé.*
 DS G1S NARR IP-refuse SS-NARR IP-go
 (But) he refused (to listen to them) and went (anyway).

10. *U a sà nò,* 11. *ma-á kacii-nyé-ge*
 G1S PERF go arrive SS-NARR ax-FULL-DEF.G2S
 (When) he arrived, (he) struck the first blow

nijn-cyìl-ge bwòñ, 12. *kà si-ge shí-in-bíí*
 ADJ-first-DEF.G2S hit DS bush-G2S person-G1P-DEF.G1P
 of the ax, and the old man of the bush

nàñkò-lyè-ñí sì fwòra a ù yígé
 person-be.old-DEF.G1S NARR go.out SC G1S ask
 people came out and asked him

13. *na “Jò u nyé na ci-ré pààn-nì ye?”*
 that who G1S be PROG tree-DEF.G4 chop-IMPV Q
 “Who is it that is chopping the trees?”

14. *Kà u ú jwó* 15. *na uru Faasúmà wì.*
 DS G1S NARR say that EMPH.G1S Fasuma it.is.G1S
 And he said that it was him, Fasuma.

16. *Nà-ñí mè-gé ku nyé kure.*
 man-DEF.G1S name-DEF.G2S G2S be EMPH.G2S
 That was the man's name.

17. *Kà si-ge shí-in-bíí nàñkò-lyè-ñí*
 DS bush-G2S person-G1P-DEF.G1P person-be.old-DEF.G1S
 And the old man of the bush people

sì yì jwò u pyì-i-bílá à 18. *na pi Ø*
 NARR G2P say G1S child-G1P-DEF.G1P to that G1P SUBJUNC
 said to his children that they should

fwora a Faasúmà tégé 19. *pi í ci-ré pààn.*
 go.out SSC Fasuma help G1P SUBJUNC tree-DEF.G4 chop
 come out and help Fasuma to chop trees.

20. *Kà pi í fwóra a ù tégè,* 21. *kà pi í*
 DS G1P NARR go.out SC G1S help DS G1P NARR
 So they came out and helped him and they (= Fasuma + the bush

ci-ré pààn.
 tree-DEF.G4 chop
 people) chopped the trees.

22. *Zàn-cyii-yá* à *cwo gé,* 23. *kà Faasúmà sí*
 rain-first-DEF.G2P PERF fall TC DS Fasuma NARR
 When the first rains fell, Fasuma

ɲ-kará á sà kerè-ge sàà-lì. 24. *Kà si-ge*
 IP-go SC go field-DEF.G2S scrape-IMPV DS bush-G2S
 went and began clearing the field. The old man

shí-in-bíí nàṅkò-lyè-ṅí *sì núra* à
 person-G1P-DEF.G1P person-be.old-DEF.G1S NARR return SC
 of the bush people again came out and

fwora a ù yí gé, 25. *kà u ú jwó* 26. *na ure.*
 go.out SC G1S ask DS G1S NARR say that EMPH.G1S
 asked him (who it was), and he said that it was him.

27. *Kà u ú ú pyì-i-bíí* *pyi*
 DS G1S NARR G1S child-G1P-DEF.G1P make
 So he made his children

28. *pí* à *fwora a kù sáá.*
 G1P.COMP PERF go.out SC G2S scrape
 come out and and clear it.

29. *Ḷeem-pé* *tè-na* à *nɔ gé,* 30. *kà u*
 sowing-DEF.G5 time-DEF.G3S PERF arrive TC DS G1S
 When the time to sow arrived, he

ú sá ɲɛɛŋ-gyí-í-ni níŋ-cyì-ni nùgò.
 NARR go seed-hole-G3S-DEF.G3S ADJ-first-DEF.G3S sow
 went and and sowed the first hole.

31. *Kà si-ge shí-in-bíí nàŋkò-lyè-ŋí*
 DS bush-G2S person-G1P-DEF.G1P person-be.old-DEF.G1S
 Then the old man of the bush people

sì nùrá à fwora a ù yígé, 32. *ma-á ú*
 NARR return SC go.out SC G1S ask SS-NARR G1S
 again came out and asked him, and then

pyì-ì-bíí pyi 33. *pí à fwora a ù*
 child-G1P-DEF.G1P make G1P.COMP PERF go.out SC G1S
 made his children come out and help him

tègè 34. *pí à ɲɛem-pé nùgò.*
 help G1P.COMP PERF seed-DEF.G5 sow
 sow the seed.

35. *Canŋ kà kà nà-ŋi cwò-ŋí sì*
 day IND.G2S DS man-DEF.G1S wife-DEF.G1S NARR
 One day the man's wife

mò ná zànnɛɛ-gé è, 36. *kà nà-ŋi*
 be.long.time with midday.meal-DEF.G2S with DS man-DEF.G1S
 took a long time with the midday meal, and the man

lù-ù-ni sì yírì, 37. *kà u ú*
 gall.bladder-G3S-DEF.G3S NARR get.up DS G1S NARR
 got angry (lit. the man's gall bladder got up), and he slapped

kanta-a bwòŋ ceè-ŋi i. 38. *Kà si-ge*
 palm-G3S hit woman-DEF.G1S in DS bush-G2S
 the woman. Then the old man

shí-in-bíí nàŋkò-lyè-ŋí sì nùrá á ù
 person-G1P-DEF.G1P person-be.old-DEF.G1S NARR return SC G1S
 of the bush people again

yígé 39. *na “Jò u ɲye na u cwò-ŋí bwù-ùn*
 ask that who G1S be PROG G1S wife-DEF.G1S hit-IMPV
 asked him, “Who is it that is hitting his wife?”

ye?" 40. *Kà u ú jwó* 41. *na ure, Faasúma wì.*
 Q DS G1S NARR say that EMPH.G1S Fasuma it.is.G1S
 He said that it was him, Fasuma.

42. *Kà u ú jwó ú pyì-i-bílá* à 43. *na pi*
 DS G1S NARR say G1S child-G1P-DEF.G1P to that G1P
 So he said to his children that they

Ø *fwora a u tege* 44. *pi* Ø
 SUBJUNC go.out SSC G1S help G1P SUBJUNC
 should come out and help him

ceè-njì bwòn. 45. *Kà pi í fwóra a*
 woman-DEF.G1S hit DS G1P NARR go.out SC
 hit the woman. So they came out and

nà-njì tègè 46. *pí* à *ceè-njì bwòn*
 man-DEF.G1S help G1P.COMP PERF woman-DEF.G1S hit
 helped the man hit the woman

a bò.
 SC kill
 (till they) killed (her).

47. *Canŋ kà sáhánkì kà nà-njì sì ñ-kàrè*
 day IND.G2S again DS man-DEF.G1S NARR IP-go
 One day again the man went

kerè-ge e, 48. *kà lùpà-àn sì ñ-tèèn ù nà,*
 field-DEF.G2S in DS mosquito-G3S NARR IP-sit G1S on
 to the field, and a mosquito sat on him

49. *kà u ú lí bwón.* 50. *Kà si-ge*
 DS G1S NARR G3S hit DS bush-G2S
 and he hit it. Then

shí-in-bíí nànkò-lyè-njì sì ù yígé
 person-G1P-DEF.G1P person-be.old-DEF.G1S NARR G1S ask
 the old man of the bush people asked him

51. *na "Jǒ-fðò u jye na lùpà-àn-re*
 that who-owner G1S be PROG mosquito-G4-DEF.G4
 "Who is it that is hitting mosquitos

bwù-ùn u-yè nà ye?" 52. *Kà nà-ŋi sị jwò*
hit-IMPFV G1S-REFL on Q DS man-DEF.G1S NARR say
on himself?" The man said

53. *na ure.* 54. *Kà nògò-lyè-ŋí sị u*
that EMPH.G1S DS person-be.old-DEF.G1S NARR G1S
that it was him. So the old man told his

pyi-i-bíí pyi 55. *na pi Ø fwora a u*
child-G1P-DEF.G1P tell that G1P SUBJUNC go.out SSC G1S
children that they should come out and

tege 56. *pi Ø lùpà-àn-re bwòñ.* 57. *Kà pi*
help G1P SUBJUNC mosquito-G4-DEF.G4 hit DS G1P
help him hit the mosquitos. So they

í fwóra a nà-ŋi lùpà-àn-re bwòñ
NARR go.out SC man-DEF.G1S mosquito-G4-DEF.G4 hit
came out and hit the man's mosquitos

58. *fó mà sà ù bò.* 59. *Kà kerè-ge fàà-ŋí*
till SS go G1S kill DS field-DEF.G2S farming-DEF.G1S
till they killed him. The farming of the field

sị yyéré kuru cyè-ge e.
NARR stop EMPH.G2S place-DEF.G2S in
stopped at that point.

60. *Lire la à faa-pyi-i-bíí ta*
EMPH.G3S G3S PERF farming-do-G1P-DEF.G1P find
This is why, when the farmers

61. *pi ahá jwó* 62. *na ñké cyè-ge nye*
G1P COND say that DEM.G2S place-DEF.G2S be
say that this place should not be

num-pyi-ge mé, 63. *uru fòla asì kùrù*
ADJ-do-G2S NEG EMPH.G1S owner HAB.SEQ EMPH.G2S
done (i.e. farmed), that person (i.e. the person being advised)
leaves

yàha. 64. *Li ñwò-hé ku nye ñké.*
leave G3S meaning-DEF.G2S G2S be DEM.G2S
it alone. This is the reason for that.

Warthog's Laughter Teeth

Caa-wa Kátàn-rà Ɔkyàn-hi-gíí
 warthog-G1S laughter-G4 tooth-G3P-DEF.G3P
 Warthog's Laughter Teeth

1. *Si-ge yáá-rá ti màha ɲwɔ wwɔ* 2. *sá*
 bush-G2S thing-G4 G4 PAST mouth unite SUBJUNC
 The wild animals formed a society to

a pi kwù-u-bíí tù-nì sɲɲcyan, 3. *ma-á*
 PROG G1P die-G1P-DEF.G1P bury-IMPV together SS-NARR
 bury their dead together, and

jwɔ 4. *ɲgé-mù ká mí-pá kàntu-go ké,* 5. *pi*
 say DEM.G1S-REL COND IP-come back-G2S REL G1P
 said that whoever came last (to the burial), they

í úrú pyí fann-túgú-síká-ɲi.
 SUBJUNC EMPH.G1S make grave-dig-goat-DEF.G1S
 would make that one the 'grave-diggers' goat'.

6. *Canɲ kà kà Cin nú sí mí-pá ɲ-kwù.*
 day IND.G2S DS leopard mother NARR IP-come IP-die
 One day Leopard's mother died.

7. *Kà si-ge yáá-re puní sì wá na*
 DS bush-G2S thing-DEF.G4 all NARR be.there PROG
 All the wild animals were

ma Cin pyén-gá, 8. *mà pa ɲ-kwò á*
 come.IMPV leopard compound-G2S SS come IP-finish SC
 coming to Leopard's compound, and finally

yaha Kùcwuun yé. 9. *Kà Caa-wa sí yírì ná ú*
 leave monkey only DS warthog-G1S NARR rise with G1S
 only Monkey was left. Then Warthog got up with

pìín-ni *ì*
 drum.DIM-DEF.G3S with
 his little drum:

10. “Katégué pàgà té, Kùcwuun sí sàhá m-pá me.
 katege paga te monkey ADV NEG.YET IP-come NEG
 “Katege paga te (=the sound of the drum), Monkey hasn’t come yet.”

11. Katégué pàgà té, Kùcwuun sí sàhá m-pá me,”
 katege paga te monkey ADV NEG.YET IP-come NEG
 Katege paga te (=the sound of the drum), Monkey hasn’t come yet,”

12. *na bwu-un na bwu-un.* 13. *Kà pi*
 PROG hit-IMPV PROG hit-IMPV DS G1P
 (and he) was playing and playing. At last

sanm-píí sí ñ-kwò á jwo 14. “*Ɔon, sèè*
 OTHER.G1P-DEF.G1P NARR IP-finish SC say yes truth
 the others said, “Yes, it’s true.”

wì. 15. *Kùcwuun sàhá ní-pá me.* 16. *Kùcwuun u*
 it.is.G1S monkey NEG.YET IP-come NEG monkey G1S
 Monkey hasn’t come yet. It’s Monkey who will be

sí m-pyì fann-túgú-síká-ñi.”
 FUT FP-be grave-dig-goat-DEF.G1S
 the grave-diggers’ goat.”

17. *Dóóni Kùcwuun yyá-há ke kú u*
 in.a.bit monkey face-DEF.G2S here.is.G2S G2S.COMP G1S
 In a little while here came Monkey (lit. here is Monkey’s face

ma. 18. *U à pa nɔ gé,* 19. *Caa-wa*
 come.IMPV G1S PERF come arrive TC warthog-G1S
 coming). When he arrived, Warthog

sàhá na wá ú mé-é-ni na na ñ-cèè:
 STILL PROG be.there G1S song-G3S-DEF.G3S on PROG IP-sing
 was still there singing his song:

20. “*Katégué pàgà té, Kùcwuun sí sàhá m-pá me.*”
 katege paga te monkey ADV NEG.YET IP-come NEG
 “Katege paga te, Monkey hasn’t come yet.”

21. *Kà pi sanm-píí sí jwò* 22. “*Kùcwuun,*
 DS G1P OTHER.G1P-DEF.G1P NARR say monkey
 The others said, “Monkey,

mu u sí n̄-pyì fann-túgú-síká-ŋi. 23. *Kà Kùcwuun*
 you G1S FUT FP-be grave-dig-goat-DEF.G1S DS monkey
 it's you who will be the grave-diggers' goat." Monkey

sí jwó 24. “*Ɔɔn, ñkàà yìlì Ø yyèrè sí*
 NARR say yes but you.PL SUBJUNC stop SUBJUNC
 said “OK, but wait (first) so (I can)

me-ε céè.” 25. *Kà pi í jwó “Ɔɔn.”*
 song-G3S sing DS G1P NARR say yes
 sing a song.” So they said “OK.”

26. *Lira à Caa-wa ta* 27. *ú u*
 EMPH.G3S PERF warthog-G1S get G1S.COMP PROG
 Meanwhile Warthog was getting
 louder

nààrè. 28. *Kà Kùcwuun sí jwó*
 increase.IMPFV DS monkey NARR say
 (lit. increasing). Then Monkey said,

29. “*Kùzúyí, kùzúyí, kùzúyí,*
kuzuyi kuzuyi kuzuyi
 “Kuzuyi kuzuyi kuzuyi (sound of *bogo*, a stringed instrument)

Cin nú ' ná ñ-kwù yo ná ñ-kwù yo ná
 Leopard mother PAST IP-die ATTEN PAST IP-die ATTEN PAST
 Leopard's mother died, died,

ñ-kwù yo,
 IP-die ATTEN
 died.

30. *si-ge yáá-re puní na ñnì na ñnì,*
 bush-G2S thing-DEF.G4 all PROG weep PROG weep
 all the wild animals are weeping, weeping,

31. *Caa-wa sí i ñ-cyàhà-ì,*”
 warthog-G1S ADV PROG IP-laugh-IMPFV
 but Warthog is laughing.”

32. *ma-á ' nùrá á ìlì tàha.* 33. *Kà Caa-wa sí*
 SS-NARR return SC G3S repeat DS warthog-G1S NARR
 and (he) repeated it again. Then Warthog

ú pìlín-ni yyéè-ṅè, 34. ma-á jwó 35. u gú
 G1S drum.DIM-DEF.G3S stop-CAUS SS-NARR say G1S POT
 stopped his little drum, and tried to close (lit. said

ṅwɔ-gé tò. 36. Ku ṅye a já a tò mé.
 mouth-DEF.G2S close G2S NEG PERF be.able SC close NEG
 he would close) his mouth. It couldn't be closed.

37. Kà u ú cyē-yi tàha à ṅwɔ-seè-yi
 DS G1S NARR hand-DEF.G2P use SC mouth-skin-DEF.G2S
 He used his hands to grab his cheeks

cù a dīrì mà dīrì, 38. yi ṅye a já a
 grab SC pull SS pull G2P NEG PERF be.able SC
 and pulled and pulled, but they couldn't

ṅkyàn-hi-gíí tò mé. 39. Kà si-ge yáá-re
 tooth-G3P-DEF.G3P cover NEG DS bush-G2S thing-DEF.G4
 cover his teeth. Then the other wild animals

sānn-te sī jwò 40. “Sèè u náhá ú
 OTHER-DEF.G4 NARR say truth G1S be.here G1S.COMP
 said, “It's really true.”

wî,” 41. ma-á Caa-wa cú à bò à pyi
 it.is.G1S SS-NARR warthog-G1S grab SC kill SC make
 and (they) grabbed Warthog and killed him and made

fann-túgó-síká-ṅi, 42. kà Kùcwuun sí shwó.
 grave-dig-goat-DEF.G1S DS monkey NARR save
 him the grave-diggers' goat, and Monkey was saved.

43. Cire katà-àn-re ṅkyàn-hi-gíí ci ṅye
 EMPH.G3P laughter-G4-DEF.G4 tooth-G3P-DEF.G3P G3P be
 It is those laughter teeth that Warthog still has (lit. it is those laughter

Caa-wa á àmē.
 warthog-G1S to thus
 teeth that are to Warthog).

The Python

1. *Tanjyéeni canŋ kà nùmpilà-gè è wùu*
 the.year.before.last day IND.G2S night-G2S in our
 One day the year before last, at night, our

pyén-gá shí-in-bílá à pyi a lyì a kwò
 compound-G2S person-G1P-DEF.G1P PERF PAST PERF eat SC finish
 family had finished eating

mà sìnì. 2. Lù-niŋ-ké laa-yí i kà
 SS lie.down water-cold-DEF.G2S distance-DEF.G2P in DS
 and gone to bed. In the middle of the night

fyì-ŋi wà sì m̀-pà pyèn-ge e.
 python-DEF.G1S IND.G1S NARR IP-come compound-DEF.G2S in
 a python came into the compound.

3. *Lira a mìlì tú-ŋi ta 4. u mpyi*
 EMPH.G3S PERF my father-DEF.G1S get G1S be.PAST
 At that time my father had

ná pwunm-pole è. 5. Uru pwûn-ŋa à pyi
 with dog-male with EMPH.G1S dog-DEF.G1S PERF PAST
 a male dog. This dog had

a sìnì mìlì tú-ŋi ba-gé ɲwò-gé na.
 PERF lie.down my father-DEF.G1S house-DEF.G2S mouth-DEF.G2S at
 lain down at the door of my father's house.

6. *Kà u ú wwò-ŋi t̀nm-pa-m-pé lògò.*
 DS G1S NARR snake-DEF.G1S noise-come-G5-DEF.G5 hear
 Then he heard the sound of the snake coming.

7. *Kà u ú yírà à sà a yu u na.*
 DS G1S NARR rise SC go PROG say.IMPFV G1S at
 He got up and went and began barking at it.

8. *U ahá jwó fyì-ŋi na, 9. u arì nùrú*
 G1S COND say python-DEF.G1S at G1S HAB.SEQ return
 He would bark at the python, and then come back

m̀-̀pà a yu ba-gé nwò-gé na,
 IP-come PROG say.IMPFV house-DEF.G2S mouth-DEF.G2S at
 to bark at the door of the house

10. *ma-rí-i ku ñàgè ná kampe-cí-re*
 SS-NARR-PROG G2S scratch.IMPFV with finger-nail-DEF.G4
 and scratch it with his claws,

è, 11. *ma-á 'núrá á kàrè wwò-ñi cyà-gé*
 with SS-NARR return SC go snake-DEF.G1S place-
 DEF.G2S

and then he would go back to where the snake was.

e. 12. *Ñkàa lire ñye a jà a wwò-ñi*
 in but EMPH.G3S NEG PERF be.able SC snake-DEF.G1S
 But this was not able to stop the snake.

sige mé. 13. *Kà u ú jyé ñkù-ba-a-ńí*
 prevent NEG DS G1SNARR enter chicken-house-G3S-DEF.G3S
 It went into the chicken house

i 14. *mà ñkwu-u-bíí jò* 15. *mà pi*
 in SS chicken-G1P-DEF.G1P swallow SS G1P
 and swallowed the chickens, leaving four.

sanmii yaha sìcyèèrè. 16. *Ka pire sì fé à*
 OTHER.G1P leave four DS EMPH.G1P NARR run SC
 These ran

fworo ñkù-ba-a-ńí i. 17. *Lira à*
 go.out chicken-house-G3S-DEF.G3S in EMPH.G3S PERF
 out of the chicken house. Meanwhile

pwùn-ñi ta, 18. *u ahá fé à kàrè m̀ì*
 dog-DEF.G1S get G1S COND run SC go my
 the dog, whenever he ran to the door of my

tú-ñi ba-gé nwò-gé na, 19. *u*
 father-DEF.G1S house-DEF.G2S mouth-DEF.G2S at G1S
 father's house, his

t̀nm-pa à ta m̀ì tú-ñi i. 20. *Kà u*
 noise-DEF.G5 PERF annoy my father-DEF.G1S in DS G1S
 noise annoyed my father, and he

ú pwûn-ŋi bwòŋ, 21. ma-á ba-gé yala
 NARR dog-DEF.G1S hit SS-NARR house-DEF.G2S do.well
 beat the dog and shut the house up well.

a tò. 22. U à yaha 23. na pwûn-ŋi sí rà
 SC close G1S PERF believe that dog-DEF.G1S FUT go
 He thought that the dog wanted

a jye ná úré e ba-gé e. 24. ŋkàà
 PROG enter with EMPH.G1S with house-DEF.G2S in but
 to go in with him into the house. But

lire nyɛ à pwûn-ŋi làhà mɛ. 25. U ahá
 EMPH.G3S NEG PERF dog-DEF.G1S cease NEG G1S COND
 this did not stop the dog. When he

sá jwó fyì-ŋi na, 26. u màha nùrá á kàrè
 go say python-DEF.G1S at G1S HAB return SC go
 would go and bark at the python, he would go back

ba-gé nwò-gé na. 27. Fyì-ŋa à
 house-DEF.G2S mouth-DEF.G2S at python-DEF.G1S PERF
 to the door of the house. The python had

pyi à kan̄kuro jò, 28. ma-á fwóra a kàrè
 PAST PERF five swallow SS-NARR go.out SC go
 swallowed five (chickens), and (it) went out and went

dù-gé e. 29. Kà pwûn-ŋi sí jwò u na
 stream-DEF.G2S to DS dog-DEF.G1S NARR say G1S at
 to the stream. The dog barked at it

30. fó mà sà yàha ta-tòon-ge e, 31. ma-á ' nùrá à
 till SS go leave LOC-be.long-G2S in SS-NARR return SC
 till (he) had left (it) at a great distance, and then came back.

pa. 32. Jyè-ge na kà m̀l̀ tú-ŋi sí
 come morning-DEF.G2S on DS my father-DEF.G1S NARR
 In the morning my father

yírà à u ñkwu-u-bíí sanm-píí ta
 rise SC G1S chicken-G1P-DEF.G1P OTHER.G1P-DEF.G1P find
 got up and found that only four of his chickens were left (lit. found the rest
 of his chickens (were) four).

sìcyèèrè. 33. *Fyì-ŋa à pyi a m̀píí*
 four python-DEF.G1S PERF PAST PERF DEM.G1P
 The python had swallowed

sanm-píí jò. 34. *Kà u ú ú-yè*
 OTHER.G1P-DEF.G1P swallow DS G1S NARR G1S-REFL
 the others. He was cross with himself

céégà, 35. *ma-á sá pwùn-ŋi cù na*
 accuse SS-NARR go dog-DEF.G1S grab PROG
 and went and caught the dog

n-taali, 36. *ma-á yí jwó u à*
 IP-caress.IMPFV SS-NARR G2P say G1S to
 and caressed it and said to it

37. *"Ndé fìgè sáhá sì m̀ì tà mé."* 38. *Mu*
 DEM.G3S like AGAIN NEG.FUT me get NEG you
 "I'll never do that again (lit. the likes of this will never get me again)."

gú ò-jwò pwùn-ŋi na pu nùrù u à.
 POT FP-say dog-DEF.G1S PROG G5 hear.IMPFV G1S to
 It was as if the dog understood him (lit. you would say the dog was hearing it from him).

39. *Cibslaa-ya shuunní tàànrè ta-toro-ge e, kà u*
 week-G2P two three LOC-pass-G2S in DS G1S
 Two or three weeks later,

fyì-ŋi sì nùrá á kàrè Sám̀bá pyén-gá
 python-DEF.G1S NARR return SC go Samba compound-G2S
 the python returned and went to Samba's compound

40. *mà sà jyé uru òkù-ba-a-ní i.*
 SS go enter EMPH.G1S chicken-house-G3S-DEF.G3S in
 and went into his chicken house.

41. *Kà Sám̀bá sí jé pí t̀ùn-vworo-m-pé na,*
 DS Samba NARR wake.up G1P noise-go.out-G5-DEF.G5 on
 Samba was woken up by the sound of them (= chickens) coming out

42. *ma-á torshí-ŋi lwò a kàrè*
 SS-NARR torch-DEF.G1S take SC go
 and (he) took a torch and went

ɲkù-ba-a-ní *i* 43. *mà sà ù tà aní.*
 chicken-house-G3S-DEF.G3S to SS go G1S find there
 to the chicken house and found it there.

44. *Kà u ú ɲkù-ba-a-ní tò ù nà,*
 DS G1S NARR chicken-house-G3S-DEF.G3S close G1S on
 He shut the chicken house on it

45. *ma-á fé a sà mìlì tú-ɲi yyere.*
 SS-NARR run SC go my father-DEF.G1S call
 and ran to call my father.

46. *Kà pi í mí-pá ú tá ' 47. ú á*
 DS G1P NARR IP-come G1S find G1S.COMP PERF
 They came and found it had

ɲkù-ba-a-ní fula a mùgò na fwòrè.
 chicken-house-G3S-DEF.G3S shove SC open PROG go.out.IMPFV
 pushed open the chicken house and was coming out.

48. *Lira a mìlì tú-ɲi ta 49. uru mpyi*
 EMPH.G3S PERF my father-DEF.G1S get EMPH.G1S was
 At that time my father had

ná sɲncan-ha ná besé e. 50. Kà u ú
 with harpoon-G2S and machete with DS G1S NARR
 a harpoon and a machete. He

sɲncan-hé wà, 51. kà ku ú mí-pá jí-cúrù
 harpoon-DEF.G2S throw DS G2S NARR IP-come IP-stick
 threw the harpoon and it stuck in the middle (of the python).

niŋ-ké e. 52. Kà u ú nyáhá nyáhá 53. mà
 middle-DEF.G2S in DS G1S NARR move move SS
 It writhed about and

sɲncan-hé kebe, 54. ma-á ú-yè yírí-gè.
 harpoon-DEF.G2S break SS-NARR G1S-REFL rise-CAUSE
 broke the trident, and started to run away.

55. *Kà mìlì tú-ɲi sì fé a sà kàbìl-gè lwó.*
 DS my father-DEF.G1S NARR run SC go stick-G2S take
 Then my father ran and got a stick.

56. *Lira a kù tà* 57. *kú u fí*
 EMPH.G3S PERF G2S find G2S.COMP PROG run.IMPFV
 Meanwhile it was running

na η-kéé-ge. 58. *Kà u ú fé a sà kù*
 PROG IP-go-IMPFV DS G1S NARR run SC go G2S
 away. He ran to go head it off

yyà-hà kwón, 59. *ma-á bìl-ge taha ku na,*
 face-G2S cut SS-NARR stick-DEF.G2S put.down G2S on
 (lit. to cut its face) and brought the stick down on it,

60. *kà ku ú mí-pá fyì-ñi ta yacì-ge e.*
 DS G2S NARR IP-come python-DEF.G1S get neck-DEF.G2S in
 and it got the python in the neck.

61. *U sáhá nye a jà a fè mé.* 62. *Kà pi*
 G1S STILL NEG PERF be.able SC run NEG DS G1P
 It wasn't able to run anymore. Then they

í ú bó. 63. *Kà mìl tú-ñi sì ù lwó*
 NARR G1S kill DS my father-DEF.G1S NARR G1S take
 killed it, and my father took it

á kàrè u-yè yyéré. 64. *Ŋyè-ge na ma-á*
 SC go G1S-REFL toward morning-DEF.G2S on SS-NARR
 home. In the morning (he)

kú fwó à taha 65. *pí á kyà.* 66. *Ma-á*
 G2S roast SC cook G1P.COMP PERF eat SS-NARR
 roasted and cooked it and they ate it.

lwó kúró càñ-ké na, 67. *pwūn-ñi kà núrú*
 take EMPH.G2S day-DEF.G2S on dog-DEF.G1S COND return
 From that day on, whenever the dog barks

na yu numpila-ge e, 68. *mìl tú-ñi màha*
 PROG say.IMPFV night-G2S in my father-DEF.G1S HAB
 again at night my father

fwora a wìl 69. *yaa-gé* *ḡké-mù* *kì* *gé,*
 go.out SC look thing-DEF.G2S DEM.G2S-REL it.is.G2S REL
 goes out to look and find out (lit. know) what it is.

70. *sí* *ḡ-cé.*
 SUBJUNC IP-know

Procedural

How to Cultivate Yams

Fwù-u-ḡfí *Wyèrè-ḡkà-ní*
 yam-G3P-DEF.G3P cultivate-manner-DEF.G3S
 How to Cultivate Yams

1. *Zàn-cyìi-yí* *kà* *ḡ-cwò,* 2. *faa-pyi-i-bíí*
 rain-first-DEF.G2P COND IP-fall farm-do-G1P-DEF.G1P
 When the first rains fall, the farmers

màha fworo fwu-faà-ḡa *à.* 3. *Pi màha yìrì*
 HAB go.out yam-farm-DEF.G1S to G1P HAB get.up
 go out to farm yams. They get up and

4. *ma-á m̀pò-ḡfí* *tò* *fóló,* 5. *ma-á ḡ-kwó*
 SS-SEQ mound-DEF.G3P cover first SS-SEQ IP-finish
 make (lit. cover) the mounds first, and finish,

6. *ma-á fwu-shi-ḡfí* *lwò* 7. *ma-á ú cyíríge*
 SS-SEQ yam-seed-DEF.G1S take SS-SEQ G1S chop.in.pieces
 and take the seed-yams, and chop them

myéhé myéhé, 8. *mà lwò na ḡ-cènmi.* 9. *ḡjé*
 "bits" "bits" SS take PROG IP-plant.IMPFV DEM.G2P
 into small pieces and take them and begin planting. Those

yí nye ná ' fyín-yi *ì* *gé,* 10. *ma-rí-i*
 G2P be with sprout-DEF.G2P with REL SS-SEQ-PROG
 that have (lit. are with) sprouts (they) take care

yire *kààn mùcà-à* 11. *ya hà ḡ-kwò ḡ-kyèega*
 EMPH.G2P take.care.of-IMPFV G2P PROH FP-finish FP-break
 of them so they (= the sprouts) don't break.

mé. 12. *Ma-á ò-kwó* 13. *ma-á m̀pò-gíí*
 NEG SS-SEQ IP-finish SS-SEQ mound-DEF.G3P
 (They) finish, and then cover the top of the mounds

ǹǹ-òf t̀ nà wē-yi ò 14. *walisa*
 top-DEF.G1S cover with leaf-DEF.G2P with so.that
 with leaves, so that

mbyim-pe si ò-kwòrò fwu-ù-na à 15. *li*
 moisture-DEF.G5 SUBJUNC IP-remain yam-G3S-DEF.G3S to G3S
 the moisture remains for the yam

fyin-mi si ò-táán. 16. *Ci ahá mí-pá fyin,*
 sprout-G5 SUBJUNC IP-be.sweet G3P COND IP-come sprout
 so that it's sprouting will be easy. When they (= the yams) sprout,

17. *pi arì wē-yi làhà cì nà,* 18. *ma-á*
 G1P HAB.SEQ leaf-DEF.G2P take.off G3P on SS-SEQ
 they (= the farmers) take the leaves off of them, and

kàbìl-yè cùrúgò m̀pò-gíí na, 19. *fwu-fyín-ya*
 stick-G2P stick.in mound-DEF.G3P on yam-sprout-DEF.G2P
 stick sticks into the mound, and the yam sprouts

asì yírà à dùgò yìrè nà. 20. *Ci ahá*
 HAB.SEQ get.up SC climb EMPH.G2P on G3P COND
 climb upon them. When they

mí-pá mí-pyí nà ònye-yi í, 21. *pi arì cì fàà,*
 IP-come IP-be with grass-G2P with G1P HAB.SEQ G3P hoe
 come to have weeds, they hoe them,

22. *ma-á cí yála a dùrùgò.* 23. *Ci ahá*
 SS-SEQ G3P do.well SC climb.CAUS G3P COND
 and make them go up well. When they

mí-pá nò, 24. *cì tirì-yi màha waha,*
 IP-come arrive G3P vine-DEF.G2P HAB dry
 are ripe, their vines dry up,

25. *pi ari ci tũgò.* 26. *Amunì wũu màha*
 G1P HAB.SEQ G3S dig thus we HAB
 and then they dig them up. It is thus that we

fwũ-u-gíí wyere.
 yam-G3P-DEF.G3P cultivate
 cultivate yams.

How the Senufo Bury their Dead

Note: In the following text the speaker begins with the assumption that the dead person could be either a man or a woman. Three is the symbol for a man, and four for a woman. Hence, in 36, three cloths would be used for a man, and four for a woman. In 53, the speaker (a man) begins to assume that the dead person is a man. This is shown by the number three in 70 and 114. This is reflected in the glossing: s/he is used up until 53, and only he afterwards.

Senufó-o-bíí Kwu-tó-ni
 Senufo-G1P-DEF.G1P die-bury-DEF.G3S
 How The Senufo Bury Their Dead

1. *Ŋgé-mũ u a kwũ ké,* 2. *uru mèn-gè*
 DEM.G1S-REL G1S PERF die REL EMPH.G1S name-G2S
 The one who has died is called (lit. his/her

ku nyè bu-ŋí. 3. *Wà gà ñ-kwũ,*
 G2S be dead.person-DEF.G1S IND.G1S COND IP-die
 name is) the "bu". When someone dies,

4. *pi màha u wuli,* 5. *ma-á ú pwó ná v à à n n -tò*
 G1P HAB G1S bathe SS-SEQ G1S tie with cloth-cover
 they bathe him/her and wrap him/her in a blanket

wálá cev à à n n t i n -ŋ í, 6. *màha síní-ŋé*
 or kind.of.robe-DEF.G2S with HAB lie.down-CAUS
 or an "orphan's robe" and lay (him/her) down

u ñt à -à -n i 7. *ma-á ñ-ká ré*
 G1S courtyard-G3S-DEF.G3S at SS-SEQ IP-go
 in his/her courtyard, and go

bà-àn-ní *i,* 8. *ma-á* *sá*
 vestibule-G3S-DEF.G3S in SS-SEQ go
 to the vestibule and go

sàn-yi *yige* *màha* *wyi.*
 death.announcement-DEF.G2P take.out HAB whistle
 send out the announcements of the death.

9. *Sàn-yi* *màha* *sá* *jwó* *m̀pirá* *à* *ye?*
 death.announcement-DEF.G2P HAB go say INTERR.G1P to Q
 Who are the announcements made to?

10. *U* *c̀nm-pyi-i-bíí* *c̀nm-pyi-cyè-ε-bíí*
 G1S blood-child-G1P-DEF.G1P blood-child-woman-G1P-DEF.G1P
 His/her female blood relatives

m̀píí *pi* *nyε* *nàm-ba-ye* *e* *ké,* 11. *pi* *màha* *sá*
 DEM.G1P G1P be man-house-G2P in REL G1P HAB go
 who are married, they go

sàn-yi *jwo* *pira* *à.* 12. *Pire*
 death.announcement-DEF.G2P say EMPH.G1P to EMPH.G1P
 announce the death to them.

nàm-ba-a-bíí \ *màha* *vààn-yi* *wwù* *màha* *m-pá*
 man-house-G1P-DEF.G1P HAB cloth-G2P take.from HAB IP-come
 The husbands of these take cloths and come

n-taha *à* *pi* *cyè-e-bíí* *c̀nmpworo-ŋí* *tò.*
 IP-use SC G1P woman-G1P-DEF.G1P blood.relative-DEF.G1S bury
 use them to bury the kinsperson of their wives.

13. *Sàn-yi* *kà-wyi-i-ní*
 death.announcement-DEF.G2P affair-whistle-G3S-DEF.G3S
 What is the reason for the death announcements

li *nyε* *p̀cèr-i-bíí* *à* *̀ndíré* *ye?*
 G3S be married.woman-G1P-DEF.G1P to INTERR.G3S Q
 being made to the married women?

14. *Pire* *nyε* *pyēn-ge* *e* *níŋkì* *mε.* 15. *S̀pyà*
 EMPH.G1P be compound-DEF.G2S in still NEG person
 They are no longer in the family compound. When a

ká *ɲ-kwú*, 16. *u* *cìnm-pyi-i-bíí* *pi* *à* *yaa*
 COND IP-die G1S blood-child-G1P-DEF.G1P G1P PERF ought
 person dies, his/her blood relatives ought

17. *pi* *Ø* *u* *to*. 18. *U* *cìnm-pyi-i-bíí*
 G1P SUBJUNC G1S bury G1S blood-child-G1P-DEF.G1P
 to bury him/her. His/her blood relatives

m̀píí *pi* *ɲye* *cìnm-pyi-cyè-ε-bíí* *kè*, 19. *na*
 DEM.G1P G1P be blood-child-woman-G1P-DEF.G1P REL that
 who are female blood relatives, that

pire *ɲye* *nàm-ba-yí* *i* *ké*,
 EMPH.G1P be man-house-DEF.G2P in REL
 are married,

20. *sàn-yí* *kà-wyi-i-ní*
 death.announcement-DEF.G2P affair-whistle-G3S-DEF.G3S
 the reason the death announcements

li *ɲye* *pira* *à*, 21. *pire* *sí* *m̀-pá* *pí*
 G3S be EMPH.G1P to EMPH.G1P SUBJUNC IP-come G1P
 are made to them is so that they come and

cìnmpworo-ɲí *tò*.
 blood.relative-DEF.G1S bury
 bury their blood relative.

22. *Pi* *ahá* *sàn-yí* *yiga* *a* *kwò*,
 G1P COND death.announcement-DEF.G2P take.out SC finish
 When they have finished sending out the announcements,

23. *bu-ɲí* *'* *sí* *ɲ-tò* *càɲɲ-ké* *ɲké-mù*
 dead.person-DEF.G1S FUT FP-bury day-DEF.G2S DEM.G2S-REL
 the day when the dead person will be buried,

ké, 24. *pi* *màha* *u* *sòɲɲa* *a* *shwòɲ*.
 REL G1P HAB G1S celebrate SC pass.night
 they celebrate the entire night (i.e. preceding the burial).

25. *Ya-tinm-pwó-ɲn-bíí* *màha* *m-pyi* *aní*
 thing-make.noise-hit-G1P-DEF.G1P HAB IP-be there
 The musicians are there

26. *pi f wá na ya-ti-ré bwù-ùn,*
 G1P SEQ be.there PROG thing-make.noise-DEF.G4 hit-IMPV
 playing their instruments,

27. *ma-á wá na η-kwòhò-ì.*
 SS-SEQ be.there PROG IP-dance-IMPV
 and dancing.

28. *Ku canja nùmpanja na pi màha sá wyî-ge*
 G2S day.G2S tomorrow.G2S on G1P HAB go hole-DEF.G2S
 The next day they go dig the hole.

tùgò. 29. *Cìnm-pyi-cyè-ε-bíá à*
 dig blood-child-woman-G1P-DEF.G1P to
 The female blood relatives to whom

sàn-ya a wyì ké, 30. pire
 death.announcement-DEF.G2P PERF whistle REL EMPH.G1P
 the death announcements were made, their

nàm-ba-a-bíí màha m-pa ná v ààn-yi ì.
 man-house-G1P-DEF.G1P HAB IP-come with cloth-DEF.G2P with
 husbands bring the cloths.

31. *U cìnm-pyi-i-bíí nàm-ba-a-bíí*
 G1S blood-child-G1P-DEF.G1P man-house-G1P-DEF.G1P
 His/her male blood relatives

m̀píí pi nyε pyēn-ge e ké, 32. pire
 DEM.G1P G1P be compound-DEF.G2S in REL EMPH.G1P
 who are in the family compound, they

mù màha v ààn-yì wwù ní ñ-tàhà bu-ηí
 also HAB cloth-G2P take.from PURP FP-use dead.person-DEF.G1S
 also take out cloths in order to use them to bury the dead person.

tò. 33. *Bu-ηí cann-tòη-ké pi màha*
 bury dead.person-DEF.G1S day-bury-DEF.G2S G1P HAB
 The day of the burial of the dead person they

yire v ààn-yi bìni. 34. Ñjé è u
 EMPH.G2P cloth-DEF.G2P put.together DEM.G2P with G1S
 gather these cloths together. Those with which s/he

sí nì-pwà ké, 35. *pi í yíré wwú*
 FUT FP-tie REL G1P SEQ EMPH.G2P take.from
 will be wrapped they take

vààn-yi i, 36. *vààn-yì tàànré wálá sìcyèèrè,*
 cloth-DEF.G2P in cloth-G2P three or four
 from the other cloths, three or four cloths,

37. *yire màha n-táhá à bu-ŋí pwɔ.*
 EMPH.G2P HAB IP-use SC dead.person-DEF.G1S tie
 these are used to wrap the dead person.

38. *Pi ahá ú pwá á kwà,* 39. *pi í ú*
 G1P COND G1S tie SC finish G1P SEQ G1S
 When they have finished wrapping him/her, they

wuli-zàn-ni wùlì. 40. *Lire wuli-zàn-ni, pi*
 bathe-last-DEF.G3S bathe EMPH.G3S bathe-last-DEF.G3S G1P
 give him/her his/her last bath. This last bath, they

màha lwɔ-hé kà kwà, 41. *màha le pe-ge e,*
 HAB water-DEF.G2S IND.G2S draw HAB put pot-G2S in
 draw some water and put it in a large pot,

42. *ma-á ní-pá kuru yyèè-ŋè,* 43. *ma-á*
 SS-SEQ IP-come EMPH.G2S stop-CAUS SS-SEQ
 and come and stand it (next to the body) and

cyè-yi le kuru lwɔ-hé e, 44. *màha n-táhá á*
 hand-DEF.G2P put EMPH.G2S water-DEF.G2S in HAB IP-use SC
 put their hands in that water and use it to

ù tòò-yí cwuugo. 45. *Lire kórò pi à pi*
 G1S foot-DEF.G2P rub EMPH.G3S meaning G1P PERF G1P
 rub his/her feet. The meaning of this (is) they have

cìmpworo-ŋí wuli-zàn-ni wùlì.
 blood.relative-DEF.G1S bathe-last-DEF.G3S bathe
 given their blood relative the last bath.

