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List of abbreviations and symbols

=	clitic
*	diachronic form
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
~	free variation
/	conditioned allomorphs
[aaaa####]	Glottolog code
ADR	addressee
ALIEN	alienable possession
ANAPH	anaphoric
APPL	applicative
CAUS	causative
CF1	Construct Form 1
CF2	Construct Form 2
CFC	counterfactual conditional
COM	comitative
COMM	common noun
CON	content question
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CLM	clause linking marker
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal demonstrative
EMPH	emphasis
EXPL	expletive pronominal
EXT	extension
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive
H	high tone
HORT	hortative
HUM	human
IC1	Inflectional Class 1
IC2	Inflectional Class 2
IC3	Inflectional Class 3
IC4	Inflectional Class 4
IC5	Inflectional Class 5
IC6	Inflectional Class 6
IMM	Immediate Past
IMP	Imperative
IMPS	impersonal pronominal
INAL	inalienable possession
INTERJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
L	low tone
LOG	logophoric
M	mid tone
NEG	negation
NHUM	non-human

List of abbreviations and symbols

NMLZ	nominalization
NP	noun phrase
NS	non-subject pronominal
O	object
OPT	optative
PFM	predicate-final marker
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PLAC	pluractional
POL	polar question
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
PROP	proper noun
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PRST	presentative
QM	question marker
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative
S	subject
S1	subject pronominal of the first paradigm
S2	subject pronominal of the second paradigm
S3	subject pronominal of the third paradigm
S4	subject pronominal of the fourth paradigm
SG	singular
T	tone
TBU	tone-bearing unit
TR	transitive
VEN	ventive
VF1	Verb Form 1
VF2	Verb Form 2
VF3	Verb Form 3
VF4	Verb Form 4

Initials of speakers

AC	Andrew Christopher
AT	Angelina Turuma
BB	Benjamin Bavere
CY	Comfort Yakubu
EI	Ester Izakiye
EC	Emmanuel Christopher
JW	Jackson Wakili
LP	Linus Pana Sambo
MS	Magdalia Besa
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1 Introduction

1.1 The Kugama language

This thesis is the first grammatical description and analysis of the Kugama language. Kugama (ISO 639-3: kow; Glottocode: kuga1239) is spoken in Adamawa State, Nigeria. According to *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2023), in 1995 Kugama was spoken by 5000 speakers. Unfortunately, I cannot provide more up-to-date figures regarding the number of Kugama speakers.

Kugama people refer to their language as *ɲáá ˈɣ̲ə̀m* or *ɲáá ˈɣ̲ə̀ə̄*[1] (lit.: 'the language of the Kugama/Wam'). The term *ɣ̲ə̀m* or *ɣ̲ə̀ə̄* is an endonym, which simply means 'the Kugama/Wam'. It can be ascribed to the language, to people or to anything that is associated with the Kugama, e.g. *wɛ̄nì ɣ̲ə̀m* 'Kugama people' and *kpàm ɣ̲ə̀m* 'Kugama chief'. Outside the community, the speakers of the language are commonly known by the exonym *Kugama*. The origin of this name is unknown. The term *Kugama* refers both to the community and to the language.

Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2023) provides other names for the language: *Kugamma, Wegam, Yamale, Yamalo*, but the source of these names is not specified. The name *Kugamma* is probably taken from (Temple 1922). The names *Wegam, Yamale* and *Yamalo* were probably documented in other neighboring languages as names for the Kugama language and people.

1.1.1 Genealogical classification

Kugama is traditionally subsumed under the Adamawa language family of Niger-Congo (Blench 2009, 2011, Eberhard et al. 2023). The Adamawa language family is a hypothetical genealogical unit. It was first put forward by Greenberg (1963) under the Adamawa-Eastern family. One of the challenges in the evaluation of the Adamawa language hypothesis is that the majority of languages classified within the Adamawa language family remain un(der-)described and un(der-)documented.

Under the Adamawa language family, Kugama can be found to be grouped with Satte/Sate (aka Kumba) [kumb1238][2] and Gengle [kuga1239][3]. However, this grouping is likely based on the

[1] The variant *ɣ̲ə̀ə̄* is commonly used by younger speakers.

[2] Satte is known as Kumba in a number of classifications. Although, the community and language are commonly referred to as *Satte/Sate*. I have never heard people using the name *Kumba* referring to Satte in Mayo-Belwa.

common membership of all three ethnolinguistic groups in one union - the Wekuh Community Development Association. Native speakers of Kugama, Gengle and Satte can associate the term *Wekuh* as a collective designation for their cultures and languages. However, the linguistic proximity of these three languages needs to be investigated, since Satte and Gengle remain undescribed. In Glottolog 4.7 and Meek (1931) Kugama and Gengle are considered as one language. According to my consultants, Kugama is indeed linguistically closer to Gengle than to Satte. However, Kugama and Gengle are considered different languages by their native speakers.

There are other Adamawa languages that are grouped with Kugama, Gengle and Satte. These are Yendang/Yandang, Yoti/Yotti, Waka, Teme, Nyesam (aka Kpasham), Bali, Mumuye, Pangseng and Rang (Boyd 1989, Blench 2009, 2011, Eberhard et al. 2023). Many of these languages still do not have a grammatical description and a representative lexical database. The following literature is available on these languages at the moment: a grammatical description of the Zing dialect of Mumuye in Shimizu (1983) as well as an analysis of phonology and morphology and 100-wordlists of fifteen Mumuye dialects in Shimizu (1979), topics on Yendang basic morphosyntax in Anikina (2012a, 2012b) and a 100-wordlist on Yendang in Anikina (2012a), a 400-wordlist on Bali, Kpasham, Yoti and Yendang collected by Barau Kato and Zacharia Yoder in Blench (2011), some grammatical features of Waka (Lyakhovich 2012, Lyakhovich 2014), some grammatical features of Maya (Zheltov 2012), and collections of audio-visual materials on Nyesam (Villa 2019a, 2019b, 2022). In addition, some works were produced by Yendang speakers on their language and culture (Fori 2012, Kilyobas 2014, Randaviba 2015, Unknown 2016).

1.1.2 Sociolinguistic situation

The Kugama language is spoken in a number of villages in the Mayo-Belwa, Fufore and Jada Local Government Areas of Adamawa State. Kugama people live in an area where many other languages are spoken. These languages are Bacama [baca1246], Hausa [haus1257] (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic), Adamawa Fulfulde [adam1253] (Atlantic, Niger-Congo), Kona [kona1244] (Jukunoid, Niger-Congo), Bile [bile1244] (Bantu, Niger-Congo), as well as a number of Adamawa languages, e.g. Mumuye [nucl1240], Gengle [kuga1239], Satte (aka Kumba) [kumb1238], Yendang [yend1241], Waka [waka1275], Teme [teme1252], and Vere [vere1250]. These languages are spoken in the rural area where Kugama people live. The sociolinguistic

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According to some residents of Mayo-Belwa, *Kumba* is the name of one of the villages where Satte people live. Satte people call their language *ɲa soro*.

[3] The name *Gengle* is also used for calling the ward and a village in Mayo-Belwa LGA.

situation in the town of Mayo-Belwa is also diverse. In addition to the above-mentioned languages, there are a number of families in Mayo-Belwa who speak languages of other regions of Adamawa State and neighboring states, e.g. Longuda [long1389] (Adamawa) and Mumbake (Nyong) [nyon1241]. Due to widespread multilingualism in the area, the Kugama use Hausa as a lingua franca when they communicate with other peoples. Nigerian English [nige1260] is not commonly spoken in rural areas, but it is more widely used in urbanized regions like Yola, the capital of Adamawa State.

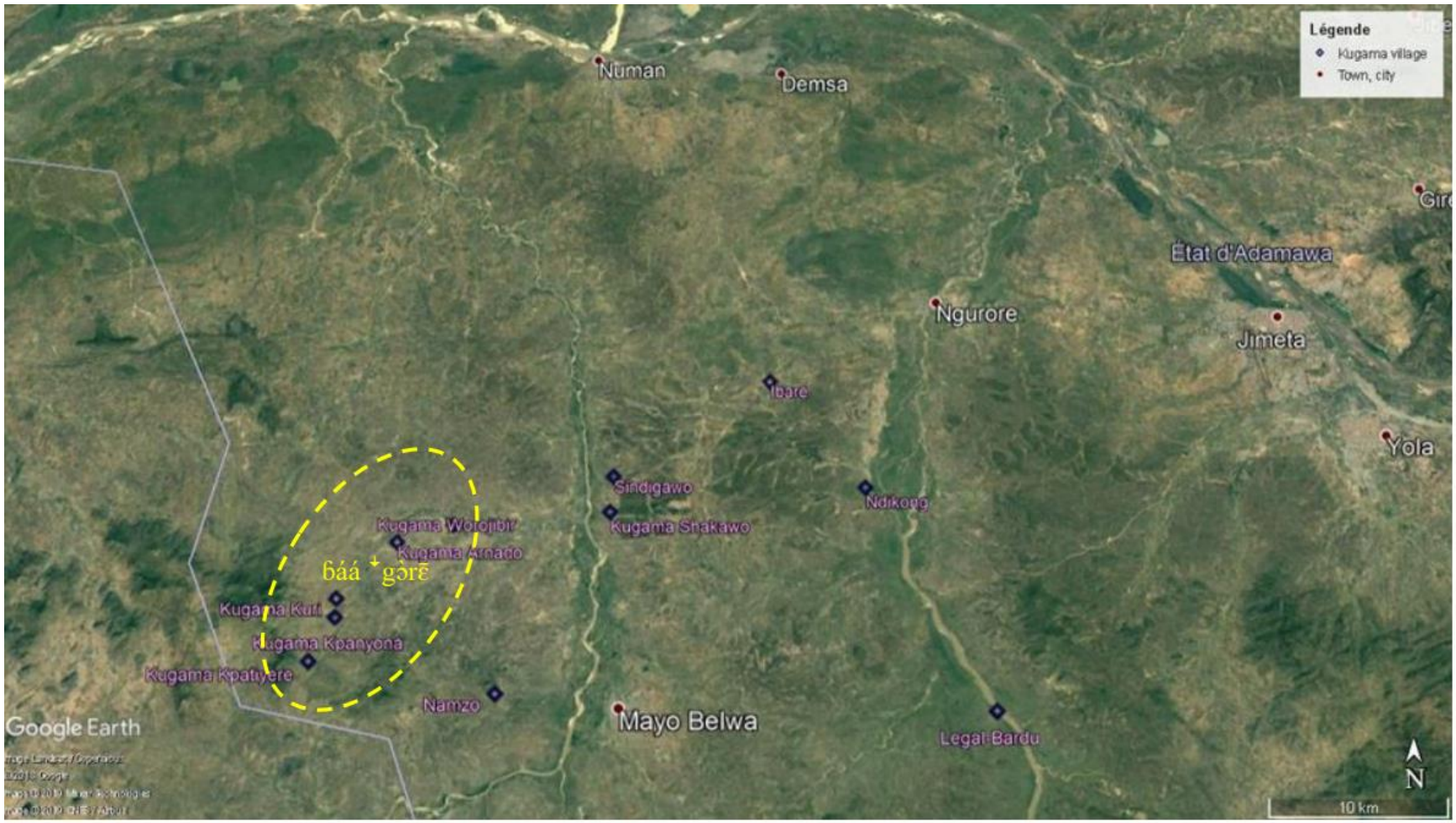
1.2 The Kugama ethnolinguistic group

1.2.1 Geography

The Kugama population is geographically dispersed across the Mayo-Belwa, Fufore and Jada Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Adamawa State in Nigeria. In Mayo-Belwa LGA, the Kugama-speaking area includes the following villages: Kugama Kuri, Kpawana, Kpanyona, Tukuba, Kugama Manga, Peetel, Kpatiyere, Wurojibir, Dyemɗadî, Kugama Arnado, Alarba, Saabon Gari, Kugama Jaalingo, Namzo, Sakawo (Shakawo), Sindigawo, Ndikong, Lande/Lende, Ibaare. In Fufore LGA, Kugama live in the Legal-Bardo, Runde Betti, Bukaaji, and Wurolamido villages. There are two villages in Jada LGA, Jaggu and Tuubata, where Kugama people also live. Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to visit the Jada region during my trips to Nigeria. A number of Kugama speakers also live in the town of Mayo-Belwa, the administrative center of Mayo-Belwa LGA, and in Yola, the capital of Adamawa State.

While travelling around the area of Mayo-Belwa and Fufore LGAs, it was not easy for me to differentiate between a village solely inhabited by Kugama people and a village where other ethnolinguistic groups live together with the Kugama. For example, Kugama people of the Ndikong village live alongside with other ethnolinguistic groups such as Kona, Vere, Teme, and Fulani, while the Kpatiyere, Kpanyona, and Kpawana villages seem to be solely inhabited by Kugama people.

Map 1 is based on GPS coordinates of some Kugama villages. I have collected these coordinates during my trips to the Kugama speaking area in Mayo-Belwa and Fufore LGAs in 2017.



Map 1. Location of some Kugama villages

As shown in Map 1, a number of villages are situated in the area called *ɓáá ˈgɔ̀rɛ̄* (lit. 'in the mountain(s), hill(s)'). I highlighted this region in yellow. It is a large area located in Mayo-Belwa LGA which is believed to be the place of origin of the Kugama. Villages which are located in Mayo-Belwa LGA but are not included in *ɓáá ˈgɔ̀rɛ̄* are Namzo, Shakawo, Sindigawo, Ndikong, Lande/Lende, and Ibaare.

1.2.2 The Kugama people

The main occupations of Kugama people are farming and hunting. Hunting commonly lasts from January till April. Agricultural works start at the beginning of the rainy season, around May, and last till November-December. Kugama people farm guinea corn (sorghum), corn (maize), beans, groundnut, and many other crops.

Kugama people actively preserve their traditions by organizing cultural festivals and ceremonies. One of the important events in Kugama culture is a circumcision ceremony that takes place every three years across Kugama villages. The ceremony is held during the months of December and January. The most recent circumcision ceremony was organized in December 2021 and January 2022. In addition to the circumcision ceremony, the Kugama community has two cultural festivals: the Wekuh festival and the Kugama day anniversary. The Wekuh festival is celebrated with the two neighboring communities Gengle and Satte. It is held in the town of Mayo-Belwa during the months of March, April or May. The Kugama day anniversary is a new cultural festival dedicated to the Kugama culture and language. It is organized by the Kugama community in the Baagore region, i.e. *ɓáá ˈgɔ̀rɛ̄*. The first festival was organized on March 12, 2022 in Kugama Kuri.

Kugama people practice two religions: Christianity and traditional religion. Some people combine both religions, others prefer to practice one of the two religions only.

Polygamy is part of traditional Kugama culture. Polygamous marriages are widespread in rural areas. Nowadays, there are also a number of monogamous families in the Kugama community.

Kugama people, like other communities in the region, have a traditional chief, *kpàm ɣ̱ə̀m*. Apart from the traditional leader, Kugama has two political leaders: the Chairman and the Representative of the Kugama community. They are involved in the administrative work with local authorities.

Kugama has six patrilineal clans. Each of these clans is subdivided into several subclans, as listed below.

CLAN 1: *ɲá ˈɣ̱ànà*

- SUBCLAN 1: *ɲá ˈɣ̱ànà ɓáá ˈgə̱ə̱̄*

- SUBCLAN 2: *ɲá ˈɣànà bɔ̀túúˈtāā*
- SUBCLAN 3: *ɲá ˈɣànà ɲáá mɔ̄ɔ̄kū*
- SUBCLAN 4: *ɲá ˈɣànà púrú ˈgâŋ*
- SUBCLAN 5: *ɲá ˈɣànà púrú ˈzólū*
- SUBCLAN 6: *ɲá ˈɣànà tāāsī*

CLAN 2: *ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄*

- SUBCLAN 1: *ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄ vi̱i̱pī*
- SUBCLAN 2: *ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄ ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄*
- SUBCLAN 3: *ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄ ɲá ˈbɔ́tɔ̰y*

CLAN 3: *ɲá ˈgɔ́ŋá*

- SUBCLAN 1: *ɲá ˈgɔ́ŋá ˈɲá dīgīzà*
- SUBCLAN 2: *ɲá ˈgɔ́ŋá ˈɲá kpànī*

CLAN 4: *ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ̄*

- SUBCLAN 1: *ɲá ˈtíyɛ́ré ˈɲá tì kpa̰a̰rī*
- SUBCLAN 2: *ɲá ˈtíyɛ́ré ˈɲá màlɛ̄kɛ̄*
- SUBCLAN 3: *ɲá ˈtíyɛ́ré ˈɲá ˈká séè*
- SUBCLAN 4: *ɲá ˈtíyɛ́ré ˈɲá ˈgɔ́sùlū*
- SUBCLAN 5: *ɲá ˈtíyɛ́ré ˈɲáá gērɛ̄*

CLAN 5: *ɲá ˈdàárɛ̄*

- SUBCLAN 1: *ɲá ˈdàárɛ́ ɓàŋ zɛ̄m*
- SUBCLAN 2: *ɲá ˈdàárɛ́ ɓàŋ kísā*

CLAN 6: *ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀nā*

- SUBCLAN 1: *ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄*
- SUBCLAN 2: *ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈɓáá ˈhɛ̄ɛ̄rī*
- SUBCLAN 3: *ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈkpá úrɛ́*
- SUBCLAN 4: *ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈkpáá ˈséè*

More information on Kugama socio-cultural practices can be found in Litvinova (2020), and Litvinova & The Kugama community (2023).

1.3 Typological profile of Kugama

Kugama has 25 consonant phonemes and 24 vowel phonemes. The consonant inventory includes the labio-velar stops /kp/ and /gb/ and the implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/. Vowel phonemes contrast in length and nasality. Oral short and oral long vowels represent four degrees of vowel

height, while nasal short and nasal long vowels represent three degrees of vowel height. Kugama vowels can undergo rounding assimilation and several optional height assimilations.

Kugama has light and heavy syllable types such as (C)V, (C)VV, and (C)VC. Noun and verb stems in Kugama are predominantly monosyllabic and disyllabic. The distribution of consonants, vowels and syllable types is sensitive to stem-initial prosodic prominence. In particular, almost all consonants, vowels and syllable types occur in the prominent position, while only a subset of consonants, vowels and syllable types is found in the prosodically weak position.

Kugama has three contrastive level tones: High (H), Mid (M), and Low (L). Kugama also has floating ^{L} tones that always follow a H tone. Contours on one syllable are sequences of level tones. Kugama tones have lexical and grammatical functions. A number of grammatical categories can be expressed through a floating ^{L} tone. Kugama has a number of tone rules, e.g. downstep, which is caused by a floating ^{L} tone. Phonetically, downstep can have different realizations, one of which is H-tone raising before a floating ^{L} tone.

The pronominal system includes subject, object, non-subject, addressee, possessive, reflexive and interrogative pronominals. Some of them are clitics, others are independent. The pronominal system distinguishes between human and non-human pronominal forms. The pronominal system also includes impersonal and expletive pronominal forms. The pronominal system in quotative constructions has two features, viz. the use of dedicated logophoric pronominals for 2SG and 3SG.HUM and the neutralization of the distinction in person between 2PL and 3PL.HUM. Subject pronominals mark tense, aspect, polarity and modality distinctions. They are STAMP morphs.

Kugama does not have a noun class system. Nouns also lack morphological markers for number. Kugama grammatically distinguishes nouns into Inalienably-possessed vs. Alienably-possessed nouns. Proprial Nouns vs. Common Nouns are also treated differently in Possessive constructions and constructions involving the Presentative markers *á, à, ī̀* or *=è*.

Numeral concepts are nouns in Kugama. Property concepts are expressed by different types of nouns as well as quality verbs. These are Pre-nominal Property Nouns, Post-nominal Property Nouns and Bound Nouns. Post-nominal Property Nouns and Bound nouns do not occur in isolation.

Noun phrases in Kugama typically have head-modifier word order, but modifier-head word order is also found with some modifiers. Kugama has several Possessive constructions. The structure of the Possessive construction mainly depends on the morphosyntactic classification of the head noun as Inalienably-possessed vs. Alienably-possessed, as well as the morphosyntactic classification of the modifier as Proprial Noun vs. Common Noun. Some

property concepts precede the noun they semantically modify; other property concepts follow the noun. These constructions may be interesting for linguists who work on dependency reversal. In this grammar, I analyze all of these constructions as having head-modifier word order.

Kugama has nouns and verbs that maintain their form across different morphosyntactic environments, as well as nouns and verbs that have allomorphs depending on the morphosyntactic environment. Allomorphs of nouns are called Free and Construct Forms, while allomorphs of verbs are referred to as Verb Form 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Verbal clitics include verb-to-verb derivational morphemes, verb-to-noun derivational morphemes, the Perfective marker *=tí* / *=rí*, as well as object pronominals. Verb-to-verb derivational morphemes are the Resultative, Reciprocal, Pluractional, Ventive and Applicative markers.

Kugama verbs can have one, two or three arguments. An extra argument can be added to the verb by the Applicative marker *=sí* or by the use of a dedicated applicative verb stem. Verbs with three arguments are followed by a Goal as the Primary Object and by a Theme as the Secondary Object.

The word order in a simple declarative transitive verbal clause is SVO. Locative, Property Attribution ("Attributive"), Existential, and Possessive clauses only have a copula in the future. Presentative, Identificational and Equative clauses are formed by the Presentative markers *á, à, ī̀* and *=ɛ̀*. Imperatives are expressed through a verb followed by an addressee pronominal or through a verb followed by a first person object pronominal. Content questions are structurally similar to cleft constructions. Polar questions are only marked by a clause-final marker.

There are two main negation strategies. Presentative, Identificational and Equative constructions, cleft constructions and Prohibitives are negated by the clause-final marker *ā̱*. Other non-verbal clauses as well as verbal clauses are negated by two negation markers: *ɲā* immediately after the subject and *ā̱* clause-finally.

1.4 Research framework

1.4.1 Previous research on Kugama

Kugama was first mentioned in Temple (1922: 244-246) under the name *Kugamma*. This report provides some brief ethnographic information on the Kugama community. In Meek (1931), Gengle and Kugama are united in one language. This work provides some ethnographic notes about the Gengle and Kugama (Meek 1931: 496-504) and a hundred lexical items of Gengle and Kugama vocabulary (Meek 1931: 529-531). There are also two works on some aspects of Kugama culture and history written by Kugama native speakers Oliver Hammanyero Y. (2003)

and Maxwell Kuri Iliya (2012). In addition to these ethnographic notes, Kugama has been mentioned in a number of genealogical classifications (Blench 2004, 2009, 2012).

The first linguistic data available on the Kugama language were collected by me during a one-month fieldtrip to Nigeria in 2014 as part of research for my BA and MA theses at Saint-Petersburg State University. This research was supported by the project "Languages of sub-Saharan Africa: from a morphosyntactic analysis to a functional synthesis of paradigmatic elements of the linguistic worldview" of St. Petersburg State University (PI: Alexander Zheltov). During this field trip, I was working in Yola, the capital of Adamawa State, with two native speakers of Kugama: Emmanuel Christopher and Rev. Timon Umaru Yunusa. This fieldwork was conducted under the guidance of Alexander Zheltov and Anastasia Lyakhovich. In the course of this field research, I was able to collect several questionnaires on basic morphosyntax and the 100-word Swadesh list. My BA and MA theses and one article on possessive pronominals (Litvinova 2014, 2016) are based on the data collected during this one-month fieldtrip to Nigeria in 2014.

1.4.2 This research on Kugama

This research on Kugama was conducted within a PhD fellowship from Labex EFL at LLACAN (INALCO, CNRS). The aim of this research is to provide a comprehensive grammatical analysis of Kugama. In the course of this PhD project, a number of outcomes were produced. One of the outcomes is this thesis that covers a range of topics on the phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax of Kugama. Besides the grammatical description, I also created a bilingual Kugama-English lexicon in FLEx which includes around 2000 entries. The biggest part of this lexicon is integrated in this thesis (Appendix II and Appendix III). During this PhD project, I compiled an audio-visual corpus that includes 56 hours of wordlist and grammar elicitation recordings, 3.5 hours of text recordings, and 3 hours of video and audio materials with traditional content. A small part of this corpus has been archived with the Pangloss archive (Litvinova 2022).

1.4.2.1 Data collection and analysis

This study uses both elicited and naturalistic data. Wordlist and grammar elicitation were conducted by means of various questionnaires, as well as my own wordlists and questions tailored to specific features of Kugama. The following questionnaires (or their specific parts) particularly facilitated the process of data collection: Bohnemeyer, Bowerman & Brown 2001; Bouquiaux & Thomas 1976; Bowerman & Pederson 1992; Dahl 1985; Gaby & Faller 2003; Idiatov 2007, 2016; Kramer 2017b; Miestamo & Veselinova 2019; Nichols 2005; Nikitina 2018; Say 2016; Snider & Roberts 2006; Tamm & Miestamo 2016; Yakovleva 2020, three

questionnaires on relativization, coordination and lability, whose authors are unknown, as well as four short lists of questions on negation, quotative constructions, and information structure developed by Jakob Lesage, Eveling Villa, Izabela Jordanoska, and Songfolo Lacina Silué. In addition, I applied the method of Basic Oral Language Documentation (BOLD) in SayMore (Reiman 2010, Boerger 2011) for annotating naturalistic data in Kugama.

Data collection was conducted by means of several software and high-quality digital audio and video recording devices, with different configurations selected based on the specific context. In Nigeria, I used Audacity and SayMore, as well as the Aikuma Android App (Bird et al. 2014) for a few sessions. In addition, I employed the following audio and video recording devices: Sound Devices MixPre microphone preamplifier, Shure X2u, TASCAM DR-100 MKII, Zoom H4n, Zoom Q8, AKG D230 shotgun microphone, Beyerdynamic TG H56 headworn microphone, and RODELink Filmmaker Kit. All collected data was saved in WAV or MP4 format. Since 2021 until the present, I have been collaborating with Kugama speakers remotely. During this time, my consultants were sending me short audio messages with elicited data through WhatsApp using their smartphones. Even though these audio recordings were delivered in M4A format, their quality remained high.

Data analysis was carried out by using ELAN, Praat, FLEx, and Phonology Assistant.

1.4.2.2 In-situ and remote fieldwork

This PhD project started in December 2016. As part of this project, I conducted four field trips to Nigeria, spending a total of seven months there from March 2017 to June 2017, from April 2018 to May 2018, from November 2018 to December 2018, and from January 2020 to February 2020. The primary location for my fieldwork was the town of Mayo-Belwa, where I conducted grammar and lexicon elicitation sessions with Kugama speakers. Over the course of my fieldwork, I have undertaken a number of trips to Kugama villages. This allowed me to introduce both myself and my PhD research, connect with community members, and collect naturalistic texts, ethnographic and geographic data.

During my trips to Nigeria, I have had the valuable opportunity to meet and work with many Kugama speakers. They were teaching me the Kugama language and sharing their expertise of cultural practices and customs. Grammar and wordlist elicitation, discussions, naturalistic data re-speaking and the enrichment of the corpus on natural language use and other activities were carried out together with Andrew Christopher Yalow, Benjamin Bavere, Yunusa Filgona, Linus Pana Sambo, Hanus Panti Kugama, Comfort Yakubu, Magdalia Besa, Hananiya Nathaniel and Zinas Eric Horatus. The collection of naturalistic texts was further expanded in collaboration with Zaphania Baleri, Jackson Wakili, Sabina Artimas Joona, Marcus Kretewoy, Melta Elam, Rifkatu Ismayilu, Maxwell Ba'oda, Magret Benson, Hebata Manti, Mathias Nemfas, Habila

Nyani, Ezekiel (from Kpanyona village), Ester Izakiye, Angelina Turuma, Jonathan Hamman Dikko, Nathanailu Pwa'a, Bitrus Nuhu, Irimiya Hamman Dikko, Danladi Yohanna, Yayirus Yohanna, Lidia Harmisa, Salmuna Istifanus, and many other Kugama speakers.

Over the course of my PhD research, Andrew Christopher Yalow and Benjamin Bavere were my primary consultants of Kugama. Despite the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic, we have continued working on language description up until the present day. Our collaboration is carried out remotely through WhatsApp, with a strong emphasis on data elicitations and discussion.

1.4.3 Presentation of data and analysis

1.4.3.1 Transcription and notation of Kugama text

In this work, I use three types of transcription: phonetic, phonemic and morphophonological. Every example in Kugama is accompanied by interlinear glosses for grammatical categories and literal translation, as well as an English translation. Data annotation follows the standards of the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

The phonetic transcription is mostly used in the chapter on phonology. Examples are given in square brackets [a]. In Chapters 3-15, I provide examples where the first line is a phonemic transcription. It is noted either between slashes /a/ or without any brackets. The phonemic transcription represents a phonological level of analysis. The second line is a morphophonological transcription, which is represented between vertical bars |a|.

I follow the International Phonetic Alphabet conventions when presenting Kugama data with a few exceptions in phonemic transcription. For example, a long vowel is provided with two vowel symbols as /aa/. Following consultants' wishes, I decided to present [j] as /y/, [k͡p] as /kp/ and [g͡b] as /gb/. Nasalization on vowels is marked by a tilde diacritic under the symbol in order to avoid overloading tone and nasality diacritics above the symbol, as in *hɛ̰́ɛ̰̄* 'here'. Note that nasal vowels that follow a nasal consonant within one stem, as in *nɛ̀* 'there', are not marked with a tilde in this text except for the phonology chapter.

This work employs accent diacritics to mark tone: an acute accent á for H, a grave accent à for L, a level accent ā for M, acute plus grave accent â for HL and grave plus acute ǎ for LH. A raised H tone is represented as a᷈. A downwards arrow ꜜa conveys downstep. The arrow is placed before a downstepped element.

The majority of examples provided in this work are accompanied by a reference to the place where these examples are in my database. The ID of audio recordings denotes the date when the information was collected and the abbreviation of the name of consultants who provided

this information. The notebook's ID includes the date when the information was collected, the notebook number, and the page where a given example was transcribed.

Kugama does not have an established practical orthography. Thus, orthographic representation of Kugama text does not often occur here. One of the exceptions is the orthographic representation of proper names in translation from Kugama into English. In this case, I follow the preferences of Kugama speakers, e.g. the male/female name *Lúkpêwà* is presented as *Luikpiewa* in translation.

1.4.3.2 Citing source words for borrowings

Kugama has a number of lexical and grammatical borrowings from Hausa. In this text, I provide a Hausa source word or morpheme using the following works: the dictionary by Awde (1996) and the grammars by Newman (2000) and Jaggar (2001). All mentioned references use Hausa scholarly transcription convention for illustrating examples in Hausa. Although, the representation of some phonological features in Hausa scholarly transcription conventions does not match the notation rules applied in this work on Kugama. In order to avoid any confusion, I decided to mark phonological features of examples in Hausa according to representation conventions used in this work:

	Hausa scholarly transcription	**my representation**
vowel length	marked with a macron/a level	marked with double vowels
high tone	unmarked	marked with an acute accent
low tone	marked with a grave accent	marked with a grave accent

For example, the word *bùhū* 'bag, sack' cited from (Awde 1996:17) is represented in the present work as *bùhúú*.

2 Phonology

2.1 Phoneme inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

2.1.1.1 Consonant inventory

Kugama consonants distinguish six places of articulation and seven manners of articulation. The consonant inventory is provided in Table 1. The inventory representation is based on the IPA conventions. Some orthographic symbols differ from their IPA alphabet counterparts. Their IPA representations are given in square brackets.

	Labial		Labio-dental		Alveolar		Palatal	Velar		Glottal	Labio-velar	
Plosive	p	b			t	d		k	g	ʔ	kp [k͡p]	gb [g͡b]
Implosive		ɓ				ɗ						
Nasal	m				n		ɲ	ŋ			w̰	
Fricative			f	v	s					h		
Affricate						z [d͡z]						
Tap					r [ɾ]							
Approximant					l		y [j]				w	

Table 1. Consonant inventory of Kugama

2.1.1.2 Consonant distribution

The description of the consonant distribution in Kugama is organized according to their position in the stem, viz. stem-initial consonants (2.1.1.2.1), stem-internal consonants between two vowels (2.1.1.2.2), stem-final consonants (2.1.1.2.3), and stem-internal consonant sequences (2.1.1.2.4). I also make a distinction between common and exceptional consonants for a given position. Common consonants are often found in given positions, whereas exceptional consonants are rarely encountered in the same positions. Exceptional consonants can occur in historically complex forms (e.g. some numerals and personal names), ideophones, borrowed vocabulary, and reduplicated forms (e.g. adverbial nouns).

The distribution of consonants is sensitive to prosodic prominence. Most consonants can appear only in the prosodically strong position that is the stem-initial position. Non-stem-initial positions are considered as prosodically weak. They are occupied by smaller numbers of possible consonants. More information about prosodic prominence is provided in Section 2.3.

