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Carlson, Robert Joel, Ph.D.

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A GRAMMAR OF SUPYIRE: KAMPWO DIALECT


by

ROBERT JOEL CARLSON

A DISSERTATION

**Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

June 1990

APPROVED: 
Thomas Givón

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The Supyire language of southern Mali is a member of the Senufo group of the Gur family of Niger-Congo. Previous studies on the language have been limited to isolated aspects of the grammar. This description, based on the Kampwo dialect spoken to the west of Sikasso, aims at a comprehensive treatment of the phonology, morphology, and syntax, and is the first such study of any Senufo language. The general approach employed is functional, typological, and historical. This approach assumes that the structures of a language cannot be understood without reference to the use to which they are put. Nor can the characteristics of a particular language be properly appreciated without viewing them in the context of cross-linguistic variation. In this respect, the grammar of Supyire is especially interesting for its complicated tonal system, for its extensive use of

serial verbs and auxiliaries, and for its relative clause and complement clause structures halfway between parataxis and subordination. Finally, the idiosyncracies of grammar cannot be explained without reference to their historical causes. Accordingly, the etymologies and sources of grammatical morphemes and constructions have been noted wherever they are available.

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'One arrow cannot pull itself out of a hole.'

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

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADJ	adjectivizing prefix
ADV	adversative 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 determiner or pronoun
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 auxiliary
G1S	gender 1 singular
G1P	gender 1 plural
G2S	gender 2 singular, etc.
GEN	contrastive focus genitive particle
H	high tone
HAB	habitual auxiliary
IMPER	imperative auxiliary
IMPFV	imperfective
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	nonfinal intonation
NOM	nominalizing prefix
NONDECL	nondeclarative pronoun

NP	noun phrase
PERF	perfect auxiliary
PL	plural
POL	clause final politeness marker
POSS	independant 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
SR	secondary release
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

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

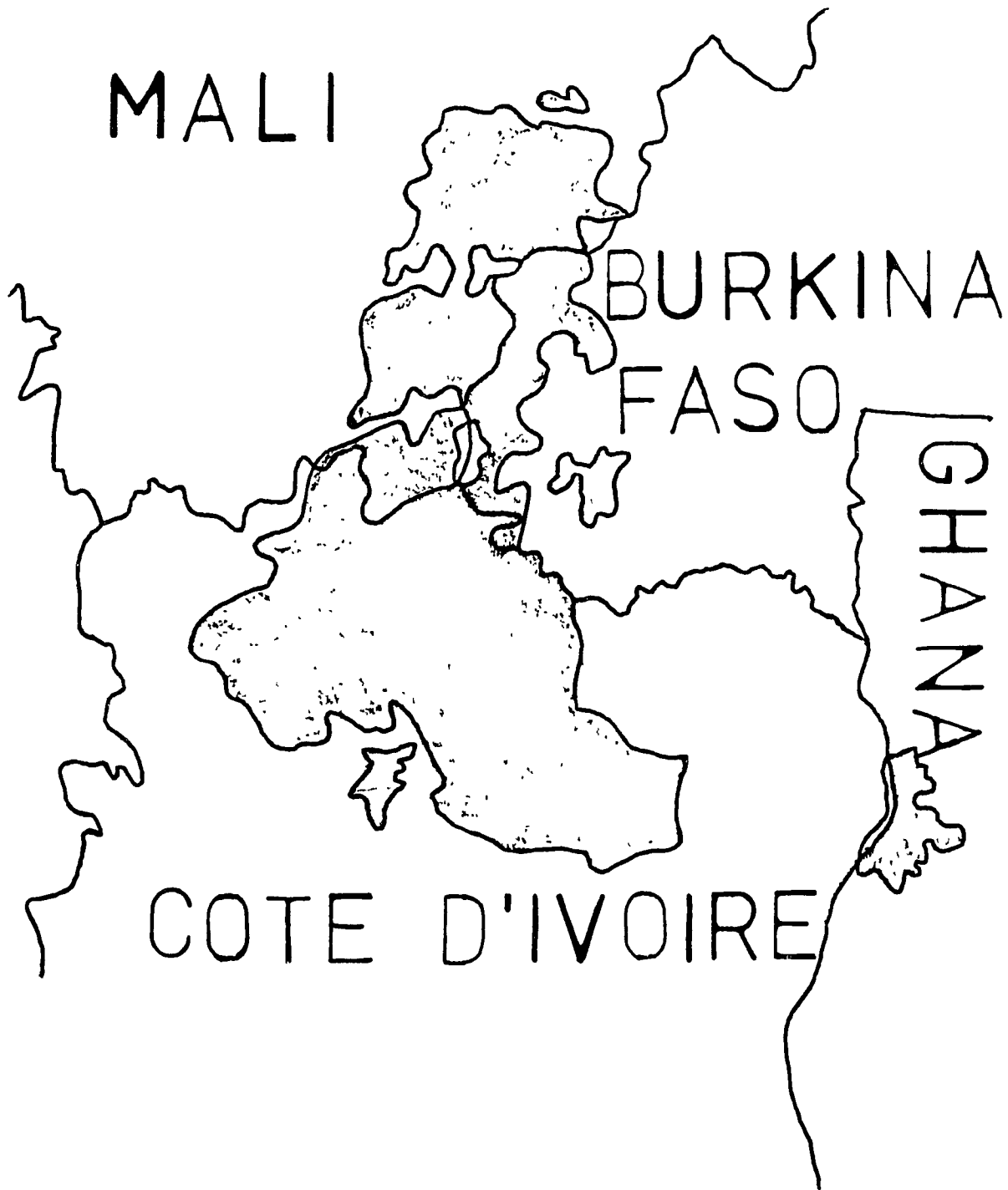
1.1 The People

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).¹

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.



MAP 1. Supyire



MAP 2. Senofo

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.

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. 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, 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 when the French took over). 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.² 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 Supyire 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 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 III and V 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 indicated 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 XIII 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.

Notes

1. The maps are adapted from maps kindly supplied to me by Pierre Boutin.
2. I follow the basic outline and approach of Givón (1984 and 1990a).

CHAPTER II

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.

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 a below, or medially as in b:

- (1) a. $\dot{m}pi$ 'hare'
 b. $b\dot{o}nke$ '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 bon-ke.¹

2.1 Consonants

Table 1 gives the consonant phonemes of Kampwo Supyire.

/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.

TABLE 1. Consonant Phonemes

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

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. kpa?a 'house', gba?alagà 'bedbugs' Mills 1984:93). /kp/ was voiced in northern Senufo dialects, merging with /gb/ (e.g. Shenara gba?a 'house', gba?alaga 'bedbugs' Cissé 1986, cf. Sécate gbaxa 'house' Garber 1987:335). Finally, in Kampwo Supyire, /gb/ was simplified to /b/: baga 'house', bəhəgə bedbug. This has led to the curious situation of a disproportionately high number of roots beginning with /b/.

Discounting loans,² there are over five times as many roots beginning with voiceless as with voiced alveolar and palatal stops. The proportion is even lower for 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: pùcwə [pu't/wə] 'girl'
 b. medially in a
 stressed syllable: nupéé [nu'pe:] 'bull'
 c. following a nasal: finimpe ['fənəmpe] '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,³ 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.⁴ 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; fànhà [fãʔã] 'power' from Bambara fangà [fãga]) and in such alternations as -qi- / -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 /ng/ are also uncommon (though see discussion of /w/ below) [R] has a much greater text frequency than [g]. A similar situation in Sécate 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 either pronounced [ta'duRuRo] or [ta'duRugo].

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:⁵

(4) Gender 1 definite plural: -pii

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|---|----------|-----|----------------|-----------|
| a. | cínN- | + | -pii | ==> | cínmpíí | ['címpi:] |
| | leopard | | DEF(G1P) | | 'the leopards' | |
| b. | cyèe | + | -pii | ==> | cyèebíí | |
| | women | | | | 'the women' | |

(5) Gender 2 definite singular: -ke

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|---|----------|-----|--------------|---------|
| a. | bòN- | + | -ke | ==> | bònke | |
| | 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.⁶ 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 below (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 mbèmbaàní nye pi shwòhole e ké/gé [ke/Re]
 since discord be them between at TC
 'Since they didn't get along...'
- c. U a sigè ké... [sɪRəke]
 he PERF suspect SCM
 'When he suspected something...'

In contrast to ké, the voicing of the conditional auxiliary ká is partially dependant 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)⁷. 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 gà ̀kwú... ['waRa]
 IND.G1s COND die...
 'If/when someone dies...'
- b. Uru gà/kà kɛ kan... ['uruRa] or ['uruka]
 EMPH.G1s COND ten give
 'If he gives ten...'
- c. Shin gá/ká jwó... ['/ɪRa] or ['/ɪka]
 person COND say
 'If a person says...'
- d. Kàñhe ka ̀péé... ['kã?ɛka]
 village COND big
 'If the village is big...'

In examples in this grammar the consonant will be written voiced (e.g. gɛ 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 III, 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 III, 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) mu + ká	Mu ahá fwóro...	['mwǎʔǎ]8
you COND	'If you go out...'	
mii + ká	Mii àhá fwóro...	['myǎʔǎ]
I	'If I go out...'	
u + ká	U ahá fwóro...	['waʔa]
G1S	'If s/he/it goes out...'	
ku + ká	Ka há fwóro...	['kaʔa]
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 a below show this prefix on

verbs beginning with voiceless stops, the examples in b before the corresponding voiced stops.

- (10) a. U sí òpà. [mpa]
 s/he FUT come
 'S/he will come.'
- Ku sí òtá. [nta]
 it find
 'It will be found.'
- Ku sí òcè. [nt/e]
 know
 'It will be known.'
- Ku sí òkà. [ŋka]
 boil
 'It will boil.'
- b. Ku sí òbò. [m^bo]
 kill
 'It will be killed.'
- U sí òdà. [n^da]
 believe
 'S/he will believe (it).'
- U sí òjà. [n^ja]
 be able
 'S/he will be able (to do it).'
- Wùù sí ògírí.... [ŋ^guri]⁹
 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 a below. It also

occurs in verbs when the causative suffix -gV is added to a root ending in a nasal, as in b.

- (11) a. cĪN- + -bi- + -li cĪnmii ['t/ĩmĩ:]
 leopard G1P PL 'leopards'
- kòòN- + -dV kòònò ['ko:nɔ̃]
 cotton G4 'cotton'
- bòn- + -gV bònò ['bonɔ̃]
 baboon G2S 'baboon'
- b. yyéréN- + -gV yyééñé ['y:e:ñě]
 stop(intr) CAUS 'stop(tr)'
- núrúN- + -gV núrúnó ['nuruɔ̃]
 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 *cèrqii. /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 kyèègè (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: kare 'go', kééqé 'go-IMP'; yyéré 'stop (intr)', yyééné '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 cééqé '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 ceéré 'little calabash'; njire 'tongue' and njiiré 'little tongue'.

The [r] of the narrative auxiliary [rí] (derived through rhotacization from /sí/, 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 rí 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:10

(12)	kya-ra	+ -te	==>	kyaàre	[kxɑ:re]
	meat-G4	DEF(G4)		'the meat'	
	cye-re	+ -te		cyeeré	[t/ye:re]
	body			'the body'	
	pwo-ro	+ -te		pwooré	[pɕ ^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/.¹¹ No verb begins with a voiced fricative.

2.1.2.2 Rhotacization

When an /s/ beginning an unstressed syllable comes to follow a stressed syllable, it changes to [r].¹³ 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 òpi 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) Mii sí rà à 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', sicyèèrè, to yield baaricyèèrè.

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 III (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 ŋ- prefix.

- (16) U sí ŋ- + láhá kú ná. ==>
 s/he FUT let.go it on
- U sí ŋdáhá kú ná. [n^daʔa]
 'S/he will let go of it.'
- U sí ŋ- + ya. ==>
 s/he FUT be.sick
- U sí ŋjà. [n^ja]
 'S/he will be sick.'

U sí ñ- + wuli. ==>
s/he FUT bathe.

U sí ñgùli. [ñg^uuli]
'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. mpà + -lV ==> mpàa
 sheep G1P 'sheep (pl)'
- b. mpà + -lV + -bi- + -lV ==> mpàabíí
 sheep G1P DEFG1P PL 'the sheep (pl)'
- c. kálá + -li ==> káálí
 roast IMP roast.IMP
- cf. ta + -li ==> tàà
 find IMP find.IMP
- d. mpà + -lV + á ==> mpàla á ['mpala:]
 sheep G1P DAT 'to/for some sheep'
- mpà + -lV + -bi- + -lV
 sheep G1P DEFG1P PL
 ==> mpàabíílá à ['mpa:bila:]¹⁴
 '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 -lV, 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 ==> kùrùli
 bend IMP bend.IMP

There are also several lexical exceptions to the elision rule, kùli '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. ['kara:ni]
 s/he PERF go there
 'S/he went there.'
- b. U nye aní. ['ỹ:ě: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 [gʏã: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 [bã:Ra] 'hoe'. Several words (albeit many of them borrowed) have an unnasalized [o] rather than the expected [ɔ̃] following an /m/: mobílí 'car' (borrowed from Bambara), motó 'motorcycle' (also borrowed from Bambara), ñkèémórò '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 C (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 -lV. In eight cases it elides, whereas in twenty it does not. Compare the following examples:

- (20) a. ñtàn- + -lV ==> ñtàà
 courtyard G3S 'courtyard'
- b. ka- + paN + -lV ==> 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.¹⁵ 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' (SR) will be used here. Supyire SR has the same distributional restriction noted by Mills (p. 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 SR does not occur with approximants or nasals, is not valid for Supyire.

There is evidence that Supyire inherited some of its SR 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 SR + V.¹⁶ 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 SR (Mills 1984:144). This is not the case in Supyire, where alveopalatals with SR contrast with those without it:

(21) cyé [tʃ ^y e]	vs.	ce [t/e]
refuse		know
jya [dʒ ^y a]	vs.	ja [dʒa]
break		be.able
nya [ɲ̥:ã]	vs.	na [na]
see		swim

The origin of many alveopalatals, however, is pointed to by the fact that alveolars (except for /l/) may not occur with SR. It is obvious that historically alveolar-plus-SR has become alveopalatal(-plus-SR). This is confirmed by such

cognates as: Cebaara tiige Supyire cige 'tree'; Cebaara too Supyire cwo 'fall'.

There are several roots which have alternate forms with and without SR. 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 cèlùw '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-lV (addition of gender 1 plural suffix -lV) ==> *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 SR is found in the singular, which has the indefinite suffix -lV, but not in the plural, and in gender 1, where SR is found in the plural, as in the example above.

Another source of SR 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 SR are:

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

Both the following vowel and the preceding consonant have a determining effect on the phonetic realization of SR. 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.

SR 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) pyi do	[pçi]	cf.	pi be.ugly	[pi]
pyenga family	[pçɛRa]	cf.	pɛn be.tasteless	[pɛ]
pyà child	[pça]	cf.	pa come	[pa]
fyi python	[fçi]	cf.	fí run.IMP	[fi]
fyeeere urinate	[fçe:re]	cf.	fèe owner.G1P	[fe:]
fyàà hurry	[fça:]	cf.	faa cultivate	[fa:]

Following /b/ and before /i/, SR causes continued friction throughout the vowel, creating a sort of 'buzzing' quality symbolized here by the squiggle under the vowel:

(24) byii drink.IMP	[bʒi:]	cf.	bii stick	[bi:]
byé carry.on.back	[bʒe]	cf.	bè be.agreeable	[be]
bya drink	[bʒa]	cf.	ba river	[ba]

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

(25)	pwùnnɪ dog.DEFG1S	[p ^ɸ ũɪ]	cf.	puni all	[puni]
	pworo adobe	[p ^ɸ w ^o oro]	cf.	pòrè miss.IMP	[pore]
	pwóró be.better	[p ^ɸ w ^o oro]	cf.	pòrò be.tame	[pòrò]

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

(26)	bwuuní gourd.DEF(G3S) [~]	[b ^ɸ u:ni]	cf.	buunɔ be.big	[bu:ɔ]
	bworogo grey.plaintain.eater	[b ^ɸ w ^o orəRo]	cf.	boro sack	[boro]
	bwɔngii hit.G3P	[b ^ɸ w ^ɔ Ri:]	cf.	bórii sack.G3P	[bɔri:]

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

(27)	fwuu yam	[f ^w u:]	cf.	fuu burst	[fu:]
	fwoo debt	[fwo:]	cf.	foo owner	[fo:]
	fwɔnrigà long.tailed.starling	[fw ^ɔ riRa]	cf.	fɔgɔnɔ fallow.field	[fɔRəɔ]

With the palatal stops, which are phonetically affricates, SR 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)	cyii	[tʃ:i:]	cf.	ciwe	[tʃi:we]
	thigh			leather.worker	
	jiye	[dʒ:ɹe]	cf.	jige	[dʒɹe]
	soap			confidence	
	cyé	[tʃ:ye]	cf.	ce	[tʃe]
	refuse			know	
	cya	[tʃ:ya]	cf.	càà	[tʃa:]
	look.for			look.for.IMP	
	jya	[dʒ:ya]	cf.	ja	[dʒa]
	break			be.able	

Realization following palatal fricatives is very similar.

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

(29)	cwùlò	[tʃu:lo]	cf.	cuɲɔ	[tʃu:ɲɔ]
	belch			be.healthy	
	cwoo	[tʃo:]	cf.	coowo	[tʃo:wo]
	pot			rainspout	
	cwɔn	[tʃɔ]	cf.	cɔɔn	[tʃɔ:]
	tear			younger.sibling	

Roots with SR 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) kyii [ki:]
Kyii (one of the days of the six-day week)¹⁷

kyírigé or kyéregé [kɪrəRe] or [k^YerəRe]
torment

kyen [k^Yɛ̃]
grunt

kyènhèrà [k^Yɛ̃ʔǝra]
clear.one's.throat

kyɛɛge [k^Yɛ:Re]
break

Of these, kyen and kyenhera may be onomatopoeic. kyɛɛge is derived from kebe 'break' by the addition of the causative or intensifying suffix -qV, which induces diphthongization. There are a few roots whose pronunciation varies between [k] + SR and [t/] (+ SR). 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) kyi [kçi] or cyi [t/:i]¹⁸
G3P.pronoun

kyíi [kçi:] or cyíin [t/:i:]
outside

kyɛga [k^YɛRa] or cyɛga [t/^YɛRa]
hand

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

(32) nĩŋkin [nĩŋkĩ] or nĩŋcyĩn [nĩŋtʃ:ĩ]
one

SR between a velar stop and /a/ is phonetically realized as a velar fricative [x] or [χ]:

(33) kyara [kxara]¹⁹ cf. kare [kare]
meat go
gyaanra [gɣǎ:ra]
goudge

SR 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, SR is a labio-velar approximant [w]:

(34) kwùùlò [k^xu:lo] cf. kuŋŋ [ku:ŋŋ]
encircle be.lacking
kwooro [k^wo:ro] cf. koolo [ko:lo]
snore cough
kwɔɔgɔ [k^wɔ:Rɔ] cf. kɔɔgɔ [kɔ:Rɔ]
boat inheritance

As noted above, Mills (1984) states that nasal consonants do not occur with SR in Cebara. While this is not the case in Supyire, it is true that there are very few cases of /m/ or /ŋ/ with SR. The rarity of SR with /ŋ/ could be attributed to the overall rarity of /ŋ/, but this explanation is not possible for /m/. The only clear cases of SR with /m/ are those resulting from diphthongization

before [ʔ]. The plural of mɛɛ 'voice, song' is myàhii [myǎʔi:] for most speakers (mɛ̀gii [mɛ̀Ri:] for others). The only clear cases of SR following /ŋ/ are before the back vowel /ɔ/, as in the following example:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------|---------------------|-----|-------|-------|
| (35) | ŋwɔɔ | [ŋ ^w ɔ:] | cf. | ŋɔɔ | [ŋɔ:] |
| | knife | | | sleep | |

The situation with /ɲ/ is quite different, perhaps suspiciously so. SR occurs freely with /ɲ/, before four of the five vowels which can follow nasals (/i/, /ɛ/, /a/,²⁰ and /ɔ/), and at least one example has been found before /u/ as well. For many, perhaps the majority, of speakers in Farakala, /ɲ/ when it occurs with SR 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 /ɲ/ + SR produces a long, fortis, nasalized approximant [ỹ:]:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------|-----|-----------|----------|
| (36) | nyii | [ỹ:i:] | cf. | nɪ̀nè | [nɪ̀nɛ̀] |
| | eye | | | ground | |
| | nyègà | [ỹ:ɛ̀Ra] | cf. | nɛ̀mɛ̀ | [nɛ̀mɛ̀] |
| | morning | | | caprice | |
| | nyaa | [ỹ:ã:] | cf. | nàà | [nã:] |
| | sight | | | see.IMPFV | |

When /ɲ/ + SR occurs before a back vowel, for most speakers the expected labial SR combines with the nasal to

form a rounded, very close and heavily nasalized
 alveopalatal approximant, [ɥ̃]:

(37) kunwũũ	[kuɥ̃:ũ:] ²¹	cf.	nũŋɔ̃	[nũŋɔ̃]
corner			head	
nwɔɔ	[ɥ̃:ɔ:]	cf.	nɔɔŋɔ̃	[nɔ̃:ŋɔ̃]
beginning			dab	

Only one alveolar, /l/, may occur with SR, 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 SR to form a fortis, very close and somewhat long [y:]:

(38) lyi	[ʎi] or [y:i]	cf.	li	[li]
eat			G3S.pronoun	
lyee	[ʎ ^y e:] or [y:e:]	cf.	le	[le]
same.age			put	
lye	[ʎ ^y ɛ] or [ʎ ^y a] ²²	or [y:ɛ] or [y:a]		
be.old				

Between /l/ and back vowels, SR 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 SR to form a fortis, somewhat long [ɥ:]. No examples before /o/ have been found.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-----------------|-----|-----------|---------|
| (39) | lwúú | [ʌu:] or [ɥ:u:] | cf. | luu | [lu:] |
| | take.IMP | | | sheanuts | |
| | lwo | [ʌɔ] or [ɥ:ɔ] | cf. | lɔɔgo | [lɔ:Ro] |
| | take | | | palm.stem | |

The approximants /y/ and /w/, when combined with SR, 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 SR following other consonants, it seems best to analyze [ɥ] before front vowels as /w/ + SR, and before back vowels as /y/ + SR:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------|--------|-----|----------------------------------------------------|--------|
| (40) | wyii | [ɥi:] | cf. | wíí | [wi:] |
| | hole | | | look.at | |
| | wyere | [ɥere] | cf. | were | [wɛɛ] |
| | cold | | | leaf | |
| | wyééré | [ɥere] | cf. | weege | [we:] |
| | money | | | cailcédrat (<u>Kyaya</u>
<u>senegalensis</u>) | |
| | ywòrò | [ɥoro] | cf. | yogo | [yoRo] |
| | fibre | | | quarrel | |

The rule which converts approximants to corresponding stops helps in the detection of /w/ + SR before back vowels and /y/ + SR 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 SR follows or not. Without this help, the SR 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) wwù [w:u]	cf.	wu [wu]
take.off		pour
wwɔ [w:ɔ]	cf.	wɔɔɔ [wɔ:Rɔ]
be.dark.colored		paint
yyili [y:ili]	cf.	yiri [yiri]
name.after.spirit		get.up
yyere [y:ere]	cf.	yebe [yebe]
call		split

As is clear from the examples, the orthography employed for Supyire uses y for SR before front vowels and /a/, and w for SR 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, given in Table 2.

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

TABLE 2. Vowel Phonemes

ORAL		NASALIZED	
i	u	ɪ	ũ
e	o		
ɛ	ɔ	ɛ̃	ɔ̃
a		ã	

these same contexts /ɔ/ has a variant [] 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 [r] (= 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) bu- + -gV gourd G2S	==>	bogo [boRo] 'gourd'
kapi- + -gili bad.deed G3P	==>	kapègili [kapeRi:] 'bad deeds'
pe- + -gV pot G2S	==>	pege [peRe] 'large pot'
soo- + -gV loom G2S	==>	soogo [so:Ro] 'loom'

There are numerous exceptions to this process. SR 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 [ɨ]):

- (43) pyi- + -gV ==> pyige [pçiRe]
 child G2S 'big child'
- ci- + -gV ==> cige [t/ɫRe]
 tree G2s 'tree'

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

- (44) si- + -gV ==> sige [sɫRe]
 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	==>	cèrii
	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)	kir-	+	-gili	==>	kirii
	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 SR, mid vowels readily lower:

(48)	see-	+	-rV	==>	sɛɛrɛ
	skin		G4		'skins'
	loo-	+	-rV	==>	lɔɔrɔ
	bamboo		G4		'bamboo stems'

Occasionally the lowering is accompanied by diphthongization:

(49)	weN-	+	-rV	==>	wyɛrɛ
	leaf		G4		'leaves'
	loN-	+	-rV	==>	lwɔrɔ
	eggplant.leaves		G4		'eggplant leaves'

A few roots with high vowels undergo lowering:

(50)	pu-	+	-rV	==>	pwo-ro
	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 /ɛ/, /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 SR, and that the process of diphthongization therefore applies redundantly:

(52)	kacyin-	+	-gili	==>	kacyànhii	[ka't/yãʔi:]
	fetish		G3P		'fetishes'	
	lu-	+	-gV	==>	lwɔhɔ	['(wɔʔɔ]
	water		G2S		'water'	
	pe-	+	-gili	==>	pyàhii	['pɕaʔi:]
	pot		G3P		'pots'	
	numbwo-	+	-gV	==>	numbwɔhɔ	[num'bwɔʔɔ]
	big		G2S		'big(G2S)'	

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

(53) me- + -gili ==> myàhii / mèhii
 voice G3P songs ['myaʔi:] / [mɛʔi:]

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.²³ 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 a jwo... [mpeɛ]
 hare PERF say...
 'Hare said...'

u nyɛ à si à? [seɛ]
 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 /ɛ/ and /a/ is neutralized after SR, 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 fya 'fish' and pya 'child', but even these are occasionally heard as [fyɛ] and [pyɛ]. For most speakers, [a] is the usual pronunciation before pause. The low back vowel /ɔ/ likewise has the variants [ɔ] and [ɑ] following SR, as in pwo 'sweep', with the pronunciations [pɔ̄^wɔ] and [pɔ̄^wɑ].²⁴

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 [t/:u] when not before a pause, and cwo 'net' may be pronounced [t/: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 ==> ceéré
 calabash DIM 'little calabash'
- ɲkɛN- + -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 ==> cɛɛga
 calabash G2S 'big calabash'
- ɲkɛN- + -gV ==> ɲkénè
 branch G2S 'branch'

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

(57)	cer-	+	kwoo-	+	-gV	==>	ceekwɔɔɔ
	calabash		shell		G2S		'eggshell'
	tèr-	+	lyi	+	-lV	==>	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 ^d uru]	'return'
	nirè	[n ^d ɪre]	'roots (G4)'
	cf. niṅè	'root (G2S)'	

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

(59)	yatinN-	+	-rV	==>	yatire	from <u>tin</u>
	instrument		G4		'orchestra'	make.noise
	tùntun-	+	-rV	==>	tùnturo	from <u>tun</u>
	message		G4		'message'	send
	kun	+	-rV	==>	kuru	
	munch		IMP		munch.IMP	

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 [ǣ] 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'
	cer-	+	-lV	==>	cere
	calabash		G3S		'calabash'
	sɛ-	+	-rV	==>	sɛrɛ
	honey		G4		'honey'
	ta-	+	-rV	==>	tara
	land		G4		'land'
	su	+	-rV	==>	suro
	pound		G4		'mush'
	˘bor-	+	-lV	==>	˘boro
	bag		G3S		'bag'
	cwɔ	+	-rV	==>	cwɔrɔ
	be.contrary		G4		'contrariness'

Some examples with nasal consonants are:

(61)	pinN-	+	-gV	==>	pinɲɛ
	drum		G2S		'drum'
	cɛN-	+	-gV	==>	cɛɲɛ
	antelope		G2S		'antelope'
	funN-	+	-gV	==>	funɲɔ
	interior		G2S		'interior'

bòN- + -gV ==> bònò
 baboon G2S 'baboon'

Some CVrV verbs allow final high vowels before pause:

(62) suru 'hook.onto'
 tiri 'grind'

Finally, some examples of harmony in trisyllabic feet:

(63) yiri + -gV ==> yirigè ['yir^lRe]
 rise CAUS 'raise'

fègè- + -wV ==> fègèwè ['feRəwè]
 ring G1S 'ring'

perε- + -gV ==> perεge ['perəRe]
 quantity G2S 'quantity'

bùgò + -rV ==> bùgùró ['buR^uro]
 round.hut DIM small.round.hut

bworo- + -gV ==> bworogo [bβorəRo]
 grey.plantain.eater G2S 'grey plantain eater'

cwònrò + -mV ==> cwònròmò [t/wɔ̃rəmɔ̃]
 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) sika [si'ka] 'goat'
 sikwú [sik^wu] 'species of ant'
 fukanga [fu'káRa] 'shoulder, wing'
 munaa [mu'na:] 'nose'
 kalógò [ka'loRo] 'underarm'

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

(65)	ta-	+	bégélé	+	-gV	==>	tabegege
	LOC		arrange		G2S		'place to store things'
	ta-	+	lyi	+	-gV	==>	talyige
	LOC		eat		G2S		'place to eat'

It should be noted that 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 kɔrɔ / kɔre '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 connective 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 [ʌ]. 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 on 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 ==> nàmpíí
 man G1P DEF(G1P) 'the men'
- ̀mbiìn- + -gi- + -kili ==> ̀mbiìnkíí
 outside.corner G3P DEF(G3P) 'the outside
 corners'

The vowel is written in the orthography used here. Thus the examples above are written nàmpíí and ̀mbiìnkíí.

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

- (67) téyirigiṅí ['te'yɪrəŋi]
 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- + shwòhòN + -bi + -píí ==> cyishwòhòmpíí
 thigh between G1P DEF(G1P) [tʃ:i/wòʔmpɪ:]
 '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)	kya	+	-rV	+	-re	==>	kyaàre
	chew		G4		DEF(G4)		the.meat
	kàlà	+	-li			==>	kàlli25
	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.²⁶ Some examples:

(70)	pilaga	[pl:aRa]	or	[pla:Ra]	'night'
	biliwe	[bl:iwe]	or	[bli:we]	'slave'
	kile	[kl:e]	or	[kle:]	'sky, God'
	kinaga	[kn:aRa]	or	[kna:Ra]	'fruit bat'
	file	[fl:e]	or	[fle:]	'approach'
	sílégé	[sl:eRe]	or	[sle:Re]	'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 dependant 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 particle à, the serial verb connective à, the locative adverb aní (derived from waní by the elision of its initial /w/, see section 2.1.3.2 above), and the negative question particle à:27

(71) Ku kan ceèni á. ==>
it give woman.DEF to

Ku kan ceèna à.
'Give it to the woman.'

Ceèni à kare à kwɔ. ==>
woman.DEF PERF go SC finish

Ceèna a kàra a kwɔ.
'The woman has already gone.'

U nye à kare aní à? ==>
 she NEG PERF go there NEG.Q

U nye a kàrà àná à?
 '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	nwɔ.	==>	Ka à nwɔ.
	it(G2S)	PERF	good		'It is good.'
	Li	à	nwɔ.	==>	La à nwɔ.
	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 nwo. ==> Pi à nwo. [pya:]
 they PERF good 'They are good.'

Pu à nwo. ==> Pa à nwo.
 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'²⁸ 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) ñké è 'with that (G2S)'
 ñdé è 'with that (G3S)'

Following all other stressed vowels, i is used:

(76) pyà i 'with a child'
 fyi i 'with a python'
 tu i 'with father'

pwun i 'with a dog' [p^hũĩ]
 nò i 'with a husband'

The sole exception to this rule discovered so far is wwò '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)'
	tile é	'with fathers'	<	tii	'fathers' ²⁹
	`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 i	'with a granary'	<	bwùn	'granary'
	dùfàànni i	'with a donkey'	<	dùfàànnà	'donkey'
	bèènni i	'with light'	<	bèènmè	'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 i	'with the hoes'	<	tùùyí	'the hoes'
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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)	niN-	+	pi		==>	numpi	
	ADJ		be.bad			'bad'	
	niN-	+	bo		==>	numbo	
	ADJ		kill			'to be killed'	
	cf. niN-	+	tii	+	-wV	==>	nintiwe
	ADJ		be.straight		G1S		'straight'
	niN-	+	curu	+	-gV	==>	nincurugo
	ADJ		stick.in		G2S		'stuck in'

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

(81)	niN-	+	wwɔ	+	-gV	==>	nungwɔhɔ
	ADJ		be.black		G2S		'black (G2S)'
	niN-	+	waha			==>	ninga
	ADJ		be.hard				'hard'

2.2.2.8 Spread of Nasalization

Nasalization spreads to adjacent vowels when no consonant intervenes:

(82) pwun i [pʰũi] 'with a dog'

It also spreads across [ʔ] and [l], but not across other consonants:

(83) kàn-	+	-gV	==>	kànhà	[kǎʔǎ]
village		G2S		'village'	
teen	+	-lV	==>	teenle	[tɛ:ĩɛ] ³⁰
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 Senufo languages (Supyire, Sucite, Mamara) all have both weak and strong mid tones. Central Senufo 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-Senufo 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.³¹ In northern Senufo it remains but has merged phonetically with the other mid tone. This phonetic neutralization has not entailed serious phonological neutralization, however, due to the complex tone rules which ensure that the two mid tones are not both possible in most environments.

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 NP 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 suffixes³²

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.³³ 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: Yiri! '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.IMPFV

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: cù 'grab', fè 'run'. When the verb has two vowels, they get one tone each: yíri 'get up', bíi 'go far'. When there are three vowels, however, the H always coopts the first two, leaving only the last for the L: yíriqè (from yíri 'get up' plus the toneless causative suffix -qV) 'raise', céégè 'accuse'.³⁴

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: kárá má 'force' (H, from Bambara kárá bá), kú má sé 'begin' (H, from French commencer). Significantly, Bambara low tone verbs with initial stress are treated as HL in Supyire: má rá 'guard' (from Bambara má rá), só mò 'warn' (from Bambara sò mǐ). 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: kà lí fá 'entrust' (from Bambara kà lí fá), yà fá 'forgive' (from Bambara yà fá). 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: des é 'lack' (from dés é), daf á 'complete' (from dáf á, a compound in Bambara). The final stress of a French word is sometimes interpreted as high tone: gard í 'guard' (from gard er).

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 mòlògòmálagè), pòròpòró 'threaten' (imperfective pòròpóre), piripàrá 'be worthless' (imperfective piripàré). A slight variation has the form CVNVCV: pàmpàá 'flatten completely' (imperfective pàmpáni), kùnkùú 'roll' (imperfective kùnkúù).

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:	fáágá	'rock, Farakala'
	báará	'work'
	círíné	'orphan'
	túnó	'species of caterpillar'
Ms:	baga	'house'
	cere	'calabash'
	pwooro	'daughter'
	sarawa	'bee'
Mw:	cige	'tree'
	shire	'hair, feathers'
	bu	'dead person'
	koo	'vervet monkey'

L:	̀̀kùù	'chicken'
	fèrènè	'hoof'
	nà	'man'
	finimè	'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)	darashí	'five francs'	from Bambara	<u>dálásí</u>
	móbílí	[mɔ́'bli:] 'car'	from Bambara	<u>móbílí</u>
	kubará	'news'	from Bambara	<u>kibàrò</u>
	lakóló	'school'	from French	<u>l'école</u>
	kesú	'box'	from French	<u>caisse</u>
	avyén	'airplane'	from French	<u>avion</u> ³⁵

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)	làmpú	'taxes'	from French	<u>l'impôt</u>
	mùzhwóró	'scarf'	from French	<u>mouchoir</u>
	bòmbó	'candy'	from French	<u>bonbon</u>
	sikwú	'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) *bútùnǒ* [bu'tunǒ] 'bottle' from French bouteille
yákili [ya'kli:] 'intelligence' from Bambara hákílí
sóò 'pick' from Bambara sólí
jínà 'water spirit' from Bambara jíné
 (from Arabic jinni)
jwó 'blessing'
dù '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) *kàlaga* [ka'laRa] 'sorghum'
nàkaana [nã'ka:nã] 'discussion'
dùfugo [du'fuRo] 'maize'
kùcwuun [ku't/:ũ:] 'patas monkey'
nàmponɲo [na'mpɔŋɔ] 'guest, stranger'

A subset of this pattern has reduplicated roots:

- (91) t̀̀ntenɲe 'fritter'
 t̀̀ntunɲo 'messenger'
 t̀̀togo 'tamale'
 s̀̀so '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) ̀̀pi 'hare'
 ̀̀puuwo 'spider'
 ̀̀gugo 'thorn'
 ̀̀jire 'importance'
 ̀̀kuro '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.³⁶ 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'
 `no 'scorpion'
 `nene 'tail'
 `nine 'middle'
 `nwɔhɔ 'bottom'
 `nyege '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: əpuro 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: bɛɛnɛ 'well', and /wɔ̀hɔ̀lɔ̀ '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: kali 'conversation'. In the other, which has initial stress, the low tone floats to the right: cɔ̀ɔ̀n` '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: coònni '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)	sika	[si'ka]	'goat'	sikàni	'the goat'
	kile	[kle:]	'sky, God'	kilèni	'the sky'
	pwun	[p ũ]	'dog'	pwùnni	'the dog'
	kerège	['kɛrɛʒɛ]	'field'	kerège	'the field'
	kyara	['kxara]	'meat'	kyaàre	'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'
	àbà	'blind'
	zànhà	'rain' ['zã?ã]
	yòrògò	'chain'

Only ten three-tone tunes have been found so far.³⁷ 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	fàarà	'water spirit' (loan)
	HLM	báhàzàṅa	' <u>Faidherbia albia</u> (sp. of tree)' (loan)
	MsLH	simucòró	'common bulbul'
	HMH	kókankó	'bearded barbet (<u>Laniarius barbarus</u>)' (loan, onomatopoeic)
	HML	fíicù	'red-spectacled wattle-eye' (onomatopoeic)
	LMH	bòyakí	'guava' (loan)
		àrajó	'radio, cassette recorder' (loan)
	HLH	sáhàrá	'red bishop bird (<u>Eplectes orix</u>)
		nókùns	'hedgehog'
		mánkwòró	'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) | `lálaga | 'butterfly, moth' |
| | `néṅere | 'yellow-wattled plover' |
| | `vúvugo | 'wasp' |
| | `zííziiné | 'finch' ³⁸ |
| | `wúcin | 'hammerkop (species of bird)' |

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) | `vù | 'bull-roarer' |
| | `vyín | 'cricket' |
| | ḥkénè | 'branch' |
| | àpáàn | '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) | bèèzé | 'facial scarifications' |
| | lèfá | 'brick' |
| | ḥkèémórò | 'chameleon' |
| | kùlùshí | 'trousers' (loan) |
| | dògòtórò | 'doctor' (loan) |
| | wàràbá | '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'
	nafyíi	'arse'
	dufá	'pocket'
	marafá	'gun' (loan)
	tasá	'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	láházàrà	'second prayer of the afternoon (muslim term)' (loan)
	MHMH	banáŋkonó	'Abdim's stork (<u>Ciconia abdimii</u>)' (loan, from Bambara <u>bànkòŋò</u> , a compound)
	LHLMw	kàsímèè	'elbow'
	HMHL	bínakáà	'species of eagle'
	LMHL	ŋkunágà	'wooden bowl'
		ŋticyèn	'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
	pwun	pwùn	'dog' (G1)
	ceewe	cyèe	'woman' (G1)
	kuro	kùrii	'path' (G3)
	luu	lùgii	'shea nut' (G3)

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

(103)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
	biliwe	bilii	'slave' (G1)
	jya	jyaa	'son' (G1)
	kile	kilee	'sky, god' (G1)
	koolo	koogii	'cough' (G3)
	ntirine	ntirinii	'small bat' (G3)
	njire	njirii	'tongue' (G3)

At least two MwL roots become H in the plural:

(104)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
	ciwe	cíili	'leather-worker' (G1)
	kulo	kúlúgii	'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	fya	fyàa	'fish' (G1)
	Mw	cere	cèrii	'calabash' (G3)
	Mw	koo	kééli	'vervet monkey' (G1)
	Mw	pwuun	pwónhii	'bump' (G3)
	Ms	pee	pyàhii	'pottery bowl' (G3)
	Ms	sarawa	sárii	'bee' (G1)
	Ms	baa	báhii	'small house' (G3)

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

(106)	BASE TONE	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
	Mw	yiriwe	yirii	'crested porcupine' (G1)
	Ms	pworo	pworii	'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	kwuulo	kwúúgii	'shout'
	H	suu	súgii	'injection'
	Ms	tahala	tahagii	'layer'
	Ms	tugulo	tugugii	'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
kùcwuun	kùcwúúnli	'patas monkey' (G1)
̀mpi	̀mpíi	'hare' (G1)
̀nɔɔ	̀némi	'guinea fowl' (G1)
pàwuro	pàwúrii	'pottery collander' (G3)
̀kuro	̀kúrii	'wadi' (G3)
̀boro	̀bórii	'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
̀kùù	̀kùùni	'chicken' (G1S)
kùùgò	kùùge	'stool' (G2S)
kùùyò	kùùyi	'stools' (G2P)
fáágá	fááge	'rock' (G2S)
fááyá	fááyí	'rocks' (G2P)
fúúnmó	fúúnmpe	'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 Ŋ- 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 (-ííí 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 the something like the following, using G1S as an example:

(110)	RECONSTRUCTED FORM	N-	w	-e
	RECONSTRUCTED TONES	LMw	Mw	L
	PRESENT FORM	ŋgé		

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 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. ɪ '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, fééfée '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:

(1) INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	GLOSS
sika	sikàni [si'kaɲi]	'goat'
pwun	pwùnni	'dog'

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

(2) INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	GLOSS
kerege	kerêge ['kɛrəRe]	'field'

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

(113)	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	GLOSS
	fwònrògò	fwònròge	'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)	nin̩kin nin̩kin	'one by one, one each'
	one one	
	tùùgo nin̩kin	'one large hoe'
	large.hoe one	
	mii ðkùùŋi	'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)	mii boní	'my bag'	from <u>boní</u>
	my bag		
	u poòŋi nen̩ké	'her husband's tail	
	her husband tail	(i.e. flywhisk)'	from <u>nen̩ké</u>
	maá ù nen̩ké lwò...	'and took his tail...'	
	and his tail take		
	u ná n̩ámii si...	'she gave birth to twins...'	
	she PAST twins give.birth	from <u>n̩ámii</u>	

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'):³⁹

(116) UT: L Mw
 sinmè 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.

(117) UT: L MwL
 fòŋɔ̃ fòò
 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
 ɲkùù bò
 chicken kill
 'kill a chicken'

UT: L Mw
 ɲkùù dùrùgò
 chicken go.up.CAUS
 'make a chicken go up'

UT: L H
 ɲkùù lwɔ̃
 chicken take
 'take a chicken'

UT: L H
 ɲkùù nààrà
 chicken ask.for
 'ask for a chicken'

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

(119) UT: L L H Ms
 kà ḥkùù sì jwò...40
 and.DS chicken NARR say
 'Then chicken said...'

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

(120) UT: L H LMs
 ḥkùù nà ḥkùlege
 chicken and cockroach
 'chicken and cockroach'

UT: H L Mw
 ná ḥkùlè 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
 ḥkù-pòò
 chicken-male
 'rooster'

UT: L Mw
 ḥkù-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
 sanncyɛɛn mèè
 bird song
 'bird song'
- UT: MwL H VERB PHRASE
 ceewe wii
 woman look.at
 'look at a woman'
- UT: L MwL Mw Ms TAM MARKER
 kà pwun si jwò...
 then dog NARR say
 'then Dog said...'
- UT: MwL H L CONJUNCTION
 ceewe nà nò
 woman and man
 'a woman and a man'
- UT: H MwL Mw POSTPOSITION
 ná pwun i
 with dog with
 'with a dog'

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-bilî-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-pè-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
 sancwɔn-sigi-ɲí
 pest-prevent-DEF(G1S)
 'person who guards crops from
 animal pests'

UT: MwL Ms Mw Mw L
 sancwɔn-sigi-cì-ge
 pest-prevent-tree-DEF(G1S)
 'tree in which person who guards
 crops from animal 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 Mw L Mw Mw L GENITIVE
 nà-ɲi ɲwò-ò-ɲí
 man-DEF knife-G3S-DEF
 'the man's knife'

UT: Mw Mw L H VERB PHRASE
 ci-ré pààn
 tree-DEF chop
 'chop trees'

UT: L MwL Mw L Mw Ms TAM MARKER
 kà ceè-ɲi si jwò...
 and woman-DEF NARR say
 'then the woman said...'

UT: MwL Mw L H MwL L Mw L CONJUNCTION
 ceè-ɲi nà u pyà-ɲi
 woman-DEF and her child-DEF
 'the woman and her child'

UT: H MwL Mw L Mw POSTPOSITION
 ná ceè-ɲi 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	Mw	L	SIMPLE	
	u		ci-ge			
	his/her	tree-DEF				
	'his/her	tree'				
UT:	MwL		Mw	Mw	L	EMPHATIC
	uru		ci-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 wii
 it look.at
 'look at it'

UT: MwL H EMPHATIC
 kuru wii
 it(EMPH) look.at
 'look at it'

The L of a simple pronoun has no effect on a following
 TAM marker:

(131) UT: L MwL H Ms SIMPLE
 kà u ú jwó...
 and she NARR say
 'then she said...'

UT: L MwL H Ms EMPHATIC
 kà uru si jwò...
 and she(EMPH) NARR say
 'then she said...'

A following conjunction likewise is not affected:

(132) UT: MwL H MwL Ms Mw L SIMPLE
 u ná u pwo-ro-ńí
 he and his daughter-DEF
 'he and his daughter'

UT: MwL H L Ms Mw L EMPHATIC
 uru ná cyè-e-bíí
 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 are 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 wíí.
 s/he PERF it look.at
 'S/he has looked at it.'
- UT: Ms MwL MwL H EMPHATIC PRO 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 Mw L H Mw Mw L Mw
 Kà nà-ŋi si ci-gé kwòn.
 and man-DEF NARR tree-DEF cut
 'Then the man cut the tree.'

UT: L L Mw L H MwL Mw Mw L Mw
 Kà nà-ŋi si ù ci-gé kwòn.
 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 fàanra
 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 example, 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 li fàanra.
 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 bwɔ̃n 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 dūrù-gò.
 s/he PERF it go.up-CAUS
 'S/he has put it up.'

UT: MwL MwL MwL H
 U a kù wíí.
 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 N- 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 N- 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
	kare (Mw) 'go'	ḡ-kàrè-ḡí 'the going'	ḡ-kàrè 'will go'
	paara (Ms) 'imitate'	ḡ-paara-ḡí 'the imitating'	ḡ-pàara 'will be imitated'
	wíí 'look.at'	ḡ-gíi-ḡí 'the looking at'	ḡ-gíí '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
 Kà u ú jwó...
 and she NARR say
 'Then she said...'
- UT: MwL H Ms CVV
 La há yáa...
 it COND fashion
 'If it is fashioned...'
- UT: L MwL H Ms CVCV
 Kà yi í fwóro...
 and they NARR go.out
 'Then they went out...'
- UT: MwL H Ms CVVCV
 La há fáánra...
 it COND build
 'When it is built...'
- UT: Ms H Ms CVCVCV
 Mu ahá wúrúgo...
 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 NP 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 Mw L Mw
 Kà u ú cí-gé kwòn.
 and he NARR tree-DEF cut
 'Then he cut the tree.'

UT: L MwL H MwL Mw Mw L Mw
 Kà u ú ú cí-ge kwòn.
 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 Mw L
 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 Mw L 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 Mw L
 mu pwún-ŋi
 your dog-DEF
 'your dog'
- UT: Ms MwL Mw L
 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	Mw	L	Ms	Mw	L
	ci-gé			ba-gé		
	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 mii 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 Mw L GENITIVE
 mii cí-ge
 my tree-DEF(G2S)
 'my tree'
- UT: LMw Mw VERB PHRASE
 mii dúrú-gó
 me go.up-CAUS
 'make me go up'
- UT: H LMw Mw POSTPOSITION
 ná mii í
 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 Mw L | L Mw L |
| | bwùù-ní | ḥkùù-ḥi |
| | 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 Mw L
 òkùù fòò-ńí
 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
 Mii 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 Mw L
 mu nkúu-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 Mw L
 mu bwuún-ni
 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	Mw L
	uru	pòò-ńí	
	*uru	poó-ńi	
	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 Mw L GENITIVE
 Fáágá ' cáán-ge
 Farakala market-DEF
 'the market of Farakala'

 UT: LH Mw VERB PHRASE
 ñtàsón ' bó
 toad kill
 'kill a toad'

As with other rules affecting the MwL tune, the final L disappears completely when the Mw is converted to H:

(156) UT: H MwL Mw L
 Fáágá ' kúú-ge
 Farakala road-DEF
 'the road to Farakala'

2.3.5 Downstep, Downdrift, and Intonation

In addition to the spreading and feature changing rules discussed above, there are other processes which affect the phonetic production of tone. These will be dealt with briefly in this section.

2.3.5.1 Downstep

A downstep is inserted between two H tones, anywhere within an intonation group. In practice this means that a downstep will be placed before a word beginning with H tone if the preceding word ends in H tone. The first word may have a basic H tone, or else it may have acquired H through spreading from the left. In either case, the effect is the same: a downstep is inserted and a new, lower, register is set. Carlson (1983) gives more details. In that article I stated that downstep is total, lowering the downstepped H to the phonetic level of a previous M. That claim needs to be amended slightly. While it is true that in many cases the downstep is 'total', especially when the downstepped H is the final tone of the intonation group, in other cases, and especially for some speakers, the downstep is partial, falling somewhere in between the level of the old H and M.