46. *Pi ahá wúlí àmũ,* 47. *pi í ú 'lwá,*
 G1P COND bathe thus G1P SEQ G1S take
 When they have bathed him/her thus, they take him/her,

48. *kàn-he nànjìl-pyì-ré màha u lwò,*
village-DEF.G2S young.man-child-DEF.G4 HAB G1S take
the young men of the village take him/her,
49. *ma-á wá na η-kwòhò-lì ná ú é,*
SS-SEQ be.there PROG IP-dance-IMPFV with G1S with
and begin dancing with him/her,
50. *pi sí i ya-ti-ré bwù-ùn pì*
G1P ADV PROG thing-make.noise-DEF.G4 hit-IMPFV G1P
while they (= musicians) play the instruments in front of them
(= dancers).
- yyà-hà nà.* 51. *Pi ahá ú kwòhó mà pa fwordo*
face-G2S on G1P COND G1S dance SS come go.out
When they have danced with him/her and come out
- bàn-ṅwò-gé e,* 52. *pi í ú 'síní-ṅé*
vestibule-mouth-DEF.G2S from G1P SEQ G1S lie.down-CAUS
of the vestibule door, they lay him/her down
- ci-gé ṅwòhi i.* 53. *Kuru ci-gé*
tree-DEF.G2S underneath at EMPH.G2S tree-DEF.G2S
underneath the tree. Underneath this tree,
- ṅwòhi i kámpyí nò u ṅye ú wí,*
underneath at if man G1S be G1S.COMP it.is.G1S
if it's a man,
54. *bu-ṅí cwò-ṅí màha u lyì-zàn-ni*
dead.person-DEF.G1S wife-DEF.G1S HAB G1S eat-last-DEF.G3S
the dead person's wife gives him his last meal
- kan* 55. *ú á lyì.* 56. *Vààn-yi ì u*
give G1S.COMP PERF eat cloth-DEF.G2P with G1S
to eat. The clothes in which he
- a kwù ke,* 57. *wálá vààn-yi na u mpyi a*
PERF die REL or cloth-DEF.G2P on G1S PAST PERF
died, or the cloths on which he was lying
- sìni* 58. *ma-á ṅ-kwù ke,* 59. *bu-ṅí*
lie.down SS-SEQ IP-die REL dead.person-DEF.G1S
when he died, the dead person's

ta tàànrè, 71. *ma-á kàntu-go wá bà-àn-ná à*
 get three SS-SEQ back-G2S throw vestibule-G3S-DEF.G3S to
 three times, and turn their backs to the vestibule

na η-kéé-gé fan-yí i.
 PROG IP-go-IMPFV grave-DEF.G2P to
 to go to the graveyard.

72. *Cyè-ge kà na nyε fanη-kúú-ηi na,*
 place-DEF.G2S IND.G2S PROG be grave-road-DEF.G1S on
 There is a certain place on the path to the graveyard,

73. *pi màha kuru pyi kàdúcyè-yí,* 74. *pi í*
 G1P HAB EMPH.G2S call kaducye-DEF.G2P G1P SEQ
 they call it the *kaducyeya*, (there) they

bu-ηí tìrìgè, 75. *ma-á*
 dead.person-DEF.G1S go.down.CAUS SS-SEQ
 set the dead person down, and

fann-túgó-síká-ηi bo, 76. *ma-á ' ná à ta a*
 grave-dig-goat-DEF.G1S kill SS-SEQ afterwards SC get SC
 kill the 'grave-diggers' goat', and then pick him up.

ù lwó. 77. *Uru fann-túgó-síká-ηi màha η-kan*
 G1S take EMPH.G1S grave-dig-goat-DEF.G1S HAB IP-give
 This 'grave-diggers' goat' is given

fann-túg-i-bílá à, 78. *m̀píí pi a sà*
 grave-dig-G1P-DEF.G1P to DEM.G1P G1P PERF go
 to the grave-diggers, those who went

bu-ηí fanη-ké kwòñ ké. 79. *Pi ahá*
 dead-person-DEF.G1S grave-DEF.G2S cut REL G1P COND
 and dug the dead person's grave. When they

ú ' lwó líré é, 80. *pi í η-karé ' ná ú é*
 G1S take EMPH.G3S in G1P SEQ IP-go with G1S with
 have picked him up after this, they take him

fan-yí i.
 grave-DEF.G2P to
 to the graveyard.

81. *Dì fanṅ-ké màha n-tuga à jwu ye?* 82. *Ku màha*
 how grave-DEF.G2S HAB IP-dig SC say Q G2S HAB
 How is the grave dug? It

m-pyi wyl-gii shuunní bèn-yi fíigé. 83. *Pi ahá*
 IP-be hole-G3P two well-G2P like G1P COND
 consists of two hole like wells. They

kúú ' tугá á cùga àmũ, 83. *pi í kú fúú*
 EMPH.G2S dig SC be.deep thus G1P SEQ G2S pierce
 dig it deep like that, then they pierce it

ṅwɔhi i, 84. *màha fworò ku-yè nà.* 85. *Wyi-ge*
 underneath at HAB go.out G2S-REFL on hole-DEF.G2S
 at the bottom and make it come out on itself. The big hole

ku nye cire wyl-gi-gíí mù shùùnnì
 G2S be EMPH.G3P hole-G3P-DEF.G3P also two
 which is between these two holes,

shwɔhɔ-ṅí i ké, 86. *kure e bu-ṅí*
 between-DEF.G1S in REL EMPH.G2S in dead.person-DEF.G1S
 it is in that which the dead person

màha síní-ṅé. 87. *Pi ahá ú ' síní-ṅá àmũ,*
 HAB lie.down-CAUS G1P COND G1S lie.down-CAUS thus
 is laid down. When they have laid him down thus,

88. *pi í ' bíní-ṅí cyiri niṅi i,*
 G1P SEQ palm.stem.mat-DEF.G1S cut middle.G2S in
 they cut the palm stem mat down the middle and use it

89. *màha n-taha a wyl-gi-gíí kàmpañ-yí mù shùùnnì*
 HAB IP-use SC hole-G3P-DEF.G3P side-DEF.G2P also two
 to close the holes on the two sides (i.e. the ends of the tunnel)

tó. 90. *Kerì-yi na u mpyi à pwɔ ké,*
 close litter-DEF.G2P on G1S PAST PERF tie REL
 The litter on which he had been tied,

91. *ma-á yí kerì-yi cyiri-ge,* 92. *màha n-taha a*
 SS-SEQ G2P litter-DEF.G2P cut-PL HAB IP-use SC
 (they) divide that litter and use it

kù sìnge, 93. *ma-á ' ná à ta à pwo-o-ré*
 G2S prop SS-SEQ afterward SC get SC dirt-G4-DEF.G4
 to prop it (=the mat) and only then are allowed to put earth down.

tìrìgè. 94. *Bu-ŋí kòni màha m-pyi aní*
 go.down.CAUS dead.person-DEF.G1S TOP HAB IP-be there
 The dead person is there

kuru wyî-ge e. 95. *Pwo-ro sí nò ù nà*
 EMPH.G2S hole-DEF.G2S in dirt-G4 FUT arrive G1S on
 in that big hole. Earth won't get on him.

mé. 96. *Pi ahá pwo-o-ré tàha a kù jî,*
 NEG G1P COND dirt-G4-DEF.G4 use SC G2S fill
 When they have used earth to fill it,

97. *pi í kwù-ùn-ni tò* 98. *fó màha lí*
 G1P SEQ tumulus-G3S-DEF.G3S cover till HAB G3S
 they raise the grave mound until it

durugo, 99. *ma-á ' láhá kàntu-go wá* 100. *màha*
 go.up.CAUS SS-SEQ take.off back-G2S throw HAB
 goes up (i.e. above the ground) and then they turn their backs and

ŋ-kare pyen-ga. 101. *Bu-ŋí kòna a tò*
 IP-go compound-G2S dead.person-DEF.G1S TOP PERF bury
 go home. As for the dead person, he is finished being

a kwò, 102. *ŋkàà bu-ŋí kàr-i-gíí nye a*
 SC finish but dead.person affair-G3P-DEF.G3P NEG PERF
 buried, but the dead person's affairs are not

kwò mé. 103. *Pi màha m-pá shwɔn lire e,*
 finish NEG G1P HAB IP-come pass.night EMPH.G3S in
 finished. They come pass the night after this,

104. *ku canŋa nùmpaŋa na, pi í ' ná à ta*
 G2S day.G2S tomorrow.G2S on G1P SEQ afterward SC get
 and the next day they

à bu-ŋí kwòhò-re pyi.
 SC dead.person-DEF.G1S dance-DEF.G4 do
 do the dance of the dead person.

105. *Dì pi màha kwòhò-re pyi à jwu ye?* 106. *Pi*
 how G1P HAB dance-DEF.G4 do SC say Q G1P
 How do they do the dance? They
- màha fógó-ŋi màhàná.* 107. *Lire màha*
 HAB circle-DEF.G1S go.round EMPH.G3S HAB
 go around in a circle. At this point
- ya-tinm-pwó-ɔn-bíí ta* 108. *pi á tèn,*
 thing-make.noise-hit-G1P-DEF.G1P get G1P.COMP PERF sit
 the musicians have sat down
109. *ma-rí-i ya-tí-ré bwù-ùn.*
 SS-SEQ-PROG thing-make.noise-DEF.G4 hit-IMPV
 and are playing their instruments.
110. *Shin máhá shin u nyé bu-ŋí*
 person HAB person G1S be dead.person-DEF.G1S
 Every person who is a blood relative of the dead person,
- cìmpworo ké,* 111. *mu ahá máhánà à pa nɔ*
 blood.relative REL you COND go.round SC come arrive
 you circle around and arrive
- ya-tinm-pwó-ɔn-bíí tààn,* 112. *lira à ta*
 thing-make.noise-hit-G1P-DEF.G1P beside EMPH.G3S PERF get
 beside the musicians, at this point
113. *mu à ta màhà-ŋii taanré,* 114. *mu màha kàmpya-a*
 you PERF get turning-G3P three you HAB cowry-G3P
 you have gone three times around, you take out
- wálá 'wyéré wwù màha ŋ-kan ya-tinm-pwó-ɔn-bíí*
 or money take.out HAB IP-give thing-make.noise-hit-G1P-DEF.G1P
 cowries or money and give (them/it) to the musicians.
- à. 115. *Lire na nyé kómi bu-ŋí*
 to EMPH.G3S PROG be like dead.person-DEF.G1S
 This is as if
- sárágá-ŋi kàsànrà-gà wù-ŋí yìi nyé na*
 offering-DEF.G1S last-G4 POSS-DEF.G1S you.PL be PROG
 you are making the dead person's last offering.

- wwú.* 116. *Yì ahá tíré máhánà a kwò,*
take.out.IMPFV you.PL COND EMPH.G4 go.round SC finish
When you have finished going round,
117. *m̀píí pi sí kwòhò-re pyi gé,*
DEM.G1P G1P FUT dance-DEF.G4 do REL
those who will do the dance,
118. *pire màha ná à ta à fwoa a jyè*
EMPH.G1P HAB afterward SC get SC go.out SC enter
they can go into the circle afterwards
- fógó-ŋi i,* 119. *ma-á wyéré-ŋi tàà.*
circle-DEF.G1S in SS-SEQ money-DEF.G1S divide.up
and divide up the money.
120. *Dì uru wyéré-ŋi màha n-tálá*
how EMPH.G1S money-DEF.G1S HAB IP-divide.up
How is the money divided up?
- à jwu ye?* 121. *Mpíí pi à pa bu-ŋí*
SC say Q DEM.G1P G1P PERF come dead.person-DEF.G1S
Those who have come to bury the dead person,
- tò ké,* 122. *c̀nmpworo kùr-i-gíí ná*
bury REL blood.relative road-G3P-DEF.G3P on
the married women who have come
- p̀c̀èr-i-bíí pi à pa ké,*
married.woman-G1P-DEF.G1P G1P PERF come REL rise
because of the ties of kinship,
123. *sána pire pì Ø yírì pi kàn-yi*
before EMPH.G1P G1P SUBJUNC rise G1P village-DEF.G2P
before they leave their villages,
- na ké,* 124. *pi ná cyè-e-bíí p̀lì màha*
at REL G1P and woman-G1P-DEF.G1P IND.G1P HAB
they and some women
- m-pa.* 125. *Pi màha pire pyi ku-sáhá-shyé-e-bíí.*
IP-come G1P HAB EMPH.G1P call road-still-go-G1P-DEF.G1P
come. They call these “those still on the road”.

126. *Pi à pa mà pa pùcêr-i-bíí*
 G1P PERF come SS come married.woman-G1P-DEF.G1P
 They have come to the family compound of the married kinswomen

pyèn-gà pi cìmpworo-ńí ñ-tò-ńí na.
 compound-G2S G1P blood.relative-DEF.G1S NOM-bury-DEF.G1S on
 to the burial of their blood relative.

127. *Pi màha wyéré-ńí tàla à le cire*
 G1P HAB money-DEF.G1S divide.up SC put EMPH.G3P
 They divide up the money among these

kùr-i-gílé e. 128. Ya-tinm-pwó-ɔn-bíí pi
 road-G3P-DEF.G3P in thing-make.noise-hit-G1P-DEF.G1P G1P
 women (lit. divide and put in these roads). The musicians who are there,

nye aní ke, 129. ma-á ' wyéré kán pira à sèlè è,
 be there REL SS-SEQ money give EMPH.G1P to truth in
 (they) give lots of money to them,

pìtétì ná v ààn-yà.
 maybe and cloth-G2P
 and maybe (Fr. *peut-être*) also clothes.

130. *Bu-ńí kwòhò-ra à pyi, 131. ku*
 dead.person-DEF.G1S dance-DEF.G4 PERF do G2S
 (When) the dance of the dead person has been done, the

canna nùmpanna na bu-ńí tò-tò
 day.G2S tomorrow.G2S on dead.person-DEF.G1S bury-bury
 next day the funeral

nàmpwu-un-bíí màha ń-caala. 132. Bu-ńí
 guest-G1P-DEF.G1P HAB IP-disperse dead.person-DEF.G1S
 guests disperse. At the time the dead person

tà-yige-gé e fana pi màha wyéré-ńí wwù
 LOC-take.out-DEF.G2S in also G1P HAB money-DEF.G1S take.out
 is taken out (on the way to being buried) they also bring out money

na wa-a, 133. ma-rí-i wyéré-ńí
 PROG throw-IMPV SS-SEQ-PROG money-DEF.G1S
 and throw it, and give money

kà-àn kwú-kwòh-i-bílá à. 134. Nàñji-i-bíí
 give-IMPV die-dance-G1P-DEF.G1P to young.man-G1P-DEF.G1P
 to the ‘death-dancers’. The young men

pi nyé na u kwòhò-lì ké, 135. pi màha
 G1P be PROG G1S dance-IMPV REL G1P HAB
 who are dancing with him, they

wyéré-ñi kà-àn pìrà á. 136. Lire
 money-DEF.G1S give-IMPV EMPH.G1P to EMPH.G3S
 give money to them. The meaning

kórò-ñi u nyé bu-ñí pyèn-gà
 meaning-G1S G1S be dead.person-DEF.G1S compound-G2S
 of this is the family of the dead person

shí-in-bíí na bu-ñí kàsànrà-gà
 person-G1P-DEF.G1P PROG dead.person-DEF.G1S last-G2S offering-
 are making the last offering of the dead person.

sárágá-ñi wwù.
 DEF.G1S take.out

137. *Ayiwà, àmunì senufó-o-bíí kwù-u-bíí màha*
 well thus Senufo-G1P-DEF.G1P die-G1P-DEF.G1P HAB
 Well, that is how the dead of the Senufo

n-tu-ñi.
 IP-bury-IMPV
 are buried.

Expository

Note: In the following text, the murmurs of assent of the addressee are included in parentheses. The addressee (E) contributes more substantial turns at 17, 24, and 55. Hesitations and restarts on the part of the main speaker (K) are symbolized [].

The Cause of Discord Between Children and Parents

1. K: *Supyi-re m-bè-mbàà-ŋf, (m̀m̀) ɲàhá*
 person-DEF.G4 NOM-agree-without-DEF.G1S what
 Discord (between) people, what

ku ɲya ná supyi-re m-bè-mbàà-ŋf ɪ
 G2S be with person-DEF.G4 NOM-agree-without-DEF.G1S with
 is it which causes (lit. is with) discord (between) people

ɲɪɲjää ye? (m̀m̀) 2. Mu ahá lí kàànmùcya, (m̀m̀) 3. ayiwa,
 today Q you COND G3S notice well,
 today? If you notice,

cìmpyi-i-bíí ɲya a bè mɛ, (m̀m̀)
 blood.relative-G1P-DEF.G1P NEG PERF agree NEG
 relatives don't get along,

4. *sì-ɲèè-bíí ɲya a bè mɛ. (m̀m̀)*
 be.born-one.like.G1P-DEF.G1P NEG PERF agree NEG
 brothers and sisters don't get along.

5. *Ŋkàà yaa-gé ku sí ñ-tà li ɲwɔ-hi i ké,*
 but thing-DEF.G2S G2S FUT FP-find G3S bottom-G2S in REL
 But the thing which is behind it,

6. *m̀ì na s̀òŋɲì, (m̀m̀) nàfùùŋ-kwù-ŋi. (m̀m̀)*
 I PROG think.IMPFV wealth-desire.for-DEF.G1S
 I think, (is) the desire for wealth.

7. *Nàfùù-ŋa a tààn wùu puná à. (m̀m̀) 8. Byé-mù*
 wealth-DEF.G1S PERF be.sweet we all to all-also
 We all like wealth. Everyone

ɲya sí wà ta. (m̀m̀) 9. Lire màha m-pa ná
 be FUT IND.G1S get EMPH.G3S HAB IP-come with
 wants to (lit. will) get some. This brings (lit. comes with)

- m̀-̀bè-̀m̀bàà-̀n̄j* *ì*, 10. *p̀arské, mu ahá a*
 NOM-agree-without-DEF.G1S with because you COND PROG
 discord, since (Fr. *parce que*) if you are
- u cà-à,* (*m̀m̀*) 11. *mu yábà-̀n̄j* *m̀aha u cya.*
 G1S seek-IMPV you EMPH-DEF.G1S HAB G1S seek
 seeking it you yourself seek it.
12. *Mu sí j̀-̀jà* *ǹ-̀t̀n* *ù è mé. (m̀h̀m̀)*
 you FUT FP-be.able FP-be.satiated G1S in NEG
 You can't be satiated with it.
13. *ε, Mu ná wà* *kà wwò ù nà, (m̀m̀)* 14. *ná*
 you and IND.G1S COND unite G1S on if
 If you and someone get together for it, if
- ỳi n̄ya a s̀p̄yigi-ré le ỳ-̀yè* *shwòhòle e,*
 you.PL NEG PERF love-DEF.G4 put you.PL-REFL between in
 you don't put love between you,
15. *ma-rí-i* *ỳ-̀yè* *kànm̀cà-à mé, (m̀m̀)*
 SS-SEQ-PROG you.PL-REFL check-IMPV NEG
 and keep checking on each other,
16. *wajíbé u n̄ya ú* *wí ỳl̀ sí m̀-pà*
 necessity G1S be G1S.COMP it.is.G1S you.PL FUT FP-come
 it's a sure thing you will eventually
- láhá ỳ-̀yè* *nà* 17. E: *Ỳl̀ gú ǹ-dáhá*
 let.go you.PL-REFL on you.PL POT FP-let.go
 separate from each other You would
- ỳ-̀yè* *nà.* 18. K: *nàf̀ù-̀n̄j* *k̀r̀ùgò.*
 you.PL-REFL on wealth-DEF.G1S because.of
 separate from each other. because of wealth.
19. *Ŋkàà m̀i à* *li j̀acyí-̀n̄j* *c̀, (m̀m̀)* 20. *m̀i*
 but I PERF G3S importance-DEF.G1S grab I
 But I know how important it is (lit. grasped it's importance) I
- n̄ye na m̀íí, 21. s̀p̄yà ná s̀p̄yà n̄ye à yaa*
 be PROG think person and person NEG PERF ought
 think, (that) people (lit. a person and a person) ought not

22. *pi* Ø *láhá pí-yè* *nà* *nàfùù-ŋi* *kùrùgò*
 G1P SUBJUNC let.go G1P-REFL on wealth-DEF.G1S because.of
 to separate from each other over wealth,

mé, (m̀̀) 23. *pà̀̀ské sùpyigi-rá á fàn-hà tò*
 NEG because love-DEF.G4 PERF power-G2S cover
 because love is better

nàfùù-ŋi *na.* 24. E: *Nàkaanu baá.* 25. K: *Mìì*
 wealth-DEF.G1S on discussion.G4 without I
 than wealth. Without a doubt. I

na s̀̀nŋì 26. *m̀̀-bè-ŋa a p̀̀ẁ̀r̀̀* (m̀̀̀)
 PROG think.IMPFV NOM-agree-DEF.G1S PERF be.better
 think harmony is better

nàfùù-ŋi *εε ̀̀-çya-ŋí* *na.* (m̀̀̀)
 wealth-DEF.G1S uh NOM-see-DEF.G1S on
 than the search for wealth.

27. *Yaa-gé* *ku nyé na pyì-i-bíí* *nà*
 thing-DEF.G2S G2S be PROG child-G1P-DEF.G1P and
 The thing which separates the children and

tì-i-bíí *là̀̀rè* *p̀̀ì-yé* *ná ge,* (m̀̀̀)
 father-G1P-DEF.G1P take.off.IMPFV G1P-REFL on REL
 the fathers from each other,

28. *mu ahá líré* *jà̀̀çyí-ŋi* *cù,* (m̀̀̀)
 you COND EMPH.G3S importance-DEF.G1S grab
 if you judge rightly,

29. *nàfùù-ŋi* *kàmpaŋa na nya dóóní,* (m̀̀̀) 30. *̀̀kàà li*
 wealth-DEF.G1S side.G2S on be a.bit but G3S
 wealth plays a small role (lit. the side of wealth is a bit), but the

num-bwo-ò-ni *li nya:* (m̀̀̀) 31. *pyì-i-bíí*
 ADJ-big-G3S-DEF.G3S G3S be child-G1P-DEF.G1P
 biggest thing is: children

sà̀̀hà nyé na yè̀̀rè-gè (m̀̀̀) *tè̀̀-çyìì-ní* *fì̀̀gè*
 STILL NEG PROG counsel-IMPFV time-first-DEF.G3S like
 are no longer counselled like they were in the old

mé. (mm) 32. Ka-pè-gíí sàhà nye na yu
 NEG affair-be.bad-DEF.G3P STILL NEG PROG say.IMPV
 days. Bad deeds are no longer pointed out (lit. said)

pyì-i-bíí nyìl nà mé. 33. Fóló []
 child-G1P-DEF.G1P eye on NEG first
 before the children. Before,

nògò-lyè-ńí mpyi màha já á tèn,
 person-be.old-DEF.G1S PAST HAB be.able SC sit
 the old man (= the head of the family) used to be able to sit

(mm) 34. ma-á yí jwú pyì-i-bíí nyìl nà, (mm)
 SS-SEQ G2P say child-G1P-DEF.G1P eye on
 and say in the presence of the children,

35. “*Ndé nye na m-pyi mé. (mhm) 36. Ndé nye*
 DEM.G3S NEG PROG IP-do NEG DEM.G3S NEG
 “This is not done. This is

na m-pyi mé. 37. Ndé nye ka-pi-i.
 PROG IP-do NEG DEM.G3S be affair-be.bad-G3S
 not done. This is a bad deed.

38. *Ndé nye ka-pi-i. (mm) 39. Ndé nye*
 DEM.G3S be affair-be.bad-G3S DEM.G3S be
 This is a bad deed. This is

ka-cèn-nè.” (mm) 40. Kàbyíí mà mu yaha nwòhò-cyàà-wà, (mm)
 affair-good-G3S since SS you leave person?-G1S
 a good deed.” From the time when you are a child,

41. *nwòhò-lyè-ńí màha yire yu mu nyíí ná.*
 person-be.old-DEF.G1S HAB EMPH.G2P say.IMPV you eye on
 the old man says these things in your presence.

42. *Ayiwa, mu ahá já à lye ná líré e,*
 well, you COND be.able SC grow.old with EMPH.G3S with
 Well, if you can grow up with this,

(mm) 43. la à pyi 44. bà sùpyà màha ñeem-pé
 G3S PERF be like like person HAB seed-DEF.G5
 it's like when a person sows seed

- nùgò, (m̀̀)* 45. *pi í fyín* 46. *ma-á lyé m̀̀:*
 sow G5 SEQ sprout SS-SEQ grow.old like
 and it sprouts and matures:
47. *pu màha ñ-kworo mu jum-bwu-u-ní i. (m̀̀m̀ m̀̀m̀)*
 G5 HAB IP-stay you head-gourd-G3S-DEF.G3S in
 it stays in your head.
48. *M̀̀ na s̀̀ǹǹ* 49. *lire la à pa ná*
 I PROG think.IMPFV EMPH.G3S G3S PERF come with
 I think it's this that has brought (lit. come
- lé é.* 50. *Ayiwa, ñwòhò-pyì-ré ni-nyaha-ra na*
 G3S with well, person-child-DEF.G4 ADJ-be.much-G4 PROG
 with) it. There are lots of children
- nye aní, (m̀̀)* 51. *pi nye na [] pi t̀̀-i-bíí*
 be there G1P NEG PROG G1P father-G1P-DEF.G1P
 who don't listen to the words of their fathers.
- jwù-m-pé ǹ̀r̀̀ mé. (m̀̀m̀)* 52. *Ñcíí ci a*
 say-G5-DEF.G5 hear.IMPFV NEG DEM.G3P G3P PERF
 The things that
- t̀̀àn mu t̀̀-ña à ké,* 53. *mu nye na*
 be.sweet you father-DEF.G1S to REL you NEG PROG
 please your father, you don't
- cire pyi mé. (m̀̀m̀)* 54. *Mu ná má*
 EMPH.G3P do NEG you and you.NONDECL
 do them. You and your
- t̀̀-ñi s̀̀ ñ-jà m̀̀-bé m̀̀.* 55. *E: Ỳ̀i*
 father-DEF.G1S FUT.NEG FP-be.able FP-agree NEG you.PL
 father won't be able to get along together. You
- s̀̀ ñ-jà m̀̀-bé m̀̀.* 56. *K: P̀̀r̀ské mu ahá*
 FUT.NEG FP-be.able FP-agree NEG because you COND
 won't be able to get along. Because if you
- Íf k̀̀àǹm̀̀cyá,* 57. *t̀̀-i-bíí ni-nyaha-ra na*
 G3S notice father-G1P-DEF.G1P ADJ-be.much-G4 PROG
 note, there are lots of fathers,

nye aní, 58. *tánjáà [] ayiwa pira à mpyi à*
 be there yesterday well EMPH.G1P PERF PAST SC
 in the past (lit. yesterday), well, they were

yere. (mm) 59. Tánjáà fana (mm) pire
 counsel yesterday also EMPH.G1P
 counselled. In the past also they themselves

yapyà-a-gílá à pyi na fyà-gè pi
 EMPH-G3P-DEF.G3P PERF PAST PROG fear-IMPVFG1P
 feared (= respected) their

tì-i-bíí na. (mm) 60. Pire yapyà-a-gíí
 father-G1P-DEF.G1P on EMPH.G1P EMPH-G3P-DEF.G3P
 fathers. They themselves used

mpyi na pi-yè káramí (mm) na pi
 PAST PROG G1P-REFL force.IMPV FV PROG G1P
 to force themselves to

tì-i-bíí nyìl wũ-gíí pyi. (mm) 61. ε Mu
 father-G1P-DEF.G1P eye POSS-DEF.G3P do uh you
 do their fathers' will.

ahá líré pyí, 62. ká li í ní-pá ní-pyí
 COND EMPH.G3S do DS G3S SEQ IP-come IP-be
 If you do this, and then it comes about

63. *m̀píí pyì-i-bíí mu à ta gé, (mm)*
 DEM.G1P child-G1P-DEF.G1P you PERF get REL
 that those children you have gotten,

64. *na pire s̀ mu nyíí ' wũ-gíí pyi mé,*
 that EMPH.G1P FUT.NEG you eye POSS-DEF.G3P do NEG
 they will not do your will,

(mm) 65. *wajíbé u nye ú wí 66. yìi*
 necessity G1S be G1S.COMP it.is.G1S you.PL
 it's a sure thing you

s̀ m̀-è m̀. (mm) 67. Ìkàà u fotí-ñi
 FUT.NEG FP.agree NEG but G1S fault-DEF.G1S
 won't get along. But the biggest fault,

num-bwō-ŋi, (m̀m̀) mu ahá ú kàànmùcya, (m̀m̀) 68. mu
 ADJ-big-DEF.G1S you COND G1S notice you
 if you note, you

gú sà ù tà tì-i-bíí kàmpañà na, (m̀m̀)
 POT go G1S find father-G1P-DEF.G1P side.G2S on because
 will find it on the side of the fathers,

69. *pàrské yere-gé sàhà ñye na m-pyi ku*
 because counsel-DEF.G2S STILL NEG PROG IP-do G2S
 because counselling is no longer done

cógó-ŋi na mé. (m̀h̀m̀) 70. Pyì-i-bíí sàhà
 manner-DEF.G1S on NEG child-G1P-DEF.G1P STILL
 as it should be (lit. on its manner). Children are no longer

ñye na ŋ-kèèñḡ pi cógó-ŋi na mé. (m̀h̀m̀)
 NEG PROG IP-raise.IMPFV G1P manner-DEF.G1S on NEG
 brought up as they should be.

71. *Pyì-i-bíí sàhà ñye na byí-í pi*
 child-G1P-DEF.G1P STILL NEG PROG raise-IMPFV G1P
 Children are no longer raised

tajjáà byí-ŋká-ni na mé. (m̀h̀m̀) 72. M̀ì na
 yesterday raise-manner-DEF.G3S on NEG I PROG
 in the way they were in the past. I

s̀ñḡ 73. lire li ñye ná
 think.IMPFV EMPH.G3S G3S be with
 think it is this which

m̀-bè-m̀bàà-ŋí ì.
 NOM-agree-without-DEF.G1S with
 causes discord.

Conversation

Note: The following is an extract from a much longer text of a conversation between two young men, E and C. The conversation was not planned, although both participants knew they were being recorded. These particular young men argue frequently together, and this is exemplified in the present text, where E seems bent on disagreeing with everything C says. Brackets [] indicate hesitations and restarts as in the previous text. The two left brackets in 8 and 9 indicate simultaneity. The extract begins with an argument over whether C should go on bicycle or moped to the market in the neighboring town 15 kilometers away. At the time of the conversation, C went to this market every week to buy dried catfish, which he would then return and sell retail in his own village.

1. E: *Mu sí zhyè níjǎà caan-gé na la?*
you FUT FP.go today market-DEF.G2S to Q
Are you going to go to the market today (lit. to today's market)?

2. C: *Mì sí zhyà.*
I FUT FP.go
I will go.

3. E: *Mu sí zhyè nègèsú-ŋi na mà?*
you FUT.NEG FP.go bicycle-DEF.G1S on NEG.Q
Aren't you going to go on the bicycle?

4. C: *Mobiletí-ŋi na mì sí.*
mobylette-DEF.G1S on I go.IMPF
I'm going on the mobylette.

5. *Mì sí sà sanzí-ŋi wà shwə gô.*
I FUT FP.go gas-DEF.G1S IND.G1S buy EMPH
I'll go buy some gas.

6. E: *Ta si nègèsú-ŋi na sá!*
IMPER.IMPFV go.IMPFV bicycle-DEF.G1S on EXCL
Go on the bicycle!

7. C: *ən, Purkwà?*
uh why (*pourquoi*)
Why?

8. E: *Hɔ̄, nègèsú-fè-e-bíí,* *ɲàhá ná mu sí* [
 bicycle-run-G1P-DEF.G1P what on you FUT
 Uh, bicycle riders, why will you ...
9. C: [*ónhɔ̄, ónhɔ̄.*
 no no
10. E: *ɲàhá ná ye?*
 what on Q
 Why?
11. C: *Cānɲ-ka à lye.*
 day-DEF.G2S PERF be.old
 It's late (lit. the day is old).
12. E: *éí, cānɲ-ke* [] *Mu ahá yírì ma-á ú ' tánhá,*
 day-DEF.G2S you COND rise and-SEQ G1S step
 The day ... If you hurry (lit. get up and step on it)
13. *mu sí nò sá!*
 you FUT.FP arrive EXCL
 you will arrive!
14. C: *Mì gú nò,* 15. *ɲkàà mìl àhá*
 I POT.FP arrive but I COND
 I would arrive, but if I
- ɲ-káré kafèè-ge ɲùɲì ì,* 16. *lire cyìlɲ nyè mé.*
 IP-go wind-DEF.G2S head in EMPH.G3S like be NEG
 went on the wind, it wouldn't be enough (lit. the equal of this is not).
17. E: *Eí, mu ahá a ma ka* []
 you COND PROG come.IMPFV DS
 If you were coming...
18. *bà kafèè-ge sí rà a fwu mé,*
 like wind-DEF.G2S FUT go PROG blow.IMPFV like
 like the wind blows,
19. *lire sí ɲ-jàa ná mu í,*
 EMPH.G3S FUT FP-be.fitting with you with
 that will be just right for you,

20. *pasige kafeè-ge sí m-pyì.*
 because (*parce que*) wind-DEF.G2S FUT FP-be
 because there will be the wind.
21. *Mu [] mu sí rà a [] mu sí rà a []*
 you you FUT go PROG you FUT go PROG
 You... you will... you will...
22. *kafeè-ge sí rà a mu ηóóηì rà a []*
 wind-DEF.G2S FUT go PROG you push.IMPFV go IMPFV
 The wind will push you and ...
23. C: *Mìl àhá motó-ηì lwò,* 24. *mìl màha ja à*
 I COND moped-DEF.G1S take I HAB be.able SC
 When I take the moped, I am able
- pa,* 25. *ma-á ' nùrá à pa pìl pèrè,*
 come SS-SEQ return SC come IND.G1P sell
 to come, and come back and sell some (i.e. some of the things he
 bought in the market in the other village)
26. *ma-á ' nùrá à pa jaara jaara pìl pèrè*
 SS-SEQ return SC come walk walk IND.G1P sell
 and come back and sell some in different places
- kù-laa-yí i.*
 trip-distance-DEF.G2P in
 on the trip back.
27. E: *Mhèn*
28. C: *Ɔkàa ámpyí nègèsú-ηì wí,*
 but if bicycle-DEF.G1S it.is.G1S
 But if it's the bicycle,
29. *mìl sí cānη-ke kwò àní.*
 I FUT day-DEF.G2S finish there
 I'll finish the day there.
30. E: *Mu sí cānη-ke kwò.*
 you FUT.FP day-DEF.G2S finish
 You'll finish the day.

31. *é, tàhà fân-hà kyà-à li nyé fó mu ú*
 Q power-G2S affair-G3S G3S be till you G1S
 Is it necessary (lit. is it a power matter) that you

Ø pá pìl pèrè níjjaà la?
 SUBJUNC come IND.G1P sell today Q
 come and sell some today?

32. C: *éí. Mu ahá sá ' wyéré-ŋi wà,*
 you COND go money-DEF.G1S throw
 If you go spend (lit. throw) the money,

33. *mu ahá sá ' wyéré-ŋi kðra a wà*
 you COND go money-DEF.G1S chase SC throw
 if you go spend (lit. chase and throw) the money

nyé-gé e, 34. ná mu nyé a wyèra a wà
 grass-DEF.G2S in if you NEG PERF be.hot SC IND.G1S
 in the grass (i.e. in a distant village—'behind the grass'), if you don't
 quickly come and

kðra à ta jónó me, 35. tàhà yi wá màha bè?
 chase SC get soon NEG Q G2P be.there HAB be.correct
 get (lit. chase and get) some soon, is that appropriate?

36. E: *Canm-pyà-a can [] canŋa nìŋkìn kyá-á*
 day-child-G3P day day.G2S one affair-G3S
 Days ... the affair one day ...

kyá-á []
 affair-G3S

36. C: *míhm*

37. E: *mu [] mu ú sá shyé nègèsú-ŋi na*
 you you SUBJUNC go go bicycle-DEF.G1S on
 You... you should go on the bicycle today,

níjjaà, 38. ma-á mí-pá ' níjjaà wù-u-bíí yaha
 today SS-SUBJUNC IP-come today POSS-G1P-DEF.G1P leave
 and come and let today's (sales)

39. *pire rì ñ-tòrò mà táán sa!*
 EMPH.G1P SUBJUNC IP-pass you.NONDECL beside EXCL
 pass you by!

40. C: *Ampyí ya-ñùñ-ke wá á sà à*
 if thing-thing-DEF.G2S be.there PERF go SC
 If the thing is

ɲwɔ̃ yò,
 be.good ATTEN
 good,

41. E: *míhm*

42. C: *ka há sá à ɲwɔ̃ a kwò yò,*
 G2S COND go SC be.good SC finish ATTEN
 if it's really already good,

43. E: *m̀̀*

44. C: *m̀̀i màha ñ-kare nègès [] m̀̀obiletí-ñi na.*
 I HAB IP-go bicyc m̀̀obilette-DEF.G1S on
 I go on the bicyc... m̀̀obilette.

45. E: *Ɔɔn kè. Ko yire m̀̀i yu.*
 yes EXCL that EMPH.G2P I say.IMPFV
 Yes, that's what I'm saying.

46. *ƆɆwɔ̃, ma sa a níñjáà u*
 say you.NONDECL go SSC today GEN
 I say, you should go and

darashí-i-gíí yaha 47. *cire sí ñ-tòrò*
 5.francs-G3P-DEF.G3P let EMPH.G3P SUBJUNC IP-pass
 let today's money (lit. 5 franc pieces)pass

m̀̀ táán.
 you.NONDECL beside
 you by.

48. C: *Bada fyeù!*
 never EXCL
 Never!

49. E: *Haán? Wu yi wìl dé!*
 we.NONDECL G2P look.at EXCL
 Huh? Let's look at the matter (lit. them)!
50. *Ani bà me, mu mpyi na sí tì yàha*
 if.this it.is.not NEG you PAST PROG FUT FP.G4 leave
 If it weren't for this, you would have left them (i.e. the pieces of money) alone (today)
51. *sí tí tá nùmpañã.*
 SUBJUNC G4 get tomorrow.G2S
 in order to get them tomorrow.
52. C: *m̀m̀*
53. E: *Tàhà [] tàhà làmpù-zéèn-na a kàlà gé,*
 Q Q tax-amulet-DEF.G3S PERF read REL
 Is it... is it the announcement of the taxes to be paid (lit. the tax amulet (which) has been read),
54. *tire yyà-hà fyágá-re ti.*
 EMPH.G4 face-G2S fear-DEF.G4 it.is.G4
 is it the fear of that? (i.e. are you so anxious to make money because you are afraid of not having enough money to pay your taxes?)
55. C: *Làmpù-zéèn-ni.*
 tax-amulet-DEF.G3S
 The tax announcement.
56. E: *Lire yyà-hà fyágá-re là?*
 EMPH.G3S face-G2S fear-DEF.G4 Q
 (Is it) the fear of that?
57. C: *é, Korowaare-shyé-e-bíí wà na*
 Côte.d'Ivoire-go-G1P-DEF.G1P NEG.be.there PROG
 Aren't those who had gone to Côte d'Ivoire (as
ma à?
 come.IMPFV NEG.Q
 migrant laborers) coming back?
58. E: *Pi wá na ma wá?*
 G1P be.there PROG come.IMPFV Q
 Are they coming back?

59. C: *Wà nye à pa pìlà-gà à?*
IND.G1S NEG PERF come night-G2S NEG.Q
Didn't one come last night?
60. E: *Náhá yì yyéé la?*
here you.PL at.house.of Q
Here to your place?
61. C: *ʒnhɔ [] ɔ̀n, pi shì-in shuunní.*
no yes G1P person-G1P two
No... yes, two of them.
62. *Mì cɔ̀n-ŋi wà nà []*
my younger.sibling-DEF.G1S IND.G1S and
One of my younger brothers and...
63. *Mu a Nɔ̀nurugo cé la?*
you PERF Nonurugo know Q
Do you know Nonurugo?
64. E: *mh... ín ... Nɔ̀nurugu-nyégà la?*
Nonurugo-red Q
Red Nonurugo?
65. C: *Nɔ̀nurugu-nyégà.*
Nonurugo-red
Red Nonurugo.
66. E: *ɔ̀n.*
yes
Yes.
67. C: *ɔ̀n, uru u à pa pìlà-gà.*
yes EMPH.G1S G1S PERF come night-G2S
Yes, it was him that came last night.
68. E: *Tá uru mù nye mobílí-fèhè mɛ?*
Q EMPH.G1S also be car-run.G1S NEG
Isn't he a chauffeur?
69. C: *A, u kóná à pyi a prànnɔ̀yá-ŋi pyi.*
G1S TOP PERF PAST SC apprenticeship-DEF.G1S do
Well, he did the apprenticeship.

70. E: *Anhaan*

71. C: *U à pyi a pràntlyá-ŋi pyi,*
 G1S PERF PAST SC apprenticeship-DEF.G1S do
 He did the apprenticeship,

72. E: *m̀̀*
 yes

73. C: *u sáhá ' kóní na u pyi sáháŋkì*
 G1S STILL TOP PROG G1S do again
 whether he's still doing it

yô, 74. *m̀̀i nye a cé m̀̀.*
 ATTEN I NEG PERF know NEG
 I don't know.

75. *Náhá Sukwoo ná Málí-ŋi ee ná*
 here Sikasso and Mali-DEF.G1S uh and
 Between Sikasso here and Mali... uh, and

Cwú-ŋi shwàho-ŋí.
 Côte.d'Ivoire-DEF.G1S between-DEF.G1S
 Côte d'Ivoire.

76. E: *Na uru ná jò fòdò u à pa ye?*
 that EMPH.G1S and who owner G1S PERF come Q
 He and who else have come?

77. C: *Uru ná Nàmpègé.*
 EMPH.G1S and Nampege
 He and Nampege.

78. E: *m̀̀mmm*

79. C: *Nàmpàhi-i pyén-gá.*
 Nampahi-PL compound-G2S
 The Nampaha family (i.e. Nampege of the Nampaha family)

80. E: *m̀̀hnínì ee Pi náhá na ma.*
 G1P be.here PROG come.IMPFV
 They really are coming back.

81. C: *Pi na ma dé!*
 G1P PROG come.IMPFV EXCL
 They're coming!

82. *Jyã, Nùmucê sà à ke kan náhá*
 Numuce go SC ten give here
 Well, Numuce gave 50,000 francs (lit. ten, i.e. ten 5,000 franc bills)

wùù á, 83. *wu taha a kà kwòñ à*
 us to we.NONDECL use SSC IND.G2S cut SSC
 to us for us to use some

wwû yô.
 take.off ATTEN
 to pay (taxes) (lit. use to cut and take off some).