2.1.1.2.1 Stem-initial consonants

In Table 2, I provide a list of distributional possibilities for consonants in stem-initial position. This table represents the common situation in the distribution of stem-initial consonants.

/b/	bàā	‘herd’	/n/	nə̱́ə̱̄	‘hand (CF1)’
/ɓ/	ɓáā	‘stomach (CF1)’	/ɲ/	ɲə̱́ə̱̄	‘mouth (CF1)’
/p/	pə̱̀ə̱̀rī	‘egg’	/f/	fáà	‘small, young (SG)’
/t/	tāā	‘monkey’	/s/	sáà	‘small, young (PL)’
/d/	də̱̄ə̱́	‘sheep’	/z/	zāā	‘leg (CF1)’
/ɗ/	ɗēē	‘blood’	/v/	váā	‘child’
/k/	kāā	‘machete’	/h/	hááākī	‘farm, field’
/g/	gə̱̀ə̱̄	‘crow (Corvus scapulatus)’	/l/	làā	‘cheek (CF1)’
/kp/	kpáā	‘direction, entrance hut’	/y/	yáā	‘firewood’
/gb/	gbə̱̄ə̱̄	‘stem, stalk (of maize, millet)’	/w/	wɛ̰y	‘meat’
/m/	mɛ́ɛ̱̄	‘water’	/w̰/	w̰ə̱̰m	‘Kugama ethnic group’

Table 2. Common stem-initial consonants

Almost all consonants are found in stem-initial position. Only the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ are absent in this position. A few words have a stem-initial tap /r/ such as *rə̱̄m* ‘python’, *réézà* ‘razor’, *rágá* ‘fishing net’, and *rɔ́nɛ̀* ‘inheriting’. Almost all words with /r/ are borrowed. The origin of the word *rə̱̄m* ‘python’ is unknown. Although rare in stem-initial position, the tap /r/ is a regular consonant stem-internally.

2.1.1.2.2 Stem-internal intervocalic consonants

Table 3 provides the list of consonants that can occur in stem-internal position between two vowels. Less consonants can occur in stem-internal intervocalic position than consonants in stem-initial position. Historically, some of these stem-internal intervocalic consonants can be analyzed as part of the frozen morphology that I call “extensions” for nouns (Section 3.3) or for verbs (Section 10.1). For example, the noun *ɲɛ́pē* ‘tongue’ is related to *ɲɛ́y* ‘mouth’ and contains the extension +pē. Extensions found in verbs and nouns do not have a clear meaning and function and are analyzed as part of the stem.

/n/	bíˈnā́	‘granary’	/k/	ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī	‘daughter’
	pā̱nḭ́	‘do’		nā́kí	‘rain (VF2)’
/ŋ/	gɔ̄ŋā̱	‘Gonga clan’	/p/	ɲɛ́pē	‘tongue’
	íŋḭ́	‘stand up (VF2)’		gɛ̀pí	‘grow’
/m/	zììmā̱	‘needle’	/s/	vɔ̄ɔ̄sì	‘insect’
	ɓáámḭ́	‘be old (VF4)’		gbāsí	‘keep silence’
/l/	vélī	‘husband’	/t/	gàáˈté	‘morning’
	hālí	‘pass by’		sótí	‘enter (VF2)’
/r/	gérē	‘pig’			
	zūrí	‘be good’			

Table 3. Common stem-internal consonants

The stem-internal consonants that are found in only a few exceptional forms are listed in Table 4. All these consonants were found in historically complex words, ideophones, reduplicated forms, and borrowings. The consonants in Table 4 are otherwise common in stem-initial position.

/w/	wááwí	‘be able’ (borrowed from Fulfulde)
/ʔ/	nḭ́ʔīrī ~ nḭ̱̄īrī	‘two’ (*nḭ́* is related to *nɛ̄́y* ‘hand’)
/z/	sīzáā	‘children’ (compare with the diminutive *fáà* (SG) / *sáà* (PL))
/h/	nḭ́ˈhɛ́ɛ̱̀	‘four’ (*nḭ́* is related to *nɛ̄́y* ‘hand’)
/ɓ/	ɓàɓàlāk	‘very hot’ (ideophone)
/kp/	kpìkpítírí	‘thickness’ (ideophone)

Table 4. Exceptional stem-internal consonants

2.1.1.2.3 Stem-final consonants

The inventory of consonants in the stem-final position is very small. This position is generally limited to the nasals /m/ and /ŋ/, the approximant /y/, and the glottal stop /ʔ/. Stem-final glottal stops are only found at the end of some pronominals and nouns and are optional. These glottal stops are a realization of the latent consonant |ᵏ| that surfaces as /k/ in these forms when they are followed by the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*, e.g. *mɛ́(ʔ)* ‘my’.

/ŋ/	tɔ̄ŋ	‘father’
/m/	sūm	‘hair (of head)’
/y/	pūy	‘hole’
/ʔ/	mɛ́ʔ	‘my’ (1SG.POSS.INAL)

Table 5. Common stem-final consonants

There are a few stems that have other final consonants. These words are mostly ideophones and borrowings. These final codas often have no audible release before a pause.

/t/	pát	‘all’
/l/	pēél	‘smooth’
/k/	ɓàɓàlāk	‘very hot’
/p/	pɛ̰p	‘tiny’

Table 6. Exceptional stem-final consonants

2.1.1.2.4 Stem-internal consonant sequences

Stem-internal consonant sequences are attested across syllable boundaries. Typically, the first consonant in such sequences is a nasal, /ŋ/ or /m/.

/mp/	kŭm.pī	‘bone’	/ŋs/	dìŋ.sì	‘tree’
/ŋk/	wáŋ.kɛ̄	‘leaf’	/ŋr/	yàŋ.rē	‘spider’
/ms/	yúm.sì	‘dust’	/ml/	dūm.lɛ̄	‘son’

Table 7. Common stem-internal consonant sequences

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is commonly followed by velar or alveolar consonants. I have not found any examples with the labial consonant /p/ after /ŋ/. The opposite is true of the labial coda /m/ which can be followed by the labial /p/ and alveolar consonants, but cannot be followed by the velar /k/. The stem-internal sequences /mt/, /ŋt/, and /ŋl/ are infrequent. In addition, there are a few examples of /n/ followed by another alveolar consonant within one stem, e.g. *gbènsì* ‘log’, *bèntèlè* ‘width’. The consonants /t/ and /s/ in these examples belong to the frozen morphology (noun extensions) that makes part of the stem now. Sequences of /n/ followed by an alveolar consonant are also found in borrowings. Table 8 provides some exceptional stem-internal consonant sequences, which are mostly found in borrowings[4] and one word that looks like an instance of unmotivated reduplication and that may have a deideophonic origin, viz. *fúffùkɛ̄* ‘lung’.

/rm/	bármą̰	‘antelope’	/rn/	tāfárnɔ̰wá	‘garlic’
/rt/	táɓórtó	‘palm rat’	/yv/	gɔ́yvà	‘guava’
/rv/	àbàrvā	‘pineapple’	/ff/	fúffùkɛ̄	‘lung’
/nt/	zɔ́ntà	‘now’			

Table 8. Exceptional stem-internal consonant sequences

[4] Some names for animals are possibly borrowed. They demonstrate different phonotactic properties and tonal patterns from inherited Kugama lexicon. However, the source language of these borrowings is not always possible to identify.

2.1.1.3 Allophonic realizations of consonants

2.1.1.3.1 Optional uvularization and labialization of /k/

The velar consonant /k/ can be optionally realized as the uvular [q] before the back vowel /ɔ/ or /ɔ̰/ in stem-initial position. Additionally, both [k] and [q] can be labialized resulting in [kʷ] and [qʷ]. All possible variants of the realization of /k/ before /ɔ/ and /ɔ̰/ are provided in (1).

(1)	kɔ̰m	[qɔ̃m] ~ [qʷɔ̃m] ~ [kɔ̃m] ~ [kʷɔ̃m]	‘body hair’
	kɔ̄y	[qɑi̯] ~ [qʷɑi̯] ~ [kɑi̯] ~ [kʷɑi̯]	‘vagina’
	kɔ̰y	[qɑ̃i̯] ~ [qʷɑ̃i̯] ~ [kɑ̃i̯] ~ [kʷɑ̃i̯]	‘neck’

2.1.1.3.2 Optional voicing of /h/

The consonant /h/ can have voiced and voiceless realizations in intervocalic position, as in (2). In the speech of one of my main consultants, the voiced realization is often found with stem-initial /h/ as well before a nasal vowel and /a/ within one stem.

(2)	a.	hàà	[ɦaː] ~ [haː]	‘sweep’
	b.	nɨ́ˈhɛ́ɛ̰	[nĩɦɛ̃ː] ~ [nĩhɛ̃ː]	‘four’
		nɔ́ɔ́ ˈhɪ̰̄	[nɔ̃ː ɦĩː] ~ [nɔ̃ː hĩː]	‘coward’
		ɲá ˈhɔ̰y	[ɲã ɦɔ̃i̯] ~ [ɲã hɔ̃i̯]	‘nose’
		àràhá	[araɦa] ~ [araha]	‘expensiveness’

2.1.1.3.3 Optional voicing of /s/ stem-internally

The consonant /s/ can be realized as [s] or [z] in stem-internal position, see examples in (3). I found two historically complex nouns whose stem-internal consonant /z/ originates from /s/ such as *sīzáā* ‘children’ (related to *sáà* ‘small one’) and *dààzéē* ‘night’ (possibly related to *séē* ‘moon; month’).

(3)	káŋsí	[kanzi] ~ [kansi]	‘repeat’
	gbènsì	[gbènzì] ~ [gbènsì]	‘log’

2.1.1.3.4 Denasalization of /ɲ/

When a syllable with a palatal onset /ɲ/ is placed after a nasal consonant or a nasal vowel, this palatal nasal is realized as [j̃].

(4)			
	kɔ̃m ‘body hair’ + =^{L} GEN + ɲɛ̰y ‘mouth’	[kɔm ɲ̃æ̰i̯]	‘beard’
	sī ‘thing.CF1’ + =^{L} GEN + kɛ̀m ‘tell (VF1)’ + =ɛ̄ NMLZ + ɲā NEG	[si kɛmɛ̃ ɲ̃ã]	‘The word is not…’
	mɛ́ 1SG.S3 + ɲā NEG	[mɛ̃ ɲ̃ã]	‘I am not…’
	tɛ̀ɛ̄ ‘chicken’ + ɲā NEG	[tɛ̃ː ɲ̃ã]	‘The chicken is not…’
	mą́ą̀ 1~2.CLM:PRST + ɲą́ą́ ˡsĭŋ ‘proverb’	[mãː ɲ̃ãː siŋ]	‘…that it is a proverb’

2.1.1.3.5 Palatalization of /ŋ/

The velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ is realized as /ɲ/ in coda position after front vowels before a pause in less careful speech.

(5)			
	yɛ̂ŋ	[jeɲ]	‘mother’
	gbêŋ	[gbəɲ]	‘hip’
	vĭŋ	[viɲ]	‘excrement’

2.1.1.3.6 Optional voicing of /k/

The velar /k/ can be realized as /g/ in intervocalic prosodically-weak position, see (6). Note that /k/ and /g/ do not contrast in stem-internal position between two vowels.[5]

(6)			
	ɓūūkī	[ɓuːki] ~ [ɓuːgi]	‘monitor lizard’
	kúkī	[kukɪ] ~ [kugi]	‘mask’
	vɔ̰́ɔ̰́rī kákī	[vɔ̃ːri kaki] ~ [vɔ̃ːri kagi]	‘swarm (n)’

2.1.1.3.7 Unreleased stops before a pause

The inventory of consonants in stem-final position is generally limited to /m/, /ŋ/, /y/, and /ʔ/. However, codas with /k/, /t/ and /p/ can be found in some borrowings and ideophones, see (7). These stops often lack audible release.

(7)			
	pát	[patˀ]	‘all’
	pɛ̰́p	[pɛ̃pˀ]	‘tiny’
	kɔ́p	[kɔpˀ]	‘ten’
	ɓɔ́ɔ̀ɓɔ̄k / ɓɔ́ɔ̀ɓɔ̄p	[ɓɔːɓɔkˀ] / [ɓɔːɓɔpˀ]	‘softness’

[5] The consonant /k/ does not commonly occur in stem-final position. It is only found in the final position of two ideophones: *ɓɔ́ɔ̀ɓɔ̄k* ‘softness’ and *ɓàɓàlāk* ‘very hot’. The final stops of these ideophones often lack audible release.

2.1.1.3.8 Realization of /r/

The consonant /r/ is usually realized as a tap [ɾ]. In careful speech, this consonant can be pronounced as an approximant [ɹ]. I found the latter pronunciation in stem-internal position between two vowels. However, I do not know if the realization through an approximant [ɹ] is possible in other positions.

(8) bŏm ˈpɛ̄ɛ̄rī [bom pɛːɾi] ~ [bom pɛːɹi] ‘hut with straw roof’

2.1.1.3.9 Realization of /z/

The consonant /z/ is commonly realized as [d͡z] and less often as [z]. It can optionally be realized as [d͡ʒ] in some less adapted borrowings where the source language has [d͡ʒ]. Note that the consonant /z/ commonly occurs in stem-initial position. It is also found in the noun *sīzáā* ‘children’ that is a historically complex form made up of two different stems.

(9)			
	sīzáā	[sid͡zaː] ~ [sizaː]	‘children’
	gbīrɛ́ ˈzɛ̄y	[gbirɛ d͡zɛi̯] ~ [gbirɛ zɛi̯]	‘shin’
	zɔ̄m	[d͡zɔm] ~ [zɔm]	‘poison’
	zɔ́y	[d͡zoi̯] ~ [zoi̯]	‘arrow’
	zɔ́ntà	[d͡zɔnta] ~ [zɔnta] ~ [d͡ʒɔnta]	‘now’, from Fulfulde *jonta* ‘now’

2.1.1.3.10 Realization of /y/

The consonant /y/ is frequently found in CVy stems. In these stems, /y/ occurs in prosodically weak position and it is realized as [i̯]. Elsewhere, i.e. in prosodically strong position, the consonant /y/ is realized as [j].

(10)			
	ɓɛ̄y	[ɓɛi̯]	‘stomach’
	yɛ̄ŋ	[jeŋ]	‘mother’

2.1.2 Vowels

2.1.2.1 Vowel inventory

The vowel inventory of Kugama comprises short oral, short nasal, long oral and long nasal sounds. Seven contrastive short oral vowels and seven contrastive long oral vowels represent four degrees of vowel height.

i	iː						u	uː	
	e	eː					o	oː	
			ɛ	ɛː		ɔ	ɔː		
					a	aː			

Table 9. Short and long oral vowels

i̱	i̱ː						u̱	u̱ː	
	ɛ̱	ɛ̱ː					ɔ̱	ɔ̱ː	
					a̱	a̱ː			

Table 10. Short and long nasal vowels

The inventory of nasal vowels consists of five short and five long sounds. Nasal vowels are indicated with a tilde under the vowel phoneme in order not to pile up tone and nasality markings, except in the case of phonetic transcription provided between square brackets where the tilde marking nasalization is placed above the vowel following the IPA conventions. In the rest of the text, vowel length is marked by doubling the vowel, except in the case of phonetic transcription provided between square brackets where it is marked with the length sign <ː> following the IPA conventions.

A vowel that follows a nasal consonant within one stem is always nasal, as in *bíˈnɑ̱́* ‘granary’. In the phonology chapter, I mark these nasal vowels with a tilde. However, I do not use the tilde in the rest of the text, since the occurrence of nasal vowels after nasal consonants is predictable when morpheme boundaries are marked. In other chapters, I only use a tilde to mark the nasalization of the vowels that do not follow a nasal consonant within the same stem.

In the following sections, I discuss various issues related to vowel distribution (Section 2.1.2.2) and allophonic realization of vowels (Section 2.1.2.3). Specific attention is paid to prosodic prominence which plays an important role in the realization of vowels and their distribution in stems.

2.1.2.2 Vowel distribution

The distribution of vowels shows sensitivity to stem-initial prominence, see Section 2.3 for more information on prosodic prominence. The first syllable of a stem is strong, whereas all other syllables (that typically follow) are prosodically weak. All vowels are attested in the initial syllable of a stem. At the same time, distributional possibilities of vowels are more limited in prosodically weak syllables, as summarized in Table 11. In addition, the vowel distribution in prosodically strong position is specified on the basis of syllable structure: open and closed syllables. The distribution of syllable types according to prosodic prominence is described in Section 2.3.

vowel quality		strong		weak
		open syllables	closed syllables	open syllables
front and /a/	short oral	+	+	+
	long oral	+	–	–
	short nasal	+	+	+
	long nasal	+	–	–
back	short oral	+	+	“ + ”
	long oral	+	–	–
	short nasal	+	+	+
	long nasal	+	–	–

Table 11. Vowel distribution depending on prosodic position and syllable type

Table 11 includes three symbols: +, – and “ + ”. The symbol + shows that a given vowel regularly occurs in this position. If the vowel is not found in this position, I mark this with –. I use “ + ” to indicate that normally a given vowel does not occur in this position, but there are a few exceptions found in borrowings, historically complex lexemes, and ideophones. Short nasal vowels in prosodically weak position occur only after nasal consonants.

Table 12 provides more specific information on the distribution of vowels with respect to their prosodic position. The vowel /e/ is infrequent in prosodically weak position.

	short oral	long oral	short nasal	long nasal
strong	/i,e,ɛ,a,ɔ,o,u/	/ii,ee,ɛɛ,aa,ɔɔ,oo,uu/	/i̲,ɛ̲,a̲,ɔ̲,u̲/	/i̲i̲,ɛ̲ɛ̲,a̲a̲,ɔ̲ɔ̲,u̲u̲/
weak	/i,e,ɛ,a,(ɔ,o,u)/		/i̲,ɛ̲,a̲,ɔ̲,u̲/	

Table 12. Vowel distribution according to their prosodic position

2.1.2.3 Allophonic realizations of vowels

2.1.2.3.1 Realization of oral vowels in prosodically strong position

Fourteen oral vowels are found in prosodically strong position. These are short and long vowels such as /i/, /ii/, /e/, /ee/, /ɛ/, /ɛɛ/, /a/, /aa/, /ɔ/, /ɔɔ/, /o/, /oo/, /u/, and /uu/. Their realization is outlined in Table 13. A semi-colon separates the unconditioned allophone from the conditioned ones. The tilde separates allophones in free variation.

/i/	[i]	yí ‘beat (VF1)’, vísɛ̄ ‘ant’
/ii/	[iː]	ɗīī ‘fish’, yíí ‘beat (VF3)’
/e/	[ə]	wēm ‘person’, gbɛ̄ŋ ‘hip’, lèlɛ̀ɛ̀m ‘slowly’
/ee/	[əː]	ɗɛ̄ɛ̄ ‘blood’, wéélɛ̄ ‘swinging’, séē ‘moon’
/ɛ/	[ɛ]; [æ], [e]	bè ‘hunt’, gɛ̄y ‘waist’, kɛ̀m ‘tell (VF1)’
/ɛɛ/	[i̯e] ~ [je] ~ [ɛː]; [eː]	ɗɛ́ɛ̄ ‘house (CF1)’, kɛ̀ɛ̀mí̯ ‘tell (VF4)’, sɛ́é ‘then’
/a/	[a]	tárī ‘father-in-law’, yārī ‘ant’, kàm ‘be full (VF1)’
/aa/	[aː]	kāā ‘machete’, kààmí̯ ‘be full (VF4)’
/ɔ/	[ɔ]; [ɑ]	sɔ̄ ‘dance’, kɔ̄y ‘vagina’, sɔ̄ ‘snake (CF1)’
/ɔɔ/	[u̯ɔ] ~ [u̯ɑ] ~ [ɔː]	ɓɔ̀ɔ̄ ‘thief’, ɔ́ɔ́ ‘dig’, sɔ̄ɔ̄kī ‘snake’
/o/	[o]	só ‘enter (VF1)’, ó ‘run (VF1)’
/oo/	[oː]	tóō ‘grass’, óó ‘run (VF3)’, sóō ‘wife (CF1)’
/u/	[u]	gūnā̱ ‘rattle’, kúlū ‘turtle’, yúkí ‘close (VF2)’
/uu/	[uː]	púūpī ‘whiteness’, yúúkí ‘close (VF4)’

Table 13. Allophonic realization of oral vowels in prosodically strong position

The vowel /ɛ/ is realized as [æ] after the consonants /l/ and /w/ in CVy stems,[6] e.g. *lɛ̄y* ‘cheek’, *wɛ̄y* ‘meat’. The vowels /ɛ/ and /ɛɛ/ are realized as [e] and [eː] after /y/, as in *yɛ́ɛ́kī ~ yɛ́kī* ‘money’, *yɛ́nį́* ‘animal feminine’. The vowel of the noun *yɛ̄y* ‘air’ can be realized as both [e] and [æ].

The vowel /ɔ/ is realized as [ɑ] after the velar consonant /k/ in CVy stems,[7] e.g. *kɔ̄y* ‘vagina’. The velar consonant /k/ is also commonly labialized before /ɔ/. A few examples of [u̯ɑ] are found in realizations of the vowel /ɔɔ/, e.g. *sɔ̄ɔ̄kī* [sɔːki] ~ [su̯ɔki] ~ [su̯ɑki] ‘snake’, *pɔ́ɔ́rɛ̄* [pɔːrɛ] ~ [pu̯ɔrɛ] ~ [pu̯ɑrɛ] ‘quiver’, *sì kɔ́ɔ́kɛ̄* [si kɔːkɛ] ~ [si ku̯ɑkɛ] ~ [si ku̯ɔkɛ] ‘chair’. More information on the realization of /ɔɔ/ is given in Section 2.1.2.3.1.1.

2.1.2.3.1.1 Optional diphthongization of /ɛɛ/ and /ɔɔ/

Both long monophthongs /ɛɛ/ and /ɔɔ/ frequently undergo optional diphthongization, as demonstrated in (11). The realization [u̯ɑ] of the vowel /ɔɔ/ is also possible and found in my elicited data.

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[6] /y/ in prosodically weak position is realized as [i̯]. This means that the actual phonetic environment of /ɛ/ is before [i̯], e.g. *lɛ̄y* [læi̯] ‘cheek’, *wɛ̄y* [wæi̯] ‘meat’.

[7] /y/ in prosodically weak position is realized as [i̯]. This means that the actual phonetic environment of /ɔ/ is before [i̯], e.g. *kɔ̄y* [kʷɑ̄i̯] ‘vagina’.

(11)	gbɛ̄ɛ̄rī	[gbɛ̄ːɾī] ~ [gbi̯ɛ̄ɾī]	‘groundnut’
	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	[ɗɛ́ːkɛ́] ~ [ɗi̯ɛ́kɛ́]	‘house’
	sɛ́ɛ́	[sɛ́ː] ~ [si̯ɛ́]	‘then’
	gɔ̀ɔ̀	[gɔ̀ː] ~ [gu̯ɔ̀]	‘big (one)’
	ɓɔ̀ɔ̄	[ɓɔ̀ː] ~ [ɓu̯ɔ̄]	‘thief’
	kɔ́ɔ́	[kɔ́ː] ~ [ku̯ɔ́]	‘or’

A number of lexemes with /ɛɛ/ or /ɔɔ/ can also have another form with a short vowel /ɛ/ or /ɔ/, e.g. some borrowings from Hausa like *sɛ́* [sɛ́] and *sɛ́ɛ́* [sɛ́ː] ~ [si̯ɛ́] ~ [sjɛ́] ‘then’ or *kɔ́* [kɔ́] and *kɔ́ɔ́* [kɔ́ː] ~ [ku̯ɔ́] ‘or’.

2.1.2.3.2 Realization of nasal vowels in prosodically strong position

All short and long nasal vowels are found in prosodically prominent position. These vowels are /i̯/, /ɛ̯/, /a̯/, /ɔ̯/, /u̯/, /ii̯/, /ɛɛ̯/, /aa̯/, /ɔɔ̯/, and /uu̯/. Table 14 provides information on the realization of nasal vowels in prosodically strong position.

/i̯/	[ĩ] ~ [ĩ]	gī̯ ‘avoid’, mí̯ ‘cross (VF1)’
/ii̯/	[ĩː] ~ [ĩː]	tíī̯pī ‘darkness’, víī̯pī ‘blackness’, níī́mí̯ ‘watch (VF4)’
/ɛ̯/	[ɛ̃]; [æ̃]	pɛ́p ‘tiny’, ɛ́ ‘burn’, nɛ́sí ‘chase (VF2)’
/ɛɛ̯/	[ɛ̃ː]; [ɛ̃ː]	hɛ́ɛ̄ ‘here’, zɛ́ɛ́ ‘greet’, tɛ̀ɛ̄ ‘chicken’, nɛ́ɛ́ ‘chase (VF2)’
/a̯/	[ã]	zá ‘arrive’, wà̰m ‘Kugama ethnic group’, ɲá̰ŋ ‘leave (VF1)’
/aa̯/	[ãː]	daā̰á̰ ‘sheep’, á̰ásí ‘suckle’, ná̰ā̰ ‘hand (CF1)’
/ɔ̯/	[ɔ̃]; [ɑ̃]	kɔ̰̄nɛ̄ ‘mother-in-law’, kɔ̰̄y ‘neck’, gɔ̰̀ ‘do (VF1)’, nɔ̰̄y ‘eye’
/ɔɔ̯/	[ɔ̃ː]	vɔ́ɔ̰́rī ‘honey, bee’, kɔ́ɔ̰̄ ‘lion’, ɲɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄kī ‘daughter’
/u̯/	[ũ]	vṵ̀rɛ̀ ‘intestines’, hṵ̄m ‘pound (VF1)’, nṵ̀kɔ̄ ‘cotton’
/uu̯/	[ũː]	hṵ̄ṵ̄mí̯ ‘pound (VF4)’, nṵ́ṵ́ ‘cook’

Table 14. Allophonic realization of nasal vowels in prosodically strong position

Vowels that immediately follow a nasal consonant within the same stem are always nasal, as in *mí̯* ‘cross (VF1)’, *mí̯tí* ‘annoy’, *mī̯* ‘twenty’, *ní̯ʰhɛ́ɛ̰̀* ‘four’, *ní̯ʰsè* ‘truth’. The vowels /ɛ̯/, /ɛɛ̯/, /ɔ̯/, and /ɔɔ̯/ are commonly realized as open front nasal vowels [ɛ̃], [ɛ̃ː], [ɔ̃], and [ɔ̃ː]. However, there are some exceptions. The vowel /ɛ̯/ is realized as [æ̃] after consonants /ɲ/ and /n/ in CVy stems,[8] as in *ɲɛ̯́y* ‘mouth’, *nɛ̯́y* ‘hand’. In addition, the vowel /ɛ̯/ has the realization [æ̃] after /ɲ/ in *ɲɛ́pē* ‘tongue’. The vowel /ɛɛ̯/ is realized as [ɛ̃ː] after /ɲ/ and /y/, as in *ɲɛ́ɛ̯̄* ~ *yɛ́ɛ̯̄* ‘milk’. I also found one example of the nasal vowel /ɔ̯/ realized as [ɑ̃] after the velar /k/: *kɔ̯́y* [kʷɑ̃j] ‘neck’.

[8] /y/ in prosodically weak position is realized as [i̯]. This means that the actual phonetic environment of /ɔ/ is before [i̯], e.g. *nɛ̂y* [nɛ̃́ī̯] ‘hand’.

2.1.2.3.3 Realization of vowels in prosodically weak position

Only short vowels occur in prosodically weak position. Table 15 provides a list of short oral vowels and short nasal vowels and their realizations in prosodically weak position. Short nasal vowels in prosodically weak position occur only after nasal consonants.

/i/	[i] ~ [ɪ]	bèlí ‘hunt (VF2)’, nɻ̲rī ‘shea tree’, =tí PFV
/i̱/	[ĩ] ~ [ĩ̞]	nɻ̲̀ɻ̲̀ dɔ̄ŋ̄i̱ ‘parrot’
/e/	[ɨ] ~ [ɘ]	yàŋrē ‘spider’, ní̱ˈsè ‘truth’, ɲɛ́pē ‘tongue’
/ɛ/	[ɛ̝] ~ [ɛ]	dūmlē ‘son’, háŋkē ‘soup’, vu̱rè ‘intestines’, gɔ̀rē ‘mountain’
/ɛ̱/	[ɛ̞̃] ~ [ɛ̃]	gbɛ̀nɛ̱̃ ‘horse’
/a/	[a]	dìŋ kísā ‘baobab tree’, dàlā ‘outside’
/a̱/	[ã]	bíˈná̱ ‘granary’
/ɔ/	[ɔ̝] ~ [ɔ]	ɓùkɔ̄ ‘bag, two hundred’, Nāmzɔ̄ (village name), tààpɔ̄ ‘tobacco’
/ɔ̱/	[ɔ̞̃] ~ [ɔ̃]	lūūmɔ̱̀ ‘market’
/o/	[o]	Yáálό (proper name)
/u/	[u]	kúlū ‘turtle’, mū̱ū̱kū ‘river’
/u̱/	[ũ]	sùnū̱ ‘ostrich’

Table 15. Allophonic realizations of oral vowels in prosodically weak position

Both the final vowel /i/ of disyllabic stems and the vowel /i/ of functional morphemes that follow these stems are often realized as [ɪ], as in (12).

(12) kpàmlí ‘teach’ + =sí APPL [kpamlɪ sɪ] ~ [kpamli si]

2.1.2.3.4 Long vowel devoicing before a pause

Long vowels partially devoice before a pause.

(13)	váā #	[váa̱̥]	‘child’
	yíī #	[jíi̱̥]	‘goat’
	tāā #	[tāa̱̥]	‘monkey’

2.2 Syllable and stem structure

Kugama has the following syllable shapes: V, CV, VV, CVV, VC, and CVC. Nouns, verbs, functional morphemes and pronominals differ in terms of their typical syllable shapes.

Most functional morphemes and underived pronominals are monosyllabic. They usually take the form of V or CV, e.g. *=ɛ̄* NMLZ, *=ɛ́* DEM, *=ɛ̀* PRST, *tì ~ tɛ̀* PROG, *à* / *=ɛ̀* FUT, *=tí* /

=rí PFV, *=sí* APPL, *=wā* PFM, *=ré ~ =rê* DEF, *=mɛ̰ ~ =mɪ̰́* 1SG.POSS.INAL, etc. They can also have a VC or CVC structure, with a glottal stop ʔ as coda, e.g. *=mɛ̰ʔ ~ =mɪ̰́ʔ* 1SG.POSS.INAL, *=réʔ ~ =rêʔ* DEF. However, all forms with a glottal stop can also be realized without it, e.g. *=mɛ̰ ~ =mɪ̰́ ~ =mɛ̰ʔ ~ =mɪ̰́ʔ* 1SG.POSS.INAL.

The majority of Kugama noun stems are monosyllabic or disyllabic. Nouns that have more than two syllables are borrowings, historically complex forms (e.g. numerals, proper names) and nouns with some frozen non-productive morphology (Section 3.3). Monosyllabic nouns as well as the first syllable of disyllabic nouns can have a V, CV, VV, CVV, VC, or CVC form, see examples in (14). The non-initial syllable of polysyllabic nouns takes a CV shape.

(14) Monosyllabic nouns tɛ̄ ‘place’, hɔ̰̄ ‘food’, zɔ̄m ‘poison’, ṵ̄y ‘head’
Polysyllabic nouns wɛ̄nɪ̰̄ ‘people’, nɑ̰́ɑ̰́kī ‘cow’, bèntɛ̀lɛ̀ ‘width’

Monosyllabic noun stems are typically heavy syllables such as CVV and CVC. There are only a few nouns with a CV structure as their Free Form (the main allomorph), e.g. *sì* ‘thing’, *tɛ̄* ‘place’, *nɪ̰̀ ~ nɛ̰̀* ‘there, that place’. Shortening of CVV nouns frequently occurs in compounds and possessive constructions, e.g. *kpáā > kpâ* ‘side’, *ɓáā > ɓâ* ‘stomach (CF1)’. In addition, Construct Form 2 (a secondary allomorph) of nouns usually has a CV structure, e.g. *zé* ‘dog (CF2)’ and *hɔ́* ‘calabash (CF2)’. More information about noun stem structure is provided in Section 3.3.