The insertion of downstep has the interesting effect of preserving the distinctiveness of H tone in precisely those environments where it would be confounded with M words which have permitted the rightward spreading of H tone. For example, a M verb following a H may acquire H through spreading,⁴¹ but a H verb will actually be pronounced lower in the same environment, due to the insertion of downstep. The contrast between M and H verbs is thus preserved:

- (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 ' yíbé...
 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.⁴²

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 NF intonation. The original speaker then continues with another intonation group. Following are some examples. The NF intonation has been transcribed simply as [:] to indicate length, with appropriate tones above it.

(158) a. A: òjaaní ògémù wì gé ˥ [wiRéèé]
 repair.DEF DEM.REL it.is REL NF
 'The restoring which it is,

B: m̀m̀
 yeah

A: wɛrɛ fà̀nà tì nyɛ tì tì 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 ' m̀n̩i : [m̀n̩ií]
 IND PROG be.there there NF
 'There is one over there,

B: m̀m̀
 Uh-huh

A: mii nyɛ à u tayirige cè mé.
 I NEG PERF his LOC.rise know NEG
 I don't know where he came from.'

Notes

1. 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, Cebara) 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).

2. 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.

3. In fact, none of the palatals except /y/ can occur in a medial unstressed syllable.

4. Other Senufo languages have many /g/-initial words, but these mostly appear to be a reflex of proto *ɲk, which is preserved in Supyire.

5. Several complexities in the morphology are ignored here as irrelevant.

6. 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.

7. Some speakers will occasionally use a glottal stop in these environments.

8. The pronouns and conditional auxiliary are written separately in keeping with a general decision to write clitics separately in the orthography.

9. The rarity of /g/-initial words was noted above. This

verb is borrowed from Bambara. It requires an indirect object.

10. 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 degemination 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.

11. 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.

12. This is the typical Senufo scenario for all 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.

13. There are also two noun roots in which initial unstressed /d/ varies with /s/: disónnó / sisónnó 'fly', and diizi / siizi 'thread'.

14. The variations in tone will be explained in section 2.3.

15. In his short investigation of Supyire (he worked with an informant for one week), Welmers (1950) 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/ (p. 495). He analyzed palatalized consonants as clusters (Cy), but noted that /py/ and /by/ did not occur before /i/ (p. 495). 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].

16. 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 [C^j_i:] with very slight palatalization. The phonetic realization of labial consonant with u: is [C^wu:] with slight labialization.' It seems that Suppire extended this process to other long vowels.

17. The Suppire 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. kyii 'Kyii', for its place in the seven-day week, e.g. tèentàhàrà 'Tuesday', or with a compound of the two, e.g. kyiintèentàhàrà '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.

18. This alternation occurs in all the various forms of pronouns and determiners of gender 3 plural, e.g. kyii or cyii 'indefinite pronoun', ñkyíí or ñcyíí 'demonstrative'.

19. Welmers (1950) transcribed this sound as [kea] and says "In the cluster /ea/, /e/ is a central vowel" (p. 497). 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 (p. 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.

20. In section 2.2.1.3 below it is shown that following SR, for most roots /ɛ/ may vary with /a/.

21. This is the sole example before /u/.

22. See note 20 above.

23. What happens when an unstressed vowel comes to follow a stressed vowel within a word will be dealt with below.

24. Both Welmers and Herber transcribe many of these words as Cua. If [a] 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 [a] is rather a variant of /ɔ/, these anomalies vanish.

25. 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.

26. 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 fine [fne] or fini ['fɪni].

27. The tone changes will be discussed below.

28. 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.

29. Recall that an [l] or [n] which would otherwise elide is prevented from doing so by the addition of a vowel-initial clitic.

30. This is pronounced teenne by some people, obviously a newer pronunciation. A similar fate probably overtook many nasalized /l/s in the past.

31. Garber further suggests (p.c.) 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.

32. It may well be that a tonal affix could be reconstructed for the imperfective (cf. Garber 1987:51ff for a similar problem in Sucite). It does not correlate with any of the segmental suffixes with which it co-occurs, however.

33. 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').

34. 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.

35. 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'vyɔ̃] to a front vowel [a'vyɛ̃n]. A different strategy is employed to naturalize camion [ka'myɔ̃] 'truck', which becomes kamaɲwó [kama'ɲ:ɔ̃] through the insertion of an extra vowel.

36. 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'.

37. 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.

38. The final high tone is due to the addition of the diminutive suffix -rV.

39. 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.

40. The L spreads to the Ms verb by a process discussed in section 2.3.3.2 below.

41. 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.

42. 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 III

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.

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 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.

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 C is of

course the class consonant (or a voiced counterpart), and the V 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 /l/ 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 -lV.

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

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

TABLE 4. Basic Noun Gender Suffixes

GENDER	SINGULAR	NON-COUNT	PLURAL
1	-wV		-(bi)li
2	-gV		-yV
3	-lV		-gili
4		-rV	
5		-mV/-bV	

present-day demonstrative determiners.³ The base forms of the definite suffixes are given in Table 5.

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.

TABLE 5. Definite Noun Gender Suffixes

GENDER	SINGULAR	NON-COUNT	PLURAL
1	-ŋi		-pili
2	-ke		-yi
3	-ni		-kili
4		-te	
5		-pe	

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'	
narawa	'aardvark'	
ceewe	'woman'	
pòòwò	'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) b̄arà	'conversation'	(loan)
jinè	'spindle'	(loan)
kile	'sky, god'	[kle:]
sòò	'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
tu	ti-	'father'
nu	nè-	'mother'
sò	sè-	'duiker'
foo	fè-	'owner'
koo	kée-	'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) nàmponnɔ	'guest'
círíné	'orphan'
cwǎhòŋǔ	'Bambara person'
˘nana	'twin'

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

(5) ROOT	GENDER 1 SINGULAR	GLOSS
cinN-	cin	'leopard'
zòN-	zò	'heart'
nàN-	nà	'man'
˘nɔN-	˘nɔ	'scorpion'

3.1.1.4 Gender 1 Definite Singular

The gender 1 singular definite suffix -ŋi is invariant except for the tone change just described. As noted above, 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
tu	tùŋi	'the father'
nu	nùŋi	'the mother'
sò	sòŋi	'the duiker'
foo	foòŋi	'the owner'
koo	kooŋí	'the vervet monkey'

3.1.1.5 Gender 1 Plural

As shown in table 3.2, 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'
	`námii	'twins'
	zòmii	'hearts'
	námii	'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'
	cííli	'leather-workers'
	kùcwúúnli	'patas monkeys'
	̀kòònlí	'genets'
	pòòli	'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
jinè	jinii	'spindles' (loan)
lakóló	lakólii	'students' (loan)
̀̀kèèmórò	̀̀kèèmórii	'chameleons'
pworo	pworii	'daughters'
sarawa	sárii	'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
dufá	dufáa	'pockets'
fyá	fyáa	'fish'
kile [kle:]	kilee [kle:]	'gods'
pwun	pwùn	'dogs'
wwó	wwòo	'snakes'

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

(11) SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
ceewe	cyèe	'women' ⁷
nàmpɔ̀nɔ̀	nàmpwuun	'guests' ⁸
sika	sikyàa	'goats' ⁹

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
dùbà	dùbàii	'mirrors'
fílá [fla:]	fíláii [fla:i:]	'Fulani people'
jínà	jínaii	'spirits'
kílé [kle:]	kíléii [kle:i:]	'wrenches'

For tonal changes associated with gender 1 plural, see chapter II, 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 II, section 2.2.2.3). The /p/ is thus protected from intervocalic voicing. Note that in the orthography the elided /i/ is written. The definite forms of the nouns in example 7 above are:

(13) INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	PHONETIC FORM	GLOSS
círímii	círímipíí	[t/úrm̄:pí:]	'the orphans'
`námii	`námipíí	[nám̄:pí:]	'the twins'
zòmii	zòmipíí	[zòm̄:pí:]	'the hearts'
nàmii	nàmipíí	[nàm̄:pí:]	'the men'
`nómii	`nómipíí	[nóm̄: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
dufáa	dufáabíí	'the pockets'
fyàa	fyàabíí	'the fishes'
kilee	kileebíí	'the gods'
pwùun	pwùunbíí	'the dogs'
wwòo	wwòobíí	'the snakes'
cyèe	cyèebíí	'the women'
nàmpɔ̀nɔ̀	nàmpwuun	'the guests'
sikyàa	sikyàabíí	'the goats'

For those noun roots ending in unstressed vowels the addition of the definite suffix after the indefinite suffix (-li or -i) would lead to unacceptable sequences of three unstressed vowels. This is avoided by the deletion of the indefinite 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
caáli	caábíí	'the pigs'
ciíli	ciíbíí	'the leather-workers'
kùcwúúnli	kùcwúubíí	'the patas monkeys'
ɲkòònlí	ɲkòònbíí	'the genets'
pòòli	pòòbíí	'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
jinii	jinibíí	'the spindles'
lakólii	lakólibíí	'the students'
ḡkèémórii	ḡkèémóribíí	'the chameleons'
pworii	pworibíí	'the daughters'
sárii	sáribíí	'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'
kafɛɛge	'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 1 singular nouns. Some examples are:

(18) yiŋɛ	'moon, month'
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ḥkénè	'branch'
bèenḡe	'well'
canḡa	'day'
bòḡò	'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 YI class. 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 KU class suffix. Some examples of this suffix are:

(19) bàhà	'poison' (loan; < Bamb. <u>bàgà</u>)
fànhà	'power' (loan; < Bamb. <u>fàngà</u>)
kànhà	'village'
lwɔhɔ	'water'
nùḡwòhò	'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
yɪŋɛ	yɪŋke	'the moon'
ɲkɛŋɛ	ɲkɛŋke	'the branch'
bɛɛŋŋɛ	bɛɛŋŋké	'the well'
canna	cànŋke	'the day'
bòŋɔ	bòŋke	'the baboon'

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

(21) INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	GLOSS
cige	cigé	'the tree'
sèèlege	sèèlegé	'the squash'
kafɛɛge	kafɛège	'the wind'
baga	bagé	'the house'
kùùgò	kùùge	'the stool'

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

(22) INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	GLOSS
bàhà	bàhe	'the poison'
fànhà	fànhe	'the power'
kànhà	kànhe	'the village'
lwòhò	lwòhé	'the water'
nùngwòhò	nùngwòhé	'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 [n] is written before the suffix (recall that /ny/ is pronounced [y:]). When the preceding vowel is nasalized, however, the [n] is omitted in the orthography, the nasalization being indicated as usual by an [n] just before the suffix:

(24)	yinye	'months'
	ḥkényè	'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'
	nùngwòhòyà	or	nùngwòyà	'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
	yinye	yinyi	'the months'
	ḥkényè	ḥkényi	'the branches'
	bèenyè	bèenyí	'the wells'
	canya	cányi	'the days'
	bònyò	bònyi	'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
ciye	ciyí	'the trees'
sèèliye	sèèliyí	'the squashes'
kafeeye	kafèèyi	'the winds'
baya	bayí	'the houses'
kùùyò	kùùyi	'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	
bàhàyi	or	bàyi	'the poisons'
nùngwòhòyi	or	nùngwòyi	'the rainy seasons'
		fànyi	'the powers'
		kànyi	'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)	koolo	'cough'
	sàhàlà	'kind of basket smeared with manure'
	tahala	'layer'
	tegele	'limit, frontier'
	tugulo	'load'

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

(31)	bilé	[ble:]	'earth pea'
	bilè	[ble:]	'seed'
	kulo		'country'
	kùlò		'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 SR in gender 3 singular. That this was historically due to the addition of the gender 3 suffix is hinted at by alternations in a few of the roots with non-SR forms. 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 SR as a trace. Thus jwoo 'penis' historically had the root joN-, as the gender 2 form jonɔ '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'
	kunno	'navel'
	nànkúúnò	'cattle egret (<u>Ardeola ibis</u>)'

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

(34)	njire	'tongue'
	cere	'calabash'
	neré	'liver'
	pawuro	'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
cyii	cyiini	'the thigh'
pee	peeni	'the pottery bowl'
jàà	jààni	'the bean'
fwuu	fwuùni	'the yam'
cwoo	cwoòni	'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
koolo	koòni	'the cough'
sàhàlà	sàhàni	'the basket'
tahala	tahani	'the layer'
tegele	tegèni	'the limit'
tugulo	tuguni	'the load'
bílé	bílini [bli:ni]	'the earth pea'
bilè	bilini [bli:ni]	'the seed'
kulo	kulùni	'the country'
kùlò	kùlùni	'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
jirine	jirini	'the breast'
teenne	teenni	'the bell'
sháháná	sháháni	'the oil palm nut'
kunno	kùnni	'the navel'
nànkúúnò	nànkúùni	'the cattle egret'
njire	njini	'the tongue'
cere	ceñi	'the calabash'
neré	nèni	'the liver'
pàwuro	pàwuni	'the pottery collander'
woro	wòni	'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

cyigii	'thighs'	
bigii	'sticks'	
bògii	'gourds'	root: <u>bu-</u>
		(cf. G2P form <u>buyo</u>)
señcwùgii	'calves (of legs)'	
súgii	'injections'	

(39) root ends with unstressed vowel

tahagii	'layers'
koogii	'coughs'
kúlúgii	'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 SR) of the preceding vowel if it is not [a]:

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

pyàhii	'pottery bowls'	root: <u>pe-</u>
jàhii	'beans'	root: <u>jà-</u>
cwòhii	'pots'	root: <u>cwo-</u>
kacyànhii	'fetishes'	root: <u>kacyin-</u>

(41) root ends in nasal vowel

àpánhii	'doves'	root: <u>àpân-</u>
bwònhii	'granaries'	root: <u>bwùn-</u>
ŋwòhii	'knives'	root: <u>ŋwɔ-</u>

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) jiriŋii	'breasts'
tsennii	'bells'

sháhánii	'oil palm nuts'
kùnnii	'navels' ¹⁰
nànkúnii	'cattle egrets' ¹¹

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) njirii	'tongues'
cèrii	'calabashes'
nèrii	'livers'
pàwúrii	'pottery collanders'
wòrii	'stars'

A handful of roots take a reduced suffix -lV, of which the /l/ 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 'rounded objects'. They may thus be the remnants of another noun class which has merged with gender 3. These nouns are:

(44) PLURAL	GLOSS	SINGULAR
bilii	'earth peas'	bílé
pyàa	'seeds' ¹²	bilè
fwùu	'yams'	fwuu
fwùun	'peanuts'	fwùùn
`múu	'tigernuts'	`múú
`nyii	'eyes'	nyii
shòo	'millet'	shòò
yyèe	'years'	yyee

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 (though it is written in the orthography), 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
jirinii	jirinikíí	[jùrḡ:kí:]	'the breasts' ¹³	
tsennii	tsennikíí	[tḡ:ḡ:kí:]	'the bells'	
sháhánii	sháhánikíí	[/á?ḡ:kí:]	'the palm nuts'	
kùnnii	kùnnikíí	[k ùḡ:kí:]	'the navels'	
nànkúnii	nànkúnikíí	[nànkúnḡ: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
cyigii	cyigigíí	'the thighs'
bògii	bògigíí	'the gourds'
señcwùgii	señcwùgigíí	'the calves'
súgii	súgigíí	'the injections'
pyàhii	pyàhigíí	'the pottery bowls'
jàhii	jàhigíí	'the beans'
cwòhii	cwòhigíí	'the pots'
kacyànhi	kàcyànhiigíí	'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
tahagii	tahagíí	'the layers'
koogii	koogíí	'the coughs'
kwúúgii	kwúúgíí	'the cries'
tugugii	tugugíí	'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
njirii	njirigíí	'the tongues'
cèrii	cèrigíí	'the calabashes'
nèrii	nèrigíí	'the livers'
pàwúrii	pàwúrigíí	'the pottery collanders'
wòrii	wòrigíí	'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) biliigíí	'the earth peas'
pyàagíí	'the seeds'
fwùugíí	'the yams'
fwùungíí	'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) shire	'feathers, fur, body hair'
wyere	'coldness'
sisere	'condiment made from néré seeds'
lara	'intestines'
suro	'mush'

In some roots it causes the lowering of the previous vowel.

This may be accompanied by the introduction of SR:

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

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

(52)	̀̀kénè	'branches'
	nà̀̀nà	'maleness'
	nà̀̀kaana	'discussion'
	kò̀̀ònò	'cotton'
	tò̀̀onno	'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)	nirè [ndire]	'roots'	root: <u>ninN-</u>
	tù̀̀nnturo	'message'	root: <u>tù̀̀nntunN-</u> ¹⁴
	yatire	'instruments'	root: <u>yatinN-</u> ¹⁵

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

(54)	sere	'honey'	root: <u>seN-</u>
	wyere	'leaves'	root: <u>weN-</u>
	ywò̀̀rò	'fibre'	root: <u>yuN-</u>

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
ɲkénè	ɲkènte	'the branches'
nàná	nànte	'the maleness'
nàkaana	nàkaanté	'the discussion'
kòòṅṅ	kòònte	'the cotton'
tɔ̀ɔ̀nnɔ̀	tɔ̀ɔ̀nnnte	'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:¹⁶

(56) INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	GLOSS
shire	shiré	'the feathers'
nirè	nire	'the roots'
suro	sùre	'the mush'
tùnturo	tùnturé	'the message'
mburo	mburé	'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
wyere	wyeère	'the coldness'
sere	sèré	'the honey'
wyere	wyeère	'the leaves'
lara	laaré	'the intestines'
cwɔnrɔ	cwɔnré	'the ashes'

3.1.1.17 Gender 5

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

(58) sinmè	'oil, fat'
bèènmè	'light'
sinŋkanma	'sorcery'
suumɔ	'salt'
woromɔ	'green algae, moss'

One root has an alternate suffix -bV:

(59) jwumɔ / jwubo	'words, speech' ¹⁷
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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
sinmè	sinmpe	'oil, fat'
bèènmè	bèènmpe	'the light'
sinŋkanma	sinŋkanmpé	'the sorcery'
suumɔ	suùmpe	'the salt'
woromɔ	worompé	'the green algae'

The one noun that takes the alternative indefinite 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
jwubo / jwumɔ	jwubé / jwumpé	'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.¹⁸ 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,¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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)	còon	'younger sibling'
	yawo	'paternal relative of mother'
	nafentu	'wife's father'
	pùpèè	'maternal parallel cousin'

caste terms such as: 21

(64)	ciwe	'leather-worker'
	tunntun	'blacksmith'
	àpu	'clown'
	biliwe	'slave'
	faapyi	'farmer, peasant'

specialty occupational terms such as:

(65)	lashwo	'midwife'
	lùùzù	'hunter'
	mobílífèhè	'chauffeur'
	nùnhàwà	'cowherd'
	sòròlashí	'soldier'

ethnic terms:

(66)	cwòhòhò	'Jula person' ²²
	kwò	'Duun person' ²³
	ban	'Gana person' ²⁴
	tùbabú	'French person, white person' ²⁵

and miscellaneous terms referring to human beings:

(67)	nàmponhò	'stranger, guest'
	`nàna	'twin'

fyin	'blind person'
cevoo	'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'
kòmò	'Komo mask'
kònò	'Kono mask'
kafaa	'Kafaa fetish'

When loans and 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 (a below) or as characters in anthropomorphic folk tales (b below) that are included in

gender 1, but also many yafiliye 'creeping things', i.e. insects, reptiles, amphibians, and mollusks (c below):

(69) a.	pwun	'dog'
	ḥkùù	'chicken'
	ḥpà	'sheep'
	sika	'goat'
	nù	'cow'
b.	ḥpi	'hare'
	kùcwuun	'patas monkey'
	cin	'leopard'
	santu	'francolin'
	zhibanàngwo	'ground hornbill'
c.	ḥpuuwo	'spider'
	vyin	'cricket'
	sarawa	'bee'
	ḥtàsón	'toad'
	báhálá	'clam'
	wwò	'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'
	bàshi	'couscous' (loan)
	cicù	'chaff'
	jámá	'henna' (loan)
	mòó	'rice'
	nuyyè	'cream'
	sárá	'tobacco'
	ḥticyên	'sand'
	seen	'gold'
	sùmà	'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) bähàntà	'banana(s)' (loan)
búró	'bread, loaves of bread' (loan)
jàà	'onion(s)' (loan)
fyè	'footprint(s)'
kóòn	'bead(s)' (loan)
lefá	'brick(s)'
lèmúró	'orange(s), lemon(s)' (loan)
ntànòò	'pepper(s)'
ntoon	'termite(s)'
wòrò	'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 lefáblè ninjin, and 'two bricks' are lefápyàa shuunní.

3.1.2.2 Gender 2: Augmentative

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

(72) a. cige	'tree'
logo	'shea tree (<i>Butyrospermum parkii</i>)'
neŋe	'nèrè tree (<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>)'
zhyèngè	'baobab (<i>Adansonia digitata</i>)'
yèègè	'borassus palm (<i>Borassus aethiopum</i>)'
siinnè	'fromager (<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>)'
zàntaanga	'kapok (<i>Bombax costatum</i>)'
wèege	'cailcédrat (<i>Khaya senegalensis</i>)'

nánà	'kaki (Diospyros mespiliformis)'
jirintóóngó	'cassia (Cassia sieberiana)' ²⁶
b. ñkénè	'branch'
wenɛ	'leaf'
kwóógo	'bark' ²⁷
ninè	'root'
kàncaaga	'piece of firewood' ²⁸
fyéngá	'flower' ²⁹

Large immovable artifacts are usually in gender 2:

(73) baga	'house, building'
kànhà	'village'
caanga	'market'
kacige	'bridge'
kàlògò	'bathing enclosure'
sóógo	'loom'
fugugo	'forge'
bèenɛ	'well'
ñkununɔ	'wall'
kàsòògò	'courtyard wall'
bambaraga	'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) shongo	'horse'
dùfànnà	'donkey'
ceɛ	'antelope' ³⁰
cèènnè	'giraffe' ³¹
cànràgà	'lion'
zàntùṅó	'hyena'

kòòntirìṅè 'hippopotamus',³²
 bònṅò '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
cege	cere	'calabash'
`bòṅṅò	`boro	'bag'
kuugo	kuro	'path, road'
ṅwṅṅò	ṅwṅṅ	'knife'
kùùḡò	kùrò	'stool'
wyige	wyii	'hole'
ṁpòḡò	ṁpwùù	'mound, hill'
pege	pee	'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 múnaa '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 nànà 'oaf'.³³

One minor subcategory in gender 2 is one which has nothing to do with physical size: nouns denoting units of time.³⁴ The most common are:

(76)	canna	'day'
	yàkòṅò	'afternoon'
	pilaga [pla:Ra]	'night'
	nyègà	'morning'
	cibílaaga	'week'
	yíṅe	'month, moon'
	bèngà	'dry season'
	nùgwòhò	'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)	dùfugo	'maize'
	fùnzugo	'peanut butter' ³⁵
	kafunṅo	'mold'
	kàlaga	'sorghum'
	kameṅe	'dew'
	lwòhò	'water'
	ṅangóhó	'ginger'
	sishyèngà	'blood'
	yòògò	'mud'

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

(78)	laga	'desire'
	katege	'hunger' ³⁶
	byaga	'thirst' ³⁶
	fyeṅe	'need to urinate' ³⁷

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

(79)	fòṅò	'poverty'	from fò	'be poor'
	kyaaga	'suffering' ³⁸	from kyaala	'suffer'
	nàṅkààgà	'thievery'		

pùcyàgà	'femininity'	³⁹	
sààgà	'laziness'		
silege [sle:Re]	'shame'		from sílégé 'be ashamed'
tààngà	'love'		from táán 'be pleasing'
yyefugo	'anxiety'	⁴⁰	

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) sanycéen	'bird'	⁴¹
àpáàn	'dove, pigeon'	
kàmɛɛ	'hawk, kite'	
kùnténnè	'swallow, swift'	
lùpààn	'mosquito'	
àtúrò	'arboreal squirrel'	
zàntunɔ	'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 -lV 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)	kwùù	'death'	from	kwù	'die'
	numpire	'darkness'			
	nara	'walk, gait'	from	naara	'walk'
	ɲɔɲɔ	'rest, breath'	from	ɲɔ	'rest'
	sunɔ	'diarrhea'	from	su	'defecate'
	yùù	'theft'	from	yù	'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)	bèrɛɲii	'log platform' ⁴²
	ɲcègii	'balafon'
	`nyii	'kind of grass mat' ⁴³

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

(83)	kyànhii	'charcoal'
	sisègii	'nééré 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) pworo	'adobe, building mud'
kòònò	'cotton'
furo	'feces'
ñkyàrà	'fertilizer, manure'
suro	'mush' ⁴⁴
sere	'honey' ⁴⁵
cwɔnrɔ	'ashes' ⁴⁶
kyara	'meat' ⁴⁶

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

(85) sicyere	'insanity'
ninaarà	'pity'
wyere	'cold (temperature)'
fyagara	'fear' ⁴⁷
funmpenre	'worry' ⁴⁸
funngwɔrɔ	'forgetfulness' ⁴⁹

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

(86) bilere	'slavery'	cf. biliwe	'slave'
fene	'authority'	cf. foo	'owner'
nàmponnɔ	'state of being a stranger'	cf. nàmponnɔ	'stranger'
nà	'masculinity'	cf. nà	'man'
ceere	'femininity'	cf. ceewe	'woman'
nànkòlyàgàrà	'state of being an old man'	cf. nànkòlyè	'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)	cire	'trees'	cf.	cige	'tree.G2S'
	pɔnnɔ	'dogs'	cf.	pwun	'dog.G1S'
	wyere	'leaves' ⁵⁰	cf.	wene	'leaf.G2S'
	sùpyirè	'people' ⁵¹	cf.	sùpyà	'person.G1S'
	ntòrò	'worms'	cf.	ntòrò	'worm.G2S'
	lùpànrà	'mosquitoes'	cf.	lùpààn	'mosquito.G3S'
	ḡkɔɔnncɛere	'puffballs'	cf.	ḡkɔɔnncéré	'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)	shyenre	'language, message, order'
	cwòhònte	'Bambara language (DEF)' ⁵²
	sùpyiré	'Supyire language (DEF)' ⁵³
	nàkaana	'discussion'
	tùnturo	'message' ⁵⁴
	kafinara	'lie' ⁵⁵
	nwòshwora	'answer' ⁵⁶
	nwòmuguro	'speech, words' ⁵⁷

3.1.3.5 Gender 5: Pourables

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

(89)	sinme	'beer'
	sinmè	'oil' ⁵⁸
	finimè	'pus'
	dùfinimè	'lye'
	suumo	'salt' ⁵⁹
	fyereme	'urine' ⁶⁰
	jirime	'milk' ⁶¹

̀̀bime	'powder, flour, shade'
tunmɔ	'sap, blood' ⁶²
f̀̀nmɔ	'sweat' ⁶³

It should be noted that the two most prototypical liquids, viz. lwɔhɔ 'water', and sishyèngè 'blood' are in gender 2 (singular only). Gender 2 also has kamɛɛ 'dew', but in this case there is also a gender 5 form: kamɛmɛ.

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

(90) ticcumɔ	'health' ⁶⁴
tipòòmɔ	'flavor, taste' ⁶⁵
jirimè	'sterility'
sincyilmè	'craftiness, cleverness' ⁶⁶
sɪ̀kanma	'sorcery'
leme	'appearance'
sinama	'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) jwumɔ / jwubo	'words, speech'	from	jwo	'say'
cemɛ	'friendship'	from	ce	'know'
jwoomɔ	'seam'	from	jwoolo	'sew' ⁶⁷
kwɔ̀nmɔ	'marriage'	from	kwɔ̀n	'cut'
ɲɔ̀mɔ	'sleep'	from	ɲɔ̀	'sleep'
yama	'disease'	from	ya	'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 as cææge 'large calabash', i.e. in gender 2. 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
ba-	bará	baráni	'tiny house'
àpân-	àpânrá	ápáráni	'small dove'
nù-	nòrá	nòróni	'small cow'
cyi-	cyiré	cyiríni	'small thigh'
zhèn-	zhènrá	zhènréni	'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
baan-	baànrá	baánni	'small hoe'
cee-	ceèré	ceéni	'small woman'
`nɔɔ-	`nɔɔrɔ́	`nɔ́ni	'small guinea fowl'
ɲkùù-	ɲkùùrɔ́	ɲkùùni	'small chicken'
bùgù-	bùgùrɔ́	bùgùni	'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
`bor-	`boorɔ́	`boóni	'small bag'
cer-	ceeré	ceéni	'small calabash'
njir-	njiiré	njiini	'small tongue'
tor-	toorɔ́	toóni	'tiny 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 indefinite 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
	nàN-	nààná	nàáni	'little man' ⁶⁸
	˘neN-	˘neɛné	˘neéni	'little tail'
	ɸkêN-	ɸkéèné	ɸkééni	'little branch'
	pɔN-	pɔðnnó	pɔðnni	'little dog'
	weN-	weèné	weéni	'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

fyeremɛ '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:

fòṅṅ 'poverty' from fò 'be poor'

Gender 3:

kwùù 'death' from kwù 'die'

Gender 4:

pèèṅṅ 'praise' from pèè 'praise'⁶⁹

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 indefinite suffix is usually -mu, of 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 numpilâge tòrò-mù
 God he SUBJUNC night.DEF pass-G5
 'May God (make) the night's passing

lé-mú nwó.⁷⁰
 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.71
 PERF be.difficult EXCL
 is difficult.'

This type of nominalization could be characterized as 'bare' or 'zero' since there is no specifically nominalizing morphology.⁷² 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 -ni 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)	INDEF	DEFINITE	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
	ñcè	ñcèní	'knowing, acquaintance'	ce	'know' (Mw)
	ñgii	ñgiińí	'looking'	wíí	'look at'
	àbè	àbèńi	'getting on together'	bè	'get along with'
	ñcya	ñcyaní	'seeking'	cya	'seek'
	̀vworo	̀vworoní	'going out'	fworo	'go out' (Ms) ⁷³

Examples of the use of these nominalizations follow.

- (100) a. Kà wùù ú sá fwù-ńi pyi,
and we NARR go greeting-DEF do
'Then we greeted
- maá wù-yè ñ-cè-ńí pyi.
and we-REFL NOM-know-DEF(G1S) do
and made each other's acquaintance.'
- b. Yi naníyáá-yi ñ-gii-ńí
those wild.animals-DEF NOM-look.at-DEF(G1S)
'Looking at those wild animals
- mpyi a tààn mii á sèlè è.
PAST PERF sweet me to truth in
pleased me very much.'
- c. Mii na sòńńi à-bè-ńa a
I PROG think NOM-get.along-DEF(G1S) PERF
'I think living together in harmony
- pwòrò nàfùù-ńi ñ-cya-ńí na.
be.better wealth-DEF NOM-look-DEF(G1S) on
is better than the pursuit of wealth.'
- d. Canna pyii 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 tɛʔɛ meaning 'place' in Cebaara.⁷⁴ 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: tsen 'sit, live' becomes tatsenge 'place to sit, place to live' (definite tatsènge).⁷⁵ 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 mii shyéré-*ni*
 he(EMPH) he PERF be my witness-DEF
 'It was he who was my witness
 wyéré-*ni* tà-kàn-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 fyi-*ni* si nùrá á kàrè
 and that python-DEF NARR 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.⁷⁶ 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. Cann kà mii màha *η*-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 *η*-káágé Fantéré é
 PROG IP-go.IMPFV Fantere to
 to go to Fantere

ta-tsèn-ge ta-wii-ge e.
 LOC-sit-DEF(G2S) LOC-look.at-G2S to
 to look at the living site.'77

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)	yajonɔ	'bait'	from	jo	'swallow'
	yakanga	'gift'	from	kan	'give'
	yafungo	'totem'	from	fún	'consider tabɔo'
	yaségé	'child'	from	si	'give birth' ⁷⁸

The role may also be agent or actor, as in

(104)	yafilige	'creeping thing'			
			from	filili	'crawl' ⁷⁹
	yatinɛ	'musical instrument'			
			from	tin	'make noise' ⁸⁰

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

(105)	yabahaga	'toy'	from	bàhàrà	'play'
	yateenɛ	'chair'	from	teen	'sit'
	yasinɛ	'bed'	from	síní	'lie down'
	yaleɛ	'container'			
			from	le	'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) kapyii	'deed, action' from	pyi	'do'
kakuunɔ	'bad deed' from	kuu	'be bad' ⁸¹
kalyee	'custom, rite' from	lye	'be old'
kapààlà	'surprise' from	pàà	'startle'
kacene	'thing known, item of knowledge' from	ce	'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) *Ñdé la à pyi ñgámi-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 nùñ-ké ku ñké:...
 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-ñi tèè-kaan-ní si 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 nye à mo 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 no gé,
 tree-DEF time-chop-DEF(G3S) PERF arrive TC
 'When the time to chop down the trees arrived,

kà u ú ñ-karé sà a ci-ré pààn-nì.
 and he NARR IP-go go PROG tree-DEF chop-IMPFV
 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.⁸² The derived noun is gender 3 singular, so the indefinite ending is -ŋkana and the definite ending is -ŋkàni. 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 jyiile 'cross over'

kà u jyiili-ṅkà-ni si kàn-he
and her cross-manner-DEF(G3S) NARR village-DEF
'The way she had crossed (the swollen river)

syiin-bíí puní kàkyànhàlà.
people-DEF all astonish
astonished all the people of the village.'

b. from ta 'get, find, obtain'

Kà ṁpi sí zàntùṅò yigè
and hare NARR hyena ask
'Then Hare asked Hyena

u sùmà-ṅí ta-ṅkà-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)'

Pyii-bíí sàhà nye na byíí
children-DEF NEG.yet be PROG raise.IMPFV
'Children are no longer raised

pi tanjáà byí-ṅká-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 -ṁbàà may be added to verbs to derive a noun meaning 'without verbing' or 'lack of verbing'. -ṁbàà is obviously related to the postposition bàà 'without'.⁸³ 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'⁸⁴

ɲkàà wùu li jàcyí-mbàà-ɲí,
but our it consider.important-without-DEF(G1S)
'But our lack of considering it important,

la à kanhama ni-nyaha-ma no wùu 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'⁸⁵

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

numpì-ni i mà?
darkness-DEF in NEG.Q
in the dark?'

c. from yyere 'call'

Mu a myàhà na lyí mii 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 ɲ- discussed above. The meaning is the same with or without the prefix. Following is an example:

(111) from bè 'meet, be in agreement'

Pi ɲ-bè-mbàà-ɲá à fworo
they NOM-agree-without-DEF(G1S) PERF go.out
'Their discord came

yyaha fòò-ɲí 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 fòò 'village chief', nù fòò '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-fóó⁸⁶
egg-DEF(G3S) lay-agent
'the layer of the egg'

b. from nàhà 'herd'

ŋtasènmii naha-fóó nye na fyàà mé.
toads herd-agent NEG PROG hurry NEG
'The toadherd does not hurry.'⁸⁷

c. from náárá 'ask for, beg'

ŋáárá-fóó kántáá-ní nye ̀nwóhí i.
beg-agent palm-DEF(G3S) be beneath at
'The begger's palm is below.'⁸⁸

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' plus fègè-wè 'ring-G1S'
 kampe-fègè-wè 'finger ring'
 finger-ring-G1S
- b. from ḥkùù 'chicken.G1S' plus cere 'egg.G3S'
 ḥkù-cèrè 'chicken egg'
 chicken-egg.G3S

- c. from nana 'hill.G2S' plus kulo 'country.G3S'
 nan-kulo 'hilly country'
 hill-country.G3S
- d. from nyi-i 'eye-G3S' plus lwo-ho 'water-G2S'
 nyi-lwo-ho 'tears'
 eye-water-G2S
- e. from marafá 'rifle.G1S' plus mpuro 'horn.G3S'
 marafá-mpuro '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 nwo-go 'mouth-G2S' plus mpwù-ù 'mound-G3S'
 nwo-mpù 'upper lip'
 mouth-mound.G1S
- b. from fanna 'grave.G2S' plus kuro 'path.G3S'
 fann-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 nwɔmpù 'upper lip (G1S)' plus shi-re 'hair-G4'⁸⁹

nwɔ-mpù-shí-ré 'moustache'
mouth-mound-hair-G4

Similarly, the compound denoting 'ear wax' is built up in the following way:

(116) nunɔ 'head.G2S' plus wyi-i 'hole-G3S'

nin-gyí-í⁹⁰ plus fu-ro
head-hole-G3S excrement-G4
'outer ear canal'

nin-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) pwuɲ-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-cwɔ́* 'female of leather-worker caste'
leather.worker-female.G1S
- leŋkwú-cwɔ́* 'widow'
widow-female.G1S
- tùbàbù-cwɔ́* 'female white person'⁹¹
white.person-female.G1S

The male of these categories is formed not with the root -poo / -per- noted above, but with nà 'man' or nò 'husband':

- (120) *leŋkwú-nò* 'widower'
widow-husband.G1S
- tùbabú-nà* 'male white person'
white.person-man.G1S

The root pya 'child' is used for the young of animals:⁹²

- (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
- ṅwɔ-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'

pyi-para-gà 'toddler'⁹³
 child-walk-G2S

- b. agent (of transitive): from nu 'mother.G1S'

nu-se-ge 'biological mother'⁹⁴
 mother-give.birth-G2S

- c. patient: from pyà 'child.G1S'

pyi-si 'child born'⁹⁵
 child-give.birth.G1S

d. instrument: from vàànnà 'cloth.G2S'

vàànn-tò 'blanket'
cloth-cover.G1S

e. time: from yve-e 'year-G3S'

yve-si-i 'year of birth'
year-give.birth-G3S

f. manner: from tùn-mò 'noise-G5'⁹⁶

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 V. Some examples are:

(124) a. from cee-we 'woman-G1S'

ciŋ-jyè 'old woman'
woman-be.old.G1S

b. from kùlùshí 'trousers.G1S'⁹⁷

kùlùshí-tòon-go 'long trousers'
trousers-be.long-G2S

kùlùshí-bire 'short trousers'
trousers-be.short.G3S

c. from kya-ra 'meat-G4'

kya-pànhàà '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'

fanna-kwón 'grave-digger'
grave-cut.G1S

b. from la-a 'pregnancy-G3S'

la-shwo 'midwife'
pregnancy-take.G1S

c. from kòònò 'cotton.G4'

kòòm-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 ntàsùù 'elephant.G1S'

ntàsùù-bò-gò 'elephant gun'
elephant-kill-G2S

b. from canna 'sun.G2S'⁹⁸

cann-tono 'umbrella'
sun-cover.G2S

c. from kafee-ge 'wind-G2S'

kafee-fwò-gò 'fan'
wind-blow-G2S

d. from kòòṅṅ 'cotton.G4'

kòòm-pèrè-ga 'cotton depot'
cotton-sell-G2S

Gender 3 is used to denote the activity itself:

(128) a. from fyá 'fish.G1S'

fyá-cya-a 'fishing'
fish-seeK-G3S

b. from yo-go 'quarrel-G2S'

yu-kwóón 'quarreling'
quarrel-cut.G3S

c. from kòòṅṅ 'cotton.G4'

kòòm-pininè 'spinning'
cotton-spin.G3S

d. from sinmɛ 'beer.G5'

sinm-bya-a 'beer-drinking'
beer-drink-G3S

Gender 4 may be used for speech-related meanings:

(129) a. from nwɔ-gɔ 'mouth-G2S'

nwɔ-mugu-ro 'speech'
mouth-open-G4

nwɔ-shwɔ-rɔ 'answer, reply'
mouth-take-G4

b. from funṅɔ 'inside.G2S'

fun-zòṅṅò-rò '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'⁹⁹
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 funṅɔ 'inside.G2S'

funn-tò 'diaphragm'
inside-cover.G1S

b. from ci-ge 'tree-G2S'

ci-kuu-go 'woodpecker'
tree-knock-G2S

c. from kàla-ga 'sorghum-G2S'

kàlà-bwùn-mò '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 kàshi-gè 'war-G2S'

kàshi-kwòn 'soldier' plus bwɔɔ-gɔ
war-cut.G1S sack-G2S

kàshi-kwòn-bwɔɔ-gɔ 'soldier's knapsack'
war-cut-sack-G2S

b. from saŋcwɔ 'animal pest.G1S'

saŋcwɔn-sigi-we 'person who guards crops'
pest-prevent-G1S

plus ci-ge 'tree-G2S'

saŋcwɔn-sigi-ci-ge 'tree where person
pest-prevent-tree-G2S guarding crops sits'

c. from sinmbyaa 'beer-drinking.G3S' (see 126d)

plus bààn 'vestibule.G3S'¹⁰⁰

sinm-bya-baan
beer-drink-entrance.house.G3S
'vestibule for beer-drinking'

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 VIII 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 ñ-jwò-ñ-kàrà-ńí
its NOM-take-NOM-go-DEF(G1S)
'its being taken away'
- b. portomáńí-ńi ñ-diri-ñ-gwù-ńi
wallet-DEF NOM-pull-NOM-take.out-DEF(G1S)
'the pick-pocketing of the wallet'
- c. u ñ-jà-ñ-jiri-ńi
his NOM-be.able-NOM-get.up-DEF(G1S)
'his being able to get up'
- d. pi ñ-gyèrè-vworo-ñ-kàrà-ńí
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-tóon-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-ŋi 'control of myself'
 grab-myself-on-DEF(G1S)

This is modeled on the expression:

(136) Mii 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-ŋi 'control of yourself'
 grab-yourself-on-DEF(G1S)

Another commonly-used phrasal compound is:

(138) tère-là-sù-rò 'mush set aside for children'
 time-IND(G3S)-mush-G4 lit. 'mush of some time'

Notes

1. Only one noun crosses gender lines in Supyire: the singular of nù 'cow' is in gender 1, but the plural niìyè 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. The first vowel of this noun is actually unstressed and therefore elided in current Kampwo Supyire. But as pointed out in chapter II (section 2.2.2.3), roots of this sort behave like 'CVCV roots in regard to other phonological rules.

4. See chapter V, section 5.1.2 for a description of the demonstratives. The demonstratives have the form N_{Ce} (G1S, G2S,P, G3S, G4, G5) or NC_ili (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 *-nge 'G1S' became -ni and *-nde 'G3S' became -ni. It is probable that the gender 2 plural suffix -yi passed through the stages *-ni and -yi in Kampwo Supyire. -ni is the invariant form in some other dialects (e.g. to the north of Kampwo). In Kampwo, however, /n/ is not allowed in unstressed syllables. Some speakers nasalize the suffix -yĩ, either consistently or sporadically, while for others -yĩ 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 nasal 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.

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 nàmi 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': nò (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. See chapter II section 2.1.5 for a possible scenario for the introduction of SR in this form.

8. The expected form *nàmponmi does not occur. The root-final nasal for some reason seems to undergo the process of degemination, compensatory lengthening, and diphthongization like cyèe.

9. An alternate, regular, plural sikàa is also used.

10. This has an alternate plural form kùnrii. There seem to be alternate root forms kunN- and kunr-.

11. The reason for the short final root vowel in the gender 3 plural form is unknown.

12. This is a suppletive form for the singular bilè. 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 pyii.

13. The vowel preceding the [ŋ] also elides, see section 2.2.2.3. The same process occurs in sháhánikíí below.

14. This is a reduplication of the verb tun 'send'. Internal reconstruction thus points to a proto-form *tunN.

15. This is a compound formed from ya- 'thing' and the verb tin 'make loud noise'.

16. This includes those forms whose root ends in a nasal but which lose the nasal in gender 4. Perhaps the absence of the nasal in the definite is an indication that the definite was originally added to the form with the indefinite suffix. All other trace of the basic suffix has disappeared in these forms, however.

17. This is a nominalization of the verb jwo 'say'. Gender 5 is the descendant both of the proto-Niger-Congo *ma 'liquids' class and bV 'abstracts' class.

18. This is assuming that semantic categories can be established in some other way than appealing to inclusion in a noun class, of course.

19. See Prost (1964) for Kirma/Tyurama and Gourmantché, Nicole (1982) for Nawdm, Peterson () for Moore, Manessy () for proto-Gurunsi. Further afield, there is evidence for a *ki class in proto-Benue-Congo (de Wolf 1971).

20. Evidence for a *bu class comes from proto-Benue-Congo (de Wolf 1971), Nawdm and Moore (Nicole 1982), and Gourmantché (Prost 1964).

21. Supyire society is divided into hereditary occupational castes.

22. The Jula are the diaspora of the Bamanan (Bambara).

23. The Duun, usually referred to in the literature as Samogo, are a Mande group occupying a narrow strip dividing the Supyire from the Shenara to the south, as well as

several small enclaves in the northeastern and eastern parts of the Supyire territory.

24. Gana is the dialect of Bamanankan (Bambara) spoken immediately to the west of Supyire.

25. This word is borrowed from Bambara.

26. This is a compound meaning literally 'long-breast' (from the shape of the seed pods). The root jiri- 'breast', is normally in gender 3, and as a subjective compound should be in that gender. The fact that it is instead in gender 2 is a strong indication that this is in fact the gender of tree names.

27. This word also denotes other kinds of outer covering, such as a shell or crust, as well as 'canoe'.

28. An alternate form, sincaaga, shows that this is etymologically a compound. The meaning of the parts have so far not been recovered.

29. This is a nominalization of the verb fyen 'to flower'.

30. This word is used apparently for different species of antelope which inhabit the gallery forests along streams and rivers. The only reasonably certain identification I have made involved the species Redunca redunca, but I am fairly sure that the word can be applied to species of the genus Kobus as well.

31. There is some confusion about the meaning of this noun. It is invariably given as the translation of giraffe, but apparently may be used for some species of large antelope as well (perhaps the eland?). I have not met any Supyire speaker who had actually seen a giraffe or eland.

32. This word is homophonous with a compound meaning 'stem of cotton plant'. Speakers sometimes use the phrase lwcho koontirine 'water hippopotamus' to distinguish the animal.

33. This may also have an overlay of endearment: 'lovable great oaf'.

34. Two units of time, tèrè 'moment' and yee 'year', are in gender 3.

35. This is a compound composed of fwùn- 'peanut', from gender 3, and sú 'pound in a mortar'.

36. This is a nominalization of the verb bya 'drink'. There is an alternate form wwɔqɔ 'thirst', also in gender 2 which does not seem to be a nominalization.

37. This is a nominalization of the verb fyeere 'urinate'.

38. This may be a nominalization of the verb nankaaga 'steal'. This verb is very unusual phonologically, however. In fact it is the only verb with medial stress and a nasal-stop cluster discovered so far. It may therefore be possible that verb is a back-formation from the KU class noun, or from the related form in gender 1: nànkààwà 'thief'.

39. This is related to the gender 1 form pùcwò 'girl'.

40. This is a compound of yve- 'face', from gender 2, and the adjective root -fu- 'hot'.

41. There is an alternate pronunciation cançyèen. A large bird (e.g. a stork or ground hornbill) can be referred to with the corresponding gender 2 form sancyenga.

42. The bèrenii is usually situated near center of a village or quarter, and is a meeting place for the men of the village. It is usually shaded with a ñkùbâ, a roof of maize stalks supported on poles. Women do not sit on the bèrenii.

43. This word is homophonous with or derived from the plural of nyii 'eye'.

44. This is the staple food. It is made from flour (maize, sorghum, or millet) and is eaten with a sauce.

45. It might seem that this should be regarded as a liquid, and therefore more properly placed in gender 5. Recall, however, that honey is gathered in combs. It is eaten (lyi), rather than drunk (bya).

46. This is a nominalization of kya 'chew, eat meat'.

47. This is a nominalization of fyá 'be afraid'. The original form of the verb evidently was *fyáq(a), which would explain the /g/ in the imperfective form fyàgè.

48. From funnɔ 'interior, belly', and pen 'be bad tasting'. Cf. U funnka à pen. 'S/he is worried.' lit. 'Her/his belly is bad tasting.'

49. From funnɔ 'interior, belly', and wwɔ 'be black, dark

colored'. Cf. U fùnnka a wwò kù nà. 'S/he forgot it.' lit. 'His/her belly has gotten black on it.'

50. This also means 'medicine', a natural shift since traditional medicine was largely herbal.

51. This is also the name of the language (see discussion below).

52. Cf. the gender 1 form cwòhòhò 'Bambara person'.

53. This also means 'the people'. Cf. the gender 1 form sùpyà 'person'.

54. Cf. the gender 1 form tùnnnunno 'messenger'. These are both nominalizations of the verb tun 'send'.

55. From ka- 'thing, affair' and the verb fine 'lie'.

56. From pwò- 'mouth' (ordinarily in gender 2) and the verb shwò 'take'. This is a nominalization of an expression exemplified in the following sentence:

U a pi pwò shwò.
s/he PERF them mouth take
'S/he answered them.'

57. From pwò- 'mouth' and the verb múgó 'open'.

58. This also means 'grease, fat'

59. It might be objected that salt traditionally arrived in Supyire territory in a form that was hardly pourable, being mined and transported in large blocks. It is frequently pounded into something like the consistency of gravel before being sold, however, and this may account for its inclusion in this class.

60. This is a nominalization of the verb fyeere 'urinate'.

61. Cf. the gender 3 form jirine 'breast'.

62. This is evidently an archaic word for blood. It is probably one of the roots in tùmpyii 'blood relatives on the paternal side'.

63. This is a nominalization of the verb fùn 'sweat'.

64. There is a related adjective root -ticuu- 'healthy', and

these are both derived from the verb cuungo 'be healthy'. The origin of the prefix ti- in this and the following form is unknown.

65. This is derived from the verb pòò 'be good tasting'.

66. Derived from the the verb cyiiqè 'be clever, smart'. The siN- of this word and the next are probably related, but the original meaning is unknown.

67. kwon, the ordinary word for 'cut', is used also to denote female excision. Since excision was traditionally performed just prior to marriage (nowadays it is frequently performed at a much earlier age), the gender 5 nominalization is used to refer to the whole process of a woman getting married.