84. E: *é a*

85. C: *Nònurugo mú ' rá à pa ná ' dóóní i.*
 Nonurugo also go SC come with a.bit with
 Nonurugo also brought a bit.

86. E: *Li náhá [] li sãn-ni náhá á*
 G3S be.here G3S OTHER-DEF.G3S be.here PERF
 It... All that

kwòrò mu ú kē-ñi []
 remain you GEN ten-DEF.G1S
 remains is your 50,000 (lit. the rest remains your ten)

87. *mu ahá ' bú ke kan mú,*
 you COND REM ten give also
 If you give 50,000 too,

88. C: *Mìl gê?*
 me Q
 Me?

89. E: *Aàn.*
 yes

90. C: *Tahá [] íéì, Taá mìl sí ñ-jírì*
 where where I FUT FP-rise
 Where... where will I

91. *sí úrú kē-ŋi ta gé?*
 SUBJUNC EMPH.G1S ten-DEF.G1S get LOC.Q
 get that 50,000? (lit. where will I get up in order to get that 50,000)

92. E: *é, mu ahá ' bú ú tá cyē-ge*
 you COND REM G1S get place-DEF.G2S
 Wherever you (can) get it.

ŋké-mù ì gé.
 DEM.G2S-REL in REL

93. C: *Kà m̀l̀ í wá na faa-ŋí pyi*
 DS I NARR be.there PROG cultivation-DEF.G1S do
 And I am there farming

ná pí é, 94. sí ' núrú ñ-kẁ ke kan
 with G1P with SUBJUNC return FP-finish ten give
 with them, and also end up giving 50,000

pí à la?
 G1P to Q
 to them?

95. E: *éí, lire [] lire nyé yi nyu*
 EMPH.G3S EMPH.G3S be G2P head.G2S
 That... that isn't the meaning!

mè sá!
 NEG EXCL
 (i.e. that's not the way to look at it)

96. C: *Mu mé-gé na nyé wáhi-i taanré,*
 your name-G2S PROG be 5,000.francs-G3P three
 Your own (lit. name) is 15,000 francs (i.e. the tax per person is 15,000 francs)

97. *m̀l̀ àhá ' wáhi-i taanré kán pí à à kẁ,*
 I COND 5,000.francs-G3P three give G1P to SC finish
 when I have given them 15,000 francs,

98. *à banna*
 it's finished (Bambara)
 that's it.

99. E: [laughs] *Mu ahá ' wáhi-i taanré kán,*
 you COND 5,000.francs-G3P three give
 When you give 15,000 francs,
100. *ya a kwò.*
 G2P PERF finish
 that's it.
101. C: *Ɔɔn. Yye-e máhá yye-e tàànrè m̀i màha kan*
 yes year-G3S DIST year-G3S three I HAB give
 Yes. Every year it's 15,000 (lit. three, i.e. three 5,000 franc
 bills) that I give
- pi à.* 102. E: *Lire ndé []*
 G1P to EMPH.G3S DEM.G3S
 them. That...
103. C: *Fa [] faa-pyi-i-bíí nyɛ na yafyîn pyi*
 cultivation-do-G1P-DEF.G1P NEG PROG nothing do
 The fa... the farmers don't do anything (i.e. any job for pay).
- mô.*
 NEG.ATTEN
104. E: *Aàn.*
 yes
105. C: *Pire ù jìgí-ŋi nyɛ faa-ŋí.*
 EMPH.G1P GEN hope-DEF.G1S be cultivation-DEF.G1S
 Their (only) hope is farming.
106. *Bɔn, ẁu kòòn-te ti nté:*
bon our cotton-DEF.G4 G4 DEM.G4
 Consider (lit. here/there is) our cotton:
107. *kòòn-ta a wyèrè,*
 cotton-DEF.G4 PERF cultivate
 the cotton was cultivated,
108. *wáhi-i bááni kànà u a jyì*
 5,000.francs-G3P six only G1S PERF enter
 it was 30,000 francs only that came

pyên-ge *e wùd á.*
 compound-DEF.G2S in us to
 into the family for us.

109. E: *E!*

110. C: *Bɔn, dùfu-go sùmà rí nye à ta mé.*
bon maize-G2S grain ADV NEG PERF get NEG
 And we didn't get maize (lit. grain of maize was not gotten).

111. *Wà rì nye na wwú cwo-ò-ni*
 IND.G1S ADV NEG PROG take.out.IMPFV pot-G3S-
 DEF.G3S
 And none is being taken out of the pot. (i.e. we don't have any
 maize)

na mé. 112. *Wùd mù pi nye na wù-yé nwó*
 from NEG we also G1P be PROG our-REFL mouth
 to eat) It's us who feed ourselves (lit. seek our own mouth).

cá-à.
 search-IMPFV

113. E: *Eè.*

114. C: *Ɔ̀̀n, m̀̀i màha na wũ-ŋi ñgé*
 yes I HAB my.NONDECL POSS-DEF.G1S DEM.G1S
 Yes, I do my job (lit. this mine)

pyi náhá, 115. *ma-á ' núra á kàra a sà*
 do here SS-NARR return SC go SC go
 here, and also go and

faa-ŋí *pyi ná ỳ̀l é s̀̀jncyan.*
 cultivation-DEF.G1S do with you.PL with together
 farm together with you all.

116. E: *M̀̀. A, li cógó lire nà li*
 G3S manner EMPH.G3S with G3S
 Nonetheless,

wù-ù-ní *mù í,*
 POSS-G3S-DEF.G3S also with

117. *mu ahá baanì kan níjnyéé yō,*
 you COND six give this.year ATTEN
 if you give 30,000 this year,
118. C: *ánha, féì!*
 no!
119. E: *Ɔɔn kè. Mu ahá baanì kan níjnyéé,*
 yes EXCL you COND six give this.year
 Yes! If you give 30,000 this year,
120. *yyeela mu gú tàànrè kàn.*
 next.year you POT three give
 next year you could give 15,000.
121. C: *Alí kē-ŋi sí jì-jà ñ-kàn,*
 even ten-DEF.G1S FUT FP-be.able FP-give
 Even the 50,000 could be given,
122. *àlí kē-ŋi sí jì-jà ñ-kàn,*
 even ten-DEF.G1S FUT FP-be.able FP-give
 even the 50,000 could be given,
123. E: *ónhɔ*
124. C: *ñkàà m̀l̀l̀ yábà-ŋí sí kē-ŋi yaha*
 but my EMPH FUT.FP ten-DEF.G1S leave
 but I myself will leave the 50,000
- na yapyàagíí ù dufá-ŋi i,*
 my.NONDECL EMPH GEN pocket-DEF.G1S in
 in my own pocket,
125. E: *éì!*
126. C: *sí sá tàànrà-ŋí kan pi à.*
 SUBJUNC go three-DEF.G1S give G1P to
 and give the 15,000 to them.
127. E: *Baanì-ŋi kan níjnyéé ' sá!*
 six-DEF.G1S give this.year EXCL
 Give 30,000 this year!

128. C: *ʒhɔn, ʒhɔn, ŋgé u à ŋgé* []
 no no DEM.G1S G1S PERF DEM.G1S
 No, no, the one who... the one...

ŋgé u à kɛ-ŋi kan náhá ge,
 DEM.G1S G1S PERF ten-DEF.G1S give here REL
 the one who has given the 50,000 here,

129. *ŋko mɪ̀ wú u nyɛ uru kɛ-ŋi.*
 I.say my POSS.G1S G1S be EMPH.G1S ten-DEF.G1S
 I say, that 50,000 is mine.

130. E: *Pyi-ŋkã-ni ñdiré ná mu wú*
 do-manner-DEF.G3S INTERR.G3S on you POSS.G1S
 In what way is it yours?

u nyɛ ú wí ye?
 G1S be G1S.COMP it.is.G1S Q

131. C: *Tàhá mɪ̀ cɔ̀n-ŋi bà u a*
 Q my younger.sibling-DEF.G1S it.is.not G1S PERF
 Isn't it my younger brother who has

ù kàn mé?
 G1S give NEG
 given it?

132. E: *mu, mu cɔ̀n-ŋi kà ù kàn,*
 your your sibling-DEF.G1S COND G1S give
 If your younger brother gives it,

133. *kà u ú mí-pyí mu wú la?*
 DS G1S NARR IP-be your POSS.G1S Q
 does it become yours?

134. C: *Ɔ̀n, mɪ̀ wú wí gè!*
 yes my POSS.G1S it.is.G1S EXCL
 Yes, it's mine!

135. E: *Mu wú bà à dɛ!*
 your POSS it.is.not NEG EXCL
 It's not yours!

136. C: *Ampyí wùù ú [] ámpyí wùù ú [] wùù ú*
 if we GEN if we GEN we GEN
 If our... if our... it is not our

ba-gé kàní bà gu sí u puní sàrà mε,
 house-DEF.G2 only it.is.not G2S FUT G1S all pay NEG
 family alone which will pay it all,

137. E: *Mhm. Yìì í ba-gé kàní mèé ní-pyí*
 you.PL GEN house-DEF.G2S only even.if IP-be
 Even if it is your family alone

gu sí ù sàrà,
 G2S FUT G1S pay
 which will pay it,

138. *mu wú bà mε.*
 your POSS.G1S it.is.not NEG
 it's not yours.

139. C: *Mpí [] Mìì wú de!*
 my POSS.G1S EXCL
 Those... It's mine!

140. E: *Cógó-ŋì ñgìré ná yε?*
 manner-DEF.G1S INTERR.G1S on Q
 In what way?

141. C: *Mpíí puní pí wá aní cyîŋ-ŋì*
 DEM.G1P all G1P be.there there outside-DEF.G1S
 All those who are there outside (i.e. away from the village with

na gé,
 on REL
 jobs in the city or in another country),

142. E: *hóð*

143. C: *nèpíí yaa-ga máhá yaa-ga nyε náhá []*
 DEM.G1P thing-G2S DIST thing-G2S be here
 every one who is here...

144. *wùu nyɛ na faa-ŋí pyi gé,*
 we be PROG cultivation-DEF.G1S do REL
 we who are doing farming,

145. *pi puní yya-ha fê-e na wá*
 they all face-G2S owner-G1P PROG be.there
 all their older brothers (have jobs) outside,

cyîŋ-ŋi na,
 outside-DEF.G1S on

146. *pi ce-en-lii na wá*
 G1P younger.sibling-G1P-DEF.G1P PROG be.there
 their younger brothers (have jobs) outside,

cyîŋ-ŋi na.
 outside-DEF.G1S on

147. E: *ee sà.*
 So what?

148. C: *Mu ahá píré nyé*
 you COND EMPH.G1P see
 If you see

149. *pire wà nyɛ na yafyîn kà-àn náhá*
 EMPH.G1P IND.G1S NEG PROG nothing give-IMPFV here
 that none of them gives a thing here,

me, 150. *fó ee mîl í cɔ̀ɔ̀n-ŋi kàní,*
 NEG until my GEN younger.sibling-DEF.G1S only
 except uh my younger brother,

151. *sa fe wùù ú ba-gé ku sí rà a*
 that is (*ça fait*) you GEN house-DEF.G2S G2S FUT go PROG
 does that mean it is our family who will be

u sàrà-nì gè?
 G1S pay-IMPFV Q
 paying it (i.e. the tax)?

152. E: *A, yìl í ba-gé kàní mèé ε u*
 you.PL GEN house-DEF.G2S only even.if PROG G1S
 Even if it is your family alone who is

sàrà-nì,
pay-IMPFV
paying it,

153. *la à waha la?*
G3S PERF be.hard Q
is that difficult?

154. C: *Yà pá møyen.*
no way (*il n'y a pas moyen*)
No way.

155. *Na wùu [] na wùù ú tũ-ŋi ɲye*
that our that our GEN father-DEF.G1S be
Our... our father is

nàŋkò-lyè-ŋí kè.
person-be.old-DEF.G1S EXCL
the oldest man.

156. E: [laughs]

157. C: *Wùù ú tũ-ŋa à fworo làmpú-ŋi í.*
we GEN father-DEF.G1S PERF go.out tax-DEF.G1S from
Our father no longer pays taxes (lit. has gone out of the tax).

158. E: *Lire e mu à jwu []*
EMPH.G3S in you PERF say
(Is) that why you say (lit. have said) ...

159. *Lire e mu à jwu mu wú la?*
EMPH.G3S in you PERF say your POSS.G1S Q
Is that why you say it's yours?

159. C: *Aán?*
Huh?

160. E: *lire e mu à jwu mu wú la?*
EMPH.G3S in you PERF say your POSS.G1S Q
Is that why you have said it's yours?

161. C: *Aàn, lire e mii à jwu mii wú gè.*
Yes, EMPH.G3S in I PERF say my POSS.G1S EXCL
Yes, that's why I say it's mine!

162. E: *Mu wú bà me.*
 your POSS.G1S it.is.not NEG
 It's not yours.

163. C: *éi, mìi ce-en-bíí wù-ńí*
 my younger.sibling-G1P-DEF.G1P POSS-DEF.G1S
 All of what belongs to my younger brothers

puní nye mìl wú.
 all be my POSS.G1S
 is mine.

164. E: *E!*

165. C: *Wéí.*
 yes (*ou*)

166. E: *Ŋgé kànì nye mu wú me.*
 DEM.G1S TOP be my POSS.G1S NEG
 This is not yours.

167. C: *Ŋgé kànì, ńgé nye mìl wú de!*
 DEM.G1S TOP DEM.G1S be my POSS.G1S EXCL
 This, this is mine!

168. E: *ánha.*
 no

169. C: *Aoo.*
 yes

170. E: *Nḡḡ-lyè-ńí wù.*
 person-be.old-DEF.G1S POSS.G1S
 (It's) the old man's.

171. C: *Nḡḡ-lyè-ńí wù bà mé.*
 person-be.old-DEF.G1S POSS.G1S it.is.not NEG
 It's not the old man's.

172. E: *Nḡḡ-lyè-ńí wú bà me.*
 person-be.old-DEF.G1S POSS.G1S it.is.not NEG
 It's not the old man's.

173. C: *śnhɔ*.
no

174. E: *Mu wú*.
your POSS.G1S
(It's) yours.

175. C: *śhɔn, m̀̀ wú u a s̀̀*
no my POSS.G1S G1S PERF be.EMPH
No, it's really mine.

ú wí.
G1S.COMP it.is.G1S

176. E: [laughs]

177. C: *M̀̀ méé jwú pi à []*
I even.if say G1P to
Even if I say to them...

178. *m̀̀ méé sá á [] m̀̀ méé sá à jwɔ-mugu-ro*
I even.if go SC I even.if go SC mouth-open-G4
even if I go... even if I go speak (lit. give speech)

kan pi à numé, 179. *mà jwo [] mà jwo*
give G1P to now SS say SS say
to them now, and say... and say

̀̀píí puní pi nye aní ná ỳ̀ é
DEM.G1P all G1P be there with you.PL with
“All those who are there with you

cỳ̀n-ŋi na gé,”
outside-DEF.G1S on REL
outside (i.e. with jobs away from the village)”

180. *mà jwo “pi wà nàhà na darashí*
SS say G1P IND.G1S NEG.be.here PROG 5.francs
and say, “not one of them is

ká-àn náhá me, 181. *ỳ̀i wà gà núrú*
give-IMPV here NEG you.PL IND.G1S PROH return
giving 5 francs here, none of you should

darashí kán ' náhá 182. *nògò-lyè-ńí* *εε pi*
 5.francs give here person-be.old-DEF.G1S G1P
 give 5 francs here either for the old man uh for them

Ø *taha a làmpù-ńí wwù me,*"
 SUBJUNC use SSC tax-DEF.G1S take.off NEG
 to use to pay the tax,"

183. *mu sí ù ńyè ú á yyèrè.*
 you FUT G1S see G1S.COMP PERF stop
 you'll see it will stop (i.e. they will stop sending money).

184. E: *U sì ń-jyéré me.*
 G1S NEG.FUT FP-stop NEG
 It won't stop.

185. C: *U sí ń-jyéré.*
 G1S FUT FP-stop
 It will stop.

186. E: *ónhò, u sì ń-jyéré me.*
 no G1S NEG.FUT FP-stop NEG
 No, it won't stop.

187. C: *Mi a yì jwù mu á.*
 I PERF G2P say you to
 I tell you it will (lit. I have said them to you).

188. E: *Mu méé sá á yì jwò,*
 you even.if go SC G2P say
 Even if you tell them,

189. *ámpyí pi sí rà a []*
 if G1P FUT go PROG
 if they are going to...

190. C: *Mìl àhá yí jwù,* 191. *pi sí ń-jyéré.*
 I COND G2P say G1P FUT FP-stop
 If I tell them (lit. if I say them) they will stop.

192. E: *Ampyí pi sí rà a u kà-àn,*
 if G1P FUT go PROG G1S give-IMPFV
 If they are going to be giving it,

193. *pi kóní ' sí rà a u kà-àn.*
G1P TOP FUT go PROG G1S give-IMPFV
they will be giving it.
194. C: *Pi sì ù kàn mé.*
G1P NEG.FUT G1S give NEG
They won't give it.
195. E: *Mu na sònṅì la?*
you PROG think.IMPFV Q
You think so?
196. C: *Mìi a yì jwù mu á de!*
I PERF G2P say you to EXCL
I've told you!
197. *U sì ṅ-kàn mé.*
G1S NEG.FUT FP-give NEG
It won't be given.
198. E: *U sì ṅ-kàn mé.*
G1S NEG.FUT FP-give NEG
It won't be given.
199. C: *ónhɔ.*
no
200. E: *éé! U sí ṅ-kàn.*
G1S FUT FP-give
It will be given.
201. C: *Mu ahá ' lógó u ahà ṅ-kàn á yô,*
you COND hear G1S PROH FP-give NEG ATTEN
If you hear it mustn't be given,
202. E: *níhm*
203. C: *tàhà numé pi a yì sù?*
Q now G1P PERF G2P begin
is it now that they have started it?
204. E: *m̀̀*

215. C: *Ná ni bà me u ní sà a kàrè gé,*
 if this it.is.not NEG G1S REC.PAST go SC go TC
 If it weren't for that, since he had left,

216. *u darashí mpyi na sáhá sá à kan náhá me,*
 G1S 5.francs PAST PROG YET go SC give here NEG
 five francs of his had not yet been given here,

217. *fó ' fúú-ŋi tà-pyi-ge e u sí ' ná*
 till marry-DEF.G1S LOC-do-G2S to G1S ADV afterward
 until after he was coming

á rà a ma, 218. *ma-á ' ná à*
 SC go PROG come.IMPV SS-NARR afterward SC
 here to get married, and afterward

pa ná ' wáhi-i bénáágá ' ná sìcyèèrè é.
 come with 5,000.francs-G3P twenty and four with
 brought 120,000 francs.

219. E: *m̀nim*

220. C: *U ná mí-pá motó-ŋi shwɔ à pa.*
 G1S REM.PAST IP-come moped-DEF.G1S buy SC come
 He bought a moped and brought it.

221. *U toŋ-cyiŋ-ge wyéré-ŋi niŋ-kan-ŋí*
 G1S time-first-DEF.G2S money-DEF.G1S ADJ-give-DEF.G1S
 That was the first time he gave money (lit. that was his

u nyɛ ure. 222. *Kà mìl í lɪ cyèè ù nà,*
 G1S be EMPH.G1S DS I NARR G3S show G1S on
 first time's given money). I explained to him,

223. *ŋjwu "Bon, ku kè.* 224. *Numé yìl yábàŋá*
 say *bon* G2S here.is.G2S now you.PL EMPH
 I said, "Bon, this is how it is. Now you yourselves

à kerè-ge báára-ŋi nyɛ. 225. *Kerè-ge*
 PERF field-DEF.G2S work-DEF.G1S see field-DEF.G2S
 have seen the work of the field (i.e. the family field).

báará-ŋi sàhà nyɛ na m-pyi u cógó-ŋi
 work-DEF.G1S STILL NEG PROG IP-do G1S manner-DEF.G1S
 The work of the field is no longer done as it should

na mé.
 on NEG
 be (lit. The field's work is no longer done on its manner; i.e. the common field is no longer worked by the extended family).

226. E: *ɔ̀ɔ̀n*
 yes

227. C: *Bɔ̀n, ñkàà wùù tú-ŋi sɪ u nyɛ*
bon but our father-DEF.G1S ADV G1S be
Bon, but it is our father who is

nɪn-jyē-ŋi. 228. *Sána yìl pí Ø*
 ADJ-be.old-DEF.G1S before you.PL G1P SUBJUNC
 the oldest (i.e. the oldest man in the extended family). Rather than that you

ú yáha 229. *u Ø sílégé ke,*
 G1S let G1S SUBJUNC be.ashamed TC
 let him be shamed (i.e. by not having enough money to support himself),

230. *mìl lá nyɛ kuru na mé.* 231. *Yɪi*
 my desire be EMPH.G2S on NEG you.PL
 I don't want that.

yaa-ga máhá yaa-ga ka a sà a shyà gé,
 thing-G2S DIST thing-G2S G2S PERF go SC go REL
 Everyone of you who has gone away (i.e. to get work in the city),

232. *yɛ-e-ní kà ñ-kéénɲè,*
 year-G3S-DEF.G3S COND IP-change
 at the new year (lit. when the year changes),

233. *sí-ŋi u nyɛ mu na gé,*
 power-DEF.G1S G1S be you on REL
 whatever is in your power (lit. the power that is on you),

234. *jíjà ma á úrú pyí u*
 do.one's.best you.NONDECL SUBJUNC EMPH.G1S do G1S
 make every effort to do that for him.

na. 235. *Wùù ú tũ-ŋi kà yírà àní yô,*
 on our GEN father-DEF.G1S COND rise there ATTEN
 When our father dies (lit. leaves),

236. *tàhà ku funm-pen-re sàhà wá na sí*
 Q G2S inside-be.bad.tasting-G4 STILL be.there PROG FUT
 will you any longer have that worry (lit. will its worry

m̀-ɸyì yìl nà? 237. *Bà ɸi sanm-ɸíí*
 FP-be you.PL on like G1P OTHER.G1P-DEF.G1P
 still be on you)? Like the others

nye mé, 238. *yìl gú m̀-ɸyì àmunà à?"*
 be like you.PL POT FP-be thus NEG.Q
 are, won't you be like that?"

239. E: *mm*

240. C: *Kà m̀lì í yíré jwú à kan u à.*
 DS I NARR EMPH.G2P say SC give G1S to
 I told him this (lit. and I said these and gave to him).

241. *Mèè ù mú 'sá á yì lógó.*
 but (*mais*) G1S also go SC G2P hear
 He really listened.

242. *U a kàrè gé,* 243. *yye-e máhá yye-e*
 G1S PERF go TC year-G3S DIST year-G3S
 When he went away, every year

làmpú-ŋi wàhàtí-ŋi kà nò, 244. *u màha ke*
 tax-DEF.G1S time-DEF.G1S COND arrive G1S HAB ten
 when the tax time arrives, he gives

kan.
 give
 50,000.

245. E: *é, kà mu ú jwó* 246. *na uru gà*
 DS you NARR say that EMPH.G1S COND
 And you say that whatever

ḡgé-mù *kàn gé,* 247. *mu wú u*
 DEM.G1S-REL give REL your POSS.G1S G1S
 he gives, it's

nye ure.
 be EMPH.G1S
 yours.

248. C: *Wéí. Sè sá één.*
oui c'est ça hein
 Yes, that's right.

249. E: *á, mu wú bà à de!*
 your POSS.G1S it.is.not NEG EXCL
 It's not yours!

Proverbs

1. *Kafáá-yá puní bèrè wú-yó na nye naḡ-ké na.*
 stone-G2P all size POSS-G2S PROG be hill-DEF.G2S on
 For every stone there's another of the same size on the hill.

2. *Wà nye à kun-tɔɔn-lɔ yya-ha yyèrè*
 IND.G1S NEG PERF road-be.long-G3S face-G2S toward
 No one knows who will be ahead at the end of a

shín ' cé me.
 person know NEG
 long road.

3. *ḡkunḡḡ màha lara ḡkùle-ge rí jyé.*
 wall.G2S HAB split cockroach-G2S SEQ enter
 A wall splits and a cockroach goes into the crack. (i.e. whenever there is disagreement between people, a trouble-maker will come between them)

4. *Sùpyà lù-wùlì-gé puní nye na u*
 person water-bathe-DEF.G2S all NEG PROG G1S
 All of a person's bath water doesn't get on him/her.

tà-à mé.
get-IMPFV NOT

5. *Ŋkùù-ŋi wà u nye na fí ná*
chicken-DEF.G1S IND.G1S G1S be PROG run.IMPFV with
One chicken runs off with the intestines

wà là í.
IND.G1S intestines with
of another. (= Dog eat dog.)

6. *Wwò-ŋi wà shwo-ŋkana màha wà*
snake-DEF.G1S IND.G1S save-manner.G3S HAB IND.G1S
The way one snake escapes makes the way another is

bò-mò lé-mú pí.
kill-G5 appearance-G5 be.ugly
killed terrible.

7. *Wà nye na jí-ní na fí*
IND.G1S NEG PROG be.able-IMPFV PROG run.IMPFV
One can't run and scratch the sole of one's

ma-rí-i nintá-á-ni ñàgè mé.
SS-SEQ-PROG sole-G3S-DEF.G3S scratch NEG
foot at the same time.

8. *Ntàsùù kà m̀-nyì mu yyá-há ná, ma hà*
elephant COND IP-be you face-G2S at you.NONDECL PROH
If an elephant is in front of you (on the path), don't

rà a fyà-gè kameŋe na mé.
go PROG fear-IMPFV dew.G2S on NEG
be afraid of the dew (because he will brush it off the grass). (i.e. a
powerful older relative will take care of you)

9. *Wà nye na u cye fyà-ŋí cyàn*
IND.G1S NEG PROG G1S hand fish-DEF.G1S drop
One doesn't drop the fish in one's hand in order to

lwo-hé ̀nwo-ho wú-ŋi kùrùgò mé.
water-DEF.G2S bottom-G2S POSS-DEF.G1S because.of NEG
catch the one in the water. (= A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.)

10. *Zhèn-ge kà ò-cwò, sika-pèr-i-gíí púní*
 baobab-DEF.G2S COND IP-fall goat-male-G3P-DEF.G3P all
 When the baobab falls, all the billy goats

màha duru ku na.
 HAB climb.IMPV G2S on
 climb on it.

11. *Kàcwù màha ò-cwo fùncwò e u òyi-i yàà-gà*
 mouse HAB IP-fall waterjar in G1S eye-G3S thing-G2S
 A mouse falls into the waterjar because of something

kúrúgó.
 because.of
 it wants.

12. *Wà òye na jí-ná á òpí-i shuunní '*
 IND.G1S NEG PROG be.able-IMPV SC hare-G1P two
 One can't chase and catch two hares

kórá á cù tère ònkìn ì mé.
 chase SC catch time.G3S one in NEG
 at the same time.

13. *Cwò-gò ò-pèè ó ò-pèè, kà ku màha*
 pot-G2S NOM-be.big DIST NOM-be.big IND.G2S G2S HAB
 No matter how big a pot is, another

ku òwò tò.
 G2S mouth close
 is able to cover it.

14. *Òwò-ò-ní mèé ní-táán, lí sí ò-jà*
 knife-G3S-DEF.G3S even.if IP-be.sharp G3S NEG.FUT FP-be.able
 Even if a knife is sharp, it can't

lí cyi-ìn-ní te mé.
 G3S handle-G3S-DEF.G3S carve NEG
 carve its own handle.

15. *Míi òye a òkùli-péé-gá cé a wwù*
 I NEG PERF cockroach-male-G2S know SC take.off
 I can't tell a male cockroach from a female one.

ɲkùli-cwó-gé é me.
 cockroach-female-G2S from NEG
 (i.e. don't split hairs)

16. *Mu ahá kàkòòn nye ú u kùlùshî-bire*
 you COND lizard see G1S.COMP PROG trousers-short.G3S
 If you see a lizard sewing trousers,

jóólì, u nyi-i màha m-pyi `neŋ-ké
 sew.IMPV G1S eye-G3S HAB IP-be tail-DEF.G2S
 his eye is on the hole for his tail. (i.e. plan ahead)

tà-fworoŋ-ké na.
 LOC-go.out-DEF.G2S on

17. *Nɔɔ-gɔ jyí-fóó u kú béré.*
 wound-G2S wash-AGENT G1S G2S cause.pain.in.a.wound
 The one who washes a wound causes pain.

18. *Ntasènmii naha-fóó nye na fyàà mé.*
 toad.G1P herd-AGENT NEG PROG hurry NEG
 A toad-herd doesn't hurry.

19. *Ná dùfàànŋ-ke nye à mu cyán me, mu*
 if donkey-DEF.G2S NEG PERF you make.fall NEG you
 Unless the donkey has thrown you down, you

nye na ku niŋgéŋ-yi nà-à mé.
 NEG PROG G2S ear-DEF.G2P see-IMPV NEG
 don't see its ears (which you could have grabbed onto to keep from falling).

Appendix 2

Vocabulary

The alphabetical ordering used in the following vocabulary follows that used in English with the following additions: *ε* follows *e*, *η* follows *n*, and *ɔ* follows *o*. Note also that the digraphs *sh* (for /ʃ/) and *zh* (for /ʒ/) follow *s* and *z* in a block rather than falling in the middle, between *se* and *si*, and *ze* and *zi*. The hyphens in Supyire words are for typesetting and never form part of the orthography.

The following abbreviations are used for parts of speech:

<i>1, 2, 3 etc.</i>	gender 1, 2, 3, etc.	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>adj.</i>	adjective	<i>neg.</i>	negative
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>num.</i>	numeral
<i>aux.</i>	auxiliary	<i>part.</i>	particle
<i>cfm.</i>	clause final marker	<i>pn.</i>	pronoun
<i>conj.</i>	conjunction	<i>postp.</i>	postposition
<i>det.</i>	determiner	<i>prep.</i>	preposition
<i>gen.</i>	gender	<i>ques.</i>	question word
<i>interj.</i>	interjection	<i>quant.</i>	quantifier
<i>interr.</i>	interrogative word	<i>tr.</i>	transitive
<i>intr.</i>	intransitive	<i>v.</i>	verb

When they exist, the following morphological forms are supplied:

for nouns:	def.	definite
	pl.	plural
	def. pl.	definite plural
for verbs:	impfv.	imperfective

Occasionally the morphological forms for nouns in genders other than the main citation gender are given.

When the etymology of a form is known, it is given in brackets []. In the etymologies, Ar. = Arabic, Bamb. = Bambara, Eng. = English, and Fr. = French.

Note the following when searching for items in the vocabulary: 1) within a word, the approximants *l*, *w*, and *y* may be converted to *d*, *g*, and *j*. If you don't find what you are looking for under the stop, try looking under the corresponding approximant; 2) similarly, the voiceless fricatives *f*, *s*, and *sh* may be voiced to *v*, *z*, and *zh* under the influence of a nasal which then disappears. If you don't find the item you are looking for among the voiced fricatives, try looking under the corresponding voiceless ones; 3) because of the pervasive tone rules operative within and between words in Supyire, the tone of a word or morpheme in a text may differ from that

found in the vocabulary; 4) because of vowel assimilation, the final vowel of a word in the text may not match that in the vocabulary, e.g. *ka à* for *ku à*; 5) before a vowel-initial clitic, an *l* or *n* may appear in a text which is not in the form cited in the vocabulary, e.g. *pwunmpole è* in sentence 3 of the text beginning on page 617, which in the vocabulary is *pwunmpoo*.

à conj. Non-final connective in serial constructions.

à aux. Perfect auxiliary: past time reference with active verbs, present time reference with stative verbs; may mark anterior in narrative.

à cfm. See *mà*.

a aux. Non-final connective in subjunctive serial verb constructions.

a aux. See *na*.

á postp. Dative postposition: to (someone), for (someone), from (someone).

á aux. See *sí*.

ahà aux. See *kà*.

ahá aux. See *ká*.

àlí adv. [Bamb. *hali* even] Even.

àmē. Variant of *àmunì*.

ámpyí conj. See *kámpyí*.

àmū. Variant of *àmunì*.

àmunì adv. Like that/this, thus.

aní. See *waní*.

áni. If this: in phrase *áni bà me* 'otherwise, however'.

asì aux. Habitual-sequential auxiliary; frequently rhotacized to *arì*.

ayiwà part. [Bamb. *ayiwa* ok, well] Well, OK. = Supyire *nyā*.

bà conj. (always followed by *mé*).

♦ 1 Like. ♦ 2 So that.

bà id. It is not: negative identifier.

bàà postp. [Bamb. *bàli* prevent] Without; becomes *baá* after a mid

tone. **shire baá.** Without fur, without feathers.

bààn n3. def. **bàànní pl.** **bànhii** def. pl. **bànhigíí gen.** 2 **bàngà** def. **bàngé.** Vestibule (two-doored entrance building of village or compound); important meetings (e.g. marriage negotiations) are conducted here; contains the *serege* (altar to the ancestors).

baanì num. Six.

báará n1. def. **báaránji** [Bamb. *báará* work] Work.

bada adv. [Bamb. *bada* or *abada* never, from Ar.] Never.

baga n2. def. **bagé pl.** **baya** def. pl. **bayí.** ♦ 1 House, building. ♦ 2 Family, household. **bapuṅṅo n2.** def. **bapuṅké.** A whole family (can also mean 'a whole house').

bàṅṅwògò n2. def. **bàṅṅwògé** [*bààn* vestibule + *ṅwògò* mouth, doorway] ♦ 1 Doorway of vestibule. ♦ 2 The ancestors (from the fact that the altar to the ancestors is just inside the door of the vestibule).

bê v. impfv. **bénì** [Bamb. *bèn* meet] I. (Situation, state of affairs) *intr.* Be right, OK.

II. (People (plural or coordinate subject or direct object)) ♦ 1 *intr.* Come together, coincide. ♦ 2 *intr.* Agree with, get along with, be in harmony with. ♦ 3 *tr.* Cause to agree, cause to be in harmony, cause to get along. ♦ 4 *tr.* Meet.

bée *v. tr. impfv.* **béré**. Cause pain in a wound, hurt.

benjaaga *num.* Twenty.

besé *n1.* def. **beséni** pl. **besée** def. pl. **beséebíí** [Bamb. *bese* matchet] Matchet.

bèenye *n2.* def. **bèenye** pl. **bèenye** def. pl. **bèenyí**. Well.

bèrè *n1.* def. **bèrèni**. Measure, capacity, size. **bèrè shín**. A person of the same size (or age).

bìlè def. **bìlìni** pl. **pyàa** def. pl. **pyàagíí**.

I. *n3.* ♦ 1 Seed. ♦ 2 Small, compact object. **jombilé** *n3.* def. **jombìlìni**. Testicle. **nyibile** *n3.* def. **nyibilìni**. Eyeball. ♦ 3 Central part, heart. **cigé bìlìni**. Center part of tree trunk. ♦ 4 Individualized entity. **kabile** *n3.* def. **kabilìni**. Deed, thing spoken, fact. **canmbile** *n3.* def. **canmbilìni**. Day. ♦ 5 The same, self.

II. *adj3.* Little (in compounds only; see, e.g., **pùcèébìlè**).

bíní *v. impfv.* **bínìni**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Gather for a meeting. ♦ 2 *intr.* (with following verb in a serial construction) Do at the same time, do together. ♦ 3 *tr.* Pile, put in a pile. ♦ 4 Put together with.

bíní *n1.* def. **bínìni** pl. **bínii** def. pl. **bínibíí**. Mat made with split palm ribs.

-bire *adj.* def. **-biní**. Short. **kumbire** *n3.* def. **kumbiní**. Short road (in the definite, the shortest road). **kùlùshìbire** *n3.* def. **kùlùshìbiní**. Short, baggy, traditional trousers, tied with a cord around the waist. **cibire** *n3.* def. **cibiní**. Short woman (less than 1.50 meters). **nàmbire** *n3.* def. **nàmbiní**. Short man (less than 1.50 meters).

bo *v. tr. impfv.* **buu**. Kill.

bogo *n2.* def. **bogé**. Harp-lute: a stringed instrument with a calabash as a resonating chamber.

bu *n1.* def. **buñí**. Dead person, corpse.

bú *aux.* Remote irrealis auxiliary.

-bwo *adj.* Big.

bwon *v. impfv.* **bwuun**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Touch (with indirect object + **na**). ♦ 2 *tr.* Hit, beat. ♦ 3 *tr.* Play (a musical instrument).

byé *v. tr. impfv.* **byíí**. ♦ 1 Carry child on back. ♦ 2 Raise (children, animals), bring up, educate.

byé *quant.* [Bamb. *béé* all] All.

byínkána *n3.* def. **byínkáni** [**byé** raise + **-nkana** manner] Manner of raising.

caà *v. impfv.* **cárè**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Lie on back. ♦ 2 *tr.* Spread out to dry.

caà *v. tr.* Imperfective of **cya**.

caala *v. tr. and intr. impfv.* **caáli**. Disperse, scatter.

caanga *n2.* def. **caangé** pl. **caanya** def. pl. **caanyí**. Market.

caawa *n1.* def. **caaní** pl. **caálii** def. pl. **caábíí**. ♦ 1 Warthog. ♦ 2 Pig.

canntòṅṅò *n2.* def. **canntòṅké** [**canṅa** day + **to** cover, bury] Day of burial.

canntoṅṅo *n2.* def. **canntòṅke** [**canṅa** sun + **to** close, cover] Umbrella.

canṅa *n2.* def. **cànṅke** pl. **canya** def. pl. **cānyi**. ♦ 1 Day. ♦ 2 Sun, sunlight.

ce *v. tr. impfv.* **cini**. Know.

cèè *v. tr. impfv.* **cèè**. Sing.

ceewe *n1.* def. **ceèni** pl. **cyèè** def. pl. **cyèebíí**. Woman.

cevààntinṅe *n2.* def. **cevààntinṅké** or **kyevààntinṅké** [? +

- vàanntinje** shirt] Large robe made of strips of homespun cotton; the strips are vertical in the center, but horizontal on the two sides. It is worn only by those whose father has died, and a man (whose father has already died) must be buried wrapped in one.
- céégè** *v. tr. impfv. céégè.* ♦ 1 Accuse. ♦ 2 Express contrition, accuse oneself, be sorry (with reflexive direct object).
- ceenlii** *n1.* Plural of **cɔɔn**.
- cenme** *v. tr. impfv. cénmì.* Plant, transplant.
- ci** *pn3.* They, them, their: anaphoric pronoun, gender 3 plural.
- cibílaaga** *n2.* def. **cibílaagé** or **cílaagé** pl. **cibílaaya** def. pl. **cibílaayí.** Seven-day week (the days are: **tɛ̀n** Monday, **tɛ̀nntàhàrà** Tuesday, **wàràbà** Wednesday, **dí** Thursday, **p̀wòrò** Friday, **p̀wòrònà** Saturday, and **kàrí** Sunday).
- cige** *n2.* def. **cigé** pl. **ciye** def. pl. **ciyí** *gen. 4* **cire** def. **ciré.** Tree, plant.
- cin** *n1.* def. **cinjí** pl. **cínmii** def. pl. **cínm̀píí.** Leopard.
- c̀nmpworo** *n1.* def. **c̀nmpworojí** or **t̀nmpworojí** pl. **c̀nmpworii** def. pl. **c̀nmpworibíí.** Blood relative, member of one's patriclan.
- c̀nmpyicwò** *n1.* def. **c̀nmpyicwòjí** pl. **c̀nmpyicyèè** def. pl. **c̀nmpyicyèèbíí** [**c̀nmpworo** blood relative + **c̀wò** woman] Female member of one's patriclan.
- c̀nmpyii** *n1.* pl. def. **c̀nmpyibíí.** Blood relatives, members of one's patriclan. See **c̀nmpworo**.
- cire** *det3.* and *pn3.* These, those: emphatic pronoun and determiner, gender 3 plural.
- cire** *n4.* See **cige**.
- cógó** *n1.* def. **cógóji** pl. **cógii** def. pl. **cógibíí** [Bamb. *cogo* manner] Way, manner, kind.
- cookoo** *n1.* def. **cookoojí** [**coowo** rain spout + **-koo** area of concentration] Body of rain spout.
- cɔɔn** *n1.* def. **cɔ̀ɔnji** pl. **ceenlii** def. pl. **ceenbíí.** Younger sibling.
- cù** *v. tr. impfv. cwóré.* Grab, catch. **ɲwɔ̀ cù.** Begin, start (calque on Bamb. *damine* 'take-mouth').
- cúgò** *v. intr. impfv. cúgúí.* Be deep.
- cúrù** *v. tr. and intr. impfv. cúrúgè* or **cúrúnì.** Stick into.
- cúrúgó** *v. tr. and intr. impfv. cúrúgè* [**cúrù** stick into + pluralizing suffix] Stick into (plural absolute participants).
- cwo** *v. intr. impfv. cwo* or **cwu.** Fall. **u f̀unŋka à cwo ku na.** S/he remembers it (lit. his/her belly has fallen on it). **funŋu cwo ku na.** Remind (someone) of it (lit. fall belly on it).
- cwo** *n1.* def. **cwòji.** Wife (same plural forms as **ceewe**).
- cwoò** *n3.* def. **cwoòni** pl. **cwòhii** def. pl. **cwòhigíí** *gen. 2* **cwòga** pl. **cwoya.** Clay pot.
- cwù** *n1.* def. **cwùji** [Bamb. *tu* forest] ♦ 1 Forest. ♦ 2 Côte d'Ivoire.
- cwuugo** *v. tr. impfv. cwúúgè.* Rub.
- cya** *v. tr. impfv. cáà.* ♦ 1 Look for, search for. **ɲwɔ̀ cya.** Provide food for, nourish (lit. 'search for mouth'). ♦ 2 Try to, seek to.
- cyaha** *v. impfv. cyahali.* ♦ 1 *intr.* Laugh. ♦ 2 *tr.* Make fun of, laugh at.
- cyán** *v. impfv. cyáán.* ♦ 1 *tr.* Make fall, drop, push down, fell. **bwɔ̀n**

a cyàn. Knock down. **nyii cyàn.** Wait for (lit. drop eye). ♦ 2 *tr.* or *intr.* Lay an egg.

cyè. See **cyega**.

cyé v. intr. impfv. cyígé. Refuse.

cyèè n1. pl. def. pl. cyèebíí. Plural of **ceewe**.

cyèè v. tr. impfv. cyèrè. Show.

cyere v. impfv. cyérégè or cyírígè.