There is a group of nouns whose syllable structure does not fall under the description in (14). These are polysyllabic nouns that have a partially or fully reduplicated form,[9] e.g. *kpìkpítírí* ‘thickness’, *kpùkpɔ́rɔ́* ‘bravery, intelligence’, *pēlāpēlā* ‘quickly’ (< *pēlā* ‘early’), *lèm / lèmlèm / lèlèèm* ‘slowly’, *pɛ̰́(ɛ̰́)pɛ̰́* ‘little’ (*pɛ̰́p* ‘tiny’), *ɲɑ̰̀kɔ́ɲɑ̰̀kɔ́* ‘continuously’, *ɓínɪ̰́ɓínɪ̰́* ‘one by one’ (*ɓínɪ̰́* ‘one’), *gbɑ̰̀ɑ̰́ˈgbɑ̰̀* ‘immediately’, *tɛ̰́ŋtɛ̰́ŋ* ‘cleanliness, smartness’, *síríríˈ* ‘narrowness’, *mɔ̰́rɔ́rɔ́* ‘narrowness’. For some of these nouns, the reduplication appears to be unmotivated, as I have not found corresponding non-reduplicated forms. Finally, I have found two examples of the CVVC shape, viz. *lèlèèm* ‘slowly’, which also looks like a partially reduplicated form, and *pēél* ‘smooth’.

Underived Kugama verb stems are monosyllabic or disyllabic. Like nouns, monosyllabic verbs as well as the first syllable of disyllabic verbs can take one of the following shapes: V, CV, VV, CVV, VC, or CVC. The second syllable of disyllabic verbs is always a light CV. Unlike monosyllabic noun stems that are typically heavy syllables, monosyllabic verb stems can take the form of a light or heavy syllable, see (15). More information about verb stems and their allomorphs, which may have a different structure, is provided in Chapter 10.

[9] Pre-nominal Property Nouns often have such reduplicated structures, see Section 3.2.2.

(15) Monosyllabic verbs ó ‘run (VF1)’, yí ‘beat (VF1)’, w̱ɛ̱ɛ̱ ‘slaughter’, vím ‘beat drum’
Disyllabic verbs yɔ́lí ‘be tired’, nɑ̱kí ‘rain (VF2)’, ɓáámɨ́ ‘be old (VF4)’

Segmental derivational morphemes (*=sí* APPL, *=sā / =ā* RECP, *=mlí / =Vlí / =lí* PLAC, *=rī* VEN, *=rī* PLAC), as well as the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí* and object pronominals are verbal enclitics. All these morphemes together with the verb stem form the verb group (Section 10.3). The second and all following syllables of the verb group are always CV, as in (16).

(16) nɔ̱kí ‘cook (VF2)’ + =sí APPL + =tí PFV + =tú 1PL.O → nɔ̱kí=sí=tí=tú

The weight of a syllable also plays an important role in Kugama. In particular, the Perfective marker has two allomorphs *=tí* and *=rí* with the choice between the two being based on the weight of the preceding syllable. The allomorph *=rí* comes after heavy syllables (CVC, VC, CVV, VV), and *=tí* comes after light syllables (CV, V), see (17). More information on the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí* is provided in Section 10.4.

(17)
ɔ́ɔ́ ‘dig’ + PFV	→ ɔ́ɔ́=rí
á ‘go’ + PFV	→ á=tí
hū̱m ‘pound (VF1)’ + PFV	→ hū̱m=rí
ɲɑ̱lí ‘boil (VF2)’ + PFV	→ ɲɑ̱lí=tí
kɛ̀ɛ̀mɨ́ ‘say (VF4)’ + PFV	→ kɛ̀ɛ̀mɨ́=tí
nɔ̱kí ‘cook (VF2)’ + =sí APPL + PFV	→ nɔ̱kí=sí=tí

2.3 Prosodic prominence

Kugama has stem-initial prominence.[10] Prosodic prominence implies the presence of one prominent syllable per phonological word.[11] Thus, in Kugama the first syllable of the stem is strong whereas the following syllables of the stem are prosodically weak. I mainly focus on phonological evidence for stem-initial prosodic prominence in Kugama. I have not analyzed differences between prosodically strong and weak positions in terms of intensity and duration. In Table 16, I provide some features of prosodically strong and weak positions.

[10] Idiatov & Van de Velde (2015) and Lionnet & Hyman (2018) were especially helpful in understanding prosodic prominence in Kugama.

[11] I use the term *phonological word* to refer to the combination of a stem and following enclitics.

	Strong syllable	Weak syllable
Consonant distribution	almost all consonants	few consonants
Vowel distribution	all vowels	mostly short front vowels, but short back vowels are also found
Syllable structure	all syllable types	CV
Tone levels	H, M, L	H, M, L
Contour tones	present	absent

Table 16. Characteristics of prosodically strong and weak syllables

Almost all consonants occur in the onset position of the prominent syllable. Fewer consonants are possible in stem-medial and stem-final position. These are mainly nasals /n/, /ŋ/, /m/, voiceless stops /k/, /p/, /s/, /t/, a lateral /l/, and a tap /r/. In other languages in the area, /k/, /p/, /s/, and /t/ are typical stem-initial consonants (e.g. Lesage 2020 on Kam). In Kugama, they also occur stem-internally (in prosodically weak position). This comparison may suggest that the stems of such nouns and verbs are historically complex, with their prosodic structure reflecting their complex origin. This historically complex structure is further corroborated by a number of synchronic morphological alternations active for some of such nouns and verbs. For example, a number of nouns include an extension, e.g. *kūmpī* 'bone' with the extension +pī. This particular extension can be reconstructed as a noun that used to be linked by the Genitive marker =ᴸ; more information is given in Section 3.3. Another example of a historically complex structure is found in verbs that have two allomorphs CVkV and CVVkV, e.g. *yúkí* 'close (VF2)' and *yúúkí* 'close (VF4)'. Both forms are allomorphs of one verb used in different constructions. That the second syllable of CVkV can be detached from the first syllable by an extra vowel may indicate that the verb was historically complex, see Section 10.2 on allomorphs of verbs. The function of the extra vowel is unknown.

All vowels of the vowel inventory can occur in prosodically strong positions. Only a subset of vowels is found in a prosodically weak position. It is typically restricted to short front and back (less often) vowels: *ɲɔ̰ɔ̰kī* 'daughter', *wē sóōrī* 'woman', *wáŋkɛ̄* 'leaf', *gɔ̀rɛ̄* 'mountain', *zūrí* 'be good', *ɓínɲ́* 'one', *bɛ̀lí* 'hunt (VF2)', etc. Back vowels are rare in prosodically weak positions. Back vowels are found only in a few nouns, most of which are clear borrowings or ideophones: *mɔ̰ɔ̰kū* 'river', *kùsū* 'cloud', *ɓùkɔ̄* 'bag', *nṵ̀kɔ̄* 'cotton', *sùɓùkɔ̄* 'corn, maize', *lɛ̄ɛ̄sɔ̀* 'bed', *lūūmɔ̰̀* 'market', *mɔ́ɔ́lɔ́* 'balafon', *kpùkpórɔ́* 'intelligence', etc. In the majority of examples, the preceding vowel of a polysyllabic word is back as well.

The distribution of syllables in nouns and verbs also reflects the relevance of prosodic prominence. Thus, the stem-initial position can be occupied by a larger number of syllable types than non-stem-initial position. Stem-initial position is a prosodically strong position in which the following syllables can occur: V, CV, VV, CVV, VC, and CVC. Prosodically weak

position is restricted to the CV syllable type. The majority of Kugama nouns and verbs comply with this generalization with respect to stem-initial prominence. However, some exceptions in the distribution of syllable types with respect to prosodic prominence can be found in ideophones, reduplicated forms (some manner adverbial nouns and ideophonic nouns), borrowings, and historically complex forms. For example, if a polysyllabic word has a heavy non-initial syllable, this lexeme is historically complex, as in (18). These exceptional forms have deviant structures that I do not elaborate on here, see Section 3.5 for more information.

(18) *sīzáā* 'children' (compare with *sáà* 'small, young ones')
bìmɛ́ɛ̄ 'body' (compare with *mɛ̄* 'twenty', *mɛ́ɛ̄* 'to (direction), on')
ní'hɛ́ɛ̀ 'four' (*ní* may originate from *nɛ̃y* 'hand')
tùgūy 'back' (compare with *tɔ̃m* 'bottom, buttock')

A number of functional monosyllabic morphemes may show ambiguous formal properties with respect to prosodic prominence. This reflects their gradual evolution from independent, prosodically prominent forms to bound, prosodically weak forms as part of processes such as compounding, constructionalization, functionalization, and grammaticalization. Thus, it may be difficult to describe in terms of prosodic prominence unambiguously certain Bound Nouns (Section 3.2.4), construct forms of nouns (for example, in compounds), prepositions, pronominals and some other functional morphemes (e.g. the Definite marker *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =rɛ́(ʔ)*), as well as ideophones and reduplicated forms that have their own phonotactic behavior. For instance, some of these lexemes undergo vowel length loss or show variation between a long and a short vowel, e.g. *fáà ~ fã̀* 'small, young one' which is used as a diminutive marker and originates from *váā* 'child'.

All three tone levels are found in prosodically strong and weak positions. However, the functional load of these tones may vary across different positions. For example, there is no contrast between H and M in the second syllable of disyllabic verb stems, see Section 2.6.3. Contour tones, which are sequences of different level tones, commonly occur in prosodically strong position.

2.4 Clitics

I distinguish word and clitic boundaries. So far, in my analysis of Kugama there is no need to distinguish clitics and affixes. I choose to call all bound markers *clitics*. I am hesitant to call them affixes because they do not phonologically interact with their host the same way affixes sometimes do in other languages. Readers working from a typological perspective may want to analyze these markers as clitics or affixes, depending on how they define these categories for their own purposes.

Clitics in Kugama follow the host, i.e. they are enclitics. Clitics form a phonological word together with their host morpheme. Some types of pronominals, as well as functional morphemes that express different grammatical categories are clitics. Clitics can be segmental or tonal, e.g. the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí*, the Reciprocal marker *=sā / =ā*, the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́*, the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ and the Resultative maker $=^{L}$.

Some clitics can be attached to any morpheme that precedes them. For example, these clitics are the predicate-final marker *=wā* (Section 11.3.2) and the predicate focus marker *=rɔ̀* (Section 14.2).

Clitics occur in a prosodically weak position. They are commonly monosyllabic of a CV or V syllable shape (except for disyllabic allomorphs of the Pluractional marker *=mlí ~ =mlī / =Vlí ~ =Vlī*). The common initial consonants of CV clitics are /k/, /s/, /t/, /r/, /l/, /m/ or /n/ (see Table 3, page 35).

Clitics can have a V syllable shape. They can be distinguished from an independent phonological word by the absence of a glottal stop that separates them from the preceding vowel. Instances when V-shaped clitics follow another vowel are discussed in Section 2.5.

Like in other prosodically weak syllables, the vowels of clitics are restricted to short front or (less often) back vowels, e.g. the Future maker *=ɛ̀*, the Nominalization marker *=kī*, and the first person singular object pronominal *=ú(ʔ) ~ =ó(ʔ)*.

Clitics like other prosodically weak syllables do not carry contour tones (except for the Definite marker *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =rɛ́(ʔ)*). Derivational morphemes such as the Applicative marker *=sí ~ =sī* and the Pluractional marker *=mlí ~ =mlī / =Vlí ~ =Vlī / =lí ~ =lī* have the same free variation between a H and M tone as the second syllable of disyllabic verb stems (Section 2.6.3.4).

2.5 Morphophonological processes

2.5.1 Hiatus and hiatus resolution

In this section, I analyze vowel-initial morphemes that come after another vowel. In particular, I focus on adjacent vowels separated by a word or clitic boundary. In the case of word-clitic and clitic-clitic boundaries, I discuss phonological processes that take place when a vowel is followed by the Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄*, the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́*, and the Presentative markers *=ɛ̀* and *=ɛ̀rɛ́*. A few examples are provided with the cliticized form *=ɛ̀* of the Future marker *à*, the cliticized form *=ɛ̀* of the Comitative preposition *à*, or the cliticized form *=ɛ̄* of the Negation marker *ɲā*. I also discuss hiatus that occurs when a vowel is followed by the second person possessive modifier *=ɔ̄(ʔ)*, the non-human third person object pronominal *=ɔ̀(ʔ)*, and the first person object pronominal *=ó(ʔ) ~ =ú(ʔ)*.

This section discusses vowel assimilation, vowel elision, and consonant epenthesis. The analysis of hiatus and hiatus resolution needs further revision and expansion. For example, in this section, I do not discuss in detail high-mid vowels /e/, /ee/, /o/ and /oo/ followed by another vowel, since I do not have enough data.

2.5.1.1 Successions of vowels

Two adjacent vowels do not undergo any changes if they are identical, as in (19).

(19)
lɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̄ 'jar' + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [lɛ̀ːréː]
sī 'thing.CF1' + $=^{L}$ GEN + kɛ̀m 'say (VF1)' + =ɛ̄ NMLZ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [sì kɛ̀mɛ́̄ː]
ɗɛ́ 3SG.HUM.S3 + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [ɗɛ́ː]
kàwɛ́ 'how' + =ɛ̀ PRST	→ [kàwɛ̂ː]
góórɛ̀ 'kidney' + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [góːrɛ̌ː]

Sequences of vowels occur when /i/ or /i̱/ are followed by /ɛ/ and when /u/ is followed by /ɛ/.

(20)
yɛ́ɛ́kī 'money' + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [jɛ́ːkīɛ́]
nɑ́ɑ́kī 'cow' + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [nɑ́ːkīɛ́]
á 'go' + =kī NMLZ + =ɛ̄ NEG	→ [ákīɛ̄]
á 'go' + =kī NMLZ + =ɛ̀ COM	→ [ákīɛ̀]
táá 'eat (VF3)' + =kī NMLZ + =ɛ̀ PRST	→ [táːkīɛ̀]
nɪ̀ / nɛ̀ 'there' + =ɛ̀ COM	→ [nɪ̀ɛ̀] / [nɛ̀ː]
zūrí 'be good' + =ɛ̀ PRST	→ [zūríɛ́]
tí PFV + =ɛ̀ COM	→ [tíɛ̀] ~ [tíɛ́]
mɔ̰̄ɔ̰kū 'tale' + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [mɔ̰̄ːkūɛ́]

2.5.1.2 Left-to-right vowel assimilation

The front vowel /ɛ/ of clitics fully assimilates in quality and nasality to the preceding vowels /a/, /aa/, /a̱/, /a̱a̱/, /ɛ̱/, /ɛ̱ɛ̱/, /ɔ/, /ɔɔ/, /ɔ̱/, and /ɔ̱ɔ̱/. When a long vowel is followed by a vowel-initial clitic, the resulting extra-long vowel is commonly shortened to a regular long vowel, e.g. *váā* 'child' + *=ɛ́* DEM → váá. However, this extra-length can be maintained in careful speech. I keep extra-vowel length in the nouns that are followed by the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀rɛ́*, as I only have these examples in my elicited data. I do not know if this extra-vowel length with *=ɛ̀rɛ́* is preserved due to careful pronunciation or for some other reasons. When a (C)VV word is followed by a vowel-initial word, e.g. *nɑ́ā̱ Àlí* 'hand of Ali', the long vowel of the first word will be separated from the vowel of the second word by a glottal stop, see Section 2.5.1.5.

(21)

váā ‘child’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [vá:]
váā ‘child’ + =ɛ̀ COM	→ [vâ:]
ɲą̄ NEG + =ɛ̀ FUT	→ [ɲą̃ ~ ɲã:]
bíˡnǫ́ ‘granary’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [bíˡnǫ́:]
mɛ́ɛ̨̄ ‘water’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [mɛ́̃:]
tɛ̀ɛ̨̄ ‘chicken’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [tɛ̃̌:]
gɔ̀dɔ̄ ‘robe’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [gɔ̀dɔ̌:]
ɓɔ̀ɔ̄ ‘thief’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [ɓɔ̌:]
vɔ̀ɔ̨̄ ‘phlegm’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [vɔ̃̌:]

(22)

váā ‘child’ + =ɛ̀rɛ́ PRST	→ [vâ::rɛ́]
dą̄ą́ ‘sheep’ + =ɛ̀rɛ́ PRST	→ [dã::rɛ́]

2.5.1.3 Right-to-left vowel assimilation

The second person possessive modifier =ɔ̄ triggers rounding vowel assimilation of the preceding vowel. In addition, the preceding vowel is raised to /u/ or /u̱/. A long vowel becomes short before the second person possessive modifier =ɔ̄, as in (23).

(23)

ɓáā ‘stomach (CF1)’ + =ɔ̄ 2SG.POSS.INAL	→ /ɓúɔ̄/
kǫ́ɔ̨̄ ‘neck (CF1)’ + =ɔ̄ 2SG.POSS.INAL	→ /kǘɔ̨̄/
ɗɛ́ɛ̄ ‘house (CF1)’ + =ɔ̄ 2SG.POSS.INAL	→ /ɗúɔ̄/
ɓī ‘the one of’ + =ɔ̄ 2SG.POSS.INAL	→ /ɓūɔ̄/

2.5.1.4 Epenthesis of /w/

Epenthesis of /w/ commonly takes place when a long back vowel /oo/ or /uu/ comes before /ɛ/ of a clitic. A long back vowel becomes short when the epenthetic consonant /w/ is inserted, as in (24).[12]

(24)

nǫ́ǫ̨́ˡɗóō ‘back loincloth’ + =ɛ́ DEM	→ [nɔ̃́: ˡɗówɛ́]
ɓááˡtóō ‘bush’ + =ɛ̀ PRST	→ [ɓá: ˡtówɛ̀]
gùū ‘bush’ + =ɛ̀ PRST	→ [gŭwɛ́]

The vowel before the epenthetic /w/ can further be deleted in less careful speech.

[12] One could also say that the second mora of the long V1 glides.

(25) ɓááˡtóō ‘bush’ + =è PRST → [ɓá: ˡtwê]

2.5.1.5 Epenthesis of a glottal stop

When two adjacent vowels belong to two different phonological words, a glottal stop is commonly inserted between them, see (26).

(26) sì ‘thing:GEN’ + ú ‘fly’ + =kī NMLZ → [sì ʔú kī] ‘ladder’
á 1SG + á ‘go’ + =tí PFV → [á ʔá tí] ‘I went…’
hɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘food:GEN’ + ūy ‘head’ → [hɔ̃̀: ʔúḭ̄] ‘brain’

As I mentioned at the beginning of Section 2.5.1, there are some independent functional morphemes that have allomorphs expressed through clitics, e.g. the form *=ɛ̀* of the Future marker *à* or the form *=è* of the Comitative preposition *à.* In this case, a glottal stop is inserted only when the vowel is followed by independent forms of these markers such as *à* of the Future marker and *à* of the Comitative preposition, as in (27). Unlike the Comitative preposition, the Future marker is more frequently cliticized as *=ɛ̀* than used in its independent form *à*.

(27) váā ‘child’ + à COM → [vâ: ʔà]
ɓɔ́ ‘also’ + à FUT → [ɓɔ́ ʔà]

The Negation marker *ā̱* is usually used in its independent form and separated from the preceding vowel with a glottal stop. However, I found a few examples where the Negation marker *ā̱* follows the preceding vowel without a glottal stop. In these cases, it is cliticized to the preceding word. The Negation marker *ā̱* can also trigger assimilation of the preceding vowel when it is used as an independent or cliticized form, see Section 2.5.3.5.

(28) à COM + =ré 3SG.HUM + ā̱ NEG → [à rá ʔã̄]
wēm ‘person’ + =ɛ́ DEM + =ᴸ GEN + =rɛ́ PROX + =ā̱ NEG → [wēmɛ̃́ ˡrã:]

2.5.1.6 Elision of /i/ and /i̱/ in prosodically weak stem-final syllables

The Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄*, the Reciprocal marker *=ā*, the non-human third person pronominal *=ɔ́(ʔ)*, and the first person object pronominal *=ó(ʔ) ~ =ú(ʔ)* delete the preceding vowel /i/ or /i̱/ of a prosodically weak CV syllable. In particular, these morphemes delete the final vowel /i/ or /i̱/ of disyllabic verbs, as well as the vowel /i/ of the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí*, the Applicative marker *=sí*, the Ventive marker *=rī*, the Pluractional markers *=rī* and *=Vlí/=mlí/=lí*, and the Nominalization marker *=kī*, as in (29). The lexical tone of /i/ or /i̱/ can remain, as in (29a), or be deleted, as in (29b). More information about these morphotonological processes is provided in Section 2.6.6.3.

(29)

a.	kèèmi̱ ‘say (VF4)’ + =ó 1SG.O	→ [kɪ̀ɪ̀mő]
	kālí ‘see (VF2)’ + =ó 1SG.O	→ [kālό]
	kā ‘see (VF1)’ + =tí PFV + =ó 1SG.O	→ [kā tό]
	kèèmi̱ ‘say (VF4)’ + =tí PFV + =ó 1SG.O	→ [kɪ̀ɪ̀mḯ tό]
	yíí ‘beat (VF3)’ + =^{L} RES + =rí PFV + =ɔ̀ 3NHUM.O	→ [jîː rɔ̂]
b.	pɔ̄lí ‘farm (VF2)’ + =^{L} RES + =kī NMLZ + =ɔ̀ 3NHUM.O	→ [pɔ̄lù kɔ̀]
	yɔ̀lí ‘want’ + =ɛ̄ NMLZ	→ [jɔ̀lɛ̰̄]
	ɛ̄rī ‘come’ + =ɛ̀ NMLZ	→ [ɛ̄rɛ̀]
	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí ‘love’ + =ā RECP	→ [jɔːlā]

2.5.2 Rounding assimilation

Rounding assimilation targets the vowels /i/ and /i̱/ in prosodically weak syllables. Rounding assimilation is commonly triggered: i) by object, possessive, and addressee pronominals that have a back vowel in their form, ii) by the labio-velar approximant /w/, and iii) by back vowels of lexemes used in fixed expressions (e.g. in numerals). The rounding vowel assimilation commonly spreads from right to left. However, there are also cases where rounding assimilation spreads from left to right.

2.5.2.1 Right-to-left rounding assimilation

The right-to-left rounding assimilation targets only prosodically weak syllables with /i/ or /i̱/. These syllables are the second syllables of verb stems and a number of functional morphemes such as the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí*, the Applicative marker *=sí*, the Ventive marker *=rī*, the Pluractional markers *=rī* and *=Vlí/=mlí/=lí,* the Nominalization marker *=kī / =ɛ̄/ =ī / =ɛ̀*, and the Possessive marker *=rī*. The assimilation can be triggered by back vowels of addressee, possessive and object pronominal clitics, as in (30).

(30)

pírī ‘unwrap’ + =^{L} RES + =mu̱ 2SG.ADR	→ [pírù mű] ‘Unwrap!’
váā ‘child’ + =^{L} GEN + =rī POSS + =^{L} GEN + =nu̱ 2PL.POSS.ALIEN	→ [vâː rú ˈnű] ‘your (PL) child’
ā 1SG.S1 + kèèmi̱ ‘show (VF4)’ + =tí PFV + =tú 1PL.O	→ [ā kɪ̀ɪ̀mű tú tú] ‘I showed to us’

The rounding assimilation from right to left can also be triggered by the labio-velar approximant /w/. For example, the predicate-final marker *=wā* always triggers the rounding assimilation. It can optionally occur with other lexemes whose initial consonant is /w/ in spontaneous speech, as in (31). The labio-velar approximant /w/ targets the vowel /i/ or /i̱/ of the prosodically weak final syllable of verbs, as well as the vowel /i/ of functional morphemes.

Interestingly, it only infrequently affects the vowel /i/ (and /i̱/ (?)) of a prosodically weak final syllable of nouns.

(31) ɓáámi̱ ‘be old (VF4)’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV + =wā PFM → [ɓá:mṹ tú wā] ‘(It) became old’

ī IMPS.S1 + lɛ́ ‘give birth (VF1)’ + =tí PFV + ẉa̱a̱ ‘Kugama ethnic group’ → [ī lɛ́ tú w̃ã:] ‘(where) the Kugama were born’

gààsì ‘stick’ + =wā PFM → [gà:sù wā] ‘(I’ve broken) the stick’

na̱a̱kī ‘cow’ + =wā PFM → [nã́:kī wā] ‘(I’ve seen) the cow’

2.5.2.2 Left-to-right rounding assimilation

The rounding assimilation can also spread from left to right. However, this assimilation is optional and found only in fixed phrases such as numerals in spontaneous speech.

(32) mɛ̱ ‘twenty’ + kɔ́p ‘ten’ + =tí (addition) + ni̱ˡgìna̱ ‘five’ → mɛ̱ kɔ́p tí ni̱ˡgìna̱ ~ mɛ̱ kɔ́p tú ni̱ˡgìna̱ ‘three hundred’

2.5.3 Height assimilation

2.5.3.1 Right-to-left height assimilation with the Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄*

The Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄* commonly triggers full assimilation of the vowel /i/ of the preceding prosodically weak syllable, as in (33).

(33) kpàmlí ‘learn’ + =sí APPL + =ɛ̄ NMLZ → [kpàmlɛ̄ sɛ̄]

sɔ̱m ‘send (VF1)’ + =sí APPL + =^{L} RES (?) + =rī VEN + =ɛ̄ NMLZ → [sɔ̃́m sɛ̀ rɛ̄]

2.5.3.2 Right-to-left height assimilation with the object pronominal *=ré*

The human third person singular object pronominal *=ré* optionally triggers full assimilation of the vowel /i/ of the preceding prosodically weak syllable, as in (34).

(34) hɔ̱ ‘meet’ + =tí PFV + =ré 3SG.HUM.O → [hɔ̃́ té ré ~ hɔ̃́ tí ré]

ma̱kí ‘know’ + =^{L} RES + =ré 3SG.HUM.O → [mã́kɛ̀ ré ~ mã́kì ré]

2.5.3.3 Left-to-right height assimilation with the possessive pronominal *=mɛ̱́(ʔ) ~ =mí̱(ʔ)*

The first person singular possessive pronominal modifier has two forms *=mɛ̱́(ʔ) ~ =mí̱(ʔ)*. In the speech of one of my two main consultants, the form *=mɛ̱́(ʔ)* occurs when it is preceded by /a/, while the form *=mí̱(ʔ)* occurs after any other vowel but /a/, as in (35). However, I did not find this vowel assimilation in the speech of my second main consultant. Both forms *=mɛ̱́(ʔ) ~*

=mi̱(ʔ) were attested in the speech of different Kugama speakers. However, I was not able to check if there is a regular pattern in the choice of one of these forms in their speech.

(35) [dū: mḯ] 'my tooth', [yēm mḯ] 'my mother', [dḭ̱é mḯ] 'my house'
[là: mḗ] 'my cheek', [gā: mḗ] 'my waist'

2.5.3.4 Left-to-right height assimilation with the Reciprocal *=sā / =ā*

The Reciprocal marker *=sā/=ā* triggers full assimilation of the prosodically weak vowel /i/ of the following Pluractional marker *=Vlí/=mlí/=lí*, as in (36).

(36) léɛ́ 'lick' + =sā RECP + =lí PLAC → [lḭ́é sā lā]
ókí 'run (VF2)' + =ā RECP + =lí PLAC → [ókā lā]

2.5.3.5 Right-to-left height assimilation with the Negation marker *a̱*

The negation marker *a̱* can optionally trigger height assimilation of the preceding low-mid vowel, as in (37).

(37) ɓūɔ̄^{k} SG.2SG.POSS + =ɛ̀ PRST + a̱ NEG → [ɓūɔ̄kā ʔa̱]
yɛ́kī 'money' + ú 'on' + =ɔ̄ 2SG.POSS.INAL + a̱ NEG → [jékī ʔúā ʔa̱]

2.5.4 Nasality spread with the Negation marker *a̱*

Nasality can spread from the Negation marker *a̱* to the preceding oral vowel, as in (38). This assimilation is found when the Negation marker *a̱* is cliticized, i.e. the marker is not separated from the previous vowel by a glottal stop. Example (38) also shows that the negation marker *a̱* can also trigger height assimilation of the preceding vowel, see Section 2.5.3.5.

(38) wēm 'person' + =ɛ́ DEM + =^{L} GEN + =ré PROX + =a̱ NEG → [wēmḗ ˈrã̄:]
à COM + =ré 3SG.HUM.NS + =a̱ NEG → [à rã̄:]

2.5.5 Nasalization of oral vowels

Nasalization of oral vowels takes place when they follow a nasal consonant or a nasal vowel within the same phonological word across the clitic boundary, as in (39).

(39) kɛ̀m 'say (VF1)' + =ɛ̄ NMLZ → [kɛ̀mɛ̄̃] 'saying'
ɲɔ́m 'bite (VF1)' + =ā RECP → [ɲɔ̃́mã̄] 'bite/biting each other'
ɲa̱ NEG + =ɛ̀ FUT → [ɲã̄ ~ ɲã:]
bíˈna̱ 'granary' + =ɛ́ DEM → [bíˈnã́:]

2.5.6 Assimilation in place of articulation of nasal consonants

The velar nasal /ŋ/ optionally assimilates in place of articulation to a following consonant. This consonant assimilation is found with /CVŋ/ nouns followed by inalienable pronominal modifiers and with /CVŋ/ verbs followed by a functional morpheme that does not begin with a velar, e.g. the Perfective marker *=rí/=tí*, the Reciprocal marker *=sā*. In careful speech, the assimilation can be avoided.

(40)
tɔ̄ŋ ‘father’ + =mɛ̰ 1SG.POSS.INAL	→ [tɔ̄m mɛ̃]
tɔ̄ŋ ‘father’ + =^{L} GEN + =nṵ 2PL.POSS.INAL	→ [tɔ̂n nṹ]
ɲáŋ́ ‘leave (VF2)’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV	→ [ɲa̋n tí]
zɔ́ŋ ‘follow’ + =sā RECP	→ [zɔ́n sā]

The final nasal /m/ of the Bound Noun *kpà̰m* ‘big one’ and the free possessive pronominal modifier *ɓām / ām* ‘mine (SG/PL)’ can also assimilate to the following consonant. This assimilation is also optional, and is commonly avoided in careful speech.

(41)
ɓām SG.1SG.POSS + ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ‘house’	→ [ɓān ɗɛ́ːkɛ̰́]
kpà̰m ‘big one’ + táāpī ‘stone’	→ [kpà̰n tā́ːpī]
kpà̰m ‘big one’ + gɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘big one’	→ [kpà̰ŋ gɔ̀ː]

2.5.7 Assimilation of the Perfective marker *=tí* to a preceding /l/

Kugama has verbs with a (C)Vlí structure. When these verbs are followed by the Resultative marker =^{L} and the Perfective marker *=tí*, the final vowel of (C)Vlí verbs is deleted (Section 2.5.10), and the initial consonant /t/ of the Perfective marker undergoes full assimilation to the preceding consonant /l/ of the verb, as in (42).

(42) yɔ́lí ‘be tired’ + ^{L}RES + =tí PFV → yɔ́lì=tí* → yôl=lí [jɔ̂llí]

2.5.8 Elision of stem-internal intervocalic /r/, /t/, /n/, /k/ in some disyllabic verbs

There is a group of disyllabic CVCV verbs whose stem-internal intervocalic /r/, /t/, /k/, or /n/ is dropped. This takes place when the second TBU hosts the Resultative marker =^{L}, as in (43). This deletion seems to be optional with some verbs like *mą̰́kí* ‘know (VF2)’ and *pą̄ní* ‘enter (VF2)’. However, there are verbs that always occur without stem-internal intervocalic consonant in Resultative constructions, see (43).

(43)

gbírí ‘exceed (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	gbîì
ɛ̄rí ‘come (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	ɛ̄ɛ̄ ~ ɛ̄ɛ̀
kīrí ‘go out (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	kīī
térí ‘fall (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	téè
pírí ‘take off (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	pîì
mą́kí ‘know (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	mákì ~ máà
lákí ‘hear (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	láà
sótí ‘enter (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	sótì ~ sóò
pą̄ní ‘enter (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→	pą́nì ~ pą̂n ~ pą̄n ~ pą̄ą̄

2.5.9 Elision of /r/ of the Ventive marker *=rī*

The consonant /r/ of the Ventive marker *=rī* can optionally be dropped when it occurs after a disyllabic verb stem, viz. CVCi=rī → CVCi=ī. Thus, the resulting form includes the succession of two vowels, as in (44). Examples (44) also have the Perfective marker *=tí* after the Ventive marker *=rī*. The allomorph *=tí* of the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí* comes after light syllables, while the allomorph *=rí* comes after heavy syllables. The presence of the allomorph *=tí* in (44) indicates that the previous syllable originally was the Ventive marker *=rī*, i.e. a light syllable.