68. The diminutive form may be used pejoratively: 'little pipsqueak'.

69. The original meaning of this verb is 'be or become big'. It may be used transitively to mean 'enlarge' or, figuratively, 'praise'. Cf. English magnify, with its (now archaic) sense of 'praise'.

70. The noun lemu 'appearance (G5)' is possibly also a nominalization, perhaps of the verb le 'put'.

71. yafungo 'totem' is the term used to denote an animal considered as a blood relative due to some service rendered to the ancestor of one's clan. It must not be killed or eaten by anyone in the clan. The totem referred to by the speaker in the example is the lion.

72. The prevalence of this type of nominalization has led Houis (1977) and others (e.g. Cauvin 1981, Boutin 1981) to set up a category of 'verbo-nominal bases', i.e. roots which can be either verbs or nouns. It is claimed that languages with this grammatical category have very few or no true verbs, since there are few roots which cannot occur as both a noun and a verb. This in turn is counted as evidence that verbs in these languages are fundamentally nominal in character. The reasoning is probably more convincing to a French speaker than to an English speaker, since zero derivations (in both directions: 'Box this for me', 'a direct hit') are common in the latter language. Suffice it to say that in both the Houisian analysis and the more traditional one there are two basic categories, nouns and verbo-nominals, or nouns and verbs.

73. Recall that the combination of a nasal plus a fricative leads to the voicing of the fricative and elision of the nasal (see chapter II, section 2.1.2.1).

74. Cebaara uses the noun tɛʔè to form locative nominalizations like the Supyire ones. The prefixed form use is tɛè-, as in tɛèbáárága 'place to work'.

75. There are a few exceptions to these generalizations. The H tone verb cyán 'drop, build' yields tacyànge (definite) rather than the expected *tacyangé, for example, and the Mw tone verb kare 'go' yields takaràge (definite) rather than *takaràge. See also the following note.

76. Nominalizations may be used with either a locative or a purpose sense, as long as the meaning is appropriate. There is at least one verb with different tone patterns for the two senses. The verb lyì 'eat' has an irregular M tone form for the locative sense: talyigé 'the place where one eats'. The regular form talyigè is used for the meaning 'in order to eat'. I made this discovery in a rather embarrassing way when I said I wanted to go cyèebíí talyige e 'where the women eat', using the regular form. It was pointed out to me with great humor that I had just said I wanted to eat the women. Despite assiduous attempts to find similar tonal differences with other verbs, this is the unique example discovered so far. The explanation is historical, I think: the irregular form became established in the lexicon with the meaning 'dining area'. The newer usage to express purpose employed a synchronic, and regular, morphological process.

77. The first of the two ta- forms has the ordinary locative meaning 'place to live'.

78. This is not the common word for child. It is used rather like 'offspring'. The H tone on the verb root is irregular. The verb si has Ms tone like kan 'give', and if regular would remain M.

79. Note that the final syllable of a trisyllabic verb elides when the noun class suffix is added, just as with ta- nominalizations, thus avoiding undesirable sequences of three unstressed syllables. This term is used to designate reptiles, amphibians, and most invertebrates.

80. Verbs with L tune are raised to M after the M of the prefix.

81. This is in gender 2 probably to give it pejorative force.
82. This is related to the Cebaara gender 5 noun kanmà 'manner'. Cebaara also forms manner nominalizations with this root, and there is evidence for the nasal in the form used -ganmà (Mills 1987:318), since Supyire [ŋk] regularly corresponds with Cebaara [g]. There is no current related simple noun in Kampwo Supyire that I have been able to discover. The nominalization pyinkana, from pyi 'do' plus the suffix under discussion, is used to mean 'manner'.
83. Bàà seems to be borrowed from the Bambara verb bàli 'prevent, forbid'. It may be used in Bambara as a nominalizer just as -àbàà is in Supyire. An example is dunbali 'without being eaten'. The [m] in the Supyire is the ṅ- nominalizer described in section 3.2.2.2.
84. This is borrowed from Bambara jàti 'count, consider as important'.
85. This is borrowed from Bambara kàlàn 'read, learn'.
86. cere (definite cení) means both 'egg' and 'calabash'.
87. A proverb. The toad, which hops rather slowly, is considered to be poisonous, and therefore must be urged along gingerly with great patience.
88. That is, to receive what is dropped into it. This is another proverb, roughly equal in application to the English 'Beggars can't be choosers.'
89. shire means 'body hair' or 'feathers'. The compound nùn-jò-rò 'head-fibre-G4' is used for hair on the top of the head.
90. The root for 'head' has several forms even in the village of Farakala: nunɔ, nùnò, nunɔ, nùnò. As the first member of compounds, it is apparently in the process of becoming distressed, and is consequently undergoing further phonological erosion. The forms niN- and niN- have been recorded as well as the expected nuN- and nuN-.
91. The tone tune of this compound is not what would be expected from the tunes of its component roots (tùbabú LMH and cwɔ MWL). The explanation is to be found in the tone rules of Bambara, the language from which the root tùbabú was borrowed. The initial root of a compound in Bambara takes a uniform L regardless of its inherent tone. The

Supyire word is thus modeled on the Bambara tùbàbù-mùsò 'white woman'. Curiously, the male counterpart (see next example) has the regular Supyire tones.

92. The independent noun pyà 'child' has a simple L tune. The root used in compounds has a Mw tune. There is no explanation for this at present.

93. Not only is the gender of this compound unexplained, the tone tune is likewise a puzzle. The verb paara 'walk' has Ms tone.

94. The noun nu may be used to refer to any female of the ascending generation in one's paternal village. The prototypical 'mother' is one's biological mother, and ordinarily nu is used in that sense. Occasionally it is necessary to unambiguously exclude one's aunts, and in such cases the compound nusege may be used.

95. This may be used in a genitive phrase such as kuru cànké pyisiñí 'the child born that day', lit. 'that day's born child'.

96. This is actually a 'bare' nominalization of the verb tin 'make a loud noise'.

97. The gender of the two compounds here is predictable from size: gender 2 for big things, gender 3 for small things. Kùlùshí is borrowed from Bambara kùlùsi, possibly in turn borrowed from French culotte.

98. This also means 'day'. In order to unambiguously specify the sun, the phrase canna nyiini 'day's eye' may be used.

99. In order to work--in the fields, collecting firewood etc.

100. The bààn is a two-doored usually round house which serves as the formal entrance-way to the village (or patrilineage). The altar to the ancestors is located there, and all important business (such as negotiations over marriages, arrangement of funerals, or formal reception of messengers and other guests) is conducted there.

CHAPTER IV

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 the process of object incorporation by which compound verbs are formed.

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. Mii ná òpà ta.
 I PAST sheep get
 'I got a sheep.'
- b. Òpà mii ná ñ-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
 '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 cáá, 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) Mii sí ì-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, LMw, rather than being toneless. See chapter II, 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 appears 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 II, section 2.1.1.4), and approximants are occluded (see chapter II, section 2.1.3.1):

- (4) a. Ku sí ì-bò. [mb_o]
 it FUT FP-kill
 'It will be killed.'
- b. Wùù sí ò-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 II, section 2.1.2.2):

- (5) U si vè. (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) Mii sí 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) Mii si 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

Senufo 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
cùgò	cùgùli	'be deep'
cyaha	cyahali	'laugh'
fágá	fágáli	'grab'
négé	négéli	'flatter'
sige	sigili	'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
fíí /fílí/	fíííí	'beat smooth'
káá /kálá/	kááíí	'roast'
koo /kolo/	kòòlì	'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 -li imperfective suffix survives intact:

(10) file [f1:e]	filili [f1:ili]	'approach'
bílé [bl:e]	bílííí [bl:ili]	'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-li 'pass-IMPFV'. That this is not the ordinary fate of intervocalic [r] is shown by comparison with fùrù 'pierce', fùrù-li 'pierce-IMPFV'.

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 -li, it seems best to treat it as a variant of -li. 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
cenme	cènmi	'transplant'
cúnṅó	cúnṅí	'shake'
kàṅṅà	kàṅṅí	'stir'
sòṅṅò	sòṅṅí	'think'
tònò	tòni	'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
jwoolo	jwòòli	'sew'
labala	làbàli	'turn inside out'
fɔ̀ɔ̀ṅṅó	fɔ̀ɔ̀ṅṅí	'console'
fyiinne	fyiinni	'cancel'
núúnó	núúni	'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
tuugo	tuuge	'accompany'
waraga	wàràgè	'dismantle'
muguro	mugure	'smile'
paara	pààrè	'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
círígé	círígé	'faint'
cylígè	cylígè	'be clever'
tírige	tírige	'scrape against'
fyeeere	fyèèrè	'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
bubo	bùbi	'not be well shut'
màrà	màrè	'cling to'
nara	nàrè	'come up at edges'
para	pàrè	'toss'
toro	tòrè	'count'
poro	pòrè	'be tame'
ṅàgà	ṅàgè	'scratch'
sànhà	sànhi	'chew'
nàhà	nàhi	'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
sú	súú	'pound'
kwù	kwúú	'die'
bo	buu	'kill'
byé	byíí	'carry on back'
jyé	jyíí	'wash'
kwo	kwuu	'finish'

Two verbs with /a/ also undergo raising:

(17) BASE FORM	IMPERFECTIVE FORM	GLOSS
jya	ji	'break'
bya	bi	'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
cyán	cyáán	'drop'
kan	káán	'give'
kya	kyaa	'chew'
ta	tàà	'get'

Two verbs with secondary release in the base form lose it in the imperfective:

(19) BASE FORM	IMPERFECTIVE FORM	GLOSS
cya	càà	'seek'
nya	nàà	'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
kaN	ka	kani	'boil'
leN	le	lèni	'put'
noN	no	nòni	'arrive'
síníN	síní	síníní	'lie down'
tunN	tun	tùnni	'send'
yíN	yí	yini	'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: péréni / pérelí. The original final nasal shows up in one nominalization, yaperena 'thing to sell', but not in another, taperege 'place to sell (something)', both of which are gender 2 singular, with noun class suffix -qV. In the following examples, there is no evidence other than the -ni itself for a root final nasal:

(21) BASE FORM	IMPERFECTIVE FORM	GLOSS
núró	núrúní	'return'
ṅwǎhǎ	ṅwǎhǎní	'hide'
sí	síní	'give birth'
sígé	sígíní	'suspect something'
tírí	tíríní	'grind'
yyéré	yyéréní	'stop'

A few verbs which take -ni undergo the umlauting process noted above for verbs taking -li.

(22) BASE FORM	IMPERFECTIVE FORM	GLOSS
ja	jíní	'be able'
ṅsǎ	ṅwúúní	'sleep'
ce	cíní	'know'
to	tùní	'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
bùrù	bùrùni / bùrùli	'get face down'
diri	dirini / dirili	'pull'
fyinme	finmini / finmili	'soak'
puru	pùrùni / pùrùli	'slice open'
sùlò	sùlùni / sùlùli	'dam'

A few verbs which take other imperfective suffixes to be discussed below also have variants with -ni:

(24) BASE FORM	IMPERFECTIVE FORMS	GLOSS
cùrù	cùrùni / cùrùgè	'stick in'
fwòrò	fwòròni / fwòrògè	'skin'
péré	pèrèni / pèrè	'wag'
pinì	pinìni / pinì	'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
dafá	dafáni	'complete'	dafa (Bambara)
jíjà	jíjàni	'do one's best'	jíjà (Bambara)
kàlifá	kàlifáni	'entrust'	kàlifà (Bambara)
komplé	kompléni	'clothe'	complet (French) ⁵
labá	labáni	'finish'	laban (Bambara)
sémé	séméni	'write'	sébén (Bambara)

Another suffix best analyzed as a variant of -li is -re. It appears only with disyllabic roots with medial /l/ (which elides), /h/ ([?]), or /g/ ([R]). It replaces 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. CVlV roots		
càà	càrè	'spread out'
fáá	fáré / fáálí	'exchange'
kèè	kèrè	'praise'
kɔɔn	kɔɔnrè	'cut throat of'
sèèn	sènrè / sèènni	'vaccinate'
b. CVhV roots		
faha	fare / fàhàgè	'be light weight'
kanha	kanre	'be tired'
láhá	láré	'let go'
taha	tare	'set down'
yaha	yare	'leave'
shwɔhɔ	sore	'cook' ⁶
c. CVgV roots		
tugo	turu	'dig' ⁷
ɖugo	duru	'go up'
múgó	múró	'open'
sógó	sóré	'burn'
tigè	tírí	'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 CVlV 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
fè	fí	'run'
fwɔ	fwu	'blow'
pwɔ	pwu	'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: fe 'run', fíu 'run.IMPFV'; fɔ 'blow', fúu 'blow.IMPFV'; pɔ 'tie', púu '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
cyéré	cyéégé	'be small'
dugo	duguge	'be heavy'
fyá	fyàgè	'be afraid'
lya	lyàgè	'be old'
nwɔ	nwɔ́gè	'be good'
nyaha	nyàgàgè	'be much'
soro	sòrògè	'be bitter'
tɔɔn	tòòngè	'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
cyiri	cyirigè	'cut in pieces'
kare	kéégé	'go'
paha	pàhàgè	'open wide'
kebe	kyèègè	'break' ⁸
yere	yèrègè	'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', pwóróní / pwóóní 'be better.IMPFV') -ŋi is the only suffix allowed, but the other two both have alternate forms with -ge: kare 'go', kéégé / káání 'go.IMPFV'; wyere 'be hot', wyerege / wyeeŋi 'be hot.IMPFV'. The -ŋi form of the suffix indicates that the original must be reconstructed as *-qi. The vowel has been lowered by the uvular flap in -ge [Re], a process common throughout the morphology of Supyire. The cognate suffix in Cebara (where /g/ is still [g]) is indeed -qi (cf. Cebara cán 'know', cánqí [t/ãgi] '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
cuunɔ	cuuge	'be well'
buunɔ	buuge / buunɪ	'be big'
síníné	sínágé	'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 <u>-li</u>		
sige	sigili	'wait for'
b. with <u>-re</u>		
kɔɔn	kɔɔnrè	'cut throat of' ¹⁰
c. with <u>-ge</u>		
bere	bèrègè	'be short'

A few strong Mid verbs exhibit this change in the absence of any suffix:

(32) BASE FORM	IMPERFECTIVE FORM	GLOSS
yaa	yàà	'fashion'
yige	yigè	'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 <u>-li</u>		
yù	yúú	'steal'
b. with <u>-re</u>		
nùgò	núró	'sow' ¹¹
c. with <u>-ge</u>		
fwòrò	fwórógé / fwòròni	'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
fyin	fyín	'sprout'
lyi	lyí	'eat'
ní	ní	'shine'
wwù	wwú	'take off'

In section 4.1.1 above it was pointed out that most loan verbs take the suffix -ní 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 24 above illustrate this. Note that verbs beginning with a Low and which have a final stressed vowel with a rising contour (e.g. kàlifà 'entrust' < Bambara kàlifà 'guard'; jàhàvâ 'betray' < Bambara jàànfi 'betray') have a simple High on the final vowel of the root when the imperfective suffix is added: kàlifáni, jàhàvâni. This unique and characteristic pattern is repeated in the reduplicative ideophonic verbs also borrowed from Bambara. These verbs do not take the -ní 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 LHL 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
klòròklòró	klòròklòrè	'walk like an ape'
kùṅkùú	kùṅkùù	'roll'
mòlògòmàlàgá	mòlògòmálágè	'wriggle'
pàmpáá	pàmpáà	'flatten'
piripàrá	piripàrè	'be of no value'
pòròpòró	pòròpòrè	'threaten'
sùmùsùmú	sùmùsùmù	'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 Senufo 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
pa	ma	'come'
lógó	núró	'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
jwo	yu	'say'
shya	sí	'go'
yyere	yire	'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: tɛɛn 'sit', tɛn '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 12 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
bégélé	bégélé	'prepare'
cèè	cèè	'sing'
cwo	cwo	'fall'
faa	faa	'cultivate'
kèènnè	kèènnè	'change'
pyí	pyí	'do'
wíí	wíí	'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 -lV, the imperfective suffix -ge resembles the gender 2 singular indefinite noun suffix -qV, 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 *-qi. Furthermore, imperfective -li and nominal -lV differ in their phonological behavior, the latter undergoing vowel harmony as a matter of course, while the former is more resistant. -ge and -qV differ in the same way. Finally, the causative suffix to be discussed in the next section may also be reconstructed as *-qV.

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. Cebara).

The similarity of form between the imperfective -ge and the causative -qV 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. Mii 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 -qV, 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 -qV. One of them simply adds the suffix:

- (40) yiri-gè from yiri
 rise-CAUSE 'rise, get up'
 'raise'

Another loses its medial consonant and raises its vowel when the causative suffix is added:

- (41) sùú-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. tiri-gè from tige / tírí
 go.down-CAUS go.down go.down.IMPERF
 'put down,
 bring or take
 down'
- b. duru-go from dugo / duru
 go.up-CAUS go.up go.up.IMPERF
 'put up,
 bring or take
 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. *núrúnó* from *núru* cf. *núrúní*
núrúN-gV return *núrúN-li*
 return-CAUS 'bring back,
 cause to return'
- b. *síníné* from *síní* cf. *yasinine*
sínín-gV lie.down *ya-sínín-gV*
 lie.down-CAUS 'lie down' thing-lie-G2S
 'lay down' 'bed'
- c. *toronó* from *toro*¹³
 'make pass' 'pass'
- d. *faanna* from *faan* cf. *ɲwɔfaanna*
fāāN-gV 'wilt' *ɲwɔ-fāāN-dV*
 wilt-CAUS mouth-wilt-G4
 'make wilt' 'trickery'

Three verbs lose a medial [r] when the causative suffix is added:

- (44) a. *cyééñé* from *cyéré* cf. *ɲɪncyerena*
cyéréN-gV be.small *ɲɪN-cyéréN-lV*
 be.small-CAUS 'be small' ADJ-be.small-G3S
- b. *pwóóñó* from *pwóró* cf. *pwóóñí*
pwóróN-gV be.better *pwóróN-gi*
 be.better-CAUS 'be better' be.better-IMPERF
- c. *yyééñé* from *yyéré*
yyéréN-gV stop
 stop-CAUS 'stop (intr)'
 'stop (tr)'

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
-fyin-	'white' ¹⁴	fíniŋé	'be white, whiten'
-nya-	'red'	naŋa	'be red, redden'
-bwo-	'big'	buŋɔ	'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 *-lVN-. 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 -lV, which like the causative -qV 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 absolute 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 -lV.

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 lànhà.
 s/he PERF let.go
 'S/he left (to go somewhere else).'
- b. Pi a lànhà-là.
 they PERF let.go-PL
 'They separated (from each other).'
- c. U a pi lánhá-lá pí-yè nà.
 s/he PERF them let.go-PL they-REFL on
 'S/he separated them from each other.'

Other examples:

(48) mǐgǐlé coil up (long rope)	<	mǐgé coil up (short rope)
múgúló open (several objects)	<	múgó open (one object)
murulo smash completely (with repeated motions)	<	muru squash (with one motion)
pahala split open (several objects)	<	paha split open (one object)
páán sever by chopping	<	pán 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) cǔrúgó stick in (several objects or with repeated motions)	<	cǔrù ¹⁵ stick in (one object, or with one motion)
cyirige cut in lots of pieces	<	cyiri cut in a few pieces
fúrúgó pierce with twisting motion	<	fùrù pierce with a thrust
mínágá scrape badly	<	mini 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 [pəli] '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 ordinary genitive constructions, if the possessor is definite and referential, the head noun is as well. The following is typical:¹⁶

- (50) ba-gé fùnn-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 n̄wɔ̄-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 will therefore be written separately in the orthography. The noun n̄wɔ̄-ga 'mouth-G2S' in this position normally does not even take an indefinite suffix, but appears in its root form n̄wɔ̄. Some examples are:

- (52) a. Guvernami-ŋi n̄ye na pi n̄wɔ̄ càà.
 government-DEF be PROG their mouth seek.IMPFV
 'The government feeds them.'
- b. Kà n̄u-ŋi si ù n̄wɔ̄ shwò sáhánki.
 and mother-DEF NARR her mouth take again
 'Then her mother answered her again.'
- c. Kà zàntùŋò si keshú-ŋi n̄wɔ̄ m̄ugó...
 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 fun̄ŋɔ̄ '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 fúnṣù ' wwóónó.
and it NARR them inside.G2S be.black.CAUS
'And it worried them.'
- b. Ma á ná fúnṣù 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 cwó '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 fúnṣù and its possessor are the subject:

- (54) Mii fúnṣá 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 nwò tó 'close' is used twice. The second use is parallel to 53 above, the possessor of nwò 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 nwò '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 òpi sí zhibannàṅwò ká-ká na
and hare NARR ground.hornbill tap-tap that
'Then Hare signalled Ground Hornbill that

'Pila a ñtasèmi-píí nwò tó wyi-ge e.'
spread SSC toads-DEF mouth close hole-DEF in
"Spread (your wings) and enclose the toads in the
hole."

Kà zhibannàṅwò mú ' sí ñ-tílá á
and ground.hornbill also NARR IP-be.straight SC
Then Ground Hornbill immediately

fukàn-yi tàha à wyi-ge nwò 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 lwò....
and he NARR IP-be.straight SC his things-DEF take
'He₁ immediately took his₁ 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 V, 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. | mɛ-ɛ | céè | 'sing' |
| | voice-G3S | sing | |
| b. | mɛ-ɛ | sú | 'cry' |
| | voice-G3S | pound | |
| c. | ŋɔɔ-go | ŋɔɔ | '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. $\eta\omega\text{c}$ $c\hat{u}$ 'begin'
 mouth grab
- b. $fun\eta u$ $s\hat{o}n\eta\hat{o}$ 'think, mull over'
 inside.G2S think
- c. $k\hat{a}ntu\text{-}go$ $w\acute{a}$ 'abandon'
 back-G2S throw
- d. $y\eta a\text{-}ha$ 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, $\eta\omega\text{c } c\hat{u}$ 'mouth take = begin' is a literal translation of Bambara $da\text{-}min\hat{e}$ '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 $k\hat{o}n\hat{o}\text{-}miiri$ 'inside-think = mull over', $da\text{-}tu\hat{g}u$ 'mouth-close = shut', $da\text{-}y\hat{e}l\hat{e}$ 'mouth-open = open'.

Notes

1. Other auxiliaries may combine with progressive, in which case the imperfective form is always used. See chapter IX, 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 [ĩ] 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 [ẽ], since [ẽ] 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 (SR). Only one of the 20 verbs which exhibit vowel raising lacks SR. Of the eight verbs which do not undergo vowel raising, three lack SR. Most CV verbs without SR 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 soʔo 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 -li: kèbèli.
9. This is the causative form of síní 'lie down'. Most causatives ending in [nV] 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/ [?], 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/ [?] 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 would 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 kùrúló 'roll up a long object' comes from kùrù 'fold, roll up a short object'. There are two exceptions, however: nàhàná 'drive animals in order to capture them' is the intensive of nàhà 'herd', and màhàná '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:

mii pyà-ŋi wà
 my child-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S)
 'one of my children'

17. The definite form fùŋŋke is also possible in this construction.

18. Note that in this example the object is cognate in the etymological sense: ŋɔɔɔɔ 'dream' is simply the gender 2 nominalization of ŋɔɔ 'sleep'.

CHAPTER V

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 VI (noun phrases), that of adverbs and postpositions in chapter VII (simple clauses), that of the tense, aspect, and modality auxiliaries in chapter IX (tense, aspect, modality, and negation). The conjunctions and subordinators, are dealt with in connection with the various constructions they mark in chapters XI-XV.

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	mii	wùu
2	mu	yii

The first person singular and both plural pronouns all have a LMw tone tune. They behave for the most part like LMw nouns with respect to tone rules. In the following examples mii is used, but wùu and yii would have the same tones if they were substituted. Just as in nouns, the Mw surfaces if the following word begins with a L:

(1) a. mii òkùùni
 my chicken.DEF
 'my chicken'

b. Mii à pa.
 I PERF come
 'I have come.'

Also like LMw nouns, the Mw causes a following Mw (in certain syntactic constructions, e.g. genitive constructions, verb phrases) to become H and then is elided:

- (2) a. mii nūŋi cf. nu (MwL)
 my mother.DEF mother
 'my mother'
- b. Mu a mii kánhá. cf. kanha (Mw)
 you PERF me tire tire
 'You have annoyed me.'

Verbs and postpositions with Ms tone become L just as when following a LMw noun:

- (3) a. U a mii nyà.
 s/he PERF me see
 'S/he has seen me.'
- b. U a li cyéè mii nà.
 s/he PERF it show me at
 'S/he has shown it to me.'

Unlike the nouns, however, the Mw remains in a genitive construction when the possessed word begins with a Ms:

- (4) mii bagé
 my house.DEF
 'my house'

The second person singular pronoun mu has a simple Ms tone tune. It does not perturb in any known environment.

The vowels of mii, wùu, and yii 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. Mii u a li pyl.
 I s/he PERF it do
 'It's I who did it.'

b. Yii 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 VI, 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 MwL tone tune characteristic of the latter. See chapter II section 2.3 for a discussion of the tonal behavior of the pronouns.²

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:

TABLE 7. Non-declarative First and Second
Person Pronouns

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	na	wu
2	ma	yi

- (6) a. Ma 0 pa.
you.NONDECL SUBJUNC come
'Come.' (polite command)
- b. Wu a sí.
we.NONDECL SUBJUNC. IMPFV go. IMPFV
'Let's go.'
- c. Yi à 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 wii.
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 (Mw 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	nayè	wuyè
2	mayè	iyè

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, there is one set of pronouns which cannot be used as determiners: the independent possessive pronouns. These will be dealt with in 5.1.2.5 and 5.1.2.6 at the end of this section.

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 CVlV in two of the four forms). The C of this form is the class consonant (see chapter III 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
ku	anaphoric
kà	indefinite/partitive
ki	identifier
ke	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 C is the class consonant and the V 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 MwL tone tune in which the L is a floating tone. Table 9 shows the forms.

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

TABLE 9. Anaphoric Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	u	pi
2	ku	yi
3	li	ci/ki
4		ti
5		pu
NON-COUNT		

orthography, as in the following examples with the dative postposition à:

(9) ka	à	'to it'	ya	à	'to them'
	G2S			G2P	
la	à	'to it'	ta	à	'to them'
	G3S			G4	
pa	à	'to it'			
	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 à [wa:] 'to him/her/it'
 G1S to
- pi à [PY_a:] 'to them'
 G2P
- ci à [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 Mw tone, and it allows the final L of the anaphoric pronoun to move to its right, yielding a MwL tune for the emphatic. The forms are given in Table 10.

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:

TABLE 10. Emphatic Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ure	pire
2	kure	yire
3	lire	cire
4		tire
5		pure
NON-COUNT		

- (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 L of the pronoun tone displaces the Mw of the suffix, unless it itself is converted to LMw by the spreading of a L from the preceding word, in which case the Mw of the pronoun causes the Mw of the suffix to become H (see chapter II, section 2.3.4.1). The forms are given in Table 11.

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 Cili 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 11. Reflexive Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	uyè	piyè
2	kuyè	yyiyè
3	liyè	ciyè
4		tiyè
5		puyè
	NON-COUNT	

TABLE 12. Indefinite Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	wà	pìì
2	kà	yà
3	là	cìì/kìì
4		tà
5		pà
	NON-COUNT	

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
- pilè 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 -bérè. The forms are given in Table 13.

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.

TABLE 13. Indefinite 'Other' Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	wàbéré	plibéré
2	kàbéré	yàbéré
3	làbéré	ciibéré
4		tàbéré
5		pàbéré
	NON-COUNT	

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.

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 LMw tone. Two of the sets have suffixes as well.

TABLE 14. Simple Identifier Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	wi	pi
2	ki	yi
3	li	ci/ki
4		ti
5		pi
NON-COUNT		

TABLE 15. Deictic Identifier Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	we	pii
2	ke	ye
3	le	cii
4		te
5		pe
NON-COUNT		

5.1.2.7 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are derived from the deictic identifier pronouns by the addition of the LMw nasal prefix just mentioned. By regular tone changes the final tone tune is LH. 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.

5.1.2.8 Relative Pronouns

The relative pronouns are derived from the demonstratives by the simple addition of the suffix -mù,⁵ as shown in Table 17.

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 LMw tone. The application of ordinary tone rules allows the L of the prefix to spread to the Ms of

TABLE 16. Demonstrative Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɲgé	àpíí
2	ɲké	ɲjé
3	ɲdé	ɲcíí
4		ɲté
5		àpé
NON-COUNT		

TABLE 17. Relative Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɲgémù	àpíímù
2	ɲkémù	ɲjémù
3	ɲdémù	ɲcíímù
4		ɲtémù
5		àpémù
NON-COUNT		

the identifier pronoun, resulting in a simple L surface tune. Table 18 gives the forms.

TABLE 18. Simple Interrogative Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɲgi	ɲpi
2	ɲki	ɲji
3	ɲdi	ɲci
4		ɲti
5		ɲpi
NON-COUNT		

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 M of the simple interrogative tune (resulting from the spread of the prefix LMw to the Ms of the presentative root) causes the Mw of -re to become H, and the final tune is thus LH. The forms are given in Table 19.

TABLE 19. Emphatic Interrogative Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ḡgiré	ḡpiré
2	ḡkiré	ḡjiré
3	ḡdiré	ḡciré
4		ḡtiré
5		ḡpiré
NON-COUNT		

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 adjective meaning 'last'. The

determiners were apparently originally nominalizations of this root. Table 20 gives the forms.

An example of a noun phrase using this determiner is:

- (15) *cyii-ní* *sân-ní*
 thigh-DEF(G3S) OTHER-DEF(G3S)
 'the other thigh'

See chapter VI, 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 XII, 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 wûbe. In addition, there are diminutive forms wùró and wùrúni.

Like other pronouns, the possessed pronoun agrees in noun class with its antecedent. It can be loosely

TABLE 20. Definite 'Other' Determiners

GENDER	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
1	sanna	sànɲi	sanmi	sanmpíí
2	sanna	sànɲke	sanya	sànyi
3	sanna	sànɲi	sannii	sannkíí
		NON-COUNT		
		INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	
4		sanna	sànnte	
5		sanma	sànmpé	

TABLE 21. The Independent Possessive Pronouns

GENDER	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
1	wu	wùɲi	wuu	wuubíí
2	wogo	wòge	wuyo	wùyi
3	wuu	wuùni	wugii	wugigíí
		NON-COUNT		
		INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	
4		woro	wòre	
5		wumɔ	wùmpe	

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 VI, section 6.2.3 for more examples.

(16) mii wúú-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 VI, 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 III 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 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'
	-fonN-	'new'
	-fu-	'hot'
	-fyin-	'white' ⁹
	-nu-	'same'
	-nye-	'red' ¹⁰
	-puN-	'all, whole' ¹¹
	-pyi-	'small (plural)' ¹²
	-sanN-	'last' ¹³
	-sinaN-	'beautiful'

Following are some examples of these adjective roots compounded with noun roots.

(18) a.	can-zànn-ke day-last-DEF(G2S)	'the last day'
b.	cann-cènnè day-good.G2S	'good day'
c.	lu-bwo-o water-big-G3S	'lake'

- d. kafee-fu-go 'hot wind'
 wind-hot-G2S
- e. dù-punɔ '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 H or L tone become M when adjectivized, and Ms verbs remain M. Mw verbs have a MwL tune when adjectivized. Independent adjectives do not undergo any tone perturbation at all, which indicates that the prefix has Ms 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. `nen-ké num-bwɔ̃-he
 tail-DEF(G2S) ADJ-big-DEF(G2S)
 'the big(gest) tail'
- c. kya-à niŋ-cenne
 thing-G3S ADJ-good.G3S
 'a good thing'

- d. sùpyi-ré nin-cyil-re
 person-DEF(G4) ADJ-first-DEF(G4)
 'the first people'
- e. puru yà-m-pe ni-nù-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-ńí¹⁵
 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
	pa	'come'	-panN- ¹⁶
	waha	'dry, hard'	-wa-
	bere	'be short'	-bir-

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)	nĩkin	'one' ¹⁷
	shùnni	'two'
	tàànrè	'three'
	sicyèèrè	'four'
	kan̄kuro	'five'
	ke	'ten'
	bepaaga	'twenty'
	ḥkùù	'eighty'
	kàmpwòò	'four hundred'

The first four and the last of these forms (1-4, 400) have a LMw tone tune. 'Five', 'ten', and 'twenty' have a MwL tune. 'Eighty' has a simple L tune.

All of these monomorphemic forms belong to gender 1 except kàmpwòò, which is gender 3. All are only singular except ḥkùù and kàmpwòò, which have both singular and plural forms. There are obvious nominal etymologies for two of these forms. kan̄kuro '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) <u>baa-ni</u>	'six'	<	5+1
<u>baa-shùùnni</u>	'seven'	<	5+2
<u>baa-tàànrè</u>	'eight'	<	5+3
<u>baa-ricyèèrè</u>	'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) <u>ke ná niḡkin</u>	'11'	=	10+1
<u>ke ná shùùnni</u>	'12'	=	10+2
<u>ke ná baatàànrè</u>	'18'	=	10+5+3
<u>beḡaaga ná niḡkin</u>	'21'	=	20+1
<u>beḡaaga ná kàḡkùrò</u>	'25'	=	20+5
<u>beḡaaga ná baani</u>	'26'	=	20+5+1

The numbers 30-39 are formed by adding 10-19 to 20:

(25) <u>beḡaaga ná kè</u>	'30'	=	20+10
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beaaga nà kè ná nínkin '31' = 20+10+1
 beaaga nà kè ná bááshùnni '37' = 20+10+5+2

The numbers 40 and 60 are formed as multiples of 20: a prefix bee-, evidently a reduced form of beaaga, is added to 2 and 3. The numbers 50 and 70 are obtained by adding 10:

(26) bee-shùnni '40' = 20x2
 bee-shùnni ná nínkin '41' = 20x2+1
 bee-shùnni ná kè '50' = 20x2+10
 bee-shùnni ná kè ' ná bááricyèèrè '59' = 20x2+10+5+4
 bee-tàànrè '60' = 20x3
 bee-tàànrè ná nínkin '61' = 20x3+1
 bee-tàànrè ná kè '70' = 20x3+10
 bee-tàànrè ná kè ' ná tàànrè '73' = 20x3+10+3

The numbers 81-159 are formed by adding 1-79 to 80:

(27) ñkùù nà nínkin '81' = 80+1
 ñkùù nà kè '90' = 80+10
 ñkùù nà bènààgà '100' = 80+20
 ñkùù nà bènààgà nà kè '110' = 80+20+10
 ñkùù nà beeshùnni '120' = 80+20x2
 ñkùù nà beeshùnni ná kè '130' = 80+20x2+10
 ñkùù nà beetàànrè '140' = 80+20x3
 ñkùù nà beetàànrè ná kè '150' = 80+20x3+10
 ñkùù nà beetàànrè ná kè ' ná bááricyèèrè '159' = 80+20x3+10+5+4

The numbers 160-399 are formed with multiples of 80:

(28) ñkwuu shuunní '160' = 80x2
 ñkwuu shuunní ' ná bènààgà '180' = 80x2+20
 ñkwuu shuunní ' ná bééshùnni '200' = 80x220x2
 ñkwuu taanré '240' = 80x3
 ñkwuu taanré ' ná kè '250' = 80x3+10
 ñkwuu taanré ' ná béetàànrè '300' = 80x3+20x3
 ñkwuu sicyeré '320' = 80x4

̀kwuu sicyere ' ná benáaga ' ná ké
 '350' = 80x4+20
̀kwuu sicyere ' ná beétaanre ná ké ' ná baaricyere
 '399' = 80x4+20x3+10+5+4

The numbers 401 to 799 are formed by adding 1-399 to
400. Above that, multiples of 400 are used:

(29) kámpwòò ná ninjin '401' = 400+1
kámpwòò ná ̀kúú ná benáaga '500' = 400+80+20
kámpwòò ná ̀kwuu shuunni ' ná beeshunni
 '600' = 400+80x2+20x2
kámpwòò ná ̀kwuu sicyere ' ná beétaanre ná ké ' ná
 baaricyere '799' = 400+80x4+20x3+10+5+4
kámpwòò hii shuunni '800' = 400x2
kámpwòò hii shuunni 'ná ̀kwuu shuunni ' ná beeshunni
 '1000' = 400x2+80x2+20x2
kámpwòò hii taanre ' ná ̀kwuu taanre ' ná beétaanre
 '1500' = 400x3+80x3+20x3

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 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 ̀kúú 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 Bambara) = 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		ORDINALS
	shùnni	'two'	shɔn-wù-ńí 'the second'
	tàànrè	'three'	tanra-wù-ńí 'the third'
	sicyèèrè	'four'	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 LMw tone tune of the cardinal is switched to a ML 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 ML. 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		ORDINAL
	kaṅkuro	'five'	kaṅkuru-wù-ńí 'the fifth'
	baani	'six'	baani-wù-ńí 'the sixth'
	baashùnni	'seven'	baashɔn-wù-ńí 'the seventh'
	baatàànrè	'eight'	baatanra-wù-ńí 'the eighth'
	baaricyèèrè	'nine'	baricyere-wù-ńí 'the ninth'
	ke	'ten'	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 nin̄kin-wú-ŋi
 ten and one-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 'the eleventh'
- b. ke nà kànkùrù-wú-ŋi
 ten and five-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 'the fifteenth'
- c. beŋaaga nà kè-wú-ŋi
 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 shon-wù-ŋí
 ten and second-POSS-DEF(G1S)
 'the twelfth'
- b. ke nà shùnni-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'.

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

TABLE 22. Quantifiers

TYPE	QUANTIFIER	GLOSS
Universal	puní	'all'
	mùjyè	'all'
Exclusive	káná / káni	'only' (DEF/INDEF)
	ye	'only'
Inclusive	mú	'also'
	bá	'even'
	jùùli	'many, much'

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.'

Jùùli '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 form.

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) biliní
 ya-biliní
 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 VI, section 6.3.3.4 for more examples.

(35) a. mii yábiliní
 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 adjectives 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 VIII 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 (di '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
puno	'completely' ²²	'all'
kána	'only'	'only'
ye	'very' ²³	'only'
mú	'also, too'	'also'
yapyàa	'actually, even' ²⁴	'emphatic'

Five other adverbs are not derived from quantifiers:

(37)	nínki	'again, still, yet'
	sáhánki	'again, still, yet'
	síncyan	'together'
	yéénkwó	'on and on'
	àmuni	'thus, like this/that'

The first of these, these, nínki 'again', bears an interesting similarity to the cardinal number nínkin 'one', though the resemblance may be accidental. Certainly, the tone is different, and the denasalization of the final vowel unexplained. The next, sáhánki 'again, still, yet', combines the tense-aspect auxiliary sáhá 'still, yet' with the same ending -nki as appears on nínki. Yéénkwó 'on and on', with its variant ínkwó, has a rather restricted distribution: it is used only with imperfective verbs to show great duration. Finally, àmuni has several shortened variants which cliticize onto a preceding verb: àmù, àmê, mù, as well as a longer, but rare variant kàmuni, 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) fééféeé | 'very' |
| béérébééré | 'very' |
| péw | 'completely' ²⁵ |

Others have more specific meanings, and accordingly accompany only a few, semantically appropriate, verbs:

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| (39) kiki | 'very full' |
| nárénáré | 'very full (stomach)' |
| trrrr | 'very straight' |
| wúrrrr | 'very far' |
| fárúúw | 'immediately' |

wáháwáhá	'very fast'
myéhémýéhé	'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
gòòò	'(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 IV, section 4.1.5 for some examples of these.

5.5.2. Adverbs of Location

As noted above, most adverbial expression of location are coded with postpositional phrases. These will not be dealt with here (see chapter VII, section 7.5.5, for examples).

There are only three one word adverbs of location. Two of these are deictic:

(42) <u>waní</u>	'there'
<u>náhá</u>	'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-ní 'there-DEF' and náhá-ní 'here-DEF'.

One other noun can be used as an adverb of location 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 niN- (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) nùmé 'now'
 níṅjáà 'today'

In the other word the root is yyee 'year.G3S':

- (44) níṅjyéé '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'
 tanjyééṅjyéèni '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 numpanna '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 -nincyé, of unknown provenance. The form for three units forward is derived by adding the suffix -lyágá, evidently from the verb lya 'be old':

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| (47) | nùmpanna | 'tomorrow' |
| | nùmpannanincyé | 'the day after tomorrow' |
| | nùmpannanincyílyágá | '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 yee 'year'. Two units forward is derived by adding the noun nùmpanna 'tomorrow', and three units forward, which takes the prize for size, is formed by adding the suffix complex -nincyílyágá from the form for three days forward:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| (48) | yeeela | 'next year' |
| | yeeelinumpanna | 'the year after next year' |
| | yeeelinumpannanincyílyágá | '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 expression 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':

<u>cibílaapanḱé</u>	'next week'
<u>cibílaatoróge</u>	'last week'

b. from nùḅwòhò 'rainy season'

<u>nùḅwòpanḱé</u>	'next rainy season'
<u>nùḅwòtòrògé</u>	'last rainy season'

c. from bèḅgà 'dry season'

<u>bèḅpanḱé</u>	'next dry season'
<u>bèḅtòrògé</u>	'last dry season'

d. from yine 'month, moon'

<u>yimpanḱé</u>	'next month'
<u>yinḱwugé</u>	'last month'

Note that the last form employs the verb kwù 'die' rather than toro. The expression yivònni '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 fyaharoo²⁷ '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 (TAM). 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 IX.

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 (nye '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
na	Progressive
màha	Habitual; Formal Past
ná	Past
à	Perfect
sí	Future
kú	Potential
sáhá	Still, Yet
sí	Narrative/Sequential
ta	Imperfective Imperative
sí	Subjunctive
a	Imperfective Injunctive
kà	Prohibitive/Negative Subjunctive
ká	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.

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

TABLE 24. Simple Postpositions

POSTPOSITION	GLOSS
á	to, for, from
i	in, at, to, from
i	with
na	on, at, to, from
bàà	without ²⁸
kurugo	alongside, through
táán	beside
yyéré	toward, <u>chez</u> ²⁹

postposition i (for the alternation [i/e] in this postposition, see chapter II, section 2.2.2.6):

- (50) a. U nyc 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 post position as well. Table 25 gives these details.

TABLE 25. Prepositions

PREPOSITION	GLOSS	ACCOMPANYING POSTPOSITION	MEANING AS CONJUNCTION
ná	'with'	i 'with'	'and'
fó	'till' 'as far as'	(i) 'in, to' na 'at, on'	'until'
kábyíí	'since'	i 'in, from'	'since'

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 Ms tone, whereas i 'with' has Mw 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 comitative and instrument:

- (51) a. U à pa ná ' wyéréni i.
s/he PERF come with money.DEF with
'S/he has come with the money.'
- b. U a ti kwòn ná nwóni i.
s/he PERF it cut with knife with
'S/he cut it with a knife.'

Fó 'till, as far as' is borrowed from Bambara fo 'till, except for'. As a preposition by itself, it can be used with a time word to mean 'until':

- (52) U à bārání 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 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 (kàbí). It must be accompanied by the postposition i 'in, to, from':

- (55) Pi a tààn pi-yá à
 they PERF be.sweet they-REFL to
 'They have 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.

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:

TABLE 26. Complex Postpositions

POSTPOSITION	GLOSS	SOURCE NOUN
funṅi i	inside	funṅo 'belly'
nunṅi i	on top of	nunṅo 'head'
ninṅi nà	above	ninṅi 'above part' ³²
ṅwòhí i	beneath	ṅwòhò 'bottom part'
ṅkèrè nà	beside	ṅkèrè 'side'
kàmpanna na	on side of	kàmpanna 'side, piece'
nwò na	at edge of	nwò 'mouth' ³³
yyaha na	in front of	yyaha 'face'
yyaha yyèrè	ahead of	yyaha 'face'
kàntugo (yyéré)	behind	kàntugo 'back' ³⁴
fyè e	after	fyè 'footprints'
shwòhòle e	between	shwòhòla 'part between'
cye e	by means of	cyeḡa 'hand'
ṅbaare e	except for	?
mèè na	for sake of	mèè 'voice, name'

(56) a. mii yyáhá ná
me in.front at
'in front of me'

b. ṅgé yyàhà ná
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) *mil 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 kèènnè.*
 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 nà.*
 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 cèni si u pyàni 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 and Subordinators

In this section the various conjunctions, both coordinating and subordinating, will be briefly introduced. They can conveniently be divided into connectives 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 connective: additive ná 'and', alternative làa 'or', and distributive màha 'each, every'.

The connective 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 H tone following a M (either simple or in LMw):

(61) a. Sukwoo ná Bàmàko
Sikasso and Bamako
'Sikasso and Bamako'

b. mii ná mu
I and you
'you and I'

A L at the end of the preceding conjunct spreads onto it, including a floating L:

(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 làa 'or', which may also conjoin clauses. Làa is of uncertain etymology. Its

tone tune and behavior are rather unusual. In most contexts it keeps its LM tune:

- (63) nùni làa pyìibíí
 mother.DEF or children.DEF
 'the mother or the children'

Following a M, however, the L is raised to H:

- (64) mu láa mií
 you or I
 'you or I'

The distributive connective 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 màhàhà '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 H or a M:

- (65) a. **yee máhá yee**
 year DIST year
 'every year'
- b. **fàràfín ' máhá fàràfín³⁵**
 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 conjunct 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 give 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.

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. Ani bà me 'otherwise' derives from a conditional clause meaning 'if it is not this'. Mà li tà 'although' means literally 'and find it'. Lire e 'therefore', 'that's why' is literally 'in this'. Lire nà li wùní mù í 'nevertheless', 'in spite of this' means literally 'this together with its own'. Mu gú òjwò 'like', is literally 'you would say' (cf. French on dirait 'one would say').

TABLE 27. Clausal Conjunctions

COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS		SECTION
kà	'and then (different subject)'	15.3
mà	'and then (same subject)'	15.3
sí	'but'	15.2.2
h̀kàà	'but'	15.2.2
làa	'or'	15.2.3
SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS		
na	'that'	11.5.2
ké	relative clause marker	14.1
	time adverbial clause marker	15.1.1.1
sána	'before'	15.1.1.3
	'rather than'	15.1.8
fó	'until'	15.1.1.6
kàbyíí	'since'	15.1.1.7
kámpyí	'if'	15.1.5.1
ná	'if'	15.1.5.1
áàpyi	'if (counterfactual)'	15.1.5.4
bà...mé	'like, as if'	15.1.4
kóo		15.1.4

nàhá ná ye 'because' is literally 'on/at what?'. A variant of this is nàhá kúrúgò ye 'through what?'. Nowadays in the

speech of young people one often hears pàské or pàsigé 'because' (from French parce que) substituted for the phrasal connective.

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.

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.

TABLE 28. Question Words

QUESTION WORD	GLOSS	BAMBARA SOURCE
jò	'who, whom'	jɔn
nàhá	'what'	
juuli	'how much, how many'	jòli
taá	'where'	
di	'how'	di

TABLE 29. Clause Final Markers

MARKER	FUNCTION
la	Yes/No Question
bé	Yes/No Question
mé	Negative
mà	Negative Question
ye	Constituent Question
ké	Locative Question
dé	Exclamation (loan from Bambara)
sá	Exclamation (loan from Bambara)
kè	Exclamation (loan from Bambara)
yò, yoò	Politeness, Attenuation, Listing

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 ɔ̀ɔ̀n or ààn or m̀m̀ 'yes', disagreement with ɔ̀nhɔ̀ or áhm '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 ɔ̀ɔ̀nɔ̀ shwɔ̀ '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 nyè, which can mean a variety of different things, including 'well', 'all right', 'and so'. It is exactly equivalent in function to Bambara ayiwa.

Notes

1. A comparison with the Cebaara cognates shows that a distinction has been lost in Supyire. At least in the plural, Cebaara maintains a difference between simple and emphatic first and second person pronouns:

PERSON	NUMBER	SIMPLE	EMPHATIC
1	SING	mii	mii
2	SING	mo	mo
1	PLURAL	wò	wòlo
2	PLURAL	yè	yèle

What seems to have happened in Supyire is that the emphatic forms have merged with the simple forms. The medial [l] was elided, presumably at an earlier date than the general elision of medial [l] which is so prevalent in the current language. The forms used with clitics mimic the earlier simple forms. Of course this does not explain *mii*, but perhaps when data from other Senufo languages is added, a similar scenario will emerge. The simple plural forms also perhaps survive in the non-declarative pronouns (see next section).

2. The first person singular form *na* sometimes has a LMw tone when it is the clause initial direct object in an imperative. The explanation for this phenomenon is at present unknown.

3. The corresponding pronouns in Sucite have been labeled 'clitic pronouns' by Garber (1987:26).

4. Garber (1987:26) labels the cognate set in Sucite as 'emphatic clitics', but the tonal behavior of the set in Kampwo Supyire shows that they are not clitics in at least that dialect.

5. This suffix is cognate with the quantifier/adverb *mú* 'also'.

6. Interrogative pronouns meaning 'who' and 'what' are not integrated into the noun gender system. They will be introduced in section 5.9 below.

7. When the diminutive suffix is added to this root it has a HL tune: numbílêré [numbe:re] 'very small'. This root is used only in the singular, the plural being suppletive (see list). It is related to the noun bilè 'seed, small round object, central part, individuated entity' which is much used in compounds, e.g. zòmbilè 'heart', fwùnbilè 'peanut', jombilé 'testis', canmbilè 'day'.

8. As might be expected, this root is usually in gender 2, the gender of large things. It is related to the verb buungo '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 kpó?ó 'be big, make big'.

9. More precisely: 'light colored'. This is related to the verb finíné '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 nááná 'redden, be red', which was probably originally the causative form of a now lost verb *nana 'be red'.