♦ 1 *tr.* Cut along or across (like **kwɔn**, only without dividing into pieces). ♦ 2 *intr.* (liquid) Stop flowing. ♦ 3 *tr.* Cross (subject = road or path).

cyega n2. def. cyège or kyège pl. cyeya or kyeya def. pl. cyèyi or kyèyi. ♦ 1 Arm, hand. ♦ 2 Place. ♦ 3 Part.

-cyii adj. First.

cyii n3. def. cyiini pl. cyìgii def. pl. cyìgigíí. Thigh.

cyiin or cinne n3. def. cyiinní or cinní pl. cìngii def. pl. cìngkíí gen. 4 cinne def. cinnaté gen. 2 cinne def. cinnké. Pole, handle.

cyiìn n1. def. cyiìnji. Outside.

cyirige v. tr. impfv. cyírígè. Cut in pieces, divide (plural actions).

darashí n1. def. darashíni pl. darashíi def. pl. darashíibíí [Bamb. darashi five franc piece, from Eng. dollar] Five franc piece.

dé adv. [Bamb. dé exclamative particle] Really, very.

dì interr. [Bamb. dī how] How.

diri v. tr. impfv. dirini or dirili. Pull.

dóóní adv. [Bamb. dooni a bit] ♦ 1 In a short while, soon. ♦ 2 A bit, somewhat.

dufā n1. def. dufāni pl. dufāa def. pl. dufāabíí [Bamb. jufā pocket] Pocket.

dùfàànnà n2. def. dùfàànnke pl. dùfàànyà def. pl. dùfàànyi. Donkey.

dùfugo n2. def. dùfugé. Maize.

dùgò n2. def. dùgé pl. dùyò def. pl. dùyí. Stream.

dugo v. intr. impfv. duguge. ♦ 1 Be heavy. ♦ 2 Be pregnant.

dugo v. impfv. duru. ♦ 1 *intr.* Go up, climb, ascend. ♦ 2 *tr.* Climb.

duru v. Imperfective of dugo.

durugo v. tr. impfv. duruge [dugo go up + causative suffix] Cause to go up, take up, raise.

e postp. Variant of **i:** in, at, to, from.

e postp. Variant of **i:** with.

faa v. tr. impfv. faa. ♦ 1 Clear (a field), hoe (a crop). ♦ 2 Cultivate, farm.

faa n1. def. faaní [faa cultivate] Work, farming. faa pyi. Farm, cultivate (lit. do farming).

fáágá n2. def. fááge pl. fááyá def. pl. fááyí [Bamb. fara] Rock. See kafáágá.

faapyi n1. def. faapyiní pl. faapyii def. pl. faapyiibíí [faa farming + pyi do] Farmer, peasant.

fana adv. [Bamb. fáná also] Also, too. Syn. mú.

fànà n2. def. fànhe pl. fànyà def. pl. fànyi [Bamb. fàngá power] Strength, power. fànà kyàà. Obligation, necessity (lit. power matter).

fanntúgò n3. def. fanntúgúni [fanña grave + tugo dig] Grave-digging.

fanntúgúsíká n1. def. fanntúgúsíkáni [fanntúgò grave digging + sika goat] Goat sacrificed at kàdúcyèyí and given to grave-diggers.

fanntúgúwó *n1*. def. **fanntúgúni** pl. **fanntúgii** def. pl. **fanntúgibíí** [**fanna** grave + **tugo** dig] Grave-digger.

fanna *n2*. def. **fannké** pl. **fanya** def. pl. **fanyí**. ♦ 1 Grave, tomb. ♦ 2 (plural) Cemetery, graveyard.

fannkúú *n1*. def. **fannkúúni** pl. **fannkúu** def. pl. **fannkúubíí** [**fanna** grave + **kuro** path] The road or path to the graveyard.

fē *v. impfv.* **fī**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Run. ♦ 2 *tr.* Drive (a vehicle).

fī *v.* Imperfective of **fē**.

fiige *n2*. def. **fiigé** pl. **fiiye** def. pl. **fiiyí**. ♦ 1 Kind, type. ♦ 2 Patri-lineage, clan, family name.

fiige *postp.* [**fiige** kind] Like, as.

fó [Bamb. *fó* until] ♦ 1 *prep.* Until, till, up to. ♦ 2 *prep.* Except for. ♦ 3 *conj.* Until, up to the point that.

fógó *n1*. def. **fógóni** pl. **fógii** def. pl. **fógibíí** [Bamb. *fógón*] Area surrounded by a crowd.

fóló *adv.* [Bamb. *fóló* first] First, before.

foo *n1*. def. **foóni** pl. **fēe** def. pl. **fēebíí**. ♦ 1 Owner, person exercising authority over. **fānhà fòò**

n1. def. **fānhà fòóni**. Person with authority, power. **jǒ fòò**. Who? ♦

2 Person having the indicated quality. **fòngè fòò**. Poor person (owner of poverty). **lùtààn fòò**.

Patient person (owner of patience). **nùngaga fóó**. Bold, rash person (owner of rashness). ♦ 3

The one concerned, the person considered. ♦ 4 Person who does or is affected by an action (compounded with a verb).

fofí *n1*. def. **fofíni** [Fr. *faute* fault] Fault.

funmpenre *n4*. def. **funmpèère** [**funṅo** interior + **pen** taste bad] Care, worry, anxiety.

fūṅcwògè *n2*. def. **fūṅcwòge** pl. **fūṅcwòyà** def. pl. **fūṅcwòyi**. Large pottery water jar.

funṅo *n2*. def. **fūṅṅke** pl. **funyo** def. pl. **fūnyi**. Inside, interior, belly.

fúrù *v. tr. impfv.* **fúróli**. Pierce with one straight motion.

fúró *v. tr.* [Bamb. *fúró* marry] Marry.

fúró *n1*. def. **fúróni** [**fúró** marry] Marriage.

fuu *v. impfv.* **fúúli**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Burst (e.g. ball, egg, tire). ♦ 2 *intr.* Spring (trap). ♦ 3 *tr.* Push or kick violently or brusquely (usually with bad intentions). ♦ 4 *tr.* Bleed (direct object = **sìshyèn** blood).

♦ 5 *tr.* Hurt badly (subject = body part, direct object = person).

fworo *v. intr. impfv.* **fwórè**. Go out, exit.

fwuu *n3*. def. **fwuòni** pl. **fwùu** def. pl. **fwùugíí**. Yam.

fya *n1*. def. **fyaní** pl. **fyàa** def. pl. **fyàabíí**. Fish.

fyá *v. intr. impfv.* **fyágè**. Be afraid.

fyáà *v. intr. impfv.* **fyáà**. Hurry, walk rapidly.

fyl *n1*. def. **fylni** pl. **fylì** def. pl. **fylìbíí**. Python.

fyín *v. intr. impfv.* **fyín**. Sprout.

fyíngé *n2*. def. **fyíngé** pl. **fyínyé** def. pl. **fyínyi**. Sprout.

gé *cfm.* See **ké**.

gǒ *interj.* See **kè**.

gú *aux.* See **kú**.

i *postp.* With (accompaniment and instrumental).

i *postp.* In, into, from, at; also used in numerous compound postpositions.

i *aux.* See **na**.

i *part.* See **u**.

í *aux.* See **sí**.

ja *v. impfv.* **jíní**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Thank you (with second person subject), to have done something deserving gratitude (with non-second person subject). ♦ 2 *tr.* Overcome, be too much for, be stronger than, defeat. ♦ 3 *intr.* Be able to handle, be able to cope with, be able to perform. ♦ 4 *intr.* Be able to, can, could (first in a serial verb construction). ♦ 5 *intr.* May (first in a serial verb construction, indicates permission to do second verb).

jàcyí *n1.* def. **jàcyíni** [Bamb. *jàtí* count, consider] Importance, personal worth.

ǰgé or **ǰgè** *n1.* def. **ǰgíni** or **ǰgèni** [Bamb. *jigin* hope] Hope, confidence.

ǰǰà *v. intr. impfv.* **ǰǰàni** [Bamb. *ǰǰà* do one's best] Do one's best.

jíní *v.* Imperfective of **ja**.

jiri *n3.* def. **jiriní** pl. **ǰirǰii** def. pl. **ǰirǰikíí**. Breast, udder.

jirime *n5.* def. **jirimpé** [jiri breast] Milk. **nǰirǰimè** *n5.* def. **nǰirǰimpé**. Cow's milk.

jò *interr.* [Bamb. *ǰò*n who] Who. **jò fò** or **jò fóó** *interr.* Who.

jo *v. tr. impfv.* **joore**. Swallow.

ǰónó or **ǰóní** *adv.* [Bamb. *joona* soon] Soon.

jwo or **jwu** *v. tr. or intr. impfv.* **yu**. Say, speak, tell.

jwoo *n3.* def. **jwooní** pl. **ǰwòhii** def. pl. **ǰwòhigíí**. Penis, (in plural) male genitals.

jwoolo *v. tr. impfv.* **ǰwóóli**. Sew.

jwumó *n5.* def. **jwumpé** or **jwubé** [jwo say] Speech, words, language.

jye or **jyi** *v. tr. or intr. impfv.* **jye**. Enter. **u yyàha a jyè u e** or **u yyàha a jyè u wòge e**. S/he lacks respect for him/her, underestimates his/ her importance (lit. his/her face has entered in him/her, or has entered his/hers).

jyé *v. tr. impfv.* **ǰyíí**. Wash.

kà *aux.* Negative imperative (prohibition) and negative subjunctive auxiliary; becomes **ahà** or **gà** after a pronoun.

kà *pn2.* One of: indefinite partitive pronoun, gender 2 singular.

kà *conj.* Different subject narrative conjunction.

ká *aux.* Conditional auxiliary: if, when (in adverbial time clauses with future time reference); becomes **ahá** or **há** after a pronoun.

kàànmùcya *v. tr. impfv.* **kàànmùcàà**. ♦ 1 Check, check out. ♦ 2 Guard, take care of. ♦ 3 Pay attention to, observe, notice.

kàbìlgè *n2.* def. **kàbìlgé** pl. **kàbìlyè** def. pl. **kàbìlyé** *gen. 3* **kàbìli** def. **kàbìliní** pl. **kàbìgii** def. pl. **kàbìgíí**. Stick.

kàbyiine *conj., prep.* [Bamb. *kàbìíní, kàbìíní* since] Since, as soon as, when.

kacènnè *n3.* def. **kacènni** pl. **kacènnii** def. pl. **kacènnkíí** [kyaa affair + -cèN good] Good deed, good matter.

kaciiġe *n2.* def. **kaciiġé** pl. **kaciiye** def. pl. **kaciiyí.** Ax.
kaciiġe *n2.* def. **kaciiġe** pl. **kaciiye** def. pl. **kaciiyi.** Bone.
kàcwù *n1.* def. **kàcwùni** pl. **kàcwùu** def. pl. **kàcwùubíí.** Mouse.
kàdúcyèyí. See **kàjicyègà.**
kafáágá *n2.* def. **kafááge** [cf. Bamb. *farakolo* rock] Rock, stone. See **fáágá.**
kafèege *n2.* def. **kafèege** pl. **kafèeye** or **kafèeya** def. pl. **kafèeyi.** ♦ 1 Wind. ♦ 2 Air, breath.
kàjicyègà *n2.* def. **kàjicyègé** pl. **kàjicyèyà** def. pl. **kàjicyèyí** or **kàdúcyèyí.** Place on the path to the graveyard which is frontier the between the village of the dead and that of the living and where small children are buried; the corpse is set down here and the grave-diggers' goat is sacrificed here.
kàkòòn *n1.* def. **kàkòònni** pl. **kàkèenli** or **kàkòòn** def. pl. **kàkèenbii** or **kàkòònbiíí.** Species of lizard (yellow-headed).
kálà *v. tr.* impfv. **káláñ** or **káñ** [Bamb. *kàlàn* read, study] Read, study.
kàmbilè *n3.* def. **kàmbilini** pl. **kàmpyaa** or **kàmpyàhii** def. pl. **kàmpyaaġíí** or **kàmpyàhigíí** [? + **bilè** seed] Cowry.
kameŋe *n2.* def. **kameŋké** *gen. 5* **kameme** def. **kamempé.** Dew.
kàmpañña *n2.* def. **kàmpañké** pl. **kàmpanya** def. pl. **kàmpanyí.** ♦ 1 Side, piece. ♦ 2 Direction. ♦ 3 Concerning, regarding, in regard to.
kampecinŋe *n2.* def. **kampecinŋke** pl. **kampecinye** def. pl. **kampecin-yi** *gen. 4* **kampecire** def. **kampe-**

cìre [kampee finger + ?] Fingernail, claw.
kampee *n3.* def. **kampeeni** pl. **kàmpyàhii** def. pl. **kàmpyàhigíí.** Finger. See **numpéé.**
kàmpyaa *n3. pl.* def. pl. **kàmpyaaġíí.** Plural of **kàmbilè.**
kàmpyí or **ámpyí** *conj.* If.
kan *v. tr.* impfv. **káàn.** ♦ 1 Give. ♦ 2 Marker of dative (as second verb in a serial construction).
káná *quant. and adv.* def. **káni.** Only.
kànha *n2.* def. **kànhe** pl. **kànyà** def. pl. **kànyi.** Village, town.
kanha *v.* impfv. **kanre.** ♦ 1 *intr.* Be tired. ♦ 2 *intr.* Suffer, be wretched, miserable. ♦ 3 *tr.* Tire someone, annoy someone, cause to suffer. ♦ 4 *intr.* Finally (first verb in a serial construction). ♦ 5 *intr.* Do in vain, do for a long time unsuccessfully or to the point of fatigue (second verb in a serial construction).
káni *n3.* See **kyaa.**
kantaa *n3.* def. **kantaani** pl. **kantàhii** def. pl. **kantàhigíí.** Palm (of hand), hand.
kàntugo *n2.* def. **kàntugé** pl. **kàntuyo** def. pl. **kàntuyí.** ♦ 1 Back, behind. ♦ 2 *postp.* Behind.
kaŋkuro *num.* def. **kaŋkurùni** [kaŋkurugo fist] Five.
kaŋkurugo *n2.* def. **kaŋkurùge** pl. **kaŋkuruyo** def. pl. **kaŋkurùyi** [ka-hand + kuru bend] Fist.
kapii *n3.* def. **kapini** pl. **kapègii** def. pl. **kapègigíí** [kyaa affair + pi bad, dangerous] Bad deed, dangerous act.
káramá *v. tr.* impfv. **káramí** [Bamb. *kárábá* force] Force, make.

- kare** *v. intr. impfv.* **kéégé** or **káágé** or **kééngé** or **káání**. Go, leave.
- kàrii**. Plural of **kyaa**.
- kàsànràgà** *n2. def.* **kàsànràgè**. Last.
- katànrà** *n4. def.* **katàànre** [**kyaa** affair + **táán** be sweet] Laughter.
- kawyii** *n3. def.* **kawyiini** [**kyaa** affair + **wyi** whistle] ♦ 1 Reason for whistling. ♦ 2 Announcement of a decease.
- ke** *pn3.* Here is: deictic identifier pronoun, gender 2 singular.
- ké** or **gé** *cfm.* ♦ 1 Relative clause marker. ♦ 2 Adverbial time clause marker.
- kebe** or **kee** *v. tr. impfv.* **kyáágè** or **kyéégè**. Break.
- kée** or **kóo** or **kó** *conj.* Like.
- kè** or **gè** *interj.* Sure! of course! May amalgamate with **yò** to become **gò**.
- ke** *num1. def.* **kèñi**. Ten.
- kééngè** *v. impfv.* **kééngè**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Move to. ♦ 2 *tr.* Turn over, turn. **yyaha kééngè**. (i) Turn one's head (lit. turn face). (ii) Guide, lead (lit. turn face). ♦ 3 *tr.* Change into, turn into. ♦ 4 *tr.* Raise, train, bring up (a child).
- kerege** *n2. def.* **kerège** pl. **keriya** def. pl. **keriyi**. ♦ 1 Cultivated field. ♦ 2 (in plural) Palm stem litter to which the corpse is tied and carried to the graveyard.
- ko** *conj. and defective v.* [Bamb. **ko** say] That, say.
- kóo** or **kó** *conj.* See **kée**.
- kómi** *conj.* [Fr. *comme* like] Like.
- kòòndò** *n4. def.* **kòònte** [Bamb. **kòòri** cotton, probably from Fr. *coton*] Cotton.
- Korowaare** *prop. n.* Côte d'Ivoire.
- kònl** [Bamb. **kònl** topic marker] As for (topic marker).
- kòrò** *v. tr. impfv.* **kòri**. Chase, chase away, hunt.
- kórò** *n1. def.* **kóròñi** [Bamb. **kòrò** meaning] Meaning, significance.
- ku** *pn2.* It, its: anaphoric pronoun, gender 2 singular.
- kú** or **gú** *aux.* Potential auxiliary (less certain future than **sí**).
- kùcwuun** *n1. def.* **kùcwuunñi** pl. **kùcwúunlii** def. pl. **kùcwúunbíi**. Patas monkey (*Erythrocebus patas*).
- kùlò** *n3. def.* **kùlòni** pl. **kùlii** def. pl. **kùligíi**. ♦ 1 Country. ♦ 2 Trip.
- kùlùshí** *n1. def.* **kùlùshíñi** pl. **kùlùshíi** def. pl. **kùlùshíibíi** [Bamb. **kùlùs** trousers, from Fr. *culotte* shorts, trousers] Trousers.
- kure**. See **kuru**.
- kuro** *n3. def.* **kùni** pl. **kùrii** def. pl. **kùrigíi**. ♦ 1 Path, road. See **kuugo**. ♦ 2 Line, stripe. ♦ 3 Chapter, section, line of writing.
- kuru** or **kure** *det2. and pn2.* This, that, it, its: emphatic pronoun and determiner, gender 2 singular.
- kurugo** *postp.* ♦ 1 Along, by. ♦ 2 Next to, at the home of (= French *chez*). ♦ 3 On one's person, e.g. in one's pocket. ♦ 4 Because of. **jàhá kúrúgò ye**. Why?, because. Syn. **jàhá ná ye**.
- kuugo** *n2. def.* **kuùge** pl. **kuuyo** def. pl. **kuùyi**. Road (gen. 2 of **kuro**).
- kuyè** *refl. pn2.* Itself: reflexive pronoun gender 2 singular.
- kwó** *v. tr. impfv.* **kwóré**. Draw (water, from stream or pot, not from well).
- kwórò** *v. intr. impfv.* **kwóróñi**. Stay, remain.
- kwò** *v. impfv.* **kwuu**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Finish, end. ♦ 2 *intr.* Be ready. ♦ 3 *intr.* Already (second verb in a

- serial construction). ♦ 4 *intr.* At last, finally, end up by (first verb in a serial construction). ♦ 5 *tr.* Equal, as much as (second verb in a serial construction, or in consecutive clause).
- kwóhò** *v. impfv.* **kwóhòfi**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Dance. ♦ 2 *tr.* Dance (direct object = a dance, or the principal instrument used for the dance).
- kwòhòrà** *n4.* def. **kwòhòre** [**kwóhò** dance] Dance.
- kwòn** *v. tr. impfv.* **kwuun**. ♦ 1 Cut, cut off, cut in two. **kàshìge kwòn**. Make war. **yogo kwón**. Quarrel, fight. ♦ 2 Circumcise (a boy). ♦ 3 Excise a woman. ♦ 4 Marry: give, take (a woman) in marriage (from meaning 3, since excision was previously performed prior to marriage). ♦ 5 Lower the price of something.
- kwù** *n1. root* def. **-kwùni** [probably from Bamb. *kó* affair] Matter concerning, desire for.
- kwù** *n1.* def. **kwùni** pl. **kwùu** def. pl. **kwùubíí** [**kwù** die] ♦ 1 (singular) Death. ♦ 2 (plural) The dead, the ancestors.
- kwù** *v. intr. impfv.* **kwúú**. Die.
- kwùgò** *n2.* def. **kwùge** pl. **kwùyò** def. pl. **kwùyi** [**kwù** die] ♦ 1 Death (generally understood to include the funeral rites). ♦ 2 Funeral.
- kwutónó** *n3.* def. **kwutóni** pl. **kwutónii** def. pl. **kwutónkíí** [**kwù** die + to cover, bury] Burial: the part of the **kwùgò** up to the placing of the body in the grave.
- kwùùn** *n3.* def. **kwùùnni** pl. **kwùnhii** def. pl. **kwùnhigíí**. Tumulus, grave mound: band of earth piled up in a semicircle between the two mounds over the grave holes.
- kyaa** *n3.* def. **káni** pl. **kàrii** def. pl. **kàrigíí** *gen.* 2 **kyaga** def. **kyäge** pl. **kyaya** def. pl. **kyäyi**. ♦ 1 Thing, affair, matter. ♦ 2 Need, desire.
- kyéégè** *v. tr.* Imperfective of **kebe**.
- la** *n2.* def. **läge**. ♦ 1 Desire. ♦ 2 Intestines. See **lara**.
- la** *ques. cfm.* Marker of yes/no questions.
- laaga** *n2.* def. **laagé** pl. **laaya** def. pl. **laayí**. ♦ 1 Distance. ♦ 2 Area nearby, about, around (either in time or space).
- láhá** *v. impfv.* **láré**.
- I. *intr.* ♦ 1 Let go. ♦ 2 Leave off, cease, stop. ♦ 3 Again (first verb in a serial construction). Syn. **núru**. ♦ 4 Be light in color.
- II. *tr.* ♦ 1 Take off. ♦ 2 Cause to cease doing.
- làmpú** *n1.* def. **làmpúni** [Fr. *l'impôt* the tax] Tax.
- lara** *v. intr. and tr. impfv.* **lárágè**. Split (usually along the length).
- lara** *n4.* def. **laaré** *gen.* 2 **laga** def. **lagé** pl. **laya** def. pl. **layí**. Intestines.
- láré** *v. tr.* Imperfective of **láhá**.
- le** *v. tr. impfv.* **lénì**. ♦ 1 Put, put in. ♦ 2 Put on (clothes). ♦ 3 Give (name). ♦ 4 **mæe le**. (i) Begin to cry, wail (lit. put voice). (ii) Begin to sing. ♦ 5 **fanhà le**. Do one's best, one's utmost, make a great effort (lit. put power). ♦ 6 **yyaha le**. Do one's best, work hard, make a great effort (lit. put face). ♦ 7 **fwoo le**. Lend (lit. put debt).

leme *n5*. def. **lēmpe** [le put] Appearance, state, condition.
lepe *v. tr. impfv.* **leŋi** [le put + causative suffix] Put.
li *pn3*. It, he, she: anaphoric pronoun, gender 3 singular. **li ná lí wúúni mù í**. In spite of, anyway, nevertheless.
lire *pn3*. and *det3*. This, that, it, its: emphatic pronoun, gender 3 singular.
lógó *v. impfv.* **núró**. ♦ 1 *tr.* Hear, understand, listen to. ♦ 2 *intr.* Listen to.
lógóló *v. tr. impfv.* **lógólí**. Pick at (e.g. teeth).
lùŋipe *n2*. def. **lùŋipe** [lwɔhɔ water + jíné be cold] ♦ 1 Cold water. ♦ 2 Middle of the night, about midnight to 3 a.m.
lùpààn *n3*. def. **lùpààn** *gen.* 4 **lùpàànrà** def. **lùpàànre**. Mosquito.
lùù *n3*. def. **lùùni** pl. **lùgii** def. pl. **lùgigí**. ♦ 1 Gall bladder. ♦ 2 Anger.
lùwùŋigè *n2*. def. **lùwùŋigé** [lwɔhɔ water + wuli bathe] Bath water.
lúw *v. tr. impfv.* **lúú** or **yúú** or **lyúú**. ♦ 1 Take, pick up, hold. ♦ 2 Take away. ♦ 3 Steal. ♦ 4 Take, get, obtain, have. ♦ 5 Resemble.
lwɔhɔ *n2*. def. **lwɔhé** or **ywɔhé** pl. **lwɔhɔya** or **ywɔhɔya** def. pl. **lwɔhɔyí** or **ywɔhɔyí**. Water, liquid.
lye *v. impfv.* **lyàgè** or **lyègè** or **yyègè**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be old, grow old, age. ♦ 2 *intr.* Grow up, mature. ♦ 3 *tr.* Make larger, taller.
lyí *v. tr. or intr. impfv.* **lyí** or **yyí**. Eat. **wyéré lyí**. Spend money (lit. eat money). **kɔ̀gɔ lyí**. Inherit (lit. eat inheritance).

lyìzanna def. **lyìzànni** [lyí eat + zanna last] Last 'meal' given to a dead person.
mà *conj.* Consecutive conjunction indicating same subject as the previous clause. See **maá**.
mà *neg. ques. cfm.* Negative question marker; frequently reduced to **à**.
ma *v. intr.* Imperfective of **pa**.
ma *pn*. You, your: non-declarative second person singular pronoun.
maá *conj.* + *aux.* Same subject consecutive conjunction **mà** + narrative auxiliary **sí**: and then.
màha *aux.* ♦ 1 Habitual aspect auxiliary. ♦ 2 Past tense auxiliary.
màha or **máhá** *conj.* Distributive noun connective: each, every.
màhàrà *n3*. def. **màhàni** pl. **màhànjii** def. pl. **màhànkíí** [**máhàrà** go around] ♦ 1 Turn. ♦ 2 Action of going around, circling around (something).
máhàrà *v. tr. impfv.* **máhàrà** or **màrà**. Turn, circle, go round, wind around.
m̀bè *nl.* def. **m̀bèni** [NOM prefix + **bè** be agreed] Unity, harmony, getting along together.
m̀bèmbàà *nl.* def. **m̀bèmbàànjí** [**m̀bè** unity + **-mbàà** without] Discord, disunity, lack of agreement.
mbyime *n5*. def. **mbyìmpè**. ♦ 1 Moisture. ♦ 2 Malaria.
mé *neg. cfm.* ♦ 1 Negative clause marker; may combine with the attenuation marker **yð** to yield **mð**. ♦ 2 Comparative clause marker (with **bà**). ♦ 3 Purpose clause marker (with **bà**).

mee *n3*. def. **meení** pl. **myàhii** def. pl. **myàhigíí** *gen. 4* **meeere** def. **mээрé**. ♦ 1 Rope, string. ♦ 2 Voice. ♦ 3 Song.

mée *aux.* Even if.

mege *n2*. def. **megé** pl. **meya** def. pl. **meyí**. [related to **mee** voice] ♦ 1 Name. ♦ 2 Reputation.

mere *n4*. def. **mээрé**. Rope. See **mee**.

mli *pn*. First person singular personal pronoun: I, me, my.

míírí *v. intr. impfv.* **míírí** [Bamb. *míírí* think] Think, cogitate.

mô *cfm.* See **mé**.

mobilierí *n1*. def. **mobilieríni** [Fr. *mobilierette*] Moped.

mobilí *n1*. def. **mobilíni** pl. **mobilíi** def. pl. **mobilíibíí** [Fr. (*auto*)*mobile* automobile] Car, automobile.

motó *n1*. def. **motóni** [Fr. *moteur* motor] Motorcycle, moped.

mɔ *v. impfv.* **mɔ̀nɔ̀**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be a long time, take a long time. ♦ 2 *intr.* Do for a long time (second verb in a serial construction). ♦ 3 *intr.* Be long time before doing (first verb in a serial construction). ♦ 4 *tr.* Cause to take a long time.

m̀pà *n1*. def. **m̀pàni** pl. **m̀pàa** def. pl. **m̀pàabíí**. Sheep.

m̀pi *n1*. def. **m̀piní** pl. **m̀píi** def. pl. **m̀piibíí**. Hare, rabbit.

m̀píí *pn1*. and *det1*. These, those: demonstrative pronoun and determiner, gender 1 plural.

m̀pìrè *interr. det.* and *pn. 1* and *5*. Emphatic interrogative pronoun, gen. 1 pl. and gen. 5.

m̀pwù *n3*. def. **m̀pwù̀nì** pl. **m̀pògii** def. pl. **m̀pògigíí** *gen. 2* **m̀pògò** def. **m̀pògé** pl. **m̀pù̀yò** def. pl. **m̀pù̀yí**. Mound, hill.

mpyi *cop. and aux.* [**pyi do**] ♦ 1 Was, were: past tense copula. ♦ 2 Past tense auxiliary.

mu *pn*. You, your: 2nd person singular pronoun.

mú *quant. and adv.* ♦ 1 Also, too. ♦ 2 All.

múgò *v. tr. impfv.* **múru**. Open.

nà *n1*. def. **nàni** pl. **nàmii** def. pl. **nàmpíí**. Man (*vir*) (the alternate plural **nàmbaa**, **nàmbaabíí** 'married men' is often used).

na *conj.* That (complementizer).

na *aux.* Progressive aspect auxiliary: may encode progressive, habitual, or gnomic meanings; has shortened forms **a**, **i**, **u** following certain auxiliaries and following subject pronoun in a realis complement clause.

na *postp.* On, at, to, from, concerning.

na *pn*. Me, my: non-declarative pronoun, first person singular.

ná ♦ 1 *conj.* And (conjoins noun phrases). ♦ 2 *prep.* With: instrumental and accompaniment case marker (the noun phrase it precedes must be followed by the postposition **i** 'with').

ná *conj.* If.

ná *aux.* Remote past tense auxiliary.

ná *v. intr.* happen (only) afterwards (first verb in a serial construction).

náára *v. tr. and intr. impfv.* **nááre**. Increase, augment.

nàfù *n1*. def. **nàfù̀ni** [Bamb. *nàfòlo* wealth] Wealth, riches, material possessions.

nàfù̀̀kwù *n1*. def. **nàfù̀̀̀kwùni** [**nàfù̀** wealth + **-kwù** desire for] Desire for wealth, greed.

náhà *v. tr. impfv.* **náhè.** ♦ 1 Herd, drive (protect and guide) livestock. ♦ 2 Protect, guard, watch over.

náhá. ♦ 1 *adv.* Here. ♦ 2 *cop.* Be here. ♦ 3 *aux.* Here, close by speaker, or in some way obvious to speaker.

nàkaana *n4.* def. **nàkaanté.** Argument, dispute. **nàkaanu baá.** Without discussion, that goes without saying, obviously.

nàmbaa *n1. pl.* def. pl. **nàmbaabíí** [**nà** man + **baga** house] Men: the most frequently used plural of **nà** and only plural of **nè**; properly, married men.

nàmbaga *n2.* def. **nàmbagé** pl. **nàmbaya** def. pl. **nàmbayí** [related to **nàmbaa** men] Marriage (from woman's point of view).

nàmpɔŋɔ *n1.* def. **nàmpɔŋí** pl. **nàmpwuun** def. pl. **nàmpwuunbíí.** Guest, stranger.

nànjìlpyìrè *n4.* def. **nànjìlpyìrè** [**nànjìlwè** young man + **pyà** child] Young men.

nànjìlwè *n1.* def. **nànjìlɔ** pl. **nànjii** def. pl. **nànjiibíí.** Young man, youth (from puberty to about 40 years).

nàŋkòcààwà or **ɲwðhðcààwà** *n1.* def. **nàŋkòcààŋí** or **ɲwðhðcààŋí.** Child.

nàŋkòlyè *n1.* def. **nàŋkòlyèŋí** or **nàŋkòyyèŋí** or **ɲwðhðlyèŋí** or **nògðlyèŋí** pl. **nàŋkòlyee** def. pl. **nàŋkòlyeebíí** [**nàŋkò-** person + **lye** be old] Old man.

ndé *pn3.* and *det3.* This, that: demonstrative pronoun and determiner, gender 3 singular.

ndiré *interr. pn3.* and *det3.* Which: interrogative determiner, gender 3 singular.

nègèsú *n1.* def. **nègèsúŋi** [Bamb. **nègèsò** bicycle (lit. iron horse)] Bicycle.

nègèsúfè *n1.* def. **nègèsúfèŋi** pl. **nègèsúfèe** def. pl. **nègèsúfèebíí** [**nègèsú** bicycle + **fè** run] Bicycle rider.

`nenɛ *n2.* def. **`nenké** pl. **`nenye** def. pl. **`nenyí.** Tail.

ní *conj.* Purpose clause marker.

ní *aux.* Recent past auxiliary.

nintáá *n3.* def. **nintááni** pl. **nintàhii** def. pl. **nintàhigíí.** Sole of foot.

nɪŋcyiiwe *adj1.* def. **nɪŋcyiŋi** pl. **nɪŋcyii** def. pl. **nɪŋcyiibíí** *gen. 2* **nɪŋcyiige** def. **nɪŋcyiŋe** pl. **nɪŋcyiie** def. pl. **nɪŋcyiŋyɪ** *gen. 3* **nɪŋcyiile** def. **nɪŋcyiŋi** def. pl. **nɪŋcyiigíí** *gen. 4* **nɪŋcyiire** def. **nɪŋcyiŋre** *gen. 5* **nɪŋcyiime** def. **nɪŋcyiŋmpe** or **nɪŋcyiŋbe** [**nɪN-** adj. prefix + **-cyii** first] First.

nɪŋl *n1.* def. **nɪŋlŋí.** Top.

nɪŋjáá *adv.* Today.

nɪŋjyéé *adv.* This year.

`niŋe *n2.* def. **`niŋké** pl. **`niŋye** def. pl. **`niŋyí.** Middle.

niŋgényé *n2.* def. **niŋgényke** pl. **niŋgényé** def. pl. **niŋgényi** [**ɲuŋɔ** head + **wenɛ** leaf] Outer ear.

nɪŋkɪ *adv.* [related to **sáhá** still] Again, still. Syn. **sáhánkɪ.**

nɪŋkɪn *num.* def. **nɪŋkɪnŋí** *gen. 2* **nɪŋkɪngè** def. **nɪŋkɪngé.** One.

nè *n1.* def. **nèŋi** pl. **nàmbaa** def. pl. **nàmbaabíí.** Husband, man.

nɔ *v. impfv.* **nɔnɪ.**

I. ♦ 1 *intr.* Arrive, reach. ♦ 2 *tr.* Cause to arrive.

II. *tr.* Bite, sting.

nògòlyè *n1*. def. **nògòlyèní** or **nògò-yyèní** pl. **nògòlyee** def. pl. **nògòlyeebíí**. Old man, elder.

nɔɔɔ *n2*. def. **nɔɔge** pl. **nɔɔyɔ** def. pl. **nɔɔyi**. Wound, sore.

ntàà *n3*. def. **ntààni** pl. **ntàñii** def. pl. **ntàñikíí**. Courtyard.

ntàsón *n1*. def. **ntàsónñi** pl. **ntàsènmii** def. pl. **ntàsènmipíí**. Toad.

ntàsùù *n1*. def. **ntàsùùñi** pl. **ntàsùù** def. pl. **ntàsùùbíí**. Elephant.

nté *pn4*. and *det4*. This, these, that, those: demonstrative pronoun and determiner, gender 4.

nù *n1*. def. **nùñi** pl. **nìlyè** def. pl. **nìlyi** *gen. 4* **nèrè** or **nègèrè** def. **nègère**. Cow.

nu *n1*. def. **nùñi** pl. **nèè** def. pl. **nèèbíí**. Mother.

nùgò *n2*. def. **nùge** pl. **nùyò** def. pl. **nùyi**. Smell, odor. **nùgò ta**. Smell something (lit. get odor).

núgò *v. tr. impfv.* **núró**. Sow, plant.

núgó *v. tr. impfv.* **núgúní**. Wear a g-string or waist band; put on a g-string.

numbwɔɔ *adj2*. def. **numbɔɔhe** *gen. 1* **numbwo** def. **numbwɔɔñi** *gen. 3* **numbwoo** def. **numbwòni** [niN-adj. prefix + -bwɔɔ] Big.

nùmbwuu or **ñùmbwuu** *n3*. def. **nùmbwuuní** pl. **nùmbógii** def. pl. **nùmbógigíí** [nùñò head + bwuu gourd] Head.

numê *adv.* Now.

nùmpañña *n2*. def. **nùmpañké** pl. **nùmpanya** def. pl. **nùmpanyí**. Tomorrow.

numpéé *n3*. def. **numpééni** pl. **numpyàhii** def. pl. **numpyàhigíí**. Toe.

numpilaga *n2*. def. **numpilage** pl. **numpiliye** def. pl. **numpilíyi**.
♦ 1 Night. **numpilipuní**. The

whole night. ♦ 2 Tonight. ♦ 3 Evening meal; grain for the evening meal.

numpyíí or **numpyii** *adj3*. def. **numpyííni** or **numpyiini** pl. **numpyinñi** or **numpyinñii** def. pl. **numpyinñkíí** or **numpyinñkíí** *gen. 2* **numpyige** def. **numpyigé** [niN-adj. prefix + pyi do] Done, accomplished, thing done, deed, action.

núró *v. intr. impfv.* **núróni**. ♦ 1 Return. ♦ 2 Again (first verb in a serial construction).

núró *v.* Imperfective of **lógó**.

ñáà. Imperfective of **nye**.

ñaara *v. intr. impfv.* **ñáàrè**. Walk.

ñáará *v. tr. impfv.* **ñáará**. Beg, pray.

ñàhá *interr.* What: non-human interrogative word.

ñáháná *v. tr. impfv.* **ñáhání**. Shake (e.g. a finger, hand, foot), swing.

ñaña *n2*. def. **ñañké** pl. **ñanya** def. pl. **ñanyí**. Hill, mountain.

ñcya *n1*. def. **ñcyaní** [NOM prefix + cya seek] Search.

ñcyíí *det3*. and *pn3*. These, those: demonstrative pronoun and determiner, gender 3 plural.

ñe *v. tr. and intr. impfv.* **ñeni**. Wake up.

ñeeme *n5*. def. **ñeempé**. ♦ 1 Seed for sowing. ♦ 2 Sowing.

ñeengyíí *n3*. def. **ñeengyííni** pl. **ñeengyígii** def. pl. **ñeengyígigíí** [ñeeme seed + wyii hole] Hole for sowing seed.

ñí *v. impfv.* **ñínì**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be full. ♦ 2 *tr.* Fill.

ñínì *v. intr. impfv.* **ñínì**. Cry, weep.

ñíné *v. impfv.* **ñíníní**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be cool, cold, cool off. ♦ 2 *tr.* Make cool. ♦ 3 *intr.* Be damp, wet. ♦ 4 *tr.* Dampen, make wet. ♦ 5 *intr.*

Be calm, slow; calm down, slow down. ♦ 6 *tr.* Calm someone down; make someone/something slow. ♦ 7 *u fūnṅka a ṅṅè.* S/he is happy, content, satisfied (lit. his/her interior is cool).

ṅṅè *n2.* def. **ṅṅke** pl. **ṅṅyè** def. pl. **ṅṅyi.** Earth, ground.

ṅṅé *pn2.* and *det2.* These, those: demonstrative, gender 2 plural.

ṅṅémù *det2.* and *pn2.* Which: relative determiner, gender 2 plural.

ṅṅmbwuu *n3.* See **nṅmbwuu.**

ṅṅṅ *l comp. postp.* [**ṅṅṅ** head + *i* in, at] On top of, on.

ṅṅṅ *n2.* def. **ṅṅke** or **nṅke** pl. **ṅṅyṅ** def. pl. **ṅṅyi.** ♦ 1 Head. ♦ 2 Meaning, significance, explanation. ♦ 3 The other side.

ṅṅṅ *n2.* See **ṅṅṅṅ.**

ṅṅṅṅ *n2.* def. **ṅṅṅé** pl. **ṅṅṅya** def. pl. **ṅṅṅyi.** ♦ 1 Mouth. ♦ 2 Opening (e.g. doorway, pot). ♦ 3 Edge (e.g. of road, knife, river).

ṅṅṅhi *i comp. postp.* [**ṅṅṅhṅ** underneath] Beneath, underneath, behind, below.

ṅṅṅhṅ *n2.* def. **ṅṅṅhé** pl. **ṅṅṅhṅya** def. pl. **ṅṅṅhṅyi.** ♦ 1 Bottom, underneath. ♦ 2 Meaning, significance, explanation, reason.

ṅṅṅhṅcààwà *n1.* See **nṅṅkòcààṅí.**

ṅṅṅhṅlyè *n1.* See **nṅṅkòlyè.**

ṅṅṅseṅge *n2.* def. **ṅṅṅseṅge** pl. **ṅṅṅseṅya** def. pl. **ṅṅṅseṅyi** [**ṅṅṅṅ** mouth + **seṅge** skin] Lip.

ṅṅaha *v. intr. impfv.* **ṅṅáhágè.** Be much, many, a lot.

ṅṅaha *v. tr. impfv.* **ṅṅaha.** Move, stir.

ṅṅe *v. tr. impfv.* **ṅṅáà.** ♦ 1 See. ♦ 2 Realize, understand (with indirect speech complement clause; takes *li* as anticipatory pronoun). ♦ 3

Have done, have tried or experienced: marker of experiential perfect (second verb in serial construction).

ṅṅe *cop.* ♦ 1 Be: neutral copula.

♦ 2 Auxiliary in negative perfect and progressive clauses (obligatory), and in clauses from which an NP has been left dislocated for focus, such as questions (optional); it may also be used together with a preceding progressive marker in emphatic perfect clauses.

-ṅṅe *adj. root.* Red, warm-colored.

ṅṅè *interj.* Well, OK, uh.

ṅṅègè *n2.* def. **ṅṅège** pl. **ṅṅèyà** def. pl. **ṅṅèyi.** Morning.

ṅṅeṅ *n2.* def. **ṅṅeṅé.** Grass.

-ṅṅeṅ *n2. root* def. **-ṅṅège** pl. **-ṅṅeya** def. pl. **-ṅṅèyi.** An individuated amount, -ful. **cíṅṅyègá** pl. **cíṅṅyèyá.** Gourdful. **ceṅṅyègá** or **ceṅṅyègá.** Calabashful. **ṅṅṅyega** def. **ṅṅṅyège.** Mouthful. **cyṅṅyega** def. **cyṅṅyège.** Handful. **lanyega** def. **lanyège.** Pregnancy (lit. guts full).

ṅṅii *n3.* def. **ṅṅiṅi** pl. **ṅṅii** def. pl. **ṅṅiigíí** def. **ṅṅiṅi** [cf. Bamb. *ṅe* eye] ♦ 1 Eye. ♦ 2 Suitable, pleasing, desired. ♦ 3 **ṅṅini** *i* or **ṅṅiini** *i.* In the opinion of, view.

♦ 4 Alive, living. **ṅṅii wú** def.

ṅṅii wúṅi pl. **ṅṅii wúu** def. pl.

ṅṅii wúbíí. Living person (lit.

eyes one). **ṅṅii shín** def. **ṅṅii**

shínṅi pl. **ṅṅii shín** def. pl. **ṅṅii**

shínbíí. (i) Living person (lit.

eyes person). (ii) A capable person.