(44) a. ā yɔ́lù rū tú wā ~ ā yɔ́lù ū tú wā

|ā	yɔ́lí	$=^{L}$	=rī	=tí	=wā|
1SG.S1	become_tired	RES	VEN	PFV	PFM

‘I have come tired.’ [KUG_20230204_BB_011]

b. mų̄ ɓátì rī tí rɔ̀ ~ mų̄ ɓátìī tí rɔ̀

|mų̄	ɓátí	$=^{L}$	=rī	=tí	=rɔ̀|
2SG.S1	become_early.VF2	RES	VEN	PFV	FOC

‘You have come early.’ [KUG_20200129_BB_003]

2.5.10 Deletion of /i/ and /i̱/ after /n/, /ŋ/ and /l/

Verbs that have the structure CVni̱, CVŋi̱, or CVli lose their final vowel when they are followed by the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ and the Perfective marker *=rí/=tí*. I found only one example of a CVni̱ verb in which the final vowel can be preserved. Since the allomorph *=tí* of the Perfective marker always comes after a light syllable, the form of the Perfective marker shows that the preceding form originally had a CVCV structure. When the final vowel is deleted in CVli verbs, the Perfective marker *=tí* fully assimilates to the preceding consonant /l/ (Section 2.5.7).

(45)

pānɨ́ ‘do’ + $=^{L}$ RES + =tí PFV	→	pánɨ̀=tí ~ pân=tí
gāŋɨ́ ‘count (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES + =tí PFV	→	gâŋ=tí
ŋáŋɨ́ ‘leave (VF2)’ + $=^{L}$ RES + =tí PFV	→	ŋâŋ=tí
yɔ́lí ‘be tired’ + $=^{L}$ RES + =tí PFV	→	yɔ̂l=lí

2.5.11 Latent consonants and liaison

A number of pronominals, the noun *nɨ̀ ~ nɛ̀* ‘there’, the particle *lɛ́* ‘before’, the definite marker *=rɛ̂ ~ =rɛ́,* and Pre-nominal Property Nouns (Section 3.2.2) have a latent consonant /k/. It surfaces when they are followed by the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*, compare (46a) and (46b). Note that the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* is often realized with a M tone when it follows a pronominal, as in (46a).

(46)

a.

vētɔ̄ŋ	mɛ́k	ɛ̄
|vētɔ̄ŋ	=mɛ́^{k}	=ɛ̄|
friend	1SG.POSS.INAL	PRST

‘It is my friend.’ [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

b.

sóō	mɛ́	mą́
|sóō	=mɛ́	mą́|
wife.CF1	1SG.POSS.INAL	ADD

‘My wife (likes them) too.’ [KUG_20201120_BB_014]

There are several pieces of evidence that suggest that the latent consonant /k/ belongs to the lexemes preceding the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* and not make part of the Presentative marker itself. Firstly, the majority of the lexemes that have the latent consonant /k/ can optionally be pronounced with a glottal stop at the end, as in *=mɛ́(ʔ) ~ =mɨ́(ʔ)* 1SG.O. This glottal stop possibly indicates that there was a consonant /k/ before. Secondly, the final velar consonant /k/ has remained in a number of cognate Independent pronominal forms in Yendang, see (47) as provided in Anikina (2012).

(47)

ní	nāsīŋ	mɛ́k^{ʔ}	īŋ	vāū
3SG.S	show	1SG	PREP	child.SG

‘He showed me to the child’ (Anikina 2012b: 28)

It is also important to note that the third paradigm of subject pronominals has a latent consonant /y/ instead of /k/. The latent /y/ also surfaces before the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*, see Section 4.1.3.

2.5.12 Morphemes that have allomorphs *=ɛ* or *=ɔ*

There is a group of functional morphemes and pronominals that can take the form of an enclitic *=ɛ* or *=ɔ*, e.g. the Comitative preposition *à / =ɛ̀*, the Negation marker *ɲā̱ / =ɛ̄*, the Progressive marker *tì ~ tɛ̀ / =ɛ̀*, the Future marker *à / =ɛ̀*, the first person subject pronominal *ā ~ á / =ɛ̄*, the predicate-final marker *=wā / =ɔ̄* (only one example of this form) and the logophoric object pronominal *=wē / =ɔ̄* (only one example of this form), as in (48) and (49). In the last two cases, the clitic *=ɔ̄* corresponds to the morphemes with an initial labial consonant.

(48)

tún$^{\downarrow}$dɛ̀	mɔ̱̄	tɛ̀	yɔ̀ɔ̀l	ɛ̀		
|tún^{L}dɛ̀	mɔ̱̄	tɛ̀	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}|	
since	2SG.S2	PROG	like	NMLZ	GEN	

ɲá̱á̱́		$^{\downarrow}$wà̱à̱̀	
|ɲá̱ā̱́	=^{L}	wà̱ā̱̀|	
language.CF1	GEN	Kugama	

mū̱	yɔ̀ɔ̀lī	tɔ́	ɔ̄	mɛ̱́	ɛ́[13]
|mū̱	yɔ̀ɔ̀lī	=tí	=wā	má̱	í|
2SG.S1	like	PFV	PFM	1~2.CLM	IMPS.S1

lɛ́	tɔ́	ɔ̄	ɓáá		$^{\downarrow}$wà̱ā̱̀	kàm|
|lɛ́	=tí	=wē	ɓáā	=^{L}	wá̱ā̱́	kàm|
give_birth.VF1	PFV	LOG	in	GEN	Kugama	EMPH

'Since you like Kugama, you would like that you were born among Kugama people.'
[KUG_20180423_ME_015]

[13] I do not have enough data on this instance of vowel coalescence and, therefore, do not discuss it here.

(49)

mɛ̰̄	è	yɔ̀l	è		pɔ̄	kí		
|mɛ̰̄	=è	yɔ̀lí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}	pɔ̄	kī	=^{L}|	
1SG.S2	PROG	want	NMLZ	TR	farm.VF1	NMLZ	TR	

háákī	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|háákī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ|
farm	DEM	GEN	PROX

'I want to farm this farm (land)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

My corpus has a number of examples where the cliticized allomorph of some functional morphemes is deleted while its lexical tone is preserved, as in (50). This commonly takes place in less careful speech.

(50)

ɗɛ̰̄		só	sú	wɛ̄nɪ̰̄	mɛ́ɛ̰̄	rɛ́	
|ɗɛ́	=ɛ̄	só	=sí	wɛ̄nɪ̰̄	mɛ́ɛ̰̄	=rɛ|	
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	enter.VF1	APPL	people	to	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL	

ɓáá			ˈɓá	ā̰
|ɓáā	=^{L}		ɓá	ā̰|
in	3SG.NHUM.POSS.INAL(?)		EMPH	NEG

'He does not receive people inside of it (shelter).' [KUG_20170405_JW_023]

2.5.13 Umlaut of /a/ to /ɛ/ before the extension /y/ in nouns

In a number of nominal lexemes, the vowel /ɛ/ results from the raising of /a/ before the extension /y/, e.g. *ɓɛ̰̄y* 'stomach', *zɛ̰̄y* 'dog', *lɛ̀y* 'cheek', etc. This process is called umlaut. Their original stem vowel quality /a/ surfaces when the extension /y/ is absent, viz. in the Construct Form 1, the allomorph used in possessive constructions. For example, the Construct Form 1 of *ɲɛ̰̄y* 'mouth; language; clan' is *ɲā(ː)* 'mouth; language; clan (CF1)' and the Construct Form 1 of *zɛ̄y* 'leg' is *zā(ː)* 'leg (CF1)', as in (51) and (52).

(51)

ɲā̰		ˈwà̰nà
|ɲā̰	=^{L}	wà̰nà|
clan.CF1	GEN	Wana

'Nyawana clan' (lit.: 'the Wana clan') [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

(52) zàà wēm
|zāā =ᴸ wēm|
leg.CF1 GEN person
'leg of the person' [KUG_20180419_AC_004]

The raising process has not affected the nasal vowel /a̱/, as can be seen in *ɲá̱ˈkā̱y* 'heart'. In addition, there are a few cases in my data where some or all speakers have optionally or obligatorily generalized the raised quality /ɛ/ of the stem vowel in those contexts where normally we would expect the original /a/ to show up, as illustrated in (53).

(53) zɛ́ ˈháákī or zá ˈháákī 'jackal' (zɛ̄y 'dog', =ᴸ GEN, háákī 'farm')
wɛ́ ˈgérɛ̄ or wá ˈgérɛ̄ 'pig meat' (wɛ̄y 'meat', =ᴸ GEN, gérɛ̄ 'pig')
wɛ́ ˈnā̱ā̱kī or wá ˈnā̱ā̱kī 'cow meat' (wɛ̄y 'meat', =ᴸ GEN, nā̱ā̱kī 'cow')
ɓɛ́ɛ̄ kɔ̄m ɛ̄ 'stomach ache' (ɓɛ̄y 'stomach', kɔ̄m 'be sick', =ɛ̄ NMLZ)

2.6 Tone

2.6.1 General remarks

The Kugama tone system consists of three contrastive level tones: High (H), Mid (M), and Low (L). Additionally, Kugama has floating ᴸ tones, which are always preceded by a H tone. Some floating ᴸ tones are part of lexical morphemes, as in *bíˈnā̱* |bíᴸnā̱| 'granary' and *dā̱ā́* |dā̱ā̱ᴸ| 'sheep', other floating ᴸ tones are exponents of functional morphemes. Two different level tones can form a contour that occurs on one syllable. All logically possible two-tone contours are attested: HL, HM, ML (only one example), LM, LH (a few examples) and MH. These contours are analyzed as sequences of level tones.

(54) HL fáà 'small, young one'
HM váā 'child'
ML tɔ̄y 'clay'
LM bàā 'herd'
LH nǒy 'how?'
MH dŭm 'hyena'

The tone-bearing unit in Kugama is the syllable. Contour tones, which are sequences of two level tones, are commonly accommodated on heavy syllables such as CVC, VC, CVV, and VV structures: *sɔ̄m* 'work', *yìī* 'fear', *ūy* 'head', *úū* 'head (CF1)'. Although light syllables tend to carry only one level tone, contours are also attested on light syllables, e.g. *fáà ~ fâ* 'small one', *ɓáā ~ ɓâ* 'stomach (CF1)'.

Tautosyllabic HL contours differ significantly from all other tautosyllabic contours in that phonetically they are realized with the pitch difference between the initial and the final part of the contour being exaggerated through additional raising of H and lowering of L. In this respect, tautosyllabic HL contours, as in *fáà* 'the small one', behave similarly to H^{L}L sequences, as in *léé'mì̱* 'yesterday'.

2.6.2 Floating ^{L} tones

Floating ^{L} tones in Kugama cause downstep of the following tone (Section 2.6.5.1) and raise the preceding M tone to H (Sections 2.6.5.1 and 2.6.6). All floating ^{L} tones are preceded by an H tone. As mentioned in Section 2.6.1, floating ^{L} tones can be lexically specified, as in *ɗéékɛ́* |ɗéékɛ́^{L}| 'house'. Lexical floating ^{L} tones are found in the stem-internal position of some nouns, as in *ni̱'sɛ̀* |ni̱^{L}sɛ̀| 'truth', *léé'mì̱* |léɛ́^{L}mì̱| 'yesterday', *bí'ná̱* |bí^{L}ná̱| 'granary'. In addition, lexical floating ^{L} tones occur in the stem-final position of some nouns, free possessive pronominals, and functional morphemes, as in *dūm* |dūm^{L}| 'hyena', *ɓɔ́* |ɓɔ́^{L}| 'if', *=rɛ̂ ~ =rɛ́* |rɛ́^{L}| DEF, *ɓītú* |ɓītú^{L}| SG.1PL.POSS.

There are two types of lexically specified final floating ^{L} tones. The first type is found in nouns and functional morphemes that have two forms. One of these forms has a final floating ^{L} tone and one form has a final linked L, e.g. the Definite marker *=rɛ̂ ~ =rɛ́* |rɛ́^{L}| or the Bound Noun *yîi ~ yíí* |yíí^{L}| 'many'. The second type of final floating ^{L} tones occurs in nouns, free possessive pronominals and functional morphemes one of whose forms has a final floating ^{L} tone and another form does not have a final floating ^{L} tone, e.g. *ɗéékɛ́ ~ ɗéékɛ*^{L} 'house'. The latter type of a floating ^{L} tone is never realized on the preceding TBU. In addition, Kugama speakers frequently use these nouns, free possessive pronominals and functional morphemes without a final floating ^{L} tone. However, the form with this final floating ^{L} tone frequently (but not obligatorily) occurs in a few contexts, for example:

- noun phrases with numerals: *ɗéékɛ́ 'ɓíní̱* |ɗéékɛ́^{L} ɓíní̱| 'one house'.

- noun phrases with free possessive pronominals: *ɓītú 'zɛ̂y* |ɓītú^{L} zɛ̂y| 'our dog'

- noun phrases with Post-nominal Property Nouns: *ɗéékɛ́ 'víīpī* |ɗéékɛ́^{L} víīpī| 'black house'

- before the conjunction *dîi ~ dɛ̂ɛ̀*: *Àlí 'dîi Lúkpêwà* |Àlí^{L} dîi Lúkpêwà| 'Ali and Luikpiewa'

- constructions with the Presentative *á(*^{L}*)*: *á 'Lúkpêwà* |á^{L} Lúkpêwà| 'It is Luikpiewa'

In addition, floating ^{L} tones can be exponents of functional morphemes, e.g. the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, as in (55), the Resultative marker $=^{L}$, as in (56), the Transitive marker $=^{L}$, as in (57). A floating ^{L} tone as an exponent of a functional morpheme can be placed after a lexeme

with a final L, M, or H tone. However, it remains floating only after H. The processes that take place when a floating ^{L} comes after L, M and H are described in Section 2.6.6.

(55)
yɛ́kí ꜜváá kī
|yɛ́kī =^{L} váá =kī|
money GEN marry NMLZ
'brideprice' (lit.: 'money of marrying') [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(56)
dɛ̄ vɛ̱́ɛ́ ꜜwàsíkà wà
|dɛ̄ vɛ̱́ɛ̱́ =^{L} wàsíkà =wā|
3SG.HUM.S1 write RES letter PFM
'S/he has written a letter(s)' [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

(57)
mɛ̱̄ tì mą̱̄ą̱̄ kí ꜜsì
|mɛ̱̄ tì mą̱̄ą̱̄ =kī =^{L} sì|
1SG.S2 PROG build NMLZ TR something
'I am building something' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

The floating ^{L} tone can also dock on the preceding mora by deleting its lexical tone, as in (58). Furthermore, floating ^{L} tones can remain floating after H and cause downstep of the following tone. Phonetically, downstep is frequently realized through raising of the preceding H tone. These criteria may suggest that all functional morphemes expressed through a floating ^{L} tone can be analyzed as enclitics. More information on realizations of the floating ^{L} is in Section 2.6.6.

(58)
vētɔ̄ŋ 'friend' + =^{L} GEN + =tɔ́ 1PL.POSS.INAL vētɔ̄ŋ tɔ́ 'our friend'
vélī 'husband' + =^{L} GEN + ɲɔ̱̄ɔ̱̄kī 'daughter' vélí ꜜɲɔ̱̄ɔ̱̄kī ~ vélì ɲɔ̱̄ɔ̱̄kī 'groom'

2.6.3 Tonal patterns of morphemes in Kugama: an overview

In this section, I discuss tonal patterns of nouns, pronominals, functional morphemes, and verbs. Tonal patterns divided with </> are allomorphs. Tonal patterns divided with <~> are free variants. In addition, I use <~> in cases where it is not clear whether they are free variants or conditioned allomorphs.

2.6.3.1 Tonal patterns of nouns

The majority of Kugama noun stems are monosyllabic or disyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns commonly have an M(M), HM, or LM pattern. The final M tone of these nouns is historically related to noun extensions that I discuss in Section 3.3. The patterns L, MH(^{L}), HL, H(^{L}), and ML (only one example) are also found, but they are less frequent than M(M), HM, and LM.

(59)		
	M(M)	tē ‘place’, ɗ̄ēē ‘blood’, zēy ‘leg’
	HM	ɓɛ̄y ‘stomach’, kpáā ‘direction’
	LM	yèɛ̄ ‘buffalo’, kɔ̀ŋ ‘war’
	L	sì ‘thing’, tɔ̰y ‘termite’
	MH^{L} / MH	dą̄ą́(^{L}) ‘sheep’
	HL	tân ‘pot’, ɗóò ‘rope’
	H^{L} ~ HL	yíí^{L} ~ yîì ‘many’
	H^{L} / H	ɗɔ̋ŋ(^{L}) ‘old’
	ML	tɔ̰y ‘clay’

Tone patterns of disyllabic nouns are more diverse. The following patterns have been found in disyllabic nouns: MM, HM, LM, LL, MH(^{L}), H(^{L})L, HH(^{L}), LH(^{L}), ML, H^{L}H, HMM, and LH^{L}H.

(60)		
	MM	wɛ̄nɪ̰ ‘people’, dūmlɛ̄ ‘son’
	HM	háákī ‘farm’, nąą́kī ‘cow’
	LM	pą̀ą̀rī ‘egg’, gbènɛ̰ ‘horse’
	LL	dìŋsì ‘tree’, vṵrè ‘intestines’
	MH^{L} / MH	gbīrɛ́(^{L}) ‘dwarf’
	H^{L}L ~ HL	lɛ́ɛ́(^{L})mɪ̰ ‘yesterday’, ní(^{L})sè ‘truth’
	HH^{L} / HH	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́(^{L}) ‘house’, ɓínɪ́(^{L}) ‘one’
	HH^{L} ~ HL	Yáálá^{L} ~ Yáálò
	LH^{L} / LH	ɓèpí(^{L}) ‘hare’, pɔ̰pɪ́(^{L}) ‘squirrel’
	ML	lɛ̄ɛ̄sɔ̀ ‘bed’, lūūmɔ̰ ‘market’
	H^{L}H	bí^{L}nɑ́ ‘granary’
	HMM ~ HLM	tɑ́ą̄pī ‘stone’, (wē) sóōrī ‘woman’, sɛ́ɛ̄pē ‘medicine’
	LH^{L}H ~ MH^{L}H	sàá^{L}ré ‘today’, gàá^{L}té ‘morning’

Some nouns in Kugama have two allomorphs that are distinguished by the presence of a final floating ^{L} tone, e.g. HH^{L} / HH of the noun *ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́* |ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L} ~ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́| ‘house’. The conditions for using one or the other allomorph are discussed in Section 2.6.2.

The ML pattern in (60) is found on two borrowings from Fulfulde: *lɛ̄ɛ̄sɔ̀* ‘bed’ and *lūūmɔ̰̀* ~ *lūmɔ̰̀* ‘market’.

There is also a group of polysyllabic nouns in Kugama that consist of more than two syllables. This group includes property nouns and ideophonic nouns. Their tonal patterns are similar to those of disyllabic nouns but they often contain H and L tones (including the floating ^{L}), as in (61).

(61) gbi̱ŋtélè ‘shortness’, bèntèlè ‘width’, héntélè ‘shallowness’, séŋkélé(ᴸ) ‘sharpness’, kpìkpítírí(ᴸ) ‘thickness’, kpùkpórɔ́(ᴸ) ‘bravery, intelligence’, te̱ŋte̱ŋ(ᴸ) ‘cleanliness’

There are a number of historically complex nouns in Kugama such as numerals (from ‘two’ to ‘nine’), compounds and inherited Kugama proper names. Their tonal pattern still allows us to distinguish a multiword noun phrase or a whole clause. For example, the second syllable of the noun *dààzéē* ‘night’ carries the sequence of a H and M tone. This combination commonly occurs in monosyllabic words or in the first syllable of disyllabic words. This is one of the arguments to analyze this word as historically complex. Information on historically complex nouns can be found in Section 3.5 on compounding and in Chapter 5 on numerals. I also discuss some examples of nouns whose lexical tone is impossible to identify in Section 2.6.4.

2.6.3.2 Tonal patterns of pronominals

In (62), I provide a list of tonal patterns of pronominals.

(62)		
	M ~ H	mū ~ mú̱ 2SG.S1, =nū ~ =nú̱ PL.ADR
	H	=mú̱ 2SG.O
	M	=rī 3PL.HUM.O, ām PL.1SG.POSS
	L	ɔ̀ EXPL.S1, =ɔ̀ 3NHUM.O
	MHᴸ / MH ~ LM	ɓērέ(ᴸ) ~ ɓèrē SG.3SG.POSS
	LM	ɓìrī SG.3PL.POSS

The patterns MHᴸ / MH and LM are found only in free possessive pronominal modifiers, see Section 4.5.2 for more details.

2.6.3.3 Tonal patterns of functional morphemes

Tonal patterns of functional morphemes are provided in (63).

(63)		
	H	=tí / =rí PFV, =ɛ́ DEM
	Hᴸ ~ H	á(ᴸ) PRST.PROP
	M ~ H	mā̱ ~ má̱ 1~2.CLM, =sí ~ =sī APPL
	M	=rī POSS, =rī VEN, =sā RECP, =kī NMLZ
	M / L	=ɛ̀ / =ɛ̄ (infrequent) PRST, =ɛ̄ / =ɛ̀ NMLZ
	L	kà 3.CLM, à PRST.COMM
	ᴸ	=ᴸ GEN, =ᴸ RES

2.6.3.4 Tonal patterns of verbs

In (64), I provide tonal patterns of underived monosyllabic verbs. The patterns H, M, and L occur on monosyllabic verb stems and the first syllable of disyllabic verb stems.

(64)		
	H	yí ‘beat’, zɛ́ɛ́ ‘greet’, só ‘enter (VF1)’, óó ‘run (VF3)’
	M	kā ‘see (VF1)’, zōm ‘poison’
	L	tɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘say’, gɔ̰̀ ‘do’
	MH ~ LM	tɑ̰́m ~ tɑ̰̄m ‘be sweet (VF1)’

Tonal patterns of disyllabic verb stems are given in (65). In their citation forms, the second syllable of disyllabic verbs can carry either a H or M tone in free variation. The same free variation of H and M is found on verbal derivational clitics *=sí ~ =sī* APPL and *=mlí ~ =mlī / =Vlí ~ =Vlī / =lí ~ =lī* PLAC. Note that I usually cite verbs and these derivational morphemes with a H tone in the rest of the text, e.g. *kɔ̰́ɔ̰́sí* ‘be dry’.

(65)		
	HH ~ HM	kɔ̰́ɔ̰́sí ~ kɔ̰́ɔ̰̄sī ‘be dry’, tɑ́pí ~ tɑ́pī ‘be cold’, sótí ~ sótī ‘enter’
	MH or MH ~ LM	pɑ̰́ní ‘do’ (LM pattern is not checked), nɔ̄kí ‘cook’ (LM pattern is not checked), zūrí ~ zùrī ‘be good’
	LH ~ LM	yààkí ~ yààkī ‘allow’, bàkí ~ bàkī ‘help’

However, there are contexts in which the second syllable of disyllabic verbs or one of these derivational morphemes can only be M. Such an obligatory M realization is triggered by the M tone of either of the following two functional morphemes, the Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄* and the Reciprocal marker *=sā/=ā*, as in (66). Both markers also trigger vowel assimilation, see Sections 2.5.3.1 and 2.5.3.4.

(66)		
	kpàmlí ‘learn’ + =sí APPL + =ɛ̄ NMLZ	→ kpàmlɛ̄=s=ɛ̄
	lɛ́ɛ́ ‘lick’ + =sā RECP + =lí PLAC	→ lɛ́ɛ́=sā=lā

2.6.4 Allomorphs of nouns with an uncertain lexical tone

Some nouns have conditioned allomorphs that are used in certain morphosyntactic environments. In this section, I mainly focus on the Free Form (main allomorph) and Construct Form 1 (secondary allomorph) of nouns with the extension +sì, such as *vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀sì* ‘insect’, *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì* ‘skin’, *dìŋsì* ‘tree’. I cite these nouns in their Free Form that is used in isolation, before a pause, and in other contexts mentioned in Section 3.4. Historically, these Free Forms originate from a possessive construction that included the noun root,[14] the old Genitive marker =^{L} (which was preserved on the first syllable of these Free Forms) and the extension +sì (which functioned as a noun). The extension +sì and the old Genitive marker =^{L} are not present in their Construct Form 1, i.e. *vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀* ‘insect (CF1)’, *ɓɛɛ* ‘skin (CF1)’ and *dìŋ* ‘tree (CF1). The Construct Form 1 of these nouns occurs in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, as in (67) - (69). The Inalienable Common Possessive construction is also formed with the Genitive marker =^{L}. In Examples (67) - (69), the

[14] I use the term *root* to refer to noun and verb stems without their extensions.

Genitive marker =^{L} docks on the preceding syllable by deleting the lexical tone of these noun. However, the exact identity of the lexical tone this Genitive marker =^{L} deletes cannot be identified. For this reason, I present Construct Form 1 of these nouns and other nouns with the same unidentified Construct Form 1 with a M tone by default.

(67)
ɓɛ̀ɛ̀		nɔ̰̀y
|ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	=^{L}	nɔ̰̀y|
skin.CF1	GEN	eye

'eyelid' (lit.: 'skin of eye') [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(68)
vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀		vĩŋ
|vɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄	=^{L}	vĩŋ|
insect.CF1	GEN	excrement

'cockroach' [KUG_20170504_YF_054]

(69)
dìŋ		nɔ̰rɛ̄
|dīŋ	=^{L}	nɔ̰rɛ̄|
tree.CF1	GEN	shea

'shea tree' [KUG_20170504_YF_054]

2.6.5 Phonological processes

2.6.5.1 Floating ^{L} after lexical or derived H: downstep and floating ^{L} deletion

The floating ^{L} after a lexical H, as in *dɔ̰̄ɑ́*^{L} 'sheep', or a H tone derived from M, as in *tɛ̰̀ɛ́*=^{L} 'chicken=GEN' (tɛ̰̀ɛ̰̀ 'chicken' + =^{L} GEN), either causes the (phonological, non-automatic) downstep of the following tone (Sections 2.6.5.1.1 and 2.6.5.1.2) or is deleted (Section 2.6.6). Phonetically, downstep is usually accompanied by the phonetic raising of the H tone that precedes the floating ^{L} with additional lowering of the following tone: H, M or L (Section 2.6.5.1.1).[15] In some H^{L}H contexts, the phonetic raising of the H tone preceding the floating ^{L} may fail to take place and only the H tone following the floating ^{L} is lowered (Section 2.6.5.1.2).

[15] I am not entirely certain whether the phonetic raising of H to the left of the floating ^{L} is also possible with no additional lowering of the tone that follows. This aspect of downstep requires further investigation.

2.6.5.1.1 Downstep accompanied by phonetic raising of the preceding H and additional lowering of the following H, M and L

Phonetic H tone raising takes place before all three tones levels, H, M, and L. In addition, these H, M and L are phonetically lowered after a phonetically raised H tone thus adding further auditory prominence to the realization of the downstep by phonetic H tone raising. Thus, all three tones levels, H, M and L, can be phonologically downstepped, as illustrated in (70) for H, (71) for M, and (72) for L.

(70)
[ɓáː		náːkī]
ɓáá		ˈnáa̱kī
|ɓáā	=L	na̱a̱kī|
stomach.CF1	GEN	cow

'stomach of the cow' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

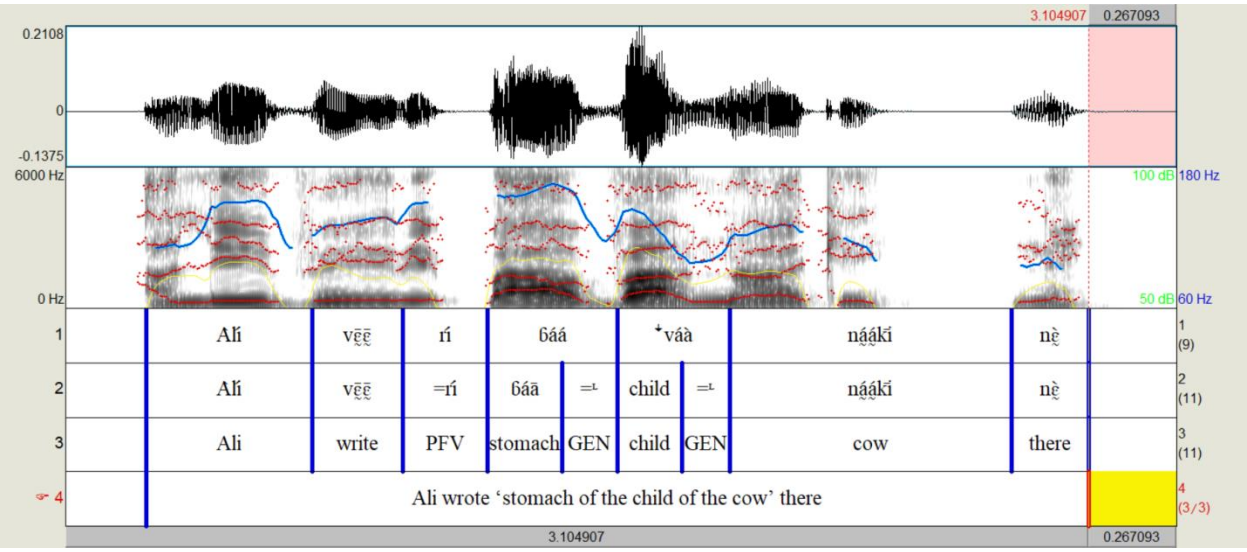
(71)
[kūḿ		wēm]
kṵ́m		ˈwēm
|kṵ́m	=L	wēm|
bone	GEN	person

'skeleton' [KUG_20170324_AC_010]

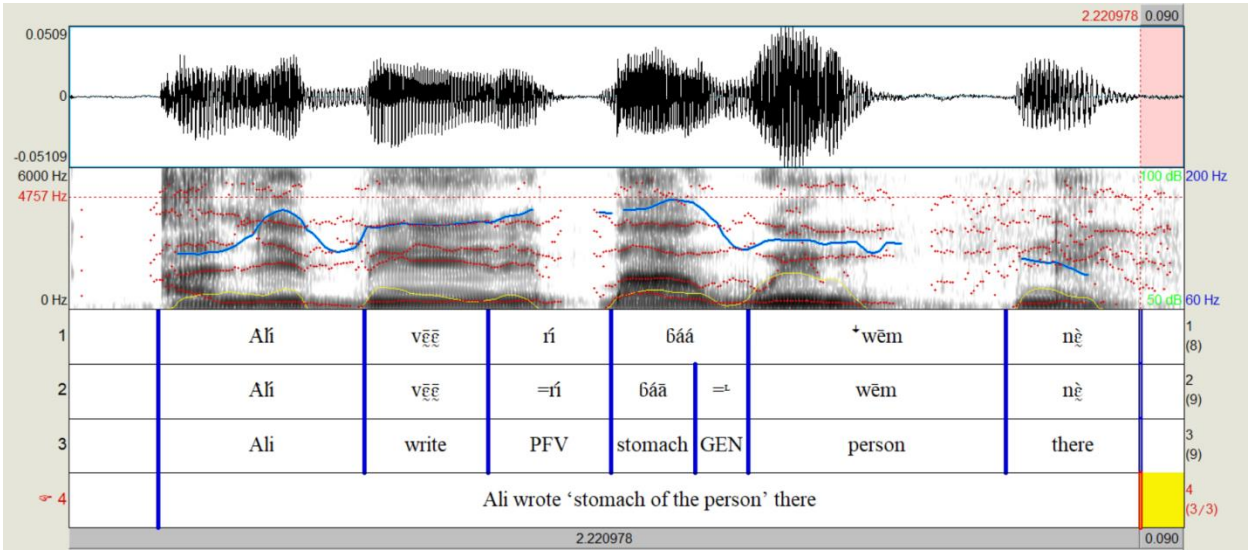
(72)
[ɲáː		w̃ãm]
ɲáa̱		ˈw̱a̱m
|ɲáa̱	=L	w̱a̱m|
language.CF1	GEN	Kugama

'Wam (Kugama) language' [KUG_20170519_LP_071]

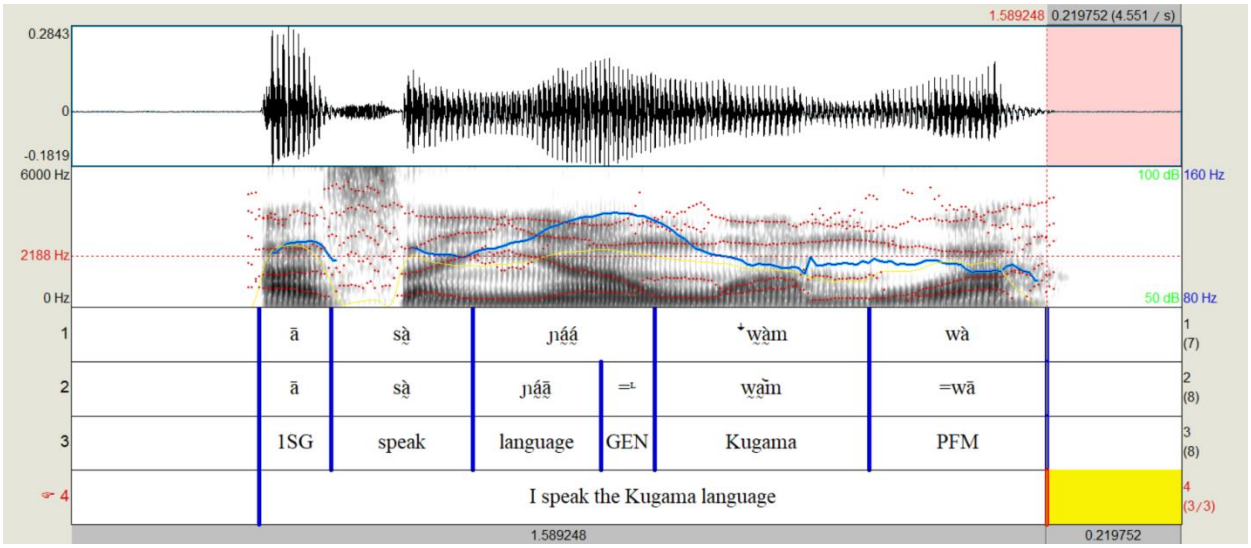
Spectrograms 1, 2 and 3 demonstrate the phonetic H tone raising before the floating L tone. In addition to this raising, Spectrogram 1 shows that the H tone of *váà* 'child:GEN' is realized much lower than the preceding H tone of the Perfective marker *=rí*. In Spectrogram 2, the M tone of *wēm* 'person' is realized much lower than the preceding M tone of *vɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄* 'write'. Spectrogram 3 shows that the L tone of *w̱à̱m* is realized much lower than the preceding L tone of the verb *sà̱* 'speak'.