11. This root appears in the quantifier puní 'all' (probably a grammaticalization of a gender 3 singular definite form) and the adverb pungo '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 numpyígíi. It is also used in the collective gender 4, where it has the following forms num-pyè-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: pyi-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

sanna 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 nincin 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. Puno 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 in being 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 yòò (see section 5.10).

28. This is related to the nominalizing suffix -mbàà 'without' (see chapter III, 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: ninini na.

33. The definite suffix is sometimes added to the noun in the postposition, which thus become nwɔgɛ na.

34. Some speakers leave off the simple postposition. For these speakers, kàntuɔ is a new simple postposition.

35. Fàràfín is borrowed from Bambara, and means literally 'black skin'.

CHAPTER VI

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 and identifier 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 of them. The genitive construction is described in section 6.2.

The demonstratives (for the forms, see chapter V, 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. 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. ñgé ba-ńí
 DEM.G1S river-DEF(G1S)
 'this/that river'
- b. àpíf cyèe-bíf
 DEM.G1P women-DEF(G1P)
 'these/those women'
- c. ñké kàn-he
 DEM.G2S village-DEF(G2S)
 'this/that village'
- d. ñcíf kàri-gíf
 DEM.G3P affairs-DEF(G3P)
 'these/those affairs'
- e. ñté nànkòpyi-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 ògé cè la?
 you PERF PAST PERF DEM.G1S know Q
 'Did you know this/that one?'
 b. Fyi-ṅa à pyi òpíí sanm-píí jò.
 python-DEF PERF PAST DEM.G1P OTHER-DEF(G1P) swallow
 'The python had swallowed the others.'
 c. Mii nye a òpíí 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

Mii shin-céṅé u à pyi ú wi...
 my person-know.G1S he PERF be he it.is
 'He was a person known to me...'

(12 clause interval)

Amù ògé à pyi.
 thus DEM.G1S PERF do
 'It was thus that this one did.'

- b. as a determiner

Kà cīṅ-jyè-ṅí si jwò...
 and woman-old-DEF(G1S) NARR say
 'Then the old woman said...'

(56 clause interval)

mà sà nò ògé cīṅ-jyè-ṅí ni-nù-ṅí 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) Mobilí-yi hje yi mpyi
 truck-DEF(G2P) DEM.G2P they(G2P) be.PAST
 'The trucks that were

Bòbo kú-ní nà-ní na ké,
 Bobo road-DEF route-DEF on REL
 on the Bobo route,

yire puní mpyi na sí h-jyéré shwòhòní 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 XIII for a description of relative clauses.

The anaphoric and emphatic pronouns (for the forms, see chapter V, 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 kù-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 vâan-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-ńí tò-tò nàmpwuun-bíí màha n-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 demonstrative, 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 XI, XII, and XIV. 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 pyi.
 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 ñké 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 demonstratives are derived from the identifier pronouns by the addition of the prefix ñ-. This prefix has mid tone in this construction:

- (10) a. Jò u ngé ye?
 who s/he DEM(G1S) Q
 'Who is that?'
- b. Lire nùñ-ke ku nké:...
 this(EMPH.G3S) head-DEF(G2S)it DEM(G2S)
 'The meaning of this is this:...'
- c. Pwùn-ñi fún-ñká-ñi 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 H tune (like the demonstrative used as a pronoun or determiner) and the distal a HL tune.

(11) $\eta k\acute{e}$ $ci-g\acute{e}$ ku $\eta k\acute{e}$ [$\eta\eta k\acute{e}$] ' $n\acute{a}h\acute{a}$ ke ,
 DEM(G2S) tree-DEF(G2S) it(G2S) DEM(G2S) here REL
 'This tree (which is) here,

$n\acute{a}$ $\eta k\acute{e}$ $ci-g\acute{e}$ ku $\eta k\acute{e}$ [$\eta\eta k\acute{e}$]
 and DEM(G2S) tree-DEF(G2S) it(G2S) DEM(G2S)
 and that tree (which is)

$m\acute{e}\eta i$ i $k\acute{e}$,
 there at REL
 there,

$ci-n\acute{u}-y\acute{i}$ $y\acute{i}$ $n\acute{y}\epsilon$ $y\acute{i}$ $y\acute{i}$.
 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 V, section 5.1.2.4) normally require a definite head noun. The noun phrase as a whole, however, is indefinite.

- (12) a. pùcwò-ńí wà
 girl-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S)
 'a (certain) girl'
- b. cyèe-bíí pílí
 women-DEF(G1P) IND(G1P)
 'some women'
- c. kù-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-karé
 and he NARR IP-go
 'Then he went

màsàkwù kòò-gé kè e,
 sweet.potato field-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. Ǹbèèmbàà-ńí m̀àhà k̀àri-gíí p̀uní pyi,
 discord-DEF HAB things-DEF(G3P) all do
 'Discord does all (sorts of) things,
- ńk̀àà lí là nye ǹincenne 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 irrealis 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 cànń k̀à 'one day', much used in narratives. The more regular cànńke k̀à 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 cwò
 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 V, 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-ni wà-bérè*
 woman-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S)-OTHER
 'another woman'

Examples from other genders are:

- (19) a. *mobíí-ge kà-bérè*
 car-DEF(G2S) IND(G2S)-OTHER
 'another truck'
- b. *yacè-ni là-bérè*
 belly-DEF(G3S) IND(G3S)-OTHER
 'another pregnancy'
- c. *kàri-gí cii-bérè*
 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) *Ẹpi asi yíri kuru cyà-ge e*
 hare HAB.SEQ rise that(EMPH.G2S) place-DEF(G2S) at
 'Hare would get up from that place

màha sá ńwóhò 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 V, 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 XIV, section 14.2.2.6.

6.1.2.3 Definite 'Other' Determiners

The definite 'other' determiners (see chapter V, 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 sínciiyí taha*
and he NARR firewood.DEF set
'He set the firewood

fukân-ge kà na,
shoulder-DEF(G2S) IND(G2S) on
on one shoulder,

maá marafámpuní taha
and.NARR gun.barrel.DEF(G3S) set
and put the gun barrel

fukân-ge sànn-ke na na ma.
shoulder-DEF(G2S) OTHER-DEF(G2S) on PROG come.IMPFV
on the other shoulder 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 ndírile e,
side-DEF(G2S) IND(G2S) GEN heddles in
in the heddles of one side,

maá kè-ñi sànn-ñi le
and.NARR ten-DEF(G1S) OTHER-DEF(G1S) put
and put the other ten

kàmpan-ké sànn-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-ńí nu-vworo-ńí lwohé 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. ńyège na kà mií túńí sí yírà
 morning.DEF at and my father.DEF NARR rise
 'In the morning my father got up

à u òkwuu-bíí sanm-píí ta
 SC his chickens-DEF(G1P) OTHER-DEF(G1P) find
 and found the rest of his chickens

sicyèèrè. Fyíṅa à pyí a
 four python.DEF PERF PAST SC
 were (only) four. The python had

àpíí 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 II section 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 XII.

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 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 L tone which follows every definite pronoun spreads onto the following head noun if it can. If this spread of L 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

̀̀g  ce -n 
DEM(G1S) woman-DEF(G1S)
'this/that woman'

uru pw n-n 
this(EMPH.G1S) dog-DEF(G1S)
'this/that (previously mentioned) dog'

b. Genitive, tone changes in head

̀̀g  ce -n 
DEM(G1S) woman-DEF(G1S)
'this/that one's wife'

uru pw n-n 
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 ML, as in ce n  and pw nn , the ML tune of the pronoun merges with it to produce a ML tune over all. Thus u pw n  could mean either 'his/her dog' or 'this/that dog'. Only when the head noun has a basic Mw tune does the floating low of the simple pronoun/determiner

provide any distinction, the L of the pronoun turning up on the noun. Thus 'this/that vervet monkey', with the noun tune intact, is u kooní, but 'his/her vervet monkey' is u koòní.

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
 mii tú-ńí
 my father-DEF(G1S)
 'my father'
- b. Ms L-Mw L
 mu pya-ńí
 your child-DEF(G1S)
 'your child'
- c. LMw MwL-Mw L
 yii tú-ńí
 your.PL father-DEF(G1S)
 'your father'
- d. LMw MwL-Ms L
 wùù nú-ńí
 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 mii í ná yááyi 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
 ñ-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 mè-gé
 village-DEF(G2S) name-DEF(G2S)
 'the village's name'
- b. L Mw L Mw L Mw L
 ñkùù-ñi fùkàn-yí
 chicken-DEF(G1S) wing-DEF(G2P)
 'the chicken's wings'
- c. L H LMw MwL Mw L
 Yàkúbà 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-gé
 village-DEF(G2S) stream-DEF(G2S)
 'the village's stream'
- b. pyèn-ge nògòlyè-ńí
 compound-DEF(G2S) old.man-DEF(G2S)
 'the old(est) man of the family'

Multiple genitives are possible:

- (30) a. u tù-ńí ba-gé
 his father-DEF(G1S) house-DEF(G2S)
 'this father's house'
- b. mii nú-ńí 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-ńí pyà-ńí wà
 woman-DEF(G1S) child-DEF(G1S) IND(G1S)
 'one of the woman's children'
- b. ceè-ńí pyà-ńí sàń-ńí
 woman-DEF(G1S) child-DEF(G1S) OTHER-DEF(G1S)
 'the woman's other child'

In the examples given so far both the genitive (possessor) noun has been referential and definite. In the following above the genitive 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. mäsàkwù 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 shiin-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. Fágá Kànhà
 Parakala village
 'Parakala'
- b. Sogo Kanha
 Sikasso village
 'Sikasso'

6.2.2 Genitives with Pronominal Heads

It was noted above that any pronoun may function as the genitive (possessor) in a genitive construction. Ordinary pronouns may not function as the head of a genitive construction, however. Instead, a special possessive pronominal root wu- is used. Wu- is undoubtedly the etymological source of the genitive particle u used in contrastive genitive constructions (see chapter XII, section 12.1.3), and like the latter has weak mid tone. It takes

- (37) a. Sɪŋkare wú-ú-ni kòni,
 Sungalo POSS-G3S-DEF(G3S) TOP
 'As for Sungalo,
 u a sà à kalifyé⁴ númê han!
 he PERF go PERF be.qualified now EXCL
 he is really qualified now!'
- b. Kla gà mu wú-ú-ni labá,
 God COND your POSS-G3S-DEF(G3S) finish
 'When God brings your life to an end,
 ma mù ahà ñ-jwù
 you.NONDECL also PROH IP-say
 you must not say
 na mu a cyi mé.
 that you PERF refuse NEG
 that you refuse.'

The gender 3 singular form can also mean 'will' or
 'desire':

- (38) Wà wù-u nye 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 LMW

numbers, for example, become MH following a head which ends in a M tone:

- (39) a. **baga ninín**
house one
'one house'
- b. **wyigii shuunní**
holes two
'two holes'
- c. **canmpyàa taanré**
days three
'three days'

MwL numbers become high in the same environment:

- (40) a. **tooyi kánkúró**
times five
'five times'
- b. **cyèe ké**
women ten
'ten women'
- c. **tconmpyàa 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 nin̄kin-ŋí
 that village-DEF(G2S) one-DEF(G1S)
 'that one village'
- b. lire nin̄kin-ŋí
 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 shù̀nni-ŋí
 those women-DEF(G1P) two-DEF(G1S)
 'those two women'
- b. yire v̄àn-yí tà̀nrè-ŋí
 those(EMPH) cloth-DEF(G2P) three-DEF(G1S)
 'those three cloths'

An alternate, more common coding, is to place the 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 wyigi-gíí mù shùnni
 those(EMPH) holes-DEF(G3P) also two
 'those two holes'
- b. pi mù shùnni
 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 beñaaga nà kè-ńí
 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 shiin taanré
 we person.G1P three
 'we three'
- b. yii shiin kánkúru-ńí
 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 nànjii-bíí shùùnni-ńí
 these(EMPH) young.men-DEF(G1P) two-DEF(G1S)
 'These two young men
- nà pi tù-ńí nà pi nù-ńí...
 and their(G1P) father-DEF and their(G1P) mother-DEF
 and their father and their mother...'
- b. Mii a dùfààn-yí shùùnni-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 ńínkin
 DEM breast-DEF IND one
 'one of these breasts'
- b. bu-ńí pyii-bíí pii shùùnni
 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. *mpíí nàmi-píí kè-ŋi kàní*⁸
 DEM men-DEF ten-DEF only
 'only those ten men'
- b. *mpíí fyàa-bíí kè-ŋi 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) *mpíí cyèe-bíí beŋaagà-ŋi sàŋ-ŋi*
 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'
- támíi shùùnni shùùnni.*
 5.francs.G1P two two
 ten francs each.'
- b. *U ahá m-pyí tɔrɔŋii béŋáágá,*
 it COND IP-be units.G3P twenty
 'When it is twenty,
- mu ari ù tàà ke 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 kànkùrò kànkùró
 ten and five five
 'fifteen each'
- c. bepaaga nà kè ké
 twenty and ten ten
 'thirty each'

Repetition of 'one' may also mean 'a few':

- (52) Mii a ninjin ninjin 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. shiin kànkùró bááni
 people five six
 'five or six people'

A true disjunction ('either two or three') must use the conjunction 'or':

- (54) ...pi í yíré wwú v ààn-yi i,
 they SEQ them(EMPH) take.out cloths-DEF from
 '...they take them from among the cloths,
 v àanyi t àànre w alá sicyèèrè.
 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... ñkwuubí jò
 and it NARR chickens.DEF swallow
 'Then it (=the python)...swallowed the chickens,
 mà pi sanmii yaha sicyèèrè.
 and them OTHER.G1P leave four
 leaving four (lit. and left the others four).'
- b. ...gàabí si ñ-tòrò kankuro na mé.
 families FUT FP-pass five on NEG
 '...the families would not number more than five.'
- c. Nyàhii luuzuubí kàní
 people.of.Nyaha hunters.DEF only
 'The hunters from Nyaha alone
 nà benaga nà kè bó bòmipilé è.
 PAST twenty 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 ninjin '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 dírí mà lí tà*
 and I NARR it pull and it find
 'I pulled it (=the fishing line) and found it

lá á dùgò cye nínkin ná.
 it.COMP PERF be.heavy hand one on
 too heavy for just one hand.'

b. *Shín nínkin u a já 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 *nínkin* should be mentioned. Used substantivally as a predicate nominal, it means 'the same':

(57) a. *Pi kàri-gíí num-pyín-kíí ná wùù wo-gíí*
 their things-DEF ADJ-do-DEF and our POSS-DEF
 'Their customs and ours

wa nínkin mé.
 NEG.be.there one NEG
 are not the same.'

b. *Pi puná á sii nínkin.*
 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. *leré-ŋi* *kaŋkuru-wù-ŋí*
hour-DEF(G1S) five-POSS-DEF(G1S)
'the fifth hour'
- b. *yīŋ-ke* *tanra-wò-gé*
month-DEF(G2S) third-POSS-DEF(G2S)
'the third month'
- c. *kànjyīi-ní* *shɔn-wùù-ní*
neighborhoods-DEF(G3S) second-POSS-DEF(G3S)
'the second neighborhood'
- d. *bile-re* *shɔn-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 tɔɔgɔ '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-kε-wò-gé
day-seeed-ten-POSS-DEF(G2S)
'the tenth day'
- c. to-zhɔn-wò-gé¹³
time-second-POSS-DEF(G2S)
'the second time'

Like cardinal numbers, ordinals may be used without a head noun as long the referent is recoverable from the context. The recovery is of course helped by the ordinal agreeing in noun class with the referent. Some examples are:

- (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 ninjyè-ŋi,
woman-DEF(G1S) ADJ.old-DEF(G1S)
The older woman,

kà uru si pyà ninkin tà.
and she(EMPH.G1S) NARR child one get
she got one child.

Kà shɔn-wù-ŋí si wà tà.
and second-POSS-DEFG1S NARR IND.G1S get
Then the second got one.'

6.3.3 Quantifiers

The small set of quantifiers (for the forms, see chapter V, 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 XII).

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, puno / 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 puno / 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 V, 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 puno, as one might expect. The latter is used only as an intensifying adverb (see chapter VII, section 7.6, and chapter IX, 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 sí 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 nùngwó-hé puní pyi náhá.
 they PERF rainy.season-DEF all do here
 'They have spent the whole rainy season here.'
- c. Katè-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 puno. 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 ñ-jà pire 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 mùjyè ná mpyi a tèn nàhá.
we all PAST be SN sit here
'We had all settled here.'

In time phrases, mùjyè has developed the meaning 'precisely', 'exactly', as in the following example:

(63) Lire tèn-nù-ní mùjyè è,
that(EMPH) time-same-DEF exactly at
'At just that same time,

ká tètèfoní-ni si 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 connective máhá (see chapter V, 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 i 'in/at all times':

- (64) Tèrè máhá tèrè wyéré-lyiini nye a tààn
 time DIST time money-eat.DEF NEG PERF be.sweet
 'Spending money all the time is not pleasing

pi á me.
 them to NEG
 to them.

As head noun of a relative clause, the distributive noun phrase means 'whatever':

- (65) Sùra à nò cyaga màha cyage e ké,
 mush.DEF PERF arrive place DIST place in REL
 'In whatever place the mush arrives,

pire màha ti lyi.
 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 NP 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) Mii náha à yaaga ta mé
 I NEG.be.here SC thing find NEG
 'I haven't found a thing
- fó siinkombilgè 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 puno, the indefinite form káná is used as an adverb (see chapter VII, section 7.6).

The other exclusive quantifier, yɛ, 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 si 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
come in to leopards compound, until at last

à yaha kùcwuun yé.
SC leave monkey only
only monkey was left.'

b. Mii 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 paṅkà-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 Kibajwo. Nùmpañajwo nye 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, Tòònkéebíí 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) Ìkàà uru gání fùnni i,
 but that(EMPH) family.DEF interior in
 'But within that family,
 gà-tígíni yè nìncin
 family-owner.DEF only one
 it is the head of the family alone
 u nye na gání kàrigí kèènni.
 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) ñgé yè káni na mii cáá.
 DEM only only on I want
 'It is only that one that I want.'

The two can even be compounded together:

- (73) Sukwoo yénkání na mii mpyi a kàrè.
 Sikasso 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 VII, section 7.6.

6.3.3.3 Inclusive Quantifiers

Like yè, the inclusive quantifier mú '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 NP 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 kùbogé mù sí ú tóóngá á wii.
 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 sii miì á
 5.francs also be.here.NEG be.EMPH me to
 'I also don't have five francs

miì 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 V, 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 mpyí niyè.
 those(EMPH) FOC also PAST be cows
 'Those also were cows.'

For the adverbial use of mú, see chapter VII, 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) Buní 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 NP, as in the following example from an excited young speaker during a heated debate:

- (78) Yii toní fana mú à no ké,
 your feast.DEF also also PERF arrive TC
 'When it came time for your feast also,
- ká mii fana mú ' sí yiré 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 nye a mii shyééré me.
 he even NEG PERF me greet NEG
 'He didn't even greet me.'

The quantifier jùùli '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) ñkàà nínjáà tiibíí jùùli nye 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.'

Jùùli is much more frequently used in questions, where it is the regular interrogative quantifier 'how much, many?' For this function, see chapter XIV, section 14.2.2.5.

6.3.3.4 Emphatic Modifiers

Although these modifiers (for the forms, see chapter V, 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) ñkàà mii yábàní si kèñi yaha
 but I EMPH FUT ten.DEF leave
 'But I myself will leave the ten
- na yapyàagíí ù dufáni 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 counterexpectation 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 wi: 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, òkàà Kilèní yàbàná
 God POSS.DEF(G3S) on NEG but God.DEF EMPH
 God's, but God himself

à hákilińí kan sùpyàńá à
 PERF intelligence.DEF give person.DEF to
 has given intelligence to people (lit. the person)

u ú já u a sòńńi.
 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 yabiliní gú ñjwù
 your children.DEF(G1P) EMPH POT say
 'Won't even your children themselves say

`na pire si ñ-jà ñ-tèèn
 that they(EMPH) NEG.FUT FP-be.able FP-sit
 that they can't live

ògé ' júgúńi¹⁵ i mà?
 DEM evil.DEF in NEG.Q
 in that bad way?'

The emphatic modifiers can also be used to indicate (unexpected) coincidence:

(84) a. Wùu kòòn-cààngé cànṅké yàbàṅí,
 our cotton-market.DEF day.DEF EMPH
 'The very day of our cotton market,

kà u ú mpá ' náhá.
 and he NARR come here
 he came here.'

b. Yaarejááni yyetéénni biliní
 Yaarejaani year.sit.DEF EMPH
 'The very same year of Yaarejaani's accession
 to power

uru biliní ná 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 yapyàaqíí, can 'float', that is, be used as adverbial modifiers after the verb. Like punc and káná, the indefinite form of the emphatic is used: yapyàa. For a description of this adverbial use, see chapter VII, section 7.6.

6.4. Adjectives

The morphology of adjectives has been dealt with in chapter V, 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 III section 3.2.3.2 (see also chapter V section 5.2), and nothing further will be said of them here, except to note that the function of these

kàrii nye dé!
 things see EXCL
 sure experienced (lit. saw) a lot of things!'

- c. Ti mpyi à pyi ti ni-zànn-te fiigè.
 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 a below. Otherwise, as would be expected, this adjective also is used primarily restrictively, and consequently is definite, as in b:

- (86) a. cire kàri-gíí
 those(EMPH) things-DEF(G3P)
 'Those things (i.e. the customs of the past)

nà nínjáà wò-gílé è yò,
 with today POSS-DEF(G3P) with NF
 and those of today,

ni-nu-gii ba à de!
 ADJ-same-G3P they.are.not NEG EXCL
 they are not at all the same!'

- b. Puru yàm-pe ni-nùm-pe
 this(EMPH) illness-DEF(G5a) ADJ-same-DEF(G5)
 'It was that same sickness

pa a pà ù cù.
 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 `nɛŋké numbwɔ́he lwɔ́
 and she NARR go tail.DEF(G2S) ADJ.big.DEF(G2S) take
 'She went and took the biggest tail
 na fí.
 PROG run.IMPFV
 and ran.'

The father in the following example had several sons:

- (88) Ká u ú jyàni ninnyèni tùùgò
 and he NARR son.DEF(G1S) ADJ.old.DEF(G1S) send
 'He sent his oldest son
 mií fyè e.
 my footprints in
 after me.'

In general, indefinite adjectives are non-restrictive.

Some examples are:

- (89) a. Mähàtúgii ncwósunnké,
 Mahadugu.inhabitants pool.sacred.DEF
 'The sacred pool of the people of Mahadugu,
 pòò-líi num-bwo-o pi nye
 catfish-G1P ADJ-big-G1P they be
 big catfish are
 ku lwɔ́hé e.
 that water.DEF in
 in that water.'
- b. Jwu-bo nin-tan-ma pu nye 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 ninyaha- 'many, much' (from the verb nyaha 'be much, many') and nincen- '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 nincen- has been recorded. Following are some examples with both indefinite and definite heads:

- (90) a. Kuru nye à pyi bàhà-gà nɪn-cenɲa à?
 that(EMPH) NEG PERF be play-G2S ADJ-good.G2S NEG.Q
 'Wasn't that a good game?'
- b. Ká mii í yajɔ̀ɔ̀re tà-tùgù-gé
 and I NARR bait.DEF LOC-dig-DEF(G2S)

 nɪn-cenɲe wíí...
 ADJ-good.G2S see

 'I saw a good place to dig bait...'
- c. Kile ù 0 ma nɪn-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. An example of each follows:

- (91) a. Yii kàri-gíí ni-nyahi-gíí màha n̄kèègè.
 your affair-DEF(G3P) ADJ-much-DEF(G3P) HAB spoil
 'Many of your affairs go wrong.'
- b. ɲwòhòpyi-ré ni-nyaha-ra na nye 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) Tii-bíí ni-nyaha-ra na nye 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 numbíléré (definite: numbílèni; 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 numbílèni does not agree in class with pyàni, ninjyèni does.

- (93) Pyà-ní num-bílé-na à pyí à
 child-DEF(G1S) ADJ-small.DIM-DEF(G3S) PERF PAST CN
 'The younger child

kyaa cè a tòrò nin-jyè-ní 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.¹⁶
 and God words.DEF ADJ-sweet-DEF IND read
 '...and (I) read some of God's good words.'
- b. ba-yí nin-tòòn-yi shùùnniñí
 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-pyiñ-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 b:

- (97) a. Kà uru si ńkànhà yíncwòni
 and she(EMPH) NARR be.tired co=wife.DEF
 'She grew tired of (her) co-wife's

kàrigíí numpyinkíí tàán
 affairs.DEF ADJ.do.DEF beside
 treatment (lit. things done)

ná ú pworoní i.
 with her daughter.DEF with
 of (lit. with) her daughter.'

- b. Yíncwòna a kàrigíí pyi ná ú pworoní i.
 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 mii í mpá u ni-zini-ní ta
 and I NARR come him ADJ-lie.down-DEF find
 'I came and found him lying
 beside the car.'
- mobilíni¹⁷ tààn.
 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 nin-kèèn-ní na zàntùṅṅ,
 he he-REFL ADJ-change-DEF on hyena
 'While he was (lit. on his) changing himself into
 a hyena
 they caught him.'
- pi a ù tà 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) Pi cáà ni-vyiin kan pilà à
 they FUT ADJ-white.G3S give IND(G1P) to
 'They will give a white one to some
 and a red one to others.'
- sí ni-nyee kan pilà 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) ḥgé u nin-ta-yí
 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 NP 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 Supyire. 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.¹⁸ Following are some examples without such deontic meaning:

- (102) a. ḥkàà li là nye nin-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 síŋa à pyi num-pampana.
 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 ñké cyàgé
farmers.DEF PERF say that DEM(G2S) place.DEF(G2S)
'The farmers have said that that place

nye num-pyi-ge mé.
be ADJ-do-G2S NEG
should not be farmed (lit. is not done).'

- b. Yii wà lànpú 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 nínjyéé ' wúni 'the one (gender 1 singular, speaking of the head tax) of this year' and lwohé 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 niticùù-wò wú bà
 you healthy.person-G1S POSS.G1S it.is.not
 'Wasn't it you a healthy person

u a kàrè Cùñi 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. Mii sòròlashí wúñi yyèè shonwùñí i
 I soldier POSS.DEFG1S year second in
 'Wasn't it I a soldier in the second year

bà u a kwù nàhá 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 kómi¹⁹ buní
 this(EMPH) PROG be as.if deceased.DEF
 'This is as if it is the deceased's

sárágáñi kàsànràgà wùní
 sacrifice.DEF(G1S) last.one.G2S POSS.DEF(G1S)
 last sacrifice

yíi 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 ' nínjyéé ' 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-yiri-wùu-bíí si fwòro
 and they gall-rise-POSS-DEF(G1P) NARR go.out
 'They angry ones got out

lwché 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 nànkòpyi-wùu-bíí mù à
 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 tèreŋi
 they PERF train.DEF(G1S)

kàntugo yyéré wúni bómbararé.²⁰
 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) Yii màha sàhà-li 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 NP 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 b:

- (110) a. Nànkàabí fèfè màhàná á
 thieves.DEF(G1P) run.run noise.DEF(G1S) PERF
 'The noise of the thieves running
- mii né pilaga.
 me wake night
 woke me last night.'
- b. Mu nínjää yiriyiri jwùmpé náhà
 your today rise.rise words.DEF(G5) be.here.PERF
 'Your words on getting up today are really
- nyaha mii ná de!
 be.much me on EXCL
 too much for me!'

In the following example, the head noun 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'²¹

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) buní tótò 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. téni yirigiyirigè yààyi
 tea.DEF(G1S) raise.raise thing.DEF(G2P)
 'the things for making tea'²²
- b. u bèbè mobílini
 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 V, section 5.8.1. A simple pronoun may be the first conjunct of a coordinate NP 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) Cipoòni màha... shya cii-cwòní 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
- siniṅe 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, zàntùṅṅ, sikaṗèrè ná cin
 lion hyena billy.goat and leopard
 'Lion, Hyena, Billy Goat, and Leopard
- pi màha ṗwṵ wwó...
 they HAB mouth unite
 formed a cooperative society...'

6.7.2 Disjunction

The connective coding disjunction, lâa, (see chapter V, 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 lâa functioning to coordinate noun phrases have been recorded so far. Both are given here as illustrations of its use:

- (117) a. ñàhá mu sí ñkàn ye,
 what you FUT FP.give Q
 'What will you give (to be eaten by the dogs),

ma nùñi lâa pyilibíí?
 your mother.DEF or children.DEF
 your mother or your children?'

- b. mu ari ... sootánhánke lâa
 you HAB.SEQ loom.pedal.DEF or
 'then you ... step on the pedal

soobííni tànhà ...
 loom.stick.DEF step.on
 or the treadle...'²³

One occasionally hears the Bambara conjunction wala 'or' used instead of lâa, 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-ńi
 this(EMPH) PERF man-DEF(G1S)
 'Meanwhile the man

nà u pwo-ro-ńi ta
 and his daughter-DEF(G1S) find
 and his daughter (lit. this found the
 man and his daughter)

pí á tèn nà-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 mi í sá pùkwòrò-ge ná Kàrája ta
 and I NARR go girl-DEF(G2S) and Karaja find
 'I went and found the girl and Karaja

pí á yyèrè.
 they(G1P).COMP PERF stop
 standing (there) (lit. they had stopped).'

b. Lira à pyi a bòm-pèè-gé nà
 this(EMPH) PERF PAST SC baboon-male-DEF(G2S) and
 'Meanwhile the male baboon and

kù cwò-ńí ta ba-yí yà
 its wife-DEF(G1S) find houses-DEF IND
 its wife were in two cages

shùnni i pi-yè táán.
 two in they(G1P)-REFL beside
 beside each other.'

Gender 2 wins over gender 3, as the clause following example
 115 above (repeated here for convenience) shows:

(120) Cipoòńi màha... shya cii-cwòńí wà yyèrè
 husband.DEF HAB go potter-woman.DEF IND toward
 'The husband ... goes to a potter

maá fùńńcwògà nà pyàhii
 and.NARR water.pot.(G2S) and bowls.(G3P)
 and orders a water pot and bowls

ná sinĩę ná cwòhii
 and collander.(G2S) and cooking.pots.(G3P)
 and a collander and cooking pots.

shénré jwo. Pire kà
 speech say. they(EMPH) COND
 When they

yirè 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 -ke mii à kan
 rings-DEF(G1P) and cloth-DEF(G2S) I PERF give
 'The rings and the cloth I gave'

mu á ge, taá yi nye gé?
 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 ni-jirim-pé,
 calabash-DEF(G3S) and cow-breast-DEF(G5)
 'The calabash and the milk,

taá yi nye gé?
 where they(G2P) be LOC.Q
 where are they?'

b. Ni-jirim-pé nà kyaà-re,
 cow-breast-DEF(G5) and meat-DEF(G4)
 'The milk and the meat,

taá yi nye gé?
 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 XII). When a subject, which is already at the head of its clause, is focused, it is immediately followed by a pronoun which holds its place and is the sole indication that focus is intended. No pause may intervene between the focused NP and the place-holding pronoun. The pronoun agrees only with the last conjunct of a coordinate NP 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) Mii 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 nà 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 ñjyi-ñi nààrè
 they(G1P) all PERF PAST PROG food-DEF beg.IMPFV
 They were all begging food

sùpyi-rá à.
 person-DEF from
 from the people.'

The agreement is with the final conjunct even if both
 conjuncts refer to human beings:

(125) Mii 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 man who are friends (lit.
 on friendship).'

When an adjective modifies a coordinate NP, 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 nà pùcéébilè
 you PERF woman-G1S and girl.little.G3S
 'Have you seen a woman and a little girl

nin-toro-lo nye kù-ni i la?
 ADJ-pass-G3S see path-DEF in Q
 passing in the road?'

Notes

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-ŋi sàŋ-ŋi 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, who was 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 of course borrowed from French qualifier.

5. For many speakers this is true only when the head 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 wálá '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 // of shɔn- is voiced due to the final nasal of the preceding root.

14. In the text corpus, muɣyè is used only 6 times, whereas puní is used 204 times.

15. Júqú 'evil' is borrowed from Bambara juqu 'evil'.

16. Kálá 'read' is borrowed from Bambara kalan 'read'.

17. Mobilí 'car' is borrowed from Bambara mobili 'car'.

18. Compare English 'That isn't done.'

19. Kómi 'as if' is borrowed from French comme.

20. Tèré 'train' and bómbáraré are borrowed from French train and bombarder.

21. The antecedent of the possessive pronoun wu- is mobilige 'truck'. This is an example of the extended use of a genitive phrase with a pronoun head described in the preceding section.

22. Tea is 'raised' in Supyire: the verb reduplicated here consists of the root yiri 'rise, go up' together with the causative suffix -qV.

23. The sootánhánke and soobíini are the two pedals attached to the heddles of a loom.

CHAPTER VII

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 1984:139ff). 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 X, section 10.4), 'equi-NP' deletion in complements of modality verbs (see chapter XI, section 11.2) switch reference (see chapter XV, section 15.3), and the 'logophoric' alternation between anaphoric and emphatic pronouns in complements of verbs of speech (see chapter XI, 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 XII, section 12.1.1). Following are examples of each of the three major clause types, illustrating the order subject--predicate.

(1) a. identificational:

Mii wi.
 I it.is(G1S)
 'It's me.'

b. copular:

Mii nye yii núni.
 I be your.PL mother.DEF
 'I am your mother.'

c. verbal:

Mii 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 mii 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 semantic 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 si ceewe.
 she PERF be.born woman
 'She was born a girl.'

c. with adverb

U sí à-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 shwòhò.
 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 XII 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 V, 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) Yàkòṅké fwùṅi wi.
 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?'

It is obvious from this function that the identifier 'pronouns' have a predicative function. 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) Saŋcyen-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,

ñkàà 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 me.
Senufo name-G2S it.is.not NEG
'It's not a Senufo name.'
- b. Sèe bà me.
truth(G1S) it.is.not NEG
'It's not true.' Lit. 'It's not truth.'
- c. Kànhà fòò ká-pyi-i káná bà me.
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 nye 'be' (also pronounced nya, see chapter II, 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:

- (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 mobílí-fèṅè.
 Nonurugo-red be car-run.G1S
 'Red Nonurugo is a chauffeur.'
- c. Pire ù jígíni⁵ nye faaní.
 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

TABLE 30. Copulas

COPULA	GLOSS
nye	'be' (neutral)
pyi/mpyi	'be' (nonpresent tense)
sii	'be' (emphatic)
náhá	'be here' (deictic)
wá	'be there' (deictic)

was required in the past and now lingers only in contexts of emphasis. Some examples:

- (13) a. Mii 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 mpyi⁷ 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 mèt-gé mpyi
 baboon-male.DEF name-DEF was
 'The male baboon's name was
 'Sámà na η-kwòhò-li'.
 Samba PROG IP-dance-IMPFV
 'Samba is Dancing'.
- b. Lire tèni i kuru cyàge 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 tèni i támii shuunníni
 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 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 si m-pyi àpi shwo-ṅkàni.
 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 si m-pyi 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 mpyi. Note that à does not take the nasal prefix on its verb:

(17) a. Fantér-ii ná m-pyi shiin taanré.
 Fanterela-G1P PAST IP-be people three
 'The inhabitants from Fanterela were three
 (in number).'

b. Kùluwú Sààṅṅo u à pyi
 Kuluwo Saanogo he PERF be
 'Kuluwo Saanogo was

kàhe sii-fòòṅí.
 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 sii empɔɔrespɔri
 you PERF be.EMPH import.export.merchant

mii nyííni í.
 my eye in

'You really are an import-export merchant in my opinion.'

b. Kàshí a sii ya-pege dè!
 war PERF be.EMPH thing-bad EXCL
 'War really is a bad thing!'

c. Pi puná á sii nin̄kin.
 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. 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 waní 'there'. Like náhá it is somewhat rare with predicate nominals, but some naturally occurring examples are available:

- (20) a. Yire wá pyiyè.
 they(EMPH) be.there children
 'They (the elephants in the zoo in the
 far away capital city) are children.'
- b. Yii wá cyèè.
 you.PL be.there women
 'You are women.'

7.3.2 Locative and Related Functions

Clark (1978) points out that in many languages existential and possessive constructions frequently 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. Mii póóni na nye Sukwoo na.
my husband.DEF PROG be Sikasso at
'My husband is in Sikasso.'
- b. Cigé kà ku mpyi kuru wyige nininí 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 sii kafinara nà sée shwòlòle e.
it all PERF be.EMPH lies and truth between in
'It is really all between lies and truth.'
- e. Mii 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 ninkin i.
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 naṅké,
that(EMPH) hill.DEF
'That hill,

u màràmpé na nye aní.¹³
his treasure.DEF PROG be there
his treasure is there.'
- b. Kùcwuunbíí nà bònyi mpyi aní.
patas.monkeys.DEF and baboons.DEF were there
'The patas monkeys and the baboons were there.'
- c. Nògò-lyèná à pyi aní
man-old.DEF PERF be there
'Your father (lit. the old man) was there

tire bilère e.
that(EMPH) slavery.DEF in
in that (condition of) slavery.'
- d. Wùù nye a silà àní 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. Supyire ñ-dàhà-ńí pí-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 cètègè ku náhá ' náhá.
 thing.DEF IND egg it be.here here
 'There's a big egg of something here.'
- f. Wà na wá ' mɛńi 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) ñgé u a náhà zíí ñ-tàha
 DEM he PROG be.here FP.be.EMPH FP-succeed
 'The one who is to succeed

Babeme na gé, kámpyí uru na nyɛ,
 Babemba on REL if he(EMPH) PROG be
 Babemba, if he is still alive,

Kùlùncúnńú ' 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 à jwo na cyàge kè e
 we PERF know SC say that place.DEF IND in
 'We know that at someplace

wùu tiibíí níŋ-kwuu.bíí nye.
 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. Ceèni la-nye-sànnke 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 wùu 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
 help.put.load.on.head-agent NEG PERF be
 'One to help put the load on her head was

- u na mé.
her at NEG
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. Katège náhá miì nà.
hunger.DEF be.here me at
'I'm hungry.' Lit.: 'Hunger is at me.'
- g. Tafwónrè-boro na wá òpi á.
rotting-sack' PROG be.there here to
'Here 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. ñgé nye miì wú de!
DEM(G1S) be my POSS(G1S) EXCL
'That is mine!'
- b. Mpií cyèebíí mù shùùniñí nye miì 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. Mii túni mpyi ná pwunm-pole è.
 my father.DEF was with dog-male with
 'My father had (lit. was with) a male dog.'
- b. Nàni wà u mpyi ná cyèe ké i...
 man.DEF IND he was with women ten with
 'A certain man had ten wives...'
- c. U nye ná lale é.
 he 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 III that frequently it is difficult to classify noun roots as belonging to a

particular gender, since the same root can often appear 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) Pí 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 a large part of 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

Nàna à sikàni bò.
 man.DEF PERF goat.DEF kill
 'The man has killed the goat.'

b. passive

Sikàṇa a bò.
 goat.DEF PERF kill
 'The goat has been killed.'

Because of this lack of morphological marking, some would say that Senufo 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 X.

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,

fool-proof, 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. Yyè nkula 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: | wwo | 'be dark colored' |
| | nááná | 'be warm colored' |
| | fíníné | 'be light colored' |
| b. Size: | cyéré | 'be small' |
| | pèè | 'be big, fat' |
| | bile | 'be thick' |
| | cwɔga | 'be thin' |
| | bere | 'be short' |
| | tɔɔn | 'be long, tall' |
| | cùgò | 'be deep' |

- c. Flavor: táán 'be sweet, good tasting,
pleasing'
pen 'be tasteless, bad tasting,
displeasing'
tanha 'be sour'
soro 'be bitter'
pòò 'be good tasting'
- d. Consistency:
fya 'be too runny'
fòògò 'be too soft'
waha 'be hard, dry'
fyinne 'be fine textured'
pànhàhà 'be tough'
tara 'be firm'
lo 'be gooey'
shiile 'be hard'
pi 'be soft, ripe, ready'¹⁸
- e. Temperature:
níné 'be cool, wet'
wýeré 'be hot'
- f. Surface appearance:
néné 'be spotted'
cwò 'be hairy'
wòògò 'be smooth'
pi 'be ugly, bad, dangerous'¹⁹
nwo 'be beautiful, good'
nwóhó 'be dirty'
- g. Shape: tíí 'be straight'
nahana 'be twisted, crooked'
- h. Weight: dugo 'be heavy'
faha 'be light'
- i. Psychological state:
fere 'be happy'
wurugo 'be mistaken'
pwugo 'be stupid'
cyligè 'be smart'
sílégé 'be ashamed'
- j. Quantity:
nyaha 'be a lot'
kuunò 'not be enough'

k. Appropriateness:

yaa	'be appropriate' ²⁰
bè	'be right'
para	'not be appropriate'

There are other stative verbs which do not fall into any of the above semantic categories:

(34) Miscellaneous Stative Verbs:

kanha	'be tired'
faba	'be weak'
lye	'be old'
cùnnù	'be deaf'
bubo	'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) Mii à nara Zhir-ii 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. Mii nye 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. ñùngaga fóó cààná
 boldness owner things.spread.out.to dry.G4
 'It is the bold persons things
- ti nye 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 ŋ-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 IX, section 9.1.5. An example is given here for comparison:

(40) Kà sige shínbíí sí pí lwó á màrà...
 and bush people.DEF NARR them take SC keep
 'Then the bush spirits took and kept them...'

fó kà pí í á-pá lye.
 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. Mii na n-cáá kú ná.
 I PROG IP-like it on
 'I want/like it.'

b. Pi a càà pi-yé ná kàbyí nànkòcyèèré 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 X, 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 X.

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

kwù	'die'
fwónhó	'rot, be rotten'
sógó	'burn, be burnt'
keege	'spoil, ruin, be spoilt, be ruined'
tin	'swell, be swollen, be satiated'
cwɔn	'tear, be torn'
fuu	'burst'

Another common category of involuntary intransitives are some of the bodily functions:

(43) Bodily Function Verbs

ciri	'sneeze'
círígé	'faint'
cwùùlò	'belch'
féngé	'sniffle'
fùn	'perspire'
koo	'cough'
kwooro	'snore, purr'
ne	'wake up'
sán	'fart'
tùgò	'vomit'
wúrúló	'itch'
wwòhòrò	'retch'
yààlà	'yawn'
yègèlè	'hiccough'

Verbs denoting plant functions are semantically closely related:

(44) Plant Function Verbs

faan	'wilt' ²⁵
fyen	'flower'
fyin	'sprout, germinate'
se	'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

córógó	'bungle'
fò	'miss, fail, be poor'
kyaala	'suffer'
pòò	'miss, fail'
pòòn	'lose in a transaction'
ya	'hurt, be sick'

There are a few verbs involving bodily motion which are involuntary:

(46) cwo	'fall'
búrúgó	'stub toe'
fwu	'run' (liquid)
péélé	'float'

The voluntary, agent-subject verbs are more numerous than the involuntary ones. They include voluntary bodily function verbs:

(47) Voluntary Bodily Function Verbs

cyaha	'laugh'
fyeere	'urinate'
muguro	'smile' ²⁶
ṅṅó	'go to sleep, sleep'
ṅ	'rest, breathe'
ṅworo	'suckle'
su	'defecate'
wuli	'bathe'

Also voluntary are many verbs denoting change of posture:

(48) Change of Posture Verbs

bùrù	'lie face down'
kèènṅè	'turn' ²⁷
kúrúnó	'coil up' (snake)
lyèèlè	'stoop down'
síní	'lie down'
suulo	'squat'
teen	'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

caala	'disperse'
caanra	'arrive first'
fè	'run'
filili	'crawl'
klòròklòrò	'walk like an ape' (ideophone)
kwòhò	'dance'
mòlògòmàlàgá	'wriggle like a snake' (ideophone)
núró	'return'
na	'swim'
naara	'walk'
yi	'jump'
yyéré	'stop'

Many verbs denoting vocal sounds, including some verbs of speech, are agentive active intransitives:

(50) Verbs of Vocalization

fine	'lie'
fyàhà	'remain silent, hold one's peace'
kwúúló	'shout, cry'
kyáálá	'bellow, shout'
kyen	'grunt'
séré	'do muslim prayers'
shúúnnó	'make dental clicks expressive of disapproval'

tin 'make a loud noise'

There are of course many verbs which do not fit neatly into the above semantic categories:

(51) Miscellaneous Voluntary Verbs

bàhàrà	'play'
bégélé	'pack, get ready to go'
cyé	'refuse'
mɔ	'stay a long time'
ɲwɔhɔ	'hide'
shwɔn	'pass the night'
sígé	'suspect something'
tun	'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

dugo	'go up'
file	'approach'
fworo	'go out'
jye	'go in'
kare	'go, leave' ²⁹
kèènnè	'move' ³⁰
nɔ	'arrive'
pa	'come'
shya	'go, leave'
tigè	'go down' ³¹
toro	'pass' ³²
wá	'go' ³³
yiri	'leave, get up' ³⁴

With a few of the verbs (dugo 'go up', fworo 'go out', kèènnè 'move', tigè '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 òtàní 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)	fèèn	'lean on' ³⁵
	láhá	'let go of'
	màrà	'cling onto'
	nòrò	'hang from'
	suru	'hook onto'
	tege	'touch, set on head'
	tííńé	'lean on'

A few verbs take abstract 'locatives':

(54)	sànrà	'get tired of'
	tèè	'become accustomed to' ³⁶
	tigè	'have no confidence in' ³⁷
	yàfà	'forgive' ³⁸

Some examples of these verbs in sentences follow:

- (55) a. Kà mii sá sànrà bàshi táán.
 and I go get.tired.of trouble beside
 'I got really tired of the trouble.'
- b. Mu a tèè u tùmpe na.
 you PERF become.accustomed its noise.DEF on
 'You have become accustomed to its noise.'

- c. Cyengé neenení nye a tèè
 sauce.DEF taste.DEF NEG PERF be.accustomed
- Cààndugo na mé.
 Chandogo on NEG
 'Chandogo is not used to tasting the sauce (to see
 if it has enough salt).'
- d. Mii a tigè ù è.
 I PERF have.no.confidence him in
 'I have no confidence in him.'
- e. Yàfà ná ná, mii a yàfà 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'
	fyin	'sprout'
	pa	'come'
	pyi	'become' ³⁹
	si	'be born' ⁴⁰
	toro	'pass'

Following are some examples. The verb and the predicate nominal are underlined:

- (57) a. *Kà u ú sá cægé 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 pyàni nùñí si... fyin cige.*
 and child.DEF mother.DEF NARR sprout tree
 'Then the child's mother ... sprouted (as) a
 tree.'⁴²
- c. *Númê wùùní kà si,*
 now POSS.DEF COND be.born
 'When this one is born,

ná u à pa nò, wùù cévóó wí ...
 if s/he PERF come man our friend it.is(G1S)
 it it is a boy (lit. it s/he comes a man),
 he will be our friend...'
- d. *Ma á siinkomblini wà ma-yè*
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC cane.DEF throw you-REFL
 'You must throw the cane behind

kàntugo: lire sí ò-pyi taha num-bwòhò.
 behind it(EMPH) FUT FP-become thicket ADJ-big
 yourself: it will become a big thicket.'
- e. *Ká lire laaní si ò-pà si*
 and this(EMPH) pregnancy.DEF NARR IP-come be.born
 'Then that pregnancy was born

pùcèé-bilè.
 girl-little
 a little girl.'
- f. *Kà lire kile-wooòni si ò-tòrò kafege.*
 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) Àm̄pyi yii cyèebíí màha m-pyi
 if.COUNTERFACT you.PL women.DEF HAB IP-be
 'If you women weren't

àmuni mé, mii mpyi na sí m̄-pyi mu á pyà.
 thus NEG I PAST PROG 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 X. Besides the passive, there are two other constructions which detransitivize transitive verbs. These are the suppression of the patient in 'middle' 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 X.