ṅṅii yáágá def. **ṅṅii yááge.**

Living animal (lit. eyes thing). ♦

5 **ṅṅii na.** In the presence of, in

the sight of. ♦ 6 **ṅṅii cyàn.** Wait

for (lit. drop eye). ♦ 7 *u* **ṅṅiina à**

waha. S/he is stubborn, rash (lit. his/her eye is hard). ♦ 8 **nyii wuðni.** Will, desire (lit. eye one).

ḡàgà *v. tr. impfv.* ḡàgè. Scratch.

ḡé *pn1.* and *det1.* This, that: demonstrative, gender 1 singular.

ḡémù *rel. det1.* and *pn1.* Who, which: relative determiner, gender 1 singular.

ḡiré *interr. pn1.* and *det1.* Which: emphatic interrogative pronoun and determiner, gender 1 singular.

ḡkàà *conj.* [Bamb. *ḡka* but] But.

-ḡkana *n3. root* def. **-ḡkaní.** Method, manner (added to a verb stem). **bwəḡkana** def. **bwəḡkāni.** Way of beating. **lwəḡkáná** def. **lwəḡkāni.** Way of taking. **cùḡkàná** def. **cùḡkàní.** Way of grabbing. **bəḡkáná** def. **bəḡkàní.** Way of killing.

ḡké *dem. pn2.* and *det2.* This, that: demonstrative, gender 2 singular.

ḡkémù *rel. det2.* and *pn2.* Which: relative determiner, gender 2 singular.

ḡkùbaa *n3.* def. **ḡkùbaaní** [ḡkùù chicken + *baa* little house] Chicken house.

ḡkùlege *n2.* def. **ḡkùlegé** pl. **ḡkùliye** def. pl. **ḡkùliyí.** Cockroach.

ḡkunḡḡ *n2.* def. **ḡkunḡḡke** pl. **ḡkunḡḡyḡ** def. pl. **ḡkunḡḡyi.** Wall of building.

ḡkùù *n1.* def. **ḡkùùḡi** pl. **ḡkwuu** def. pl. **ḡkwuubíí** *gen. 4* **ḡkùgùrè** def. **ḡkùgùre.** Chicken.

ḡkyààn *n3.* def. **ḡkyàànní** pl. **ḡkyààn-hii** def. pl. **ḡkyàànhiḡíí.** Tooth.

ḡśś *v. impfv.* ḡwúúní. ♦ 1 *intr.* Sleep. ♦ 2 *tr.* ḡḡḡḡ ḡśś. Dream.

ḡḡḡḡ *n2.* def. **ḡḡḡḡé** pl. **ḡḡḡḡḡ** def. pl. **ḡḡḡḡí** [ḡḡḡ sleep] Dream.

ḡḡḡḡ *v. tr. impfv.* ḡśśḡḡ. Push.

ḡwḡḡ *n3.* def. **ḡwḡḡní** pl. **ḡwḡḡhii** def. pl. **ḡwḡḡhiḡíí** *gen. 2* **ḡwḡḡḡḡ** def. **ḡwḡḡḡḡé** pl. **ḡwḡḡḡḡyḡ** def. pl. **ḡwḡḡḡḡí.** Knife. **kile ḡwḡḡḡní.** Rainbow (lit. sky knife). **ḡwḡḡḡḡḡḡ.** Long knife.

ḡwḡḡḡ *v. impfv.* ḡwḡḡrè. ♦ 1 *intr.* Suck breast, suckle. ♦ 2 *tr.* Suck (direct object = breast).

o *conj.* [Bamb. *o* distributive connective] Distributive noun connective. Syn. **màha.**

śnhḡ *interj.* No.

ḡḡḡ *interj.* Yes.

pa *v. intr. impfv.* **ma** (*intr.*) **pàà** (*tr.*) Come.

páán *v. tr. impfv.* **páánní.** Chop, with intention of cutting in two (the difference between **te** and **páán** is that the latter is done with the intention of cutting the object into two pieces (i.e. **kwəḡ**), whereas with the former there is no such intention).

pànnàmbúḡḡḡḡ *n2.* def. **pànnàmbúḡḡḡke** pl. **pànnàmbúḡḡḡyḡḡ** def. pl. **pànnàmbúḡḡḡyi** [pànrà palm ribs + ?] Large palm frond stems.

pee *n3.* def. **peení** pl. **pyàhii** def. pl. **pyàhiḡíí.** Small black pot for serving sauce.

pèè *v. impfv.* **pérè.** ♦ 1 *intr.* Be big, fat; become big, fat. ♦ 2 *tr.* Honor, respect.

pege *n2.* def. **pegé** pl. **peya** def. pl. **peyí.** Large red pot with wide mouth.

pen *v. impfv.* **péngè**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be tasteless, bad, disagreeable. ♦ 2 *intr.* Be difficult. ♦ 3 *tr.* Displease.

péré *v. tr. impfv.* **pérélí** or **péréní**. Sell.

pi *v. intr. impfv.* **pínì**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be bad, dangerous. ♦ 2 *intr.* Be too small a quantity for the price. ♦ 3 *intr.* Be soft, ripe, cooked, ready.

pì *pn1.* They, them, their: anaphoric pronoun, gender 1 plural.

pìlì *pn1.* Some: indefinite and partitive pronoun and determiner, gender 1 plural.

pìnnè *n2.* def. **pìnnke** pl. **pìnyè** def. pl. **pìnyi** *dim.* **pìnné** *n3.* **pìnni**. Drum.

pìlàgà *n2.* def. **pìlàge**. Night.

pire *pn1.* and *det1.* These, those, they, them, their: emphatic determiner pronoun, gender 1 plural.

poo *n1.* def. **poòñi** pl. **pèe** def. pl. **pèebíí**. ♦ 1 Husband. ♦ 2 (in compounds) Male.

pòòwò *n1.* def. **pòòñi** pl. **pòòlii** def. pl. **pòòbíí**. Catfish.

prànnṭiyá *n1.* def. **prànnṭiyáñi** [Bamb. *prànnṭiyá* apprenticeship, from Fr. *apprenti* apprentice] Apprenticeship.

pu *pn5.* and *det5.* It, its: anaphoric pronoun, gender 5.

pùcéébilè *n3.* def. **pùcéébilíní** *gen.* 4 **pùcéépyìrè** def. **pùcéépyìré** [**pùcwò** girl + **bilè** little] Little girl.

pùcèrèwà *n1.* def. **pùcèrèñí** pl. **pùcèrii** def. pl. **pùcèribíí**. Woman of one's village who has been married (since marriage is exogamous, she usually lives in another village, where she is simply a

ceewe 'woman'; in her natal village she becomes a **pùcèrèwà**).

pùcwò *n1.* def. **pùcwòñí** pl. **pùcyaa** def. pl. **pùcyaabíí** *gen.* 2 **pùcwògà** def. **pùcwògé** *gen.* 4 **pùcyara** or **pùcyera** def. **pùcyeeré**. Girl (unmarried).

pùmò *n5.* def. **pùmpe**. Trunk of body of a person or animal, i.e. body minus head, arms/wings, legs, tail.

pùnámblè *n3.* def. **pùnámblíní** *gen.* 4 **pùnámpyìrè** def. **pùnám-pyìré** [? + **bilè** little] Boy.

puní *quant.* All.

pworo *n1.* def. **pworoní** pl. **pworíi** def. pl. **pworibíí**. Daughter.

pworo *n4.* def. **pwooré**. ♦ 1 Adobe, mud for building. ♦ 2 Houses, buildings made of adobe.

pwò *v. tr. impfv.* **pwu**. Tie.

pwó *v. tr. impfv.* **pwúú**. Sweep.

pwóró *v. intr. impfv.* **pwóóñí** or **pwóóñí**. ♦ 1 Be better, get better (from an illness). ♦ 2 Be better than.

pwun *n1.* def. **pwūñi** pl. **pwūun** def. pl. **pwūunbíí** *gen.* 2 **pññò** def. **pññke** pl. **pñnyò** def. pl. **pñnyi** *gen.* 4 **pñnnò** def. **pñnnte**. Dog.

pwunmpoo or **pñnmpoo** *n1.* def. **pwunmpwòñi** or **pñnmpòñi** [**pwun** dog + **poo** male] Male dog.

pyà *n1.* def. **pyàñi** pl. **pyli** def. pl. **pylibíí**. Child.

pyenga *n2.* def. **pyēnge** pl. **pyenya** def. pl. **pyēnyi**. Compound, courtyard, household, home. **pyenga** **shlinbíí**. The family.

pyi *v. impfv.* **pyi**. ♦ 1 *tr.* Do. ♦ 2 *tr.* Make, cause. ♦ 3 *intr.* Be, become. ♦ 4 *intr.* Past tense auxil-

itary. ♦ 5 *tr.* Call, name, say. ♦ 6 *tr.* Tell, order.

pyli *n1. pl.* def. pl. **pylibíí**. Plural of **pyà**.

ra quasi aux. See **sa**.

rí *aux.* See **sí**.

sa *quasi aux.* ♦ 1 Go, go in order to (andative auxiliary; often rhotacized to **ra**). ♦ 2 Very, really.

sá or **sà** *interj.* [Bamb. **sá** exclamation of impatience] Exclamation of impatience (used with imperatives).

sáá *v. tr. impfv. sáálí*. ♦ 1 Peel with a knife, whittle. ♦ 2 Remove grass or weeds from fields.

sáhá *aux.* 'Still' tense auxiliary: still, again, yet.

sàhàncin *n1.* def. **sàhàncinní** or **sògòncinní** pl. **sàhàncínmii** def. pl. **sàhàncínmíí** [sògòró cat ? + cin leopard ?] Cat.

sáhánkì *adv.* [**sáhá** still + **nìnkìn** one ?] ♦ 1 Again. Syn. **nínkì**. ♦ 2 Still.

sána *conj.* [Bamb. **sani** before] Before.

sàngà *n2.* def. **sànge** pl. **sànyà** def. pl. **sànyi**. Announcement of death, obituary. **sàngè wyi**. Make the death announcement (lit. whistle the death announcement).

sanja *det1.* def. **sànji** pl. **sanmii** def. pl. **sanmpíí** *gen. 2* **sanja** def. **sànje** pl. **sanya** def. pl. **sànyi** *gen. 3* **sanna** def. **sànni** pl. **sanjii** def. pl. **sanjkíí** *gen. 4* **sanna** def. **sànnte** *gen. 5* **sanma** def. **sànmpè**. The other(s), the rest: definite 'other' determiner.

sanzí *n1.* def. **sanzíni** [Fr. *essence* gasoline] Gasoline.

sancyeen *n3.* def. **sancyeènni** or **cancyeènni** *gen. 4* **sancyenra** def. **sancyeènre** *gen. 2* **sancyenga** def. **sancyeenge** pl. **sancyenia**. Bird.

sàrà *v. tr. impfv. sàránì* [Bamb. **sàra** pay] Pay.

sàrágá *n1.* def. **sàrágáni** pl. **sàrágii** def. pl. **sàrágibíí** *gen. 2* (a reanalysis) **sàrágá** def. **sàráge** pl. **sàráyá** def. pl. **sàráyi** [Ar. via Bamb. *saraka* alms, offering] Sacrifice, offering.

sarawa *n1.* def. **saraní** pl. **sárii** def. pl. **sáribíí**. Honey bee.

sèè *n1.* def. **sèèní** [Bamb. **sèbè** truth] Truth.

seeye *n2. pl.* See **sege**.

sémé *v. tr. impfv. séméní* or **sébénní** [Bamb. *seben* write] Write.

senjwòhò *n2.* def. **senjwòhe** [sere honey + **lwòhò** water] Honey.

sèrii *n3. pl.* def. pl. **sèrigíí**. Kidneys (plural).

sèègè *n2.* def. **sèège** pl. **sèèyà** def. pl. **sèèyi** [Bamb. *sèri* porridge (?)] Porridge.

sege *n2.* def. **seège** pl. **seeya** def. pl. **seèyi** *gen. 4* **sèere** def. **sèère**. Skin.

seen *n1.* def. **seenni** [cf. Bamb. *sanu* gold] Gold.

sere *n4.* def. **sèéré**. Honey.

sí *aux.* [the imperfective form of *shya* go] ♦ 1 Purpose marker. ♦ 2 Subjunctive auxiliary; becomes **í** or **ú** following a pronoun; sometimes rhotacized to **rí**; becomes **sá** or **rá** before the progressive auxiliary, which takes its short form **a** in this context.

sí *aux.* Narrative or sequential auxiliary; becomes **rí** following a stressed vowel, **í** or **ú** following a

pronoun, á following the same subject narrative connective mà.

sí *aux.* Future tense auxiliary.

sí *aux.* Adversative auxiliary: but, as for, on the other hand, while.

sí *v. intr.* Imperfective of shya.

sí *n1.* def. síŋi pl. síi def. pl. síibíí [Bamb. *se* power] ♦ 1 Power. ♦ 2 Region.

si *v. impfv.* sínì. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be born. ♦ 2 *tr.* Give birth (subject = mother); father (subject = father).

sìcyèèrè *num.* Four.

sige *v. tr. impfv.* sígíí. ♦ 1 Wait for. ♦ 2 Hinder, prevent.

sige *n2.* def. sigé pl. siye def. pl. siyí. The bush, countryside.

sige shín *n1.* def. sige shínŋi pl. sige shíin def. pl. sige shíinbíí [sige bush + shin person] Kind of sprite or elf that lives in the bush, in form of a short person with long blond hair and feet on backwards, possessing considerable magic power; they are thought to live in trees, and are placated with sacrifices in sacred groves.

sige yáágá *n2.* def. sige yááge *gen.* 4 sige yáará def. sige yááre [sige bush + yaaga thing] Wild animal. Syn. nanj yáágá.

sii *v. tr. and intr. impfv.* siige. ♦ 1 Begin. ♦ 2 Be: emphatic copula.

siŋe *v. tr. impfv.* síŋì. Lean on, push against.

sika *n1.* def. sikāŋi pl. sikāa or sikyāa def. pl. sikāabíí. Goat.

sikapèrè *n3.* def. sikapèní pl. sikapèrii or sikapèrii def. pl. sikapèrigíí or sikapèrigíí [sika goat + -pere male] Male goat, billy goat.

sílégé *v. impfv.* sílégé. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be ashamed, be embarrassed. ♦ 2 *intr.* Respect. ♦ 3 *tr.* Make ashamed, embarrass.

sinama *n5.* def. sìnampé. Beauty.

-sìnaŋa *adj1.* def. -sìnaŋí pl. -sìnamii def. pl. -sìnamipíí *gen.* 2 -sìnaŋa def. -sìnaŋké. Handsome, beautiful.

síní *v. intr. impfv.* síníní. Lie down, go to sleep.

síníné *v. tr. impfv.* sínágé [síní lie down + causative suffix] Make to lie down, lay down.

sinme *n5.* def. sìnmpé. Beer.

sìnmè *n5.* def. sìnmpé. Oil, grease, butter, fat.

sintaaga *n2.* def. sintaàge pl. sintaaya def. pl. sintaàyi. Bow.

sìŋcaaga *n2.* def. sìncaagé pl. sìncciye or sìncaaya def. pl. sìncciyyí or sìncaayí *gen.* 4 sìncciire def. sìncciiré. Firewood.

sìŋcanha *n2.* def. sìncanhé pl. sìnjanya def. pl. sìnjanyaí. Harpoon (with three or four prongs).

sìŋcyan *adv.* Together.

sìŋèè *n1.* def. sìnèèŋí pl. sìnèè def. pl. sìnèèbíí [si born ? + -nèè one like] Sibling with same parent.

sisónŋó *n1.* def. sisónŋi or disónŋi pl. sisónmii def. pl. sisónmipíí. Fly.

sìshyàn *n2.* def. sìshyàngé or sìshyènge. Blood.

sógó *v. intr. impfv.* sóré. Burn.

sògòró *n1.* def. sògòróŋi pl. sògòróo def. pl. sògòróobíí. Cat.

sòdòwò *n1.* def. sòdòŋi pl. sòdòlii def. pl. sòdòbíí. Terrapin.

soro *v. intr. impfv.* sórógè. ♦ 1 Taste bitter. ♦ 2 Be bitter, sharp, painful.

sɔŋɔ *v. tr. impfv.* **sɔŋi** [cf. Bamb. *sɔn* make offerings] Celebrate (the first night of a festival).

sɔŋɔ *v. tr. or intr. impfv.* **sɔŋi**.
♦ 1 Think. ♦ 2 Warn, inform in advance.

sɔn *n1.* def. **sɔŋi** pl. **sɔŋlii** def. pl. **sɔŋbii** [perhaps related to Bamb. *sòlo* Senegal parrot] Parrot (general term, but especially the Senegal parrot).

su *v. intr. impfv.* **suni**. Defecate.

sú *v. tr. impfv.* **súli**. ♦ 1 Pierce, poke. ♦ 2 Give an injection to. ♦ 3 Embroider.

sú *v. tr. impfv.* **sú** [cf. Bamb. *susu* pound in mortar] ♦ 1 Pound in mortar. ♦ 2 **mæ sú**. Cry, weep (lit. pound voice).

sugo *n2.* def. **sugé** pl. **suyo** def. pl. **suyi** [**sú** pound in mortar] Mortar.

sùmà *n1.* def. **sùmàŋi** [Bamb. *sùman* harvest] Grain.

sumpowyii *n3.* def. **sumpowyiini** [**sumpogo** female sexual organs + **wyii** hole] Vagina.

sùpyà *n1.* def. **sùpyàŋi** pl. **sùpyii** def. pl. **sùpyiibii**. Person.

sùpyigire *n4.* def. **sùpyigiré**. Goodness, humaneness, love.

sùpyirè *n4.* def. **sùpyiré** [gender 4 of **sùpyà** person] ♦ 1 People. ♦ 2 Senufo language (any Senufo language), especially Supyire.

súúgó *v. tr. impfv.* **súúgé**. Burn (causative of **sógó**).

suumɔ *n5.* def. **suùmpe**. Salt.

shi *n1.* def. **shiní** [Bamb. *si* seed] Seed (for sowing).

shin *n1.* def. **shiní** pl. **shin** def. pl. **shinbii**. Person.

shire *n4.* def. **shiré** [Bamb. *si* hair, feather] Hair, feathers. **shire yáá-**

rá *n4.* def. **shire yááre**. Animals, birds (with fur or feathers).

shòò *n3.* def. **shòòni** pl. **shòò** def. pl. **shòogii**. Millet (singular = the species, plural = grain (non-count))

shonga *n2.* def. **shonge** pl. **shonya** def. pl. **shonyi**. Horse.

shùnni *num.* def. **shùnniní** or **shùnniní**. Two.

shwɔ *v. tr. impfv.* **shúù**. ♦ 1 Buy. ♦ 2 Take. ♦ 3 Reply to. **ɲwɔ shwɔ**. Answer, reply to (lit. take mouth). ♦ 4 Save, rescue, deliver.

shwɔhɔ *v. tr. impfv.* **sore**. Cook.

shwóhò *v. tr. impfv.* **shwóhófi** [Bamb. *sògɔ* lock] Lock, bolt.

shwòhòle *c comp. postp.* ♦ 1 Between, among. ♦ 2 Perhaps, maybe.

shwòhòlɔ *n1.* def. **shwòhòŋi**. Area between, among.

shwɔn *v. impfv.* **shuun**. ♦ 1 *intr.* and *tr.* Pass the night (direct object refers to night(s)). ♦ 2 *tr.* Have sexual relations with (direct object refers to person).

shya *v. intr. impfv.* **si** or **si**. Go.

shyèèrè *n4.* def. **shyèère**. Nest.

shyééré *v. tr. impfv.* **shyééré**. Greet, thank.

ta *v. impfv.* **táà**. ♦ 1 *tr.* Find. (with predicate nominal) Find (something, someone) in a condition, state. **bé à tà**. Meet by chance (lit. meet and find). ♦ 2 *tr.* Find (someone) doing (something), find that (someone has done something). **lira a ù tà...** Meanwhile, during this time, s/he had (done something). ♦ 3 *tr.* Get, obtain, have. **mà ñ tà**. Although, even though, and yet (lit. and find

it). **laa ta**. Become pregnant (lit. get pregnancy). **nùgò ta**. Smell (something) (lit. get smell). **tàngà ta**. Be right (lit. get correctness). **tìcènmè ta u yyāhe tààn**. Find favor with him/her (lit. beside his/her face). ♦ 4 *tr.* (subject = disease, direct object = person) Fall ill with. ♦ 5 *tr.* (subject = emotion, direct object = person) Seize, take control of. ♦ 6 *tr.* (subject = a misfortune, direct object = person) Befall, happen to. ♦ 7 Up to (a given number of times, with a number as predicate nominal) (usually second verb of a serial verb construction, or of a consecutive construction). ♦ 8 *tr.* Cause, be the cause of (subject = situation, direct object = person, with indicative complement clause). ♦ 9 *tr.* Succeed in, manage to (first verb in a serial construction). ♦ 10 *tr.* Feel better after an illness (with reflexive direct object). ♦ 11 *intr.* Have enough, be satisfied.

ta v. impfv. tánì. ♦ 1 *intr.* Cling, stay obstinately with (someone). ♦ 2 *intr.* Annoy. ♦ 3 *tr.* Attack bodily, assail.

ta aux. Imperfective imperative auxiliary: used only with singular addressee.

tá ques. See **tàhà**.

taá interr. Where?

taá v. tr. impfv. táálí [Bamb. *tila* divide] Divide up, share among.

taala v. impfv. taali. ♦ 1 *intr.* Feel around for. ♦ 2 *tr.* Caress, stroke, pet.

tààn n1. def. **tàànjí** pl. **tààn** def. pl. **tàànbíí**. Arrow.

táán v. intr. impfv. tángé. ♦ 1 Be sweet, good, pleasing. ♦ 2 Be sharp. ♦ 3 Be easy.

táán postp. Beside.

tàànre num. Three.

tàhà or tá. ques. Clause initial yes/no question marker.

taha v. impfv. tare.

I. *tr.* ♦ 1 Put down, set down. ♦ 2 Put on fire to cook. ♦ 3 Repeat, say. ♦ 4 Attribute, assign, give. ♦ 5 Make (a drum, a bed made of palm stems).

II. *intr.* ♦ 1 Sit, be located. ♦ 2 Be born next after (in the same family). ♦ 2 **taha a bìl.** Keep going on (lit. follow and go far). ♦ 3 **taha u fyè e.** Follow him/her (lit. set in his/her footsteps).

taha v. tr. impfv. tare. Use (first verb in a serial construction).

tanha v. impfv. tánhágè. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be sour. **u yyaha à tanha.** S/he is worried, sad (lit. his/her face is sour). ♦ 2 *intr.* Be severe. ♦ 3 *tr.* Make sour.

tánhá v. tr. impfv. tánhání. ♦ 1 Step on. ♦ 2 Put down (one's foot).

tanhaṅa n2. def. **tanhaṅké** pl. **tanhaṅya** def. pl. **tanhaṅyí** [cf. **tánhá** step on] Footwear, shoe, sandal. See **tánhá**.

tanjáà adv. ♦ 1 Yesterday. ♦ 2 The past, former times.

tanjyéé adv. [? + *yyee* year] Last year.

tanjyééni adv. The year before last.

tara n4. def. **taaré.** Earth, land.

tatòngò n2. def. **tatònge** [ta-locative nominalizer + *tòon* be long] ♦ 1 A great distance, a long way. ♦ 2 A place far away.

te v. tr. impfv. ténì. ♦ 1 Carve. ♦ 2 Fry cakes.

tèèpaanna *n3*. def. **tèèpaanní** pl. **tèèpáángii** def. pl. **tèèpáángíí** [tèrè time + páán chop] Time to chop (trees, e.g.).

tèrè *n3*. def. **tèni** pl. **tèrii** def. pl. **tèrigíí**. Time, moment.

teen *v. intr.* impfv. **ten**. ♦ 1 Sit down, sit. ♦ 2 Live at a place. ♦ 3 Assume or assert power as chief.

tege *v. tr.* impfv. **tere**. ♦ 1 Help. ♦ 2 Place on. Syn. **taha**. ♦ 3 Stack in piles to sell in market. ♦ 4 Choose, agree on, set. ♦ 5 Use (first verb in a serial construction). Syn. **taha**.

ti *pn4*. It, its, they, them, their: anaphoric pronoun gender 4.

tigè *v. intr.* impfv. **tíri** or **tíré**. Go down, descend.

tii *n. pl.* def. pl. **tíibíí**. Plural of **tu**.

tíngé *v. impfv.* **tíngí**. ♦ 1 *tr.* Lean against. ♦ 2 *intr.* Be located near.

tin *v. impfv.* **tinni**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be swollen. ♦ 2 *intr.* Be satiated, satisfied (e.g. with food or drink), have enough. ♦ 3 *intr.* Swell, become ripe. ♦ 4 *tr.* Satisfy, satiate.

tín *v. impfv.* **tínnì**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Make a loud noise (e.g. thunder, gun, car, airplane, stomach). ♦ 2 *tr.* Shoot a gun.

tire *pn4*. and *det4*. This, these, that, those, them, it: emphatic pronoun gender 4.

tiri *v. tr.* impfv. **tírínì**. Grind.

tirige *n2*. def. **tirige** pl. **tiriye** def. pl. **tiríyi** *gen. 3* **tirine** def. **tírini** pl. **tírrii** def. pl. **tírígíí**. Vine.

tírígè *v. tr.* impfv. **tírígè**. Put down, set down, cause to go down (causative of **tigè**).

to *v. tr.* impfv. **tuni**. ♦ 1 Cover, close. ♦ 2 Bury. ♦ 3 **m̀pwùù tó**.

Raise a mound. ♦ 4 **fànà tò ù nà**. Be stronger, bigger than him/her (lit. close power on him/her).

toncyiige *n2*. def. **toncyũge** [tɔɔgɔ time + -cyii first] First time.

tooyo *n2. pl.* def. pl. **tooyí**. Plural of **tɔɔgɔ**.

toro *v. intr.* impfv. **tuuli** or **tuulo**. ♦ 1 Pass, pass by. ♦ 2 Very, too much (second verb in a serial construction). ♦ 3 **toro u/ku na**. More than him/her/it (comparative construction; second verb in a serial construction).

toro *n3*. def. **tõni** pl. **tõrii** def. pl. **tõrigíí**. Okra.

torshí *n1*. **torshíni** [Fr. *torche* flashlight] Flashlight, torch.

tɔɔgɔ *n2*. def. **tɔɔgé** pl. **tooyo** or **tooya** def. pl. **tooyí** *gen. 3* **toro** def. **toní** *gen. 4* **tɔɔrɔ** def. **tɔɔré**. ♦ 1 Leg, foot. ♦ 2 Time.

tɔɔn *v. intr.* impfv. **tɔɔngè**. Be long, tall.

tɔɔnɔ *n2*. def. **tɔɔnɔke** pl. **tɔɔnyɔ** def. pl. **tɔɔnyi** *gen. 4* **tɔɔnnɔ** def. **tɔɔnnte**. Metal, iron, object made of metal.

tu *n1*. def. **tũni** pl. **tii** def. pl. **tíibíí**. ♦ 1 Father. ♦ 2 (plural) Ancestors.

tùbù *n1*. def. **tùbùni** pl. **tùbùu** def. pl. **tùbùubíí**. Back (anat.).

tugo *v. tr.* impfv. **туру**. ♦ 1 Dig. ♦ 2 Found, inaugurate a market (from the custom of burying a sacrifice (originally human, later a dog) at the founding of a market).

tugo *v. tr.* impfv. **túgúfi**. ♦ 1 Carry on head, carry on bicycle, cart, or other vehicle. ♦ 2 Help put load on head.

tun *v. impfv. tunni.* ♦ 1 *intr.* Quarrel. ♦ 2 *tr.* Quarrel with.

tun *v. tr. impfv. túnni.* Send on an errand, send with a message.

tuni *v. tr.* Imperfective of to.

tùnmò *n5.* def. **tùnmpe** [tín make loud noise] Noise, sound.

tunmò *n5.* def. **tùnmpe.** ♦ 1 Sap. ♦ 2 Blood.

tùgò *n2.* def. **tùgé** pl. **tùyò** def. pl. **tùyí.** Large hoe.

tuugo *v. tr. impfv. tuuge.* ♦ 1 Accompany someone on the first part of their return journey after visiting one. ♦ 2 Send (an object, e.g. a letter, not a person).

u *pn1.* He, she, it, him, her, his its: anaphoric pronoun, gender 1 singular.

u or **wu** *part.* Genitive particle; after a pronoun ending in [i] may become i.

uru or **ure** *pn1.* He, she, it, him, her, his its: emphatic pronoun, gender 1 singular.

uyè *pn1.* Himself, herself, itself: reflexive pronoun, gender 1 singular.

vàanntinje *n2.* def. **vàanntin ké** [vàngà cloth + ?] Shirt, blouse.

vàanntò *n1.* def. **vàantóni** pl. **vàanntòo** def. pl. **vàanntòobíí** [vàngà cloth + to cover] Blanket.

vàngà *n2.* def. **vàngke** pl. **vàngyà** def. pl. **vàngyi.** Cloth, clothing.

wà *pn1.* One, one of, a certain one: indefinite partitive pronoun, gender 1 singular.

wa *v. tr. impfv. waa.* Throw, throw away. **kàntugo wá.** Abandon, turn

one's back on someone (lit. throw back).

wá. ♦ 1 *cop.* Be there. ♦ 2 *aux.* There, away from speaker.

waha *v. tr. and intr. impfv. ware.* ♦ 1 Dry, be dry. ♦ 2 Be hard. ♦ 3 Be difficult.

wáhá *n1.* def. **wáháni** pl. **wáhii** def. pl. **wáhigíí** [Bamb. *waa* one thousand] Five thousand francs.

wahatí *n1.* def. **wahatíni** [Bamb. *wagati* time] Time, moment.

wajíbé *n1.* def. **wajíbíni** [Bamb. *waajibi* force] Necessity.

wálá *conj.* [Bamb. *wala* or] Or.

walisa *conj.* [Bamb. *walasa* so that] So that.

waní *adv.* There; often reduced to **aní.**

wenje *n2.* def. **wenjeke** pl. **wenye** def. pl. **wenyi.** Leaf.

wi *idl.* It's a...: identifier pronoun, gender 1 singular.

wíí *v. tr. impfv. wíí.* Look at.

wocòn *n1.* def. **wocònni** pl. **wocòn** def. pl. **wocònbíí.** Crocodile.

wòrò *n1.* def. **wòróni** [Bamb. *wòro* colas] Cola nuts (collective).

woro *n3.* def. **wòni** pl. **wòrii** def. pl. **wòrigíí.** Star.

wu *v. tr. or intr. impfv. wúnì.* Pour, spill.

wu *pn1.* def. **wùni** pl. **wuu** def. pl. **wuubíí** *gen. 2* wogo def. **wòge** pl. **wuyo** def. pl. **wùyi** *gen. 3* wuu def. **wuùni** pl. **wugíi** def. pl. **wugigíí** *gen. 4* woro def. **wòdre** *gen. 5* wumò or wubo def. **wùmpè** or **wùbe.** ♦ 1 Mine, yours, etc: independant possessive pronoun. ♦ 2 One: used to construct post-head descriptive phrases from nouns. ♦ 3 Formative for ordinal numbers after 'first': e.g.

shonwùní the second (gen. 3 sing.), **canmpyitanrawògé** the third day.

wu *pn.* We, us, our: first person plural non-declarative pronoun.

wuli *v. impfv. wuli.* ♦ 1 *intr.* Bathe, take a bath. ♦ 2 *tr.* Bathe.

wulizanna *n3.* def. **wulizànni** pl. **wulizannjii** def. pl. **wulizannkíí** [**wuli** bathe + **sanna** last] Last bath (symbolic washing given to corpse's feet).

wùu *pn.* We, us, our: first person plural pronoun. See **wu**.

wwò *n1.* def. **wwòji** pl. **wwòo** def. pl. **wwòobíí**. Snake.

wwò *v. impfv. wwuu.*

I. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be dark-colored, black, dark blue, dark green, dark brown. ♦ 2 *tr.* Blacken, darken, cause to become a dark color.

II. *tr.* Steam.

III. *intr.* Be united.

wwú *v. tr. impfv. wwú.* ♦ 1 Take off, take out. ♦ 2 Pay (taxes), repay (debt, favor).

wyere *n4.* def. **wyèèrè**. Cold (temperature).

wyere *v. impfv. wyerege* or **wyæge** or **wyænji**. ♦ 1 *intr.* Be hot, be warm. ♦ 2 *intr.* Do quickly, in a hurry, do early (first verb in a serial construction). ♦ 3 Cultivate, farm

wyere *n4.* def. **wyèèrè** [gender 4 of **wenje** leaf] ♦ 1 Leaves. ♦ 2 Medicine. **wyere pyi**. Treat (medically) (lit. do medicine). ♦ 3 Poison.

wyéré *n1.* def. **wyéréni** [Bamb. **wari** money] Money.

wyi *v. tr. impfv. wyi.* ♦ 1 Play wind instrument, whistle. ♦ 2 **sàngà wyi**. Announce a death.

♦ 3 Be indispensable to, be essential for. See **kawyii**.

wyige *n2.* def. **wyìge** pl. **wyiye** def. pl. **wyìyi**. Hole

wyii *n3.* def. **wyìni** pl. **wyìgii** def. pl. **wyìgigíí**. Hole.

yà *pn2.* Some of: indefinite partitive pronoun, gender 2 plural.

ya *v. impfv. ya.* ♦ 1 *intr.* Hurt, be ill. ♦ 2 *tr.* Hurt.

yaa *v. impfv. yáà.*

I. *intr.* ♦ 1 Be fine, OK (in a situation or place). ♦ 2 Be fitting, appropriate, sufficient. ♦ 3 Should, ought to, must, be right that: expresses deontic modality (with subjunctive complement clause). ♦ 4 Be reputed (first verb of serial construction).

II. *tr.* ♦ 1 Make, create, fashion. ♦ 2 Prepare. ♦ 3 Repair. ♦ 4 Do well (first verb of serial construction).

yaaga *n2.* def. **yaagé** pl. **yaaya** def. pl. **yaayí** *gen. 4* **yaara** def. **yaaré**. Thing.

yabànjí *emph.* def. pl. **yabàmþíí**. Self: emphatic focus noun or pronoun modifier; obligatorily possessed; not reflexive. Syn. **yabìlíní**, **yapyàagíí**.

yabìlíní *emph.* Self: emphatic focus noun or pronoun modifier.

yafyîn *quant.* Nothing.

yapyàagíí *emph.* Self: emphatic focus noun or pronoun modifier.

yaha *v. impfv. yare.*

I. ♦ 1 *tr.* Put down, put. ♦ 2 *tr.* Leave. ♦ 3 *intr.* Remain, stay (in state resulting from first verb). ♦ 4 *tr.* Let alone, leave alone. ♦ 5 *tr.* Liberate (a prisoner); fire (an employee); send down (a stu-

- dent); divorce (a wife). ♦ 6 *tr.* Skip over. ♦ 7 *tr.* Start without. ♦ 8 *tr.* Cease doing. ♦ 9 *tr.* Permit, allow, let.
- II. ♦ 1 *tr.* Acknowledge or believe to be (with predicate nominal). ♦ 2 *intr.* Believe.
- yama** *n5.* def. **yāmpɛ** [ya be ill] Disease, sickness, illness.
- yaŋa** *n1.* def. **yāŋi** pl. **yamii** def. pl. **yampíí** [ya be ill] Sick person.
- yaŋuŋɔ** *n2.* def. **yaŋuŋke** pl. **yaŋuŋyɔ** def. pl. **yaŋuŋyi** [yaaga thing + ŋuŋɔ thing] Thing, thing-a-ma-bob, doohickey.
- yasere** *n4.* def. **yaseéré** [yaaga thing + se produce fruit] Fruit.
- yasiniŋe** *n2.* def. **yasiniŋké** pl. **yasiniŋye** def. pl. **yasiniŋyí** [yaaga thing + síní lie down] Bed.
- yatinmpwón** *n1.* def. **yatinmpwónni** pl. **yatinmpwón** def. pl. **yatinmpwónbíí** [yatinŋe instrument + bwón hit, play] Musician, instrumentalist.
- yatinŋe** *n2.* def. **yatinŋke** pl. **yatinye** def. pl. **yatinyi** [yaaga thing + tin be swollen] Boil.
- yatinŋe** *n2.* def. **yatinŋké** pl. **yatinye** def. pl. **yatinyí** *gen.* 4 **yatire** def. **yatiré** [yaaga thing + tin make loud noise] Musical instrument.
- yatɔɔgɔ** *n2.* def. **yatɔɔge** *gen.* 4 **yatɔɔrɔ** def. **yatɔɔre** [yaaga thing + tɔɔgɔ leg] Domestic animal with four legs.
- yawyii** *n3.* def. **yawyìni** pl. **yawyigii** def. pl. **yawyigigíí**. Living thing.
- yè** *pn. suff.* Reflexive suffix added to pronouns.
- yeele** *v. tr. impfv.* **yééñi**. Split with a knife.
- ye** *ques. cfm.* Interrogative marker for non-locative constituent questions.
- yere** *v. tr. impfv.* **yérégè**. Counsel, advise.
- yi** *pn2.* They, them, their: anaphoric pronoun, gender 2 plural.
- yi** *v. intr. impfv.* **yíni**. ♦ 1 Jump. ♦ 2 Skip, omit.
- yige** *v. tr. impfv.* **yígè**. Take out, bring out.
- yìi** *pn.* You (pl.), your: personal pronoun, second person plural.
- yinɛ** *n2.* def. **yìŋke** pl. **yinye** def. pl. **yìnyi**. ♦ 1 Moon. ♦ 2 Month.
- yire** *pn2.* and *det2.* These, those, their: emphatic pronoun and determiner, gender 2 plural.
- yírì** *v. intr. impfv.* **yírì**. ♦ 1 Get up, rise. ♦ 2 Leave (a place). ♦ 3 Come from (a place).
- yírígè** *v. tr. impfv.* **yírígè** [yírì get up + causative suffix] ♦ 1 Cause to get up, set up. ♦ 2 Run, begin to run very fast. ♦ 3 Cause to leave, remove.
- yɔ** or **yoo** *cfm.* Marker of attenuation.
- yu** *v.* Imperfective of **jwo**.
- yù** *v. tr. impfv.* **yúú**. Steal, rob.
- ywɔ**. See **lwɔ**.
- yyaha** *n2.* def. **yyāhe** pl. **yyahaya** def. pl. **yyahàyi**. ♦ 1 Face. ♦ 2 State of affairs, matter. ♦ 3 Front, ahead. **yyaha na**. In front of, ahead of (lit. on face). **yyaha yyèrè**. In front, ahead (lit. toward face).
- yyee** *n3.* def. **yyeení** pl. **yyèe** def. pl. **yyèegíí**. Year.
- yyeela** *adv.* Next year.
- yyééŋé** *v. tr. impfv.* **yyééŋí** [yyéré stop + causative suffix] Stop.

yyere *v. tr. impfv.* **yire**. Call, send for.

yyéré *v. intr. impfv.* **yyéréní**. ♦ 1 Stop. ♦ 2 Stand.

yyéré *postp.* ♦ 1 Towards. ♦ 2 To or at the home of (= Fr. *chez*).

zànhà *n2. def.* **zànhé** pl. **zànhàyà** def. pl. **zànhàyí**. Rain.

zànnēge *n2. def.* **zànnēgé** pl. **zànnēya** def. pl. **zànnēyí**. Midday meal.

zàntùṅḁ *n2. def.* **zàntùṅke** pl. **zàntùṅyḁ** def. pl. **zàntùṅyi**. Hyena.

z'éénnè *n3. def.* **z'éènni** pl. **z'éṅṅii** def. pl. **z'éṅṅkíí**. Amulet.

zò *n1. def.* **zòṅi** pl. **zòmii** def. pl. **zòmṗíí**. Heart. **zòmbilè** *n3. def.* **zòmbíí**. Heart.

zhèngè *n2. def.* **zhènge** pl. **zhènyà** def. pl. **zhènyi**. Baobab.

Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. I follow the basic outline and approach of Givón (1984 and 1990a).

Chapter 2: Phonology

1. The tilde indicating nasalization will be written under rather than over the nasalized character in phonetic transcriptions in order to leave room for tone markings over the character.
2. Nasal + stop clusters are rare in Senufo languages. It appears that they are a relict in Supyire. In most of the other languages (e.g. Mamara, Cebaara) a voiceless stop was voiced following a nasal and the nasal was subsequently lost. In some cases this has led to a three-way contrast in stops: voiceless, simple voiced, and “lenis” voiced (see Prost 1964).
3. Since most loan words are borrowed from Bambara, and since voiced stops are more numerous in Bambara than voiceless ones, the addition of loan words raises the ratio of voiced to voiceless stops. For comparison with the ratios given in the main body of the text, the figures are given here for roots beginning with stops *including* loans: b/p = 1.33; d/t = .28; j/c = .37 ; g/k = .05.
4. In fact, none of the palatals except /y/ can occur in a medial unstressed syllable.
5. Other Senufo languages have many /g/-initial words, but these mostly appear to be a reflex of proto **ɲk*, which is preserved in Supyire.
6. Several complexities in the morphology are ignored here as irrelevant.
7. One of the three *quartiers* of the village of Farakala voices much less enthusiastically than the other two. In another of the *quartiers* there is one particular family which is known for its fast, slurred, speech, and it is here, I suspect, that the champion flapper should be sought.
8. Some speakers will occasionally use a glottal stop in these environments.
9. The pronouns and conditional auxiliary are written separately in keeping with a general decision to write clitics separately in the orthography.
10. The rarity of /g/-initial words was noted above. This verb is borrowed from Bambara. It requires an indirect object.
11. There is some evidence from internal reconstruction that the process described here as elision was actually historically a multi-stepped process which involved first elision of an unstressed vowel, subsequent gemination of the two consonants thus brought into contact, followed by de-

gemination and compensatory lengthening. The scenario for a typical gender 4 noun like *ta-* ‘land’, would thus have been (ignoring tone) **ta-ra-re* ⇒ **tarre* ⇒ *taare*. Unfortunately the evidence for the middle step is only circumstantial. More will be said of this in section 2.1.5 below.