Spectrogram 1.



Spectrogram 2.



Spectrogram 3.

In a succession of H-toned syllables within one morpheme, it is only the pitch of the final H that is raised before a floating ^{L}, as in (73).

(73) [jékí vá: kī]
yɛ́kí ˈváá kī
|yɛ́kī =^{L} váá =kī|
money GEN marry NMLZ
'brideprice' (lit.: 'money of marrying') [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

The phonetic H tone raising affects the realization of neighboring tones. For example, I observed an anticipatory assimilation of L before a raised H. In particular, this assimilation is expressed through the phonetic raising of the L tone before a phonetically raised H. Example (74) demonstrates that the L tone of *tɛ̀ɛ̄* 'chicken' is raised before the raised H. The anticipatory assimilation of L before a raised H takes place within one morpheme, as well as across morpheme boundaries. For instance, the final L tone of the head noun can be phonetically raised before the following phonetically raised H of the modifier, as in (75) and (76).

(74) [tɛ̃ː˝ bàː]
tɛ̀ɛ̄ ˈbàā
|tɛ̀ɛ̄ =^{L} bàā|
chicken GEN herd
'chicken of the flock' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(75) [góːrɛ̄ ɛ́́ rɛ́]
góórɛ̀ ɛ́ ˈrɛ́
|góórɛ̀ =ɛ́ =ᴸ =rɛ́|
kidney DEM GEN PROX
'this kidney' [KUG_20180429_BB_026]

(76) [sī ɲã́ː mɔ̄ːkū]
sì ɲą́ą́ ˈmɔ̨̄ɔ̨̄kū
|sī =ᴸ ɲą́ą̄ =ᴸ mɔ̨̄ɔ̨̄kū|
thing.CF1 GEN mouth.CF1 GEN river
'tale' (lit.: 'thing of the mouth of the river') [KUG_20170422_AC_034]

There are cases in which the lexical tone of the segment followed by another segment with a raised H is difficult to identify. The original tone of the segment can be analyzed as a L that has raised before a raised H, or it can be M.

Phonetic H tone raising is a very common realization of phonological downstep. It is found in my elicited and naturalistic data. Note that phonetic H tone raising is found in all tautosyllabic HL sequences regardless of whether the L is floating or linked (see Section 2.6.5.2 on downdrift).

2.6.5.1.2 Downstep not accompanied by H tone raising of the preceding H in $H^{L}H^{L}H$ sequences

In $H^{L}H^{L}H$ sequences (either derived or lexical), the H preceding the second floating ^{L} may fail to undergo phonetic raising. In such cases, the downstep is realized only through lowering of the last H following the second floating ^{L}. For example, this realization is found in complex possessive constructions with more than one Genitive marker $=^{L}$, as in (77) with the noun *váā* 'child'. The second of the two floating ^{L} tones separated by a H within one phrase can also be deleted without lowering the H to the right first, as discussed in 2.6.5.1.3 as in (78). This possibly depends on the speaker, degree of formal integration of elements within noun phrase (compound vs. possessive constructions) and type of speech (careful vs. spontaneous).

(77) vísí ˈnąą́ ˈváā
|vísí =ᴸ nąą̄ =ᴸ váā
finger GEN hand.CF1 GEN child
'finger of the child' (lit.: 'finger of the hand of the child')

2.6.5.1.3 $(H^L)H^LH^LT$ sequences: constraints on downstep

In $(H^L)H^LH^LT$ sequences (either derived or lexical) where T stands for any tone, it is not uncommon that only one of the floating ^{L} tones causes downstep, as in (78) - (80). This restriction on downstep remains optional and its realization probably depends on the degree of formal integration of elements within the noun phrase (compound vs. possessive constructions) and type of speech (careful vs. spontaneous), perhaps with some further differences between individual speakers. The rules determining the realization of downstep in $(H^L)H^LH^LT$ sequences are not completely clear. Other floating ^{L} tones that do not cause downstep are not always deleted. In (78) and (79), the Genitive ^{L} is preserved after *ɲā̰* 'mouth (CF1)' and *nɔ́ɔ̄* 'eye (CF1)' raising the final M tone to H (see Sections 2.6.6 on this rule). In (80), floating ^{L} tones that do not cause downstep are analyzed as deleted ones.

(78)

tíŋ		ˈɲa̰		hɔ̰̄y
|fiŋ	=L	ɲā̰	=L	hɔ̰̄y|
bridge?	GEN	mouth.CF1	GEN	nose?

'bridge of the nose' [KUG_20170510_YF_064]

(79)

ɓītɔ́	ˈnɔ̰́ɔ̰́		lɛ̄y
|ɓītɔ́L	nɔ̰́ɔ̰̄	=L	lɛ̄y|
SG.1PL.POSS	eye.CF1	GEN	fire

'our gun' (lit.: 'our eye of fire') [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(80)

bíL-ná̰ 'granary' + =ɛ́ DEM + =L GEN + =ré PROX	→ bíˈná̰ á ré 'this granary'
ɓɛ́L 'when' + =ɛ́ DEM + =L GEN + =rí PROX	→ ɓɛ́ ˈérí 'After (dances)…'
wɔ̀kátíɛ́L 'time:DEM:GEN' + ɓɔ́L 'if' + gbà̰ŋɛ̰̄ 'taste'	→ wɔ̀kátíɛ́ ɓɔ́ ˈgbà̰ŋɛ̰̄ 'if the taste is…'
ɓèpí 'rabbit' + =L GEN + =rí POSS + =L GEN + váā 'child'	→ ɓèpí rí ˈváā 'rabbit of the child'

2.6.5.1.4 $(H^L)H^LH$ sequences

My corpus has a few examples of $(H^L)H^LH$ sequences that are realized as $(H)HH^{\downarrow}$, with only the final H being followed by a downstep. As shown in (81)[16] and (82), the final H is hosted by H-toned pronominals that do not have a final floating ^{L} tone. Example (82) is also accompanied by Spectrogram 4 that shows the H^LH^LH sequence being realized as $HHH^{\downarrow}$.

[16] The subject pronominal in (81) can have two realizations: *dɛ̰́ ~ dɛ̰̄*.

(81)

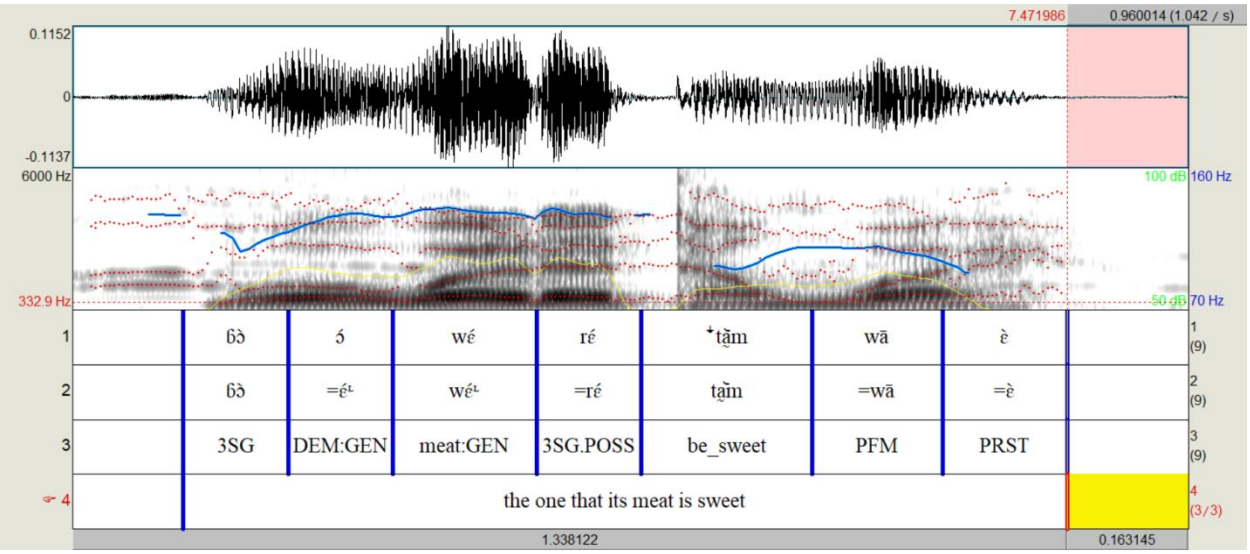
ká	ɗɛ́	˩ɛ̄ɛ̄		tú	wā|	
|ká^{L}	ɗɛ́	ɛ̄rī	$=^{L}$	=tí	=wā|	
CFC	3SG.HUM.S1	come	RES	PFV	PFM	
ká	ɗɛ́	˩hǫ̰	tí	yɛ́ɛ́kī	wā	è
|ká^{L}	ɗɛ́	hǫ̰	=tí	yɛ́ɛ́kī	=wā	=è|
CFC	3SG.HUM.S1	get.VF1	PFV	money	PFM	PRST

‘S/he would have come, if s/he had got money.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

(82)

ɗɛ̄	yí		˩tì		tí	ɓɛ̀pí
|ɗɛ̄	yí	$=^{L}$	tì	$=^{L}$	=tí	ɓɛ̀pí|
3SG.HUM.S1	beat.VF1	RES	?	RES	PFV	rabbit
ɓɔ̀	ɔ́		wɛ́		rɛ́	
|ɓɔ̀	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	wɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́|	
3SG.NHUM.S3	DEM	GEN	meat.CF2	GEN	3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN	
˩tə̰m	wā	è				
|tə̰m	=wā	=è|				
be_sweet.VF1	PFM	PRST				

‘S/he killed a rabbit of which the meat is delicious.’ (lit. ‘'S/he killed a rabbit, the one that its meat is sweet.’) [KUG_20180509_BB_033]



Spectrogram 4.

2.6.5.1.5 Downstep of LM with contour simplification to L

Downstepped tautosyllabic LM contours are regularly simplified to L, as illustrated in (83) and (84) on the example of *bàā* 'herd' and *kpàm* 'chief' that have LM as their lexical tonal pattern but are realized all L after downstep.

(83)

dą̄ą́		ꜜbàà
|dą̄ą́	$=^{L}$	bàā|
sheep	GEN	herd

'sheep of the herd'

(84)

à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	sóò		dūmlɛ́		ꜜkpàm
|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	sóō	$=^{L}$	dūmlɛ̄	$=^{L}$	kpǎm|
PRST.COMM	what	wife.CF1	GEN	son	GEN	chief

lɛ́	tí	ɛ̀	yì
|lɛ́	=tí	=ɛ̀	=yí|
give_birth	PFV	PRST	QM.CON

'[Asking about the sex of a newly born] What did the wife of the son of the chief give birth to?' [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

2.6.5.1.6 Lowering of H and M to L on prosodically weak syllables after tautosyllabic HL

Tautosyllabic HL sequences that may either result from the docking of a floating ^{L} to the left or be lexical, as when the Perfective marker *=tí* is immediately followed by the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*, lower M and H of the following prosodically weak syllable to L, as in (85) where the M tone of the addressee pronominal *=mū* becomes L after a derived tautosyllabic HL sequence and in (86) where the H tone of the question marker *=yí* becomes L after a lexical tautosyllabic HL sequence. The reason for this lowering is similar to the contour simplification of downstepped tautosyllabic LM sequences to L described in 2.6.5.1.5, since as mentioned in 2.6.1 tautosyllabic HL sequences are realized identically to $H^{L}L$ sequences. Note that the realization of *=yí* as *=yì* in (86) is optional as in (91) you have *=mɔ̰=ɛ̀=yí* > *mɔ̰=ɛ́=ꜜyí*.

(85)

zîŋ		mṳ̄
|zíŋí	$=^{L}$	=mṳ̄|
go_down.VF2	RES	2SG.ADR

'Go down! (addressed to one person)' [KUG_20181203_AC_073]

(86)

à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	sóò		dūmlɛ́		ˡkpàm
|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	sóō	$=^{L}$	dūmlɛ̄	$=^{L}$	kpằm|
PRST.COMM	what	wife.CF1	GEN	son	GEN	chief

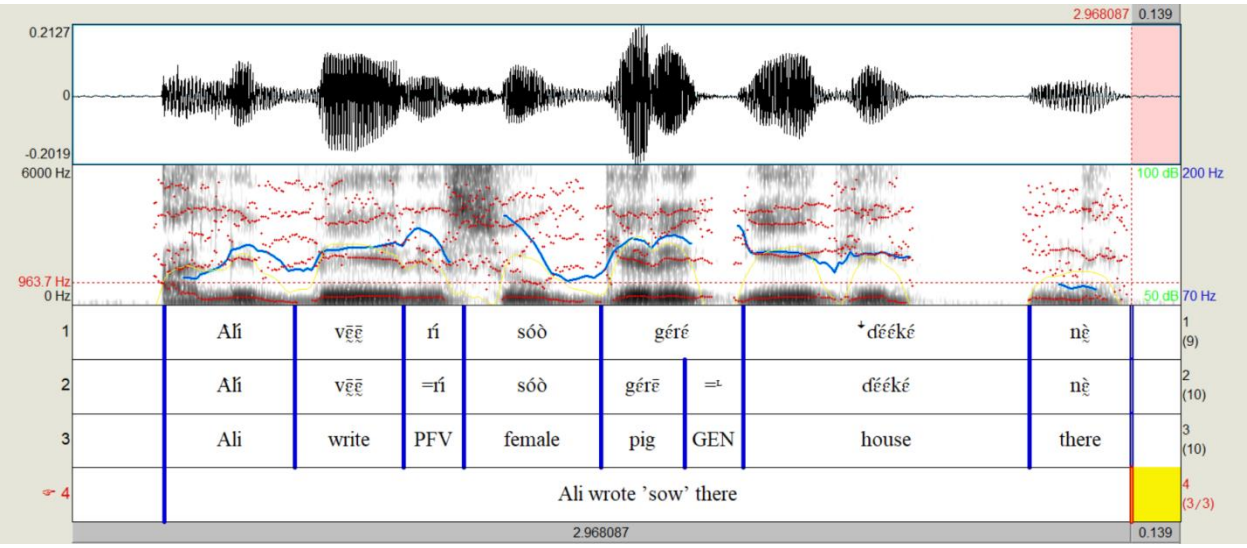
lɛ́	tí	ɛ̀	**yì**
|lɛ́	=tí	=ɛ̀	=yí|
give_birth.VF1	PFV	PRST	QM.CON

'[Asking about the sex of a newly born] What did the wife of the son of the chief give birth to?' [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

I do not know whether this lowering takes place only at the end of an utterance before a pause or if it can also occur in the middle of an utterance.

2.6.5.2 Downdrift

Typically, downdrift (automatic downstep) in Kugama is only observed when tautosyllabic HL sequences are present. Note that HL and H^{L} sequences have the same phonetic effect with the pitch span being regularly exaggerated through additional raising of H and lowering of the tone that follows this raised H (cf. Section 2.6.5.1). This is illustrated in Spectrogram 5 where downdrift sets in after the HL contour on *sóò* 'female.CF1:GEN'. As can be seen on the pitch curve, the first H tone of *géré* 'pig:GEN' is phonetically lower not only compared to the phonetically raised initial H part of the preceding HL contour on *sóò* but also compared to the H tone of the preceding Perfective marker *=rí*, and is more similar to the M tone of *vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄* 'write'. Another example of downdrift can be found on Spectrogram 1. It demonstrates that the H tone of *nɑ́ɑ́kī* 'cow' is lower that the H tone of *váà* 'child:GEN'.



Spectrogram 5.

2.6.6 Morphotonological processes

2.6.6.1 Optional HM and HL contour tone simplification to MM

Monosyllabic nouns which have the tonal pattern HM can have two realizations: HM and MM. The choice between the two realizations seems to be free. However, the realization MM is often found in less careful speech. Examples of HM contour tone simplification occur in the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, as in (87).

(87)

ɓáā 'stomach (CF1)' + Lúkpêwà (proper name)	→	[ɓā: lúkpêwà] ~ [ɓā: lúkpêwà]
úū 'on' + Yáálό (given name)	→	[ū: já:ló] ~ [ū: já:ló]
nąą̄ 'hand (CF1)' + =rέ 3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL	→	[nã̄: ɾέ] ~ [nã̄: ɾέ]
ɓɛ̄ŋ 'brother' + =mɛ́ 1SG.POSS.INAL	→	[ɓɛ̄m mɛ́] ~ [ɓɛ̄m mɛ́]

In all examples in (87) HM is followed by H. As I do not have examples with a following L or M tone, I cannot say whether the presence of the following H tone in this context is coincidental or if it actually conditions this tone rule. Note that in isolation or before a pause HM always seems to stay HM.

HL sequences whose L tone is the Resultative marker =^{L} can optionally be simplified to MM, as in (88).

(88) mą̀ą̀ ~ mą̄ą̄ ‘know (RES)’
láà ~ lāā ‘hear (RES)’
pân ~ pą̄n ‘do (RES)’

2.6.6.2 Tone absorption

There are a number of contexts where one of the two identical tones adjacent over a clitic boundary undergo absorption. The first case involves the absorption of the floating ^{L} tone of the Transitive marker $=^{L}$ by the preceding Nominalization marker =è whose tone is also L, as in (89).

(89)

à	gbí	rɛ̀			mǫ̀
|à	gbí	=rī	=è	$=^{L}$	=mǫ̀|
1SG.S4	exceed	VEN	NMLZ	TR	2SG.O

à	gbą̄	kī
|à	gbą̄	=kī|
COM	be_fat.VF1	NMLZ

‘I will be fatter than you.’ (lit.: ‘I will exceed you in fatness.’) [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

The second case involves the absorption of the final M in nouns with a LM pattern by the H tone of the following Demonstrative marker =ɛ́: LM + H → L + H, as in (90).

(90) kǫ̀m ‘body hair’ + =ɛ́ + $=^{L}$ GEN + =rɛ́ → kǫ̀m ɛ́ ˈrɛ́
bɔ̀m ‘hut’ + =ɛ́ + $=^{L}$ GEN + =rɛ́ → bòm ɛ́ ˈrɛ́
gùū ‘axe’ + =ɛ́ + $=^{L}$ GEN + =rɛ́ → gùwɛ́ ˈrɛ́ [gūwɛ̋ ˈrɛ́]

2.6.6.3 L-tone delinking

The L tone of a prosodically weak syllable can be delinked by H-tone spread from a preceding H-toned syllable resulting in $H=H^{L}$ or H^{L}. The second realization H^{L} applies when the second of the two vowels is deleted due to hiatus resolution (Section 2.5.1).

(91) kā ‘see (VF1)’ + =tí PFV + =è COM → kā tí è ~ kā tí ɛ́^{L}
zūrí ‘be good, well’ + =è PRST → zūrí ɛ́^{L}
ɗɔ́ŋ ‘much’ + =è PRST → ɗɔ́ŋ ɛ́^{L}
mą̀wɛ́ ‘how?’ + =è PRST → mą̀wɛ́ è ~ mą̀wɛ́ ɛ́^{L}
mǫ̀ 2SG.NS + =è PRST + =yí QM.CON → mǫ̀ ɔ́ ˈyí
mą̄ą̄ ‘build’ + =rí PFV + =è PRST + =yí QM.CON → mą̄ą̄ rí ɛ́ˈ yí [mm̄ː ríɛ̋ ˈjí]
kā ‘see (VF1)’ + =tí PFV + =ɔ 3NHUM.O + =wā PFM → kā tɔ́ˈ wā [kā tɔ̋ ˈwā]

The L tone of the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* or the Comitative preposition *=ɛ̀* is optionally delinked. The delinking of L is caused by the spread of the preceding H tone on the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* or the Comitative preposition *=ɛ̀.* The H tone of the Perfective marker spreads on the non-human third person object pronominal *=ɔ́* whose L tone is delinked, and subsequently the hiatus *iɔ* is resolved through the deletion of *i.*

2.6.6.4 Floating ^{L} of the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ after M

The Genitive marker ^{L} can occur after nouns as well as after the two functional morphemes *=ɛ́* DEM and *=rī* POSS. When the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ comes after a morpheme with a final M tone, two realizations are possible: (i) M is deleted by the floating ^{L}, and the floating ^{L} is realized on the free TBU, as in (92), and (ii) M is raised to H before the floating ^{L} tone, which itself remains floating, as in (93).

(92)
zɔ̀m		sɔ̄ɔ̄kī
|zɔ̄m	$=^{L}$	sɔ̄ɔ̄kī|
poison	GEN	snake

'venom' [KUG_20170504_YF_054]

(93)
ɓáá		ˈnɑ́ɑ̱́kī
|ɓáā	$=^{L}$	nɑ́ɑ̱́kī|
stomach.CF1	GEN	cow

'stomach of the cow' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

The choice between the two realizations can be lexically determined, depend on the speaker, vary in the speech of one speaker, and depend on the segmental structure of the preceding syllable. I briefly outline all these aspects below.

Let us begin by considering lexically conditioned realizations. Some nouns with identical tone patterns have consistently different realizations when followed by a floating ^{L} tone, as in (94).

(94) tɛ̱̀ɛ̱̄ 'chicken' + $=^{L}$ GEN + bàā 'flock' → tɛ̱̀ɛ́^{L} bàā 'chicken of the flock'
bàā 'flock' + $=^{L}$ GEN + tɛ̱̀ɛ̱̄ 'chicken' → bàà tɛ̱̀ɛ̱̄ 'chicken flock'

At the same time, there are also nouns that when followed by a floating ^{L} tone, have been found to have one realization in some cases and the other realization elsewhere, as in (95).

(95) wē(ː) 'person (CF1)' + $=^{L}$ GEN + pɔ̄ 'farm (VF1)' + =kī NMLZ → wè pɔ̄ kī 'farmer'
wē(ː) 'person (CF1)' + $=^{L}$ GEN + gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ 'Gengle' → wé ˈgɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ 'Gengle person'

The choice of the rule can also depend on the speaker, as in (96) where the two realizations of the same construction have been recorded with different speakers.

(96) váá ˡɓá ˡyɛ̄y ~ váà ɓá ˡyɛ̄y ‘bastard’, nɔ̰ yêŋ yɛ̄ŋ ~ nɔ̰ yéŋ ˡyɛ̄ŋ ‘mother’s sister’, ɗóò bɛ̀kī ~ ɗóó ˡpàŋà ‘rope made of panga’, tóŋ ˡwēm ~ tôŋ wēm ‘father of the person’, dūmlɛ̀ tárī ~ dūmlé ˡtárī ‘son-in-law’, vélí ˡɲɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄kī ~ vélì ɲɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄kī ‘groom’

One speaker may use both rules for the same construction, as in (97) where the two realizations of the same construction have been recorded with the same speaker.

(97) gérɛ́ ˡɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ~ gérɛ̀ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ‘domestic pig’

The Genitive marker $=^{L}$ frequently deletes the lexical M tone if the preceding mora is a nasal consonant /ŋ/.

(98) vētôŋ ‘friend’ + $=^{L}$ GEN + =tó 1PL.POSS.INAL → vētôŋ tó ‘our friend’
nɔ̰̄ŋ ‘name’ + $=^{L}$ GEN + tôŋ ‘father’ → nɔ̰̂ŋ tôŋ ‘father’s name’

2.6.6.5 Floating L of the Transitive marker ^{L} after M

The Transitive marker ^{L} comes after the verb marked by the nominalization marker =kī / =ī / =ɛ̄ / =ɛ̀. When the Transitive marker occurs after the nominalization marker with a M tone, the following realizations are possible: (i) M is deleted by the floating ^{L}, and the floating ^{L} is realized on the free TBU or (ii) M is raised to H before the floating ^{L} tone, which itself remains floating. The choice between the two realizations depends on the structure of the verb (monosyllabic verbs vs. polysyllabic verbs and verbs with segmental verb-to-verb derivational morphemes), the lexical tone of the monosyllabic verb, and the presence of the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ that is realized on the verb stem. All realizations are provided in Table 17.

	Tonal pattern of the verb	Realization of NMLZ + TR	Examples
Monosyllabic verb	H	L	yí ‘beat’ + =kī NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR → yí=kì
	M	H^{L}	mɑ̰ɑ̰ ‘build’ + =kī NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR → mɑ̰ɑ̰=kí^{L} hṵ̄m ‘pound’ + =ī NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR → hṵ̄m=í^{L}
	L	L	bɛ̀ ‘hunt’ + =kī NMLZ + ^{L} TR → bɛ̀=kì
Polysyllabic verb, derived verb	all patterns	L	pɔ̄ ‘farm’ + =mlí PLAC + =ɛ̄ NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR → pɔ̄ml=ɛ̀ mɑ́kí ‘know’ + =ɛ̄ NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR → mɑ́k=ɛ̀
Verb with $=^{L}$ RES	all patterns	H^{L}	yí ‘beat’ + $=^{L}$ RES + =kī NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR → yîi=kí^{L} mɑ̰ɑ̰ ‘build’ + $=^{L}$ RES + =kī NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR → mɑ̀ɑ̰=kí^{L}

Table 17. Realizations of the Transitive marker

However, there are exceptions. For example, I found the form *ɲ̀ɔ́sɛ́ᵈ* 'drinking' of the verb *ɲ̀ɔ́sí* 'drink' used with the nominalization marker $=\bar{\varepsilon}$ and the Transitive marker $=^{L}$. I would expect the form *ɲ̀ɔ́sɛ̀* 'drinking' (where the Transitive marker $=^{L}$ deletes the M tone of $=\bar{\varepsilon}$) that would match with other nominalized polysyllabic verbs with the Transitive marker $=^{L}$. I have not been able to confirm if the form *ɲ̀ɔ́sɛ̀* 'drinking' is also possible.

2.6.6.6 The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ after monosyllabic verbs

Underived Kugama verbs are monosyllabic or disyllabic. The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ comes immediately after the verb stem. Monosyllabic verbs that are used with the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ are heavy (C)VV and (C)VC. The Verb Form 1 that has the light (C)V structure is not used with the resultative derivation. The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ either remains floating or is realized on the second mora of monosyllabic (C)VV and (C)VC verbs, as in (99). One verb may have different realizations with the Resultative marker $=^{L}$, see examples with *mə̰ə̰* 'build' and *yíí* 'beat (VF3)' in (99). The context(s) that condition the realization of the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ with H-toned and M-toned monosyllabic verbs require further investigation. In case of L-toned verbs, the Resultative $=^{L}$ simply docks on the preceding syllable, see (99).

(99)

mə̰ə̰ 'build' + $=^{L}$ RES + =wā	→ mə̰ə́ˡ=wā
mə̰ə̰ 'build' + $=^{L}$ RES + =kī NMLZ	→ mə̀ə̀=kī
vɛ̰ɛ̰ 'write' + $=^{L}$ RES + =wā	→ vɛ̰ɛ́ˡ=wā
vɛ̰ɛ̰ 'write' + $=^{L}$ RES + =kī NMLZ	→ vɛ̀ɛ̀=kī
yíí 'beat (VF3)' + $=^{L}$ RES + =kī NMLZ	→ yîî=kī
yíí 'beat (VF3)' + $=^{L}$ RES + =sí APPL	→ yííˡ=sí
gɔ̰ɔ̰ 'do (VF3)' + $=^{L}$ RES	→ gɔ̰ɔ̰

2.6.6.7 The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ used with disyllabic verbs

2.6.6.7.1 The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ after the lexical L tone of the first syllable of a verb

The first syllable of a disyllabic verb can carry a L tone. In this case, the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ occurs on the second syllable of these L-toned verbs, as in (100).

(100)

dììmɪ̰́ 'braid (VF4)' + $=^{L}$ RES	→ dììmɪ̰̀

2.6.6.7.2 The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ after the lexical M tone of the first syllable of a verb

The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ can occur once or twice in a M-toned disyllabic verb: after both the first and the second syllable of a disyllabic verb, or only after the second syllable of a disyllabic verb, as in (101). In some disyllabic verbs, the lexical M tone of the first syllable can remain M or it becomes H, see the verb *zūrí* 'be good' in (101).

(101) yɔ̄ɔ̄mi̱ ‘plant’ + $=^{L}$ RES → yɔ̄ɔ̄mi̱
zūrí ‘be good’ + $=^{L}$ RES → zúrì

The lexical M tone of the first syllable of disyllabic verbs becomes H, and the resulting H can be realized as extra-H. This signals that the resulting H is followed by the Resultative marker $=^{L}$, see the verb *dɔ̄ɔ̄kí* ‘burn (VF4)’ in (102). The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ is also placed after the second syllable of disyllabic verbs deleting its lexical H or M tone.

(102) dɔ̄ɔ̄kí ‘burn (VF4)’ + $=^{L}$ RES → dɔ́ɔ́ꜜkì

I do not have enough data to study the realization of the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ with M-toned verbs in detail. It is therefore not always clear whether there is a Resultative marker $=^{L}$ only after the second syllable of disyllabic verbs or also after the first syllable.

2.6.6.7.3 The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ after the lexical H tone of the first syllable of a verb

The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ occurs twice in a H-toned disyllabic verb: after the first and the second syllable of a disyllabic verb, as in (103). As a result, the lexical H tone of the first syllable is followed by a downstep, being itself realized as extra-H phonetically, while the lexical H (or M, see Section 2.6.3.4 on the free variation of H and M in verbs) of the second syllable is deleted with the floating ^{L} of the second instance of the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ docking on the freed second syllable.

(103) tą̱pí ‘be cold’ + $=^{L}$ RES → tą̱ꜜpì
nɔ́ɔ́mi̱ ‘polish (VF4)’ + $=^{L}$ RES → nɔ́ɔ́ꜜmi̱
yúúkí ‘close (VF4)’ + $=^{L}$ RES → yúúꜜkì

The presence of the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ after both the first and second syllable of disyllabic verbs suggests that it can be interpreted as a trace of a complex structure where each element, i.e. the first syllable (C)V or (C)VV and the second syllable CV, receives the Resultative marker $=^{L}$, as in (103).

Note that I have only recently encountered this double marking of H-toned disyllabic verbs with the Resultative marker. As a result, I did not have an opportunity to confirm the presence of the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ after the first syllable in most H-toned disyllabic verbs. In this text, I present the resultative verb forms as they are in my corpus right now.

2.6.6.7.4 The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ after the lexical H or M tone of the second syllable of a verb

The second syllable of all disyllabic verbs carries either a H or a M tone (Section 2.6.3.4). The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ deletes the lexical tone of the second syllable, see (104).

(104)

tą́pí ‘be cold’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→ tą̱ˈpì
púúkí ‘open (VF4)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	→ púúˈkì

3 Nouns

3.1 Morphosyntactic classifications of nouns

Kugama grammatically distinguishes nouns into different morphosyntactic classes, viz. Proprial Nouns and Common Nouns (Section 3.1.1), Inalienably-possessed nouns vs. Alienably possessed nouns (Section 3.1.2), human nouns vs. non-human nouns (Section 3.1.3), and countable nouns vs. uncountable nouns (Section 3.1.4). In the following sections, I analyze different classes of nouns in different morphosyntactic environments.

3.1.1 Proprial Nouns vs. Common Nouns

Kugama distinguishes two morphosyntactic classes: Proprial Nouns and Common Nouns.