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)	fíí	'beat smooth'
	fùrù	'pierce through'
	jya	'split, break'
	kùrù	'fold, bend'
	kwɔn	'cut'
	nɔ	'bite, sting'
	paha	'split open'
	pini	'spin (cotton into thread)'
	sú	'pound in a mortar'
	súúgó	'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)	bwɔn	'hit'
	cwùùn	'wipe'
	fyinme	'soak'
	jyé	'wash'
	kúú	'knock, rap'
	lwɔ	'take'
	múgó	'open'
	sámá	'comb'
	saanra	'stroke'
	siije	'press on, prop up'
	to	'close, cover, bury'
	yùgò	'squeeze to extract liquid' ⁴⁴

A few verbs require animate patients:

(61)	bàni	'wound'
	bo	'kill'
	kɔɔn	'cut throat of'
	bèè	'cause pain in a wound'
	fwóónó	'step on heels while walking behind'
	légélé	'tickle'

A number of verbs denote actions in which the patient is created:

(62)	cin	'weave'
	faanra	'build'
	jwoolo	'sew'
	nini	'roll (brick)'
	si	'engender' ⁴⁵

With many verbs the patient is affected primarily by undergoing a change of location:

(63)	bílé	'gather up'
	càà	'spread out'
	cenme	'transplant'
	cyán	'drop'
	diri	'pull'
	nàhà	'herd, drive (animals)'
	ɲɔɲɔ	'push'
	síníné	'lay down' ⁴⁶
	tugo	'carry'

A number of verbs denote primarily the removal of something from the patient:

- (64)
- | | |
|--------|----------------------------------------------|
| cwo | 'remove peanuts from plants' |
| fèrè | 'remove blade (of knife or hoe) from handle' |
| fiigé | 'remove kernels from cob' |
| kùli | 'shave' |
| láhálá | 'peel' ⁴⁷ |
| pámá | 'prune' |
| sírá | 'remove husks by pounding in mortar' |
| wàà | 'break off from main body' ⁴⁸ |

With a few verbs, it is the agent who moves, rather than the patient:

- (65)
- | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| jyille | 'cross' |
| kwùlò | 'encircle, surround' |
| màhàrà | 'go round' |
| yaha | 'leave, let alone' ⁴⁹ |

7.4.4.2 Transitive Verbs with Dative/Experiencer Subjects

A small group of perception verbs take a dative/experiencer subject. The patient is typically not affected by the action. These verbs are:

- (66)
- | | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| lógó | 'hear' |
| nééné | 'taste' |
| núúnó | 'smell' ⁵⁰ |
| nye | '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 Dative/Recipient Direct Objects

A number of verbs take a dative/recipient direct object. Most of these involve speech:

(67)	fɔɔnɔ	'console'
	négé	'flatter, persuade'
	sòmò	'warn, inform in advance' ⁵¹
	shyééré	'greet, thank'
	yyere	'call'
	yere	'counsel'
	yíbé/yígé	'ask' ⁵²

A few have decidedly negative consequences for the recipient:

(68)	cèègè	'accuse'
	cyahala	'insult'
	kyáálá	'contradict'
	láńá	'curse'

The following three verbs, all borrowed from Bambara, do not necessarily involve speech:

(69)	bén	'raise (a child)'
	jàhàvâ	'betray'
	pòròpòró	'threaten'

Finally, there is one verb which takes a dative/experiencer (rather than recipient) direct object. It also differs from the above verbs in requiring a non-human subject. The subject of kakyanhala 'surprise'

must instead refer to a situation or event. Following is an example:

- (70) Kà u jyiili-ṅkàni si
 and her cross-manner.DEF NARR
 'Her way of having crossed (the river)
 kàhe shiinbíí puní kàkyànhàlà.
 village.DEF people.DEF 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)	kèènnè	'change into' ⁵³
	le	'put, name'
	pyi	'make, call'
	shwòhò	'cook' ⁵⁴
	ta	'find'
	yyere	'call, name'

The verb kèènnè most frequently takes a reflexive direct object. It thus means 'turn oneself into':

(72)	Kà	fyilibíí	si	pi-yé	'	kéènnè	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	kéènnà	à	pyi	kaféegé
		and	she	NARR	she-REFL	change	SC	become	wind
		'Then she ... turned herself (into) wind							
		mà	fworo	u	nùni	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 mege 'name' as direct object and the name given as predicate nominal. The person or thing named is the genitive possessor of mege:

- (74) a. *Kà pi í ú mége le Yoṅoyāṅa.*
and they NARR her name.DEF put Yoṅoyāṅa
'They named her Yoṅoyāṅa.'
- b. *Pi kilèni mègé pi màha yyera àmè jínà.*⁵⁵
their god.DEF name.DEF they HAB call thus jinn
'It is their god which they call thus 'jinn'.'
- c. *Ŋtasèmpíí pii na nye,*
frogs.DEF IND PROG be
'There are some frogs,
- pi màha pire mègè pyi yimajono.*
they HAB their(EMPH) name call yimajono
they call them 'yimajono'.⁵⁶

The verb pyi can dispense with the noun mege and still retain its sense of 'name' or 'call':

- (75) *Kuru pinṅke pi nye 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 shwoho 'cook' denotes a meal:

- (76) *Ŋyège na maá ' nùrá 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 zàncégé.*
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 si li lwó á jò, kà mii í
 and IND NARR it take SC swallow and I NARR
 'One (=a fish) took and swallowed it (=the hook),
 and I

lí dírí mà ù tà ñtàsana.
 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'
	lene	'put'
	tirigè	'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 ñ-káágé sà ù kàciiyí 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 mii ná, wù sí ñ-kàré Sukwoo na.
 you add me on we FUT FP-gc 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 interesting.

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 pi í yiri maá cèmpòò
 and they NARR get.up and.NARR antelope.male
 'Then they got up and
- lyee sèègà láhá ñtàsùùni 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 si sùpyiré làhà lire 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:

Mii a na ya-teènni lwò à
 I PERF my thing-sit.DIM.DEF take SC
 'I took my little chair and
 yige òtààni na ...
 take.out courtyard.DEF at
 brought it out to the courtyard...'

- b. locative source:

U à mu yige wyige e la?
 he PERF you take.out hole.DEF in Q
 'Did he take you out of the hole?'

The verb lene 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 si ... neéni le sèéré e.
 and dog NARR tail.DIM.DEF put honey.DEF in
 'Then Dog ... put his little tail in the honey.'
- b. Kà zàntùṅṅó si ... nùṅke puní lènè 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 à 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 à 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 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
	kan	'give'	á	recipient
	jwo	'say'	á	recipient
	náára	'beg'	á	source
	cyèè	'show'	na	recipient
	tuugo	'send'	á	recipient

Jwo 'say', kan 'give', and tuugo 'send' take a dative/recipient marked with the postposition á 'to':

- (88) a. Kà nògò-lyèní si òkùù kan u à.
and man-old.DEF NARR chicken give him to
'Then my father gave a chicken to him.'
- b. Kà pí í tùnnturé jwo u à.
and they NARR message.DEF say him to
'They told him (lit. said to him) the message.'
- c. U nye à lèterí ' túúgó mii 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 mii í m-pá Pyééré pa-ṅkàni jwo
 and I NARR IP-come Pierre come-manner.DEF say
 'Then I came and told how Pierre had come
 na pyenga shiinbíí nyii nà.
 my family people.DEF eye at
 to my family.'

The verb náárá '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 ṅjyini nààrè
 they all PERF do PROG food.DEF beg.IMPFV
 'They (=the animals in the zoo) were all begging food
 sùpyirá à.
 person.DEF from
 from the people.'

Like kan 'give', náárá '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 mii 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-lyèní 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 mii á '
 s/he PERF goat buy me from
 'S/he bought a goat from me
- ná ' wáhií shuunní i.
 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 does not form part of the generic mental representation 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 XI, and will only be briefly mentioned here. They fall into four 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. The most common of these are:

(95)	jwo	'say'
	cyèè	'show, inform'
	sònnò	'think'
	ce	'know'
	dá	'believe' ⁵⁸
	yaha	'believe'
	kàànmùcya	'notice'

An example with this type of complement is:

- (96) Pi màha jwo na yire yi nye na
 they HAB say that these(EMPH) they be PROG
 'They say that it is these (=the sacred catfish of
 Mahadugu) which

pyìibíí kààn.
 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) | pyi | 'make, tell, order' ⁵⁹ |
| | náárá | 'beg' |
| | tun | 'send on an errand' |
| | yyere | 'call' |
| | yaha | 'let, permit' |
| | tege | 'help' |
| | kan | 'give' ⁶⁰ |
| | nɛɛ | 'agree' |

Examples of each complement type with the same main verb are:

- (98) a. realis (H tone) complement

Mii a pyàni 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

Mii sí pyàni yaha u 0 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 the realis, 'high tone' complements:

(99) nye 'see'⁶¹
 ta 'find'

A few modality verbs take same-subject subjunctive clauses:

(100) yaa 'should, ought'
 mifiri '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 wii 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 VIII 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 do not form part of the generic 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 VIII. 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 sɪnciiyí cya mìì 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 mɛɛ na 'for the sake of', literally 'on voice/name of' is used. Compare the following examples:

- (105) a. U a yi jwò mìì mɛɛ ná. BENEFACTIVE
 s/he PERF them say me name on
 'S/he said it (lit. them) for me.'
- b. U a yi jwò mìì á. DATIVE
 s/he PERF them say me to
 'S/he said it to me.'

With náará 'pray, beg', the person prayed for (or about) is marked with the postposition na:

- (106) Kile nààrà mìì 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 VIII, 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

Mii póóna a kàrè Sukwoo na
my husband.DEF PERF go Sikasso at
'My husband has gone to Sikasso

ná yàni i.
with sick.DEF with
with the sick person.'

b. INSTRUMENTAL

Mii sí mu tó ' ná vààn-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 VIII, 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 consisting 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 -nkàni 'manner, method', are also common in manner phrases. As with the above example, they are marked with the postposition na:

- (109) Pyìibíí sàhà nye na byíí
 children.DEF yet NEG PROG raise.IMPFV
 'Children are no longer raised
- pi tánjää byí-nkàni 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) Mii 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 VIII 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 V, 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. Shwó-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 Sintà shwòhole e.
 here and Sinta between in
 between here and Sinta.'

b. Wùu a nīiyi pwo-pwo pwooré `nwóhi i.
 we PERF cowsDEF tie-tie adobe.DEF behind in
 'We had tied the cows here and there behind the
 houses.'

c. U asì nàge fyingè-fyingè
 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. Bàmake 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-kwɔnrɔ 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', kuru yínke e 'in that month', kuru cibílaagé e 'in that week'. Night also takes i:

- (113) Kuru numpilâge e kâ zânhé si ñ-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'), canvyinge na 'in the middle of the afternoon' (lit. 'day-white'), yàkònké na 'in the late afternoon, evening', lùñinké 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-tigè kàhhe fùnḡké e
 we HAB IP-go.down town.DEF inside.DEF in
 'We go down into the town

yàkòḡké na.
 afternoon.DEF at
 in the afternoon.'

- b. Yàkòḡké (na) wùu màha n-tigè
 afternoon.DEF at we HAB IP-go.down
 'In the afternoon we go down

kàhhe fùnḡké 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 ñ-kwù àmuni.
and he NARR IP-die thus
'And he died in that way.'
- b. Àmuni miì 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 zàntùḡò sì m-pà ḡ-cwò mú
and hyena NARR IP-come IP-fall also
'Hyena finally also fell
- wḡḡḡya à.
snake.DEF to
to the snakes.'

There are numerous restrictions in the use of individual adverbs. For example, though puno 'completely' (from the universal quantifier puní 'all', itself derived from the adjective root puN- 'all') can occur in affirmative sentences, as in a below, it is much more frequent in negative clauses, as in b, where it has the function of intensifying the negation, meaning roughly 'at all':

- (117) a. Pi gú mu bó puno.
 they POT you kill completely
 'They would really finish you off.'
- b. Darashí ' mú nàha sii mii á
 5.francs also NEG.be.here be.EMPH me to
 'I really don't have five francs
- mii 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 ye (from the exclusive quantifier ye 'only') is very restricted in its occurrence. It is confined to sentences where the verb is repeated to show duration. The addition of ye emphasizes the duration. Compare the following examples from the same text, one without and one with ye. The latter, which occurs later in the text, emphasizes the length of time involved, and underscores the futility of the action. Note that naara 'walk' in this context means 'walk in the bush in search of game', i.e. 'hunt'.

- (118) a. Kà u ú ñ-kará á sà nàara mà naara.
 and he NARR IP-go SC go walk and walk
 'Then he went and walked and walked.'
- b. Kà lùzù rì nùrá à fwooro níńkì...
 and hunter NARR return SC go.out again
 'Then Hunter again went out...'
- mà naara ye mà naara ye mà naara ye.
 and walk only and walk only and walk only
 and walked and walked and walked.'

The adverb yéénkwó 'on and on' is used only with imperfective verbs to show continuation:

- (119) Zànhá á sii na ma yéénkwó.
 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. Càṅka a pà wyèrè lílí.
 day.DEF PERF come be.hot shimmering
 'The day had become shimmering hot.'
- c. Mobílíni nùṅke kà fwòro
 car.DEF head.DEF COND go.out
 'When the car would appear
- pi í màràfáni jya gòòò.
 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 'soon' and its supplanting rival borrowed from Bambara dóóní 'a bit' are almost exclusively confined to initial position:

- (121) a. Fyaharoo u sí ì-pà.
 soon s/he FUT FP-come
 'Soon s/he will come.'
- b. Dóóní kà pi sanm-píf sì ì-pà.
 soon and they OTHER-DEF(G1P) NARR IP-come
 'In a bit the rest of them came.'

Notes

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 mere speculation.

3. This particle seems to be related to the postposition bàà 'without'. Historically, this postposition had the form bàlV, 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. tatsenga means 'inhabited place'. In this sentence it corresponds to the French word quartier 'quarter, neighborhood'.

5. Jìgí '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 VIII, 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 IX, 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 Yii a cùùṅṅ 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 patriclan. 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, which contains a pun not at all obvious due to morphophonemic processes. The noun nùngaga is a compound consisting of the noun root nùṅò '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, uncautiously 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 paralyzed, become crippled'. The noun denoting 'cripple' is a nominalization of this verb: faàn-ni 'cripple (DEF)'.

26. Also pronounced mwəhəŋə [mwɔ̃ʔɔ̃nɔ̃], 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 mì 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 VIII 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 yiri Sukwoo na mà kàrè Fáágá ná.
G1S PERF leave Sikasso at and go Farakala at
'S/he left Sikasso and went to Farakala.'

b. Mii a yiri nyè-sòò-gò 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 kèènnè 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 sóqó '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 IV, 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 sòmí '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 kèènè '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 mège is indefinite, indicating that it is starting to be incorporated into the verb. The new, compound verb will thus be mège-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 mííri '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 V, section 5.5.

66. For the various forms of àmuni see chapter V, section 5.5.1.1. The shortened forms can only take the postverbal position. The adverb sáhánki 'again, still, yet' has been recorded once in pre-subject position, but preceded by a time phrase:

Cann kà sáhánki kà nàŋi si ñkàrè kerège e.
 day IND again and man.DEF NARR go field.DEF to
 'One day again the man went to the field.'

CHAPTER VIII

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 XI through XV. 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 they 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 connectives 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 connectives which signal greater or lesser semantic and pragmatic closeness between the conjuncts. Fairly loose connection is signaled by the complex connectives maá (for perfective) and maríi (for imperfective). Both of these connectives 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 zàntùṅò sì pwun `nèéni 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 ñ-kàrá á sà nàara mà naara.
 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 XV 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 sɪ ù jòóní yìrì-gè,
and M NARR his penis.DEF get.up-CAUS
'Then M got himself an erection

kà M sɪ lí lè cyi-shwòhòmpílè e
and M NARR it put thigh-between.DEF in
and M put it between (his) thighs

mà shwòn.
and pass.the.night
and spent the night (that way).

Pùkwòròge nyɛ à pa mé.
girl.DEF NEG PERF come NEG
The girl didn't come.

E: Mu a lí lé á shwòn
you PERF it put SC pass.the.night
You put it and spent the night

cyi-shwòhòmpílè 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 aní (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-kwò 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

ñ-páà mii i 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 nwoóní dīra a wwù.
 he PERF knife.DEF pull SC take.out
 'He pulled out his knife.'
- b. *U à nwoóní dīra a lī wwù.³
 it
- c. *U a dīra à nwoóní 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 shon-poòñi wà sī ... tōogé taha
 and horse-male.DEF IND NARR leg.DEF use
 'Then one of the stallions ... used (his) foot
 à zàntùṅò 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 2 above is simply ungrammatical:

- (8) *Kà u ú ṅ-kará á sà nàara à naara.
 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 a below, or the first event may have the second as its purpose, as in b:

- (9) a. U a kùlà à cwo.
 he PERF trip SC fall
 'He tripped and fell.'
- b. Kà u ú tũ̀ni bwòn 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 mii í yajòŋke 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 ú lí 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 syntactic subjects:

- (11) a. Mii a ù kárimá 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. Zàntùṅḁ nyɛ 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 zàntùṅḁ sɪ sà njìni tàhà na
 and hyena NARR go tongue.DEF use PROG
 'Then Hyena went and used his tongue
- seéré lààli cigé wyigé 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 the second example above, 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 mii í ' síní lí ná na ɲɔ-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 kaminii 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 kwò a yyèèlà a kù tòònga a wii...
 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 kwò '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, kwò 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 to 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 sa 'go', are highly grammaticalized in this construction. They behave in fact like auxiliaries, and resemble auxiliaries 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 IV, 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 M tone, but as V1 in this construction it frequently has weak M. 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 IX, section 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 cáá), 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 IV, 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-tiri mé.
 she POT FP-be.able FP-grind NEG
 'She wouldn't be able to grind.'
- c. Kà mìi í ' nùrá á sà ñ-tèèn
 and I NARR return SC go IP-sit
 'Then I again went and sat
 na yatêénni na na òrobéérè sígí-lì,
 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-finish FP-pass FP-go Sikasso to
 lest he end up by passing by and going to Sikasso
ñ-páà mìi i 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 tense-aspect-modalities expressing obligation: the imperative, and the subjunctive (both the 'zero' subjunctive and the sí subjunctive; see chapter IX, section 9.3.3). Verbs in the subjunctive serial construction are joined with

the connective a, which has weak M tone. This a is to be distinguished from the imperfective subjunctive auxiliary a (with strong M 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 lyí 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. Mii sí ù lwó ñ-kàn yìi á,
 I FUT him take FP-give you.PL to
 'I'll take and hand (lit. give) him to you,
- yìi í ú yála a síníngé.
 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 òpi 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 shonga shwò 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 así), 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*
and they NARR jump SC cling
'They jumped up and clung

bagé tòtompé e.
house.DEF rafters.DEF to
to the rafters.'

- b. *Yòòge 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 bwòn.*
day DIST day she HAB her grab SC hit
'Every day she would grab and beat her.'

- b. *U asi nùrá á sà kù ní,*
she HAB.SEQ return SC go it fill
'She would again go fill it,

ka asi láchá 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 kyárá 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-meat.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', tigè 'descend', and yiri '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 mii í cìnikíí lwò a kàrè 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

VII, 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 yi 'jump':

- (26) a. Kà pi í fé à fworo lwohé e.
and they NARR run SC exit water.DEF in
'Then they ran out of the water.'
- b. Wùu a fè a iyè 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 fùnñi i.
and she NARR run SC go village.DEF inside in
'Then she ran into the village.'
- d. Kà kùcwuun sí fé à yiri 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 fworo finatríni i.
and monkey NARR jump SC exit window.DEF in
'Then Monkey jumped out the window.'
- g. Kà santu sí ... yí á dùgò nìñìní na.
and francolin NARR jump SC ascend above at
'Then Francolin ... jumped up into the air.'
- h. Kà ìpi sí yí à cwo nìnke 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 all be dealt with in chapter IX, and will only be mentioned here. The verbs pa 'come' and sa 'go' are used to code the inchoative with states and durative events (see chapter IX, section 9.1.5). The verb/copula pyi 'do' is used to code past tense in compound tense-aspects (see chapter IX, section 9.2.7.1). The verb kwɔ 'finish' forms the terminative aspect (focusing on the terminal point of an event (see chapter IX, section 9.1.6). The verbs pyɛ 'see' and tèè 'be accustomed to' form varieties of the experiential perfect (see chapter IX, section 9.2.4). The verb mɔ 'be a long time' can be used to code duration (see chapter IX, 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 XV, 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 IX, and are therefore only mentioned here. The verbs pa 'come' and sa 'go' can be used to encode the modality of purpose (see chapter IX, 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 IX, 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 lwo '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 sí kafááge num-bwɔhɔ lwò sí
and God NARR rock.DEF ADJ-big take PURP
'Then God took a big rock in order to

m-pá kú táhá á kùrùbo-gé iyà.
IP-come it use SC piece.of.calabash.DEF break
come break the piece of calabash with it.'

- b. Uru diizini u mpyi maha já á
this(EMPH) thread.DEF it PAST HAB be.able SC
'It was this thread that could be

pèrè maá n-táhá á làmpùni 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 mì 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 kyará cyá á mì 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 pèn a tòrò.
 SC be SC be.bad SC pass
 was very bad.'
- b. Pi fùnya à pyi a tànnà 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) Pyàñi num-bílè.na à pyi à kyaa cè
 child.DEF ADJ-small.DIM.DEF PERF be SC affair know
 'The younger child knew
- a tòrò nin-jyèni na.
 SC pass ADJ-be.old.DEF on
 more than the older.'

8.3.5 Serial Verbs Functioning as Manner Adverbs

A number of verb 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 nùrú 'return, again'

As a main verb, nùrú 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 ' nùrá à
 she PERF finish TC and.NARR return SC
 'When she was finished, she again

u kùtùnù-sèègé wwù à yaha,
 her monkey-skin.DEF take.off SC leave
 took off her monkey skin and left it,

maá ' nùrá á nòni fàànyi
 and.NARR return SC husband.DEF cloth.DEF
 and again took the clothes (her) husband

nizhwoyí lwò à 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 lǎhá 'let go, again'

As a main verb, lǎhá means 'let go of' (intransitive) or 'take off' (transitive). As V1 in a serial construction, it has the same meaning as núrú, that is, 'V2 again'.

Following are some examples:

- (33) a. Kà mǐi í lí dírí mà ciincinè tà,
and I NARR it pull and sp.of.fish get
'I pulled it (=the fishing line) and got a
ciincine (a kind of fish),

maá ' lǎhá á lì lè.
and.NARR let.go SC it put
and put it in (the water) again.'

- b. U asì núra á sà kù ní,
she HAB.SEQ return SC go it fill
'She would again go and fill it

ka asì lǎhá 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
 kòòntirinke cyàgé e.
 hippopotamus.DEF place.DEF to
 to where the hippopotamus was (lit. to the hippo's
 place).'
- b. To-ńí nye a jà a wyèra a
 feast.DEF NEG PERF be.able SC be.hot SC
tìnè me.
 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) Ntasènmi 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 nùmpaṅa canṅa lyige lyi,
 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

fwòòñi.
 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 si ñ-tíí 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-tíí
 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 pálà à pyi.
 he PERF it surprise SC do
 'He did it suddenly.'

b. Canṅ kà ká tùnturu sí m-pálà à pa
 day IND and message NARR IP-surprise SC come
 'One day a message came unexpectedly

mii 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. Cànragà, mu u sí vyánhà wùù pwó 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/previously':

- (40) a. Fànhà fòòní mpyi màha fyànha a tèèn
 power owner.DEF PAST HAB be.first SC sit
 'The ruler formerly always used to stay
 cyaga nìkin ì.
 place one in
 in one place.'
- b. ñgámipíí 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 sòli '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 zòò ń-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 v à à n - t ò l e 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 IX, section 9.3.2.2).

8.3.5.10 peelee 'lie in wait for, stealthily'

As a main verb, peelee 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 peelee. Following are some examples:

- (43) a. Kà pi í pí-yè pèela a nè.
and they NARR they-REFL stealthily SC wake.up
'They stealthily woke each other up.'
- b. Kà ku ú cyâge peela à yiga
and it NARR hand.DEF stealthily SC put.out
'It (=the baboon) surreptitiously put out (its) hand
- a mîi cû na kùlùshí tòògé na.
SC me grab my.NONDECL trouser leg.DEF on
and grabbed my by the trouser leg.'

8.3.5.11 ñwòhò 'hide, secretly'

As a main verb, ñwòhò 'hide' can be either transitive or intransitive. As V1 in a serial, it means 'V2 secretly'. Following are some examples:

- (44) a. Kà zàntùṅò si ñwòha a kàrè u ñwòhi i.
and hyena NARR hide SC go him behind in
'Then Hyena secretly followed him.'
- b. Zàntùṅò nà pwun pi màha ṅ-kara a sà
hyena and dog they PAST IP-go SC go
'Hyena and Dog went and

nàni wà nù nwoha 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 màhà 'turn around, go around', and to the habitual auxiliary màha and the distributive noun phrase connective máhá. As V2 in a serial construction, it means 'V1 all over the place', or 'V1 all around'. Following are some examples:

- (45) a. ñkùuna 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-foòni fyèni nye.
 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 fannké màha n-tuga à jwu ye?
 how grave.DEF HAB IP-dig SC say Q
 'How is the grave dug?'
- b. Dì miì sí ñgé baní 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 nàni 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 asi jwò "Sì kù siñe 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 zàntùṅò sī m-pà ṅ-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) Ceèṅi 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 ṅ-tòṅ.
 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) Mii a sà yi 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 wii,
 he PERF go arrive TC and.NARR stop PROG it look
 'When he arrived, (he) stood looking at it,

mà kwò a yyèèlà a kù tòònga a wii
 and finish SC stoop SC it pinch SC look
 and finally stooped down and pinched it to see

ámpyí ka à nò.
 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 mii í ' ná na lyí na
 and I NARR afterwards PROG eat PROG
 'Afterwards I was eating

n-tin-ni, màha ñ-kánhá á lyi
 IP-swell-IMPV HAB IP-be.tired SC eat
 my fill (lit. and swelling), and finally ate

mà yaccège pyi nárénárénaré.
 and stomach make 'very full'
 and stuffed my big belly.'

b. Ka há ' bá a ñ-ciri mà sà ñ-ciri
 it COND EVTV PROG IP-hatch and go IP-hatch
 'Whatever kind of thing it eventually

shinñí ñgé-mù ké,
 kind.DEF DEM-REL RC
 hatches into,

wùu kú ñ-kànha a kù fiigè cé de.
 we POT FP-be.tired SC its type know EMPH
 we would at last know what type (of animal) it
 (is).'

Notes

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 mā. It is quite likely that mā 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 IX) 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 'obligatory' oblique objects 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 təgə 'help'. The first of these has the right consonants and vowels, but it is strong M, whereas the grammaticalized verb is weak M. The second has the right tone, and is also favored because for at least some speakers an alternate pronunciation of the grammaticalized verb is təgə. In fact, these two verbs are probably themselves related. Both Cebaara and Sucite have H tone verbs (recall that H is probably the historical source of weak M) 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 M 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 Senufo language, Karaboro, the cognate (kě) survives only as a benefactive postposition.

11. The to (from Bambara tɔn) is actually a cooperative association. Such associations usually have annual feasts, and the expression for 'celebrate the feast of a cooperative society' is to tíné, 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 IX

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 discernable 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.

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 earlier'. Remoteness in the future is confounded with the epistemic modality of reduced certainty.

TABLE 31. Aspect, Tense, and Modality Auxiliaries

AUXILIARY FUNCTION		FORM OF VERB REQUIRED	VERB* PREFIX	SECTION
na	progressive	IMPFV	IP	9.1.2
màha	habitual	PFV / IMPFV	IP	9.1.3
màha	formal past	PFV / IMPFV	IP	9.2.2
ná	remote past	PFV	IP	9.2.2
ni	recent past	PFV	none	9.2.2
sí	future	PFV	FP	9.2.3
cáá	future	PFV	FP	9.2.3
bú/bá	remote (future)	PFV	IP	9.2.3
à	perfect	PFV	none	9.2.4
sáhá	still, not yet	PFV	IP	9.2.5
sí	narrative/sequential	PFV	IP	9.2.6
asì	habitual/sequential	PFV	IP	9.2.6
kú	potential	PFV	FP	9.3.2.2
ta	impfv imperative	IMPFV	IP	9.3.3
sí	subjunctive	PFV	IP	9.3.3
a	impfv subjunctive	IMPFV	IP	9.3.3
kà	negative subjunctive	PFV	FP	9.3.3
ká	conditional	PFV	IP	9.3.6

*IP = intransitive prefix; FP = future prefix

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 XIV 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 XI and XV.

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 IV, 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 of 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 VII, 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) ñté kyaàre kwòñ.
 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 ñté kyaàre kwùùn.
 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 wii.
 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 wii.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) ñté sùre lyi.
 this mush.DEF eat
 'Eat this mush.'

implies that the addressee is expected to finish the indicated mush. The imperfective

- (6) Ta ñté sùre lyi.
 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 M 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 mìi kéégé 'I'm going' rather than mìi na nkéégé.

The progressive used alone most often indicates ongoing action with present time reference:

- (7) a. U na dùfinimè béé-li.
 she PROG potash evaporate-IMPFV
 'She is evaporating potash.'
- b. U na lyí.
 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 pinŋke bwùùn.
 he PROG drum.DEF hit.IMPFV
 'He is beating the drum.'
- b. Fyàabíí na ŋ-kúú-lí.
 fish.DEF PROG IP-nibble-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 absolute 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.IMPFV 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.IMPFV 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 ñtârâfwùù múnaa lyí.
 patience owner s/he be PROG wild.yam nose eat.IMPFV
 '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 nùmpañña.
 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. Mii mége (na) nye Bùwára.
 my name.DEF PROG be Buwara
 'My name is Buwara.'
- b. Lire tèni i támii shuunníni
 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 VIII, 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 Ningàà kòra 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

sokúráni fiigè mà sà nòòna a cyàn
new.quarter.DEF like and go push SC make.fall
and the new quarter and pushed (him) down

na n-cwùùgè. Kà tùni 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, the second is in clauses where the main proposition is presupposed (i.e. in questions, clefts, and relative clauses; see section 9.4.1.2 below). An example is:

- (18) ɲàhá mu ɲye na m-pyi ye?
 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 màhàná '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 perfectly. 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 perfectly. 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 yiri, 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) Yìl asi weyi kwòn,
 you.PL HAB.SEQ leaves(G2P) cut
 'Then you cut (PFV) some leaves,

maá tí wwú à tirigè
 and.SEQ them(G4) take.off SC put.down
 and take (PFV) them (=the honeycombs) out and put
 (PFV) (them) down

yire nùni i,
 them(EMPH.G2P) head at
 on top of them

marí⁹ ti cwònrè.
 and.SEQ.PROG them(G4) sort.IMPFV
 and (begin to) sort (IMPFV) them.

Lwòhé wòrè, tire
 water.DEF POSS.DEF(G4) they(EMPH.G4)
 Those with honey (lit. water), they

màha lè-ni cení i,
 HAB put-IMPFV calabash.DEF in
 are put (IMPFV) in the calabash,

maríi pyìibíí nà ñkàrà̀m̀ò̀ni lè-ni
 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 lyi
 you.PL HAB IND(G4) eat
 you eat (PFV) some

maá tí sà̀nnte lwò 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 process 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 làmpúni wàhàtíni kà nò,¹⁰
 year DIST year tax.DEF time.DEF COND arrive
 'Every year when tax time arrives

u màha ke kan.
 he HAB ten give
 he give ten.

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 léñé wyige e.
 persecution it HAB hare put.CAUS hole in
 'It is persecution 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: Empɔɔresporí nye na ñjé 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: Óónkè, pire bà
 of.course they(EMPH) it.is.not
 Of course! Isn't it they

pi màha ñjé numbwònyi 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 sequential/narrative TAM marker sí), 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 a serial verb construction. Following is an illustrative passage from a text on how to bury the dead:

(25) Pi màha lwohé kà kwò 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 m-pá kuru yyèèngè,
 and.SEQ IP-come it(EMPH) stand.CAUS
 and come and stand it up,

maá cyèyi le kuru lwohé e
 and.NARR hands.DEF put that(EMPH) water.DEF in
 and put (their) hands in that water

màha n-táhá á ù tòòyí 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 connective 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 cyèyi tàha à nwoseèyi cù
and he NARR hands.DEF use SC cheeks.DEF grab
'He grabbed his cheeks with his hands

a diri mà diri...
SC pull and pull
and pulled and pulled.'

- b. Kà jyàni sì 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 tatsēnge
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 na η-káágé
PROG IP-go.IMPFV PROG IP-go.IMPFV PROG IP-go.IMPFV
and going and going and going

na η-káágé.
PROG IP-go.IMPFV
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 yéénkwó 'endlessly, continuously', which can only be used with the progressive:

(28) U na lyí yéénkwó
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 m-pá lyε.
 till and they NARR IP-come be.old
 till they grew up.'

- b. ñjyina 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 VIII, 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) Pyàni màha si kànye na
 child.DEF HAB be.born town.DEF at
 'A child would be born in the town

màha sá lyé màha sá má shíre finiṅè
 HAB go be.old HAB go your hair.DEF be.white
 and grow up and get white hair

màha sá ṅ-kwú, mu gú kù nyè mɛ.
 HAB go IP-die you POT it see NEG
 and finally die, (yet) s/he (lit. you) would not
 see it.'

'A child would be born in the town and grow up (lit. go be old/mature) and get white hair 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 often 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 zàntùṅò bwùùn.
and come PROG hyena hit.IMPFV
and began to beat Hyena.'

- b. Kà u ú ... ṅ-káré dùgé e
and she NARR IP-go stream.DEF to
'Then she ... went to the stream

mà sà a kùlùshíṅi jyíi.
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. Téñi kà m-pá ñ-ká ...
 tea.DEF COND IP-come IP-boil
 'When the tea comes to a boil...'
- b. Kà u ú ... pyàñi byè
 and she NARR child.DEF raise
 'She raised ... the child'
- fó kà u pá ñaara.
 till and she come walk
 till she (=the child) began to walk.'

Another much less common way of encoding entry into a state is by means of a verb or phrase meaning 'begin' together with a complement clause. There are two such expressions in Supyire, sii and nwo cû. Sii 'begin' is evidently the oldest. We have already met this verb as a copula (see chapter VII, 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) Fáágii wá á nùgùnte
 Farakala.inhabitants be.there PERF sow-DEF
- sila a kwò.
 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: nwo

cû 'begin', literally 'catch/grab mouth'. This is a direct calque on the Bambara compound verb daminɛ '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-minɛ kà dumuni ke.
s/he PAST.it mouth-catch INF eat.NOM do
'S/he began to eat.'

b. SUPYIRE

U a lì nwò 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) Wùu pyéngá shínbílá à pyi a lyi 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 lyi 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 cànŋke 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 shwcha a kwò gé,
 they PERF cook SC finish TC
 'When they had finished cooking,

kà mupcwòŋi si u còòŋi tun
 and older.sister.DEF NARR her younger.sibling.DEF send

na u ø sà uru nàmbaabíí 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 numbílèni pyàñí 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 retorts that his name is already there:

- (41) Mìi 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 connective (either mà or na). The repetitive aspect is coded in a similar fashion by the reduplication of the entire verb, only without any connective. 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 asi nùŋke kwòrò-kwòrò.
he HAB.SEQ head.DEF bob-bob
'he would nod his head.'

c. Kà pwun sì jyè biróni i,
and dog NARR enter office.DEF in
'Then Dog came into the office,

maá kùmíŋi cù ningéyi na
and.NARR commis.DEF grab ears.DEF at
and grabbed the commis by the ears

mà tūrùgò-tūrùgò.
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 yirè pwo-pwo pwooré `nwchi i.
 we PERF them(EMPH) tie-tie adobe.DEF behind
 '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) Fílábíí nye a sini
 Fulas.DEF NEG PERF lie.down
 'Hadn't the Fulas lain down
 maá nàyi 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 dinye 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 màhàrà 'go round in a circle', and most likely also to the habitual marker màha and the distributive noun connective máhá. It is only used in serial constructions in current Kampwo Supyire. See chapter VIII, 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 1985:112ff). 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 XV, 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. Ceèni wà u màha ñ-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. Canñ kà ìpi ná zàntùñò sùmàní
 day IND hare and hyena grain.DEF
 One day Hare's and Hyena's grain

màha ñ-kwo, 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. Ceèni wà u màha
 woman.DEF IND she FORM.PAST
 'A certain woman was

pyii sí-ni
 children give.birth-IMPFV
 giving birth to children

maríi pi kyaa.
 and.NARR.PROG them eat.IMPFV
 and eating them.

Kà u ú ñ-pá pyàni nínçyiini ta...
 and she NARR IP-come child.DEF ADJ.first.DEF get
 She had the first child...'

- b. Canñ kà nyàge na pwùn-paara-ñí wà
 day IND morning.DEF at dog-walk-DEF IND
 One day in the morning a certain hunter

u màha ñ-kéégé u ntɔɔɔɔ-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 pínɔ̀i ì.
 with drum with
 with a drum.'¹⁶

The remaining two past tense markers differ in remoteness: ni 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 ni 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) Ceèɔ̀ni wà u ná pyà si
 woman.DEF IND she REM.PAST child give.birth
 'A certain woman gave birth to a child

maá ñ-kwù.
 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 m-pá motóni shwò à pa.
 he REM.PAST IP-come motorcycle.DEF buy SC come
 'He finally bought a motorcycle and brought it.
- U top-cyii-ge wyéréni niṅ-kanní
 his time-first-DEF money.DEF ADJ-give.DEF
 That was the first time he gave money (lit. It was
 u nyè ure.
 it be that(EMPH)
 this which was his first time's giving the money).'
- b. Jò u ná sá lí ' lwó ye?
 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-puruṅí na,
 it ADJ-cut.up.DEF at
 'While they were cutting it (=the elephant) up,
- tɔɔnm-pyàagíí pí ná sá ṅ-tírígè
 metal-seeds.DEF they REM.PAST go IP-put.down
 the bullets which they put down
- wùù táán ṅkòni-fógóni i ké, sèège 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 on)
- tɔɔnm-pyi-fyin-gii bɛnáágá ' ná ké.
 metal-seed-white-G3P twenty and ten
 (they were) thirty bullets.'¹⁸

The recent past auxiliary ni 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. Ni 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 ni 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 ni:

- (52) a. Mii ni mu pyi di yé?
 I REC.PAST you tell how Q
 'What did I tell you (earlier today)?'
- b. Cààndùgò ní jwo na wyéréni 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

ñ-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 adverbials that are inappropriate for the time span covered by the past tense markers are not allowed in the same clause. Thus the ní is incompatible with 'yesterday', and conversely ná is incompatible with 'today':

- (53) a. U ní pa *tánjáà.
 s/he REC.PAST come yesterday
 'S/he came *yesterday.'
- b. U ná m-pá ' *nínjáà.
 s/he REM.PAST IP-come today
 'S/he came *today.'

When asked the difference between ná and ní, speakers readily supply such explanations as 'You use ná if the event was long ago' or 'You use ní if it happened today.' The system, however, is not really as rigid as this seems to imply. Dahl (1985:123ff) and Comrie (1986:83ff) 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. Specifically, 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 ni 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) Kùlùncúnó, pi ní mé Sanyè kulùni
 Kuluncungo they REC.PAST there Sanye country.DEF
 'Kuluncungo, they gave the whole of Sanhe country
 puní kan Kùlùncúná 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 ni, 44 of màha, and 135 of ná, but at least 2500 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 being a low tone affix on the auxiliary itself.

- (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 miì bó.
that(EMPH) it FUT (FP).me kill
'it is that which will kill me.'

Much less common than sí is the future auxiliary cáá (only 55 examples occur in the corpus, versus more than 400 of examples of sí). I have been unable to discover any difference in function between these two auxiliaries. The obvious etymology of cáá is the verb cáá '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. Cáá thus easily co-occurs with non-volitional subjects:

- (56) Lwɔhɔ cáá ñ-kwò 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 cáá 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. Mii cáá ñ-pà mu wíí.
 I FUT FP-come you look
 'I'll come see you.'
- b. Mu cáà kapii cè kuru càṅké 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 (nùmpañña / *níñjáà).
 they FUT.FP REM you hit tomorrow today
 'They will beat you (tomorrow / *today).'

Usually, the remoteness is unspecified, and accordingly sometimes a good translation is 'eventually':

- (59) Pi cáà bá mu wí ñ-kànhà náhá wù kàñhe 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 takes the intransitive prefix:

- (60) Mii 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 nye 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. Canṅ kà ṁpi maha 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 zhibannàṅwo na
 and go exit ground.hornbill at
 and came upon Ground Hornbill
- ká á sini
 it.COMP PERF lie.down
 lying
- na η-ko rá a η-kwúú
 PROG IP-say SUBJUNC PROG IP-die.IMPFV
 about to die
- katège cyè è.
 hunger.DEF hand in
 from hunger.'

The same expression, but with the complement verb in perfective rather than imperfective form, has the aspectual 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 ñ-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 connective 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 1984:278ff): 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 ní. 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 ' tǎnjáà.
s/he REM.PAST IP-come yesterday
'S/he came yesterday.'

b. U à pa tǎnjáà.
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 incidently 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 naníyááyi kàní nya.
 he REM.PAST wild.animals.DEF only see
 'He saw only the wild animals.'

Canṅ kà kà u ú m-pá ḡgurugo nya...
 day IND and he NARR IP-come smoke see
 'One day, he finally saw some smoke...'

b. Tuwyige mìi à nye kamini i,
 beehive I PERF see sp.of.grass.DEF in
 'I have seen a beehive in the kamine grass,

kuru tà-bòṅi i mìi 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 mii 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. ñpé kùcwunna à jwo ké, sèè wi 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 ni. 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 ní pa.
 s/he REC.PAST come
 'S/he came (earlier today).'

In the following example, the recent past ni 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 ní jwo na uru sí ò-pà,
 he REC.PAST say that he(EMPH) FUT FP-come
 'He said he would come,
 ñkàà u nye 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 numê '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) Toní tɪ̀nkàní ' 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.'

Occasionally a stative verb with the perfect is 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 pyìibíí nà Numémwò wùubíí,
 Jwunuru GEN children.DEF and Numemwo POSS.DEF
 'Jwunuru's children and those of Numemwo,

pire pi à tanjyéé ' ú làmpúni 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) Nàni 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 shíin 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 ñ-karé sà a ciré pààn-nì.
 and he NARR IP-go go PROG trees.DEF chop-IMPFV
 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) Nyège na kà mii túni si yirà
 morning.DEF at and my father.DEF NARR get.up
 'In the morning my father got up

à u ñkwuubíí sanmpíí ta sícyèèrè.
 SC his chickens.DEF OTHER.DEF find four
 and found he had only four chickens left (lit.
 and found his chickens four).

Fyina à pyi a ñpíí 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 pwùnni cù na n-taali...
 and.NARR go dog.DEF grab PROG IP-caress.IMPFV
 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 mii í ... sá úrú yibe-gé pyi
 and I NARR go his(EMPH) asking-DEF do
 'Then I ... went and asked after him

mishyóni fùnnò shíinbílá à,
 mission.DEF inside people.DEF to
 from the people inside the mission,

kà pi í bagé e u a tirigè ké,
 and they NARR house.DEF in he PERF get.down REL
 and they showed me the house he had lodged in

kà pi í kúró cyéè mii ná.
 and they NARR it(EMPH) show me to
 (lit. and they the house he had lodged in, and they
 showed it to me).'

The same counter-sequential meaning of the perfect is found in complements of the verb ta 'find'. Very often the subject of ta is the gender 3 singular emphatic pronoun lire, referring to the moment currently reached in the narrative. This is the most commonly used device to indicate out of order events in narratives. Following is an example:

(75) Kà wùú í mii sébéni²⁶ lwò.
 and we NARR my ticket.DEF take
 'Then we bought my ticket.'

Lira a nyège neveríni²⁷ ta
 this(EMPH) PERF morning.DEF nine.o'clock.DEF find
 At this point nine o'clock (lit. this found nine
 o'clock)

ú á tòrò.
 it.COMP PERF pass
 had passed.

Kà mii í jyé mobilíge e.
 and I NARR enter truck.DEF in
 I got into the truck.'

The foregoing discussion shows that the perfect in Kampwo Supyire covers all the functions of a prototypical perfect. There are also signs that it is moving on to take over some of the territory of the simple past. It is not

hard to construct a scenario of how this may have begun. As noted above, the perfect is regularly used in adverbial time clauses in narratives. These are themselves simplified relative clauses. They function in narrative to demarcate thematic paragraphs, normally setting off the following chunk of discourse as separate thematically from the preceding chunk. At some point, some speakers began dropping any pretence of using a relative clause for this task, simply by omitting the clitic ké from the end of the clause. The result was a simple clause with perfect tense-aspect, but still serving to introduce a new thematic paragraph. The next step was to use the perfect to introduce the narrative as a whole. A total of eleven narratives in the corpus begin with perfect (8) or the pluperfect (3). Of these, seven are personal narratives, not folktales. It is probably significant that the speakers of these 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.DEF PAST PROG 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 fwòròbàñi²⁸ 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, nògòlyèní?
 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. Mii a tɛ̀l̀à à pa náhá.
 I PERF once.before SC come here
 'I have come here once before.'
- b. Háli mii a tɛ̀l̀a a ù yíbé
 even I PERF once.before SC him ask
 'I once even asked him
- 'Mu na nà̀nkà̀age 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 sáhánkì 'still, yet, again'. In the 'still', 'again', and 'no longer' tenses, this auxiliary is added to other auxiliaries.

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. The auxiliary sáhá is followed by the progressive marker na, indicating durativity. The construction is common with the neutral copula nye 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 méeńi na na n-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. ñkèémórò sàhà na lire nàni nààrè
 chameleon STILL PROG this(EMPH) walk.DEF walk.IMPFV
 'Chameleon still walks that walk
- sigé e yyehɛke yyehɛke yyehɛke
 bush.DEF in (ideophone)
 in the bush yyehɛke yyehɛke yyehɛke.'

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. 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), since an unstressed long vowel (from the two [a]s coming together) is not permitted following a glottal stop (written as /h/):

- (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:

- (82) Kwùni sàhà na sí ì-pà
 die.DEF AGAIN PROG FUT FP-come
 'Death will come again

 lire tèni i sáhánki.
 that(EMPH) time.DEF in again
 at that time.'

One example with the conditional has been recorded:

- (83) U sáhá ' gá ' nùrá á pà sònṅà à ta yò...
 he AGAIN COND return SC come think SC get POL
 'If he thinks again (of something more)....'

Note in the two last examples that the notion of 'again' is coded elsewhere in the clause (the adverb sáhánki and the serial verb nùrú 'return', 'V2 again') in addition to the 'again' auxiliary. These other means of coding are much

more common (by themselves) than is the use of the 'again' tense.

The 'no longer' tense is the negation of the 'still' tense. Its basic function is to indicate that a durative event which was occurring in the past is not occurring in the present (or a state which obtained in the past no longer obtains). As will be shown in section 9.4 below, negative auxiliaries are of two sorts. In most tense-aspects the negative 'auxiliary' is a low tone which appears on the TAM auxiliary. In other tense-aspects the copula nye precedes the auxiliary. In the 'no longer' tense, the negative auxiliary follows the 'still' auxiliary. With a copula, the negative auxiliary is a low tone which docks to the left onto the final vowel of sáhá:

- (84) Mii sáhà nye lire e mé.
 I STILL.NEG be it(EMPH) in NEG
 'I am no longer in it (=the draft).'

With a verb, the progressive auxiliary is used, and this is preceded by its normal negative auxiliary, the copula nye:

- (85) Pyilibíí sáhà³² nye na byíí
 children.DEF STILL NEG PROG raise
 'Children are no longer raised

pi tanjáà byí-ńkání na mé.
 their yesterday raise-manner.DEF on NEG
 as they were in the past(lit. on their yesterday's
 manner of being raised).'

As might be expected, the corresponding negation of the 'again' tense means 'not again' or 'not anymore'. The normal negative auxiliary nye is used with the perfect auxiliary:

- (86) Wà sàhà nye a bwòn li nà mé.
 IND AGAIN NEG PERF hit it on NEG
 'None touched it again.' Lit. 'One did not again touch it.'

With the future, the low tone negative auxiliary is used:

- (87) Ndé fiigè sàhá si miì tà mé.
 that like AGAIN NEG.FUT me get NEG
 'That sort won't get me again.' i.e. 'You won't catch me doing that again.'

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 sàhá 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 m-pá mɛ.
 monkey NEG.STILL IP-come NEG
 'Monkey hasn't come yet.'
- b. Mu sàhá sige 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. Wùu sàhá 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 indication of its early grammaticalization. It is, in the right environment, rhotacized to rí (see chapter II section 2.1.2.2); following most pronouns its initial consonant is elided (see chapter II section 2.1.1.5), and its vowel assimilates to the pronoun vowel if this is [u]. It is thus reduced to í after pi, li, cyi etc., and ú after u, ku, pu etc. Following the same subject connective 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 sì (see chapter II 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): 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 connective kà/ká. Main line clauses begin either with this connective (followed directly by the subject) or with the same subject connective 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 connective 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) Ceèni wà u màha u poo
 woman.DEF IND she FORM.PAST her husband
 'A certain woman was scorching her husband's

baga yanɔɔnɔ páaré
 house bedbugs scorch.IMPFV
 house's bedbugs

mà tòra à u poòni `nenké sùùgò.
 and pass SC her husband.DEF tail.DEF burn
 and burned her husband's tail (=his flywhisk).

Kà nòni sì ù pyi
 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 yirà 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 nààrè,
and go PROG walk.IMPFV
and was hunting (lit. walking),

mà sà nò cinjyèní wà na,
and go arrive woman.old.DEF IND at
and met an old woman,

maá ú ' shyééré. Kà u ú ' yigé...
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 discourse. Although the different subject connective kà is not used at all in this discourse type, the same subject connective 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 n i í,
with blanket or robe with
with a blanket or a robe,

màha síníné u ñt à à n i na,
HAB lie.down.CAUS his/her courtyard.DEF at
and lay (him/her) down in his/her courtyard,

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 asi is frequently rhotacized to [r] (ari). Following is an example from a speaker who uses asi/ari exclusively. The topic is how to cultivate yams.

- (93) Ci ahá m-pá fyin,
 they(G3P) COND IP-come sprout
 'When they (=the yams) sprout,
- pi ari wèyi 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 kàbiiyè cùrùgò òpògí 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. Mii náhá na sí zhyà yaare e sí m-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 byaàni sin
 you FUT.FP forehead.DEF put.perpendicular
 'You will put your forehead

ninke na sí cyèyi yirigè
 ground.DEF on SEQ hands.DEF rise.CAUS
 to the ground and raise your paws

ninini 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 XI (on complement clauses) and XIV (on 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.

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

TABLE 32. Combinations with Past Tense

AUXILIARIES	FUNCTION
(m)pyi na	past progressive
(m)pyi mâha	past habitual
(m)pyi à	pluperfect
mpyi na sí	future in the past
mpyi kú	potential in the past
mpyi na sáhá	past not yet

equivalent in meaning (see chapter VII 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 mii mpyi na lyí cige wyígé é,
honey I PAST PROG eat.IMPFV tree hole in
'I was eating honey in a hole in a tree

kà mii pùnke si ñ-cwónrè.
and my head.DEF NARR IP-stick
and my head got stuck.'

- b. Mii cyèebíí mù nye à pyi pyenga mè,
my women.DEF also NEG PERF be home NEG
'My wives also were not at home,

pira à pyi na `múváányi
they(EMPH) PERF PAST PROG tigernut.beds.DEF
they were harvesting the tigernut beds.'

bilì-li.
gather-IMPFV

Just as in the present, the past progressive can also have a habitual rather than strictly progressive meaning:

- (96) a. Pi puní mpyi na ñ-kàlà-lì wùu tèni i.
they all PAST PROG IP-study-IMPFV our time.DEF in
'They all (=soldiers) used to study in our time.'