12. The number of roots beginning with the various fricatives collected so far is: /f/ = 86, plus 26 loans; /s/ = 117, plus 26 loans; /sh/ = 19, plus 5 loans; /v/ = 11, plus 1 loan; /z/ = 11, plus 1 loan; /zh/ = 5, with no loans. The ratio of voiced/voiceless is as follows: without loans: v/f = .12; z/s = .09; zh/sh = .26; with loans: v/f = .10; z/s = .08; zh/sh = .20.
13. This is the typical Senufo scenario for *a//* NC clusters, not just those with fricatives. As pointed out above, Supyire is atypical in that voiceless *stops* are “protected” following a nasal. It is similar to other Senufo languages in its treatment of fricatives, however.
14. There are also two noun roots in which initial unstressed /d/ varies with /s/: *disónḡs/ sisónḡs* ‘fly’, and *dìḡzi/ sḡzi* ‘thread’.
15. The variations in tone will be explained in section 2.3.
16. In his short investigation of Supyire (he worked with an informant for one week), Welmers (1950: 495) did not appreciate the full extent of palatalization and labialization in the language. Because of their phonetic realization as affricates, he proposed the phonemes /p’/ and /b’/, but noted they occurred only before /i/ and /u/. He analyzed palatalized consonants as clusters (Cy), but noted that /py/ and /by/ did not occur before /i/. He did not note any labialization, but did record vowel clusters like /ua/ and /oa/ (p. 497). He did not point out that clusters like *ue or *io do not occur. On the whole, the distributional and phonetic facts are compelling to analyze these so-called vowel clusters as SR + V. Welmer’s notation of /p’/ and /b’/ (seen in his transcription of the name of the language as Sup’ide) was modified by Ralph Herber to /pp/ and /bb/ (explaining references in the literature to Suppire). The use of either of these conventions becomes unwieldy once it is realized that almost any consonant may have SR, and that to be consistent one would have to write for example *kya* [kxa] ‘chew’ as *kka* and *fwoo* ‘debt’ as *ffoo*. In conformity with other orthographies in the area, the decision has been made to write all palatalization-like SR as [y], and all labialization-like SR as [w].
17. It is significant that the beginnings of this are also seen in Cebaara. Mills (1984: 144) states that “no contrast of CRi:/Ci: or CRu:/Cu: [where R = secondary release, RC] occurs. The phonetic realization of *Ci:* is always [Cjɪ:] with very slight palatalization. The phonetic realization of labial consonant with *u:* is [C^wu:] with slight labialization.” It seems that Supyire extended this process to other long vowels.
18. The Supyire use both a six-day and a seven-day week, which run concurrently. A particular day may be named for its place in the six-day

week, e.g. *kyìì* 'Kyii', for its place in the seven-day week, e.g. *tèentàhàrà* 'Tuesday', or with a compound of the two, e.g. *kyììntèentàhàrà* 'Kyii-Tuesday'. The date for certain events depends on the coincidence of particular days from the two weeks. For example, the annual sacrifice to the tutelary spirits of the village of Farakala must be celebrated on a Kyii-Tuesday.

19. This alternation occurs in all the various forms of pronouns and determiners of gender 3 plural, e.g. *kyìì* or *cyìì* 'some (indefinite pronoun)', *ɲkyíí* or *ɲcyíí* 'these (demonstrative)'.
20. Welmers (1950: 497) transcribed this sound as [kea] and says "In the cluster /ea/, /e/ is a central vowel". His informant came from the village of Ŋgu Kanha (Molasso), four kilometers distant from Farakala. At the present time the pronunciation of this sound is the same in the two villages, viz. [kxa]. Welmers states (1950: 494) that his informant was good at pronouncing individual vowels very slowly, and it is possible that his attempt to pronounce [kx] very slowly may have given the impression that the [x] was a high central vowel.
21. In section 2.2.1.3 below it is shown that following SR, for most roots /ɛ/ may vary with /a/.
22. This is the sole example before /u/.
23. See note 20 above.
24. What happens when an unstressed vowel comes to follow a stressed vowel *within* a word will be dealt with below.
25. Both Welmers and Herber transcribe many of these words as *Cua*. If [ɑ] were a variant of /a/, then palatalization and labialization would contrast, but only before /a/, as in pairs such as *pwa* 'sweep' and *pya* 'child'. Furthermore, labialization would never occur before /ɔ/. When it is recognized that [ɑ] is rather a variant of /ɔ/, these anomalies vanish.
26. This word is a recent borrowing from Bambara, which accounts for its failure to elide the first [l] even though it follows a stressed vowel.
27. Note that if the vowel preceding /l/ (and often /n/) is stressed, the /l/ is elided. Thus in a CiV word one knows that the final V must carry the stress, since the /l/ remains. There are a very few words which may be stressed either on the initial or final syllable. The verb 'lie (prevaricate)' for example may be pronounced either *fīnɛ* [fɛnɛ] or *fīni* [fɛni].
28. The tone changes will be discussed below.
29. These are not homophonous, *i* 'in' being strong mid tone and *i* 'with' weak mid. Due to the extensive tone rules which affect them, they almost never have the same tone in a given context. They are both historically descended from forms with an initial consonant: **ni*.
30. Recall that an [l] or [n] which would otherwise elide is prevented from doing so by the addition of a vowel-initial clitic.

31. This is pronounced *teenne* by some people, obviously a newer pronunciation. A similar fate probably overtook many nasalized /l/s in the past.
32. Garber further suggests (personal communication) that the similarity of weak mid and high may be due to a common origin, viz. a proto-high tone which split into higher and lower variants. This hypothesis and much of the common synchronic behavior is nicely captured by Garber's proposal (following Clements 1981) of a two-tiered notation for tone, in which high and weak mid would share a common primary tier H, but be differentiated on a secondary tier as h and l. High could thus be written as Hh and weak mid as Hl. In a similar fashion, strong mid and low would share the common primary tier L, and be differentiated on the secondary tier as h and l. Strong mid would thus be written Lh and low as Ll.
33. It may well be that a tonal affix could be reconstructed for the imperfective (cf. Garber 1987: 51 for a similar problem in Sucite). It does not correlate with any of the segmental suffixes with which it co-occurs, however.
34. There are three exceptions to this generalization that I am aware of. All three were originally compounds, probably with an initial nominal element, but they are synchronically unanalyzable. They are: *kakyanhala* 'surprise' (probably from a compound something like 'affair-surprise'), *kalawwù* 'annoy, pester' (possibly with the element *wwù* 'take off'), *kàànmùcya* 'check, watch' (with the element *cya* 'look for').
35. For this tune, then, all goes well if the initial tone linking convention begins at the right of the word and proceeds leftwards, as suggested by Garber (1987: 87) for Sucite. There are certain difficulties for this direction presented by the nouns, however.
36. Note that this loan provides nice evidence of the absence of contrast between the various types of SR. A back vowel may not follow palatalization, so speakers of Supyire simply changed the final back vowel of [a'vyɔ] to a front vowel [a'vyɛ]. A different strategy is employed to naturalize *camion* [ka'myɔ] 'truck', which becomes *kamajwó* [kamá'ɥ:ɔ] through the insertion of an extra vowel.
37. Only one root of this sort with LMs tone has been found which has a chance of being monomorphemic. This tune is quite common in nominalizations of Ms verbs which are derived by the addition of a low-tone nasal prefix. For example *'zuulo* 'crouching' from *suulo* 'crouch'.
38. If the combination which are apparently impossible in two-tone tunes (MsMw, MwMs, MWH, and HMw) are excluded from the theoretically possible thirty-six three-tone tunes, only sixteen possible tunes are left. It should be noted that it is not possible to determine whether medial mid tones in a three-tone tune are Mw or Ms.
39. The final high tone is due to the addition of the diminutive suffix *-rV*.

40. Genitive constructions in which the possessor is indefinite are rather rare. Where such constructions might be expected, as when the possessor has generic, non-referential meaning, Supyire favors the use of compounds. For some examples of these, see below.
41. The L spreads to the Ms verb by a process discussed in section 2.3.3.2.
42. A one syllable Ms verb loses its M tone altogether and will thus trigger the downstep rule. Two or more syllable Ms verbs keep the Ms tone on their final vowel and so do not trigger downstep. A Mw verb loses its M tone altogether in favor of the spreading H, but recall that such a H must come from the auxiliary (though it may pass through a simple pronoun). If there is an indefinite noun direct object ending in H tone, it will trigger the rule converting Mw verb to H, and downstep will be inserted. In this case the contrast between Mw and H verbs is neutralized.
43. It is interesting that Welmers (1950) consistently recorded MwL nouns as H (the credit for recognizing them as ML goes to Ralph Herber). This may be due to the fact that the definite suffix is pronounced slightly lower than the initial M because of downdrift, and to the fact that the L is often pronounced very quickly and is thus difficult to perceive.

Chapter 3: Nouns

1. Only one noun crosses gender lines in Supyire: the singular of *nù* 'cow' is in gender 1, but the plural *nìyè* is in gender 2.
2. Most writers on Senufo languages have used mnemonic labels for the noun classes based on the identifier pronouns. Garber (1987) uses a numbering system (1-8) like that used by Bantuists.
3. See chapter 5, section 5.1.2 for a description of the demonstratives. The demonstratives have the form *NCe* (G1S, G2S,P, G3S, G4, G5) or *NCili* (G1P, G3P). When the class consonant is an approximant, it is converted to the corresponding voiced stop following the nasal. The changes which resulted in the definite suffix forms may be attributed primarily to the loss of stress. The voiced stops (originally approximants) were absorbed by the nasal, as elsewhere in the language (e.g. all of the basic noun suffixes are absorbed by root-final nasals), and the [e] was raised to [i]. Thus **-ŋge* 'G1S' became *-ŋi* and **-nde* 'G3S' became *-ni*. It is probable that the gender 2 plural suffix *-yi* passed through the stages **-ŋi* and *-yŋ* in Kampwo Supyire. *ŋi* is the invariant form in some other dialects (e.g. to the north of Kampwo). In Kampwo, however, /ŋ/ is not allowed in unstressed syllables. Some speakers nasalize the suffix *-yŋ*, either consistently or sporadically, while for others *-yŋ* is only an allomorph of *-yi* following a nasalized vowel or a nasal-final root. In those classes whose consonant is a voiceless stop, the na-

sal of the demonstrative disappeared. The only place the voiceless stop currently appears is following nasal-final roots. Otherwise it is voiced. Historically the change from nasal + voiceless stop to voiced stop probably is a manifestation of precisely that change elsewhere in Senufo languages (a parallel change with fricatives occurs in Supyire). The change was prevented when the stem ended in a nasal, and the nasal was degeminated (NNC → NC). It should be noted that the demonstrative determiner precedes the head noun in current Supyire. It follows the noun in Senanri (Cebaara; Mills 1987: 305) and Fɔ̀ndɔ̀ndɔ̀ (Boutin 1981: 63) and both precedes and follows in Mamara (Brubaker 1988: 21). That the demonstrative determiner followed the noun in proto-Supyire is shown not only by the existence of the definite suffixes, but also by the post-nominal position of the relative determiner.

4. The first vowel of this noun is actually unstressed and therefore elided in current Kampwo Supyire. But as pointed out in chapter 2 (section 2.2.2.3), roots of this sort behave like 'CVCV roots in regard to other phonological rules.
5. The root *nà* 'man' has an alternate plural *nàmbaa*, and in fact this is the form usually given when the plural is asked for. At first sight it looks like the [baa] of this form could be a reflex of the suffix *-bili*, in which perhaps vowel harmony has changed the vowel to [a]. The fact that the [baa] is stressed, unlike normal indefinite suffixes, is suspicious, however. Further investigation reveals that the form *nàmbaa* is used to refer primarily to married men, whereas the form *nàmii* is used for men in general. *nàmbaa* in fact seems to be related to the gender 2 noun *nàmbaga* 'marriage (from a woman's point of view)'. Both forms are evidently compounds formed from *nàN-* 'man' and some other root, possibly *ba-* 'house'. *nàmbaa* thus probably originally meant 'husbands'. The corresponding singular form **nàmba* does not occur, but has been supplanted by two other forms with the meaning 'husband': *nɔ̀* (evidently derived from *nàN-* by umlaut; the plural is always given as *nàmbaa*) and *poo* (plural *pèe*).
6. An alternate scenario might run as follows: the suffix *-bili* is added to the root, upon which the unstressed final vowel of the root is greatly reduced and finally elided, leaving the awkward consonant cluster [Cb], which is then simplified to [C].
7. The final final vowel of the singular form is slightly lengthened due to the elision of the first vowel (see section 2.2.2.3 of chapter 2). The final vowel of the plural form is much longer.
8. See chapter 2 section 2.1.5 for a possible scenario for the introduction of secondary release in this form.
9. The expected form **nàmpɔ̀nmii* does not occur. The root-final nasal for some reason seems to undergo the process of degemination, compensatory lengthening, and diphthongization like *cyèe*.

10. An alternate, regular, plural *sikàa* is also used.
11. This has an alternate plural form *kùnrìi*. There seem to be alternate root forms *kunN-* and *kunr-*.
12. The reason for the short final root vowel in the gender 3 plural form is unknown.
13. This is a suppletive form for the singular *bìlè*. Its root, *pyà-* is certainly related to the gender 1 noun *pyà* ‘child’, though it should be noted that the latter has the plural form *pyìi*.
14. The vowel preceding the [ŋ] also elides, see section 2.2.2.3. The same process occurs in *sháháŋkíí* below.
15. This is a reduplication of the verb *tun* ‘send’. Internal reconstruction thus points to a proto-form **tunN*.

Chapter 4: Verbs

1. Other auxiliaries may combine with progressive, in which case the imperfective form is always used. See chapter 9, section 9.2.7.2 for details.
2. The changes in tone which co-occur with suffixation are dealt with in section 4.2.4 below.
3. The suffix vowel is [i] in the two verbs which have medial *h* (/ʔ/), since the nasalization from the previous syllable is not halted by the glottal stop. If the vowel were lowered by the glottal stop, as one might expect from noun morphology, where glottal stop definitely has a lowering effect, the suffix vowel would have to be [ɛ], since [ɛ] is not available. It is perhaps to avoid this extra lowering that speakers maintain the higher articulation.
4. The great majority of CV verbs which take the *-li* suffix have secondary release. Only one of the 20 verbs which exhibit vowel raising lacks it. Of the eight verbs which do not undergo vowel raising, three lack secondary release. Most CV verbs without secondary release take another suffix or none.
5. From the French noun *complet* ‘suit of clothes’. The verb actually means ‘to clothe with complete outfits’.
6. The root vowel /o/ is diphthongized and lowered before the glottal stop of the root. Cf. Cebara *sɔʔɔ* and Sucite *soʔo*.
7. Vowel harmony applies when the root vowel is high (/u/ or /i/).
8. The root vowel is lowered and diphthongized before the uvular flap of the suffix. This verb has an alternate, perhaps regularized, imperfective form with *-lí*: *kèbèlí*.
9. This is the causative form of *síní* ‘lie down’. Most causatives ending in [ŋV] form the imperfective with the [i] form of the *-li* suffix.

10. There is some variation in tonal behavior among the three classes of roots which take *-re*. As indicated here, those with medial /l/ behave like other strong Mid verbs. Strong Mid verbs with medial /h/ [ʔ], however, remain strong Mid in the imperfective. If they have an alternate form, it usually is Low in the regular pattern: *paha* ‘open wide’, *pare* ‘open wide.IMPFV’, alternate form *pàhàgè* ‘open wide.IMPFV’. There is a disproportionate number of strong Mid verbs in this group (seven of a total of thirteen). None of the verbs with medial /g/ has strong Mid tone.
11. As with the change from strong Mid to Low (see previous note), there is variation among the root-types which take this suffix. Those with medial /l/, of which a disproportionate number have a Low tune (fourteen of seventeen), do not have any examples of the switch to High in the imperfective. The switch seems to be obligatory, however, for roots with medial /h/ [ʔ] and /g/ [R]: *màhà* ‘do all over the place’ (used as a final verb in a serial construction), *màré* ‘do all over the place.IMPFV’. Other /g/-medial verbs act like *nùgò*.
12. The L tone on the initial syllable of the verb has spread from the auxiliary through the pronoun and is not an indication of transitivity in any way.
13. There is no evidence for this verb of a root final nasal. The imperfective form is *tuuli*, the adjective of gender 1 singular is *nintorowo*, and so forth. Why it should have the nasal form of the causative suffix is therefore a mystery.
14. The Supyire color system of three basic terms might be better translated ‘light colored’ (instead of ‘white’), ‘warm colored’ (instead of ‘red’), and ‘dark colored’ (instead of ‘black’).
15. The switch from low to high tone in the derivation of this verb and others in this example seems to be regular and is not confined to forms with the *-gV* suffix only. Thus *kúrúló* ‘roll up a long object’ comes from *kùrù* ‘fold, roll up a short object’. There are two exceptions, however: *nàhànà* ‘drive animals in order to capture them’ is the intensive of *nàhà* ‘herd’, and *màhànà* ‘go round in a circle’ may derive from *màhà* ‘do all over the place’ (used only as the second verb in a serial verb construction).
16. The possessed noun may be referential indefinite, but in that case the definite form of the noun is used, followed by the indefinite determiner:

mìi pyà-ŋi *wà*
 my child-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S)
 ‘one of my children’

17. The definite form *fùnnke* is also possible in this construction.

8. As might be expected, this root is usually in gender 2, the gender of large things. It is related to the verb *buuŋɔ* ‘be big’, which was probably originally the causative of a now defunct verb **gbulu* or **gbolo* which gave rise to the adjective form. The verb *pèè* ‘be big’ is probably also related. The cognate forms in Cebaara are *kpóló* ‘be big’ and *kpóʔʔ* ‘be big, make big’.
9. More precisely: ‘light colored’. This is related to the verb *fíníhé* ‘be white, whiten’, which was probably originally the causative form of a subsequently lost verb **fini* ‘be white’ which gave rise to the adjective.
10. More precisely: ‘warm colored’. This is related to the verb *jááǵá* ‘redden, be red’, which was probably originally the causative form of a now lost verb **jana* ‘be red’.
11. This root appears in the quantifier *puní* ‘all’ (probably a grammaticalization of a gender 3 singular definite form) and the adverb *punɔ* ‘at all’.
12. This root has several different forms. It may have a HL tune like the singular *-bile*, as reflected in the gender 3 plural form *numpyígii*. It is also used in the collective gender 4, where it has the following forms *num-pyé-rè* (with lowering of the vowel), *num-pyí-rè* (with HL tune), *num-pyígí-rè* (with an extra syllable of unknown origin), and *num-pyíí-rè* (by elision of the /g/ from the preceding form). As if this were not enough, the plural of the singular noun *bilè* (see note 7) is *pyà-a* ‘seeds, small rounded objects (G3P)’. Both forms are undoubtedly related also to *pyà* ‘child (G1S)’ (plural: *pyì-i*). The close relation of these different forms almost certainly goes back to proto-Niger-Congo. Cf. the suggested proto-NC roots from Bole-Richard (1988) *ba / bi* ‘child’, ‘seed’, *pi* ‘small’.
13. This root appears in the definite ‘other’ determiner *sanja* etc. ‘the rest, the remainder’. See section 5.1.2.11 above.
14. Cf. the noun *tara* ‘earth, ground (G4)’.
15. Recall that fricatives are voiced and the nasal is elided in nasal-fricative clusters. This NP is taken from a sentence in which it is the direct object of the verb ‘find’: ‘Then I found him lying beside the car.’
16. Although the verb is not nasalized in Kampwo Supyire, it is in Sucite and in central Senufo languages. The adjective form is thus the older of the two.
17. An alternate, palatalized, form *nɲɲɲ* is used by some speakers.
18. On the basis of the Minyanka form *gbara-* this can probably be reconstructed, at least for proto-Northern-Senufo, as **gbara*.
19. ‘First’ (*-cyii-*) and ‘last’ (*-sanN-*) are adjective roots, and behave like other adjectives. See section 5.2 above.
20. The final L of the ordinal only appears on the following *-wu-*. The latter has a basic Mw tune.

21. *Puní* also has an indefinite form, but this is used exclusively in the adverbial function alluded to below. It is a nominalization of an adjective root *puN-* (see section 5.2 above).
22. See preceding note. *Punɔ* is actually mostly used in negative clauses, where its meaning is '(not) at all'.
23. This has a very restricted use as an adverb, being used only with verbs repeated to code duration. The *ye* in such cases adds intensity to the action and length to the duration.
24. This adverb expresses counterexpectation and surprise.
25. Borrowed from Bambara.
26. This word is interesting for having the sole instance of a labiovelar stop recorded so far in Kampwo Supyire. The sound is common in other Senufo languages.
27. The suffix *-oo* on this adverb is perhaps related to the 'attenuation' marker *yod* (see section 5.10).
28. This is related to the nominalizing suffix *-m̀bàà* 'without' (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.8). Both are borrowed from Bambara: *bàli* 'prevent from', and *-bali* 'without'.
29. There is no simple English equivalent of the French preposition *chez* 'at the house of'.
30. This is the lexicalization pattern labeled 'Romance' by Talmy (1985).
31. This looks like a calque on the Bambara preposition-postposition combination *ní...ye*. *Ní* is also a conjunction in Bambara used to conjoin noun phrases. *Ye* is a postposition with other uses as well, notably dative/benefactive and locative goal. The combination *ní...ye*, like the Supyire equivalent, codes comitative and instrument.
32. The definite suffix is often added to the noun: *nɪnɪnɪ na*.
33. The definite suffix is sometimes added to the noun: *nwɔgɛ na*.
34. Some speakers leave off the simple postposition. For these speakers, *kàntugo* is a new simple postposition.
35. *Fàràfɪn* is borrowed from Bambara, and means literally 'black skin'.

Chapter 6: Noun phrases

1. The antecedent is not necessarily overtly expressed, but may be implied. For example, in reply to the question "What time is it?" a possible answer might be:

Katréré-nj *sân-nj* *nye minutí-i* *ké.*
 four.o'clock-DEFG1S OTHER-DEFG1S be minute-G1P ten
 'It's ten till four.'

Literally, 'the remainder of four o'clock is ten minutes'.

2. This could conceivably mean ‘the house of this/that one (gender 2)’, with a gender 2 antecedent such as *pùkwòrògò* ‘woman from another village (gender 2)’. In this case tones do not disambiguate since *ba* ‘house’ has a strong mid tone.
3. This example is taken from an account of the aftermath of the French conquest of Sikasso. Kuluncungo, one of the sons of Babemba (the last king of Sikasso, killed during the French invasion), was counseled by some of his brothers to go join the forces of Samory, then fighting against the French in the south. He declined, recalling that Samory had besieged Sikasso for sixteen months several years earlier. He is reported to have then uttered the example in the text, to the effect that he would rather go die at the hands of the French in Sikasso than join the old enemy of his family, Samory.
4. *Kalifyé* is borrowed from French *qualifier*.
5. That is, as if they are the head noun of a genitive construction. This is a not uncommon pattern cross-linguistically. Croft (1991: 134) points out that often over time a noun + numeral combination based on a genitive construction changes into a construction more like noun + adjective. It is thus interesting to note that for many speakers of Supyire, the numeral behaves tonally like a possessed (head) noun only when the noun it follows is indefinite. For these speakers, when the head is definite, the number (also in definite form) keeps its basic tones. It is not known how widespread this practice is.
6. Three cases of the use of *mú* with a number having a definite suffix have been recorded, all from the same speaker.
7. For this speaker (from the Jamutani *quartier* of Farakala), the imperfective suffix *-li* undergoes vowel harmony.
8. This and the following example show the lack of application of expected tone rules referred to in note 5 above. For this speaker, the definite numbers are unaffected tonally, while the indefinite numbers behave as if possessed.
9. The elicitation of the following example actually was the occasion of a sharp dispute. One onlooker objected strongly that no such combination should be tolerated. The person who produced the example maintained equally heatedly that it was perfectly acceptable. As noted in the text, no examples of this sort have turned up in recorded discourse material.
10. This example is from a text on funeral customs. The corpse is wrapped in cloths taken from among the cloths brought by relatives for the funeral, and the number used in the wrapping is quite definite: three for a man, four for a woman. There is thus no indeterminacy in the disjunction, as there is in the English translation. Note that the conjunction *wáá* ‘or’ is borrowed from Bambara.
11. Of course the specification of any number indicates that the speaker attaches a high degree of importance to that participant. The use of the

higher numbers, however, is more obviously related to the numerical meaning, whereas the singularity of 'one' makes it redundant when the language already distinguishes singularity morphologically.

12. 'Time' in the sense of 'occasion', as in 'He fell three times.'
13. The /s/ of *shɔn-* is voiced due to the final nasal of the preceding root.
14. In the text corpus, *mujyè* is used only 6 times, whereas *puní* is used 204 times.
15. *Júgú* 'evil' is borrowed from Bambara *jugu* 'evil'.
16. Cf. English *selfsame*.
17. *Kálá* 'read' (the low tone comes from the direct object) is borrowed from Bambara *kalan* 'read'.
18. *Mobíllí* 'car' is borrowed from Bambara *mobilí* 'car'.
19. Compare English 'That isn't done.'
20. *Kómi* 'as if' is borrowed from French *comme*.
21. *Tèré* 'train' and *bómbáraré* are borrowed from French *train* and *bombarder*.
22. The antecedent of the possessive pronoun *wu-* is *mobíllíge* 'truck'. This is an example of the extended use of a genitive phrase with a pronoun head described in the preceding section.
23. Tea is 'raised' in Supyire: the verb reduplicated here consists of the root *yírí* 'rise, go up' together with the causative suffix *-gV*.
24. The *sootánhánke* and *soobííni* are the two pedals attached to the heddles of a loom.

Chapter 7: Simple clauses

1. This sentence was occasioned by a child asking what my binoculars were. When I explained that I used them to watch birds, a bystander uttered the sentence.
2. If the identificational pronouns arose from the conflation of a pronoun with a copula, it is likely that the present-day subject of an identificational clause began its career as a predicate nominal fronted for focus. In the absence of comparative reconstruction, this remains speculation.
3. This particle seems to be related to the postposition *bàà* 'without'. Historically, this postposition had the form *bà/V*, and is most likely derived from the Bambara/Jula verb/postposition *bali* 'prevent from, without' (though the tone is high whereas the Supyire postposition has a low-mid weak tune). The hypothesis that *bà* is derived from *bàà* is considerably strengthened by the observation that when the negative question particle *mà* is added, *bà* becomes *bàlà*, the [m] of *mà* eliding and [l] of *bàà* appearing just as one would expect according to the rule which avoids sequences of three vowels if possible. An example of this is:

Sèe bàlà à?
 truth NEG.PRED NEG.Q
 'Isn't that true?' Lit. Isn't that truth?

4. *Tateenga* means 'inhabited place'. In this sentence it corresponds to the French word *quartier* 'quarter, neighborhood'.
5. *Jígí* 'hope' is borrowed from Bambara *jìgi* 'hope'.
6. It can be interpreted as having a past tense reference if it occurs in the context of a past tense description, where the past time reference has been previously unambiguously established.
7. The nasal prefix of *mpyi* is at present a puzzle. Ordinarily such a nasal prefix is used only in two contexts: on non-initial verbs in one type of serial verb construction (see chapter 8, section 8.2.1 for details) and on verbs following certain auxiliaries (the latter use probably having arisen from a grammaticalization of the former use, see Carlson 1985, 1990 for details). As shown below, *mpyi* may be preceded by the progressive marker *na*, which does require the nasal prefix on a following verb. It may be that the *na* was required in the past, but is in the process of being eliminated, leaving behind the nasal prefix.
8. *Tába* is a species of tree which I have not yet identified in French, English, or Latin.
9. It could be argued that all the future uses of what appears to be copular *pyi* could equally well be translated 'become'.
10. As an auxiliary, *sii* can be preceded by a variety of other auxiliaries. See chapter 9, section 9.3.2.1 for details.
11. This was said by one man to a group of other men. The speaker, although quite close to the addressees, was about to distance himself from them, which may account for the use of the distal copula. The use of the distal is also occasionally pejorative, and this may be the case here.
12. The past time reference is set in the preceding context of the discourse from which this example is drawn.
13. The initial [w] of the adverb *waní* is commonly elided. *Waní* is a nominalization of the distal copula *wá*.
14. This and the following example are common replies to greetings. This is the reply when greeted at home by a visitor (the question being *Yìì a cùùŋà la?* 'Are you well?'). The following example is the reply one would make when visiting, the person visited having asked after one's family.
15. This example is taken from a narrative recounting the French conquest of Sikasso. Babemba, the last king of Sikasso, was killed when the French stormed the city, and his sons and nephews fled. Subsequently, one of them, Kuluncungo, went over to the French. The French then asked him to indicate who would have succeeded Babemba as king of Sikasso, and whether or not he was still alive.

16. See also Clark (1978). In an abstract sense, the possessed item is conceived of as being 'located at' the possessor.
17. This is a common reply to an inquiry after the health of one's family. It basically means that there are no problems.
18. Either a homophone or a further sense of *pi* 'be ugly, bad, dangerous'.
19. See previous note.
20. This is only one use of this verb. It has a transitive use meaning 'create, fashion, repair'.
21. Marriage is exogamous. One has certain duties and rights vis-à-vis members of one's mother's patriline. These duties and rights are summed up by the verb *nara*.
22. This is borrowed from Bambara *da*, whose basic meaning is 'put down'.
23. This is simply one use of this verb. It has a transitive use meaning 'put down, leave, let alone', and other senses as well, and will be met again below.
24. This is a proverb. It contains a pun not at all obvious due to morphophonemic processes. The noun *nūngaga* is a compound consisting of the noun root *nūṅḡ* 'head' and the verb root *waha* 'be hard, be dry'. It thus literally means 'hard head', and is the opposite of cautiousness or prudence, meaning something like 'boldness', 'foolhardiness', or 'rashness'. The imperfective form of the verb *waha* is *ware*, here used in the sense of 'become dry'. The proverb refers to the practice of spreading out such things as grain or chili peppers to dry in the sun. In the rainy season, timid people are more slow to spread their things out for fear that a sudden rain may come and spoil them. The 'hard/dry head', however, boldly puts her things out, and, at least according to the proverb, it is her things which actually get dry.
25. With a human subject, this means 'become/be paralyzed/crippled'. The noun denoting 'cripple' is a nominalization of this verb: *faân-nji* 'cripple (DEF)'.
26. Also pronounced *mwaḥḥḥḥ* [mwəʔḥḥḥ], the /g/ becoming [ʔ], causing lowering and diphthongization of the preceding vowel, and allowing the nasalization arising from the initial /m/ to spread rightwards.
27. This verb can also be used (both intransitively and transitively) with a predicate nominal to mean 'turn into'. This use will be dealt with below.
28. This requires either a plural subject or an associative indirect object, like its English counterpart.
29. The verbs *kare* and *shya* appear to be synonymous in meaning in Kampwo Supyire. If more advanced grammaticalization is evidence of older age, *shya* is the older of the two verbs. In a number of Senufo languages (e.g. Senari), the two verbs are related by suppletion, the perfective form being the cognate of *kare* and the imperfective the cognate of the imperfective of *shya* (*sí* in Kampwo Supyire). In Kampwo Supyire, however, all four forms are viable. Perhaps comparative evidence will

eventually show if one of the verbs was goal oriented ('go to') while the other was source oriented ('go from'), or if there was some other difference in meaning between the two. At the present time such hypotheses are mere speculation.

30. This verb is also a change of posture verb meaning 'turn', as noted above.
31. This verb, with a [+human, +female] subject, can also mean 'give birth'. This use is evidently a calque on the similar use of Bambara *jigin* 'go down, give birth'.
32. With an indirect object marked with the postposition *táán* 'beside', this means 'pass by':

U a tòrò m̀̀ táán.
 G1S PERF pass me beside
 'S/he passed by me.'

With an indirect object marked by the postposition *na* 'on, at', it means 'surpass' and is used to construct the comparative. See section 7.5.4 below, as well as chapter 8 section 8.3.5.12.

33. This verb, used only in the imperfective, is borrowed from Bambara *wà* 'go'.
34. This verb is used both as a motion verb and a change of posture verb, as in the following examples:

a. *U a ỳ̀r̀̀ Sukwoo na mà k̀̀r̀̀ Fáágá ná.*
 G1S PERF leave Sikasso at and go Farakala at
 'S/he left Sikasso and went to Farakala.'

b. *M̀̀i a ỳ̀r̀̀ nyè-s̀̀d̀̀-gh̀̀ na.*
 I PERF get.up morning-be.early-G2S at
 'I got up early this morning.'

35. This verb also can mean 'move' in a sense apparently quite similar to *k̀̀è̀ǹ̀gh̀̀* in the preceding list.
36. The person becoming accustomed or the thing becoming accustomed to is the subject, while the oblique (marked with *na* 'at, on') codes the thing becoming accustomed to or the person becoming accustomed, respectively.
37. Borrowed from Bambara *tikè* 'cut, cross, not have confidence in'.
38. Borrowed from Bambara *yàfà* 'forgive'.
39. This is the non-present copula (see section 7.3.1) with a dynamic sense. Both are derived from the transitive verb *pyi* 'do, make'. Note that the latter can also take a predicate nominal when used transitively (see section 7.4.4.5 below).

40. This is the intransitive (one might argue, passive) use of the verb *si* 'engender, give birth'.
41. This is from a myth recounting the origin of human beings. The first couple hatched from an egg brought down to earth by the Sky God Kile.
42. This is from a story telling how a dead mother sprouted as a tree to punish her co-wife for mistreating her child.
43. This is the causative form of *sógó* 'burn (intransitive)'.
44. The patients involved may be as diverse as a pimple or a wet towel. This is also the verb normally used to denote milking.
45. The subject of this verb (in its transitive use) can be either male ('father') or female ('give birth').
46. This is the causative of *síní* 'lie down'.
47. This is the 'plural' form of *láhá* 'let go, take off'. Peeling something requires repeated actions of 'taking off'. See chapter 4, section 4.4 for the formation of verb 'plurals'.
48. This verb has in addition two other senses: a) 'leave main path' and b) 'give a new wife her own kitchen'.
49. This highly versatile verb has already been met in its intransitive sense of 'believe'.
50. This verb must be related historically to the preceding one, and probably also to the noun *nù-gò* 'smell-G2S'. It is not much used, as far as I can tell, the principal way of encoding the concept 'smell' being with the expressions *X nùge ta* 'get X's smell' and *X nùge bya* 'drink X's smell'.
51. Borrowed from Bambara *sàmi* 'warn'.
52. These forms are synonymous, and certainly related historically. Some people use one or the other, and some use both.
53. This is a transitive use of *kèèñè* 'turn'. Cf. English 'turn into'.
54. This verb also means 'get, obtain'.
55. The direct object is focused and thus moved to the front of the clause in this example. The noun *jínà* is borrowed from Bambara, which got it from Arabic. In Supyire it denotes the spirits which inhabit streams and sacred pools.
56. Note in this example that the noun *mege* is indefinite, indicating that it is starting to be incorporated into the verb. The new, compound verb will thus be *mege-pyi* 'name'.
57. The direct object is focused in this example.
58. This is borrowed from Bambara where its original and primary meaning is 'put down'. The Supyire verb *yaha* also has as its primary meaning 'put down'. It is unclear whether the use of *yaha* to mean 'believe' is a calque on Bambara *da*, or if *da* is tending to replace *yaha* because the latter has developed so many other senses (see the next list below).

59. This is the ubiquitous verb *pyi* ‘do’ which has already been mentioned frequently in the preceding sections as having the senses ‘become, be (non-present tense), call’.
60. With a complement clause, *kan* means ‘give in order that...’.
61. With an indicative *na* complement, *nye* means ‘see (realize) that...’, with a realis (H tone) complement, it means ‘see someone/something (doing something)’.
62. This is borrowed from Bambara *míírí* ‘think’.
63. *Sɔŋŋɔ* ‘plan’ can also be used as a verb of cognition meaning ‘think.’
64. *Cya* ‘try’ is also used as a transitive verb meaning ‘seek for’.
65. This is not surprising in view of the fact that many of the adverbs are derived from nouns. They have shed any adpositional marking they may have had, and they no longer inflect as nouns, but many of them carry the vestiges of noun class morphology. See chapter 5, section 5.5.
66. For the various forms of *àmuni* see chapter 5, section 5.5.1.1. The shortened forms can only take the postverbal position. The adverb *sáhánkì* ‘again, still, yet’ has been recorded once in pre-subject position, but preceded by a time phrase:

Canŋ kà sáhánkì kà nàŋi sì ñkàrè kerège e.
 day IND again and man.DEF NARR go field.DEF to
 ‘One day again the man went to the field.’

Chapter 8: Serial verb constructions

1. All that is left of *sí* in *maá* is the lengthened vowel and the final high tone. In *maríi* the [s] is rhotacized, and the final mid tone vowel marks imperfective.
2. The perfect auxiliary in Cebaara can also be reconstructed as *mà*. It is quite likely that *mà* is related to the verb ‘come’, whose imperfective form is *ma*.
3. This could conceivably mean ‘He pulled the knife and took it (=something other than the knife, in gender 3) out/off.’ But this is pragmatically weird.
4. *Kárimá* is borrowed from Bambara *karaba* ‘force’.
5. I have argued elsewhere (Carlson 1985, 1990; cf. also chapter 9) that it was precisely in this type of serial construction that most auxiliaries developed from grammaticalized verbs.
6. This is one of the rare examples in which a postpositional phrase is allowed to intervene between verbs in a serial construction. Probably the fact that both of the final two verbs take ‘inner’ oblique objects (i.e. objects coding participants which form part of the generic representation of the event) made it undesirable to postpone the locative accompanying

kare ‘go’ till after the final verb. Note that the preceding clause, with a switch to progressive aspect, also has an intervening locative.

7. The etymology of the subjunctive serial connective is not known at present. It is possible that it is derived from the second person singular non-declarative pronoun *ma* (the elision of the initial [m] is not unprecedented—see the following section). This pronoun is used to introduce polite perfective imperatives (actually subjunctives with zero TAM marking):

Ma *pa.*
 you.NONDECL come
 ‘Come!’

8. While the vast majority of uses of the narrative auxiliary have past time reference, it is not strictly accurate to say this is part of its meaning, since a narrative marked with it may be embedded in a conditional.
9. There are two rivals for the honor: *taha* ‘set down (for some purpose)’ and *tege* ‘help’. The first of these has the right consonants and vowels, but it is strong mid tone, whereas the grammaticalized verb is weak mid. The second has the right tone, and is also favored because for at least some speakers an alternate pronunciation of the grammaticalized verb is *tege*. In fact, these two verbs are probably themselves related. Both Cebaara and Sucite have high tone verbs (recall that high is probably the historical source of weak mid) with the vowel [ɛ] meaning ‘put’ or ‘place’: Cebaara *té?é* ‘put’ (French *mettre*, Mills 1987: 352), Sucite *téxí* (Garber 1987: 365). Significantly, the Sucite verb also means ‘help’. In addition, Cebaara has a verb *tágá* ‘believe’, which, given the widespread use of a single verb to mean ‘put down’ and ‘believe’ in the area (cf. Bambara *da* and Supyire *yaha*), must be related. Sucite also has a mid tone verb *ta?a* ‘put on the fire’, which is one of the meanings of Supyire *taha* ‘set down’ (it also means ‘follow’, and ‘repeat, recite’). How many proto-verbs there were, and how the meanings were divided up among them is unclear at present.
10. In at least one Senúfo language, Karaboro, the cognate, *kã* survives only as a benefactive postposition.
11. The *to* (from Bambara *ton*) is actually a cooperative association. Such associations usually have annual feasts, and the expression for ‘celebrate the feast of a cooperative society’ is *to tíñé*, literally ‘seat a cooperative association’.
12. Of a total of 71 adverbial *fó* clauses in the corpus, 39 (= 55%) have *sa* (N = 20) or *pa* (N = 19).

Chapter 9: Aspect, tense, modality, and negation

1. The only systematic exceptions are bare imperatives, “zero” subjunctives, reduced same subject clauses in consecutive constructions, and nominalizations.
2. It should be noted that the distinction drawn by Dahl (1985) between morphological and periphrastic expression of TAM categories is difficult to maintain in Supyire. The auxiliaries seem to fall somewhere in between the two kinds of coding. They are used to express both those categories which are typically coded morphologically cross-linguistically (e.g. past) and those that are typically coded periphrastically (e.g. progressive, perfect). There is no difference in complexity of coding between these various options. The use of serial verbs, by contrast, falls clearly in the category of periphrasis.
3. *Wɪɪ* is one of about twenty verbs which do not have a marked imperfective form. For other examples see chapter 4, section 4.2.5.
4. The tonal difference between the base form *lyɪ* ‘eat’ and the imperfective form *lyɪ* is neutralized following a definite noun, since the floating low tone from the noun docks onto the verb.
5. If the sample of languages in Dahl (1985) is representative, this is a rather unusual extension of the function of the progressive. Dahl notes ‘PROG is quite infrequently extended to habitual meaning’. With the intermediate step of repetitive found in Supyire, the extension does not seem unnatural, however. As noted in Givón (1984: 277) durative, repetitive, and habitual all belong in the imperfective camp.
6. Of a total of 613 examples of the progressive used with a verb (rather than with a copula, see below) found in non-procedural texts (the TAM in such texts is invariably ‘habitual’, though this is much more frequently marked with the habitual auxiliary *màha* than with *na*) at least 180 could plausibly be argued to have a habitual interpretation. This proportion (29%) indicates that the habitual meaning is a very important secondary function of the progressive.
7. A proverb. The wild yam has a very long and tender tip (its ‘nose’) which is easily broken off when the tuber is dug up. The use of the auxiliary *nyɛ* in this example is due to its being a focus construction (see below in this section).
8. In many languages the future is lumped with the imperfect. Givón (1984: 277) suggests that this is due to the inference that ‘if an event has not yet occurred, its terminal boundary is not yet specified’. The progressive has not encroached much on the future in Supyire, but if the scenario presented here is correct, more expansion in that direction would not be unnatural. It should be pointed out that the progressive does co-occur with the future (see section 9.2.8.2 below).

9. This combination of the progressive with the sequential/narrative marker *sí/rí* and the same subject conjunction *mà* is dealt with in section 9.2.7.2 below.
10. *Làmpú* 'tax' is borrowed from French *l'impôt* 'the tax'. *Wàhàtí* is borrowed from Bambara *wakati* 'time'.
11. *Senufó* 'Senufo' is borrowed from Bambara or French, and should not be taken as the source of this much-disputed word. In this example it is used as the equivalent of *sùpyìré* 'the people'.
12. The *sige shíinbíí* are an elf- or fairy-like people who inhabit the bush. They are very short (only about a meter tall), have long, straight, fair hair and light skin, and their feet are attached in the opposite direction to those of human beings. They inhabit trees and have considerable magic power.
13. This example is taken from a folktale in which Monkey is the commandant, and Hare is his *commis*, or secretary. The violent incident alluded to occurred when Dog, enraged that Monkey had demanded taxes from him, decided to set the matter right. The secretary's long ears of course made a convenient handle with which to fling him about. *Bìró* 'office' is of course borrowed from French *bureau*.
14. *Kèrèmasá* 'warlord' is borrowed from Bambara *kèlé* 'war' and *màsa* 'king', 'chief'. The speaker is referring to the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the Supyire were subjugated by Bambara-speaking peoples. *Díjyε* 'world' is borrowed from Bambara *diyen* 'world'.
15. *Màha* [maʔa] is obviously cognate with the Cebaara past tense marker *màa*. Mills (1987) nowhere indicates that the latter can be used for habitual aspect.
16. A *pwùññaarawa*, literally a 'dog-walker', is a hunter who uses hunting dogs. A *ntwɔñncwoo* 'termite pot' is a pot filled with leaves and twigs turned upside down over a termite nest. In the morning, when the termites have filled the pot in their attempt to eat the leaves and twigs, the owner can empty ('pour') the termites into a basket and take them home to feed to his poultry.
17. The event referred to took place in the childhood of the addressee, now an old man.
18. The speaker is recounting the butchering of the last elephant to be seen in Kampwoo. The occasion was a festive one, and was accompanied by music played on the *ñkɔni*, a small harp-lute (both the word and the instrument are borrowed from the Bambara). The players sat on a portion of skin taken from the elephant, in the middle of a circle of onlookers (*fógó*, borrowed from Bambara *fɔgɔn*, 'space surrounded by onlookers') and the bullets found in the meat as it was cut up were put in a pile beside them. The unfortunate elephant had obviously been much shot at before it was finally killed.