The morphosyntactic class of Proprial Nouns includes human proper names, the non-selective interrogative pronominal *wɛ́* 'who', as well as some of the bound singular possessive pronominal modifiers such as the first person singular inalienable possessive modifier *=mɛ́(ʔ) ~ =mí(ʔ)*, the second person singular inalienable possessive modifier *=ɔ̄(ʔ)*, the third person singular human inalienable possessive modifier *=rɛ́(ʔ)*, the third person singular human alienable possessive modifier *=rɛ́(ʔ)*, the logophoric inalienable possessive modifier *=wí ~ =wɛ́*, and logophoric alienable possessive modifier *=wí ~ =wɛ́.*

The class of Proprial Nouns includes only human given proper names, e.g. *Lúkpêwà* (male/female name), *Nàáʻbɛ̀nā* (female name), *Yáálò ~ Yáálóo* (male/female name), *Ɔ̀zùrūwà* (male/female name). This group of proper names includes not only inherited Kugama proper names, but also proper names that originate from neighboring languages and English, e.g. *Àlí* (male name), *Rákìyā* (female name), *Ándrù* (male name). Ethnonyms that refer to people from different ethnic and clan groups like *gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄* 'Gengle ethnic group' and *tíyɛ̄rɛ̄* 'Tiyere clan' do not belong to the class of Proprial Nouns. Morphosyntactically, they behave like Common Nouns.

The class of Common Nouns consists of all nouns that are not human proper names, as well as the non-selective interrogative pronominal *ɔ̀kɛ̀* 'what', some of the bound possessive pronominal modifiers in the plural such as the first person plural inalienable possessive modifier *=tú(ʔ) ~ =tɔ́(ʔ)*, first person plural alienable possessive modifier *=tú(ʔ) ~ =tɔ́(ʔ)*, second person plural inalienable possessive modifier *=nú(ʔ) ~ =nɔ́(ʔ)*, second person plural alienable possessive modifier *=nú(ʔ) ~ =nɔ́(ʔ)*, third person plural human inalienable possessive modifier *=rī(ʔ) ~ =rē(ʔ)*, third person plural human alienable possessive modifier *=rī(ʔ) ~ =rē(ʔ)*, and third person plural non-human inalienable possessive modifier *=ɔ̄*.

This morphosyntactic classification of nouns plays an important role in the formation of possessive constructions (Section 8.1), as well as constructions with Presentative markers *á*, *à*,

ĩì, or *=ɛ́* (~*=*ɛ̄) such as Presentative, Identificational, and Equative clauses (Section 11.1), cleft constructions (Section 14.1), and content questions with non-selective interrogative pronominals (Section 13.4). For example, when the modifier of a possessive construction is expressed through a Common Noun, it is connected to the head noun by the Genitive marker *=*^{L},[17] as in (105) and (106). When the modifier is expressed through a Proprial Noun, it comes after the head noun without the Genitive marker *=*^{L}, as in (107).

(105) ɓáá ˩náákī
|ɓáā =^{L} náákī|
stomach.CF1 GEN cow
'stomach of the cow' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

(106) wɛ̄nì nààjɛ́ríyà
|wɛ̄nī =^{L} nààjɛ́ríyà|
people GEN Nigeria
'Nigerian people' [KUG_20211124_BB_035]

(107) ɓáā Lúkpɛ̂wà
|ɓáā Lúkpɛ̂wà|
stomach.CF1 Luikpiewa
'stomach of Luikpiewa' (Luikpiewa is a person) [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

If the Genitive marker *=*^{L} is followed by a Proprial Noun modifier in a possessive construction, this Proprial Noun may be construed as the name of an animal, see (108). However, the Kugama do not usually give names to animals.

(108) ɓáá ˩Lúkpɛ̂wà
|ɓáā =^{L} Lúkpɛ̂wà|
stomach.CF1 GEN Luikpiewa
'stomach of Luikpiewa' (Luikpiewa is an animal) [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

[17] The Genitive marker *=*^{L} behaves as an enclitic to the head of the possessive construction (Section 2.6.2). Furthermore, I hypothesize that the Genitive marker *=*^{L} and Presentative markers *à, á* and *=ɛ̀* may have the same origin, since all of them are sensitive to morphosyntactic classification of nouns into Proprial Nouns and Common Nouns.

3.1.2 Alienability

Kugama grammatically distinguishes Inalienably-possessed nouns from Alienably-possessed nouns. This classification determines the choice between Inalienable Possessive constructions (which include the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction and the Inalienable Common Possessive construction) and Alienable Possessive constructions (which include the Alienable Proprial Possessive construction, the Alienable Common Possessive construction, and the Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction). All possessive constructions have the same word order: the head comes before the modifier, see Table 18. More information on these constructions is provided in Section 8.1.

Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]
Inalienable Common Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]
Alienable Proprial Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + =rī POSS + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]
Alienable Common Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + =rī POSS + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]
Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + =ráā(ʔ) ~ râ(ʔ) 1SG.POSS.ALIEN, =rúɔ̄ 2SG.POSS.ALIEN, =rɛ̂(ʔ) 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN, =ɔ̀ 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN]

Table 18. Types of possessive constructions

Alienably-possessed head nouns occur in Alienable Possessive constructions, while inalienably-possessed head nouns occur in Inalienable Possessive constructions. Example (109) is an Alienable Common Possessive construction with the alienably-possessed head noun *gūnā* ‘ring, rattle’. Example (110) is an Inalienable Common Possessive construction with the inalienably-possessed head noun *ɓáā* ‘stomach (CF1)’.

(109)

gūnà		rí		ˈwē	sóōrī
|gūnā	$=^{\text{L}}$	=rī	$=^{\text{L}}$	wē	sóōrī|
ring	GEN	POSS	GEN	person.CF1	adult_female

‘ring of a woman’ [KUG_20201217_AC_020]

(110) ɓáá ˈwēm
|ɓáā =ᴸ wēm|
stomach.CF1 GEN person
'stomach of a person' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

In the following sections, I provide the list of lexical items that belong to the classes of Inalienably-possessed nouns and Alienably-possessed nouns.

3.1.2.1 Inalienably-possessed nouns

The class of Inalienably-possessed nouns mostly includes body parts and kinship terms. For example, among the Inalienably-possessed body part terms we find *ɓɛ̄y* 'stomach', *pɔ̀y* 'face', *wɛ̄y* 'penis', *tɔ̄y* 'ear', *nɛ̄y* 'hand', *gɛ̄y* 'waist', *dṹy* 'tooth', *zɛ̄y* 'leg', *tùgū̱y* 'back', *ɲɛ̄y* 'mouth', *nɔ̄y* 'eye', *kɔ̄y* 'vagina', *vṳ̀rɛ̀* 'intestines', *bìnɛ̄* 'chest', *ɲɛ́pɛ̄* 'tongue', *dīnɛ̄* 'fist', etc. This group of nouns also includes a number of compounds, e.g. *vísí ˈnɛ̄y* 'finger' (lit.: 'finger of the hand'), *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀ nɔ̄y* 'eyelid' (lit.: 'skin of the eye'). In (111) and (112), I provide possessive constructions with the head nouns *dúū* 'tooth (CF1)' and *bìnɛ̄* 'chest'. Since these head nouns are inalienably-possessed, they are used in the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, as in (111), and in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, as in (112).

(111) dúū mí
|dúū =mí|
tooth.CF1 1SG.POSS.INAL
'my tooth' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(112) bìnɛ̀ tāā
|bìnɛ̄ =ᴸ tāā|
chest GEN monkey
'chest of the monkey' [KUG_20180419_AC_005]

Among the Alienably-possessed body part terms we find *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì* 'skin', *vɔ̀ɔ̄* 'phlegm', *sṹm* 'hair', *kɔ̰̄m* 'body hair', *dɛ̃̄ɛ̄* 'blood', *kṹmpī* 'bone', *fúffùkɛ̄* 'lung', *tɛ̀ɛ̀ méɛ́ ˈsáŋkɛ̄* 'bladder', *góórɛ̀* 'kidney', *nĩ̀ŋ* 'tendon', *dúū dɔ̃́ŋ* 'molar tooth', *vísí ˈnáā dɔ̃́ŋ* 'thumb', etc. They mostly refer to body fluids and other non-countable body parts, e.g. *sṹm* 'hair', as well as internal organs. These nouns are used as heads of Alienable Possessive constructions, as in (113) and (114).

(113)

níŋ		ˈráā
|n̋iŋ	=L	=ráā|
tendon	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN

'my tendon' [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

(114)

dɛ̀è		rī	Zūrí
|dɛ̄ɛ̄	=L	=rī	Zūrí|
blood	GEN	POSS	Zuri

'blood of Zuri' [KUG_20180420_AC_009]

A couple of body part terms are noun phrases whose modifier is the Post-nominal Property Noun *dɔ́ŋ* 'bigness', e.g. *dúū dɔ́ŋ* 'molar tooth', *vísí ˈnáā dɔ́ŋ* 'thumb' (Sections 3.2.3 and 8.5). When these complex noun phrases function as the head of a possessive construction, they are considered as alienably-possessed, as in (115). In particular, the body part term *dúū dɔ́ŋ* 'molar tooth' belongs to the class of Alienably-possessed nouns, while the noun *dɨ̄y* 'tooth' belongs to the class of Inalienably-possessed nouns.

(115)

dúū	dɔ́ŋ		ˈrâ
|dúū	dɔ́ŋ	=L	=râ|
tooth.CF1	bigness	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN

'my molar tooth' (lit.: 'my big tooth') [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

In (116), I list the Inalienably-possessed kinship terms found in Kugama.

(116) tɔ̄ŋ 'father', yɛ̄ŋ 'mother', ɓɛ̄ŋ 'brother (elder)', vēɓɛ̄y 'brother (younger)', nɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ̄ŋ 'sister', nɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ́ŋ ˈyɛ̄ŋ 'mother's sister', ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī 'daughter', dūmlē 'son', tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄ 'grandparent (male), ancestor (male), mother's brother, mother's father, someone from the mother's side', yɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄ 'grandparent (female), ancestor (female), mother's sister, someone from the mother's side', vɛ́lī 'husband', wē sóōrī 'woman, wife, adult female', wísī 'co-wife', fáà tɔ̄ŋ (SG) / sáà tɔ̄ŋ (PL) 'relative(s) from father's side, cousin', and ɲáásì 'relatives in-law'

Terms such as *fâ sēnɛ̄* (SG) / *sâ sēnɛ̄* (PL) 'father's brother(s)' and *tɔ̌m ˈlékī* 'descendant', *zàŋ lékī* 'family, descendant' belong to the class of Alienably-possessed nouns. The noun *dɛ́ɛ́ké* 'house' is commonly Inalienably-possessed, while *váā* 'child', *sīzáā* 'children' is usually Alienably-possessed. Finally, the nouns *vētɔ̄ŋ* 'friend', *órī* 'age-mate'[18], *nɨ̄ŋ* 'name' and *kɔ̀y*

[18] During the circumcision ceremony, all boys become *órī* to each other. This kind of friendship or brotherhood lasts all their life.

'village' are Inalienably-possessed. The nouns *nĩŋ* 'name' and *nĩŋ* 'tendon' are homonyms, but the first one is Inalienably-possessed, while the second one is Alienably-possessed, as in (113) and (117).

(117)
nĩŋ	mɛ́ʔ
|nĩŋ	=mɛ́ʔ|
name	1SG.POSS.INAL

'my name' [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

3.1.2.2 Contextually alienable uses of nouns that are usually inalienably possessed

There are some contexts in which nouns that normally are Inalienably-possessed are used as Alienably-possessed ones. Examples (118) and (119) demonstrate that when a body part term that is typically used as Inalienably-possessed occurs in Alienable Possessive constructions, it is construed as detached from the body.

(118)
kǰm		ˈnɔ́ɔ̃	mɛ́
|kǰm	=L	nɔ́ɔ̃	=mɛ́|
body_hair	GEN	eye.CF1	1SG.POSS.INAL

'my eyelash' (the speaker refers to their own eyelash on their own eye) [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_3]

(119)
kǰm		ˈnɔ́		ˈráā
|kǰm	=L	nɔ́	=L	=ráā|
body_hair	GEN	eye.CF2	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN

'my eyelash' (speaker's eyelash fell off their eye) [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_3]

3.1.3 Pronominal gender: human vs. non-human nouns

Kugama distinguishes between human and non-human genders whose expression is confined to third person subject, object, possessive and reflexive pronominals (Chapter 4) and non-selective interrogative pronominals (Section 8.10, Chapter 13). Subject and non-subject pronominals have singular and plural forms to express third person human and non-human categories, as in (120) and (121). However, object, possessive, and reflexive pronominals are distinguished in number only for the third person human category, but not for the third person non-human category, compare (122) - (124).

(120)

wēm	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́	ɗɛ́	zūrú	wā
|wēm	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɗɛ́	zūrí	=wā|
person	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.HUM.S1	be_good	PFM

'This person is good.'

(121)

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́			ˈrɛ́	ɓɔ̀	gɛ̀pú	wā
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɓɔ̀	gɛ̀pí	=wā|
house	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S1	be_big	PFM

'This house is big.' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(122)

ɓáā	rɛ́ʔ
|ɓáā	=rɛ́ʔ|
stomach.CF1	3SG.POSS.INAL

'his/her stomach' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(123)

ɓáá		ˈrīʔ
|ɓáā	=ᴸ	=rīʔ|
stomach.CF1	GEN	3PL.POSS.INAL

'their (HUM) stomach' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(124)

kǰm		ɔ̀
|kǰm	=ᴸ	=ɔ̀|
body_hair	GEN	3NHUM.POSS

'its/their (NHUM) body hair' [KUG_20181205_BB_076]

Animals, plants, and *vɛ́ɛ́pī* 'corpse; death' belong to the class of non-human nouns. Nouns *sɑ́ɑ̄* 'ghost' and *vɔ̀ɔ̀* 'demon' can be construed as either human or non-human.

3.1.4 Number: Countable vs. Uncountable nouns

Number is not morphologically marked on nouns in Kugama. However, Kugama grammatically distinguishes countable and uncountable nouns using various means of number expression: numerals, as in (125) - (127), Bound Nouns, as in (128) and (129), and pronominals.

(125) ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ˡɓíní
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L} ɓíní|
house one
‘one house’ [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(126) ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ˡníīrī
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L} níīrī|
house two
‘two houses’ [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(127) ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ˡkɔ́p
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L} kɔ́p|
house ten
‘ten houses’ [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(128) fâ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|fâ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
DIM.SG house
‘small house’ [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(129) sâ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|sâ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
DIM.PL house
‘small houses’ [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

Free possessive pronominals mark the number of the following noun, as in (130) and (131). More information on these pronominals is given in Sections 4.5.2 and 8.9.

(130) ɓām ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɓām ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
SG.1SG.POSS house
‘my house’ [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(131) ām ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ām ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
PL.1SG.POSS house
'my houses' [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

Number is distinguished in subject and non-subject pronominals for all person and human/non-human categories. However, number is not distinguished in third person non-human pronominals in object, bound possessive and reflexive paradigms. For example, the head noun in (132) is modified by the non-human possessive pronominal *=rɛ̂(ʔ)*, which can refer to both singular and plural possessors.

(132) zɛ́ ˈrɛ̂ʔ
|zɛ́ =^{L} =rɛ̂ʔ|
dog.CF2 GEN 3NHUM.ALIEN
'its dog(s)', 'their (NHUM) dog(s)' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

3.1.4.1 Uncountable nouns

Uncountable nouns refer to masses such as water, dust, milk, beer, blood, guinea corn, etc. Uncountable nouns can be used with numerals and other means of number expression with a shift in meaning associated with 'packaging': the noun phrase 'two waters' means 'two bottles/packages of water'. This number marking can also be associated with 'seeds, grains' for some cereals, as in (133).

(133) wə̌m níīrī
|wə̀m níīrī|
beans two
'two seeds of beans' [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_22]

3.1.4.2 Number suppletion in countable nouns

Kugama has a small group of nouns that have dedicated suppletive plural forms. These nouns are *wēm* 'person' / *wēnī* 'people', *váā* 'child' / *sīzáā* 'children', and *kpə̀m* 'chief' / *kpànī* 'chiefs'.[19] This group also includes some Bound Nouns such as *fáà ~ fə̂* (SG) / *sáà ~ sə̂* (PL) 'small, young (one)'/ (DIM), *kpə̰̀m* (SG) / *kpə̰̀nì* (PL) 'big (one)', *gɔ̀ɔ̀* (SG/PL) (rare *gɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̀* (PL)) 'big (one)', and *ɓī* (SG.NHUM) / *ī* (PL.NHUM) 'the one(s) of', see Section 3.2.4 and Section

[19] The plural forms *wēnī* 'people' and *kpànī* 'chiefs' include a final segement /i/, which probably has a similar origin with the plural marker *-i* in Yendang (Anikina 2012b: 19).

8.4 for more details. These Bound Nouns come before another noun. They are found in noun phrases and compounds which originate from Inalienable Possessive constructions, see Section 8.1 for more details.

The nouns *wēm* 'person' and *wēnī* 'people' are involved in the formation of Agentive constructions as follows: [*wē* + $=^{L}$ GEN + Noun] / [*wēnī* + $=^{L}$ GEN + Noun]. These constructions are used to denote a person's profession or occupation, as in (134).

(134) a. wè bɛ̀ kī
|wē $=^{L}$ bɛ̀ =kī|
person.CF1 GEN hunt.VF1 NMLZ
'hunter' [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

b. wēnì bɛ̀ kī
|wēnī $=^{L}$ bɛ̀ =kī|
people GEN hunt.VF1 NMLZ
'hunters' [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

In a limited number of compounds with diminutive semantics, *váā* 'child, young one' and *sīzáā* 'children, young ones' have been found to be used instead of the diminutive marker/Bound Noun *fáà ~ fâ* (SG) / *sáà ~ sâ* (PL) 'small, young (one)'/ (DIM), as in (135). Note that vowel shortening, as the one in *váā* and *sīzáā*, is frequent in compounds, see Section 3.5.

(135) a. vâ vɛ́ɛ́pī
|váā $=^{L}$ vɛ́ɛ́pī|
child GEN deceased_one
'orphan' [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

b. sīzâ vɛ́ɛ́pī
|sīzáā $=^{L}$ vɛ́ɛ́pī|
children GEN deceased_one
'orphans' [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

Bound nouns such as *fáà ~ fâ* (SG) / *sáà ~ sâ* (PL) 'small, young (one)'/ (DIM), *kpà̰m* (SG) / *kpà̰nè* (PL) 'big (one)', *gɔ̀ɔ̀* (SG/PL) (or *gɔ̀ɔ̀lè* (PL)) 'big (one)' form the following construction: [Bound Noun + Noun]. In origin, these noun phrases were the Inalienable Common Possessive construction formed as follows: [Possessee + $=^{L}$ GEN + Possessor]. This can be confirmed by the formal similarity of *fáà ~ fâ* (SG) / *sáà ~ sâ* (PL) 'small, young (one)'/ (DIM) with *váā* 'child' / *sīzáā* 'children', and *kpà̰m* (SG) / *kpà̰nì* (PL) 'big (one)' with *kpàm* 'chief' / *kpànī* 'chiefs' as well as by the HL tonal pattern of these Bound Nouns.

(136) fâ dą̄ą́
|fâ dą̄ą́|
DIM.SG sheep
‘small sheep’, ‘lamb’ [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(137) sâ dą̄ą́
|sâ dą̄ą́|
DIM.PL sheep
‘small sheep (PL)’, ‘lambs’ [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(138) fâ wē vɛ́ɛ̄rī
|fâ wē vɛ́ɛ̄rī|
DIM.SG person.CF1 male
‘boy’ [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

(139) sâ wɛ̄nī vɛ́ɛ̄rī
|sâ wɛ̄nī vɛ́ɛ̄rī|
DIM.PL people male
‘boys’ [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

The Bound Noun *yíî ~ yî ~ yíí* ’many’ is commonly used with countable nouns, as in (140). When it is used with names of cereals, the noun phrase may refer to ‘grains, seeds’ of a plant, as in (141).

(140) a. yîì wɛ̄nī
|yîì wɛ̄nī|
many people
‘many people’ [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

b. yîì yíī
|yîì yíī|
many goat
‘many goats’ [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

(141)
	yíì	sɔ̃m
	|yíì	sɔ̃m|
	many	guinea_corn

‘many grains of guinea corn’ [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

3.2 Non-canonical nominal expressions

Within the morphosyntactic category of nouns, there are several groups of lexemes that strictly speaking do not refer to objects and furthermore possess a number of distinct morphosyntactic features that set them apart from canonical nouns. These are (i) Numerals, (ii) Pre-nominal Property Nouns, (iii) Post-nominal Property Nouns and (iv) Bound Nouns.

3.2.1 Numerals

Numeral concepts are expressed by a subtype of nouns in Kugama, that I refer to as numerals. They commonly function as a modifier of another noun. As regular nouns, numerals can be used as the head of possessive constructions (Section 8.2). For example, the numeral in (142) is used as the head of an Alienable Common Possessive construction. Numerals can stand alone as a nominal predicate without a copula, as in (143). Examples (143) and (144) also demonstrate that numerals can be followed by the demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* as an ordinary noun. More information about different types of numerals can be found in Chapter 5. Noun phrases with numerals are discussed in Section 8.6.

(142)
	Àlí	ˈdĩì	Lúkpêwà	à	Músá	tì	sɛ̰́ɛ̰́	kī
	|Àlí^{L}	dĩì	Lúkpêwà	à	Músá	tì	sɛ̰́ɛ̰́	=kī|
	Ali	CONJ	Luikpiewa	COM	Musa	PROG	fight	NMLZ

nísą̀ą̀		rí		ˈrī
|ní^{L}są́ą̄	=^{L}	=rī	=^{L}	=rī|
three	GEN	POSS	GEN	3PL.HUM.POSS.ALIEN

‘Ali, Luikpiewa and Musa are fighting. All three of them.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

(143)

ɗɛ́	ɛ́		˩sáákì		rī	rɛ́
|ɗɛ́	=ɛ́	=L	sáákī	=L	=rī	=rɛ́|
3SG.HUM.S3	DEM	GEN	year	GEN	POSS	3SG.HUM.POSS

kɔ́p	ɛ́		˩rɛ́
|kɔ́p	=ɛ́	=L	=rɛ́|
ten	DEM	GEN	PROX

['S/he is taller than my son,] 'who is ten years old' (lit.: 'whose years are ten.')
[KUG_20180509_BB_033]

(144)

zìì̀mā	á		˩níīrī	ɛ́		˩rɛ́
|zìì̀mā	=ɛ́	=L	níīrī	=ɛ́	=L	=rɛ́|
needle	DEM	GEN	two	DEM	GEN	PROX

'these two needles' (lit.: 'these needles that are two') [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

3.2.2 Pre-nominal Property Nouns

The group of Pre-nominal Property Nouns includes nouns with frozen non-productive extensions +tɛ́, +kɛ́, +lɛ́, +tɛ̀, +lɛ̀, e.g. *bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀* |bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀(k)| 'width', *hɛ́ntɛ́lɛ̀* |hɛ́ntɛ́lɛ̀(k)| 'shallowness', *síŋkɛ́lɛ́ ~ séŋkɛ́lɛ́* |síŋkɛ́lɛ́(kL) ~ séŋkɛ́lɛ́(kL)| 'sharpness', as well as ideophonic nouns, e.g. *sírírí* |sírírí(kL)| 'narrowness', *kpùkpɔ́rɔ́* |kpùkpɔ́rɔ́(kL)| 'bravery, intelligence', *pɛ́p* |pɛ́p(L)| 'smallness'. The Pre-nominal Property Nouns that end in a vowel also have a latent |k|. It surfaces when a Property Noun is followed by the Presentative marker =*ɛ̀*, as in (145).

(145)

ɓɔ̀y	ɛ̀	ɓɔ̀	ɔ́		˩bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀k	ɛ̀
ɓɔ̀ʸ	=ɛ̀	ɓɔ̀	=ɛ́	=L	˩bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀ᵏ	=ɛ̀
3SG.NHUM.S3	PRST	3SG.NHUM.S3	DEM	GEN	width	PRST

'It is the one that is wide.' [KUG_20180509_BB_033]

Within the noun phrase, Pre-nominal Property Nouns precede another noun that is linked to them by the Genitive marker =L, see (146) and Section 8.3. In addition, these property nouns can stand alone in a phrase. A Pre-nominal Property Noun is used as the nominal predicate without a copula, see (147), and as the parameter of a comparison construction with the Comitative preposition *à*, see (148).

(146) sírírí ˡŋáˡdàkpáā
|sírírí =ᴸ ŋáᴸdàkpáā|
narrowness GEN road
'narrow road' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(147) dɛ̄ kpùkpórɔ́
|dɛ̄ kpùkpórɔ́|
3SG.HUM.S2 intelligence
'S/he is intelligent.' [KUG_20211218_BB_037]

(148) zììmā á ˡré ɓɔ̀ ɓúrú wā
|zììmā =ɛ́ =ᴸ =ré ɓɔ̀ ɓúrí =wā|
needle DEM GEN PROX 3SG.NHUM.S1 exceed PFM

à síŋkélɛ́
|à síŋkélɛ́|
COM sharpness
'This needle is sharper.', 'This needle is the sharpest.' [KUG_20180423_BB_019]

3.2.3 Post-nominal Property Nouns

The group of Post-nominal Property Nouns includes monosyllabic and disyllabic forms, e.g. *dɔ̄ŋ* 'bigness, oldness', *pɔ̄y* 'novelty', *sɔ́ɔ̄rī ~ sɔ́ɔ̀rī* 'greenness', *gèɛ̄pī* 'bigness'. Disyllabic nouns are historically complex and probably originate from verbs. For instance, compare *púūpī* 'whiteness' and *púrí* 'be light, shine', *ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄* 'redness' and *ɲɔ̄m* 'be red', *víĩpī ~ vîìpī* 'blackness' and *vípí* 'be black', *héɛ́nī* 'tallness, longness' and *hɛ̄m* 'be tall, long', *ɓáánī* 'oldness' and *ɓám* 'be old', *tg̰ánī* 'sweetness' and *tg̰̀m ~ tḡ̰m* 'be sweet', and *gèɛ̄pī* 'bigness' and *gèpí* 'be big'. Post-nominal Property Nouns do not stand alone in an utterance. They occur in noun phrases as modifiers after the head noun, as in (149). Post-nominal Property Nouns frequently occur with the non-human individualizer *ɓī* 'the one of' / *ī* 'the ones of', especially as the nominal predicate of Attributive and Possessive clauses, as in (150) and Section 11.2.5. More information on the noun phrase with Post-nominal Property Nouns is provided in Section 8.5.

(149)

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	ˈvîìpī
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L}	vîìpī|
house	blackness

'black house' [KUG_20211110_BB_031]

(150)

lūy	ɲā	ɓī	vîìpī	a̱	
|lūy	ɲā	ɓī	vîìpī	a̱|	
sun	NEG	the_one_of	blackness	NEG	
ɓɔ̀	ɲā	máá	ɓī	sɔ́ɔ̀rī	a̱
|ɓɔ̀	ɲā	máá	ɓī	sɔ́ɔ̀rī	a̱|
3SG.NHUM.S3	NEG	ADD	the_one_of	greenness	NEG

'The sun is not black, neither it is green.' [KUG_20201120_BB_014]

3.2.4 Bound nouns

The small group of Bound nouns includes forms like *kpà̱m* (SG) / *kpà̱nì* (PL) 'big (one)', *fáà ~ fâ* (SG) / *sáà ~ sâ* (PL) (DIM.SG/PL), 'small, young (one)', *yíì ~ yî ~ yíí*^{L} 'many (COUNT)', *ú̱*^{L} *~ ú̱ú̱*^{L} 'some, any', *gāā*^{L} 'remaining, other (PL)', *ɓī* (SG.NHUM) / *ī* (PL.NHUM) 'the one of' / 'the ones of', *sóò ~ sóó*^{L} *~ sô ~ só*^{L} 'adult female', *tɛ̄* 'human masculine', *yɛ̄* 'human feminine', etc. These nouns cannot stand alone. They come before another noun, see Section 8.4 for more details. Noun phrases with Bound nouns can be construed as Inalienable Possessive constructions (Section 8.1). Some Bound nouns have preserved the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ in their form (e.g. *fáà / sáà* 'small/young one', *gāā*^{L} 'remaining, other (PL)') that is present in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction between the head and the modifier.

(151)

fáà	táāpī
|fáà	táāpī|
DIM.SG	stone

'small stone' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

3.3 Noun stems and their structure

The majority of Kugama noun stems are monosyllabic or disyllabic. Three and more syllables can be present in ideophonic nouns and borrowings, as well as in historically complex nouns and in nouns with some frozen non-productive morphology, e.g. Pre-nominal Property Nouns such as *gbi̱ŋtélɛ̀* 'shortness', *bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀* 'width', see Section 3.2.2. Monosyllabic nouns have different shapes such as V, CV, VV, CVV, VC and CVC, e.g. *sì* 'thing', *kpáā* 'side, direction', *ɓɛ̄y* 'stomach'. The second and following syllables of nouns have a CV structure, e.g. *wɛ̄nī*

'people', *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī* 'daughter', *háŋkɛ̄* 'soup', *sɛ́ŋkɛ́lɛ́* 'sharpness'. Ideophonic nouns have very diverse syllable structures due to full or partial reduplication, e.g. *kpìkpítírí* 'thickness', *tɛ̱́ŋtɛ̱́ŋ* 'cleanliness, smartness', *kpùkpɔ́rɔ́* 'bravery, intelligence'. More information about syllable structure of nouns is provided in Section 2.2.

A number of Kugama noun stems include an element(s) that historically is likely to have been a separate morpheme. I call it an *extension* and use the symbol < + > to separate it. I analyze it as a part of the stem, since it is not productive and does not have a clear meaning or function. Nouns with extensions can be grouped according to the type of extension they have in their form, see Table 19.

Extensions	Examples
(C)V +y	ɓɛ̄y 'stomach', pɔ̄y 'face', tɔ̄y 'ear', sɔ̄y 'dance', zɔ̄y 'arrow', yɔ̄y 'beer'
(C)V +V	ɓáā 'stomach (CF1)', kpáā 'side', kpàā 'chief', dɛ́ɛ̄ 'house (CF1)'
(C)V +m	wēm 'person', wà̱m 'Kugama ethnic group', kpằm 'chief'
(C)V +ŋ	yéŋ 'mother', tɔ̄ŋ 'father'
(C)V +V +kī	ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī 'daughter', sɔ̄ɔ̄kī 'snake'
(C)V +V +ké(L)	dɛ́ɛ́ké(L) 'house' (only one example of this type has been found)
(C)V +C +kɛ̄	háŋkɛ̄ 'soup', wáŋkɛ̄ 'leaf'
(C)V +pē	ɲépē 'tongue' (only one example of this type has been found)
(C)V +V +rī	wē sóōrī 'woman, wife', váā véērī 'fiancé'
(C)V +m +pī	kŭ̀mpī 'bone' (only one example of this type has been found)
(C)V +V +pī	vī̱pī 'blackness', púūpī 'whiteness', gɛ̀ɛ̄pī 'bigness'
(C)V +nī	yénī 'loneliness', wēnī 'people'
(C)V +V +nī	héénī 'tallness', ɓáánī 'oldness', tɛ̱̄á̱nī 'sweetness'
(C)V +V +nɛ̄	ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄ 'redness' (only one example of this type has been found)
(C)V +V +sì	ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì 'skin', vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀sì 'insect'
(C)V +C +sì	níŋsì 'root', yúmsì 'harmattan', dìŋsì 'tree'
(C)V +C +kɛ́ +lɛ́(kL)	sɛ́ŋkɛ́lɛ́(kL) 'sharpness' (only one example of this type has been found)
(C)V +C +lɛ̀(k)	fɔ̰́ŋlɛ̀(k) 'lightness' (only one example of this type has been found)
(C)V +C +tɛ́ +lɛ̀(k)	gbíŋtélɛ̀(k) 'shortness', héntélɛ̀ 'shallowness'
(C)V +C +tɛ̀ +lɛ̀(k)	bèntèlɛ̀(k) 'width' (only one example of this type has been found)

Table 19. Segmental noun extension types

A number of noun stems include two or more extensions, e.g. *kŭ̀mpī* 'bone' includes the root *ku* and two extensions +m and +pī, *ɓáánī* 'oldness' includes the root *ɓa* and two extensions +V and +nī. I use several criteria that allow me to postulate an extension within a stem:

(i) Some extensions can be deleted in certain morphosyntactic environments. This frequently takes place when the stem functions as the head of Inalienable Possessive constructions. The stem may lose its extension, as in *kṹmpī* 'bone', which loses +pī in a Possessive construction resulting in *kṹm* 'bone (CF1)', or in *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī* 'daughter', which loses +kī in a Possessive construction resulting in *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄* 'daughter (CF1)', see (152). More information about allomorphs of nouns found in noun phrases and compounds is provided in Section 3.4 on Free and Construct Forms.

(152)
ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	Lúkpêwà
|ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	Lúkpêwà|
daughter.CF1	Luikpiewa

'daughter of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(ii) Some extensions are absent in historically complex words. For example, the root of *kṹmpī* 'bone' appears without both extensions, +m and +pī, in the compound *kú'kə̄y* 'rib' (from *kṹmpī* 'bone', $=^{L}$ GEN, *kə̄y* 'middle'). Note that this word originates from the Inalienable Common Possessive construction.