- b. ñgé u à pyi na ma mii yyéré.
that he PERF PAST PROG come.IMPFV 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 yìi mpyi maha cinnyí kwùùn
 how you.PL PAST HAB logs.DEF cut.IMPFV
 'How did you used to cut the logs?'

na η-ko ye?
 PROG IP-say Q

B: Wùu bà pi mpyi na cinṅkúnnyì
 we it.is.NEG they PAST PROG log.pillars.DEF
 'Wasn't it us who used to cut the logs?'

kwùinna à?
 cut.IMPFV NEG.Q

Just as in the present, the verb can be perfective as well:

(98) U à pyi maha yiga a càà càṅke 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 (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 lyi a kwò ge,
 we PERF eat SC finish TC
 'When we had finished eating,

kà wùu ú ñ-karé ta-shwònyi i.
 and we NARR IP-go LOC-pass.night.DEF in
 we went to the dorm rooms (lit. the places for
 spending the night).

Mìi ná nànjìlìni 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 kàlàní pyi
 we PERF PAST PERF study.DEF do
 We had studied

Wàhàduge e sìnryan.
 Ouagadougou in together
 in Ouagadougou together.

Kà nàmponnté sī ñ-kwò...
 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 caá 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) Mii 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 mii bó ' nínjää.
 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) Mii námpyi mii nye a sà à mu nye mé,
 I if.COUNTERFACT I NEG PERF go SC you see NEG
 'If I hadn't found (lit. gone and seen) you,

 mii mpyi na sí nà-yé ' bó.
 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) Àmpyi ñdé ñkééni bà mé,
 if.COUNTERFACT that branch.DIM.DEF it.is.not NEG
 'If it hadn't been for that twig,

 mii mpyi gú ñdé òpàn-ríni bò,
 I PAST POT that dove-DIM.DEF kill
 I would have killed that little dove,

 ñkàà àmpyi ñdé ñkééni bà mé,
 but if.COUNTERFACT that branch.DIM.DEF it.is.not NEG
 but if it had been for that twig,

 ñdé òpàn-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. Nàŋi wà u mpyi ná cyèè ké i.
 man.DEF IND he was with women ten with
 'A certain man had ten wives.
- Ceèŋi 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. Mii à naara ná ná nùmpyiibilé 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 ñ-tá ku cógóni⁴¹ cè,
 SUBJUNC IP-get its manner.DEF know
 in order to get to know it,
- nàhá ná ye, mii mpyi na sáhá shyá à nye
 what on Q I PAST PROG YET go SC see
 because I had not yet ever gone
- li kini 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.

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

TABLE 33. Combinations with Progressive Aspect

AUXILIARIES	FUNCTIONS
sí wá na	narrative progressive
maríi	narrative progressive (same subject)
sí rà a	future progressive
cáá rà a	future progressive
gú rà a	potential progressive
ká a	conditional progressive
bá a	remote (future) progressive

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) M̀à ẁù ỳàhà k̀ùni i,
and us leave road.DEF in
'While we were on the road,

k̀à ẁù ù s̀á jyé ỳòòge e.
and we NARR go enter mud.DEF in
we went into the mud.

K̀à m̀obilíge s̀i ẁá na n-t̀èr̀èni.
and truck.DEF NARR be.there PROG IP-slide.IMPFV
The truck was sliding.

D̀óóní k̀à ẁù ù s̀á ñ-c̀ur̀ù.
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) K̀à ẁù ù s̀á fẁùni pyi,
and we NARR go greeting.DEF do
'Then we greeted

m̀á ẁù-yé ñc̀èní pyi,
and.NARR us-REFL knowledge.DEF do
and made each other's acquaintance,

m̀á ẁá na ñjỳni lyi.
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 m̀á is the result of the combination of the same subject connective m̀à with the narrative auxiliary s̀i. 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 ú ñ-kará á sà nò nùñi na,
and she NARR IP-go SC go arrive mother.DEF at
'Then she left and went to her mother

maá mɛɛní cèè,
and.NARR song.DEF sing
and sang the song,

maá kùlùshíñi wà nùña 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-ɲkàni na,
her be.born-manner.DEF on
in the way she was born,

maríi mɛɛní cèè,
and.NARR.PROG song.DEF sing
singing the song

maríi mɛɛ 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 kànhe cyèebíí sì 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 m-pá a ŋ-kwòhò-li
and.NARR IP-come PROG IP-dance-IMPFV
and (they) began dancing

na màhàni mìì núŋi ñtànì na,
PROG circle.IMPFV my mother.DEF courtyard.DEF at
in a circle (lit. and circling) in my mother's
courtyard,

maríi myèhii cèè.
and.NARR.PROG songs sing
and (they were) singing songs.

b. Zàn-cyíiyá à cwo gé,
rain-first.DEF(G2P) PERF fall TC,
'When the first rains had fallen,

kà Faasúmà sí ŋ-kára á
and Faasuma NARR IP-go SC
Faasuma went and

sà a kɛ̀règɛ sàà-li.
 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 injunctive 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 rhotacized.⁴²

(110) a. Mii àhá mobiletíni yaha ná-yè cyé é,
 I COND mobylette.DEF leave me-REFL hand in
 'If I keep the mobylette with me,

mii 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 caá rà a hɔ̀ɔ̀nɔ̀ní shwùù bé?
 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 irrealis 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 irrealis auxiliaries:

(111) Si-shyéebí kà a ma yàkòṅò,
 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 m-pá a ñjé-mù pyi gé,
 they COND IP-come PROG DEM.G2P-REL do REL
 whatever they start doing,

ma hà bá a n-cyaha-li mé.
 you.NONDECL PROH REM PROG IP-laugh-IMPFV NEG
 don't laugh.'

'When those who have gone to the bush (to work)
 are coming back in the afternoon, whatever they
 are doing, don't laugh.'

The adversitive particle sí (see chapter XV, 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 numpilàge 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,

ñtàsón sí i yi-ni káná.
 toad ADV PROG jump-IMPFV 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 XI, 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 indicative (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. *Mii a ù pyi ú á kàrè.*
 I PERF him/her make s/he.COMP PERF go
 'I made him/her leave.'
- b. *Mii sí ù pyi 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 XI.

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 shwòhòle e 'perhaps, maybe' (lit. 'in between') and sèèní 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 lwò kuru cànké ' fó ' níjǎà
 and take that(EMPH) day.DEF till today
 'From that day to this

mii a sii na fyà-gè waníni 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) Mii nye a sii na fìni 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) Kafsege nye a sii na bilini lyùù mé.
 wind NEG PERF be.EMPH PROG seed.DEF take.IMPV NEG
 'Wind assuredly/really does not 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 cáá), potential (kú), and negative subjunctive or prohibitive (kà). 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 càà zíf ñ-cè
 IND also ADV FUT FP.be.EMPH FP-know
 'Certainly no one will know

kilèni ñgé ñínkínní nye kile mè.
 god.DEF this one.DEF be god NEG
 (that) this one god is God.'

- b. U sí zíf ñ-jà ù mǎrà
 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 me.
 IND give I NEG PERF believe NEG
 (and) give some (to us), I don't believe.

- c. Wà gù zíf ñ-jà yirè 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 vine na
 IND PROH FP.be.EMPH FP.lie that
 'One should not lie that

'Mèni i mii à jínàni⁴⁵ 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 wii! Ka à lye fó mà wwò.
 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 kánhà pilàgà!
 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) Mii nàhà na sí ñ-jà ñwòhò
 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. Mìì sí bú ñ-pá nùmpañña.
 I FUT.FP REM IP-come tomorrow
 'I might come tomorrow.'

b. Nùmpañña mìì 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 XV, 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 ñ-táán mii 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 mii 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 m-pá, mii 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 m-pá, mìì 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 m-pá, mìì gù (bú) kú kán 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 VIII, 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 nànkààgà pyi.
 he PERF reputed SC find he.COMP PERF thievery do
 'He is reputed to have stolen.'
- b. Bùwàrá kóná à yala à pyi
 Buwara TOP PERF reputed SC be
 'As for Buwara, he is said to have been
- Kó kwòŋi 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 immanence 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 XV, section 15.1.5.4). Following is an example:

(129) *Àmpyi* *yii* *cyèebíí* *màha m-pyi* *àmuni mé,*
 if.COUNTERFACT you.PL women.DEF HAB IP-be thus NEG
 'If you women weren't like that,

mii mpyi na *sí* *m-pyi* *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 XIV, the injunctive and subjunctive mainly in chapter XI.

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.
IMPERF.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 kùni pwò.
 God s/he SUJBUNC 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) Mii lá nye sí lyi.
 my desire be SUBJUNC eat
 'I want to eat.'

The imperfective subjunctive auxiliary is a. It may be used alone:

- (133) Yii 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 all the same 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 particle) whereas the former never does. The following example illustrates this:

- (135) ñkàà cyàge 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 nùñke yìrìgè,
 he(EMPH) COND head.DEF raise
 when he raises his head,
 uru kà kile nyè 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 cyera
 you.NONDECL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV Karaja insult.IMPFV
 'Don't insult Karaja!'
 à dè!
 NEG EXCL

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) Cànǹké shwó-shàhàna à mu jà '
 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 shwòhòle 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 jà à
 women.DEF NEG PERF be.able SC
 'The women couldn't

jáhámá pyí sáhánki me.
 funeral.dance do again NEG
 do the funeral dance again.'

b. Wà nye à na le ku `nwóhi 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 (jíná) 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 fàànnà cin
 IND NEG.be.able.IMPFV SC cloth weave
 'No one can weave cloth
 fààndi 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) Mii sî ñ-jà zhyè ná yii é mà?
 I FUT.NEG FP-be.able FP.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) Zhibannàṅwə ṁpíí pi nye pi nye a
 ground.hornbill those they be they be PERF
 'Ground Hornbill swallowed those which
 wyigii ta a wwù mé, mà pìrè 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 nye à ta a kèègè me.
 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 cyèebí mù tàànrè è nìnkìn mu sí
 your women.DEF also three in one you FUT
 'Of your three wives, one you will
- ñ-kàn mìì á ' sí ' ná ñ-tà ñ-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 kànhà gé,
 she PERF run SC be.tired TC
 'When she was tired of running,
- maá jyé á tèn sarage e na ño-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. Mii à mu wílá á kànhà,
 I PERF you look SC be.tired
 'I looked for you in vain,

mii nye à mu nye mé.
 I NEG PERF you see NEG
 I didn't see you.'

b. Kile mù nye à ñena a ù pyi
 God also NEG PERF agree SC him make
 'God also did not agree to make him

ú á ù cyà a kànhà 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 mii í m-pá
 and I NARR IP-come
 'Then I came

Ɛribééri wyéréni kan u à.
 Herber money.DEF give him to
 (and) gave Herber's money to him.'

b. Kà wùù ú sá náára kànhè 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:

(147) a. Kà tùbabú-nàni wà sì ḥ-kàra a
 and white.person-man.DEF IND NARR IP-go SC
 'Then a white man went

sà mii tá-shwóngé cyèè mii nà.
 go my LOC-pass.night.DEF show me to
 to show my sleeping quarters to me.'

b. Kà pi í fé à pa
 and they NARR run SC come
 'Then they came running

m-pa a pi còrè.
 IP-come PROG them catch.IMPFV
 to catch them.'

Subordinate adverbial clauses may also be used to code the modality of purpose (see chapter XV, 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 XI and XV.

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 XI 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 II 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 XV, 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 nye na yu
 affair-bad.DEF STILL NEG PROG say.IMPFV
 'Bad deeds are no longer said

pyìibíí nyii nà mé.
 children.DEF eye at NEG
 to the children.' (i.e. children are no longer
 taught what is bad)

- b. Cyèebíí nye a jà à
 women.DEF NEG PERF be.able SC
 'The women were not able

jáhámá pyí ' sáhánki 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 a below, or a predicate nominal as in b, it may allow a low tone originating with the noun to dock, and thus become mè:

- (149) a. Mìi sì sà yì jwù pyenga mè.
 I NEG.FUT go them say home NEG
 'I will not go and tell it (lit. them)
 (at) home.'⁵⁴
- b. Ti mpyi yatɔɔɔ⁵⁵ mè.
 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 XV, section 15.1.4). This seems to point to an origin as some sort of reinforcer.

Mé combines with the clause final politeness marker yò (see chapter V, section 5.10) to yield mô (sometimes pronounced [mbô]):

- (150) Yi nye à nyaha a tòrò mò.
 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 nye 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 ceèni wà nye à si náhá '
 Q woman.DEF IND NEG PERF give.birth here
 'Didn't a woman give birth here
 níñjàà mɛ?
 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) ɲàhá ná mu sí zhyè nègèsúni 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) ɲàhá 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 nye à jwu níɲjálà à de!
 he NEG PERF say today NEG EXCL
 'He (emphatically) didn't say today!'

b. Ma hà a Kàrája cyera
 you.NONDECL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV Karaja insult.IMPFV
 'Don't insult Karaja!'

à dɛ!
 NEG EXCL

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

TABLE 34. Negative Marking in Auxiliary Position

AUXILIARIES WHICH TAKE _nye_		NEGATIVE FORM
à	perfect	nye à
na	progressive	nye na
AUXILIARIES WHICH TAKE LOW TONE		
sí	future	si
cáá	future	càà
ná	remote past	nà
ní	recent past	ni
sáhá	still, yet	sàhá
náhá	be here	nàhà
wá	be there	wá
AUXILIARIES WHICH TAKE NO MARKING		
màha	habitual	màha
kú	potential	kú
mpyi	past	mpyi
AUXILIARIES WHICH CANNOT BE NEGATED		
sí	narrative/sequential	
ká	conditional	

progressive auxiliaries, however, it provides a signal of negation early on in the clause:⁵⁶

- (157) a. Mii nye à yaaga ta mé.
 I NEG PERF thing get NEG
 'I didn't get a thing.'
- b. Wùu nye na jínà pàà 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 nye appears regularly with the perfect marker, but the combination of the progressive with nye is not unique. If one examines the various constructions in which nye na appears, an interesting fact emerges: the characteristic they all have in common is their presuppositional character. Besides the negative, the 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 (1989:159ff; 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 sɪ ñ-jà ùrù jyiile 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 nèε ì-pà nàhá mε.*
 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 will raise the negative low tone and thus cancel it out, leaving the future with its usual high tone. This rule is not obligatory, and one occasionally hears examples such as the first one below, with the negative low tone intact. Much more common, however, are examples like the second one:

- (159) a. Mu si zhyè nègèsúni na mà?
 you NEG.FUT FP.go bicycle.DEF on NEG.Q
 'Won't you go on bicycle?'
- b. Pworo si 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 ni also become low tone:

- (160) a. Wáráni sijéréni nà fyiinna
 Wara.DEF celebration.DEF NEG.REM.PAST cancel
 'Wasn't the celebration of the Wara cancelled?'⁵⁹
- à?
 NEG.Q
- b. U ni 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) Wùu sáhá sá à no 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 nye coming in between the two auxiliaries:

- (162) a. Mii sáhá nyɛ à nɛna 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 cógóni 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 si 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 zíí nèɛ
 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 nàhá mɛ.
 she NEG.be.here here NEG
 'She isn't here.'
- b. Mii nàhà à kàshì-kwòn-yàâyà nyè
 I NEG.be.here PERF war-cut-things see
 'I don't see see you (to have) weapons.'
- mu á mɛ.
 you to NEG
- c. Ba-tóónyó wà pí 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. ñkàà pí wà à nɛna a yì lènè
 but they NEG.be.there PERF agree SC them put
 'But they haven't tried (lit. agreed) to put them
- baga nínkín 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 i 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 nye:

- (165) Siga⁶¹ nye a sii lè è mé.
 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 i in place of the expected

nye a:

- (166) Kuru cànnké na wɔrɛ i sii
 that(EMPH) day.DEF on medicine NEG be.EMPH
 'At that time (lit. on that day) there was really
 no medicine
 nù na mé.
 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 nena a kù jò
 it HAB agree SC it swallow
 'It (=the python) doesn't agree to swallow it
 (=it newly shed skin)
 uru fòò nyíí ná me.
 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) Mii gú ñ-jà ñóó me.
 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. Mii póni nye náhá me.
 my husband.DEF be here NEG
 'My husband isn't here.'
- b. Pi mpyi u ñuní i 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. ñkàà wyéréni mpyi à nyaha
 but money.DEF PAST PERF be.much
 'But there wasn't much money
- mii ñuní í me.
 my head on NEG
 on me.'
- b. ñkàà yyaha fòòní mpyi na
 but face owner.DEF PAST PROG
 'But the older brother did not
- cire jàcyí⁶² cwòrè mé.
 their(EMPH) importance grab.IMPFV NEG
 grasp their importance.'
- c. U ceèni mpyi na sáhá 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. Pitéti⁶³ pi mpyi na sí ñ-kwù
 maybe they PAST PROG FUT FP-die
 'Maybe they would not have died

ñdé kwù-ñkàní 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 sí 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 tùmmpyiibílá à
 and he NARR them say his blood.relative.DEF to
 'Then he said to his relatives

pi ø pa sùmàní kwòn.
 they SUBJUNC come grain.DEF cut
 (that) they should come cut the grain.

Sùpyíi nye à pa mé.
 people NEG PERF come NEG
 No one came (lit. people didn't come).

Kà u ú ñ-kàrá á sà ñguulii 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 section chapter XV, section 15.1.5.3 for

the complex structure required to encode a negative conditional.

Note further that the negative counterpart of the imperative, injunctive, 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: yafyin. 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 yafyin ta mé.
 I NEG PERF anything get NEG
 'I didn't get anything.'

b. Yafyin nàhà nàhá ' nínjáà mé.
 anything NEG.be.here here today NEG
 'Nothing is here today.' i.e. Everything is
 alright 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 VII, 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 VII, 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 dɛ. Thus both of the following are possible, though the first is more common:

- (176) a. Sèe bà à dɛ!
 truth it.is.not NEG EXCL
 'It's not true!'
- b. Sèe bàlà à dɛ!
 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 1984:324ff) 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 for themselves. Thus

- (177) Pi nye 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 sɪ zɪní bagé nwògé 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) Zàntùnnò nye na n-tílá à yaaga cù 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 1984:331ff). 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 yafyin described in the previous section. Indefinite pronouns under the scope of negation must likewise be non-referential:

- (180) *ḿpi nye 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 nye 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) *Nàni wà u mpyi ná cyèe ké i.*
 man.DEF IND he was with women ten with
 'A certain man had ten wives.'

Ceèni 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 yàtòòré puní làmpúni
village domestic.animals.DEF all tax.DEF
'The tax of all domestic animals

nye na wwú me.
NEG PROG take.off.IMPFV 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) Sùpyii 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 nye 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 NP is relativized, shows how a non-event in the relative clause is rendered salient by the immediately preceding context:

(185) Kà pìi sì wyigii wwù fannké e,
 and IND(G1P) NARR holes take.off grave.DEF in
 'Some of them (=the frogs) dug holes in (the side of)
 the grave

maá nwóho cire e. Zhibannànwó
 and.NARR hide them(EMPH) in ground.hornbill
 and hid in them. Ground Hornbill

mpíí pì nye pì nye a wyigii ta a
 those they be they NEG PERF holes get SC
 swallowed those which didn't manage

wwù mé, mà pirè 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
- mii nye 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 XI, 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 XI below). Complements of verbs of speech and cognition may be either declarative (the example below also includes a negative conditional) or subjunctive (=prohibitive):

(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 nye a nùra à
 that if he NEG PERF return SC
 that unless (lit. if...not) he returns

katàhe lènè mé,
 original.site.DEF put NEG
 and inhabits (lit. puts) the original site of the
 village

na suní sî ñ-kwò mé.
 that defecate.DEF NEG.FUT FP-finish NEG
 that the dysentary will not end.'

- b. Sùpyìré ... á yi 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 si ù sige
 and laziness.DEF NARR him prevent
 'Laziness prevented him

u nye a jà a li 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. Mii lá nye pi ahà ì-pà mé.
 my desire be they PROH FP-come NEG
 'I want them not to come.'

b. Pi à yaa pi ahà ì-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 underlined for ease of identification:

(190) a. Wùu nɣɛ à pyi a cè
 we NEG PERF PAST PERF know
 'We didn't know

na karadantíibíí⁶⁷ màha wíí me.
 that identity.cards.DEF HAB look.at NEG
 that identity cards are required (lit. are
 looked at).'

b. Wùu nɣɛ à jwo ma a ɲɔni
 we NEG PERF say you SUBJUNC.IMPFV rest.IMPFV
 'Didn't we say you should rest

ma rá a fùnnke
 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 nɣɛ a ù pyi 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 mi séege
 Q you NEG.be.there PERF my skin.DEF
 'Don't you see my

shiré nɣɛ tí i mini 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 make anyone help me put the load on my head.'
- b. Sùpyà ná sùpyà nyε 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
- nàfùùni 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 (1989:309ff; see also Givón 1984:342ff), 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 (in the following examples the complement clauses are underlined):

(193) a. negation in complement

U a li cè na mi n̄ye 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 n̄ye a li cè na mi 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 sòn̄ɲ '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

Mi n̄ye na sòn̄ɲi 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

Mi na sòn̄ɲi na u n̄ye 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

Mi n̄ye a dà u sí ñ-jà
 I NEG PERF believe he FUT FP-be.able
 'I don't believe he will be able'

ù tà ñ-jù mé.
 him get FP-rob NEG
 to succeed in robbing him.'

b. negation in complement

Mii a dà u sî ñ-jà
 I PERF believe he NEG.FUT FP-be.able
 'I believe he won't be able

ù tà ñ-jù 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

Mii lá nye mu ú shyá me.⁶⁸
 my desire be you SUBJUNC go NEG
 'I don't want you to go.'

b. negation in complement

Mii 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 the following example 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) Mii lá nye sí shyá me.
 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 ahà 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) Yii nye a sùpyigiré le
you.PL NEG PERF kindness.DEF put
'You have not put kindness

yi-yè shwòhòle e,
you.PL-REFL between in
between each other,

maríi yi-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 adverbial 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 Cannjyee nye 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 III, 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. Ceèni 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 sònji
 he PERF PAST PROG think.IMPFV
 'He (Francolin) was thinking
- na shire na nye u na,
 that feathers PROG be him on
 that he had feathers (lit. feathers are on him)
- kùnùṅò sì nye tà bàà.
 tortoise ADV be IND without
 whereas Tortoise had not (lit. was without some).'

Using bàà in a negative clause is a strong way of affirming something:

- (202) a. Mii àhá sá yí tá ' cógó ó cógó,
 I COND go them find manner DIST manner
 'Whatever condition I find them in,
- mii càà m-pà yi bàà nínjáà 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 ceewe 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 si ñ-jà gù lwó me.
 you except for IND NEG.FUT FP-be.able it take NEG
 'Except for you no one is able to pick it up.'

Notes

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. Wíí is one of about twenty verbs which do not have a marked imperfective form. For other examples see chapter IV, section 4.2.5.
4. The tonal difference between the base form lyi 'eat' and the imperfective form lyí is neutralized following a definite noun, since the floating L 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 imperfective 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 will be 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 sùpyiré '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 matter right. The secretary's long ears of course made a convenient handle with which to fling him about. Biró 'office' is of course borrowed from French bureau.

14. Kèrèmasá 'warlord' is borrowed from Bambara kèle '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. Dinye 'world' is borrowed from Bambara diyen 'world'.

15. Màha [ma?a] 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 pwùnnàarawa, literally a 'dog-walker', is a hunter who uses hunting dogs. A ntɔɔɔncwoo '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 ñkòni, 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 (fóqó, borrowed from Bambara fɔqɔn, '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 1986:83ff).

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 sí and the narrative/sequential auxiliary sí. There are several ways in which these can be distinguished from the future sí. 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 sí can occur in a negative clause, whereas the subjunctive sí 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, ñ, 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 [pã], which is almost certainly older than the northern Senufo form [pa]. 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 is indicated the ticket for a 'bush taxi'.

27. Neverí 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 VII, 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 actual 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 1987 and chapter XV 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 asì), 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. Cànke 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 fiction from the past participle of the Latin verb figere 'shape, fashion, feign'.

50. Buwara was the first inhabitant of 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 II, 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. Yatɔɔɔɔ, 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 nye 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 the apparently the common way of marking negation in the auxiliary position (Garber 1987:36).

61. Siga 'doubt' is borrowed from from Bambara sigá or sigi 'to doubt'.
62. Jàcyí 'importance' is borrowed from Bambara jàti 'to count, consider'.
63. Pitétí '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 an NP 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 nyé 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 nyé 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. Jàtigè 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 X

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,

1984:139ff). 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, dative, 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 > Dative > 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 datives, 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 dative direct objects. Most often when the dative 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) Mii 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), dative direct objects are quite rare. Of 270 occurrences of kan in the corpus, only 8 (= 3%) have dative direct objects. It is significant that all eight are either anaphoric pronouns or proper names, an indication that only a highly topical dative can be promoted. However, by far the great majority of highly topical datives (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', kùni 'the road', or tatɔ̀ngɔ̀ 'a long way' to indicate where or how far the walking occurs. An example of an instrumental direct object is the use of lwɔ̀hɔ̀

'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, dative, etc.) and the degree of affectedness of the patient.

10.2 Detransitivization

As shown in chapter IV above, verbs in Supyire can be broadly categorized into intransitive and transitive, 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 'middle' 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 VII, section 7.4.1). 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.⁴ These are given in Table 35 together with the percentages of occurrences of each verb in transitive, passive, and active intransitive clauses.

The percentages of passive clauses for the 21 verbs range from 0% to 12.8%,⁵ with the median at 2.9%. Ten of

TABLE 35. Occurrences of Common Transitive Verbs in Various Clause Types

VERB	GLOSS	ACTIVE TRANSITIVE		PASSIVE	OTHER INTRANSITIVE		TOTAL N	
		N	%		N	%		
bo	kill	88	96.7	2	2.2	1	1.1	91
bwɔn	hit	63	86.3	1	1.4	9	12.3	73
cù	catch	98	94.2	3	2.9	3	2.9	104
cya	seek	85	97.7	2	2.3	0		87
cyán	drop	21	87.5	2	8.3	1	4.2	24
diri	pull	25	100	0		0		25
jya	break	34	87.2	5	12.8	0		39
kɔrɔ	chase	21	91.3	1	4.3	1	4.3	23
le	put	95	96.9	3	3.1	0		98
péré	sell	21	95.5	1	4.5	0		22
pwɔ	tie	31	91.2	3	8.8	0		34
shwɔ	buy	67	94.4	2	2.8	2	2.8	71
tirigè	lower	28	87.5	0		4	12.5	32
to	cover	70	92.1	4	5.3	2	2.6	76
tugo	carry	30	100	0		0		30
wwù	take off	70	89.7	6	7.7	2	2.6	78
yibé	ask	34	91.9	0		3	8.1	37
yigé	ask	37	100	0		0		37
yige	take out	58	95.1	3	4.9	0		61
yirigè	raise	39	95.1	2	4.9	0		41
yyere	call	85	100	0		0		85
Median Percentage			94.4		2.9		0	

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 classified 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.⁶ 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) ñkàà u fotíni⁷ num-bwòni...
 but this fault.DEF ADJ-big.DEF
 'But the biggest fault ...

mu gú sà ù tà tiibí kàmpanna na,
 you POT go it find fathers.DEF side on
 you will find it on the side of the fathers,

pàrské⁸ yeregé sàhà nye na m-pyi
 because counsel.DEF STILL NEG PROG IP-do
 because counsel is no longer given (lit. done)

ku cógóni⁹ na mé,
 its manner.DEF on NEG
 the way it should be (lit. on its manner),

pyiibíí sàhà nye na η-kèènñi
 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,

pyiibíí sàhà nye na byíí
 children.DEF STILL NEG PROG rear.IMPFV
 children are no longer brought up

pi tanjáà byí-ηkání 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 kòni 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 would 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

cànṅke 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 process 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 process and narrative discourse is time adverbial clauses. Over 9% of all time adverbial clauses occurring in the corpus are passives.¹⁰ Often time clauses refer to the

TABLE 36. Proportion of Passives in Narrative and Procedural Texts

NARRATIVE TEXTS	CLAUSES N	PASSIVES N	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	

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 IX, 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) Pyènga a cyàn a kwò gé,
 compound.DEF PERF build SC finish
 'When the home was finished being built,

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-seeq.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 dative 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) Mii à kan.
 I PERF give
 'I have been given (some).'

That only promoted datives are eligible to become subject is demonstrated by the impossibility of the passive interpretation of such examples as the following:

- (8) Mii 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) Mii 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) Nànkààge nye 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 'Middle' Verbs

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. These verbs are labeled 'middle' here since they correspond to verbs which are typically inflected for middle voice in languages which have that morphological category.

There is no such inflectional category in Supyire, but one can plausibly say these verbs are semantically 'middle'

in that they denote actions which chiefly benefit or impinge on the agent. The focus of interest in these events is usually not on the affected patient, which may be predictable to the point of being uninteresting. It is rather on the 'affected' agent. Structurally intransitive clauses with middle 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 'middle' verbs is the corresponding percentage above 60%.

By way of illustration, the following examples of the verbs lyi 'eat' and shwoho 'cook' in transitive, intransitive active, and intransitive passive clauses are offered. Note that the passive use of lyi was elicited. The other examples are all taken from texts.

TABLE 37. Occurrences of 'Middle' Verbs in Various Clause Types

VERB	GLOSS	TRANSITIVE		ACTIVE INTRANS		PASSIVE		TOTAL N
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
lyi	'eat'	49	59.8	33	40.2			82
wíí ¹¹	'look at'	42	56.8	29	39.2	3	4.1	74
shwɔhɔ	'cook'	16	50	15	46.9	1	3.1	32
bya	'drink'	10	45.5	12	44.5			22
bégélé	'pack'	4	50	4	50			8
tugo	'vomit'	2	50	2	50			4

(11) a. transitive: agent subject, patient direct object

Kà pi í tíré sùre lyi...
 and they NARR that(EMPH) mush.DEF eat
 'Then they ate that mush...'

b. intransitive active: agent subject, patient suppressed

Tanjyéeni canɲ kà nùmpilàgè è
 the.year.before.last day IND night in
 'The year before last, on night

wùù pyéngá shíinbílá à pyi a lyi a kwò
 our home people.DEF PERF PAST PERF eat SC finish
 our family had finished eating

mà sini.
 and lie.down
 and gone to bed.'

- c. intransitive passive: patient subject, agent suppressed

Sùre 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 sùre shwòhò...
 and you NARR that(EMPH) mush.DEF cook
 'Then you cooked that mush...'

- b. intransitive active: agent subject, patient suppressed

Sána kilèñi ù wwò à kwò ké,
 before sky.DEF it get.black SSC finish TC
 'Before the night had completely fallen
 (lit. before the sky had finished getting black),

mìi cwónjì mpyi à shwòha a kwò.
 my wife.DEF PAST PERF cook SC finish
 my wife had finished cooking.'

- c. intransitive passive: patient subject, agent suppressed

...pira asì ù-pà sùre shwòhò...
 these(EMPH) HAB.SEQ IP-come mush.DEF cook
 '...then these come and cook the mush...'

Ta há shwòha a kwò, pi màha ñ-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 middle 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 scenarios 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

As shown above, the passive and the intransitive use of 'middle' verbs are primarily pragmatically motivated. In this section we will examine an intransitive use of transitive verbs, which is semantically motivated. Like the object suppression with 'middle' verbs, 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 bwòn, 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'

Pyàṅa a lîrè cé ke,
 child.DEF PERF this(EMPH) know TC
 'When the child found this out,

maá tûṅi bwòn 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 bwòn 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 m-pá fyín,
they(G3P) COND IP-come sprout
'When they (=the yams) sprout,

pi ari wèyi làhà ci 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 ' láchá 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
	ja	'beat up, overcome'	'be able to cope with'
	cù	'grab, catch'	'refrain from'
	sònnò	'warn'	'think about'
	círí	'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 lwohé bya.
s/he PERF water.DEF drink
'S/he drank the water.'

b. 'antipassive': only part of patient affected

U à bya lwohé 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

Mìì sí nà sùmàní pèrè.
 I FUT FP.my grain.DEF sell
 'I will sell my grain.'

b. 'antipassive': only part of patient affected

Mìì sí ñ-péré ná sùmàní i
 I FUT FP-sell my grain.DEF in
 'I will sell some of my grain

ninjyéé, ni ñ-tàha ñkyàrà shwó.
 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 pùcwò 'unmarried girl'. The person asked replied with a. 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 b (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 no naṅké na,
 they PERF come arrive hill.DEF at
 They (=the bush cows) arrived at the hill,

sána yi kuru ògò 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

kàhe na.
 village.DEF at
 the village.'

b. intransitive

Canṅ kà u a dùgò Pi Sáhá Kànhà paṅké 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 very often used. A much more commonly used method of expressing the same or a similar meaning is by means of the indefinite/partitive determiners (see chapter VI, 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 IX, 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 IV. 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 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 XI, 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 cyàge ñké-mù cù 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: cyééná 'cause to be smaller'

Lire màha mu shyiñí cyèènà.
 this(EMPH) HAB your life.DEF be.small.CAUS
 'This reduces your life expectancy.'

(21) a. intransitive active: yyéré 'stop'

Kà fànhà feebí sì suflíni wyi
 and power owners.DEF NARR whistle.DEF whistle
 'The police blew the whistle

Pyéérè nà, kà u ú ' yyéré.
 Pierre at and he NARR stop
 on Pierre, and he stopped.'

b. transitive/causative: yyééné 'stop'

Kà u ú mobílíni yyèènè.
 and he NARR car.DEF stop.CAUS
 'Then he stopped the car.'

10.3.2 Unmarked Transitivity

In contrast to the type of transitivity 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 detransitivity 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 transitivization 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'

Kùna à bere.
road.DEF PERF be.short
'The road is short.'

- b. transitive/causative: 'shorten'

Mìi a kù bère.¹²
I PERF it shorten
'I shortened it.'

- (23) a. intransitive active: fwòrò 'shed skin' (reptile)

Fyìni kà fwórò,
python.DEF COND shed.skin
'When the python sheds its skin,

u màha fwóróge lwò 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 mìi 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 níné 'be cool' can be used transitively to mean 'make cool', but wyere 'be warm' cannot

be used transitively, presumably because the derived form wyεεŋa '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-cyiini sùpyiré mpyi a ti-yé péè.
 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 'raise the price of'; the transitive of faha 'be light (in weight)' means 'scold'; and the transitive of lyε '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 V, 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 báni.
 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 pi-yé kánù.¹⁶
 they PERF they-REFL love
 'They loved each other.'

b. reflexive meaning

Kà pi í pí-yè kéénnè fyii.
 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 m-pá pí mù shùnni lwó
 and he NARR IP-come them also two take
 'Then he came and took them both

mă sà síniné pí-yè táán òpitalíni 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 participants 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) Canŋ kà m̄pi máha shye sà u-yè nàara.
 day IND hare FORM.PAST go go he-REFL walk
 'One day Hare went for a walk.'

The verb naara '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 ñ-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 yiri '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 yirà 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 yiri is derived by means of the causative suffix: yirigè. 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 yirigè 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 sī u-yè yírí-gà a tīi
 and dog NARR he-REFL get.up-CAUS SC be.straight
 'Then Dog began to run 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 sīiṅkombiini wà,
 and she NARR walking.stick.DEF throw
 'Then she threw the stick,

 kà lire sī ṅ-kéénnà 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 jínàni wà sì sá ú-yè kéénnà 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.

Notes

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 XI 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 'middle' verbs which will be treated in section 10.2.2 below.

5. 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.

6. 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 m-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'.

7. Fotí 'fault' is borrowed from French faute.

8. Pàrské 'because' is borrowed from French parce que.

9. Cógó 'manner' is borrowed from Bambara cogo or coko 'manner'. The native Supyire equivalent, -nkaN- is used in the last clause of the example.

10. The time clauses in this calculation are simple 'when' clauses. Excluded are 'before', 'since' and 'while' clauses.

11. Sentences in which wíí takes a complement clause have been excluded from these calculations.

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 mii 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 sèège tàn mii 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 ɲkèrè 'side' as part of a complex postposition. See chapter V, 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 XI

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

As in the 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, 1984:117ff, 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 (complement clauses are underlined in this chapter for ease of identification):

- (1) Mii à yaa mii 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) Mii sí ù pyi u ú ñ-karé 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 H 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

Mii a ù pyi ú á kàré Sukwoo na.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF go Sikasso at
 'I made him go to Sikasso.'

- b. Kà mu ú wá na u pyi
 and you NARR be.there PROG her make
 'You were having her

ú u ñjyini yàà mu á.
 she.COMP PROG food.DEF prepare.IMPFV you for
 prepare food for you.'

In complements of manipulative verbs, whether subjunctive or irrealis, 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 mii 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 mii 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 (H tone) complements like manipulative verbs or na complements like verbs of cognition, with an appropriate shift in meaning:

- (6) a. realis (H tone) complement

Mii a ù nyè ú u η-kéégé.
 I PERF him see he.COMP PROG IP-go.IMPFV
 'I saw him going.'

- b. na complement

Mii 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 of verbs allow nominalized clauses as complements (for nominalizing morphology, see chapter III, 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 mii í u ì-pa-ńí mii yyéré-ńi jwo
 and I NARR her NOM-come-DEF me toward-DEF say
 'Then I announced her coming to my place
- mii túna 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 V, 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) Mii à u nin-karà-ni nye mobílíni 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 IV, section 4.3; chapter X, 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 yyééné 'cause to stop', formed from the intransitive verb yyéré 'stop':

- (9) Kà u ú mobílíni yyèènè
 and he NARR car.DEF stop.CAUS
 'Then he stopped the car (or, caused the car to stop)

Yàkùbà 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 IX, sections 9.3.4 and 9.3.5 (see also chapter VIII, 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 nye 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 (H 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 (H tone) complements, however: object-subject for perception and manipulation verbs, 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 frequently 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 NP. These facts are summarized in Table 38.

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 cìnmpyiibíí pi à yaa
 his/her blood.relative.DEF they PERF ought
 it is his/her blood relatives who ought

pi ∅ u to.
 they SUBJUNC him/her bury
 to bury him/her.'

- b. U mpyi à yaa u ∅ kare
 he PAST PERF ought he SUBJUNC go
 'He ought to have gone

ná ceèni i Bàmàkwo e.
 with woman.DEF with Bamako to
 with the woman to Bamako.'

TABLE 38. Modality Verbs

Verb	Gloss	Equi-deletion?	Nominalized Complement?
yaa	'ought'	no	no
cya	'try'	yes/no	no
míírí	'intend'	yes	no
sonŋɔ	'think of'	yes	no
la nye	'want'	yes	no
sii	'begin'	--	yes
cyé	'refuse'	--	yes

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) Sùpyiré puná à yaa pi a li càà
 people.DEF all PERF ought they SUBJUNC.IMPFV it seek
 'All people ought to try

pi ∅ 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 bê.
 they SUBJUNC.IMPFV it seek SUBJUNC be.in.harmony
 '...they should try to live together in harmony.'

The verbs míírí and sonno, both meaning 'think' and both also verbs of cognition taking na-complements, can be used with same subject subjunctive complements to mean 'intend' or 'think of'. They both require equi-deletion. Míírí 'plan, intend' may optionally take the anticipatory pronoun li as direct object:

- (14) a. Mii a li míírí,
I PERF it intend
'I intend

kile kà bú nungwogé tòròmò lémú
god COND REM rainy.season.DEF passing appearance
if God causes the passing of the rainy season

nwó, sí sá yaha yige
be.good SUBJUNC go face bring.out
to be good, to go visit (lit. bring face out on)

na tu-bilèni na Bàrámbà è.
my.NONDECL father-little.DIM.DEF on Baramba in
my uncle in Baramba.'

- b. Mii mpyi na míírí ' sí ú wóógò sáhánkì.
I PAST PROG plan SUBJUNC him smear again
'I was planning to smear him again.'

Sónnò, which is less common in this function than míírí,
does not take an anticipatory pronoun:

- (15) Yaha fòòní màha sònnì
face owner.DEF HAB think.IMPFV
'The older brother always intended

sí ' wyéréni kèègè.
SUBJUNC money.DEF spoil
to spend the money wastefully (lit. spoil the
money).'

The expression la nye '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 nye '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 basic, indefinite form

(the definite is lâge), however, shows that it forms a loose compound with the copula.

The subject of the complement of la nyɛ is coreferential with what is properly the possessor of la. Like míírí and sɔ̀nɔ̀, la nyɛ requires equi-deletion:

- (16) a. Melyágá ' lá mpyi rí ám-pá
 Melyaga's desire was SUBJUNC IP-come
 'Melyaga wanted to come
- wùù ká-taanmpé puní nyàha ñ-gùrùgò.
 our matter-sweet.DEF all stir FP-mix
 spoil (lit. stir and mix) our good thing.'
- b. Mu lá nyɛ sí wà pèè mé.
 your desire be SUBJUNC IND make.big NEG
 'You don't want to honor anyone.'
- c. Mii lá mpyi sí yírà àní me.
 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 IX, sections 9.1.5 and 9.1.6). However, the verb sii 'begin' is occasionally used with a nominalized as complement 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 sila a kwò.
 sow.DEF(G4) begin SC finish
 already begun to sow.'

- b. Pi sí nàni sii 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 suno sí m-pá ú tá
 and diarrhea NARR IP-come him get
 'He got sick with dysentery (lit. diarrhea came and got him

mà cyè kwò-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 pyàni si nùrá à mēní cèè
 and child.DEF NARR return SC song.DEF sing
 'The child sang the song again

maá ñ'-cyé tigi-gè.
 and.NARR IP-refuse descend-G2S
 and refused to get down.'

c. Dóóní kà zàntùṅò si jwò
 in.a.bit and hyena NARR say
 'After a bit Hyena decided

na uru sí nùṅke yige,
 that he(EMPH) FUT head.DEF take.out
 to take his head out

kà ku ú ñ'-cyé fworo-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 independence 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 X, section 10.3.1). The use of a 'periphrastic' causative construction (i.e. one employing a H-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 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

Mii a ù pyi ú á kàrè.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF go
 'I made him leave.'

b. weak manipulation, subjunctive complement

Mii lá mpyi u ú ń-kàré.
 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. nee 'agree'), it is forbidden:

(20) a. strong manipulation, 'raising' required

Mii a ù pyi ú à pa.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF come
 'I made him come.'

b. weak manipulation, 'raising' forbidden

Mii à nee u \emptyset 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		'RAISING'	SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLEMENT MAY TAKE	<u>na</u>
		REALIS	MAIN CLAUSE*			
tege	'help'	R		yes	no	
yaha	'permit'	R		yes	no**	
pyi	'make'	R, S		yes	yes	
tun	'send'	R, S		yes	yes	
yyere	'call'	R, S		yes	yes	
kan	'give'	R, S		yes	no	
náára	'beg'		S	yes	yes	
nεε	'agree'		S	no	no	
lá nye	'want'		S	no	no	

*R = realis (H 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 11.2, 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 fwordo*
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 mii núni yaha*
and he NARR my mother.DEF permit
'So he let my mother

ú á kàrè sà u cin-lyèni kànmúcya.
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-lyèni si u pyibíí pyi*
and man-old.DEF NARR his children.DEF tell
'Then the old man told his children

na pi ø fwora a u tsge
that they SUBJUNC go.out SSC him help
that they must come out and help him
(=the farmer)

pi ø lùpàànre bwòn.
they SUBJUNC mosquitoes.DEF hit
swat the mosquitoes.'

- b. *Pyênge nògò-lyèná á pyàni 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 mii túna à
he.COMP PERF come them say my father.DEF to
to come say to my father

na u ø mii núni yaha u shya.
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 wyige e.
 come me.NONDECL help FUT FP.go.out this hole in
 'Come help me get out of this hole.'
- b. Nà tégè sí pàara.
 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 lyê."
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)

Mii a ù tùn ú á mòò shwò mii á
I PERF him send he.COMP PERF rice buy me to
'I sent him to buy rice for me

*hkaà u fùnŋka a wwò ù nà.
but his inside.DEF PERF be.black it on
but he forgot.'

- b. Non-implicative (subjunctive complement)

Mii a ù tùn u ú mòò shwò mii á
I PERF him send he.COMP SUBJUNC rice buy me to
'I sent him to buy rice for me

ñkàà u fùnṅka 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 pyàni tiibíí² sì ù yyèrè...
 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, nonmanipulative verbs of speech and cognition. Following is an example:

(28) Pi à ù yyèrè (na) u ∅ pa
 they PERF him call that he SUBJUNC come
 'They called him to come

yi yyàhe 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. Ŋyège na maá ' núrá 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 zànségé,
 SC give they SUBJUNC.IMPFV cook.IMPFV meal.DEF
 and gave (it to them) (=to the women) to cook
 for dinner

maá ŋ-karé.
 and.NARR IP-go
 and then left (i.e. the men left).'

- b. Isà a ŋjé vàanyi kan mi i pá
 Isa PERF these cloths.DEF give I SUBJUNC come
 'Isa gave this cloth (to me) to come

ŋ-kán mu á ma ∅ 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 si u si-shyé-boní wwù
 and francolin NARR his bush-go-bag.DEF take.off
 'Then Francolin took his bag³ off

yacige e mà kan ŋpi 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 cin-jyèebí sí ìpi kan*
 and women-old.DEF NARR hare give
 'Then the old women gave Hare (water)

ú à bya.
 he.COMP PERF drink
 to drink.'

We now come to those verbs which are not able to take realis (H tone) complements, a sign of the relatively weak manipulation they encode. *Ṣáárá* '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 *li* (gender 3 singular) must be placed in the direct object position:

- (32) *Mì na li nààrè yìi 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 ' wyéréni ì.
 with money.DEF with
 with the money.'

The dative argument can also be shifted to direct object position:

(33) Pi màha sá jínabíí nààrà
 they HAB go jinns.DEF beg
 'They beg the jinns

na pi ∅ 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) Mii sí na li nààrè kila à
 I ADV PROG it beg.IMPFV God to
 'However, I am praying to God

ngé letéréni ù ∅ mu ta ticuùmpe 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 nee 'agree' occurs with a complement clause only infrequently. It takes a simple subjunctive complement (the complementizer na is not permitted):

- (35) a. Mi à nee pi kare.
 I PERF agree they SUBJUNC go
 'I agree (that) they go.'
- b. U nye na néégé
 he NEG PROG agree.IMPFV
 'He doesn't agree
- yyaha fòòní ù a wyéréni 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 nye 'want' is frequently used in a modality sense (i.e. when the subject of the complement = the possessor of la). It can also be used in a manipulative sense. Its complement is subjunctive (without the complementizer na):

- (36) a. Mi lá nye
 my desire be
 'I want
- ma á nínjáà shwòhòre wyèèná.
 you.NONDECL SUBJUNC today cook.DEF(G4) heat
 you to speed up the cooking today.'
- b. Yyaha fòòní là ka à pyi⁴
 face owner.DEF desire it(G2S) PERF be
 'The older brother wanted
- diizini sì lwó á kán úra⁵ à
 thread.DEF SUBJUNC take SSC give him(EMPH) to
 the thread to be given to him
- uru ù ∅ péré u lyi.
 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 III, 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 m-pyí wà nye à mu nye mé,
 IND COND IP-be IND NEG PERF you see NEG
 and no-one sees you

kile máha n-cyé
 god/sky HAB IP-refuse
 God (or the sky) prevents

zànhé m-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/e 'in, into, to':

- (38) Mii 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 (nyè 'see', ta 'find', and fworo 'go out, come upon') are between the manipulative verbs and the verbs of cognition in behavior. They take realis (H tone) complements like manipulative verbs when the event of perception occurs at the same place and time as the complement event:

- (39) Mii a ù nyè 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 nyè means 'realize that' rather than 'see':

- (40) Mii a li nyè na u nyè a cyiigè 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 zíf ù nyè
 you FUT FP.be.EMPH him see
 'You will not see him

ú à jwo ná shin í me.
 he.COMP PERF say with person with NEG
 speak to anyone.'

Of the verbs to be discussed here, only nyè 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 mii nyè míí á iyè 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 ñgé-mù ñkyànhíí 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 cèni wàbérè sì m̀-pà ù nyè*
 and woman.DEF another NARR IP-come her see
 'Then another woman came and saw her'

ú u ku tiri-ni.
 she.COMP PROG it grind-IMPFV
 grinding it (=the grain).'

- b. *Kà u ú ñ-kará á sà jyè ñké 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 ñkèrè 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 wli.
 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 denotes 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) Mii 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 sì wá
 and farmers.DEF NARR be.there
 'The farmers
 na fí 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 mìi 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 sini.
 and them(EMPH) find they.COMP PERF lie.down
 and found they had gone to bed.'

A perfective H-complement of ta can also be stative, however:

- (47) Kà cànràgà sī līrè 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 zīi 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-IMPFV PROG drip.IMPFV
 dripping with sweat (lit. sweating and dripping).'
- b. Kà u ú ŋ-karé 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 wulì.
 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 m-pá ú tá
 and they NARR IP-come it(G1S) find
 'They came and found it (=the python)

ú á ñkù-baaní fula a m̀̀gò
 it(G1S).COMP PERF chicken-house.DEF push SC open
 had pushed open the chicken coop

na fwòrè.
 PROG go.out.IMPFV
 and was coming out.'

b. Kà m̀̀i í yírà a kàrè 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 m̀̀òò shwò na lyí.
 he.COMP PERF rice buy PROG eat.IMPFV
 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 shínji sí wá
 in.a.bit and bush person.DEF NARR be.there
 'In a bit the bush person

na fí na ma zànhé `nwohi i...
 PROG run.IMPFV PROG come.IMPFV rain.DEF under in
 came running in the rain...

mà pa ti ta sikapèrè ú à 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 has not been recorded so far with nye, nor for that matter with any other verb.