19. This is called the ‘hodiernal’ tense by some authors (cf. Dahl 1985: 125; Comrie 1986: 83).
20. There are several morphemes with this segmental form in Kampwo Supyire. The ones most likely to be confused with the future are the subjunctive auxiliary *sf* and the narrative/sequential auxiliary *sf*. There are several ways in which these can be distinguished from the future *sf*. Only the latter is accompanied by the future prefix. The subjunctive and the narrative are frequently reduced to *rV* or *V*, whereas the future is never so reduced. The subjunctive and the narrative accept a floating low tone from the left (i.e. from the subject) whereas the future never hosts a floating tone. The future *sf* can occur in a negative clause, whereas the subjunctive *sf* and the narrative never can (there is a separate negative subjunctive auxiliary *kà*). Finally, these three auxiliaries all combine with the progressive in distinct ways (see section 9.2.7.2).
21. This form is attested in some dialects of Cebaara and in Tagbana (Clamens 1952: 1425). The form used in standard Cebaara, *n*, is reduced through elision of the vowel rather than the consonant.
22. I have suggested elsewhere (Carlson 1989) that the dative postposition *á*, from **má* also has the same etymology. Clamens (1952) was perhaps the first to make the connection between the perfect and the dative postposition in a Senufo language, noting that they seemed to be identical in Tagbana. He however suggests the etymology *maha* ‘touch’. The imperfectivity of *ma*, as well as its tone, is certainly a count against it, since a perfect auxiliary ought to derive from a perfective verb. However, the history of the verb ‘come’ in Senufo is not at all clear. This is one of only two examples in Supyire in which the imperfective is derived through consonant mutation (the perfective form is *pa*) and the only one that displays the alternation of [p] with [m]. The imperfective *ma* may be suppletive rather than derived from the perfective. However, it should be pointed out that the perfective form in central Senufo is [pá], and that the proto-Senufo form was most likely **paN*. The situation is too complicated to resolve without further comparative data.
23. Cf. Dahl 1985: 125 (also Comrie 1986: 85), who points out that in some cases a perfect has developed into a recent (or “earlier today”) past.
24. Note that this makes the Supyire perfect resemble zero marking in the creole TAM system, at least superficially. Compare Bickerton’s (1981) characterization of the zero marking in creole TAM systems as past for events and present for states. His explanation for this is that these are the semantically unmarked time references in each case.
25. Comrie (1986: 78) argues that the pluperfect is “radically different” from the perfect, and “should not be given a uniform treatment” with it. While there are differences, (Comrie lists a number *ad loc.*; cf. also Dahl 1985: 144) this statement is rather too strong. In fact the pluperfect usually is related morphologically to the perfect. This repeated

concurrence of form cannot be merely a coincidence, but must be due to a deep-seated similarity in meaning. In fact the ingredients noted in the preceding discussion, viz. perfectivity, current (or “lingering”; Givón 1984: 280) relevance, and anteriority are all characteristics which the pluperfect shares with the simple perfect.

26. *Sébé* (frequently also pronounced *sémé*), borrowed from Bambara *seben*, means any piece of paper with writing on it, including books, letters, and permits. In the context here it indicates the ticket for a “bush taxi”.
27. *Neverf* is borrowed from French *neuf heures*.
28. *Fwòròbà* ‘co-operative society’ is borrowed from Bambara *fòròba*, which Bailleul defines as ‘bien appartenant à la communauté’. *Darashí* ‘five francs’ is borrowed from Bambara *dalasi*.
29. As a main verb, *tèè* either takes a dative-experiencer subject with a patient indirect object (=the thing the experiencer is accustomed to), or the syntactic roles are reversed, with the patient as subject and the dative-experiencer as indirect object. The serial construction follows the first configuration in having the dative-experiencer as subject. See chapter 7, section 7.4.3.2 for examples.
30. Comrie calls these tenses “combinations of absolute tenses”. In Supyire they are not absolute, however, as the reference point can be in the past or future, as will appear below.
31. The progressive marker here is a relic of the origin of the future auxiliary as an imperfective verb.
32. The low tone on *sàhà* here is due to the spread of the floating low tone following the subject, not to the negative auxiliary.
33. The term “main line” is used to denote independent clauses which encode the events of the narrative in their proper chronological order. It thus excludes all clauses encoding background information, and all subordinate clauses.
34. In poetry the earlier form *marí* is attested.
35. Comrie (1986: 26-28, 61, 103) also doubts that the so-called “sequential” tenses actually code sequentiality. He claims that the sequentiality can in most if not all cases be attributed to an “implicature”, and that it is not part of the meaning of the grammatical forms in question. There can be no rigid dividing line between “implicature” and “meaning”, however, since in historical change yesterday’s “implicature” often becomes today’s “meaning”. Certainly if the speaker regularly intends the hearer to draw a certain inference from a given grammatical form, and in fact counts on that inference being drawn (i.e. it becomes a “conventional implicature”), the stage is set for the inference to become part of the “meaning” of the form. Since the narrative/sequential auxiliary in Supyire can only be used under certain well-defined conditions, one of which is that the chronological sequence *must* be observed

(events can overlap or occasionally be simultaneous, but not out of order), it seems clear that the speaker intends the hearer to understand this to be indicated by the use of the auxiliary.

36. See Carlson 1986 and chapter 15 below for a description of the switch-reference system of Supyire.
37. It looks very much like the perfect marker *à* (this would explain the low tone on the final vowel of *asi*), but it is unclear how the meaning (sequential with middle strength thematic continuity) could be derived from a composition of the perfect with a non-finite form. It could be that the original meaning of the perfect (possibly 'come', as noted above) could have been at the origin of this construction.
38. The leaves referred to are dead leaves with which the yam mounds have been covered in order to keep in moisture till the yams sprout.
39. The subject refers to a very old man who was incapable of walking. He used to be brought outside and 'spread out' in the sun—the verb is the one used for spreading out grain or cotton to dry. *Cànŋke* is 'sunlight' or 'daylight', and is the common word for 'day' as well'.
40. The subject refers to a fish caught by the speaker. Supyire fishermen are as prone to exaggeration as fishermen elsewhere.
41. *Cógó* 'manner, way, means' is borrowed from Bambara *cogo*, with the same meaning.
42. Occasionally one even hears [d] instead of [r] (or [s]). Since [r] is an allophone of /d/ in unstressed medial syllables, it is not surprising that some speakers, when for whatever reason they introduce a slight pause just after the future auxiliary, interpret the [r] that normally appears there as /d/.
43. To 'answer the yes' means to supply the interjections and murmurs of assent at the end of each breath group during a monologue by another speaker. The speaker of this example is about to launch into a narrative, and wants to make sure that someone is designated to 'answer the yes'.
44. This is evidence that the original form of the auxiliary was *bá*.
45. *Jínà* is borrowed (via Bambara) from Arabic *jinniy*. In the Supyire cosmology it refers to tutelary spirits which inhabit streams.
46. The construction is rather similar in meaning to the French expression *Voici que...*
47. Although the perfect auxiliary is written separately in this construction, for most speakers the vowel following the glottal stop is not in reality long (/náhá à/ becomes [ná?à]). Note that the low tone of the perfect auxiliary replaces the high on the final vowel of *náhá*.
48. Compare the similar construction with *sáhá* described in section 9.2.5 above.
49. The development from 'create' to 'reputed' probably went through some such stage as 'imagine'. Compare the development of English *fic-*

tion from the past participle of the Latin verb *finger* ‘shape, fashion, feign’.

50. Buwara was the first inhabitant of the region including Kampwo, according to legend. This speaker believes, though he is not certain, that Buwara was a Samogo (a Mande-speaking people whose territory at present divides the Supyire from the central Senufo groups) who came from Kong, a city in northern Côte d’Ivoire.
51. *Ja* is also used as a main verb in the common expression for ‘thank you’: *Mu a jà*. Literally this means ‘You have overcome.’
52. Following a high tone, *mé* is pronounced a step lower, as if it were mid tone, due to downstep (see chapter 2, section 2.3.5.1). Since nothing follows in the clause (and the tone register is generally reset during the pause following the *mé*), the terracing effect of the downstep is not felt. To avoid encumbering the orthography with apostrophes, therefore, the negative particle following a high tone is simply written as if it were mid, i.e. *mɛ*. The same practice is followed for other high tone clause final particles such as the relative clause marker *ké* and the interrogative marker *bé*.
53. Coming at the edge of the clause as it does, this looks superficially like evidence for the analysis of negation as it is treated in propositional calculus, as an operator on a proposition. The placement of negative marking at the periphery of a clause is extremely rare (see Dahl 1979), which Horn (1989) takes to be good evidence that such an analysis is misguided. The value of the Senufo “evidence” is of course considerably vitiated by the occurrence of negative marking in the auxiliary position in most tense-aspects, a placement that is cross-linguistically common.
54. *Pyenga* ‘compound, home’ has a mid-low tune, the final low of which floats and docks on the following negative marker.
55. *Yatɔɔrɔ*, literally ‘things with legs’, has the same mid-low tone tune as *pyenga* referred to in the previous note.
56. Thus in spite of its consistent clause final negative marking, Supyire also abides by the “Neg First principle” (Horn 1989: 449, quoting Jespersen) to the effect that negative marking is placed first or near the beginning of the sentence in the interests of clearness. Without such early marking, of course, the hearer would be unaware that the current clause was negative until it was terminated.
57. Horn (1989: 190), picking up on a hint in Clark (1974), uses the term *suppose* rather than *presuppose* to label this “entertainment” of the affirmative, which obviously does not qualify as presupposition in the strict sense. As Givón (1989) points out, the information must be assumed to be backgrounded in order for the negative to be pragmatically felicitous, and this same notion covers the other cases of the use of the combination *nyɛ na*.

58. One such segmental negative auxiliary (*i*) appears in the speech of very old people in a very restricted environment (see below). Cebaara has a present tense negative auxiliary with low tone: *ò* (Mills 1987).
59. The Wara is one of the three major masks of the Kampwo Supyire (the other two being the Komo and the Kono), and corresponds to the Nya of the Bambara. The *sijéré* is the annual ceremony in which the mask “comes out”.
60. The cognate of this auxiliary in Sucite (*yì*) is apparently the common way of marking negation in the auxiliary position (Garber 1987: 36).
61. *Siga* ‘doubt’ is borrowed from Bambara *siga* or *sigi* ‘to doubt’.
62. *Jàcyí* ‘importance’ is borrowed from Bambara *jàti* ‘to count, consider’.
63. *Pitéti* ‘maybe’ is borrowed from French *peut-être*.
64. The etymology of the second part of the word is unknown. It may be related to *-fyìn* ‘white’, but the tone is wrong.
65. This means that the clause must be recognizable as a relative clause on other grounds. The use of a relative pronoun is of course diagnostic, but these are used only in a minority of relative clauses. In the absence of a relative pronoun, the placement of a noun phrase in focus position at the head of the clause, coupled with the *absence* of the negative identifier which marks a negative cleft (see below), suffices to indicate a relative clause.
66. The copular auxiliary *nyɛ* in this example is required when the progressive occurs in a presuppositional clause, and is not the negative marker.
67. *Karadantí* is borrowed from French *carte d’identité*. The speaker is a student visiting the zoo in Bamako and wishing to claim the student discount on the entrance fee. A student identity card is required to obtain the discount, but the speaker has forgotten to bring his.
68. Since the copula *nyɛ* does not take any negative marking in auxiliary position, the assigning of the negation to the main clause in sentences like this must be by default: the complement clause is affirmative, consequently the negation must be located in the main clause.
69. It may seem odd to speak of obligation in connection with rain. This example, however, is taken from a discussion about rainmakers.
70. *Jàtìgè* is borrowed from Bambara *jàtigi* ‘host’. The proverb refers to the fact that in order to obtain a wife you must have a host in her village who will be your intermediary with her family.

Chapter 10: Transitivity and voice

1. Some complications are added by the practice of placing focused items first in the clause, but even here direct objects are distinguishable from subjects entirely in structural terms (see chapter 11 for details of the focus construction). Zero anaphora of both subject and direct object is

also common. In the case of subject it is marked (at least in many clause types) by special conjunctions. In the case of the direct object, the antecedent must be only one or two clauses back, and in practice there is almost no confusion.

2. In poetry the “demoted” patient may simply follow the verb without any postpositional marking, as if it were a predicate nominal. This may be an archaic usage, in view of the fact that many other syntactic and morphological phenomena found in poetry are demonstrably archaic.
3. *Bikí* is derived from the trade name Bic.
4. Verbs which often take a complement clause (such as *jwo* ‘say’ and *lógó* ‘hear’) were excluded from these calculations because of the special difficulties they present. Also excluded were the verbs treated in section 10.2.2 below.
5. Laughren (1973: 148-154) reports a morphological difference between passive and active in Tyebari which to the best of my knowledge is not found in any other Senufo language. According to Laughren, in a passive (which she calls ‘stative’) the final vowel of the subject is lengthened, and in addition there are tonal differences between the passive and active. Compare the following (I have changed Laughren’s transcription to match that used in this grammar): *mɛ pwɔ* ‘I have swept.’ *mɛ kɪ pwɔ* ‘I have swept it.’ *kí: pwɔ* ‘It is swept/has been swept.’ Unfortunately Laughren does not provide passive sentences in different tenses, nor with noun subjects. The most that one can say from the data she gives is that there appears to be a unique passive construction marked in the auxiliary position in at least one tense-aspect (the perfect?).
6. The 12.8 figure is actually misleadingly high. The verb involved is *jya* ‘break’. Of the total of 5 passives, 4 occur in one conversation where there is a great deal of repetition. If that text is eliminated from the calculations, the percentage of passives for *jya* is just 4.5%, a figure more in keeping with the rest of the verbs in the group. This points to a methodological weakness in the calculations: no effort was made to ensure that the data points were independent of each other. Since repetition and echoing are well established phenomena, the bits of data counted are not actually all of equal value as an indication of behavior. The figures presented should therefore be taken as only a rough guide.
7. Others are Latvian, Urdu, Kupia, Amharic, Igbo, Tera, Songhai, Fijian etc. See Siewierska (1984:35). One example of what might be considered an agent phrase occurs in the corpus, in a relative clause:

kà Sukwoo rí ní-pá ' jyá ñgé-mù cyé é...
 and Sikasso NARR IP-come break DEM-REL hand in
 ‘and Sikasso came to be sacked by whom...’

While this would seem to have definite possibilities as a means of expressing the agent in a passive, all the speakers I consulted on the issue refused to produce any parallel examples. In view of this, it would perhaps be better to translate the above phrase as 'by means of whom'.

8. *Foff* 'fault' is borrowed from French *faute*.
9. *Pàrské* 'because' is borrowed from French *parce que*.
10. *Cógó* 'manner' is borrowed from Bambara *cogo* or *coko* 'manner'. The native Supyire equivalent, *-ŋkaN-* is used in the last clause of the example.
11. The time clauses in this calculation are simple 'when' clauses. Excluded are 'before', 'since' and 'while' clauses.
12. The low tone on the first syllable of *bere* originates with the perfect auxiliary and spreads through the pronoun direct object onto the verb. This tone rule is not a mark of transitivity *per se*.
13. This bit of inaccurate natural history is from a discourse on a kind of fetish that can be made from a cast off python skin if it is not swallowed by the python.
14. *Táán* does have one idiomatic transitive use, however. It derives obliquely from the expression

U seèga à pen.
 his/her skin.DEF PERF be.bad.tasting
 'S/he is lonely.' lit. 'His/her skin is bad tasting.'

From this a transitive counterpart may be derived:

U à seège pen mìn nà.
 s/he PERF skin.DEF make.bad.tasting me on
 'S/he has made me miss him/her (by going on a trip, for example).'

This has given rise to its contrary, using the verb *táán* transitively:

U à seège tààn mìn nà.
 s/he PERF skin.DEF make.sweet me on
 'S/he has kept me company (and thus prevented me from being lonely).' lit. 'S/he has sweetened the skin on me.'

15. The use of the reflexive is evidence for the grammaticalization of the noun *ŋkèrè* 'side' as part of a complex postposition. See chapter 5, section 5.7.2.
16. *Kánù* 'love' is borrowed from Bambara *kanu* 'love'.
17. Among these languages are Germanic, Slavic, and Romance languages in Indo-European. See Siewierska (1984:162ff) for a list of non-Indo-European languages with reflexive passives, and for a description of the phenomenon.

Chapter 11: Complement clauses

1. This does not include nominalized verbs. This subject will be returned to below.
2. See note 8 however.
3. *Míírí* is borrowed from Bambara *miiri* ‘think’.
4. *Tlibíí* (singular *tūŋi*) has a wider field of reference than the English gloss ‘fathers’. The prototypical *tūŋi* is one’s biological father, but the term also is used to cover all paternal male blood relatives of ascending generations. It thus here could cover her father and his brothers and her grandfather and his brothers and so forth.
5. *Sishyêboro* ‘sack for going to the bush’ (i.e. a bag to hold all the things necessary for working in the bush: tools, food, etc.) defies simple translation.
6. The subject NP is focused in the main clause, placing contrastive emphasis on the *older* brother (i.e. on the possessor of *la*, even though the coreferential pronoun required by the focus construction refers to *la*).
7. Note that subjunctive complements even when they cannot take the *na* complementizer require the use of an emphatic pronoun to show coreference with the subject of the main clause.
8. It is probable that only highly topical objects can be “raised” in this way to the main clause. This pattern of coreference also appears to be possible if the complement direct object is focused, that is, if it is clefted. The corresponding unfocused but raised direct object is ungrammatical, unless, as in example (50) it is highly topical. Thus compare the following:

- a. *Ŋkùù m̀i a sà ñ-tà Zhyé ' ú á b̀.*
 chicken I PERF go IP-find Zhye he.COMP PERF kill
 ‘It was a chicken that I went and found Zhye had killed.’
- b. **M̀i a sà ñkùù tà Zhyé ' ú á b̀.*

In (a) the direct object of the complement clause, ‘chicken’, has been “raised” to be the direct object of the main clause, and subsequently moved into focus position. The corresponding sentence with ‘chicken’ as unfocused direct object of the main clause as in (b) is unacceptable. The same pattern of coreference is also possible with manipulative verbs which allow “raising”, such as *pyi* ‘make’:

- Ŋkùù m̀i à pyi Zhyé ' ú á b̀.*
 chicken I PERF make Zhye he.COMP PERF kill
 ‘It was a chicken that I made Zhye kill.’

The corresponding sentence with ‘chicken’ as the unfocused but “raised” direct object of the main clause is unacceptable. See the discussion of questioning items in complement clauses in chapter 14, section 14.2.3. Note that all of these examples (except (50) in the text) are elicited. The whole question of focus in complex sentences needs more study.

9. Comrie (1985: 107) describes a similar situation in Russian.
10. These have been labeled “logophoric” pronouns by Hyman (1979).
11. *Báará* ‘work’ is borrowed from Bambara *baara* ‘work’.
12. The use of the potential tense in the main clause in this example is meant to convey hypotheticality. The assertion is that, in the face of the evidence that had just been revealed in the preceding discourse, the referent of the subject would have to admit that the addressee is older than he is.
13. *Séñpíí* ‘writings’ (singular *séméñi*) is related to the verb *sémé* ‘write’. Both are borrowed from Bambara *seben* ‘paper, writing, write’.
14. This checking of the grave before the corpse is put in it is a part of the funeral rites.
15. *Káálá* ‘read, learn, study, teach’ is borrowed from Bambara *kalan* ‘read, learn, study, teach’.
16. *Kàkàlà* ‘bastard, debauched person’ is borrowed from Bambara *kàkàlà* with the same meaning.
17. *Té* ‘tea’ is borrowed from French *thé*.

Chapter 12: Focus and topic constructions

1. The absence of any copula in the affirmative, and the absence of any relative clause morphology or syntax, makes the “cleft” look very much like Y-movement. The construction seems in fact to cover the pragmatic functions of both clefts and Y-movement (i.e. both strong and somewhat weaker contrast). I have chosen to label it cleft because of the use of a copular element in the negative, and because of the use of a place-holding pronoun when the subject is focused. As pointed out by Givón (1990, chapter 16), in a subject initial language (like English or Supyire) a true Y-movement construction should not be able to code focus on the subject, since it is already in initial position.
2. On the face of it this contradicts some predictions based on the “accessibility hierarchy” (see Keenan and Comrie 1977, Keenan 1985). Pronoun retention is typically lower on the hierarchy than gapping. Supyire is thus unusual in using pronoun retention with subject, which is the highest point on the hierarchy, and gapping with direct object, which is lower. Because of the peculiar word order of the Senufo lan-

guages (with an auxiliary between the subject and direct object), gapping is an ideal strategy for direct object, but not at all for subject.

3. Ordinarily a direct object consisting of a simple anaphoric pronoun should take the (floating) low tone of the perfect auxiliary. The reasons why it does not do so in this example (and a handful of others) are unclear, but probably have something to do with the exclamatory nature of the utterance.
4. The basic meaning of *wyere* (definite *wyèère*) is 'leaves'. Herbalist practices have led to the extension of the word to cover both 'medicine' and 'poison', as here.
5. *Lakyárá* is borrowed from Bambara *lakari* 'antidote'.
6. *Sásá* is an intensifier that occurs only with *númê* 'now'. The combination means 'right now', 'this instant'. Its use by the speaker of the example is an exaggeration, since the person referred to had died several months previously.
7. The high tone on the subject pronoun is also found in the realis (high tone) complement clause type (see chapter 11, section 11.3). The high-low tune on the identifier pronoun is surprising, since normally these pronouns, which have a strong mid basic tune, simply allow a preceding high to spread onto them, wiping out the mid tone. The source of the final low remains unexplained at present.
8. The genitive particle in a few cases is not used for focus as in the above examples, but to show that a genitive construction is intended in certain cases where there could be another interpretation. Thus, since sometimes adjectives can be used substantivally, occasionally the combination noun+adjective could actually be intended to be genitive+noun. The following phrase could thus have the two meanings indicated:

Dàhá nin-jwoŋf

Daha ADJ-take.DEF(GIS)

- a. 'Daha taken' (e.g. in 'I saw Daha taken from the room.')
- b. 'Daha's taking' i.e. his salary

The use of the genitive particle unambiguously forces the second interpretation, but does not necessarily indicate any focus on the genitive noun:

Dàhá ' ú nin-jwoŋf

Daha GEN ADJ-take.DEF(GIS)

'Daha's salary'

A difficulty of another sort arises in participial nominalizations in which the deverbal adjective is accompanied by an adpositional phrase. Since the adpositional phrase intervenes between the genitive and its head, the

only way to show that a genitive construction is intended is to insert the genitive particle in front of the head noun:

pòòŋi nu-vworoní lwòhé e
 catfish.DEF ADJ-come.out.DEF water.DEF from

u tunmpé
 GEN noise.DEF

‘the noise of the catfish coming out of the water’

Here again there is no hint of any kind of special focus. A possible explanation of the distribution of functions of the genitive particle may be that it was formerly used in all genitive constructions, but was subsequently lost in ordinary genitives. It was retained in those cases where it was necessary to indicate that a genitive construction was intended, and also in those cases where there was a special focus (accompanied by intonational stress) on the possessor noun phrase.

9. This does not hold for left dislocated time phrases. See below for examples of these.
10. The *cìcàhaníkíí* are dried gourds with the seeds still inside them. They are played by a chorus of women who sing to their own accompaniment. The primary meaning of the word translated ‘play’ is ‘hit’, which is entirely appropriate for a percussion instrument.
11. Part of the funeral celebration is a ‘last dance’ for the deceased, in which the body is danced through the village by six young men.

Chapter 13: Relative clauses

1. Levinson (1983: 183) states that non-restrictive relative clauses are presupposed since they are not affected by the negation of the main clause. He seems to ignore the fact that restrictive relative clauses are not affected by the negation of the main clause either. Parenthetical assertions are not affected by negation of the surrounding material: ‘John—he’s my second cousin, you know—plays/doesn’t play the harmonica very well.’ It is clear that in the case of such parentheticals, non-restrictive relative clauses included, imperviousness to main clause negation cannot be taken as a litmus test of presupposition.
2. This is a feature shared by many languages in the area, including Bambara (the head-internal embedded relative clauses of Bambara much cited (mostly from Bird 1968) in the literature (cf. Keenan 1985, Givón 1990) are less preferred than the unembedded variety, as Bird himself states). Keenan (1985) and Comrie (1981) use the term “corelative” for unembedded relative clauses. Keenan asserts that corelatives are not

noun phrases, and thus are not relative clauses properly speaking. The variety found in Supyire, however, have a few, albeit perhaps residual, nominal features. It will be shown below that the relative clause plus main clause construction has certain similarities to the topic plus main clause construction. We will continue to use the more transparent label of unembedded relative clause.

3. For the tone of *ké*, see section 2.3.5.1 of chapter 2. It obeys the same rules as other clause final high tone particles, such as the negative marker *mé* (see chapter 9, note 52).
4. *Cinmpyji* ‘blood relatives’ are more precisely members of one’s patri-clan.
5. The verb glossed ‘announce’ is literally ‘whistle’. I have not yet discovered the reason for its collocation with ‘death announcement’.
6. The falling tone and the [o] vowel of the relative clause marker in this example are due to its amalgamation with the clause final politeness marker *yō*.
7. *Sòròlashí* ‘a soldier’ is borrowed from Bambara *sòròdasi* ‘soldier’, which is borrowed in turn from French *soldat*.
8. This type of relative clause is similar to the prevailing type in Bambara. Bambara does not have a procedure for focusing items by placing them at the head of the clause. In relative clauses, the relativized noun phrase always remains in its ordinary place in the clause, and is followed by the relative determiner/pronoun *min*. The resumptive noun phrase in the main clause is coded as a demonstrative. The major difference between the Supyire and the Bambara relative clause is the presence of the clause final marker in Supyire, which has no counterpart in Bambara. Following is an example of a Bambara relative clause construction, with the Supyire translation beneath:

BAMBARA:	<i>N'</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>fâli</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>sàn,</i>
	I	PAST	donkey	REL	buy
SUPYIRE:	<i>Mii</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>dùfâànŋke</i>	<i>ŋké-mù</i>	<i>shwò gé,</i>
	I	PERF	donkey.DEF	DEM-REL	buy REL
BAMBARA:	<i>o</i>	<i>sà-ra</i>	<i>kunun.</i>		
	DEM	die-PAST	yesterday		
SUPYIRE:	<i>kura</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kwù</i>	<i>táŋjáà.</i>	
	it(EMPH)	PERF	die	yesterday	

‘The donkey which I bought died yesterday (lit.: ‘I bought which donkey), that one died yesterday.’

9. See chapter 9, note 45.

10. *Kàlifá* 'entrust' is borrowed from Bambara *kàlifá* 'entrust'.
11. *Tùbabú* 'white person' is borrowed from Bambara *tùbàbu* 'white person', ultimately from Arabic.
12. *Jɔmbílá* 'freeing of slaves' is borrowed from Bambara *jòn* 'slave' and *bìla* 'let go, leave'.
13. Note that the 'whoever' series of pronouns in English also require singular agreement.
14. *Ifjà* 'do one's best' is borrowed from Bambara *jijà*, with the same meaning.
15. *Keshú* is borrowed from French *caisse*.
16. Leaving the relativized noun phrase in its ordinary place in the clause rather than "extracting" it means of course that positions can be relativized which are not allowed in a language like English, hence the awkward translation.
17. *Dóóní* 'a bit' is borrowed from Bambara *dɔnin* 'a bit'.

Chapter 14: Non-declarative speech acts

1. For a detailed attempt at a semantically based typology of different kinds of imperative speech acts, see Hamblin (1987: 1-45).
2. The various characteristics of the speech act of manipulation discussed in this section are drawn from Givón 1990, chapter 18.
3. Normally the imperfective of *pa* 'come' has strong mid tone: *ma*. In the imperative it can keep this mid tone, or it can be pronounced with a high tone as in the example. The latter tune is probably a relict of the original tune, which can be reconstructed as high on the basis of comparative evidence.
4. The subjunctive auxiliary *sí* has the same phonological forms as the narrative/sequential auxiliary (see chapter 9, section 9.2.6).
5. The low tone on the imperfective subjunctive auxiliary is due to the floating low tone preceding the verb *wá* 'go'. This verb, which is borrowed from Bambara *wà* 'go', is the only verb with a lexical floating low tone recorded so far in Kampwo Supyire.
6. *Kántugo* 'back' is used metaphorically to signify one's sympathetic acquaintance, in particular members of one's patriclan (cf. English 'backing'). Note that the final vowel of *Kile* assimilates to the vowel of the following auxiliary. The combination is thus pronounced [kla:Ra].
7. In verbal clauses, *la* has invariant mid tone. When it follows a predicate nominal, however, it undergoes tonal changes triggered by the noun as if it had weak mid tone.
8. From the context it is clear that the speaker (Dog, in a folktale) expects the reply that Monkey is indeed not well, another way of saying that he is crazy. Positive bias would have expected the confirmation of the

positive counterpart ('Monkey is well') rather than the confirmation of the negative. Note that the English translation 'Isn't Monkey well?' is biased towards a positive response, whereas the translation used in the example is not as obviously so biased. There is nothing in the form of the Supyire corresponding to this difference in English.

9. In the Supyire culture, the 'chiefs of the earth' are different from chiefs of villages. The former have a certain spiritual jurisdiction over the land, but do not actually dispose of it, nor do they have any jurisdiction over people.
10. Recall that *bé* without a question word forms a yes/no question (see section 14.2.1.1 above).
11. The reference is to undoing a curse on the land due to a taboo being broken.
12. *Lerí* 'hour, time' is borrowed from French *l'heure* 'the hour'.
13. *Wyere* literally means 'leaves'. See chapter 12, note 4.
14. There are of course sometimes ways of rephrasing the sentence to exclude the use of a serial construction. With the present example the adpositional marking of instrument case role can be used instead of the serial verb marking, and then the direct object of the main verb can be questioned without difficulty:

ŋàhá u a kwòn ná ŋwɔɔní ì yé?
 what s/he PERF cut with knife.DEF withQ
 'What did s/he cut with the knife?'

15. There is a large body of literature on so-called "indirect speech acts". See in particular Brown and Levinson (1978), Levinson (1983), and the comments in Givón (1990, chapter 18).
16. The form of this question is highly unusual. The interrogative determiner obviously belongs with the initial noun phrase, but is separated from it by the rest of the clause. No other example of this sort occurs in the corpus, nor was I able to induce anyone into producing parallel examples. *Pùcèrji* are members of one's patriclan who have been married. Since most villages consist only of members of one patriclan plus their wives (children belong automatically to their father's patriclan), and since the clans are exogamous (at least in theory), the adult female members of one's patriclan usually reside in another village. On the verb *wyi* see chapter 13, note 5.

18. Formerly, instead of the cash bride price which is the custom now, men farmed for the families of their future wives.

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Subject index

Pages where a subject receives its main treatment are indicated in bold. To avoid confusion with page numbers, 'gender 1', 'gender 2', etc. are written out as 'gender one', 'gender two', etc.

- ability modality 296, 371-374, 424, 425
 accessibility hierarchy 399
 active verb 250, 251, 322, 459
 imperfective 137, 142
 inceptive aspect with 323
 intensifier with 305
 past perfect with 355
 perfect with 328, 330, 341
 perfective with 338
 'still' tense with 346
 terminative aspect with 326
 adjective
 compound 165
 in noun phrase 222-228, 236
 independent 165
 morphology 164-166
 participle 560
 prefix 41, 165, 560
 root 164-165, 214, 279
 scope of focus and 467
 superlative 223
 adverb 172-177
 focused 239, 467
 ideophone 53, 174-175, 280
 in copular clause 238, 245, 246
 in participial clause 423
 in verbal clause 239, 267, 278-281
 location
 locative 18, 38, 175, 244, 245, 246, 267, 278, 285, 294, 377, 472, 569
 following locative relative clause 566
 in indirect speech 443
 in relative clause 496
 in simultaneous time clause 558
 manner 173, 278, 472, 474
 marking aspect 308
 marking epistemic modality 309
 quantity 173, 278, 298, 321, 325, 345, 347, 364, 386
 in concessive conditional 579
 scope of interrogation and 530
 scope of negation and 387
 serial verb as manner adverb 298-306
 time 175-177, 278, 333, 336, 340, 472
 in indirect speech 443
 tone 42, 53
 word order 278-279, 280, 376
 adverbial clause 549-590
 additive 585
 comparison 568-570
 concessive 582-583
 conditional, see conditional
 discourse-thematic function of 588-590
 following a left-dislocated topic 480
 in yes/no question 396
 locative 566-567
 relative clause functioning as 499
 manner 549, 567
 modality in 375
 purpose 349, 370, 375, 463, 585-588
 marked by *ba...me* 587-588
 marked by *ni* 587
 negative 586
 subjunctive 585-586
 with locative nominalization 588
 reason 580-581
 result 581-582
 scope of negation and 396
 subjunctive in 522
 substitutive 584-585
 tense in 332
 time, see time clause

- adverbial phrase
 - locative 417, 475
 - focused 500
 - preposed 483
 - scope of interrogation and 530
- adversative particle 592-596
- 'again' tense 346-347
- agent 120, 258, 262, 264, 269, 287, 401, 407, 412, 436
 - accessibility to subject 399
 - in antipassive 410
 - in causative 413, 415
 - in impersonal passive 406
 - in procedural discourse 404
 - non-referential 403
 - of passive 250, 401, 403, 405
 - singular agent with reduplicated verb 327
 - subject 256, 257, 264, 267
 - agreement, see gender: agreement, number: agreement, and definiteness agreement
- animate 97, 237, 419, 427
 - direct object 263
 - source 270
- apodosis
 - as reply to conditional 'what about...?' question 546
 - in counterfactual conditional 576
- approximants 17-19
 - occlusion of 17
- aspect 283, 284, 309-328
 - aspectual serial verb 294, 295, 307, 308
 - auxiliary 238, 241, 283, 308, 353, 469
 - combination with negative 347, 376, 379, 380, 385
 - combination with tense 309, 353-362
 - in complement clause 424, 441, 445, 448
 - in imperative 521
 - in narrative 349
 - in nominalized clause 423
 - in serial verb construction 288, 289
 - non-perfect 254, 255
 - setting stage in narrative 597
- associative case 179, 249, 275, 473
 - relativized 493
- augmentative 99-102
- auxiliary 7, 127, 156, 177-178, 238, 239, 241, 243, 268, 307, 308
 - combinations of 353-362
 - in adverbial clauses 550
 - in present tense 329
 - lack of
 - in imperative 517, 520
 - in zero subjunctive 522
 - modality 309, 363
 - requiring intransitive prefix 371
 - serial verb developing into 289, 296, 354, 372
 - tone 53, 61, 62-63, 380
- benefactive 274-275
 - postposition 20, 274-275
 - serial verb 297
- case, see role, and individual cases: associative, benefactive, dative, instrument, locative, manner, time, standard of comparison
- recoverability
 - cleft construction 469, 471
 - constituent question 533
 - left dislocation 480
 - relative clause 491
 - serial verb marking 294, 296-298
- causative
 - morphological 14, 25, 43, 44, 141, 142-144, 268, 269, 413-414, 415, 418, 424
 - periphrastic 413, 429-438
 - serial verb construction 287
 - transitive verb with causative meaning 250, 255, 268, 415
- clause final marker 186-187, 469, 473, 474
 - attenuation 596

- constituent question 528, 539
- locative question 11, 541
- negative 376-379, 512, 524, 568
- negative question 38, 528
- placement after complement clause 464
- relative 11, 343, 488, 541, 551
- time clause 11, 551, 556, 564
- yes/no question 527, 528
- cleft focus construction 235-236, 237, 239, 380, 390, 459, 468-477, 485, 488, 489
- copular clause 475-477
 - in constituent question 517, 530, 533, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 544
 - in relative clause 500
 - verbal clause 468-475
- clitic 7, 11, 32, 38-39, 40, 86, 133, 156, 157, 158, 177, 178, 238, 285, 343
- collective 103-104
- complement clause 421-465
 - anticipatory pronoun 421, 426
 - cognition verb 390, 391, 422, 443-457, 597
 - degree of integration with main clause 425
 - extraposition 421
 - implicative verb 430, 433, 452
 - in two-clause conditional 572
 - indicative (*na*) 272, 390, 422, 423, 446-452, 501
 - functioning as comparison clause 569
 - indirect question 273, 422, 580
 - logophoric coreference in 237, 444-446, 501
 - manipulative verb 362, 370, 391, 392, 421, 422, 429-438, 448, 449, 511, 544
 - subjunctive in complement of 600
 - modality in 363, 375
 - modality verb 324, 363, 370, 391, 392, 394, 421, 425-429, 445, 572
 - subjunctive in complement of 600
 - negation in 389, 390
 - Neg-raising 393-395
 - nominalized 324, 423, 425, 428-429, 437-438
 - perception verb 343, 392, 423, 425, 438-443, 452, 511, 559, 603
 - effect on switch reference 603
 - functioning as concessive clause 583
 - question 454-457
 - questioning items in 543-545
 - raising in 430
 - realis (high tone) 272, 273, 343, 362, 363, 391, 392, 422, 423, 430, 431-435, 438-443, 603
 - functioning as relative clause 511
 - functioning as simultaneous time clause 559
 - sentential subject 457-460
 - speech verb 237, 258, 272, 390, 391, 422, 434, 435, 443-446, 443-457, 602
 - subjunctive 272, 337, 349, 363, 370, 391, 392, 394, 421-422, 425-428, 430, 431-437, 522, 600
 - syntactic status of 513, 514
 - verbs which take 272-274
- compound 116-125
 - classifying genitive 204
 - descriptive genitive 229
 - exceptions to glottalization in 89
 - from serial verb construction 124-125, 457
 - loose 428
 - nasal-final root in 16
 - noun-noun 116-119
 - noun-verb 119-124
 - ordinal number 212
 - phrasal 125
 - reduplicated verb 231
 - rhotacization in 16
 - stress in 7
 - tone in 57, 58, 59, 66
 - vowel lengthening in 33

- with individualizer 99
- concession
 - in contrastive coordinate clause 595
 - in simultaneous time clause 559
 - marked by *ba* 220
- concessive clause 582-583, see also
 - conditional: concessive
 - similarity to substitutive clause 584
 - similarity to *yo* clause 597
- concord, see gender: agreement
- conditional 346, 368, 375, 570-580
 - auxiliary 11-12, 293, 351, 362, 371, 375, 571
 - concessive 571, 578-579
 - counterfactual 356, 369, 571, 576-578
 - in time clause 351, 551, 553, 562, 589
 - in narrative 554
 - indirect question complement 454-457, 580
 - irrealis 570, 571-572
 - low probability 570, 572-573
 - negative 385, 390, 570, 574-576
 - source of imperative 524
 - relative clause 507-509, 580
 - two-clause 572, 577, 579
 - 'what about' question 546
 - with consecutive construction 293
 - with progressive 362
 - with remote future 367
 - with serial construction 293
- conjunction
 - clausal 184-185, 283, 523
 - consecutive 283, 327
 - coordinating 532
 - 'but' 593
 - 'however' 592
 - 'or' 596
 - derived from preposition 179
 - narrative 478, 514, 591, 598, 604
 - and switch reference 602
 - different subject 350, 351, 480, 514, 604
 - same subject 20, 36, 283, 319, 320, 337, 349, 350, 351, 359, 460, 483, 484, 558, 563, 565, 599
 - subordinating 377, 550
 - 'because' 581
 - 'before' 555
 - 'if' 572, 573
 - 'if' counterfactual 577
 - 'instead of' 584
 - 'like' 568
 - 'since' 564, 565
 - 'so that' 586, 587
 - 'till' 561
- noun phrase 167, 179, 183-184, 268
 - additive 183, 232, 572, 591
 - alternative 183, 210, 233, 532, 596
 - distributive 184, 215, 304, 328
- tone 56, 61, 62, 67, 70
- connective
 - phrasal
 - 'because' 580
 - concessive 582, 583
 - 'if' 573
 - 'if' counterfactual 577
 - 'like' 570
 - 'otherwise' 575
 - 'so that' 587
 - 'till' 563
 - serial verb 283, 285, 289
 - realis 20, 38, 293, 337, 577, 598
 - subjunctive 291, 520, 521
- consecutive construction 283-289, 293, 598
- consonant mutation 16, 130, 140
- control
 - in causative 413, 415, 418, 429, 430
 - in selection of subject 237
- coordinate
 - clause 283, 549, 591-597
 - negation in 395
 - noun phrase
 - conjunction 232-233
 - disjunction 233
- copula 183, 239, 240, 241-245, 276, 326, 345, 368, 384

- as auxiliary 177, 241, 295, 307, 309, 311, 315, 324, 342, 347, 348, 353-358, 364, 365, 369, 375, 379, 382, 469
- emphatic 244, 364, 365, 383
- in negative cleft 474
- in negative relative clause 389, 512
- locative 175, 244-245, 345, 359, 365, 382
 - in different subject narrative clause 600
 - in progressive narrative clause 600
- neutral 242
- non-present 242-244
 - in *bà...mé* purpose clause 587
 - in conditional phrasal connective 573
 - in two-clause concessive conditional 579
 - in two-clause conditional 572
 - in two-clause counterfactual conditional 577
- past tense 329, 342, 348, 353, 369, 375, 384
- subject placed after 475, 476
- tense distinction in 329
- with progressive auxiliary 314
- copular clause 238, 239, 240, 245, 241-249
 - focus in 459, 475-477
 - locative 245-246, 365
- coreference
 - anaphoric and emphatic pronouns 191
 - in adverbial clause 462
 - in complement of manipulative verb 436
 - in complement of modality verb 424, 425
 - in complement of perception verb 442
 - in complement speech verb 444
 - in consecutive clause 284
 - in loose constructions 501
 - in relative clause 462
 - logophoric 444-446, 501
- coreferential noun phrase (in main clause following a relative clause) 488
 - absence of 499, 504
 - coding of 501-505
 - emphatic pronoun 489, 501
 - first and second person 503, 505
 - focused 505
 - following semi-embedded relative clause 513
 - gender conflict and 504
 - genitive 489
 - locative adverb 566
 - omitted following locative relative clause 567
 - omitted following time relative clause 551
 - second person pronoun subject 489, 500
 - with more specific meaning than antecedent 502
 - with quantifier 503
- dative 238, 248, 274
 - causee 435
 - direct object 436, 449, 453, 458
 - indirect object 269-271, 297, 435, 445, 451, 452, 458, 460
 - postposition 274
 - relativized 492, 499
 - serial verb 297
 - shift 270, 271, 297, 400, 435, 436
 - subject 253, 255
- definite
 - direct object 411
 - head of relative clause 488
 - predicate nominal 241
 - referential, see referential: definite
 - subject 240, 247, 387
 - suffix 77
- definiteness agreement 169, 196, 199, 207, 216, 222, 224, 225
- deictic
 - adverb 175-177, 285, 443