(iii) A stem can be analyzed as including extensions if its presumed root is found in other lexemes. For instance, some nouns originate from verbs. These nouns and verbs have the same root but different extensions, as demonstrated in (153). Verbs also have extensions (not productive, without clear meaning or function; they are described in Section 10.1).

(153) ɓáánī (ɓa + V + ni) 'oldness', ɓám (ɓa + m) 'be old (VF1)', ɓáámí (ɓa + V + mi) 'be old (VF4)'
héénī (hɛ + V + ni) 'tallness', hɛ̄m (hɛ + m) 'be tall (VF1)', héémí (hɛ + V + mi) 'be tall (VF4)'
ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄ (ɲɔ + V + nɛ) 'redness', ɲɔ̄m (ɲɔ + m) 'be red'
wē sóōrī (so + V + ri) 'adult female', só 'enter (VF1)', sótí (so + ti) 'enter (VF2)'
vḭ̱ḭ̱pī (vḭ̱ + V + pi) 'blackness', vípí (vi + pi) 'be black'
púūpī (pu + V + pi) 'whiteness', púrí (pu + ri) 'be light, shine'
gɛ̀ɛ̄pī (gɛ + V + pi) 'bigness', gɛ̀pí (gɛ + pi) 'be big, grow'
yénī (yɛ + ni) 'loneliness', yɛ́m (yɛ + m) 'disappear (VF1)', yéémí (yɛ + V + mi) 'disappear (VF4)', yém (yɛ + m) 'alone, on one's own (n)'

In addition to this, some Bound Nouns and functional morphemes do not have an extension that is present in nouns they are derived from, as in (154).

(154) yɛ̄ŋ ‘mother’, yɛ̄ ‘human female’
nɛ̄y ‘hand’, náā (na + V) ‘hand (CF1)’, the Ordinal marker nā
bìmɛ́ɛ̄ ‘body’, mɛ̄ ~ mī ‘twenty’
ɓíní ‘one’, ɓī ‘the one of’

Finally, a noun can have two forms with two different extensions, as in (155). The choice of the form depends on the speaker, e.g. *ɣ̀ām ~ ɣ̀àā* ‘Kugama’ in the noun phrase *ɲáá˖ ɣ̀ām ~ ɲáá˖ ɣ̀àā* ‘Kugama language’ (*ɲáā* ‘language’, $=^{L}$ GEN, *ɣ̀ām ~ ɣ̀àā* ‘Kugama ethnic group’).

(155) CV + V ~ CV + m kpàā ~ kpā̀m ‘chief’, ɣ̀ām ~ ɣ̀àā ‘Kugama’
CV + V ~ CV + y nɔ̄y ~ nɔ̄ɔ̄ ‘bird’, sì są̄y ~ sì są̄ą̄ ‘iron item’
CV + ŋ ~ CV + y kú˖ką̄y ~ kú˖ką̄ŋ ‘rib’
CV + ŋ ~ CV + V dù̱gū̱ŋ ~ tùgū̱ū̱ ‘behind’ (from tùgū̱y ‘back’)

(iv) There are some nouns that have the same extension type and that are also semantically similar. For example, the majority of body-part terms contain the extension + y, as in *nɛ̄y* ‘hand’ and *ū̱y* ‘head’, the extension + nī is found with nouns historically derived from verbs, as in *tą̄ą́nī* ‘sweetness’ and *yɛ́nī* ‘loneliness’, the extensions + lɛ́, + lɛ̀, + tɛ́ and + tɛ̀ occur with Pre-nominal Property nouns, as in *gbi̱ŋtɛ́lɛ̀* ‘shortness’ and *hɛ́ntɛ́lɛ̀* ‘shallowness’. In the latter case, Pre-nominal Property Nouns never lose their extensions and they do not have a corresponding lexeme with the same root. But since they share property semantics, have the same morphosyntactic behavior and are significantly longer than regular underived nouns in Kugama, their common syllables /lɛ́/, /lɛ̀/, /tɛ́/ and /tɛ̀/ can be analyzed as extensions.

Some Kugama stems probably originate from a possessive construction with the old Genitive marker ^{L}, as in (156).

(156) *[(C)V + V EXT + ^{L} GEN + CV EXT]
*[(C)V + N EXT + ^{L} GEN + CV EXT]

In particular, some segmental noun extensions (EXT) like + kɛ̄, + nī, + pī, + nɛ̄, + pɛ̄, + rī were probably nouns. For example, the extension + sì in *níŋ˖sì* ‘root’, *dìŋsì* ‘tree’, *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì* ‘skin’, *vɔ̱̀ɔ̱̀sì* ‘insect’, *dɔ̀msì* ‘bundle’, *gààsì* ‘stick’ is most likely related to the noun *sì* ‘thing’.

3.4 Free and Construct Forms of nouns

Nouns in Kugama can have allomorphs. The main allomorph of a noun is called the Free Form, while other allomorphs of a noun are Construct Forms.[20] Construct Forms of nouns occur in certain contexts that I discuss below in this section. The majority of nouns in my lexicon do not

[20] I found Creissels (2017) particularly helpful for understanding nominal allomorphy in Kugama.

have any Construct Forms; they are only used in the Free Form. However, there are around 50 nouns in my lexicon with Construct Forms. In this section, I focus only on these nouns.

A noun is used in its Construct Form when it functions as the head of the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, Inalienable Common Possessive construction, Alienable Proprial Possessive construction, Alienable Common Possessive construction, Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction, noun phrases with ordinal numerals, and noun phrases with Post-nominal Property Nouns (the latter are discussed in Section 8.5). In all these constructions, the head is followed by a modifier. Only the head noun takes the shape of one of the Construct Forms, as in (157) where the Construct Form 1 *ɗɛ́ɛ̄* 'house (CF1)' is used, corresponding to the Free Form *ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́* |ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ~ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L}| 'house'.

(157)

ɗɛ́ɛ̄	mɛ́
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=mɛ́|
house.CF1	1SG.POSS.INAL

'my house' [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

This section focuses on three allomorphs of nouns: Free Form, Construct Form 1 and Construct Form 2. Some examples of these forms are provided in Table 20.

Free Form	Construct Form 1	Construct Form 2	Gloss
ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī	ɲɔ̄ɔ̄ / nɔ̄ɔ̄		'daughter'
gbɛ̂y	gbáā	gbɛ́	'horn'
ɓɛ̂y	ɓáā		'stomach'
tɛ̄	tɛ̄ɛ̄	tɛ̄	'place'
dìŋsì	dīŋ		'tree'
(wē) sóōrī	sóō		'female'
sì	sɛ̄ɛ̄ / sī	sɛ̄	'thing'
zőy		zó	'arrow'
véépī		vɛ́	'corpse'

Table 20. Some examples of Construct Forms of nouns

Some nouns have more than one construct form, with additional allomorphs often found in compounds. For example, the Free Form *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī* 'daughter' has the regular Construct Form 1 allomorph *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄* 'daughter (CF1)', but in addition we also find an irregular Construct Form 1 allomorph *nɔ̄ɔ̄* of *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī* 'daughter' that only occurs in a few compounds with *yɛ̄ŋ* 'mother', compare (158) and (159).

(158)
	ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	Lúkpêwà
	|ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	Lúkpêwà|
	daughter.CF1	Luikpiewa

‘daughter of Luikpiewa’ [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(159)
	nɔ̀ɔ̀		yéŋ		ˈtɔ̄ŋ
	|nɔ̄ɔ̄	=L	yɛ̂ŋ	=L	tɔ̄ŋ|
	daughter.CF1	GEN	mother	GEN	father

‘father’s sister’ [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

From a historical perspective, Free and Construct Forms differ from each other by the presence or absence of extensions in their forms. For example, +ké of the Free Form *dɛ́ɛ́ké* ‘house’ is not present in the corresponding Construct Form 1 *dɛ́ɛ̄* ‘house (CF1)’, however the latter form has preserved the extension +V. Although typically it is the Construct Form that lacks the extension present in the Free Form, the reverse is also possible. Thus, the Free Form *tɛ̄* ‘place’ that does not have any extension corresponds to the Construct Form 1 *tɛ̄ɛ̄* ‘place (CF1)’ that has the extension +V. More information on Construct Form 1 is provided in Section 3.4.1. Construct Form 2 is restricted to a few stems and is discussed in Section 3.4.2.

Not all extension types which are listed in Table 19 can be deleted. Therefore, not all noun stems have corresponding dedicated Construct Forms different from the Free Forms. For example, +pē of *ɲépē* ‘tongue’ is retained in all noun phrases in the head position. For some nouns with extensions, it is not possible to check if their extensions are deleted or not. These nouns simply do not occur as heads of noun phrases. This mainly concerns Post-nominal Property Nouns with +nī, +pī, and +nē, e.g. *púūpī* ‘whiteness’, *gɛ̀ɛ̄pī* ‘bigness’, *héénī* ‘tallness’, *ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄* ‘redness’, that do not function as heads of noun phrases, and therefore these extensions cannot be omitted.

The Free Form of nouns (that have Construct Forms) occurs in isolation as well as in a number of noun phrases with modifiers such as cardinal numerals, the demonstrative marker =*ɛ́*, and the definite marker =*ré* ~ =*rɛ̂*; see (160) - (162).

(160)
	dìŋsì	ɓíní
	|dìŋsì	ɓíní|
	tree	one

‘one tree’ [KUG_20181205_BB_076]

(161) zɛ́y ɛ́ ˩sòrè
|zɛ̄y =ɛ́ =^{L} =sòrè|
dog DEM GEN DIST
'that dog/those dogs' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(162) zɛ̀y rɛ̂
|zɛ̄y =^{L} =rɛ̂^{k}|
leg GEN DEF
'the leg' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

As noted above, Construct Forms can occur in the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, the Alienable Proprial Possessive construction, the Alienable Common Possessive construction, and the Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction. They are also used in noun phrases with ordinal numerals and in noun phrases with Post-nominal Property Noun modifiers (Section 8.5). The choice between Free Form and Construct Form 1 is clearly defined in the Inalienable Possessive constructions. For example, the Free Form of the noun *ɓɛ̂y* 'stomach' is always replaced by its Construct Form 1 *ɓáā* 'stomach (CF1)' in the Inalienable Possessive construction. However, when some stems are modified by Post-nominal Property Nouns, they may occur in their Free Form (163) or Construct Form 1 (164).

(163) hɔ̃y ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄
|hɔ̃y ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄|
calabash redness
'red calabash' [KUG_20211110_BB_031]

(164) nɔ́ɔ̃ púūpī
|nɔ́ɔ̃ púūpī|
eye.CF1 whiteness
'white eyes' [KUG_20211124_BB_035]

The choice of the form possibly depends on the speaker. A similar variation of forms can be found in the Alienable Possessive construction where the Construct Form 2 of a CVy stem can be replaced by its corresponding Free Form. More information on Construct Form 1 and Construct Form 2 is provided in the following sections.

3.4.1 Construct Form 1

Construct Form 1 commonly occurs in the Inalienable Proprial and Inalienable Common Possessive constructions as well as in nominal compounds. It is also found in constructions with Post-nominal Property Nouns.

Construct Form 1 is commonly a heavy syllable: CVV or CVC (exceptional cases are discussed below). These heavy syllables originate from the combination of a monosyllabic (C)V root and an extension +V or +C. Construct Form 1 does not include the old Genitive marker $=^{L}$ and the final CV extension, see (165).[21]

(165) *[(C)V +V EXT ~~+ $=^{L}$ GEN +CV EXT~~]
*[(C)V +N EXT ~~+ $=^{L}$ GEN +CV EXT~~]

For example, the disyllabic Free Form of *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì* 'skin' includes the root *ɓɛ* and two extensions +V and +sì, while its Construct Form 1 *ɓɛ̄ɛ̄* 'skin (CF1)' includes the root *ɓɛ* and the extension +V. The Free Form of *nɔ̀y* 'eye' has the extension +y, while its Construct Form 1 *nɔ́ɔ̄* 'eye (CF1)' has the extension +V. The Free Form *háŋkɛ̄* 'soup' includes the extension +kɛ̄ and the extension +ŋ, while its Construct Form 1 *hâŋ* 'soup (CF1)' does not have the extension +kɛ̄. Examples in (166) - (170) provide the Construct Form 1 of the Free Forms *ɗɛ́ɛ́ké* 'house', *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì* 'skin', *háŋkɛ̄* 'soup', *wɛ̄ sóōrī* 'wife, woman', and *ɲá ˡhɔ̰́y* 'nose'.

(166) ɗɛ́ɛ̄ Lúkpɛ̂wà
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄ Lúkpɛ̂wà|
house.CF1 Luikpiewa
'house of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(167) ɓɛ̀ɛ̀ nɔ̀y
|ɓɛ̄ɛ̄ $=^{L}$ nɔ̀y|
skin.CF1 GEN eye
'eyelid' (lit.: 'skin of eye') [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

[21] From a historical point of view, the Free Form of some stems looks like an old genitive construction that includes a (C)V root, the extension +V or +C, the old Genitive marker $=^{L}$, and another CV extension, e.g. *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì* 'skin' historically has the following structure [ɓɛ+V+^{L}+si]. The final extension probably originates from another noun. In case of *ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì* 'skin', its final extension +si is most likely related to the noun *sì* 'thing'.

(168)
hâŋ		wă̌m
|hâŋ	=L	wă̌m|
soup.CF1	GEN	beans

'soup made of beans' [KUG_20170331_CY_017]

(169)
sóō		Àlí
|sóō		Àlí|
wife.CF1		Ali

'wife of Ali' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

(170)
ŋá		ˡhɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀		kpă̌m
|ŋā	=L	hɔ̰́ɔ̰̄	=L	kpă̌m|
mouth.CF1	GEN	nose?.CF1	GEN	chief

'nose of the chief' [KUG_20170331_CY_016]

CVy stems do not have their extension +y in the Construct Form 1. However, the Construct Form 1 gets the extension +V that results in a long vowel (in my synchronic analysis), compare *nɔ̄y* 'eye' and *nɔ́ɔ̄* 'eye (CF1)'. The vowel /ɛ/ of stems like *ɓɛ̄y* 'stomach', *zɛ̄y* 'leg', *zɛ́y* 'dog', and *lɛ̀y* 'cheek' results from the raising of /a/ before /y/, compare *zɛ̄y* 'leg' and *zàà* 'leg (CF1)', as in (171).

(171)
zàà		wēm
|zāā	=L	wēm|
leg.CF1	GEN	person

'leg of the person' [KUG_20180419_AC_004]

The Construct Form 1 of a CVV shape can lose its vowel length in compounds, as in (172) for *lúū* 'day (CF1)' and in (173) for *sóō* 'female (CF1)'. More information on the loss of vowel length in compounds is provided in Section 3.5.1. For some nouns that are particularly frequent as the heads in compounds, Construct Form 1 with a short vowel tends to become the norm and the original form with a long vowel rather an exception. For example, the Construct Form 1 of the noun *wēm* 'person' in most Possessive constructions and compounds is *wē* 'person (CF1)', see (173). The form with a long vowel *wēē* 'person (CF1)' has been retained only in some ethnonyms, see (174). The loss of vowel length can be seen as a formal manifestation of the evolution of the Construct Form of 'person' into the Agentive marker (Section 3.5.3).

(172)

lú		ˡkpá		gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
|lū	=L	kpā	=L	gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄|
day.CF1	GEN	side	GEN	Gengle

‘Monday’ (lit.: ‘day of the Gengle side’) [KUG_20200212_BB_026]

(173)

wē	só		ˡɗéékɛ́
|wē	sō	=L	ɗéékɛ́|
person.CF1	female.CF1	GEN	house

‘woman of the house’ (usually referring to the only wife or the first wife)

(174)

wéé		ˡsɔ̀rɔ̀
|wēē	=L	sɔ̀rɔ̀|
person.CF1	GEN	Satte

‘Satte person’ [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

3.4.2 Construct Form 2

The Construct Form 2 exists only for some CVy stems and for a few other nouns, such as *véépī* ‘corpse’, *váā sóōrī* (SG) / *sīzáā sóōrī* (PL) ‘fiancée, girlfriend’, *váā véērī* (SG) / *sīzáā véērī* (PL) ‘fiancé, boyfriend’, *sì* ‘thing’. The Construct Form 2 occurs in the Alienable Possessive constructions and noun phrases with ordinal numerals. In (175) - (178), I provide some examples of Construct Form 2 of nouns *zɛ̋y* ‘dog’, *gbɛ̋y* ‘horn’, *zóy* ‘arrow’, and *gbɛ̄y* ‘skirt’.

(175)

zɛ́		ˡnā	nɛ́ˡsa̱ā̱
|zɛ́	=L	nā	nɛ́Lsa̱ā̱|
dog.CF2	GEN	ORD	three

‘the third dog’ [KUG_20181205_BB_076]

(176)

gbɛ́		ˡɲá		ˡhi̱ŋrè
|gbɛ́	=L	ɲá	=L	hi̱ŋrè|
horn.CF2	GEN	ORD	GEN	first

‘the first horn’ [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(177)

gbɛ̀		ɲá		ˡhíŋrè
|gbɛ̄	$=^{L}$	ɲá	$=^{L}$	híŋrè|
skirt.CF2	GEN	ORD	GEN	first

‘the first skirt’ [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(178)

zó		ˡɲá		ˡhíŋrè
|zó	$=^{L}$	ɲá	$=^{L}$	híŋrè|
arrow.CF2	GEN	ORD	GEN	first

‘the first arrow’ [KUG_20181205_BB_076]

The Free Form of CVy stems can also be used in these constructions, as in (179) - (182). However, the Construct Form 2 of CVy stems is preferred. The Free Form usually occurs in careful speech.

(179)

gbɛ̀		rī	Lúkpêwà
|gbɛ̄	$=^{L}$	=rī	Lúkpêwà|
skirt.CF2	GEN	POSS	Luikpiewa

‘skirt of Luikpiewa’ [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(180)

gbɛ̀y		rī	Lúkpêwà
|gbɛ̄y	$=^{L}$	=rī	Lúkpêwà|
skirt	GEN	POSS	Luikpiewa

‘skirt of Luikpiewa’ [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(181)

yɔ̀		rī	Lúkpêwà
|yɔ̄	$=^{L}$	=rī	Lúkpêwà|
beer.CF2	GEN	POSS	Luikpiewa

‘beer of Luikpiewa’ [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(182) yɔ̀y rī Lúkpêwà
|yɔ̄y $=^{L}$ =rī Lúkpêwà|
beer GEN POSS Luikpiewa
'beer of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

Examples (183) - (185) demonstrate the Construct Form 2 of the noun *váā sóōrī* 'fiancée, girlfriend', *véépī* 'corpse' and *sì* 'thing' in the Alienable Proprial Possessive construction. The Construct Form 2 *sɛ̄* of *sì* 'thing' functions as part of the preposition *sèrī* 'about'.

(183) váā só ˈrī Àlí
|váā só $=^{L}$ =rī Àlí|
child female.CF2 GEN POSS Ali
'fiancée of Ali' [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

(184) vɛ́ ˈrī Àlí
|vɛ́ $=^{L}$ =rī Àlí|
corpse.CF2 GEN POSS Ali
'corpse of Ali' (Ali died) [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_7]

(185) sɛ̀ rī Lúkpêwà
|sɛ̄ $=^{L}$ =rī Lúkpêwà|
thing.CF2 GEN POSS Luikpiewa
'about Luikpiewa' [KUG_20180506_BB_031]

3.5 Compounding

3.5.1 General remarks on compounding

The majority of nominal compounds in Kugama are morphosyntactically similar to the Inalienable Proprial and Inalienable Common Possessive constructions. The two constructions have the structures schematized in (193).

(186) Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction [$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]
Inalienable Common Possessive construction [$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{L}$GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]

In most cases, it is not possible to distinguish a nominal compound from an ordinary possessive construction. However, there are some morphophonological features which may point to a

higher degree of formal integration of compound elements as compared to the elements of an ordinary possessive construction.

To begin with, compounds may contain hapax elements or elements that only occur in a limited number of compounds. The lexical tone of these elements may also be difficult to identify with certainty. However, it may still be possible to discern the presence of the Genitive marker $=^{L}$. In addition, the presence in a non-stem-initial position of otherwise typically stem-initial consonants, such as *ɓ* or *z* (see Section 2.1.1.2.2), also suggests that we are dealing with a frozen multiword construction, see (187) - (195). An important number of such forms are no longer morphologically analyzable and from a synchronic perspective should be considered monomorphemic words.

(187)

ŋá		˩dà		kpáā
|ŋā	$=^{L}$	da	$=^{L}$	kpáā|
mouth.CF1	GEN	?	GEN	side

'road' [KUG_20170425_AC_041]

(188)

ɓá	˩dì		nɛ̄y
|ɓā	di	$=^{L}$	nɛ̄y|
stomach.CF1	?	GEN	hand

'palm of hand' [KUG_20170510_YF_064]

(189)

tù		gu̱y
|tu	$=^{L}$	gu̱y|
?	GEN	?

'back' [KUG_20170510_YF_064] (compare with *tɔ̀m* 'bottom, buttock')

(190)

vē	ɓɛ̄y
|vē	ɓɛ̄y|
?	?

'younger brother' [KUG_20170511_YF_066] (compare with *ɓɛ̄ŋ* 'elder brother', *váā* 'child')

(191) sī záā
|sī záā|
? ?
'children' [KUG_20170511_YF_066] (compare with *sáà* 'young (ones)'/DIM.PL)

(192) bì méɛ̄
|bi =L méɛ̄|
? GEN ?
'body' [KUG_20170510_YF_064] (compare with *mī ~ mɛ̄* 'twenty')

(193) bo̱ tɔ̃m
|bo̱ =L tɔ̃m|
? GEN buttock
'anus' [KUG_20170510_YF_064]

(194) vísí ˈnɛ̃y
|vísí =L nɛ̃y|
finger? GEN hand
'finger' (lit.: 'finger of the hand') [KUG_20170510_YF_064]

(195) vísí ˈzɛ̃y
|vísí =L zɛ̃y|
finger? GEN leg
'toe' (lit.: 'finger of the leg') [KUG_20170510_YF_064]

Another feature that points at a higher degree of formal integration of compound elements than elements of ordinary possessive constructions is the loss of vowel length in non-final elements of a compound, as in (196) - (198) with *kpáā* 'side', *ɲáā* 'clan (CF1)' and *lúū* 'day (CF1)'. Vowel shortening is often found with ethnonyms (196), some locative nouns (197), names for days of the week (198), and body-part terms (187). Vowel shortening can be lexically determined (like in compounds) or optional (in fast speech).

(196) ɲá ˈw̱ànà
|ɲā =L w̱ànà|
clan.CF1 GEN Wana
'Nyawana clan' (lit.: 'the Wana clan') [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

(197) kpá ˈséɛ̀
|kpā =L séɛ̀|
side GEN west?
'west' (lit.: 'west side') [KUG_20170509_YF_063]

(198) lú ˈkpá gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
|lū =L kpā =L gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄|
day.CF1 GEN side GEN Gengle
'Monday' (lit.: 'day of the Gengle's side') [KUG_20200212_BB_026]

A noun extension that is usually preserved in possessive constructions may not be present in compounds. For example, the noun *kūmpī* 'bone' includes two extensions +m and +pī. Only +pī is deleted in possessive constructions, as in (199). However, both extensions +m and +pī are deleted in a compound, as in (200).

(199) kŭm ˈdĭī
|kŭm =L dĭī|
bone GEN fish
'fish bone' (lit.: 'bone of a fish') [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(200) kú ˈkā̰y
|kú =L kā̰y|
bone.CF1 GEN side
'ribs' (lit.: 'bone of the body side') [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

Some nouns can have a lexicalized variant of the Construct Form 1 that is restricted to a limited number of fixed expressions. For example, the noun *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī* 'daughter' has the regular Construct Form 1 *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄* 'daughter (CF1)'. The latter form usually occurs as the head noun of ordinary possessive constructions and in a number of compounds. In addition to this regular Construct Form 1 *ɲɔ̄ɔ̄* 'daughter (CF1)', we also find the variant Construct Form 1 *nɔ̄ɔ̄* 'daughter (CF1)' that only occurs in compounds with *yɛ̄ŋ* 'mother' in *nɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ̄ŋ* 'sister', *nɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ́ŋ ˈtɔ̄ŋ* 'father's sister', and *nɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ́ŋ ˈyɛ̄ŋ* 'mother's sister', compare (201) - (203).

(201)

nɔ̀ɔ̀		yɛ́ŋ		˩tɔ̄ŋ
|nɔ̄ɔ̄	=L	yɛ̄ŋ	=L	tɔ̄ŋ|
daughter.CF1	GEN	mother	GEN	father

‘father’s sister’ [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

(202)

ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	Lúkpêwà
|ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	Lúkpêwà|
daughter.CF1	Luikpiewa

‘daughter of Luikpiewa’ [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(203)

ɲɔ̀ɔ̀		tári
|ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	=L	tárī|
daughter.CF1	GEN	father-in-law

‘daughter-in-law’ [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

The Construct Form 1 of one and the same lexeme may have a different tonal pattern than usually when it occurs in compounds. For example, the Genitive marker =L commonly deletes the lexical M tone of *wē(ē)* ‘person (CF1)’, as in (204). However, in some ethnonyms the M tone of the same Construct Form 1 *wē(ē)* ‘person (CF1)’ becomes H before the Genitive =L, see (205).

(204)

wè		pɔ̄	kī
|wē	=L	pɔ̄	=kī|
person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ

‘farmer’ (lit.: ‘person of farming’) [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

(205)

wéé		˩sɔ̀rɔ̀
|wēē	=L	sɔ̀rɔ̀|
person.CF1	GEN	Satte

‘Satte person’ [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

A similar situation is found with the noun *sì* ‘thing’ that commonly carries a L tone when used as the head of possessive constructions, also in compounds, as in (206). However, there are a few examples in which this noun has a H tone before the Genitive marker =L, see (207).

(206)
sì		tɔ̄y
|sī	=L	tɔ̄y|
thing.CF1	GEN	ear

'earring' [KUG_20170422_AC_035]

(207)
sí		ˡtààpɔ̄
|sī	=L	tààpɔ̄|
thing.CF1	GEN	tobacco

'tobacco pipe' [KUG_20170501_AC_048]

A number of proper names also originate from the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, in which the head noun is followed by the Genitive marker =L and the modifier, as in (208). In addition to proper names that originate from a noun phrase, there is a group of proper names that originate from a clause, as in (209). Example (209) also demonstrates the stronger formal integration of compound elements by dropping the extension +y in *lūy* (this is not typical for nouns in subject position) and shortening the vowel of *kpéé* 'answer (VF3)'.

(208) a. Nàáˡgɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
'Naageele (female name)'

b.
nàá		ˡgɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
|nàá	=L	gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄|
(grand)mother	GEN	Gengle

'(grand)mother of the Gengle ethnic group'

(209) a. Lúkpɛ̂wà
'Luikpiewa (male/female name)'

b.
lūy	kpéè		wā
|lūy	kpéé	=L	=wā|
God	answer.VF3	RES	PFM

'God has answered.'

3.5.2 Human proper names

Kugama human proper names are complex expressions. They originate either from a noun phrase, such as the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, or from a clause. The ones that originate from a noun phrase have the head noun *nàá* '(grand)mother' or *dáá* '(grand)father'. The presence of one of these head nouns defines the gender of the name bearer:

names with *nàá* '(grand)mother' are given to women, while names with *dáá* '(grand)father' are given to men, see (210) and (211). Names with *nàá* '(grand)mother' or *dáá* '(grand)father' commonly include the name of a clan or an ethnic group, as in (208), (210) and (211).

(210) a. Nàáˡw̲ànà
'Naawana (female name)'

b. nàá ˡw̲ànà
|nàá =L w̲ànà|
(grand)mother GEN Wana
'(grand)mother of the Wana clan'

(211) a. Dááˡw̲ànà
'Daawana (male name)'

b. dáá ˡw̲ànà
|dáá =L w̲ànà|
(grand)father GEN Wana
'(grand)father of the Wana clan'

Human proper names can originate from a clause, viz. a verbal clause or nominal predication clause without a copula, as in (209), (212) - (214). This type of given names can be used for both men and women.

(212) a. Ɔ̀zūrúwā ~ Ɔ̀zùrūwā
'Ozuruwa (male/female name)'

b. ɔ̀ zūrí wā
|ɔ̀ zūrí =wā|
EXPL.S1 be_good PFM
'It is good/beautiful.'

(213) a. Ānŋgɔ́ˡwà
'Angowa (male/female name)'

b.

ām	gɔ́ɔ̀		wā|
|ām	gɔ́ɔ́	=ᴸ	=wā|
PL.1SG.POSS	end.VF3	RES	PFM

'Mine ended.'

(214) a. Méɛ̀bááˡnɔ́kɛ̄
'Meebaanoke (male/female name)'

b.

méɛ̄		báá		nɔ́k	ɛ̄|
|mé	=ɛ̄	báā	=ᴸ	=nɔ́ᵏ	=ɛ̄|
1SG.S3	PRST	in	GEN	1PL.POSS.INAL	PRST

'It is me who is among you.'

3.5.3 Instrument, agent and locative nouns

Kugama uses the noun *sì* 'thing' to form instrument nouns, as in (215) - (217). The nouns *wēm* 'person' and *wēnī* 'persons' are used to form agent nouns, see (218) and (219). Finally, the noun *tɛ̄* 'place' is involved in the formation of nouns with locative meaning, see (220) and (221). Formally, these nouns are an instance of the Inalienable Common Possessive construction with the Genitive marker =ᴸ. Their head is expressed by the nouns *sì* 'thing', *wēm* 'person', *wēnī* 'people' or *tɛ̄* 'place'. The modifier can be either a regular noun or deverbal nominalization.

(215)

sì		zą́ą́	kī
|sī	=ᴸ	zą́ą́	=kī|
thing.CF1	GEN	wear	NMLZ

'garment, piece of clothing' [KUG_20170422_AC_035]

(216)

sì		láá	kī
|sī	=ᴸ	láá	=kī|
thing.CF1	GEN	fish	NMLZ

'fish trap' (lit.: 'thing of fishing') [KUG_20170425_AC_041]

(217) sì ɲáá ˈkpáā
|sī =L ɲáā =L kpáā|
thing.CF1 GEN mouth.CF1 GEN area
‘doorway cover’ (lit.: ‘thing of the opening for the area’) [KUG_20170424_AC_037]

(218) wè pɔ̄ kī
|wē =L pɔ̄ =kī|
person.CF1 GEN farm.VF1 NMLZ
‘farmer’ (lit.: ‘person of farming’) [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

(219) wɛ̄nì láá kī
|wɛ̄nī =L láá =kī|
people GEN fish NMLZ
‘fishermen’ (lit.: ‘people of fishing’) [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

(220) tɛ̀ɛ̀ hɔ̰ kī
|tɛ̄ɛ̄ =L hɔ̰ =kī|
place.CF1 GEN bathe.VF1 NMLZ
‘bathing place’ (lit.: ‘place of bathing’) [KUG_20170424_AC_038]

(221) tɛ̀ɛ̀ úú ˈgɔ̃m
|tɛ̄ɛ̄ =L úū =L gɔ̃m|
place.CF1 GEN head.CF1 GEN ?
‘cemetery’ (lit.: ‘place of the tomb’) [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

Besides the noun *tɛ̄* ‘place’, Kugama frequently uses two other nouns to form compounds with locative semantics, viz. *kpáā* ‘area, region, site; way’ and *bɛ̄y* ‘stomach’. The noun *kpáā* commonly forms names of villages with ethnic group or clan terms, as in (222) and (223). It is also found in compounds denoting cardinal directions, see (224) and (225).

(222) kpá ˈw̰ànà
|kpā =L w̰ànà|
site GEN Wana
‘Kpawana village’ (lit.: ‘the side of the Wana clan’) [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

(223) kpá ˡtíyɛ́rɛ̄
|kpā =L tíyɛ́rɛ̄|
site GEN Tiyere
‘Kpatiyere village’ (lit.: ‘the side of the Tiyere clan’) [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

(224) kpá ˡsɛ́ɛ̀
|kpā =L sɛ́ɛ̀|
site GEN down
‘west’ (lit.: ‘west side’) [KUG_20170509_YF_063]

(225) kpáá ˡnáá ˡsɛ́ɛ̀
|kpáā =L náā =L sɛ́ɛ̀|
site GEN hand.CF1 GEN down
‘north’ (lit.: ‘north side’) [KUG_20170509_YF_063]

The noun *ɓɛ̃ɛ̄y* ‘stomach’ is found in the meaning ‘inside (of)’ in a number of compounds with locative semantics, as in (226) - (228). Note that this noun can also function as a preposition ‘in’, see Section 9.2.