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. Canṅ kà òpi màha shye sà u-yè nàara
 day IND hare PAST go go he-REFL walk
 'One day Hare went for a walk

mà sà fwòro zhibannàṅwo na
 and go go.out ground.hornbill on
 and came upon Ground Hornbill

ká á sini...
 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 nwò 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 an NP 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 story-telling.

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, deictive verbs, and location and time adverbs are so altered, tense is left alone.⁶ Compare the following examples. In the indirect speech of b the pronouns and adverbs have been altered, but the tense remains the same as in a, 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 "Mìì sí ñ-kàrà àní nùmpañà".
 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 ñ-pà náhá ' tánjáà.
 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 NP 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.⁷ Supyire does not have a special set of pronouns for this purpose, but instead uses the emphatic pronouns (uru, pire, etc. see chapter V, 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.'

The use of the more marked emphatic pronouns in this context may at first seem odd. Normally in contexts of high referential coherence one would expect less rather than more coding. In many languages a switch in reference (or at least the possibility of such an interpretation) is indicated by the use of a stressed or independent pronoun in a complement clause, as in English 'He said he would go.' A simple unstressed anaphoric pronoun in the same context is most naturally interpreted as indicating coreference (cf. Givón 1984:354).

The situation in Supyire is precisely the opposite: the emphatic pronoun indicates coreference whereas the simple anaphoric pronoun indicates a switch in reference. Although the reasons for this require further investigation, some preliminary observations point to a possible

explanation. The first point to note is that the coreferential item in the complement clause is not restricted to one syntactic role, unlike the coreferential items in complements of manipulative and modality verbs, which must be subject of the complement clause. Thus beside the example in a above, in which the coreferential item is the subject of the complement, must be placed examples such as the following:

(54) a. Coreferential NP = direct object

Kà ñgé kùntunjí sì jwò
and this monitor.DEF NARR say
'Then this monitor lizard said

mì àhá úrú ' bó,
I COND him(EMPH) kill
if I kill him,

mì cwóni wà sí ñ-kwú.
my wife.DEF IND FUT FP-die
one of my wives will die.'

b. Coreferential NP = indirect object (dative)

Kà u ú jwó pi ∅ shonga shwo 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 NP = genitive possessor

Ká Kùlùncúnjú ' rí jwó pi ∅ yiri
and Kuluncungo NARR say they SUBJUNC get.up
'Then Kuluncungo said they must get up

pi ∅ uru shóngé pwó...
they SUBJUNC his(EMPH) horse.DEF tie
(and) saddle (lit. tie) his horse...'

As these examples show, the possibilities of what role the coreferential NP has in the complement clause are open. The use of a marked form is especially useful in allowing the indication of coreference at any point in the clause.

This observation is corroborated by a class of systematic exceptions. The verb jwo '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 pi í jwó na pi ∅ pi pwo 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 piínni yyèèṅè,
and warthog NARR his drum.DIM.DEF stop.CAUS
'Then warthog stopped (playing) his drum,

maá jwó u gú nwogé 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.

A related observation is 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 XII, 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 XIII, sections 13.1 and 13.3). The majority of referents of such noun phrases are new to the discourse.

One final observation regards the frequency of coreference in indirect speech. The most common verb which

takes na-complements is jwo 'say'. In the corpus there are 193 examples of jwo with a third person subject and an indirect quote complement. Of these complements, 78 (= 40.4%) contain a NP coreferential with the subject of jwo, whereas 115 (= 59.6%) do not. Coreference is thus slightly less common than the absence of coreference.

Taking these observations together, it is not surprising that in the relatively independent na-complement a marked form would be used to indicate coreference with the main clause subject. All the factors point to unpredictability: the uncertainty as to which NP will be coreferential, or if there will be a coreferential NP at all, and the frequent presence of other participants in the immediately preceding discourse (in particular the addressee of the original speech). It is an iconic principle that unpredictable information requires more coding than predictable information (the 'code-quantity' principle; see Givón 1989:105ff). The explanation of the grammaticalization of the marked emphatic pronouns to show coreference in na-complements is probably to be sought in this direction.

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 ú yí jwó u nyii na
and he NARR them say his eye at
'Then he said to him

na " Cyèè ké pi nye mì á,
that women ten they be me to
that "I have ten wives,

ñkàà pi wà sàhá ñ-kwó
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:

TABLE 40. Verbs which Take Na Complements

Verb	Gloss	Subjunctive possible?	Anticipatory pronoun	Direct quote possible?
jwo	'say'	yes	yi*	yes
pyi	'tell'	yes	--	yes
cyèè	'tell'	yes	li, yi, ku, pu	yes
ce	'know'	no	li*	yes
nye	'realize'	no	li	no
ta	'find out'	no	li	no
sonno	'think'	no**	--	no
mííí	'think'	no**	li*	yes
yaha	'believe'	no***	--	no
dá	'believe'	no	li, yi, pu*	no
lógó	'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.

(57)	without <u>na</u>	with <u>na</u>	% with <u>na</u>
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 sɔ̀nɔ̀ 'think':

- (58) Cèɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀i kà a n-cáá mu na,
 woman.DEF COND PROG IP-want you on
 'If the woman loves you,

 ma hà rà a sɔ̀nɛ̀i,
 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 mɛ.
 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) Nɔ̀ nyɛ na n-ce "Míi à lɛ̀ɛ̀" mé
 man NEG PROG IP-know I PERF be.old NEG
 'A man doesn't know he's old (lit. "I am old")

 fɔ̀ 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 (H 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 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 shonga shwo 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.'

- b. U a li cyéè wù nà
 he PERF it tell us to
 'He told us (lit. showed it to us)

na wu a ñjé 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:

(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 mìi pyi na mu nye
 you PAST me tell that you be
 'You told me that you aren't

nwɔfahaga wúnì wà mé.
 mouth.light POSS.DEF IND NEG
 a gossip (lit. one of the ones with a light
 mouth).'

When the complement is realis (H 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):

(62) a. realis (H tone) complement

Mii a ù pyi ú á kàrè.
 I PERF him make he.COMP PERF go
 'I made him leave.'

b. irrealis main clause, subjunctive complement

Mii sí ù pyi u ú ñ-kàré.
 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 mii í lí cyèè ù nà, "Bòn, 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 yii yábàná à kerège báaráni⁸ nye."
now you(PL) EMPH PERF field.DEF work.DEF see
now you yourselves have seen the work of the
field."'
- b. Pi a lí cè à jwo wà sí ñ-kwù.
they PERF it know SC say IND FUT FP-die
'They know (lit. know and say) one (of them) will
die.'
- c. Wyéréni yùùni kàntugo yyéré,
money.DEF theft.DEF behind toward
'After the theft of the money,
mii a pà ñ-tèèn maá ' míí,
I PERF come IP-sit and.NARR think
I came and sat down, and thought,
mà lí nyà, nànkààna à pyi a
and it see thief.DEF PERF PAST PERF
and realized the thief had
cyiigè mii nà.
be.smart me on
been smarter than me.'
- d. Kà u ú wá na
and he NARR be.there PROG
'So he was
ñce-fèebíí yii-li,
knowledge-owners.DEF ask-IMPV
consulting diviners
mà pà lí tà na u yyaha wùubílá
and come it find that his face POSS.DEF(G1P)
and came to find out that his ancestors
à jwo na ná u nye a nùrù...
PERF say that if he NEG PERF return
had said that if he didn't return...'

With da 'believe' the anticipatory pronoun is coded as an indirect object with the postposition na 'on':

- (64) a. Lire e u mú á dà yì nà
 this in he also PERF believe them on
 'For this reason he also believes

uru gà kù yàla á, ku cáà m-pà.
 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 gú ñ-dá lí ná
 he POT FP-believe it on
 'He would believe'⁹

mu à lye 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 yì with jwò '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 pùcwòní sī yì jwò Mborà á
 and girl.DEF NARR them say Mboro to
 'Then the girl said to Mboro

uru sí sà wùlì.
 she(EMPH) FUT go bathe
 (that) she would go bathe.'

Following are the figures for the occurrences of yì with

jwo, with and without the presence of an overt dative indirect object:

(66)	with <u>yi</u>		without <u>yi</u>		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	98.9	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'; nye '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 nys 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 nys and ta in their capacity as perception verbs ('see' and 'find') are implicative: they can take only realis (H tone) complements, and never subjunctive ones (see section 11.4).

11.5.3 Embedded 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,

"Yi à sémipíí¹⁰ lwò la?"
you(PL) PERF writings.DEF take Q
'Have you bought (lit. taken) tickets yet?''

b. Alternative Question

Kà zhyènge fùnnù shíinbíí sì zàntùṅò yígè
and baobab.DEF inside people.DEF NARR hyena ask
'Then the people on the inside of the baobab tree
asked Hyena

"Cin-jyèebíí ù lwohé 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 iyiile 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 mii yíbé,
and she NARR IP-come me ask
'She came and asked me

na uru ù mii lwóhe sògò
that she(EMPH) she SUBJUNC my water.DEF pour
if she should pour my (bath)water

làa uru ù sá ñjyìni kan.
or she(EMPH) she SUBJUNC go food.DEF give
or go give the food.'

b. Indirect Constituent Question

Kà mii 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 si
and this(EMPH) man.DEF NARR
'Then that man

kuru ñké cyàge shyènrè jwò mii nyíí ná,
that(EMPH) that.DEM place.DEF speech say my eye at
told me about that place (lit. said speech of that
place to me)

maá mii yígé na uru ù sá
and.NARR me ask that he(EMPH) he SUBJUNC go
and asked me if he should go

mii yàha mobilíge 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 XV, section 15.1.5.1). Following is an example:

(71) U a u-yè yíbé ámpyí Pyééré sí m-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 or more doubt 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

Mii nye a dà na u sí m-pà mé.
 I NEG PERF believe that he FUT FP-come NEG
 'I don't believe that he'll come.'

b. with conditional complement

Mii nye a dà ámpyí u sí m-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 sònnò 'think'. As with dá, the use of a conditional makes meaning shift closer to 'doubt' than to 'not think':

(73) Mii nye a sii na sònni
 I NEG PERF be.EMPH PROG think.IMPFV
 'I really doubt

ámpyí pi sí gù sii
 if they FUT it begin
 if they will start it

sèngkèeridemíni na mé.
 cinq.heures.et.demi.DEF at NEG
 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 nɔɛ a cɛ̀ na Pyééré sí m-pà mé.
 she NEG PERF know that Pierre FUT FP-come NEG
 'She doesn't know that Pierre is coming.'
- b. U nɔɛ a cɛ̀ ámpyí Pyééré sí m-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 cɛ̀ 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 yibé, ce can take indirect constituent question complements as well:

- (76) U a cè jò u sí m-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) Ceèni nye 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 follows 'look' or 'see' and precedes the clause containing ce, as in the following example:

(78) U màha sisónnó 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 wii
 him on SC look
 on him (=the suitor) and look

ámpyí nóppiige na nyε 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 buní pyiibíí pii shùnni
 and dead.person.DEF children.DEF IND two
 'Then two of the deceased's children

sí ñ-tígé fannké e
 NARR IP-go.down grave.DEF in
 got down into the grave

mà kù wíí ámpyí ka à nwo.¹¹
 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 III, section 3.2.3.3) as in the second example below.

- (80) a. Tùbabúubíí kàlì-ńá¹² à ńwɔ dé!
 white.people.DEF learn-DEF PERF be.good EXCL
 'The learning of the white people is good!'
- b. Mìì cwóni `vworo-ń-kàrà-ńí nye 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
- mìì 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

̀̀k  cig  y s r    t n mii  .
 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 ̀̀-gy r -̀̀-ka -ni ny  a t n
 his NOM-be.hot-NOM-go-DEF NEG PERF be.sweet
 'His leaving early does not please

mii i m .
 me in NEG
 me.'

The verb p   'surprise' takes its dative-experiencer as a direct object:

(82) U ̀̀-ja-̀̀-jiri-na a mii p  .
 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-ńá 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 XII, 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-ńí.
 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 mii 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 sàhá nye na jíná à yirà
 that you YET NEG PROG be.able.IMPFV SC get.up
 that you were no longer able to get up

à fworo cyínni 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 na-complement to mean 'be the case that' or 'happen that':

- (87) La à ta, pi sàhá nye aní me.
 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 nwɔ, 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 nye à nwo 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 mii 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 (H 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: Yii í bagé kàní mée é
 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 tùñi nye nànkò-lyèní 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) Canñ kà, ká tùnturu sí m-pàlà à pa miì á,
 day IND and message NARR IP-be.sudden SC come me to
 'One day, a message came out of the blue

na miì cévóóni na wá Sukwole e,
 that my friend.DEF PROG be.there Sikasso in
 (saying) that my friend was in Sikasso,

na ñkàà u yanjì 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 (H 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 XV, section 15.1.1.5). Following is an example:

- (92) Pi à ti 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 sáhánki.
 francolin beside he.COMP PROG flop.IMPFV still
 beside Francolin while he was still flopping about.'

A perfective realis (H tone) clause may function something like a participial relative clause when the modified noun is in direct object position (see section 13.5 of chapter XIII). Note that the sentence looks very much like a main clause plus complement clause, but there is no complement-taking verb:

- (93) Ceèni wà u ná ñgámii si
 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 (H 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 H 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 NP 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 XIV, section 14.1.2):

(95) a. sí subjunctive

Ma á m-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 XV, section 15.1.10):

(96) Mii a sinmpe le ku na
 I PERF oil.DEF put it on
 'I put oil on it

ku jyimu si 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 na wyige tùrù sí lwoho ta.
 they PROG hole.DEF dig.IMPFV SUBJUNC water get
 'They are digging the hole to get water.'

b. complement clause

Pi la nye sí lwoho 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 yi jwò miì á na uru sí m-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 yi jwò miì 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 H tone complementizers are such markers. While these morphemes do not necessarily mark their clauses as complements, they do mark them as dependant 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, ye, 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 yira a yyèrè maá jwó
 time.DEF in he PERF get.up SC stop and.NARR say
 'At the time he stood up and said'

"ḡgé kàkàlàná¹³ á mìì bó" ge,
 that(G1S) bastard.DEF(G1S) PERF me kill REL
 '"That bastard has killed me"'

kà cconfoòni sì yirè lógó...
 and younger.sibling.DEF NARR these(G2P) hear
 'the younger brother heard these (=the words)...'

Free translation: 'When he stood up and said
 "That bastard has killed me!" his younger brother
 heard him...'

b. Yes/no Question

Mu a li cè à jwo té¹⁴ ' tá-byage e
 you PERF it know SC say tea LOC-drink.G2S to
 'Did you think (lit. know+say) it was to drink tea'

mìì ná m-pyí á shyè la?
 I REM.PAST IP-be.PAST SC go Q
 '(that) I had gone (there)?'

c. Negation

Nò nye na n-ce "Mìì à lye" 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.' (a proverb)

In conclusion, complement clauses in Supyire are
 neither fully embedded, nor are they completely independent.
 They have instead a hybrid status. If they originally arose
 through parataxis, as seems likely, they have since
 developed a number of characteristics which show that they

have to varying degrees become more closely integrated into the syntax of the main clause.

Notes

1. This does not include nominalized verbs. This subject will be returned to below.
2. Tiibíí (singular tùni) has a wider field of reference than the English gloss 'fathers'. The prototypical tùni 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.
3. Sishyéboro 'bag 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.
4. 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).
5. 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.
6. Comrie (1985:107ff) describes a similar situation in Russian.
7. These have been labeled 'logophoric' pronouns by Hyman (1979).
8. Báará 'work' is borrowed from Bambara baara 'work'.
9. 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.
10. Sémipíí 'writings' (singular séméni) is related to the

verb sémé 'write'. Both are borrowed from Bambara səben 'paper, writing, write'.

11. This checking of the grave before the corpse is put in it is a part of the funeral rites.

12. Kálá 'read, learn, study, teach' is borrowed from Bambara kalan 'read, learn, study, teach'.

13. Kàkàlà 'bastard, debauched person' is borrowed from Bambara kàkàlà with the same meaning.

14. Té 'tea' is borrowed from French thé.

CHAPTER XII

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 kòni.

12.1 Focus Constructions

Two major types of focus are commonly distinguished: the 'focus of assertion' (or of 'new information'), and 'contrastive focus'. Pragmatically, information in the focus of assertion is provided by the speaker against the background of the addressee's presumed ignorance of the information, whereas information under contrastive focus is put forward against the background of the addressee's presumed contrary belief (Givón 1990, chapter 16). As one might expect, overcoming a contrary belief takes more energy than merely supplying information, and this is reflected in the 'strength' of coding necessary to accomplish the two different ends: contrastive focus typically requires more marked constructions than focus of assertion. This is evidently the reason why they are sometimes labeled 'strong' and 'weak' focus (cf. de Vries 1985).

It should not be inferred from these differences that the two categories of focus are totally independent of each other. As Givón (1990) points out, there is a conditional association between the two types, such that information that is in contrastive focus is also always in the focus of assertion, but not vice versa. It is true in a number of languages, including Supyire, that the intonational peak of

a clause tends to fall on the information that is under the focus of assertion. One of the principal means of coding contrastive focus is by means of strong intonational stress, which can be viewed simply as an intensification of the intonational marking that the focus of assertion normally carries.

The constructions described in this section are primarily means of encoding contrastive focus. They also encode focus of assertion of what might be called a 'strong' sort, such as focus in replies to content questions. Focus of assertion of the ordinary sort is alluded to in various other parts of this grammar. It was noted, for example, in chapter IX, section 9.4.2, that the focus of assertion normally 'attracts' the scope of negation. Quantifiers and restrictive modifiers also tend to fall under the scope of assertion (see chapter VI, sections 6.3.3 and 6.4). Finally, the scope of interrogation in yes/no questions ordinarily coincides with the focus of assertion (see chapter XIV, section 14.2.1.3).

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 XIII, 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 contrastive focus on one item in the proposition. The focused item is not new information. It is rather information about which the speaker has reason to believe the addressee is or might possibly be mistaken. The focus of assertion also falls on the item under contrastive focus, with the result that the rest of the clause is typically presupposed (in a pragmatic if not strictly logical sense).

The cleft is also used to indicate focus on an item in the absence of contrast when that item is particularly salient for some other reason. An examination of the examples of clefts occurring in the corpus shows that this 'non-contrastive' type of saliency may come from a variety of sources. One is the desire to highlight the bit of requested information in the reply to a constituent

question. Thus if the question 'Where are you going?' is posed, the reply will often place the adverbial phrase referring to the destination in focus position: 'It is to the bush that I am going.' In a similar way, 'local' saliency of a particular item in a discourse may arise because the speaker judges the information to be important at that point. Thus the 'resumptive' pronoun in a main clause referring back to a relativized noun phrase in a preceding relative clause is often placed in focus position. Both the relative clause itself and the cleft construction in the main clause are means of drawing attention to the importance of the participant in question. Finally, a new, highly important topic can be introduced with a construction identical to the cleft but minus the strong stress on the focused item. This latter function will be discussed in section 12.2 below.

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 contrastive 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 nye is inserted before the auxiliary:

- (3) Ná mu í mii nye 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 IX, 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 addressee 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 pinke pyi 'bogo'.
 they PROG this(EMPH) drum.DEF call bogo
 'They call this drum 'bogo'.'

b. focused direct object

Kuru pinke pi nye na Ø 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 show the contrastive nature of the cleft construction.

- (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:

"Mii 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:

"Mii u sí ñ-kwû la?"'
 me she FUT FP-die Q
 'Is it me who will die?'

- b. Yi méé 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 mii ná Fantér-ii 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 the
 the speaker's village)

ŋ-jwu, "Yii 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,

yii pi màha u yyàhe lènè."
 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 kání 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-ni."
 it pay-IMPFV
 be paying it.'

b. Lira a l cyèè mii nà sèèní yàbàní na,
 this(EMPH) PERF it show me at truth.DEF EMPH at
 'This showed me clearly (lit. on truth itself),

nàfùùñ-kwùñi u a pi kèègè.
 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 the focused item has been
 removed from. Following are some examples:

(7) Mii á mu kóná à wysèrè⁴ ta,
 me from you TOP PERF poison.DEF get
 'It was from me that you bought the poison,

ñkàà wysèrè lakyárá⁵ nye mii á me.
 but poison.DEF antidote be me to NEG
 but I don't have an antidote for it.'

(8) A: Mu si zhyè nègèsúñi na mà?
 you NEG.FUT FP.go bicycle.DEF on NEG.Q
 'Aren't you going to go by bicycle?

B: Mobiletíñi na mii sí.
 mobyette.DEF on I go.IMPFV
 It's by mobyette that I'm going.'

(9) Pi màha yire pyi 'keriyi'.
 they HAB these(EMPH) call fields.DEF
 'They call these 'the fields'.

Yire e buní màha m-pwo
 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 mii à na v à ànyì ta.
 there I PERF my cloth.DEF find
 'It was there that I found my clothes.'

(12) Amuni 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) ñgé u a cyiigè 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 negative 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 mégé 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

mii nye 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

mii nye na yu mé?
 I be PROG speak.IMPFV NEG
 'that I am speaking?'

e. Manner adverb

Mù bà kàshige 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 (nye '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 nye u nye a kàrè mé.
 Zhye he be he NEG PERF go NEG
 'It was Zhye who didn't go.'

When the focused item is direct object, there is a gap in the presupposed clause in the direct object position, just as in affirmative clefts:

- (16) Wotóróni u nye u nye a ø pèrè mé.
 cart.DEF he be he NEG PERF sell NEG
 'It 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) Mii bà u nye 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, unlike 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 contrastive focus on the verb, I was given examples with the exclamatory particle dé, which is widely used not only in Senufo 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 or 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 nye wùù núnì.
 you she be our mother.DEF
 'It is you who are our mother.'
- b. Mu ba u nye wùù núnì mè.
 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 yìi.
 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 nye wùù.
 students they be we
 '(But) we are students.' (students
 have free admission to the Bamako zoo)

c. Jwubo nin-tanma pu nye pure.
 say(G5) ADJ-be.sweet(G5) it(G5) be that(EMPH)
 'Those are good words.'

d. Mii yyáhá ' fóóni níntàhigíí fyèni
 my face owner.DEF soles.DEF prints.DEF(G1S)

u nye ògé.
 it(G1S) be this(G1S)

'Those are my older brother's footprints.'

e. Li yyee tanra-wùùní li nye 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 V, 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. Óhòn. Mii wú u a sii
no my POSS(G1S) it(G1S) PERF be.EMPH

ú wí.
it(G1S) it.is(G1S)

'No. It's mine.'

b. Caangé cànké ku mpyi kú kí.
market.DEF day.DEF it was it it.is(G2S)
'It was market day.'

c. Wyere fàná ti nye tí tí.
potion also it be it it.is(G4)
'It is also a potion.'

d. Nànkààwà num-pi bà u mpyi
thief ADJ-bad it.is.not he was

ú wí mé.
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) Zàntùṅṅò 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 M tone, and behaves tonally as if it were a possessed noun, becoming H after a M tone, and LMw after a L tone. It is obviously related to the independent possessive pronoun root wu- (see chapter V, 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...'

Nònurugo mú ' rá à pa ná ' dóní i.
 Nonurugo also go PERF come with a.bit with
 Nonurugo has also brought a bit.

- E: Li sànni nánhá á kwòrò mu ú kèñi
 it OTHER.DEF be.here PERF remain your GEN ten.DEF
 'Then all that remains (to be given) is your ten.'

- (25) Pi ù vèànyi nà wùù wúyi
 their GEN clothes.DEF and our POSS.DEF(G2P)
 'Their clothes and ours

nye nin̄kin mé.
 be one NEG
 are not the same.'

12.2 Topic Constructions

It has been shown clearly in the past ten years that topicality is not a binary feature which is either 100% present or 100% absent. It is rather scalar in nature, and it is possible to investigate the degree of topicality of all nominal arguments in a discourse. The degree to which a given discourse (or chunk of discourse) is 'about' a given participant may vary widely. Thus one participant may be mentioned only once while another may be mentioned in the majority of propositions in the discourse (for description of a method of quantifying topicality, and for studies of topicality in individual languages, see Givón 1983; see also Givón 1984, 1990).

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 X (section 10.1) above it was claimed that the subject in Supyire may be characterized as the clause-level topic. The subject tends to be a highly topical topic, that is, it has 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 to speaker to indicate to the addressee continuity of primary topic (same subject as previous clause) or switch of primary topic (different subject from previous clause) (see chapter XV, section 15.3). The voice mechanisms discussed in chapter X, 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 above, minus the contrastive stress on the focused item. There is obviously no attempt here on the part of the speaker to correct a mistaken impression on the part of the addressee. The construction is rather 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 folkstories, in which the major participants are introduced with the 'cleft topic' construction:

- (26) a. Nàñi wà u ná sá ú kérégé ' cyán
 man.DEF IND he PAST go his field establish
 'A certain man went and made a field

sige shíin cyágé é.
 bush people place in
 in a place (where there were) bush spirits.'

- b. Ceèñi wà u màha
 woman.DEF IND she FORM.PAST
 'Once a certain woman

u poo бага yanogono páaré
 her husband house bedbugs scorch.IMPFV
 was scorching the bedbugs in her husband's house

mà tòra à u poòñi `nenké sùùgò.
 and pass SC her husband.DEF tail.DEF burn
 and accidentally burned her husband's tail (= his flywhisk).'

12.2.2 Left Dislocation

A topic on the middle range of a scale of topicality may be coded in a construction which we will call left dislocation. A topic coded in this way is not highly continuous: it almost always represents a switch from the main topic (=subject) of the preceding clause. On the other

hand, it is not highly discontinuous either: the construction is not used to introduce totally new topics, or topics with very low expectancy.

Left dislocation in Supyire is a loose construction. It is perhaps stretching the term unreasonably to call it a construction at all. It consists of a noun phrase, followed by a pause, and then a clause which contains in it somewhere a noun phrase coreferential with the first one. The initial noun phrase, the 'topic', is often accompanied by non-final intonation, consisting of a lengthening of the final vowel with a LH tone tune (indicated by : in the following example). The addressee then typically utters one of the numerous interjections whose function is basically to signal 'I'm hearing you' to the speaker.

(27) A: ŋgùúró :
'Nguuro

B: mà

A: lùùna a ù yírígè Kó é.
anger.DEF PERF him raise Kong from
anger made him leave Kong.'

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) Cinùṅò, kà uru si ke 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) Làmìni, u a ù jyà a bàni gé,
 Lamin he PERF it shoot SC wound TC
 'Lamin, when he shot and wounded it (= the elephant),
 ká niticùubí si 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 XIII).

The topic is sometimes mentioned in the immediately preceding context:

(30) N: Nàni wà u ná m-pyí ' ná cyèe shuunní i.
man.DEF IND he PAST IP-be with women two with
'A certain man had two wives.

E: àmám

N: Ceèni nin-iyèni,
woman.DEF ADJ-be.old.DEF
The older wife,

E: màm

N: kà uru si pyà ninjin 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: Fwú
Fwu

K: Fwú

Z: Fwú, ká mu rí jwú yò...
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: àmám

B: mu à kuru ñgurugé nye gé,
 you PERF that(EMPH) smoke.DEF see TC
 when he (lit. you) saw that smoke,

E: m̀̀

B: t̀̀há ñgù̀̀rò kya-waha-ñgurugé mu
 Q Nguuro meat-dry-smoke.DEF you
 Wasn't it the smoke from Nguuro's fire for drying
 meat that he (lit. you)

nye na ǹ̀àà?
 be PROG see.IMPFV
 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: ...cyèebílá à pyi jáhámpe na,
 women.DEF PERF be funeral.dance.DEF on
 '...the women were doing the funeral dance,

M: m̀̀

E: cicàhàm-bwò̀̀nbíí, pire si i
 rattle-players.DEF they(EMPH) ADV PROG
 the rattle-players, they were

cicàhànikíí¹⁰ bwù̀̀n...
 rattle.DEF play.IMPFV
 playing their rattles...'

(34) E: ...cyèebíí pii si i
 women.DEF IND ADV PROG
 '...some of the women were

buní kwòhò-feebí¹¹ fwu ná v àanyi i,
 body.DEF dance-owner.DEF fan with cloths with
 fanning those dancing with the body with cloths,

M: m̀̀

E: lù̀̀zuubí, pire si i
 hunter.DEF they(EMPH) ADV PROG
 the hunters, they were

marafáabí jyii.
 guns.DEF shoot.IMPFV
 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: Wù̀̀ bà pi a làmpúni wwù à?
 we it.is.not they PERF tax.DEF take.off NEG.Q
 'Isn't it us who have paid the tax?

E: Yii a làmpúni wwù.
 you.PL PERF tax.DEF take.off
 You have paid the tax.

C: ee, Cinù̀̀nò,
 Cinungo
 uh, Cinungo,

E: m̀̀hmm̀̀

C: ká uru sɪ kɛ kan.
and he(EMPH) NARR ten give
he gave ten (i.e. ten times 5.000 francs).

E: mhà

C: Fílàngúló,

E: áhàhmà

C: ká uru rù kɛ kan.
and he(EMPH) NARR ten give
he gave ten.

E: á
well,

C: Jwúnúró ' ú pyilibí nà Numémwò wùubí,
Jwunuru GEN children.DEF and Numemwo POSS.DEF
Jwunuru's children and those of Numemwo,

pire pi à tanjyéé ' ú làmpúnj 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 mà, 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 contrastive focus nor 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 cann kà 'one day', preposed to a narrative clause, and serving to indicate a change in time and a corresponding thematic section:

(36) M̀a u ǹani yaha aní,
and this man.DEF leave there
'While this man was there,

k̀a u cẁoni si m̀-`pa ñ-kẁu.
and his wife.DEF NARR IP-come IP-die
his wife died.

Lira à pwo`ro ta u à,
this(EMPH) PERF daughter find him to
Meanwhile, he had a daughter (lit. this found
a daughter to him),

k̀a u na u pwo`roni si ñ-t̀e`en te e.
and he and his daughter.DEF NARR IP-sit it in
and he and his daughter lived in it (= the hut
he had built).

Cann kà k̀a sige shi`ibi`i na`nkò-lye`ni wa
day IND and bush people.DEF man-old.DEF IND
One day, one of the old men of the bush people

si m̀-`pa ñ-kẁu...
NARR IP-com 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 mii túŋi si 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 kòni

Current Kampwo Supyire has borrowed from Bambara another way to highlight a topic. The topic marker kòni 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. Mii í nàmpwuunbíf kòni :, pi nye à pa mé.
 my GEN guest.DEF TOP NF they NEG PERF come NEG
 'As for my guests, they didn't come.'
- b. ògé kòni, ògé nye mii wú de!
 this(G1) TOP this(G1S) be my POSS(G1S) EXCL
 'As for this, this is mine!'

The function of kòni 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 kwòni wà.
 Kong Samogo.DEF IND
 a Samogo from Kong.'
- b. Buní kóna a tò a kwò,
 body.DEF TOP PERF bury SC finish
 'As for the body, it is finished being buried,
- òkàà buní kàrigíí nye a kwò mé.
 but body.DEF affair.DEF NEG PERF finish NEG
 but the affairs of the deceased are not finished.'

The following 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) Mii á mu kóná à wyeère ta...
 me from you TOP PERF poison.DEF get
 'It was from me that you got the poison...'

Notes

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 languages (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 wyɛ̀ɛ̀re) is 'leaves'. Herbalist practices have led to the extension of the word to cover both 'medicine' and 'poison', as here.

5. Lakyará 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 (H tone) complement clause type (see chapter XI, 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 the present state of knowledge.

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-jwóní
Daha ADJ-take.DEF(G1S)

- 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-jwóní
Daha GEN ADJ-take.DEF(G1S)
'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:

pòòŋí nu-vworoŋí lwóhé e
catfish.DEF ADJ-come.out.DEF water.DEF from

u tunmpí
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 cicàhanikí 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 XIII

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 si
and it(EMPH) NARR
'It (= the bird)

wocònni nà ceèni jwùmpé puní lògò.
crocodile.DEF and woman.DEF say.DEF all hear
heard all of the crocodile's and the woman's words.

(Ceèni mègà à pyi Nteencwó.)
woman.DEF name PERF be Nteencwo
The woman's name was Nteencwo.

Kà ceèni si ñ-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 inferrable 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 information 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,
 thing.DEF it PERF him kill REL
 'The thing that killed him,

mu a kùrù cé.
 you PERF it(EMPH) know
 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 XIV, section 14.2.2.7). A connection between a locative question word or subordinator 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' NP. 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' NP. The relativized NP 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 demonstrative. The coreferential NP 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 NP is the subject of the relative clause, and the coreferential NP is likewise the subject of the main clause:

(3) Pùcwòní u nyé ná mu í ke,
 girl.DEF(G1S) she(G1S) be with you with REL
 'The girl who is with you,

uru sí ñ-kwú.
 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 dislocation topic construction described in chapter XII (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 NP 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 XII, 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 NPs 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, lè. Following is an example of an à de relative. The relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause, the coreferential NP is a genitive possessor in a focused time phrase in the main clause. The sentence is taken from a quotation, which accounts for the conditional rendering in English:

- (4) Yinke 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 bɛnáágá
 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 ' wyéréni wùlà à kàn náhá,
 my money.DEF take.out IC give here
 take my money out and give it here,

wyéréni mu a yù mìi 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 NP, including whether or not it is fronted (section 13.2); the different ways of coding the

coreferential NP in the main clause (section 13.3); the treatment of non-referential relativized NPs (section 13.4) and referential indefinite relativized NPs (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 NP 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 NPs. The fronting of the NP effectively marks that NP as the relativized NP. 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 NP are much greater than with a clause internal one.

13.2.1 Fronted Relativized Noun Phrases

Placing the relativized NP 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 NP has in the following clause? The problem is solved in precisely the same way in relative clauses as in clefts (cf. chapter XII, section 12.1.1), and questions (cf. chapter XIV, 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

Nànjlibí pi nye na u kwòhòli ké,
 young.men.DEF they be PROG it dance.IMPV REL
 'The young men who are dancing with it (= the body),

pi màha wyéréni kààn pirà 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 the body.'

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

Myàhí u a \emptyset cèè gé,
 song.DEF(G3P) she PERF sing REL
 'The songs which she sang,

ci náhá mii fúnfí 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-cyèsbílá⁴ à
 blood.relative-women.DEF to
 'The female blood relatives to whom

sànya a wyi⁵ ké,
 death.announcement.DEF PERF announce REL
 the death has been announced,

pire nàmbaabí maha m-pa
 their(EMPH) men.DEF HAB IP-come
 their husbands come

ná v à à n y i í.
 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 sini
 cloths.DEF on he PAST PERF lie.down
 'The cloths on which he was lying

maá ŋ-kwú ké,
 and.NARR IP-die REL
 and died,

buní cwòni màha yire vàanyi gyè...
 buní 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

Tùbabúni yyèrè mii a shwòn ké,
 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 VII), only the postposition accompanies the focused NP, the preposition being simply dropped:

(9) a. instrument

Vàanyi i u sí à-pwò ké,
 cloths.DEF with it FUT FP-tie REL
 'The cloths with which it will be tied,

pi í yíré wwù v àanyi 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

Cwoòni i u màha à-kare sigé e ké,
 pot.DEF with he HAB IP-go bush.DEF to REL
 'The pot with which he goes to the bush,

kámpyí mu à lire cwoòni cè,
 if you PERF that(EMPH) pot.DEF know
 if you know that pot,

sá lí ' lwó 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 NP is unaccompanied by any additional relative or demonstrative markers. This is the most common pattern. Of a total of 141 fronted relativized NPs in the corpus (this figure includes only those with noun heads--pronouns are excluded), 100 (=71%) are not further marked.

Marking a fronted relativized NP with a relative determiner (for the forms see section 5.1.2.8 of chapter V) 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. Nàni ògé-mù u à pa gé,...
 man.DEF(G1S) DEM(G1S)-REL he(G1S) PERF come REL
 'The man who came...'
- b. Nàni ògé-mù mi à nye 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 NP with a simple demonstrative. Ordinarily the demonstrative precedes the noun it modifies (see section 6.1.1 of chapter VI), but the demonstrative marking a focused relativized NP follows the noun it modifies, just as the relative demonstrative 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 NP, however, is not deictic. Some examples of this use of the demonstrative are:

- (11) a. Mobilíye ̀̀jé yi mpyi
trucks.DEF those they were
'The trucks which were

Bobo kúni nàni na ké,
Bobo road.DEF walking.DEF on REL
on the Bobo route,

yire puní mpyi na sí ̀̀-̀̀jéré
they(EMPH) all PAST PROG FUT FP-stop
they all were going to stop

shwòhòní 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. Kini shìinbíí ̀̀píí mii a cè gè,
country.DEF people.DEF those I PERF know REL
'The people of (our) country whom I know,

pire mii a tóra àmè.
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 NP, 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 VI, 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 VII,

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

ñjé vàanyi yi ñjé
these clothes.DEF they these
'These clothes which

mu à le gò,⁶
you PERF put REL.POL
you have put on,

yire ñjé nògò-lyèná à kan
these(EMPH) these man-be.old.DEF PERF give
is it these that the old man has given

mu á la?
you to Q
to you?

Freely: 'Are these clothes that you are wearing the ones your father gave you?'

b. second demonstrative after head noun

Mobíliyi ñjé yi 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.IMPV 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 NP plus the deictic 'presentative' construction is also possible. The construction does not function to restrict the reference of the relativized NP, but simply to point someone or something out: 'N over there' or 'N here'. The relativized NP 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 VI). Sometimes a locative adverb is added. Following are some examples:

- (13) a. Tɛenzànnà ù pwooré ti nté
 Teenzanga GEN adobe.DEF it that.DISTAL
 'Teenzanga's house which (is)

mɛní i gé, wà si nye aní...
 there.DEF in REL IND ADV be there
 over there, one is there...'

- b. Ninènnò u ngé aní ge,
 Ningeno he that there REL
 'Ningeno who (is) there,

uru ù tùni.
 his(EMPH) GEN father.DEF
his father (is the one I'm talking about).'

The relativized NP 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 NPs. The relativized NP in such sentences is typically, but not necessarily, non-referential. When the relativized NP 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) ḡgé-mù u sí ḡ-jà mii lwó
 DEM(G1S)-REL he(G1S) FUT FP-be.able me take
 'The one who will be able to take me

ḡ-cyán ke,
 FP-make.fall REL
 and make (me) fall,

mii sí nùḡi 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 NPs. Following are some examples:

(15) a. relativized NP = subject

ñcíf ci a tààn
 those(G3P) they PERF be.sweet
 'Those which are sweet

mu túna 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 NP = direct object

ñgé u à pyi na n-càà gé,
 that he PERF PAST PROG IP-seek.IMPFV REL
 'The one whom he had been seeking,

uru mège nye ñgùùrò.
 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 NPs. Note that the agreement pronoun for a fronted subject is a third person gender 1 pronoun, just as in clefts:

(16) a. Àlì wùu àpíf pi a sòròlashíni⁷ pyi gé,
 even we those they PERF soldiering.DEF do REL
 'Even we who served as soldiers,

wùu nye a sòròlashíni pyi a kwò,
 we NEG PERF soldiering.DEF do SC finish
 didn't we finish soldiering,

ká mobílíni 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. Yii pi nve u pyilibíí kè,
 you.PL they be his children.DEF REL
 'You who are his children,

yii pi máha u yyàhe lènjè.
 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 NP is placed in focus position at the head of the clause, it is also possible to leave the relativized NP in its ordinary, non-fronted position in the clause. A non-fronted relativized NP 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 NP = direct object

Ali nínjáà jínàna⁹ à yaagé ̀̀ké-mù
 even today jinn.DEF PERF thing.DEF DEM(G2S)-REL
 'Even today the jinn which thing

kàlifá¹⁰ 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 NP = dative indirect object

U kyala a tààn
 his matter PERF sweet
 'His matter is sweet

pùcwòní ̀̀gé-mù á ke,
 girl.DEF DEM(G1S)-REL to REL
 to which girl,

kà uru sí 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 NP 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 NP appears in the latter:

(18) Nànjliina à fwooro sigé e
 young.man.DEF PERF go.out bush.DEF in
 'The young man went out into the bush

tèni ̀̀dé-mù i gé,
 time.DEF DEM-REL in REL
 at which time,

u bá nye na sige niiyi kaanmucáà me.
 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 XV, section 15.1.2).

Just as with fronted relativized NPs, non-fronted ones
 can consist solely of a pronoun. Only the relative pronouns
 can be used:

(19) a. relativized NP = direct object

Tùbabúubílá¹¹ á pà ñké-mù iyà
 white.people.DEF PERF come DEM(G2S)-REL break
 'The French came and conquered which

maá jónbílánjì¹² jwu gé,
 and.NARR emancipation.DEF say REL
 and proclaimed the freeing of slaves,

kuru bà ñgé á cè à?
 it(EMPH) it.is.not this PERF know NEG.Q
 is it not this that this one knows?'

Freely: 'Isn't it what the French came and
 conquered and then proclaimed the freeing of
 the slaves that this one knows?'

b. relativized NP = indirect object

Pi a ù cù, maá m-pá fàràfin
 they PERF him catch and.NARR IP-come black.person
 'They captured him, and came and put the blacks'

wògé le ñpíf-mù kyé é ge,
 POSS.DEF(G2S) put DEM(G1P)-REL hand in REL
 possession in whose (PL) hand,

pire mèyí bà
 their(EMPH) name.DEF it.is.not
 is it not their names

pi cálà à?
 they seek. IMPFV NEG.Q
 that they are seeking?'

Freely: 'Isn't it the names of those to whom they
 (=the French) gave the rule (after) they had
captured him (=Samory) that they are seeking?'

Finally, it should be noted that just because the relativized NP is not fronted does not mean that some other constituent cannot be fronted for focus. The relative clause in this case takes the form of a cleft focus construction. It is impossible to so translate it in English, however, since relative clauses of this sort are not allowed. In the following example, the relativized NP has the role of direct object and is not fronted, but the locative phrase is focused. The resumptive NP is the subject of the main clause:

(20) Numpîni i wùu à pyi à
 darkness.DEF in we PERF PAST PERF
 'In the darkness we had

nâni ndé-mù pyi ké,
 walking.DEF DEM-REL do REL
 done which walk,

la à pyi à toon kilométríi 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 NP 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 XI, section 11.5.1). They serve as the coreferential NP in left dislocation topic constructions, where the topic is typically separated from the main clause with a pause (see chapter XII, section 12.2.2). In the latter construction, however, other ways of coding the coreferential NP are allowed, and this is the case with the coreferential NP in the main clause of relative clause constructions. In this section we will briefly examine some of these alternate codings.

When the relativized NP (and consequently the coreferential NP) is non-referential and [+human], the emphatic is sometimes used as a determiner with the noun foo 'owner, agent, person'. Following is an example (= 13):

- (21) ñgé-mù u sí n-jà mii lwó ñ-cyán ke,
 DEM-REL he FUT FP-be.able me take FP-make.fall REL
 'The one who will be able to throw me,
 mii sí nùñi 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) ñdé u à pyi Sàmbórò nà gé,
 that(G3S) he PERF do Samory on REL
 'What he had done to Samory,
 li nye uru fùñké 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) Cyàge e ñpi a kàrè
 place.DEF in hare PERF go
 'The place in which Hare had gone
 maá ú vàanyi ta gé,
 and.NARR his clothes.DEF get REL
 and gotten his clothes,
 ñpi ú ø kúru cyàge 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) Cyàge e mu à bilère pyi gé,
 place.DEF in you PERF slavery.DEF do REL,
 'The place in which you were a slave,

kuru kànhe mègé wùù 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.'

The coreferential NP may be modified by a quantifier
 not present in the relativized NP, again rendering its
 meaning more precise. The following example has an
 indefinite/partitive determiner (cf. also 11a above, with
 the quantifier 'all'):

(25) Ñpíí mèyí yí njè
 those(G1P) name.DEF(G2P) they(G2P) those(G2P)
 'Those whose names

mú u yiri gé,
 you.COMP PROG call.IMPFV REL
 you are naming,

míi nys à pire wà cè mé.
 I NEG PERF them(EMPH.G1P) IND(G1S) know NEG
 I don't know one of them.'

Freely: 'I don't know any of the people whom you
 are naming.'

When the relativized NP is a first or second person pronoun, the coreferential NP is the same pronoun, as in 16 above. When the relativized NP is non-referential, the second person singular pronoun is sometimes used as a coreferent, in a manner reminiscent of the non-referential use of 'you' in English. (The following example is also of interest in that it has a topic NP preceding the relative clause.)

(26) Fáágá ta-cyènge cógóni
 Farakala LOC-build.DEF(G2S) manner.DEF
 'The site of Farakala

Sukwoo síŋi i,
 Sikasso region.DEF in
 in the region of Sikasso,

ŋgé-mù u nye na ku càà
 DEM(G1S)-REL he(G1S) be PROG it(G2S) want.IMPFV
 the one who wants it

sí kú cé ke,
 SUBJUNC it(G2S) know REL
 in order to know it,

mu ahá yíri Sukwoo na na ŋ-kéégé Bàmàko e,
 you COND get.up Sikasso at PROG IP-go.IMPFV Bamako to
 if you leave Sikasso going to Bamako,

mu màha n-toro kànyi 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 demonstrative agrees with its gender 2 head noun, but the coreferential NP in the main clause is gender 1, which is more semantically appropriate:

(27) Mii kóná á yiri bilère e mà pà
 I TOP PERF get.up slavery.DEF in and come
 'As for me, I left slavery and came

yaagé héké-mù tà
 thing.DEF(G2S) DEM(G2S)-REL find
 (and) found which thing

kini nùni nà gé, uru nyè 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 NP functions to encode time frequently function as time adverbial clauses for the following main clause, and in this case there is usually no coreferential NP 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 yirè jwù cyàge ḡké-mù ì gé,
 he PERF these(EMPH) say place.DEF DEM-REL in REL
 'He said this (lit. these) in which place,

ká mi lùni si yíri.
 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 NP as well. See chapter XV, section 15.1.1.1 for a description.

A final note on the coding of the coreferential NP: although they are not generally placed in focus position, there is certainly no prohibition against this. Examples 12a, 16b and 19a and b above illustrate this. The same discourse-pragmatic motivations which lead to focusing of ordinary NPs are responsible for the focusing of the resumptive NP.

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' NP. The first subtype is the 'headless' relative mentioned in section 13.2 above, in which the relativized NP is coded as a relative or demonstrative pronoun. Examples 14 and 15a illustrate this type of relative clause. In a second subtype the relativized NP is coded with a 'distributive' NP meaning 'every N'. 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 resumptive 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 NPs 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

postposed 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 N' can be obtained by coding the relativized NP as a distributive. This type of noun phrase is described in section 6.3.3.1 of chapter VI. 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 NP is fronted, and the coreferential NP 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 nye
 person DIST person s/he be
 'Every person who is

buní cinmpworo ké,
 dead.person.DEF blood.relative REL
 a blood relative of the dead person,

mu ahá máhánà à pa no
 you COND go.round SC come arrive
 you circle round and arrive

yatinm-pwóonbíí 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) ñdé ò ñdé Tàmbà nye na m-pyi u na gé,
 that DIST that Tamba be PROG IP-do him on REL
 'Whatever Tamba does to him,

mii a li 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 NP is not fronted, and that the coreferential NP agrees with the demonstrative (gender 1 plural) rather than with the distributive phrase (gender 2 singular):

- (31) ñpíí yaaga máhá yaaga nye na
 those(G1P) thing DIST thing be PROG
 'Those every thing

faaní pyi náhá ge,
 farming.DEF do here REL
 doing farming here,

pi puní yyaha fèe na wá cyínni 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 NP.¹³

- (32) Yìi 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,

yveení kà ñ-kéénṅè, síṅi u nye
 year.DEF COND IP-turn power.DEF it be
 when the year turns, the power that is

mu na gé, jíjà¹⁴ 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 NP. The relativized NP 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 NP = subject

Nàni h̄gé-mù ká nyii yige
 man.DEF DEM-REL COND eye cause.go.out
 'Whatever man brings out (his) eye

u kùrùgò ké, fó uru fòò
 her for.sake.of REL till that(EMPH) person
 for her, unless that person

ú ∅ pyàni mègé 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 NP = direct object

U ahá pyàni h̄gé-mù tà ké,
 she COND child.DEF DEM-REL get REL
 'She would get whatever child,

ura asi h̄-tòrò.
 it(EMPH) HAB.SEQ IP-pass
 it would die.'

Freely: 'Whatever child she got would die.'

c. relativized NP = locative object

h̄kù-pèè-cyilini kà mèeni
 chicken-male-first.DEF COND voice.DEF
 'The rooster crows

nin-cyilini sù, maá yí á tèèn
 ADJ-first.DEF cry and.NARR jump SC sit
 the first crow, and jumps (up) and sits

keshúni¹⁵ h̄gé-mù núni 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 NP consisting solely of a relative pronoun:

(34) a. ñgé-mù ká nó pyenga kè,
 DEM-REL COND arrive home REL
 'Whoever arrives home,

uru fòò màha ñ-kara a sà yyéré
 that(EMPH) person HAB IP-go SC go stop
 that person goes and stops

buní 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 ñgé-mù ñkyànhii nye
 you COND DEM-REL teeth(G3P) see
 'You see whoever's teeth

cí 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 NP 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 maha 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 NP 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 nye kànhà òkè-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 XII, 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 NP it modifies in a way similar to preposed relative clauses. In the following example, the predicate nominal is focused, but the relativized NP 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 nye pú pí
 say(G5) it(G5) be it(G5) it.is(G5)
 'They are words
- àlì sicyere fóónì sí ò-jà
 even madness owner.DEF FUT FP-be.able
 even a fool will be able
- òpé-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 VII, section 7.2) can similarly be modified by a postposed relative clause:

(38) Nànjliwè wi ògé-mù na yu
 young.man it.is(G1S) 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 (H tone) complement clause (see chapter XI, 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 XV, section 15.1.1.5).