- copula 242, 244, 345, 358, 365, 382
- demonstrative 189, 194, 494
 - in relative clause 496
- identifier pronoun 159, 240, 241, 495
- motion verb 294-295, 374, 443
- tense 329
- deixis in complement clause 443, 453
- demonstrative, see pronoun: demonstrative, and determiner: demonstrative
- denasalization 34, 93
- deontic modality 228, 555
- derivation
 - derivational affix 34
 - noun 105-125
 - verb 142-146, 413
- determiner 155-157, 209
 - definite 'other' 162-163, 190, 198-200, 209
 - demonstrative 77, 189-191, 193
 - emphatic 191-193, 501, 502
 - in relativized noun phrase 488, 494-496
 - indefinite 190, 195-197, 209, 388, 413, 478
 - indefinite 'other' 197-198
 - interrogative 198, 533, 537, 540-541
 - partitive 158, 195-196, 413, 503
 - relative 491, 494, 498, 507, 510, 515
 - simple 191-193, 201
 - use of *nāhā* 'what?' as 537
- detransitivization 262, 401-413, 417
- diminutive 102-103, 163
 - suffix 15, 33, 53, 105-107, 225
- diphthongization 9, 12, 20, 21, 25, 26, 32, 89
- direct object 399, 401, 414
 - anticipatory pronoun 421, 426, 435, 450
 - as pragmatic role 400
 - complement clause 460
 - coreference of reflexive with 417
 - coreference with complement direct object 442
 - coreference with complement subject 421, 430, 432, 449, 511
 - dative 449, 453, 458
 - definite 411
 - focused 469, 473, 474, 544
 - in consecutive construction 284
 - in indicative complement clause 445
 - in serial verb construction 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 301, 302, 303, 373
 - in simultaneous time clause 558
 - instrument 400, 406
 - locative 400, 406
 - modified by realis complement 462
 - nominalized clause 428
 - non-patient 406
 - patient 409, 411, 413, 415, 418
 - plural 312
 - pronoun 284, 286, 334
 - questioned 533, 534, 536
 - clause internal 535
 - in complement of manipulative verb 544
 - in serial verb construction 542
 - reflexive 417
 - relativized 491, 497, 498, 500, 508
 - suppression of 401, 407, 409
 - time 400, 406
 - tone 43, 56, 62, 69, 70
- distributive
 - aspect 327-328
 - noun phrase 215-216
 - conjunction 304
 - relativized 505-507, 509
 - repetition of number 209
- downstep 44, 70, 71-72, 147
- durative 308, 310, 314, 318, 320-321, 325, 330, 345, 354
 - in simultaneous time clause
 - in time clause 553, 555, 559
- inherent 323
- initial point coded by since clause 564
- marked by adverb 321
- marked by imperfective 310, 553
 - in imperative 521

- marked by repetition of verb 284, 286, 320
 serial verb coding 295, 321
 terminal point marked by time clause 550, 561
 with inceptive 295, 322
 with narrative tense 358
 with 'no longer' tense 347
 with 'still' tense 345
- elision**
 of approximant 17-19, 80, 81, 86, 90, 130-131, 133
 of *m* 20, 293, 337
 of *n* 20, 358
 of stop 15, 94, 106, 131, 137, 143, 144
 of vowel 37-38, 94, 131
emphatic modifiers 220-222
epistemic modality 244, 309, 363, 364-369, 393, 555
equi-NP deletion 237, 370, 394, 425, 426, 427, 428, 463, 464, 561, 586, 587
existential clause 238, 246-247
- factive verb** 452, 455
finiteness
 and imperative 520
 and politeness 519
 in narrative 329, 349, 598-602
flapping of stop 10, 11, 37, 83, 84
focus 153, 219, 467-478
 contrastive 467
 genitive construction 477-478
 in yes/no question 530
 in copular clause 459
 in questions 527
 yes/no 530-532
 in relative clause 491, 493, 494, 505, 510, 512
 of assertion 467, 530
 of interrogation 527
- fricatives** 15-16
 nasal-fricative clusters 15-16
future 254, 290, 308, 315, 334-337, 350, 356, 361-362, 363, 365, 380
auxiliary 290, 334, 335, 346, 348, 356, 366, 367, 368, 381, 593
epistemic modality in 309, 367
following irrealis 'when' clause 553
immediate 337
in complement clause 433
in conditional clause 553, 574
in negative conditional 574
in past 309, 356, 369
 in counterfactual conditional 576
irrealis modality of 363
negative 347, 380, 381, 382
prefix 13, 16, 64, 128-129, 290, 334, 336, 365, 371
 following prohibitive auxiliary 524
 following purpose auxiliary 587
remoteness in 309, 336, 367
serial verb construction 290-291
time reference 290, 346, 352, 363, 368
 in irrealis time clause 571
potential 336
progressive with 313
used to convey command 519
with progressive 309, 310, 361
with sequential 352
with *sii* 365
- gender** 75-76, 249
agreement 75
 adjective with coordinate head 236
 adjective with head noun 165, 222, 225
 conflict 116, 234-235, 236, 504
 coreferential noun phrase with relativized noun phrase 506
 descriptive genitive phrase with head noun 228
 determiner with head noun 155, 189, 190, 198

- emphatic modifier with head noun 220
- genitive pronoun with antecedent 200
- identifier pronoun with subject 240, 476
- independent possessive pronoun with antecedent 163, 205, 249
- interrogative determiner with head noun 540
- ordinal number with head noun 169, 212
- resumptive pronoun with coordinate noun phrase 235-236
- resumptive pronoun with focused noun phrase 153, 470
- resumptive pronoun with relativized subject 491, 498
- with noun phrase containing a number 208, 209
- grammatical versus semantic 504
- semantic values of 95-96
- suffix 14, 32, 34, 37, 43, 51
 - basic 76-77
 - definite 36, 48, 52, 54, 67, 69, 77
- gender one
 - nominalization 108, 109, 114, 115, 124, 175
 - plural
 - basic suffix 21, 51, 76, 81, 145
 - definite 81-82, 90
 - pronoun 12
 - as resumptive for first and second person 469
 - plural 39, 406
 - proper noun 234
 - semantic value 96-99, 108, 121
 - singular
 - basic suffix 78-79, 423
 - definite 79
- gender two
 - nominalization 101, 108, 110, 112, 428
 - plural
 - anticipatory pronoun 450
 - basic suffix 40, 84-85
 - definite 85-86
 - semantic value 99-102, 108, 122
 - singular
 - basic suffix 12, 15, 33, 83
 - definite 84, 541
- gender three
 - nominalization 52, 108, 112, 113, 428
 - plural 75
 - basic suffix 12, 51, 76, 89-90, 145
 - definite 90-92
 - pronoun 343, 575
 - anticipatory 426, 435, 450
 - plural 39
 - replacing extraposed sentential subject 459
 - semantic value 102-103, 105, 108, 122
 - singular
 - basic suffix 21, 30, 86-87, 106
 - definite 87-88, 106
- gender four
 - basic suffix 15, 30, 37, 92-93
 - definite 93-94
 - nominalization 108, 428
 - semantic value 103-104, 108, 122
- gender five
 - anticipatory pronoun 450
 - basic suffix 94
 - definite 94-95
 - nominalization 108
 - semantic value 104-105, 108
- genitive 147, 148, 171, 181, 196, 200-204, 213, 226, 227, 230
 - contrastive 163, 200, 205, 477-478
 - descriptive genitive phrase 228-230
 - nominalization in 107, 114, 116, 124
 - particle 163, 200, 205, 477
 - questioned 536
 - reflexive 148, 153, 182, 202, 517
 - tone 55-56, 60, 62, 66, 67-68, 69-70, 370, 525
 - vocative 518

- with pronominal head 163, 205-206, 249
- glottalization 12-13, 83, 89, 375
- habitual 130, 142, 315, 316-320, 328
 - auxiliary 43, 53, 128, 130, 184, 243, 293, 304, 307, 308, 310, 316, 328, 330, 351, 354, 383
 - following 'before' clause 556
 - following irrealis 'when' clause 554
 - in procedural discourse 316-318, 319, 554, 562
 - in serial verb construction 319, 351
 - in 'till' clause 562
 - marked by progressive 288, 313, 346, 354
 - negative 383
 - past 309, 354
 - perfective/imperfective distinction in 316-319
 - with terminative aspect 326
- habitual-sequential 352
 - auxiliary 293
 - coding iterativity in narrative with 554
 - following irrealis 'when' clause 554
 - in comparison clause 569
- hortative 154, 309, 370, 385, 524-526
 - first person plural subject 525
 - in alternative question 532
 - in blessings 525
 - negative 526
 - third person subject 525
- human 427
 - direct object 269
 - gender 96-99, 108, 121, 504
 - question word 536
 - relativized noun phrase 501
- identificational clause 223, 238
 - in negative conditional 575
 - in relative clause 510
 - incompatibility with conditional 573
 - negative 386
- identifier, see also pronoun: identifier
 - negative 568, 575
 - in cleft construction 468, 473, 474
 - in negative conditional 575
 - in phrasal connective 575
- ideophone
 - adverb 53, 174-175
 - verb 44, 139
- imperative 309, 363, 369, 371, 385, 517, 518-524
 - aspectual distinctions in 521
 - bare 43, 310, 311, 369, 520-522
 - imperfective 310, 311, 369, 521
 - negative, see prohibitive
 - non-declarative pronouns in 517
 - non-finiteness in 517
 - plural 523
 - politeness in 520, 521, 522
 - serial verb in 291, 520, 521
 - subjunctive 154, 522-524, 553
 - with complement clause 433
 - with substitutive clause 584
 - with 'till' clause 562
- imperfective 280, 308, 309-311, 316
 - durative and 310, 317, 320
 - imperative 369, 520, 521, 522
 - in serial verb construction 288, 289
 - incompleteness and 311
 - morphology 130-142, 307, 316
 - partial affectedness of patient and 413
 - realis complement clause 422, 424, 439, 441, 462
 - functioning as simultaneous time clause 559
 - same subject conjunction 283
 - simultaneity and 317, 318
 - subjunctive 361, 370, 371
 - auxiliary 291, 522, 524, 599
 - suffix 14, 43, 76
 - ge 137-138
 - li* and variants 130-136, 138
 - 'till' clause 563

- verb form 291, 310, 311, 317, 319, 323, 330, 334, 337, 348, 356, 366, 372
- with formal past 330
- with habitual 316, 319
- with immediate future 337
- with inceptive aspect 322
- with narrative and subjunctive 599
- with progressive 311
- with prohibitive 371, 524
- with still tense 346
- with terminative aspect 326
- implicative verb 430, 433, 452
- inanimate
 - direct object 262
 - subject 265, 418, 429
- inceptive aspect 254, 322-324
 - coded with complement clause 324, 428
 - coded with serial verb 295, 308, 315, 322-323, 360, 374
- indefinite
 - determiner 388, 413, 478, 503, 540
 - in scope of negation 387
 - locative nominalization (used as purpose clause) 588
 - modified by *pàhá* 'what?' 537
 - modified by *jùùll* 'how much?' 539
 - non-referential 195, 196, 204, 387
 - predicate nominal 241
 - pronominal head of genitive construction 249
 - pronoun 387
 - referential, see referential: indefinite
 - subject 240, 376, 387
- indirect object 238, 239, 253, 261, 271-272, 279
 - anticipatory pronoun 451
 - coreference with subject of complement clause 442
 - focused 471, 473
 - in consecutive construction 284
 - in nominalized clause 560
 - in serial verb construction 284, 288, 320
 - in 'since' clause 565
 - locative 255, 259-260, 267-269, 276-277, 284, 285, 294, 297, 410, 412
 - in simultaneous time clause 558
 - questioned 537
 - nominalized manner clause 549, 567
 - participial simultaneous time clause 560
 - patient 262, 400, 401, 406, 409-413
 - peripheral case roles 274
 - questioned 534, 536
 - reflexive 416, 417
 - relativized 492, 498, 500
 - scope of negation and 387
 - with indicative (*na*) complement 451
 - word order 376
- indirect question, see complement clause: indirect question
- instrument 179, 275
 - direct object 400, 406
 - in nominalization 108
 - in noun compound 112, 120, 122
 - relativized 493
 - serial verb marking 286, 296-297
- intensive verb suffix 145-146
- intransitive 417
 - active verb 249, 255-261, 297, 299, 303, 400, 401, 402, 407, 408, 412, 413, 414, 417, 418
 - in causative serial verb construction 287
 - in transitive clause 265, 401, 413, 414
 - with locative object 260
 - with predicate nominal 260-261
 - clause 250, 251, 399, 401, 412
 - passive 408
 - with transitive verb 262, 401, 407, 409
 - converted to causative 424
 - imperative 520

- prefix 43, 127-128, 243, 244, 289, 311, 316, 330, 331, 333, 336, 348, 371, 573, 577
 with focused direct object 469
 prohibitive 524
 questioned complement subject of 543
 with future prefix 334
 with plural subject 312
 irrealis conditional 570, 571-572, 576
 irrealis modality 272, 289, 309, 363
 habitual aspect and 554
 in 'after' clause 557
 in 'before' clause 556
 in complement clause 375, 391, 392, 433
 in low probability conditional 572
 in main clause, requiring subjunctive complement clause 421, 431, 449
 in main clause, with realis complement clause 438
 in manipulative speech acts 519
 'till' clause 562
 in *yo* disjunctive clauses 597
 irrealis 'when' clause 550, 553-555, 556
 iterative suffix 145-146

 labialization, see secondary release
 left dislocation 479-484, 489, 501, 534
 in narrative clause 604
 lenition of stops 13-14, 129
 locative 123, 238, 240, 241, 248, 258
 adverb, see adverb: locative
 adverbial phrase, see adverbial phrase: locative
 direct object 400, 406, 417
 indirect object, see indirect object: locative
 left dislocated in question 534
 nominalizer, see nominalizer: locative
 nuclear 285
 question 541-542, 543
 clause final marker 11, 488, 533
 relativized 492, 493, 508

 logophoric, see complement clause: logophoric coreference in

 manipulation
 by means of speech 448, 449
 conditions for successful 519
 strength of 429, 430, 435, 544
 manipulative speech acts 518-526
 manner 120, 275-276
 adverb, focused 472, 474
 adverbial clause 549, 567
 nominalization 113-114, 549, 567
 question 304, 538-539
 serial verb coding 298-306
 mass noun, see noun: mass
 metrical structure 7, 34, 38, 78, 106, 110, 130, 131, 377
 modality 309, 337, 363-375, see also ability, epistemic, irrealis, purpose, realis
 coded by serial verb 294, 296, 307, 424
 in complement clause 424, 430, 448
 in manipulative speech acts 519
 in serial verb construction 283
 in subordinate clause 375
 verb, see complement clause: modality verb

 narrative
 'after' clause in 557
 auxiliary 15, 16, 36, 53, 283, 292, 320, 329, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 358, 359, 370, 385, 565, 591, 593, 598
 'before' clause in 556
 clause 295, 483
 same subject
 used as simultaneous time clause 558
 used as additive clause 585
 used as 'till' clause 561
 clause chaining in 597-605

- conjunction, see conjunction: clausal:
 - narrative, 514
- coordination in 591
- finiteness in 598-602
- genre 288, 315, 317, 320, 326, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 334, 341, 342, 343, 348, 349, 355, 385, 388, 406
 - agent-orientation of 404
- habitual-sequential coding iterativity in 554
- initial clause in 597
- introduction of participants in 478
- irrealis 'when' clause in 554
- proposed time phrase in 483
- realis 'when' clause in 551
- reported speech in 443
- switch reference in 602-605
- tense 283, 292, 309, 348-353, 359-361, 554, 597, 600
 - and negation 385
 - and progressive 309, 310
 - following 'before' clause 556
- nasalization 7, 19, 28, 33-34, 85
- nasals 19-20
- negation 375-397
 - and presupposition 380
 - in cleft construction 472-474
 - in complex sentences 389-396
 - marking of 376-385, 574
 - of factive verb 455
 - scope of 387-388, 456, 530
 - tense-aspects not allowing 385
 - word and phrase 396-397
- negative, see also 'no longer' tense, 'not yet' tense
 - auxiliary 329, 347, 348, 372, 380, 383, 379-385, 389, 390, 512, 528, 577
 - bias in yes/no question 529
 - blessing 526
 - clause
 - adverb in negative clause 279, 386
 - in paraphrase 592
 - in *yo* disjunction 597
 - progressive in 315
 - referentiality in 387
 - with conditional complement 455
 - clause final marker 38, 371, 376-379, 389, 390, 391, 395, 456, 464, 473, 512, 528, 535, 568
 - cleft construction 390, 468, 472-474, 475, 512
 - in yes/no question 530
 - complement clause 390, 391, 395
 - concessive conditional 579
 - conditional 385, 390, 524, 570, 574-576
 - constituent question 378, 535
 - counterfactual conditional 577
 - identificational clause 241
 - identifier 241, 386, 390, 468, 473, 568, 569
 - marking in auxiliary position 379-385
 - morphology 396
 - polarity item 385-387
 - purpose clause 586
 - quantifier 385
 - relative clause 389, 511-513
 - subjunctive, see prohibitive
 - time adverbial clause 389
 - yes/no question 377, 378, 396, 528
 - 'no longer' tense 347
- nominalization 101, 102, 105, 107-116, 226, 230, 324, 397, 423, 424, 425, 428, 437, 457, 458, 459
 - functioning as adverbial clause 549
- gender two 428
- locative
 - in purpose clause 588
- manner 276, 549, 567
- participial 560
- tone 52
- nominalizer
 - action 112-113
 - agentive 115-116
 - locative 36, 110-111, 541, 588
 - manner 113-114, 276, 567

- N*- nominalizer 53, 64, 109-110, 124, 437
- object 112
- privative 114-115, 396
- time 113
- non-finiteness 268, 349
 - in imperatives 517
 - in narrative clause 599
 - subjunctive and 600
 - non-human question word 537
- non-referential
 - agent 404
 - indefinite 387
 - relativized noun phrase 496, 501, 503, 505-511, 512
 - subject 387, 406
- 'not yet' tense 348
- noun
 - abstract 103, 105
 - mass 98, 101, 103, 108
 - non-count 98, 101, 102
 - used adverbially 377
 - verbal 324
- noun class, see gender
- noun phrase
 - coreferential, see coreferential noun phrase
 - coreferential with topic 479, 480, 483
 - focused 467, 468, 470, 474, 475
 - genitive 477
 - in constituent question 533, 534, 539, 540
 - introducing important new participant 478
 - left dislocated 479
- number
 - agreement 432, 470, 476, 491, 540
 - adjective with head noun 222
 - descriptive genitive phrase with head noun 228
 - determiner with head noun 155, 189, 190, 198
 - emphatic modifier with head noun 220
 - genitive pronoun with antecedent 200
 - identifier pronoun with antecedent 240
 - independent possessive pronoun with antecedent 205, 249
 - ordinal number with head noun 169, 212
 - partitive determiner with head noun 195
 - with coordinate noun phrase 233, 235-236
 - with noun phrase containing a number 208
 - cardinal 167-169, 206-212
 - ordinal 169-171, 212-213, 228
 - object incorporation 146-150
 - occlusion of approximants 17, 27, 129
 - orthography 7, 9, 10, 28, 32, 39, 41, 71, 85, 106
 - palatalization, see secondary release
 - parataxis 421
 - complement clause 460-465
 - parenthetical remark 487
 - relative clause 515
 - participial clause, 226
 - complement of perception verb 423
 - simultaneous time clause 560
 - passive 250, 251, 262, 368, 401-407, 408, 413, 417, 478
 - agent of 250, 403
 - impersonal 406-407
 - in procedural discourse 404
 - in time adverbial clause 404
 - past tense 292, 295, 307, 308, 309, 329-334, 338, 353-358, 381, 551
 - auxiliary 43, 53, 244, 292, 307, 329, 330, 332, 336, 338, 339, 344, 348, 353, 354, 375, 381, 384, 572, 597
 - copula 242, 244, 342, 369, 375, 384
 - formal 330-331
 - future in the past

- in counterfactual conditional 576
 - in concessive conditional 579
 - in low probability conditional 572
- recent 332-334, 577
- remote 331-332, 333, 577
- patient 262, 263, 264, 267, 269, 273
 - degree of affectedness 401, 409-413
 - degree of control 413, 415
 - direct object 265, 267, 400, 413, 415, 418
 - in complement clause 442
 - in noun compound 112, 120, 121, 125
 - in procedural discourse 404
 - indirect object 400, 401, 406, 409-413
 - of state 120, 251, 253
 - subject 250, 253, 256, 262, 399, 401, 404
 - suppression of 262, 400, 401, 407-409, 435
 - topical 404
- perfect 130, 251, 254, 255, 284, 292, 308, 328, 334, 338-341, 337-345, 337, 363, 379
 - anteriority of 338, 341-342
 - auxiliary 38, 62, 127, 130, 244, 283, 292, 293, 309, 329, 333, 334, 337, 338, 346, 347, 353, 355, 363, 364, 379, 381, 383, 511, 577
 - coding negative event in narrative 385
 - counter-sequentiality 338, 342-343
 - current relevance 332, 338
 - experiential 295, 344-345
 - in adverbial time clause 343
 - in complement clause 363, 422, 439
 - in low probability conditional 572
 - in realis 'when' clause 552
 - in setting of narrative 343
 - in 'since' clause 564
 - in 'till' clause 561
 - negative 379
 - past 309, 342, 343, 355, 356, 366
 - in counterfactual conditional 577
 - past time reference of 329
 - perfectivity of 338
 - realis modality of 363
 - source of 338
 - taking over function of past 334, 343
 - with active verb 328, 329
 - with stative verb 328, 340, 355
- perfective 307, 308, 309-311, 338, 413
 - affectedness of patient and 413
 - as default aspect 310
 - durative 320, 323
 - in blessings 525
 - in complement clause 337, 422, 424, 439, 440, 441, 462
 - in imperative 369, 520, 521, 522
 - in main line events in narrative 317
 - in serial verb construction 288, 291, 322
- subjunctive 292
- 'till' clause 563
- verb form 284, 315, 317, 318, 323, 324, 330, 338
 - with 'again' tense 346
 - with formal past 330
 - with habitual 316, 326, 355
 - with past 331
 - with perfect 338
- pluperfect, see perfect: past
- plural
 - absolute 312
 - first person hortative 525
 - imperative 523
 - with distributive meaning 327
- plural verb suffix 76, 145-146
- possessive clause 248-249
- postposition 53
 - accompanying preposition 561, 564
 - complex 181-182, 270, 274, 397
 - dative 269, 270, 274, 297, 458
 - development from verb 297
 - in focused phrase 493
 - in nominalized clause 226, 567
 - instrument/associative 249, 275, 296
 - locative 240, 245, 246, 248, 253, 267, 275, 276, 277, 278, 298, 438, 451, 458, 484, 537, 541

- in purpose clause 588
- in participial simultaneous time clause 560
- marking demoted patient 400, 409
- marking partially affected patient 411
- privative 396
- simple 156, 178-179, 311
- tone 61, 63, 64, 67-68
- postpositional phrase 245, 246, 248, 275, see also indirect object
- potential 128, 290, 336, 357, 361, 365, 368, 383
 - in comparison clause 569
- pragmatic
 - agent suppression 401
 - closeness between conjuncts 283
 - direct object as pragmatic role 400
 - exploitation of word order 469
 - focus 467, 505
 - function of 'still' tense 345
 - function of future in past 369
 - function of negative time clause 389
 - function of passive 251
 - function of syntactic role 399
 - patient suppression 401, 409
 - presupposition 468
 - referentiality 317, 478
 - role, see role: pragmatic
 - source of current relevance 338
 - topic 237, 401
- predicate nominal 157, 227, 235, 238, 239, 241, 244, 245, 255, 260-261, 265-267, 377, 418
 - focused 475, 476, 477, 510
 - in nominalized clause 227
 - modified by relative clause 510-511
- preposition 179-181, 249, 275, 296, 523
 - deleted in focused phrase 493
 - functioning as subordinating conjunction 561, 564, 572
 - requiring accompanying postposition 561, 564
 - 'since' 564
 - 'till' 561, 574
- 'with' 572
- present tense 241, 242, 308, 328-329, 328, 379, 469
- presentative clause 193
 - in relative clause 495, 496
- procedural genre 288, 318
 - habitual in 317, 319
 - habitual-sequential in 352
 - irrealis 'when' clause in 554, 588
 - narrative/sequential in 351, 352
 - passive in 404
 - patient orientation of 404
 - 'till' clause in 562
 - time clause in 326
 - use of rhetorical questions in 547
- progressive 130, 142, 242, 250, 254, 255, 284, 288, 308, 311-316, 358-362, 469
 - auxiliary 43, 53, 130, 240, 242, 284, 289, 307, 308, 310, 311, 346, 347, 354, 356, 357, 363, 367, 379, 381, 469, 511
 - deletion of 311
 - reduced 323, 358, 359, 360, 362
 - combined with narrative auxiliary 599
 - in compound tense-aspect 316
 - in irrealis 'when' clause 555
 - in realis complement clause 422
 - in simultaneous time clause 559
 - negative 379
- prohibitive 290, 369, 524
 - auxiliary 128, 290, 365, 371, 383, 524
 - imperfective 524
- pronoun 7, 151-164
 - anaphoric 11, 39, 52, 53, 60-62, 148, 156, 191-193, 201, 232, 237, 284, 400, 444, 445, 459, 469, 472, 475, 476, 480, 495, 501
 - anticipatory 421, 426, 427, 435, 450, 451, 464
 - demonstrative 12, 40, 53, 160-161, 190, 475, 488
 - in distributive relativized noun phrase 506

relativized 496, 505, 506, 512
 direct object 284, 286, 334, 400
 emphatic 12, 60-62, 157, 191-193,
 232, 237, 444, 445, 446, 472, 475,
 480, 489, 501, 540
 first and second person 11, 12, 67, 68,
 69, 151-153, 202, 475, 480, 507,
 522 569
 focused 469
 relativized 496, 498, 503
 focused 472
 head of participial clause 560
 identifier 159-160, 194, 196, 200,
 241, 386, 476, 495
 in indirect speech 443
 indefinite 12, 158-159, 387
 indefinite other 159, 197
 independent possessive 163-164, 200,
 206, 477
 interrogative 161-162, 540
 logophoric 444
 non-declarative 153-154, 202, 517
 question word 536, 537
 reflexive 148-149, 154-155, 157-158,
 182, 200, 416-419
 relative 12, 161, 469, 491, 515
 in conditional relative 508
 in headless relative 496
 in relative clause modifying a pre-
 dicate nominal 510
 non-fronted 499
 non-referential 505
 resumptive 153, 235, 237, 389, 435,
 442, 446, 459, 491
 in cleft construction 469, 470, 471,
 473, 474, 475, 476
 in constituent question 533, 536,
 537, 542, 543
 in hortative 525
 in relative clause 498
 in topic construction 480
 subject 426, 432, 435
 amalgamation with auxiliary 349,
 350, 371, 375, 599

high tone 422, 476, 511, 559
 in impersonal passive 406
 in subjunctive 370
 replacing sentential subject 459
 tone 53, 60-62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 334
 prospective tense 337
 purpose
 clause 111, 456, 585-588
 equi-deletion in 463
 placement of 588
 subjunctive in 349, 370, 375, 463
 in serial verb construction 287
 modality 296, 374-375, 425
 quantifier 171-172, 173, 180, 209, 213-
 220, 387
 exclusive 211, 216-218, 279
 following *fo* 'except for' 574
 in coreferential noun phrase following
 relative clause 503
 inclusive 208, 218-220
 interrogative 539-540
 negative 385, 387
 scope of focus and 467
 scope of interrogation and 530
 scope of negation and 388
 universal 214-216, 279, 386, 503
 question 526-548
 alternative 532, 596
 direct speech 453
 indirect 453
 as marked sentence type 517
 clause final marker 464
 negative 38, 377, 528, 535
 complement clause 422, 443, 453,
 454-457
 complex 542-545
 complement clause 543-545
 serial verb construction 542-543
 constituent 186, 315, 380, 468, 532-
 542
 case recoverability 491, 533
 clause final marker 533, 535
 direct speech 453

- double question 535
- fronting of question word 488
- 'how' 304, 538-539
 - serial verb in 538
- 'how much' 539-540
- indirect 453, 456
- interrogative determiner 540-541
- locative 541-542
 - clause final marker 488, 533, 541
- negative 378, 535
- presupposition in 534, 535
- use of cleft construction in 533-534
- 'what' 537-538
 - in reason clause phrasal connective 580
- 'who' 536-537
- with clause internal question word 535
- non-interrogative use of 547-548
- presupposition in 315, 380, 469
- scope of interrogation 467
- use of non-declarative pronouns in 517
- 'what about ...' 545-547
- yes/no 465, 527-532
 - bias in 377, 473, 529-530
 - clause final marker 377, 527-528, 596
 - clause initial marker 528, 529
 - direct speech 453
 - focus in 467, 530-532
 - negative 377, 378, 396, 473, 528-529
- realis complement clause 422, 431-435, 438-443, 449, 452, 461, 462
- effect on switch reference 603
- functioning as relative clause 511
- functioning as simultaneous time clause 559
- realis modality 272, 273, 289, 309, 363
 - habitual aspect and 554
 - in adverbial clause 375
 - in 'before' clause 556
 - in complement clause 362, 375, 391, 392
 - in low probability conditional 572
- realis serial verb construction 292-293, 337
- realis 'when' clause 550, 551-553
- recipient (semantic role) 435
 - direct object (dative shift) 400, 406
 - subject 406
- reciprocal 416-417
- reduplication 44, 47, 139, 174, 176, 209
- reduplicated verb modifying phrase 230-232
- repetitive aspect 327
- referential
 - continuity 601
 - definite 189, 200, 203
 - head of relative clause 488
 - indefinite 195, 196, 198, 204, 388
 - head of relative clause 511
 - interference 192, 446, 501
 - participant 318
 - pragmatically 195, 317, 478
- referentiality 195, 196
- reflexive
 - control by subject 237
 - direct object 265, 416, 454
 - genitive 517
 - indirect object 416
 - pronoun, see pronoun: reflexive
 - transitivity and 416-419
- relative clause 487-490, 507-509, 487-515
 - clause final marker 11, 389, 464, 469, 488, 541, 551, 552, 556
 - in substitutive clause 584
- coding of relativized noun phrase 491-501
 - clause internal 498-501
 - fronted 491-498
- conditional 580
- coreferential noun phrase 446, 480, 501-505
- locative adverb 566

- distributive relativized noun phrase 505-507
- effect on switch reference 603
- functioning as locative clause 566
- functioning as time clause 343, 464, 551
- headless 496, 505, 508
- negative 389, 511-513
- non-referential relativized noun phrase 505-511
- past tense in 332
- perfect in 342
- presupposition in 315, 380, 469, 488
- realis complement clause functioning as 462
- relative determiner 191
- relative pronoun, see pronoun: relative
- relativized predicate nominal 510-511
- relativized referential-indefinite noun phrase 511
- similarity of comparison clause to 569
- source of realis 'when' clause 550
- syntactic status of 513-515
- repetitive aspect 327-328
 - coded by progressive 315
- rhotacization 15, 16, 36
- role
 - pragmatic 399, 400
 - semantic 239, 251, 262, 270, 399, 400, 401, 412, 435, 472, 499
 - in noun compound 112, 119, 123
 - peripheral 272, 274-278
 - syntactic 237, 262, 399, 401, 421, 444, 500, 512
 - case recoverability 469, 473, 474, 491
- secondary release 20-28, 29, 30, 32, 87, 92, 134, 140, 156
- serial verb 283-306
 - adverbial 275, 298-306, 322, 585
 - aspectual 295, 307, 308, 395
 - distributive 328
 - durative 321
 - experiential perfect 344
 - inceptive 322, 323, 360
 - terminative 324, 338
- case marking 274, 275, 276, 296-298
- compound 124-125, 457
- connective
 - realis 20, 38, 337, 577, 598
 - subjunctive 520, 521
- construction 254, 266, 271, 274, 291-292, 289-293, 354
 - 'come' and 'go' 289-290
 - future 290-291, 334, 365
 - loose 315, 320, 322, 351
 - questioning items in 542-543
 - realis 292-293
- grammaticalized 294-306
- in adverbial clause 591
- in imperative 520, 521
- in manner question 538
- modality 296, 307, 309, 364, 424, 425
 - ability 371, 424
 - increased certainty 364
 - purpose 374
 - reduced certainty 368
 - success 373
- scope of negation and 387
- source of auxiliary 307, 354, 372
- temporal 295, 347, 556
- speech verb, see complement clause: speech verb
- standard of comparison 276, 298
- stative verb 137, 142, 144, 249, 250, 253, 251-255, 256, 276, 299, 300, 302, 305, 372, 401, 413, 414, 415
- imperfective 137
 - in compound noun 120, 125
 - in realis complement clause 440
 - in transitive clause 414
 - not used in imperative 519
 - with imperfective 310
 - with inceptive aspect 322
 - with past perfect 355
 - with patient subject 401

- with perfect 328, 338, 340, 341
- with perfective 338
- with progressive 314
- with sentential subject 457
- with terminative aspect 326
- 'still' tense 309, 329, 345-348, 357-358
 - auxiliary 345, 346, 347, 348, 357, 381
- stops 8-15
- stress 7, 10, 46
 - diminutive suffix following 106
 - elision of / following 82, 86
 - in borrowed words 139
 - initial 130
 - on focused item 468
 - postposition *i* following 40
 - prohibition on *w* following 17, 78
 - secondary release and 20
 - tone in 42, 44, 46, 139
 - unstressed syllable
 - absorption of stop in 14
 - elision of / following 80
 - vowel assimilation in 15
 - vowel harmony in 34
 - voicing of stop following 12, 91
 - vowel coalescence following 32
- subject
 - accession to 399, 400, 406
 - agent 256, 257, 267, 287, 400, 407, 413, 415
 - agreement with 240, 241, 249, 432
 - as clause-level topic 478
 - as pragmatic role 399
 - case recoverability and 533
 - constraint on use of *na* as 517
 - coreference constraint in complement clause 421, 424, 425, 442, 445, 462
 - coreference with reflexive 416
 - coreferential noun phrase 500, 514
 - dative 253, 255, 406
 - definite 387
 - deletion of 370, 394
 - in two-clause conditional 573, 577
 - different subject clause 358
 - experiencer 264
 - first person 311, 433, 525
 - focused 469, 473, 474, 475, 476, 593
 - in complement clause 422, 425, 435, 442
 - in copular clause 241, 245, 475
 - in existential clause 246
 - in hortative 525
 - in identificational clause 239, 240, 510
 - in imperative 517, 519, 520
 - in impersonal passive 406
 - in locative clause 245
 - in possessive clause 248, 249
 - in procedural discourse 351
 - in serial verb construction 283, 287-288
 - in subjunctive 370, 522
 - inanimate 265, 429
 - indefinite 240, 376, 387
 - modified by *kən* 484
 - non-referential 387, 510
 - non-volitional 335
 - patient 250, 251, 253, 256, 260, 262, 401, 404, 407
 - plural 312
 - properties 237
 - quantifier in 376, 388, 530
 - questioned 536, 537
 - in complement clause 543, 544
 - in serial verb construction 542
 - relativized 389
 - clause internal 507
 - fronted 489, 491, 497, 498, 512
 - resumptive pronoun 389
 - same subject clause 283, 319, 337, 352, 359
 - chains 601
 - same subject complement clause 273, 394, 425-429
 - scope of negation and 387-388
 - second person 311, 569
 - sentential 457-460
 - subjectless clause 284, 460
 - concessive 583

- simultaneous time clause 558
- switch reference 602-605
- tone 56, 62, 381
- word order of 237, 238, 239, 278, 307, 350, 362, 376, 399, 475
- subjunctive 154, 309, 369
 - adverbial clause 370, 375
 - 'before' 550, 555
 - substitutive 584
 - 'till' 563
 - auxiliary 292, 349, 353, 370, 522, 599
 - complement clause 272, 273, 337, 363, 370, 390, 391, 392, 394, 421-422, 425-428, 431-437, 445, 448, 450, 452, 459, 461
 - finiteness and 600
 - imperative 370, 463, 517, 522-524
 - following irrealis 'when' clause 553
 - following substitutive clause 584
 - with 'till' clause 562
 - imperfective 291, 361, 370, 371, 522, 524, 526, 599
 - incompatibility with other auxiliaries 600
 - negative (=prohibitive) 290, 371, 385, 391, 520, 524, 586
 - following irrealis 'when' clause 553
 - purpose clause 463, 585, 586, 587
 - serial verb connective 291, 520, 521
 - si* 291, 292, 349, 353, 361, 370, 426, 463, 522, 586, 599
 - similarity to narrative tense 599
 - with *sii* 365
 - zero 291, 292, 370, 426, 463, 522, 526, 563, 599
 - in blessings 525
- subordinate clause
 - degree of integration with main clause 549, 580, 581, 585, 591
 - placement of in relation to main clause 588
 - skipped over by switch reference system 602
- subordinator, see conjunction
- switch reference 237, 358, 478, 591, 598, 602-605
- syllabic nasal 8, 37
 - tone 42
- syllable 7-8
 - stressed 9
 - lenition of stops in 13
 - one per root 7
 - restriction of fricatives to 15
 - restriction of secondary release to 20
 - tone 44, 46, 47, 48, 49
 - unstressed
 - absorption of stops in 14
 - elision in 17
 - flapping in 10
 - initial 7, 36, 38
 - rhotacization in 16
 - voiced stops in 9
 - vowel reduction in 34, 37
- tense 250, 308, 328-362
 - auxiliary 238, 241, 242, 469
 - combinations with aspect 295, 309, 353-362
 - distinctions in copulas 329
 - in complement clause 424, 445, 600
 - direct speech 448
 - indirect speech 443
 - in consecutive construction 284
 - in nominalized clause 423
 - in serial verb construction 283, 288, 289, 293
 - non-perfect 254, 255
 - non-present 240, 242
 - remoteness in 308, 331-334, 336-337
 - setting stage in narrative 597, 600
- terminative aspect 295, 308, 324-327
- time (semantic role) 277-278, 404
 - direct object 400, 406
 - focused 489
 - in compound noun 120
 - left dislocated 483, 534
 - relativized 499, 504

- time adverb 278, 280, 333, 336, 338, 340
 focused 472
 in indirect speech 443
- time clause 325, 326, 341, 343, 345, 375, 389, 464, 480, 550-566
 'after' 295, 556-558
 'before' 550, 555-556
 clause final marker
 'before' clause 556
 realis 'when' clause 11, 551, 552
 'since' clause 564
 in narrative 343, 600, 604
 in procedural discourse 351
 irrealis 'when' 506, 507, 553-555
 coding iterativity in narrative 554
 in procedural discourse 554
 modality in 550
 negative 389
 passive in 404
 realis 'when' 551-553
 derived from relative clause 505
 551
 relative clause functioning as 499, 504
 simultaneous 462, 511, 558-561, 558
 duration in a location 558-559
 durative event 559-560
 participial 560-561
 'since' 564-566
 'till' 305, 561-564
- time question 541
- time reference 332
 future 290, 313, 336, 346, 352, 363, 368
 time clause with 571
 generic 292, 293, 313
 past 292, 293, 329, 341, 353, 363, 389
 time clause with 505
 present 241, 244, 251, 311, 316, 328, 329, 363
- tone 42-73
 basic tones 43-54
 minor word classes 53-54
- nouns 45-53
 verbs 43-45
- floating 54-55
 docking leftward 129
- in orthography 7
- marking of imperfective 138-140
- rule
 leftward docking 54-55
 low to mid 69-70
 spread of high 65-66, 114
 spread of low 55-63, 109, 114
 spread of low from low-mid 63-65
 weak mid to high 67-69, 70-71, 77, 81
- topic 404, 478-485
 continuity 349, 478
 degrees of topicality 400, 401, 403, 404
 in cleft construction 277, 278
 introduction of important new topic 478-479
 left dislocated 446, 479-484, 489, 501
 in constituent question 534
 in different subject narrative clause 604
 preceding relative clause 503
 relative clause as 489, 515
 list marked by *yo* 596
 marked by *kən* 484-485
 subject as clause level topic 237, 478
- transitive 250
 clause 250, 399, 401, 406, 407, 408
 impersonal passive 406
 with focused direct object 469
 with intransitive verb 255, 401, 413, 414, 415
 with stative verb 255
- verb 239, 262-274, 402, 407
 active 250, 262-274, 299, 301, 302, 303, 401
 causative 424
 derived 413
 imperative 520
 in intransitive clause 401, 409, 413

- in relative clause 491
- in serial construction 286, 301, 302, 303, 542
- plural object of 312
- prototypical 262-264
- with dative indirect object 269-271
- with experiencer subject 264
- with locative indirect object 267-269
- with predicate nominal 265-267
- with recipient direct object 264-265
- with two indirect objects 271-272
- transitivity 399-401
 - effect of on freedom to question items in complex constructions 542-545
 - reflexive and 416-419

- umlaut 78, 79, 133, 134, 136

- vocative 202
 - as speech act 518
 - use of non-declarative pronouns in 517
- voice 399-419, 478
 - demotion of patient 409-413
 - passive 401-407
 - patient suppression 407-409
 - transitivization 414-416
- voicing 10-12, 82, 84, 91, 93
 - protection from, following a nasal 81, 84, 91, 93, 94
- vowel 28-41
 - assimilation 38-39, 80, 82, 133, 156, 157, 158
 - coalescence 32
 - harmony 34-36, 95, 106, 108, 132, 141, 142, 147, 157
 - lengthening 33, 107
 - lowering 32, 83, 89, 92, 132, 138
 - neutralization 32
 - raising 85, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136-137, 140, 143
 - reduction 37
 - rounding 41
 - zero anaphora 349, 350
 - in consecutive construction 284
 - in same subject narrative clause 598