The realis (H 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) Ceèni wà u ná ògámíi 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 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) Canŋ kà u màha ... tába-wénke kà nyc
 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 NP has the syntactic role of a genitive (in the subject NP) in the relative clause:

- (41) ŋgé-mù wógii nye a wwù mé,
 DEF(G1S)-REL POSS(G3S) NEG PERF take.out NEG
 'The one whose (teeth) have not been removed,

u nye à cipere pyi 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 NP 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 XII, section 12.1.1. The most striking characteristic of the second type of negative cleft construction is the presence of the copula nye just after the focused item (in affirmative clefts there is no such copula). Fronting the relativized NP requires the same construction. In the following example the relativized NP, which is a demonstrative pronoun only, is the subject of the relative clause.

(42) Mpí pi nye pi nye a
 those they be they NEG PERF
 'Those who had not

wyiqii ta a wwù mé,
 holes get SC take.out NEG
 managed to dig holes,

zhibannànwɔ a pirè 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 XI 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 NP 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 NP in the place where the relative clause was in the preceding unfinished clause.

The construction is clearest when the modified NP is a direct object of the main clause:

(43) a. Kà pi í bagé e u a tirigè ké,
and they NARR house.DEF in he PERF get.down REL
'Then they the house in which he had descended,

kà pi í kúrú cyéè mii 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 mii í sá nó Katolígibíí mishóni i,
and I NARR go arrive Catholic.DEF mission.DEF in
'Then I arrived at the Catholic mission,

maá tùbabúni nà ù cwòní
and.NARR white.person.DEF and his wife.DEF
and (I) the white man and his wife

pi ná á-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 NP 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 pyàni nùní 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 yìncwòñi
 and she(EMPH) NARR IP-get.tired co.wife.DEF
 then she tired of her co-wife's
kàrigíí num-pyìnkíí 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 NP or the use of a relative pronoun/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.

Notes

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 II. It obeys the same rules as other clause final high tone particles, such as the negative marker mé (see chapter IX, note 52).

4. Cinmpyii 'blood relatives' are more precisely members of one's patriclan.

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 yò.

7. Sòròlashí 'a soldier' is borrowed from Bambara sorodasi '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 NP always remains in its ordinary place in the clause, and is followed by the relative determiner/pronoun min. The resumptive NP 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: N' ye fàli min sàñ,
I PAST donkey REL buy

SUPYIRE: Mii a dùfàànŋke ñké-mù shwò gé,
I PERF donkey.DEFG2S DEM.G2S-REL buy REL

BAMBARA: o sà-ra kunu.
DEM die-PAST yesterday

SUPYIRE: kura a kwù tánjáà.
it(EMPH.G2S) PERF die yesterday

'The donkey which I bought died yesterday.'
Lit.: 'I bought which donkey, that one died yesterday.'

9. Kàlifá 'entrust' is borrowed from Bambara kàlifa 'entrust'.

10. Tùbabú 'white person' is borrowed from Bambara tùbàbu 'white person'.

11. Jɔnmbílá 'freeing of slaves' is borrowed from Bambara jòn 'slave' and bíla 'let go, leave'

12. Note that the 'whoever' series of pronouns in English also require singular agreement.

13. Jíjà 'do one's best' is borrowed from Bambara jijà, with the same meaning.

14. Keshú is borrowed from French caisse.

15. Leaving the relativized NP in its ordinary place in the clause rather than 'extracting' it means of course that positions can be relativized which are not allowed (at least according to some people) in a language like English, hence the awkward translation.

16. Dóóní 'a bit' is borrowed from Bambara dóonin 'a bit'.

CHAPTER XIV

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 V, 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 VI, 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 ñpi, mi canpyi-tanra-wùùní
my.NONDECL friend hare my day-third-POSS.DEF
'My friend Hare, this is my third day

li ndé mi sàhá ñtàsón 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

ñkàà 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 songs 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 shù̀nni ỳyè̀re
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,

"Yi sí kà-zhwòngí tàà
you.PL FUT affair-spend.night.DEF divide
"You will take turns sleeping with me

numpiliyi shùnni shùnni.
 nights two two
 two nights each.

Mu si zíní má wóge e nínjáà,
 you FUT FP.lie.down your.NONDECL POSS.DEF in today
 You will sleep in your own (house) today,

ci-nàmpwunní ' si zíní ' nínjáà 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 1985:172-3; 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. Yirà àní!
 get.up there
 'Get away from there!'
- c. Lwoho kan náhá.
 water give here
 'Give me some water!' Lit. 'Give some water here.'
- d. Bagé m̀̀gò!
 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 IC 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 IX. 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 (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 wíí!
 IMPFV.IMPER come.IMPFV IC look
 'Come and see!'
- b. Ta ma a na tege!
 IMPFV.IMPER come.IMPFV IC 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 puŋɔ
 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 m-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 sigi-li mé,
go PROG it wait.for-IMPFV NEG
and wait for it (= my pay),

ma rá à wá!⁵
you.NONDECL SUBJUNC SUBJUNC.IMPFV 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. Yii fyàhà!
 you.PL be.quiet
 'Be quiet!'
- b. Yii à wá!
 you.PL SUBJUNC.IMPFV go
 'Go!'
- c. Yii 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 ma
 you.PL.NONDECL SUBJUNC SUBJUNC.IMPFV come.IMPFV
 come (back)
- ná ú é!
 with G1S with
 with her!'
- 'When (a few) days have passed, come back
 with her!'

A particularly stong 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 XV, section 15.1.5.3). Following is an example of this type of command:

- (12) Fó mu ú ø pá nùmpanna!
 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 IX, 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 lì 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. Yìi àhà a yu mé!
 you.PL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV speak.IMPFV NEG
 'Don't talk!'
- b. Ma hà a Kàrája cyera
 you.NONDECL PROH SUBJUNC.IMPFV Karaja insult.IMPFV
 à de!
 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 prohibitive 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 sùre lyi.
 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 coreferential 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 kùni 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)

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 fò 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 imperfect 'zero' subjunctive and of the 'sì' 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.IMPV come.IMPV
 '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 1985:178ff), 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: questions in complex sentences (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 focus 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 particles. Most of these particles are sentence final, but one is sentence initial.

The most common of the yes/no interrogative particles is la:⁷

(19) a. U sí ì-pà la?
 she FUT FP-come Q
 'Will she come?'

 b. Cènkunɔ 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, gè or kè, is probably also borrowed from Bambara kè, 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 ò-pà nùmpañña kè?
 you FUT FP-come tomorrow Q
 'Are you coming tomorrow?'

The clause final particle 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) Teéñzànnà mù nye 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 Fantérela. Following are examples of these two particles:

- (23) a. Tàhà mu supyíibíí pii na nye
 Q your people.DEF IND PROG be
 'Are some of your people

cyàge kè e?
 place.DEF IND in
 someplace (else)?'

- b. Tá wùù wá ' náhá ñ-jà
 Q we be.there be.here FP-be.able
 'Could we please

ta-shwonga ta náhá 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. Mii si ñ-jà zhyè
 I NEG.FUT FP-be.able FP.go
 'Can't I go

ná yii é mà?
 with you.PL with NEG.Q
 with you?'

- b. Wà nye à pa pilàgà 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 muga 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 si
 Q woman.DEF IND NEG PERF give.birth
 'Didn't a woman give birth

náhá ' nínjáà 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 màràfâ-buro na wá wùù á níŋkí?
 Q gun-horn PROG be.ther us to still
 'Do we still have guns?'

B: ãhm
 no
 'No.'

(27) Negative question, negative bias

Tàhà kùcwuun nye a cùùŋò mé?
 Q monkey NEG PERF be.well NEG
 'Is monkey not well?'

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 nègèsúni 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 XII 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. Mii u sí ñ-kwú la?
 I she FUT FP-die Q
 'Is it I who will die?'
- b. Tàhà pire pi a mii tùn?
 Q they(EMPH) they PERF me send
 'Was it they who sent me?'

(31) Negative clefts:

- a. Mu ba u nye ñinke fòòní '
 you it.is.not he be earth.DEF owner.DEF
 'Isn't it you who are the chief of the earth⁹
- náhá à?
 here NEG.Q
 here?'
- b. Tàhà mii còònni 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. Nàmponnɔ bɛ?
 guest Q
 '(Are you) a stranger?'
- b. Lùzù 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. Mii 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' làa '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. Cɪn-jyèebíí ù lwohé e
 women-be.old.DEF GEN water.DEF in
 'Is it from the old women's water
- mu sí ì-byà làa 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 ì-byà?
 you FUT FP-drink
 that you will drink?'
- b. Wu ø mu núŋi tò làa
 we.NONDECL SUBJUNC your mother.DEF bury or
 'Should be bury your mother or
- wu ø u wa cyinpinya à?
 we.NONDECL SUBJUNC her throw vultures.DEF to
 should we throw her to the vultures?'

The conjunction làa 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 otherwise 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 particles are used. Most of the question words are accompanied by the particle ye. Some speakers also occasionally use bé for these question types.¹⁰ Locative questions take the final particle ké (usually voiced to gé).

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 V. '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').

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 coreferential pronoun for subjects, a gap for direct objects, and adpositional marking of the focused item for indirect objects (see chapter XII, section 12.1.1). The information which the speaker and hearer share is placed in the presupposed clause following the focused item.

TABLE 41. Question Words

QUESTION WORD	GLOSS	SEMANTIC/SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS	CLAUSE FINAL PARTICLE
jò	who(m)	+human (Gender 1)	ye
ṅàhá	what	-human (Gender 2)	ye
dì	how	manner	ye
jùùlì	how much	quantifier	ye
ṅgi/ṅgiré	which	determiner	ye
taá	where	locative	ké

Following are examples illustrating a questioned subject (a), direct object (b), and indirect objects (c, d):

- (35) a. Jò u a kù bò ye?
 who s/he PERF it kill Q
 'Who killed it?'
- b. ṅàhá mu mpyi na sí ṅ-kàn ye?
 what you PAST PROG FUT FP-give Q
 'What would you have given?'
- c. ṅàhá ' yyáhá ná ma nye na fí ye?
 what face at you.NONDECL be PROG run.IMPFV Q
 'From what are you running?'
- d. Jò-fòlà á mu a kù péré ye?
 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 nànjibíí shùnníní
 these(EMPH) young.men.DEF two.DEF
 '(Of) these two young men

nà pi tùní nà pi nùní,
 and their father.DEF and their mother.DEF
 and their father and their mother,

jò u nyɛ pi puní shin-fabańí 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 ye?
 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) Mii 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 particle:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| (40) a. Jò ye? | b. Nàhá ye? |
| who Q | what Q |
| 'Who?' | 'What?' |
| c. Dì ye? | d. Jùùli ye? |
| how Q | how.much Q |
| 'How?' | 'How much?' |

Negative constituent questions are marked with the same negative interrogative particle (mà/à) as negative yes/no questions. However, instead of replacing the positive particle, as in yes/no questions, the negative particle 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. ɲàhá ná mu nye à pa tánjáà mà ye?
 what on you NEG PERF come yesterday NEG.Q Q
 'Why didn't you come yesterday?'
- b. ɲàhá ná mà ye?
 what on NEG.Q Q
 'Why not?'

14.2.2.2 jò 'who, whom, whose'

Jò (or jò) is borrowed from Bambara jɔn. It is sometimes combined with the Supyire root foo 'owner, person in charge' (see chapter III, section 3.2.2.9), which takes a low tone in this context: jòfòò. The use of jò or jòfòò 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 ye?
 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 silà àní jò á ye?
 who s/he PERF be.EMPH there who to Q
 'Who is actually there for whom?'

b. Direct object

Jò pi a tòn ye?
 who they PERF send Q
 'Whom did they send?'

c. Genitive

Jò ú cwo u ñgè ye?
 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 ñàhá 'what'

By the use of ñàhá a speaker indicates that he or she believes the unknown referent is non-human. It is thus appropriate that for the purposes of agreement, ñàhá 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) ñàhá ku nye na mu kóré ye?
 what it be PROG you chase.IMPFV Q
 'What is chasing you?'

Ñàhá 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. ñàhá ná cyèebílá 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. ñàhá kúrúgó pi màha ñinke 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, nàhá 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 nàhá is an indirect (locative) object:

- (47) a. nàhá kànhà na mu a ùrù lwó ye?
 which village(G2S) at you PERF her(EMPH) take Q
 'In which village did you get (lit. take) her?'
- b. nàhá kire e mu a yiri ye?
 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 di 'how'

The manner question word di is borrowed from Bambara di 'how'. It is usually placed in focus position, as in (a) below, but occasionally is put in the position where one would normally expect a manner phrase, viz. after the verb, as in (b):

(48) a. Di wù sǐ lì pyì yě?
 how we FUT it do Q
 'How shall we do it?'

b. Mǐi nǐ mu pyì dǐ yě?
 I REC.PAST you tell how Q
 'What did I tell you?'

The second example above shows that dǐ rather than nàhá is often used when the requested item is something spoken. The standard way of asking someone's name is accordingly:

(49) Di mu mége nǚe yě?
 how your name.DEF be Q
 'What is your name?' (cf. French: Comment tu t'appelles.)

Questions with dǐ 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 (c) below), 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 mii sí ñgé baní jyiile ñ-jwò ye?
 how I FUT this river.DEF cross FP-say Q
 'How am I going to cross this river?'
- b. Dì fannké màha n-tuga à jwo ye?
 how grave.DEF HAB IP-dig SC say Q
 'How is the grave dug?'
- c. Dì mii a nà wùyí 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 particle 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 V,

section 5.4). Unlike other quantifiers, however, it requires that its head noun be in basic, indefinite form. Jùùli can also be used as a non-interrogative quantifier meaning 'many, much', in which case it can modify a definite head (see chapter VI, section 6.3.3.3 for an example). The noun phrase containing interrogative jùùli 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 V, 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 one (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 VI, section 6.1.2.1). The questioned noun phrase is most often placed in initial focus position:

- (54) a. Kini ñdi i u nya ye?
 country.DEF(G3S) which(G3S) in he be Q
 'Which country is he in?'
- b. Leríni¹² ñgiré 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 ñgi miì sí ñ-kàn ye?
 it(G1S) which(G1S) I FUT FP-give Q
 'Which one shall I give?'
- b. Ku ñkiré ná mu nye na ñ-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)
- ñpirá à ye?
 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 i/e:

- (57) Tèni ñdiré e mu à pa ye?
 time.DEF which(EMPH) in you PERF come Q
 'When did you come?'

One also occasionally hears the phrase ñàhá 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 III, 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 ([ta?á]). Nouns derived by the prefix ta- are in gender 2, the singular suffix for which is -qV (definite -ke or -ge). It is therefore rather interesting that questions formed with taá do not take the common clause final particle ye, but rather have an exclusively locative clause final interrogative particle ké (often gé). It is also not likely to be accidental that this same clause final particle is the relative clause marker (see chapter XIII, 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 kéégé 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 wycère¹³ 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 coreferential pronoun, is used:

(59) ɲàhá ku sí ɲ-jà vwòro
 what it FUT FP-be.able FP-go.out
 'What will be able to get out

ɲgé mobilíni i ye?
 this car.DEF from Q
 '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 (a) or the final verb (b) can be questioned without difficulty:

(60) a. ɲàhá 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. ɲàhá mu a tèèn na wí 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 (a) 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 (b):

(61) a. ɲàhá 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. *ɲàhá u à ɲwɔɔní tàha a kwòn ye?
 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 n̄wɔɔní t̄aha a n̄ahá kwón ye?
 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 ye?
 who Musa PERF say that s/he PERF go Q
 'Who did Musa say left?'

Neither the subject nor the direct object of a transitive verb can be questioned however:

- (64) a. *Jò Músà à jwo na u a Zànhànò bwón ye?
 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 0 bwón ye?
 who Musa PERF say that Ali PERF hit Q
 'Who did Musa say Ali hit?'

Other items are also sometimes not questionable in complement clauses of this sort. In the following example, all three 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:

- (65) Taá Músà à jwo na Alí á kàrè gé?
 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 pí a tún ú á sà Pyéérè 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. ñàhá mu a ù pyi ú á ø bò yè?
 what you PERF him make he.COMP PERF kill Q
 'What did you make him kill?'
- b. *Jò pí à Zhyé tún ' ú à ø yyere yè?
 who G1P PERF Zhye send he.COMP PERF call Q
 'Who did they send Zhye to call?'

- c. *ɲàhá mu a ù tà ú á ø bɔ̀ ye?
 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. *ɲàhá u a ù nyè ú á ø kwɔ̀n ye?
 what G1S PERF G1S see G1S.COMP PERF cut Q
 'What did you see him/her cut?'

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) Mii batâni 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 cùùṅṅò la?
 you PERF be.well Q
 'Are you well?
- B: Mii a cùùṅṅò.
 I PERF well
 I'm well.
- A: Fantírii dé?
 Fantérela.people.of what.about
 How about the people of Fantérela?
- B: Là wà pi nà mé.
 IND(G3S) NEG.be.there them on NEG
 They're fine (lit. Nothing is there on them.)
- A: Pyenga shiinbíí dè?
 home people.DEF what.about
 How about your family?
- B: Là wà pi nà mé.
 IND(G3S) NEG.be.there them on NEG
 They're fine.
- A: Ma tũṅi 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 nũṅi 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 alright 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 XV, section 15.1.5.1):

(72) A: Mu sí ' gá m-pyí mu sí ñ-jà
 you ADV COND IP-be you FUT FP-be.able
 'But what if you are not able
 kà cya ñ-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-IMPFV 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

̀̀pirá à ye?
 which(EMPH.G1P) to Q

'To whom is the news of the decease announced?'

Notes

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 IX, 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. Kàntugo '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 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. Wyeré literally means 'leaves'. See chapter XII, 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 i ye?
 what s/he PERF cut with knife.DEF with Q
 '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. Pùcèrii are members of ones 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 XIII, note 5.

CHAPTER XV

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 ndé kwù-nkàní 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 mìi á,
 Ouagadougou town.DEF be.there PERF be.sweet me to
 'I like Ouagadougou (lit. Ouagadougou is sweet to me)

nàhé ná ye, ku faanrama lémú à nwo.
 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 final subordinator, and subjunctive mood (with zero auxiliary):

- (3) Sána u ∅ fworo dù-wyigé e ké,
 before she SUBJUNC go.out stream-hole.DEF from TC
 'Before she gets out of the stream bed,

lwohé puni 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 mii í ̀̀kùù 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 m-pá, mii sí ̀̀kùù 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 XIII, 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 kwùùlò tèni ndé-mù i gé,
 he PERF shout time.DEF DEM-REL at REL
 'At the time that he shouted, (freely: 'When he
 shouted,)

kà pi í wá na u cyàhà-li.
 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 lyi a kwò ké,
 we PERF eat SC finish TC
 'When we had finished eating,

kà wùù ú ñ-karé ta-shwònyi i.
 and we NARR IP-go LOC-pass.night.DEF(G2P) to
 we went to (our) lodgings.'

- b. Zàn-cyliyá à cwo gé,
 rain-first.DEF(G2P) PERF fall TC
 'When the first rains had fallen,

kà Faasúmà sí ñ-kará á sà a
 and Faasuma NARR IP-go SC go PROG
 Faasuma went and began

kerège sàà-li.
 field.DEF scrape-IMPFV
 clearing the field.'

The alternate relative clause marker à de (see chapter XIII, 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 toònnke bwòn à de,
 he PERF metal.DEF hit TC
 'When he rang the bell,

kà sùpyìré sì àm-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 mpyí na toní ñjyini lyì gé,
 they PAST PROG feast.DEF food.DEF eat TC
 'When/while they were eating the feast,

ká mii í núrá á ù négá á lènè 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) Ǹngwòhá á pà a n-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 m-pá ' náhá canṅ 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, wùu sí rà à wá.¹
 we COND eat we FUT go PROG go
 'When we have eaten, we will leave.'

b. with subjunctive imperative

Dyègà kà múgó,
 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 nùnke yirigè,
 he COND head.DEF raise
 'When he raises his head,

u ahà kile nye 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 n-cwo,
 day eye.DEF COND PROG IP-fall
 'When the sun is going down,

yii maha sàhàli lwò...
 you(PL) HAB basket take
 you take a basket...'

- b. Pi ahá iyé á kwò,
 they COND enter SC finish
 'When they (=the bees) have finished entering
 (the beehive),

u asi kù nwò 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 fyìni na,
 it COND say python.DEF at
 When it had barked at the python,

u ari 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 above and in the following example:

(13) Si-shyéebí kà a ma yàkòṅò,
 bush-goers.DEF COND PROG come.IMPFV afternoon
 'While/when the farmers (lit. the bush-goers) are
 coming (home in the) afternoon,

pi ahá ṅcyíí-mù pyì gé,³
 they COND DEM(G3P)-REL do REL
 whatever they do,

ma hà bá a ṅ-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 nliyi yi ∅ kuru jyiile ké,
 before cows.DEF they SUBJUNC this cross TC
 'Before the cows cross(ed) this (=the river),
 kà u ú ta-tɔɔngɔ naara.
 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 ∅ kuru jyiile ké,
 before they SUBJUNC this cross TC
 'Before they cross this,
 mu gú ta-tɔɔngɔ 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 ∅ fworo dù-wyìgé e ké,
 before she SUBJUNC go.out stream-hole.DEF from TC
 'Before she gets out of the stream bed,
 lwohé 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 nò 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 does in itself constitute 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 túŋi 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 PAST PERF 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 lyi, wùù ú ' ná á `zhìŋi 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 connective 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 pí í m-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 easy to recognize it 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 yòòge 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 nàni 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 XI, 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 pì í m-pá jwó ' ná ú é
 and they NARR IP-come speak with her with
 'They came and spoke with her,
ú u mceení 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) Mii 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

pi i ma.
 they.COMP PROG come.IMPFV
 (they were) coming.'

Sometimes the meaning is closer to a more ordinary 'while' clause:

(26) Pi à ti 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 sáhánki.
 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 pi mù shùnni sí m-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-kànà, ú u jyi ninke 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 V, 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),
- cɔɔnfoðŋa a ñtàsùù bò à pwo
 younger.sibling.DEF SC elephant kill SC tie
 the younger brother killed and elephant and tied
 it up
- à 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 niŋ-karàŋi na Sukwole e,
 he ADJ-going.DEF(G1S) on Sikasso to
 'As he was going to Sikasso (lit. on him going to
 Sikasso),
- fànhà fèebílá 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-bahabí na, cigá à cwo.
 they ADJ-playing.DEF(G1P) on tree.DEF PERF fall
 'While the were playing, the tree fell.'

15.1.1.6 'Till' Clauses

The subordinating morpheme fó 'until' (some older speakers pronounce it fá) is borrowed from Bambara fɔ '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 V, 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 Bàmàko e.
 he PERF go as.far.as Bamako to
 'He went as far as Bamako.'

- b. temporal preposition

Pi màha lire pyi àmè fó nínjáà.
 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 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 pí í m-pyí àmuni
and they NARR IP-do thus
'They (continued to) do thus

fó pí à nó pyènge na.
till they PERF arrive home.DEF at
till they arrived home.'

b. narrative clause, same subject

Kà zàntùṅṅò sī ñ-tèèn bèsnṅké e
and hyena NARR IP-sit well.DEF in
'So Hyena stayed in the well

fó mà sà ñ-kwù.
till and go IP-die
till (he) died.'

c. narrative clause, different subject

Kà sige shíinbíí⁶ sī pí lwó á màrà,
and bush people.DEF NARR them take SC keep
'Then the bush took them and kept them,

maá pí ṅwó cyá,
and.NARR their mouth seek
and fed them,

fó kà pí í m-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 sikáráji 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.'

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 jwó
 and he NARR say
 'Then he said

na wu a nààrè
 that we.NONDECL SUBJUNC.IMPFV walk.IMPFV
 that we must walk

fó wùù àhá ñ-kwó yòòge tà-pyahagé 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 a below, but it also possible in perfective clauses, as in example b:

(35) a. imperfective

Kà mii í fún fó na sòòlì.
 and I NARR sweat till PROG drip.IMPFV
 'I sweat to the point of dripping.'

b. perfective

Ká mii í m-pá u niziníní ta
 and I NARR IP-come him ADJ.lie.down.DEF find
 'I came and found him lying

mobílíní tààn fó nyi-lwòha 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

mii nyiiqílé 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 connective 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 no '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 conjunction 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 m-pyí àmuni
and they NARR IP-do thus
'And they did thus (i.e. kept on doing thus)

fó mà pà numpilàge wwò.
till and come night.DEF SUBJUNC be.black
till night fell.'

- b. Lire la à pa ná kàrii ni-nyahagile é
this it PERF come with matters ADJ-be.much(G3P) in
'It is this which has brought many matters

supyire shwòhòle e, fó màha m-pá nò
people.DEF between in till HAB IP-come arrive
between people, to the point that

ti láhá tí-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 morpheme borrowed from Bambara. The following three forms are listed in Bailleul's dictionary of Bambara: kàbi, kàbii, and kàbini. All three forms have been recorded in Kampwo Supyire, suitably modified to naturalize them to the Supyire sound system: kàbí, kàbyíí, and kàbyííiné. 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 V, section 5.7.1)

Following is an example:

- (37) Sùpyàní kà ò-kèègè kàbyíí nànkòcyèré 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 nye la?
 LOC-lie.down.DEF in you YET be Q
 are you still in bed?'
 b. Kàbyiiné u a yiri Bàmàko e gé,
 since he PERF rise Bamako in TC
 'Since he came from Bamako
 u sáhá shyá Sukwolé 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 sii gé,
 since Farakala PERF begin TC
 'Since Farakala began

pi sàhá ' nínjéé ' wóóre fiigè pyi 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 nùni fòóná 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 connective 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 cànnké na 'on that day':

(41) Maá ' lwó kúru cànnké na,
and.NARR take that day.DEF on
'Since that day,

kà Sàànogobí sí wá
and Saanogos.DEF NARR be.there
the Saanogos

na sòòni 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 bwon 'touch' in the second example below has only been recorded in conjunction with this type of 'since' clause:

(42) a. Mà lwò kuru cànnké na fó nínjáà
and take that day.DEF on till today
'From that day up to today

mii a sii na fyà-gè waníni na.
I PERF be.EMPH PROG be.afraid.IMPFV there.DEF on
I am really afraid of that place.'

b. Maá ' lwó kúru cànnké na
and.NARR take that day.DEF on
'From that day

à pa bwon nínjáà na,
SC come touch today on
till today (lit. and come touch today)

kuru kàshige 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 Location 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 mii a kùrù tà gé,
 place.DEF in I PERF this get RC
 'In the place I got this,

waní mii 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) Cyàge 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 nùŋke yirigè,
 he COND head.DEF raise
 when he raised his head,

uru kà kile nyɛ 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 -ŋkana 'manner' (see chapter III, 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-ṅkàní na mú.
 he PERF die this die-manner.DEF on also
 'He also died in this way (lit. on this way of dying).'
- b. Pyíibíí sàhá nye na byíí
 children.DEF NEG.YET NEG PROG raise.IMPV
 'Children are no longer raised
- pi tanjáà byí-ṅkàní 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 morphemes 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 ú ú-yè pyi 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. Mii ntùŋka a kàŋha à pyi
 my chest.DEF PERF be.tired SC become
 'My chest was strained
- kóo ku kú à-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 nyε 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 li pyi bà mu a li pyi tanjyéé mε.
 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 IX, 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,

yíí gú à-pyi àmuni.
 you(PL) POT FP-be thus
 you would be thus.'

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 nεεmpé nùgò,
 it PERF be like like person HAB seed.DEF sow
 'It is like (when) a person plants seeds

pi í fyin maá lyé mε:
 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 ñ-jwò u nye a cùùñò 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 conjunction meaning 'as if' or 'like'. Following is another example. Note that it was pronounced without any pauses.

(53) Kàrája a yyèra à u ñkyànhí 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 m-pá, mii sí ù bwòn.
 he COND IP-come I FUT FP.him hit
 'If/when he comes, I'll hit him.'

b. low probability conditional

U ahá m-pyí u à pa, mii gú ù bwòn.
 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 nye à pa mé, mii sí ù bwòn.
 if he NEG PERF come NEG I FUT FP.him hit
 'If he doesn't come, I'll hit him.'

d. counterfactual conditional

Àmpyi u mpyi à pa,
 if.COUNTER he PAST PERF come
 'If he had come,

mii mpyi na sí ù bwòn.
 I PAST PROG FUT FP.him hit
 I would have hit him.'

e. concessive conditional

U méé m-pá, mii sí ù bwòn.
 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 a 'when' clauses in English, as is clear from the alternative given in the context:

(55) Kà kùntunjí sí yì jàwò u à
and monitor.DEF NARR them say him to
'Then the monitor lizard said to him

'Mu ahá mìi bó, mu tacwóni sí ḡ-kwú,
you COND me kill your fiancée.DEF FUT FP-die
"If you kill me, your fiancée will die,

mu sí ' gá mìi yàha aní,
you ADV COND me leave there
but if you leave me alone (lit. leave me there),

pùcwòní u nye ná mu í ke,
girl.DEF she be with you with REL
the girl who is with you,

uru sí ḡ-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, in addition to 'irrealis' and 'counterfactual' conditionals, have a distinct means of coding conditionals which are intermediate in likelihood. 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 accomodate 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 m-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 pyi:

- (58) U ahá n-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 pyi, functions as a phrasal subordinating conjunction. 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 the 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 mii cyé é me,
if money NEG PERF find my hand in NEG
'If I don't have money,

mii si kù shwò mé.
I NEG.FUT it buy NEG
'I won't buy it.'

b. with a two-clause construction

Wyéré ' ká m-pyí u nye à ta mii 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 mii 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 si ñ-jà ñ-tèèn
if you ADV NEG.FUT FP.be.able FP-sit
'But if you won't be able to stay

rà a u sigili 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 VI, section 6.3.3.2):

- (63) Mii náha à yaaga ta mé
 I NEG.be.here PERF thing find NEG
 'I haven't found a thing

fó siinkombiigè 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 nye 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 bòmipíí nye a sà a yiri
 except baboons.DEF NEG PERF go SC rise
 'Unless the baboons leave

ngé dùwwóní i mé,
 that stream.dark.DEF from NEG
 that gallery forest,

pi cáà Kàmpwo-kulo cyè wwù.
 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) Yii númê cyèebíí nwòyí 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 mii 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 folkstories 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 sì sùpyiré làhà lirè nà.
 and this NARR people.DEF take.off this on
 'This made people stop doing this.'

Áni bà mé, sùpyiré mpyi a fyànhà
 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 counterfactive conditional marking is probably that which is placed exclusively in the auxiliary position. Following is an example:

(68) U ná á ni pa, mii mpyi na sí ù bwòn.
 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 IX, sections 9.2.7.1 and 9.3.2.3).

The etymology of the auxiliary complex ná á nì 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 nì. Unlike all other auxiliaries with the exception of the perfect à, nì 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 nì were originally verbs. In chapter IX, section 9.2.2 it was suggested that perhaps nì 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 pluperfect meaning. This should be compared to the now somewhat literary use of the pluperfect (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 nye à pa mé...
 he COUNTER.COND be he NEG PERF come NEG

Instead, the auxiliary complex is reduced to ná ì:

- (70) U ná ì-pyi u nye 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 námpyi has not been recorded. Instead, the initial [n] is regularly dropped to yield ámpyi:

- (71) Ámpyi / u nye 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 ñ-pyi màràfáyì yì mpyi bòmipílá 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 ' lémú mpyi gú ñ-pì níñjàà dè!
 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 ñ-pyi a yì jwù mii á,
 you COUNTER.COND-be PERF them say me to
 'If you had told me,

mii mpyi na sí ñ-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 kám̄pyi has been heard instead of the more common ám̄pyi. If the scenario outlined above is correct, this must be an innovation formed on the analogy of the pair kám̄pyí/ám̄pyí for low probability conditionals. At any rate, I was unable to induce anyone to produce a two-clause structure with ká ñ-pyi rather than ná ñ-pyi. Following is an example using kám̄pyi:

- (74) Kám̄pyi pi mù shù̀̀nni mpyi a bè,
 if.COUNTER they also two PAST PERF be.in.harmony
 'If they had gotten along together,

pi mpyi na sí ńdé 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 ń-karé dògòtòrò-bagé na,
 he CONC.COND IP-go doctor-house.DEF to
 'Even if he goes to the dispensary,

u sí ń-kwú.
 he FUT FP-die
 he will die.'

- b. Cinne méé mó lwché e,
 log CONC.COND be.long.time water.DEF in
 'Even if a log stays a long time in the
 water,

ku si ń-pyi wocón mé.
 it NEG.FUT FP-become crocodile NEG
 it won't become a crocodile.' (proverb)

Often the adverb àlí 'even', borrowed from Bambara hali 'even', is added at the beginning of the clause:

(76) Àlì mu méé mii bwón,
 even you CONC.COND me hit
 'Even if you hit me,

mii si 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 méé m-pyí mu nye na n-tírí
 even you CONC.COND IP-be you NEG PROG IP-go.down
 'Even if you don't get down

tùbùnjì i mé, mii sí ṅ-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

Yii méé m-pyí yii a pina à si,
 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-kaciire 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) Nàni ngé-mù ká m-pá ge,
 man.DEF DEM-REL COND IP-come REL
 'Whoever man comes,

wyéréni kan ura à.
 money.DEF give him to
 give him the money.'

This type of relative clause is described in chapter XIII, 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 nye a cè ámpyí ' wyéréni sí h-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 XI, 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, nàhá ná yε 'what for?' or nàhá kúrúgó yε 'through what?':

- (80) Bòm-pèègé mège mpyi "Sámà na η-kwòhòli",
 baboon-male.DEF name.DEF was Samba PROG IP-dance
 'The male baboon's name was "Samba is dancing",

nàhá ná yε, 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 nwòhoyi 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 yɛ:

- (82) Dùgùsónnà⁸ a tààn mìi nà,
 festival.DEF PERF be.sweet me on
 'The village festival was good for me

pàsige nàhá ná yɛ, mìi 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 pyènge 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 mìi kyá,*
and she NARR be.there PROG FUT go PROG me eat
'Then she was going to eat me,

lire e mìi à fwooro na na ta-shwogo 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 ñjyìni wà kwòn 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 yira à cwo níñkì 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 mègé 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 conjunction. Following are the two constructions contrasted:

(84) a. counterexpectation--concession

U na báaráni⁹ pyi
 he PROG work.DEF do
 'He is working

mà li tà u na ya.
 and it find he PROG be.sick
 although he is sick.'

b. concession--counterexpectation

U na ya,
 he PROG be.sick
 'He is sick,

lire nà lì wùùní mù í,
 this with its POSS.DEF also with
 but in spite of this

u na bááráñi pyi.
 he PROG work.DEF do
 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 connective mà. A variant has the pronoun lire (gender 3 singular, suffixed form) as subject. Following is an example:

(85) Pi a àbín-tirige kan kàhha 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'. More freely it means something like 'in spite of this', 'nevertheless', or 'and yet'. Following is another example:

(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-li.
 he PROG IP-laugh-IMPFV
 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 lyigè
 he PERF refuse eating
 'He refused to eat (at all)

sáni u ∅ na njyini lyi gé.
 rather.than he SUBJUNC my food.DEF eat TC
 rather than eat my food.'

b. Kà mii í wyérá á kàrè pyènge e,
 and I NARR be.hot SC go home.DEF to
 'I quickly went home,

sána mí í téén dùgé e
 rather.than I he SUBJUNC sit stream.DEF in
 'rather than stay at the stream'

fyíni ù kwó á cú 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 supyinèèní yààgé nyèpèèn pyi 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) Lámísà-yíí na sòòṅi fùn,
 Lamisa-people PROG terrapin.DEF count.as.totem
 'Lamisa's family have the terrapin as their
 totem

maá ' núró na pwùṅṅi 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 example the following example:

- (90) Pi na wyige tūrū sí lwɔhɔ ta.
 they PROG hole.DEF dig.IMPFV 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 sùmàní wu sanyɛ̀ɛ̀nna à,
 and they NARR grain.DEF pour bird.DEF to
 'So they poured grain out for the bird (to delay it)

Nteencwó ' sí ñ-tá á lí cáánra
 Nteencwo SUBJUNC IP-get SSC it arrive.before
 so that Nteencwo would manage to arrive ahead of it

baní nwɔ́gé na.
 river.DEF mouth.DEF at
 at the river's edge.'

Sometimes a speaker puts the Bambara purpose clause subordinator walisa in front of a different subject subjunctive purpose clause. The following examples contains

two purpose clauses, the second giving the purpose of the first, which is preceded by the subordinator walisa:

- (92) Pi màha òpògíí nìpìní tò ná weyi ì
 they HAB mounds.DEF top.DEF cover with leaves with
 'They cover the (yam) mounds with leaves

walisa mbyimpe sì h-kwòrò fwuùna à
 so.that moisture.DEF SUBJUNC IP-remain yam.DEF to
 so that moisture will remain for the yam

li fyinmi sì h-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) Òjé yi nye ná ' fyínyi ì gé
 those they be with sprouts.DEF with RC
 'Those that have sprouts

maríi yire kàanmùcàà
 and.NARR.PROG them take.care.with.IMPFV
 (they) are careful with them (as they are planting them)

ya hà h-kwò h-kyèègè 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 wyìge 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 intransitive 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) Mii sí ñ-pà mobiletíni pèrè
 I FUT FP-come mobylette.DEF sell
 'I will come sell the mobylette

ní ñ-tàha à kíléii¹⁰ shwo,
 PURP FP-use SC wrenches buy
 in order to use (the money) to buy wrenches

ní ñ-taha rà a mekanishyéngére¹¹ 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', 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 wyige tūrù
 they PROG hole.DEF dig.IMPFV
 'They are digging the hole

bà pi gú m-pyì sí lwòhò ta mé.
 like they POT FP-do SUBJUNC water get like
 in order to get water.'

- b. Pi a bàhe kan mii pwúnna à
 they PERF poison.DEF give my dog.DEF to
 'They gave poison to my dog

bà u gú m-pyì sí ñ-kwù 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 III, 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 lwòhò 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. Neither space nor time allow more than a brief mention here.

In a number of languages, and probably in most, some types 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 ... cyinṅikíí taanna a tòrò
 you HAB sticks.DEF line.up SC pass
 'You ... line up the sticks along

yire fááyí nùṅi i, maá ṅ-kwó,
 these rocks.DEF head at and.SEQ IP-finish
 on top of these rocks, and finish,

maá cii taanna fááyí niṅ-kwuuyí nùṅi i
 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)

ninké wògé nùṅi i.
 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 ari ṅ-kwò,
 you HAB.SEQ IP-finish
 you stop doing that (lit. you finish)

maá cí márà,
 and.SEQ them cover.with.layer.of.adobe
 and cover them with a layer of adobe,

maá lí 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 ari pwooré tà cwònhò
you HAB.SEQ adobe.DEF IND mix
you mix some adobe

ná fiinzigíré e,
with fonio.stems.DEF with
with the fonio stems,

maríi kùnikíí nini 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 kùnikíí cii nini,
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 no nùnke kà na,
it COND build SC arrive head.DEF IND at
When it is built up to a certain height,

mu màha bwùncènní 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 so 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 connectives which interact with a narrative auxiliary to provide one of the most important elements of cohesion in narratives. This system is of 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-cyiini sùpyiré mpyi na fyàgè
 time-first.DEF people.DEF PAST PROG fear.IMPFV
 'The people of long ago used to respect (lit. fear)

ti-yé ná,
 they-REFL on
 each other,

sùpyiré mpyi na sílégé tí-yè nà,
 people.DEF PAST PROG be.ashamed they-REFL on
 the people used to be modest towards each other,

sùpyiré mpyi a ti-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

Mii a fò, mii nye à yafyin ta mé.
I PERF fail I NEG PERF anything get NEG
'I failed, I didn't get anything.'

b. negative--affirmative

Yafyin nàhà nàhá ' nínjáà mé,
anything NEG.be.here here today NEG
'Nothing is amiss here today,'

ticuùmpe pu nàhá ' nàhá.
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, is placed after the subject:¹²

(101) U yyàhe nye à tɔɔn mé,
her face.DEF NEG PERF long NEG
'Her face isn't long,

ku sí nye a pèla a tòrò 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:¹³

- (102) U mpyi náhá ɲkàà u a kàrè ménì i.
he was here but he PERF go there.DEF to
'He was here, but he went over there.'

The 'adversative' marker sí is always placed immediately after the subject, before any auxiliaries the clause may have. Like the narrative auxiliary sí (but unlike the future auxiliary sí) it can also be rhotacized if it follows a stressed vowel:

- (103) Mii sí níɲjáà wùubíí ta,
I FUT.FP today POSS.DEF(G1P) get
'I will take today's (catch of fish),

mu rú ' sí nùmpañña wúubíí ta.
you ADV FUT tomorrow POSS.DEF(G1P) get
but you will/can take tomorrow's.'

The sí is placed before the agreement pronoun which must follow a focused subject:

- (104) Mii sùmàɲá á kèègè,
my grain.DEF PERF spoil
'My grain is spoiled,

yii sí 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 nye Sirigè nùmbwuuní i,
 they be Sirige head.gourd.DEF in
 'They (=girls to seduce) are in Sirige's skull,
 ñkàà mèè Sinkare nye Sirigè lakyááre.
 but but Sinkare is Sirige antidote.DEF
 but Sinkare is the antidote for Sirige (to get
 them out).'

ñkàà can also combine with sí in the same clause:

- (106) Ná u à pa nò, wù cívóó 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),
 ñkàà u sí ' ká m-pá ceewe, wù 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 'adversative' marker sí 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. Pii na fwòrè, pii sí 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 sònni
 he PERF be PROG think.IMPFV
 'He (=Francolin) was thinking
 na shire na nye uru na,
 that feathers PROG be him on
 that he had feathers,

kùnùṅò sí nye 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, sí can mean something like 'however'. Following is an example:

(108) ...Kà nòṅi nà ceèṅi sí sá nó
 and man.DEF and woman.DEF NARR go arrive
 'Then the man and the woman arrived

baní nwògé na, maá yí jwó
 river.DEF mouth.DEF at and.NARR them say
 at the edge of the river, and said

kwòpuruná à "Wu jyille."
 canoe.paddler.DEF to us cross
 to the ferryman, "Take us across."

Kà kwòpuruní 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

lwché e...
 water.DEF in
 into the water...'

The conjunction ṅkàà codes only strong contrast. Sometimes the specific item which is the source of the contrast is focused in the second clause:

(109) Yi puní nye sèè mé,
 they all be truth NEG
 'They aren't all true,

̀̀kàà yà yi nye sèè dé!
 but IND they be truth EXCL
 but some of them are true!'

Like English but, both sí and ̀̀kàà can have concessive force:

(110) a. Mii póni na lyí mii táán,
 my husband.DEF PROG eat.IMPV me beside
 'My husband is eating without me,

katège sí nye wùu puní na.
 hunger.DEF ADV be us all on
 and yet we are all hungry.'

b. Mii á mu kóná à wycère ta,
 me from you TOP PERF poison.DEF get
 'It was indeed from me that you obtained
 the poison,

̀̀kàà wycère lakýará nye mii á me.
 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 XIV, 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' làa 'or' normally creates a question (moreover làa 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 VI, section 6.7.2). Following are examples of this type of alternative question:

(111) a. U a kàrè làa u na nye 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

làa 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 yò or yòò, which is most commonly employed as a politeness or attentuation marker.¹⁴ yò is also frequently used to mark off items in a list, especially in a list in topic position, as in the following example:

(112) Mii yò, Kùlùsigii Fànhákà yò,
 me LIST Kulusigi.people Fanhaka LIST
 'Me, Fanhaka from the Kulusigi family,

Tàanfùn Zhyé yò, wùù ná m-pyí.
 Taanfun Zhye LIST we REM.PAST IP-be
 Zhye from Taanfun, we were (there).'

The same use of repeated yòs can be used to code disjunctive clauses, meaning roughly 'whether...or...'. The clauses must contain either a pair of antonyms 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 yò, sèè bàlà à yò,
 truth it.is OR truth it.is.not NEG OR
 'Whether it is the truth, or (it is) not the
 truth,

wà nye a cè mé.
 IND NEG PERF know NEG
 no one knows.'

b. antonyms

Mu ahá "bùgàun" lógó lwohé e,
 you COND (IDEO) hear water.DEF in
 'When/if you hear "splash" in the water,

kà pi kwóré yoò, kà pi lé-nì yoò,¹⁵
 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 yò clauses can also be related to another clause somewhat like concessive clauses to a counterexpectation clause:

- (114) Wà à cyiigè yò, wà nye a cyiigà à yò,
 IND PERF be.smart OR IND NEG 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 IX, 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 sòròlashí¹⁶ í,
 hare he PAST IP-go soldier in
 'Once Hare went to join the army,

mà sà nò zhyèn-cigè nà.
 and.SS go arrive baobab-tree at
 and arrived at a baobab tree.

Kà zhyèn-cigé wèéni là si ñ-cwò,
 and.DS baobab-tree.DEF leaf.DIM.DEF IND NARR IP-fall
 Then a little leaf of the baobab tree fell,

kà mpi 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 VIII (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 sometime omitted, as the following example shows:

- (116) Ká pire ∅ nùrù na yalyire bá ' náára míi 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 ∅ 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 m-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 nye
 your desire be
 'You don't want

sá a wà jwùmù nùrú me.
 SUBJUNC IMPFV.SUBJUNC IND words hear.IMPFV NEG
 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 maríi:

- (120) Ceèni wà u màha pyi 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 mɛɛní 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 other:

(122) Nàni 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 sí
 and.SS-NARR be.there PROG go.IMPFV
 and was going

na u faàni pyi.¹⁷
 PROG her farming.DEF do
 and farming for her.

Mà ù yàha uru faaní na, TIME CLAUSE
 and him leave this farming.DEF on
 While he was doing this farming,

kà u kyaa sí ñ-táán
 and.DS his matter NARR IP-be.sweet
 his matter became sweet

pùcwòṅí wàbérà à.
 girl.DEF another to
 to another girl (i.e. another girl fell in love with
 him).

Càṅṅké kà kà u ú ṅ-káré ' TIME PHRASE
 day.DEF IND and.DS he NARR IP-go
 One day he went

ní zà u cwòṅi 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 ṅ-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 ṁ-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 Scancarelli 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 zàntùṅò sì jwò
and.DS hyena NARR say
'Then Hyena said

"Jò u sí shònyi yaha
who s/he FUT horses.DEF leave
"Who would leave the horses

sí sá ' síní ' ná ṅkwuubilé è ye?"
SUBJUNC go lie.down with chickens.DEF with Q
in order to go sleep with the chickens?"

ma-á ṅ-kárá á sà síní '
and.SS-NARR IP-go SC go lie.down
and (he) went and slept

ná shònyi i.
with horses.DEF with
with the horses.'

b. realis (H 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 pì 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 pì tégèlè kwón kántugo...
 they.COMP PERF their limit cut behind
 had cut them off behind.'

c. relative clause

Kà mìí ú 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 túbabúñi u mpyi
 and.SS-NARR go white.person.DEF he was
 and went and the white person who was

mìí 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) ñké cànḡké kà mu ú ñ-káré
 that day.DEF and.DS you NARR IP-go
 'That day she (lit. you)¹⁸ went

mà sà a yire càà
 and.SS go PROG them seek.IMPFV
 and was gathering them (=sticks of firewood),

mà kwùubíí ta aní.
 and.SS dead.DEF find there
 and found the dead were there.

Mu a sìnciiyí 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 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) Cìnùṅò, ká uru sì ke kan.
Cinungo and.DS he NARR ten give
'Cinungo, he gave ten.'

Notes

1. See chapter XIV, note 5.
2. Kile is the creator Sky-God. This example is taken from a folktale in which monkey decides to eat a human being, but determines to do it in a dense thicket where he is not able to see the sky when he looks up (and consequently the sky/God cannot see his evil deed).
3. For the use of the conditional in a relative clause, see chapter XIII, section 13.4.2.
4. See Thompson and Longacre 1985:204f for a discussion of the phenomenon of extensive borrowing of subordinating morphemes. Such borrowing seems to be at least as extensive in Supyire as in the two Mexican languages cited by Thompson and Longacre: Yaqui and Isthmus Zapotec.
5. These are common names of dogs, borrowed from Bambara.
6. See chapter IX, note 12.
7. Compare also the use of 'and' to mark conditionals in early modern English.
8. Dùgùsòn 'village festival' is borrowed from Bambara dùgù 'village, town' and sòn 'worship, offer sacrifices'. The Supyire term is kàsunnò (from kànHà village + sun 'offer sacrifices--borrowed from the Bambara verb above). The denotatum is an annual festival to thank the tutelary spirits of the village (the 'jinns') for favors during the past year and to pray for the coming year.
9. Báará 'work' is borrowed from Bambara baara 'work'.
10. Kilé 'wrench' is borrowed from French clef 'wrench'.
11. Mekanishyengéré 'mechanics, repair work' is formed from mekanishyén 'mechanic' (borrowed from French mécanicien) by the addition of a syllable of unknown origin (plus the gender 4 suffix -rV).

12. Note the similar placement of the conjunction de in ancient Greek, which has a comparable function.

13. ŋkàà is underlyingly /ŋkàlà/. The origin of the extra syllable [la], not found in the standard Bambara form ŋka, is at present unknown.

14. Yò is the Supyire equivalent of the ubiquitous o found in many if not most West African languages. See Singler (1988).

15. This is evidently an archaic use of the conjunction kà, which in ordinary language is used as a different subject narrative connective, and cannot be combined as here with an imperfective verb without any auxiliary. The current function as a different subject marker accords well with an etymology pointing to an earlier function as a marker of disjunction.

16. See chapter XIII, note 7.

17. Formerly, instead of the cash bride price which is the custom now, men farmed for the families of their future wives.

18. Some storytellers occasionally use the second person singular pronoun mu instead of a third person pronoun to refer to the protagonist of the story, especially in episodes of high dramatic interest, as in this example. The device apparently is meant to increase empathy in the hearer.

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