(226) ɓáá ˡtóō
|ɓáā =L tóō|
inside.CF1 GEN grass
‘bush, savanna’ (lit.: ‘inside of grass’) [KUG_20170504_YF_055]

(227) ɓáá ˡdàlā
|ɓáā =L dàlā|
inside.CF1 GEN outdoors
‘world’ (lit.: ‘inside of outdoors’) [KUG_20170506_YF_056]

(228) ɓáá ˡgɔ̀rɛ̀
|ɓáā =L gɔ̀rɛ̄|
inside.CF1 GEN mountain
‘Baagore area’ (lit.: ‘inside of mountain(s)’) [KUG_20201213_BB_018]

3.5.4 Names for ethnic groups, clans and languages

Kugama has a number of names that refer to people from different ethnic and clan groups, e.g. *gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄* ‘Gengle ethnic group’, *lérī* ‘Mumuye (from Wuro Yoro) ethnic group’, *ɰ̱ànà* ‘Wana clan’, *tíyérɛ̄* ‘Tiyere clan’. With the exception of the term *ɰ̱ǎm* ‘Kugama (Wam)’ that can occur on its own when referring to people of the Kugama ethnic group, these proper names are only used as modifiers in possessive constructions. For example, these terms are often used with the noun *ɲɛ̂y* ‘mouth; people; language’ when referring to language or to people of a certain ethnic group or a clan, as in (229) - (231). Most terms for ethnic groups, clans and languages are formed by the Construct Form 1 *ɲā* (with a short vowel) of the noun *ɲɛ̂y* ‘mouth; language; people, community’. The term *ɲáá ˈɰ̱ǎm* ‘Kugama (Wam) language’ that includes the Construct Form 1 *ɲáā* (with a long vowel) of the noun *ɲɛ̂y* seems to be the only exception.

(229) ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀nā
|ɲā =L ɲɔ̀ɔ̀nā|
people.CF1 GEN Nyoona
‘Nyoona people’ (lit.: ‘people of the Nyoona clan’) [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

(230) ɲá ˈsɔ̀rɔ̀
|ɲā =L sɔ̀rɔ̀|
people/language.CF1 GEN Satte (Kumba)
‘Satte people’ / ‘Satte language’ (lit.: ‘people of the Satte ethnic group’ / ‘language of the Satte ethnic group’) [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

(231) ɲáá ˈɰ̱ǎm
|ɲáā =L ɰ̱ǎm|
language.CF1 GEN Kugama
‘Kugama (Wam) language’ [KUG_20170519_LP_070]

The noun *ɲɛ̂y* provides collective coding for these terms, while the noun *wɛ̄m* provides singulative coding for them, see (232) - (235).

(232) wé ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄
|wɛ̄ =L ɲɔ̀ɔ̀nā =L ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄|
person.CF1 GEN Nyoona GEN Nyoone
‘Nyoona Nyoone person’ (lit.: ‘person of the Nyoona Nyoone clan’)
[KUG_20170519_LP_070]

(233) wé ˡgɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
|wē =L gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄|
person.CF1 GEN Gengle
'Gengle person' (lit.: 'people of the Gengle ethnic group') [KUG_20211201_BB_036]

(234) ɲá ˡgɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
|ɲā =L gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄|
community.CF1 GEN Gengle
'Gengle people' / 'Gengle language' (lit.: 'people of the Gengle ethnic group' / 'language of the Gengle ethnic group') [KUG_20211201_BB_036]

(235) ɲá ˡgɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ níˡsa̱ā̱
|ɲā =L gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄| níLsa̱ā̱|
community.CF1 GEN Gengle three
'three Gengle people' (lit.: 'three people of the Gengle ethnic group')
[KUG_20211201_BB_036]

3.5.5 Abstract nouns

I found a few examples of abstract terms formed by the noun *ɲɛ̂y* 'mouth'. It functions as the head of a complex noun phrase.

(236) a. ɲáá ˡkɔ̄ŋ
|ɲáā =L kɔ̄ŋ|
mouth.CF1 GEN war
'enmity' [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

b. ɓām wè ɲáá ˡkɔ̄ŋ
|ɓām wē =L ɲáā =L kɔ̄ŋ|
SG.1SG.POSS person.CF1 GEN mouth.CF1 GEN war
'my enemy' (lit.: 'my person of enmity') [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

(237) a. ɲáá ˡɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɲáā =ᴸ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
mouth.CF1 GEN house
'neighborhood' (undefined area around a given compound) [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

b. wɛ̄nì ɲáá ˡɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
wɛ̄nī =ᴸ ɲáā =ᴸ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
people GEN mouth.CF1 GEN house
'neighbors' (lit.: 'people of neighborhood') [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

(238) ītú ɲáá ˡsa̰ a̰l ɛ̄
|ītú ɲáā =ᴸ sa̰ =Vlí =ɛ̄|
PL.1PL.POSS mouth.CF1 GEN speak.VF1 PLAC NMLZ
'(We finished) our discussion.' [KUG_20180420_AC_007]

3.5.6 Names for days of the week

Names for days of the week are complex expressions. All of them include the noun *lūy* 'day' which is used in its Construct Form 1 *lū(u)*. These names are *lú ˡkpá gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄* 'Monday', *lúú ˡsí dɔ́ndɔ́n* 'Tuesday', *lúú ˡàlàrbà* 'Wednesday', *lú ˡkpá tíyɛ́rɛ̄* 'Thursday', *lúú ˡgbílà* 'Friday', *lúú ˡásàwɛ̀* 'Saturday' and *lúú ˡláádì* 'Sunday'.

Names *lú ˡkpá gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄* 'Monday' and *lú ˡkpá tíyɛ́rɛ̄* 'Thursday' literally mean 'the day of the side of the Gengle ethnic group' (or 'the day of the Gengle village') and 'the day of the side of the Tiyere clan' (or 'the day of the Tiyere village'), see (239). These are market days in Gengle and Kpatiyere villages.

(239) lú ˡkpá gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
|lū =ᴸ kpā =ᴸ gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄|
day.CF1 GEN side GEN Gengle
'Monday' (lit.: 'day of the Gengle side') [KUG_20200212_BB_026]

Three names *lúú ˡàlàrbà* 'Wednesday', *lúú ˡásàwɛ̀* 'Saturday' and *lúú ˡláádì* 'Sunday' include borrowings. These borrowings are related to the Hausa (ultimately from Arabic) nouns *Làaràbáá* 'Wednesday', *Àsábàr̃* 'Saturday', and *Láhàdì* 'Sunday'. The literal meanings of *lúú ˡsí dɔ́ndɔ́n* 'Tuesday' and *lúú ˡgbílà* 'Friday' are unknown.

3.5.7 Names for trees, insects and birds

The noun *dìŋsì* 'tree' forms names for trees, whereas *və̀ə̀sì* 'insect' is involved in the formation of a few names for insects. The extension +sì of the nouns *dìŋsì* and *və̀ə̀sì* is probably related to the noun *sì* 'thing'. It is deleted in the Construct Form 1 of these two nouns, see (240) and (241).

(240)
dìŋ		kísā
|dīŋ	$=^{L}$	kísā|
tree.CF1	GEN	baobab

'baobab tree' [KUG_20170504_YF_054]

(241)
və̀ə̀		vîŋ
|və̄ə̄	$=^{L}$	vîŋ|
insect.CF1	GEN	excrement

'cockroach' [KUG_20170504_YF_054]

A few names for birds are formed with the noun *nɔ̄ɔ̄ ~ nɔ̄y* 'bird/birds', see (242).[22]

(242)
nɔ̀ɔ̀		lɛ́ɛ̄
|nɔ̄ɔ̄	$=^{L}$	lɛ́ɛ̄|
bird	GEN	rain

'stork' (lit.: 'bird of rain') [KUG_20170504_YF_053]

3.5.8 Compounds with the diminutive marker

The diminutive marker *fáà ~ fâ* (SG) / *sáà ~ sâ* (PL) 'small, young (one)'/ (DIM) is a Bound Noun which is widely used in compounding. It is found with inanimate and animate nouns, particularly with nouns which denote insects, small and middle-sized animals as well as kinship terms. That the formally diminutive marker has lost its literal diminutive semantics in many of these compounds is suggested by the possibility to combine them with augmentative *kpə̀m*

[22] In addition to the lexemes *nɔ̄ɔ̄ ~ nɔ̄y* 'bird/birds', Kugama has other lexemes to refer to a bird or birds such as *fáà nɔ̄y* 'bird' and *sáà nɔ̄y* 'birds'. The forms *fáà* and *sáà* in *fáà nɔ̄y* and *sáà nɔ̄y* are the Diminutive marker. In generic uses (without specifying the species of birds), speakers prefer to use the form *fáà nɔ̄y* 'bird' and *sáà nɔ̄y* 'birds' over the form *nɔ̄y* 'bird/birds', presumably in order to prevent any confusion with the noun *nɔ̄y* 'oil, fat'. In addition, I have found only three bird names in Kugama with the Diminutive marker, namely *fáà wə̀néné* / *sáà wə̀néné* 'hawk / hawks', *fáà tɛ̀ɛ̄* / *sáà tɛ̀ɛ̄* 'chick / chicks' and *fáà sīŋ* / *sáà sīŋ* 'eagle / eagles'. The Diminutive marker occurs in a number of names of insects, small and middle-sized animals (Section 3.5.8).

(SG) / *kpa̱ni̱* (PL) ‘big (one)’, as in (246). An analysis of Bound Nouns in Kugama is presented in Section 3.2.4.

(243)
fáà	yíī
|fáà	yíī|
DIM.SG	goat

‘kid’ [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(244)
fáà	tɔ̄ŋ
|fáà	tɔ̄ŋ|
DIM.SG	father

‘relative (by blood, father's side); cousin’ [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

(245)
sáà	wɛ̄nī	sóōrī
|sáà	wɛ̄nī	sóōrī|
DIM.PL	people	adult_female

‘girls’ [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

(246)
kpa̱m	fâ	gínɛ̄
|kpa̱m	fâ	gínɛ̄
big.SG	DIM.SG	type_of_snake

‘big *gine* snake’ (the species of this snake is unknown) [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

3.5.9 Compounds with female and male sex markers

The Bound Noun *sóò ~ sóó*^{L} *~ sô* ‘adult female’ is a female sex marker which is involved in the formation of animate nouns referring to females.

(247)
sóò	gérɛ́		ˡdɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|sóò	gérɛ̄	=^{L}	dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
adult_female	pig	GEN	house

‘sow (female domestic pig)’ (lit.: ‘female pig of the house’) [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

As mentioned in the beginning of Section 3.5, nominal compounds are formally possessive constructions. The Bound Noun *sóò ~ sóó*^{L} *~ sô* is the Construct Form 1 *sóō* of the stem *sóōrī* as found in *wɛ̄ sóōrī* ‘wife; woman, adult female’ (248) fused with the Genitive marker =^{L}.

(248) wē sóōrī
|wē sóōrī|
person.CF1 adult_female
'woman' [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

The Bound Nouns *tɛ̄* 'male (human)', *yɛ̄* 'female (human)', *tì* 'male (animal)' and *yéní* 'female (animal)' are rare female and male sex markers. They are probably related to the nouns *tɔ̄ŋ* 'father' and *yɛ̄ŋ* 'mother'. The Bound Nouns *tɛ̄* 'male' and *yɛ̄* 'female' are used in a few kinship terms for relatives in the ascending line. These Bound Nouns are modified by two nominalizations of the verb *ɓám* 'be old', see (249) - (252). The morphological composition of the form *ɓáákā* is not clear.

(249) tɛ̄ ɓáákā
|tɛ̄ ɓáákā|
male being_old:?
'old man, elder' [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

(250) yɛ̄ ɓáákā
|yɛ̄ ɓáákā|
female being_old:?
'old woman' [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

(251) tɛ̄ ɓáám ɛ̄
|tɛ̄ ɓáámí =ɛ̄|
male be_old.VF4 NMLZ
'grandparent (male), ancestor (male), mother's brother (elder), someone from mother's side' [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

(252) yɛ̄ ɓáám ɛ̄
|yɛ̄ ɓáámí =ɛ̄|
female be_old.VF4 NMLZ
'grandparent (female), ancestor (female), aunt, someone from mother's side'
[KUG_20170511_YF_066]

The Bound Nouns *tì* 'male' and *yéní* 'female' denote male and female domestic animals, see (253) - (255).

(253)

tì	náákī
|tì	náákī|
male	cow

‘bull’ [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(254)

yɛ́ní	ˡnáákī
|yɛ́ní^{L}	náákī|
female	cow

‘cow (female)’ [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(255)

yɛ́ní	ˡtɛ̀ɛ̄
|yɛ́ní^{L}	tɛ̀ɛ̄|
female	chicken

‘hen’ [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

4 Pronominal system

In this chapter, I focus on the description of the pronominal system of Kugama. This chapter is organized around different types of person indexes or personal pronominals, which I will refer to as simply pronominals for ease of reference. I describe subject pronominals (Section 4.1), object pronominals (Section 4.2), non-subject pronominals (Section 4.3), addressee pronominals (Section 4.4), possessive pronominals[23] (Section 4.5), and reflexive pronominals (Section 4.6). The pronominal system used in quotative constructions is described in Section 4.7, which focuses on the analysis of logophoric pronominals and the neutralization of the distinction between 2PL and 3PL.HUM person marking.

Some pronominals are provided with a latent consonant /k/ or /y/, e.g. =mέ(k) 1SG.O. The brackets around the latent consonant mean that even in those contexts where a given latent consonant may surface in principle its realization remains optional, although such omission is infrequent in my corpus, see Section 2.5.11. The vowel quality of some pronominal forms and the presence of a floating L tone after some H-toned pronominals need to be verified in the future, see Section 2.6.2 for details.

[23] The first data on possessive pronouns in Kugama were published by Litvinova (2014). These data were preliminary and have been substantially revised in the course of the present study.

4.1 Subject pronominals

Kugama has four paradigms of subject pronominals. They are listed in Table 21.

	1st paradigm (S1)	2nd paradigm (S2)	3rd paradigm (S3)	4th paradigm (S4)
1SG	ā ~ á (= ɛ̄)[24]	mɛ̄ ~ mɛ́ ~ mī ~ mí	mɛ́(ʸ) ~ mí(ʸ)	à
2SG	mū ~ mú ~ mɔ̄ ~ mɔ́	mū ~ mú~ mɔ̄ ~ mɔ́	mú(ʸ) ~ mɔ́(ʸ)	mù ~ mɔ̀
3SG.HUM	dɛ̄ ~ dɛ́; dā ~ dǎ[25]	dɛ̄ ~ dɛ́; dā ~ dá	dɛ́(ʸ); dǎ(ʸ)	dɛ̀; dà
3SG.NHUM	ɓɔ̀	ɓɔ̀	ɓɔ̀(ʸ)	ɓɔ̀
1PL	tū ~ tú ~ tɔ̄ ~ tɔ́	tū ~ tú ~ tɔ̄ ~ tɔ́	tú(ʸ) ~ tɔ́(ʸ)	tù ~ tɔ̀
2PL	nū ~ nú ~ nɔ̄ ~ nɔ́	nū ~ nú ~ nɔ̄ ~ nɔ́	nú(ʸ) ~ nɔ́(ʸ)	nù ~ nɔ̀
3PL.HUM	dī ~ dǐ	dī ~ dǐ	dǐ(ʸ)	dì (= rì)[26]
3PL.NHUM	ɔ̀	ɔ̀	ɔ̀(ʸ)	ɔ̀
EXPL				
IMPS	ī ~ í	ī ~ í	í(ʸ ʔ)	ì

Table 21. Subject pronominals

Pronominals of the third paradigm have a latent consonant /y/ that can surface only when they are followed by the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*. The first, second and third paradigms are minimally distinctive. In particular, the first paradigm has a different first person singular pronominal form compared to the second and third paradigms. The third paradigm commonly carries H tone (except for *ɓɔ̀* 3SG.NHUM and *ɔ̀* 3PL.NHUM/EXPL), while pronominals of the first and second paradigms carry a H or M tone (except for *ɓɔ̀* 3SG.NHUM and *ɔ̀* 3PL.NHUM/EXPL). Pronominals of the fourth paradigm have a L tone. As can be seen in Table 21, the third person non-human and expletive pronominals *ɓɔ̀* (SG) and *ɔ̀* (PL) have the same form in each paradigm. All subject paradigms show distinction between human and non-human for third person singular and third person plural.

Subject paradigms also include human impersonal pronominals that do not refer to a concrete person(s), as in (256) - (258). In addition, there are expletive pronominals in subject paradigms,

[24] One example of this cliticized form has been found in my corpus. I do not know whether other subject forms have corresponding cliticized forms.

[25] The form *dɛ̀* is used by AC, while the form *dà* is used by BB. I do not know if this difference is dialectial or within one dialect.

[26] A few examples of this cliticized form have been found in my corpus. I do not know whether other subject forms have corresponding cliticized forms.

as in (250) and (260), that do not provide specific reference to a concrete item(s) or concept(s). Expletive pronominals have the same form as third person plural non-human subject pronominals.

(256)

tū	tì	lák	è		ɲɛ̄y	
|tū	tì	lákí	=ɛ̄	=L	ɲɛ̄y|	
1PL.S2	PROG	hear.VF2	NMLZ	TR	voice	

ɓáá		ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ̂		ī	yààkī	tí	ɓélām	è
|ɓáā	=L	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=L	ī	yààkī	=tí	ɓélām	=è|
in	GEN	house	GEN	IMPS.S1	abandon	PFV	long_ago	PRST

‘We hear voices in the house that has been abandoned for many years.’
[KUG_20230204_BB_054]

(257)

á	wɛ́	ˡà	ɓìrī	tɛ̄	
|á	wɛ́L	à	ɓìrī	tɛ̄|	
PRST.PROP.HUM	who	COM	which.SG	place	

ī	gó	tí	háŋkɛ̀		rɛ́	ˡnɛ̀k	è	yí
|ī	gó	=tí	háŋkɛ̄	=L	rɛ́kL	nɛ̀k	=è	=yí|
IMPS.S1	cook?	PFV	soup	GEN	DEF	there	PRST	QM.CON

‘Who cooked this soup, and where?’ [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

(258)

sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	ɲɔ́m	wā
|sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	ɲɔ́m	=wā|
1SG.S1	bite.VF1	PFM

sɛ̀	ī	wàtī	lí	à	ɔ̀	a̱
|sɛ̀	ī	wàtī	=lí	à	=ɔ̀	a̱|
HORT	IMPS.S1	play	PLAC	COM	3PL.NHUM.NS	NEG

‘Snakes bite. One should not play with them!’ [KUG_20210727_BB_029]

(259)

ā	kā	tí	ré	lɛ́ɛ́ˈmì
|ā	kā	=tí	=ré	lɛ́ɛ́ᴸmì|
1SG.S1	see.VF1	PFV	3SG.HUM.O	yesterday

ɔ̀	ɲā	sa̱ǎ̱ˈrɛ́	a̱
|ɔ̀	ɲā	sa̱ǎ̱ᴸrɛ́	a̱|
EXPL.S3	NEG	today	NEG

'It was yesterday when I saw him/her, it is not today.' [KUG_20210703_AC_026]

(260)

ɔ̀	zūrú	wā	mū	ɲɔ́mlí	ɗî	kpa̱ǎ̱	kī
|ɔ̀	zūrí	=wā	mū	ɲɔ́mlí	ɗî	kpa̱ǎ̱	=kī|
EXPL.S1	be_good	PFM	2SG.S1	laugh	CONJ	cry	NMLZ

'It is better that you laugh than cry.' [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

Normally, there is no pronominal subject marker in the presence of a lexical subject, compare (261) and (262). A noun in the subject position can be modified by proximal/distal demonstrative modifier constructions that include the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́*, the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ and one of the two Demonstratives *=ré* (PROX) or *=sòrè* (DIST). In this case, the modified noun is commonly resumed by a coreferential pronominal, as in (263). However, my corpus has a few examples where no coreferential pronominal occurs after *=ré* (PROX) and *=sòrè* (DIST). A possible difference between the constructions with a coreferential pronominal and without it requires further investigation.

(261)

á	sa̱	ɲáá		ˈwa̱àm	wā
|á	sa̱	ɲáā	=ᴸ	wa̱ǎm	=wā|
1SG.S1	speak	language.CF1	GEN	Kugama	PFM

'S/he speaks the Kugama language.' [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

(262)

Lúkpêwà	kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	tí	kpǎm	mɛ́	wā
|Lúkpêwà	kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	=tí	kpǎm	=mɛ́ᵏ	=wā|
Luikpiewa	show.VF4	PFV	chief	1SG.NS	PFM

'Luikpiewa showed me to the chief.' [KUG_20181124_BB_060]

(263)

tóó			ˈré	ɓɔ̀	kɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ˈsù		tú	wā
|tóō	=é	=^{L}	=ré	ɓɔ̀	kɔ̰́ɔ̰̀^{L}sí	=^{L}	=tí	=wā|
grass	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S1	be_dry:RES	RES	PFV	PFM

‘This grass is dry.’ [KUG_20221028_AC_051]

An additional interesting aspect of subject pronominals is their capability to cliticize with the preceding element, as in (264) and (265). The cliticized subject pronominals commonly occur in naturalistic data.

(264)

lú		ˈrì	kī	kí	
lú	=^{L}	=rì	kī	=kī	=^{L}|
day.CF1	GEN	3PL.HUM.S4	go_out	NMLZ	TR

rɛ́		rɛ́
|=rɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́|
3SG.HUM.O	GEN	PROX

dì	sɔ̄	kī	nɛ̀
|dì	sɔ̄	=kī	nɛ̀^{k}|
3SG.HUM.S4	dance.VF1	NMLZ	EMPH

‘The day they bring him [the chief] out, they will dance.’ [KUG_20170405_JW_023]

(265)

ká	lū̱y	kóó	kà
|ká	lū̱y	kóó	kà|
OPT	God	cause	3.CLM

sì	ɛ̄	vɛ́ɛ̀		ā̱
|sì	=ɛ̄	vɛ́ɛ́	=^{L}	ā̱|
HORT	1SG.S1	die.VF3	RES	NEG

‘May I live long!’ (lit.: ‘May God make that I don’t die’) [KUG_20200129_BB_005]

Subject pronominals occur in verbal clauses, clauses with nominal predicates without a copula, as well as in clauses with the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* (e.g. in Presentative and cleft constructions), the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́*, the additive particle *má ~ máá*, the topic particle *ɓɔ́* and possibly some other contexts. In addition, every paradigm of subject pronominals is assigned to a certain construction which expresses a set of tense, aspect, polarity, and modality categories. Paradigms of subject pronominals and constructions they are used in are discussed in the following Sections 4.1.1 - 4.1.3. Some further important information on the use of subject pronominals is also given in Chapter 12 on the TAMP system.

4.1.1 First paradigm of subject pronominals

The first paradigm of subject pronominals is found in the positive Imperfective, the Perfective, the Consecutive, the Optative, the Immediate Past, the Hortative 1, the Hortative 2, the Resultative 1 (based on the Imperfective), the Resultative 2 (based on the Perfective), the Resultative 6 (based on Hortative 2), and the Resultative 10 (based on the Consecutive) construction, as well as in the Prohibitive construction.

(266)

á	váá	rí	lɛ́ɛ́ˡmì
|á	váá	=rí	lɛ́ɛ́ᴸmì|
1SG.S1	marry	PFV	yesterday

'I got married yesterday.' [KUG_20170501_AC_048]

(267)

sɛ̀	nū	bàkī	a̱
|sɛ̀	=nū	bàkī	a̱|
HORT	2PL.S1	help	NEG

'Don't help! (addressed to several persons)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

4.1.2 Second paradigm of subject pronominals

The second paradigm of subject pronominals occurs in the positive Progressive and the Resultative 3 (based on the Progressive) construction, as well as in clauses with nominal predicates (such as Locative, Existential, etc.). Subject pronominals of the second paradigm can freely carry a H or M tone (e.g. *mɛ̄ ~ mɛ́* 1SG.S2). However, they commonly carry a M tone when followed by the Progressive marker *tì ~ tɛ̀ / =ɛ̀*, as in (268) - (271).

(268)

mɛ̄	nì	ɛ̀	u̱ṵ	ˡmɛ́ɛ̄	ɓáá		ɓāŋ	gùsī
|mɛ̄	nìᵏ	=ɛ̀	u̱ṵᴸ	mɛ́ɛ̄	ɓáā	=ᴸ	ɓām	gùsī|
1SG.S2	there	COM	some	water	in	GEN	SG.1SG.POSS	bottle

'I have some water in my bottle' [KUG_20211201_BB_036]

(269)

mɛ̄	tì	gbāsì		kī
mɛ̄	tì	gbāsí	=ᴸ	=kī|
1SG.S2	PROG	keep_silence	RES	NMLZ

'I am/was keeping silence.' [KUG_20181203_AC_073]

(270)

mɔ̄	ɔ	gə̰	kì		sə̰m	kɔ́ɔ́
|mɔ̄	=ɛ̀	gə̰	=kī	=L	sə̰m	kɔ́ɔ́|
2SG.S2	PROG	do.VF1	NMLZ	TR	work	QM.POL

'Are you working?' [KUG_20190108_AC_003]

(271)

dɛ̄		gə̰	kì		ɛ̄rɛ́	sə̰m
|dɛ̄	=ɛ̀	gə̰	=kī	=L	ɛ̄rɛ́	sə̰m|
3SG.HUM.S2	PROG	do	NMLZ	TR	PL.3SG.POSS	work

mɛ́	ɓɔ́	nɛ̀
|mɛ́	ɓɔ́	nɛ̀|
1SG.S3	also	EMPH

mɛ̄		gə̰	kì		ām
|mɛ̄	=ɛ̀	gə̰	=kī	=L	ām|
1SG.S2	PROG	do	NMLZ	TR	PL.1SG.POSS

'(We woke up, prayed first,) she was doing her work, and I was doing mine.'
[KUG_20200130_AC_007]

4.1.3 Third paradigm of subject pronominals

The third paradigm of subject pronominals occurs in phrases with the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* (e.g. in Presentative and cleft constructions), the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́*, the additive particle *má ~ máá*, the contrastive topic particle *ɓɔ́*, as well as in constructions negated by the negation markers *ɲā* and *ə̄*, as in (272) - (274). The latent /y/ of pronominals may, and usually does surface when the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* is used, see (272). This latent consonant /y/ is probably a lenited form of the latent consonant /k/ that surfaces in object, non-subject, and possessive pronominals when they are followed by the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* (Sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.5).

(272)

ɗáy	ɛ̀	nɔ̄kú	sú	tú	túk	ɛ̀
|ɗáʸ	=ɛ̀	nɔ̄kí	=sí	=tí	=túᵏ	=ɛ̀|
3SG.HUM.S3	PRST	cook.VF2	APPL	PFV	1PL.O	PRST

'It is s/he who cooked for us.' [KUG_20180515_BB_037]

(273)

mɛ́	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́	à	wɛ̀	
|mɛ́	=ɛ́	=L	=rɛ́	à	wɛ̄	=L|
1SG.S3	DEM	GEN	PROX	PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN

pɔ̄	kī	à	mɛ́	à̱
|pɔ̄	=kī	à	=mɛ́k	ā̱|
farm.VF1	NMLZ	COM	1SG.NS	NEG

'As for me, I am not a farmer.' [KUG_20181124_BB_060]

(274)

mɛ́	ɲā	ɓám	rí	ā̱
|mɛ́	ɲā	ɓám	=rí	ā̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	be_old.VF1	PFV	NEG

'I am not old.' [KUG_2014_TY_168]

In spontaneous speech, the latent /y/ may not surface before the Presentative marker. In this case, the Presentative marker $=\grave{\varepsilon}$ can realize with a M tone after the third paradigm of subject pronominals, as in (275). Note that the Negation marker has the same form $=\bar{\varepsilon}$ that can come after the third paradigm of subject pronominals, as in (276).

(275)

mɛ́ɛ̄	
|mɛ́	=ɛ̄|
1SG.S3	PRST

'It is me.'

(276)

mɛ́ɛ̄		váá	rí	lɛ́ɛ́ˡmì	à̱
|mɛ́	=ɛ̄	váá	=rí	lɛ́ɛ́Lmì	ā̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	marry	PFV	yesterday	NEG

'I did not get married yesterday.' [KUG_20170501_AC_048]

4.1.4 Fourth paradigm of subject pronominals

The fourth paradigm of subject pronominals is used only in the positive Future construction, as in (277), and Resultative 4 (based on the Future construction). All pronominal markers of this paradigm carry a L tone.

(277)

mù	māā	kí		ˈɗéékέ
|mù	māā	=kī	=^{L}	ɗéékέ|
2SG.S4	build	NMLZ	TR	house

'You will build a house.' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

4.2 Object pronominals

Object pronominals, presented in Table 22, encode Primary Objects. Unlike subject pronominals, the third person non-human forms do not agree in number with non-human nominal referents.

1SG	ú(ʔ~^{k})^{L} ~ ó(ʔ~^{k})^{L} / mέ(ʔ~^{k}) ~ mí(ʔ~^{k}) / ^{L}(ʔ)
2SG	mú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ mɔ́(ʔ~^{k})
3SG.HUM	rέ(ʔ~^{k})
1PL	tú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ tɔ́(ʔ~^{k})
2PL	nú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ nɔ́(ʔ~^{k})
3PL.HUM	rī(ʔ~^{k}) ~ rē(ʔ~^{k})
3SG.NHUM	ɔ̀(ʔ~^{k})
3PL.NHUM	

Table 22. Object pronominals

The object pronominal for the first person singular has the following allomorphs: *=ú(ʔ)^{L} ~ =ó(ʔ)^{L} / =mέ(ʔ) ~ =mí(ʔ) / =^{L}(ʔ)*, see (278). Forms *=ú(ʔ)^{L} ~ =ó(ʔ)^{L}* come after polysyllabic verbs, verb-to-verb derivational morphemes, and the Prefective marker *=tí / =rí*. Forms *=mέ(ʔ) ~ =mí(ʔ)* come after monosyllabic verbs, after the nominalization marker *=kī / =ī / =ɛ̄ / =ɛ̀* and the Transitive marker *=^{L}*. The allomorph *=^{L}(ʔ)* is found only after one verb *zɛ́ɛ́* 'greet'. Younger Kugama speakers may use only *=mέ(ʔ) ~ =mí(ʔ)* for the first person singular pronominal object in all contexts.

(278)

yí 'beat' + =mí 1SG.O	→ yí mí
ɲɔ́m 'bite' + =mέ 1SG.O	→ ɲɔ́m mέ
gɔ̰ 'catch' + =kī NMLZ + =^{L} TR + =mέ 1SG.O	→ gɔ̰ kì mέ
kɛ̀ɛ̀mí 'say (VF4)' + =ɛ̄ NMLZ + =^{L} TR + =mέ 1SG.O	→ kɛ̀ɛ̀mɛ̀ mέ
kɛ̀ɛ̀mí 'say (VF4)' + =ó 1SG.O	→ kɛ̀ɛ̀m ó
kālí 'see (VF2)' + =ó 1SG.O	→ kāl ó
kā 'see (VF1)' + =tí PFV + =ó 1SG.O	→ kā t ó
kɛ̀ɛ̀mí 'say (VF4)' + =tí PFV + =ó 1SG.O	→ kɛ̀ɛ̀mí t ó
zɛ́ɛ́ 'greet' + =ʔ^{L} 1SG.O	→ zɛ́ɛ́ ʔ

(279)

úū	mɛ́	tì	yàk	ɛ̀		mɛ́
|úū	=mɛ́	tì	yàkí	=ɛ̀	=^{L}	=mɛ́|
head.CF1	1SG.POSS.INAL	PROG	itch	NMLZ	TR	1SG.O

'My head itches.' (lit.: 'My head itches me.') [KUG_20210714_BB_027]

Object pronominals have a latent consonant /k/, which surfaces before the Presentative marker *=è*, as in (280). Object pronominals can also be pronounced with a glottal stop before a pause, as in (281). However, the glottal stop does not co-occur with the Presentative marker *=è*.

(280)

à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	ɲɔ́m	rú	múk	ɛ̀	yí
|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	ɲɔ́m	=rí	=mú^{k}	=ɛ̀	=yí|
PRST.COMM	what	bite.VF1	PFV	2SG.O	PRST	QM.CON

'What bit/stung you?' [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

(281)

zɛ̰́ɛ̰́	túʔ
|zɛ̰́ɛ̰́	=túʔ|
greet	1PL.O

'Greet us! (addressed to one person / several persons)' [KUG_20230226_AC_061]

4.3 Non-subject pronominals

Kugama has a paradigm of non-subject pronominals. They are listed in Table 23. Unlike object pronominals, this paradigm distinguishes non-human pronominals in number.

1SG	mɛ́(ʔ~^{k}) ~ mí(ʔ~^{k})
2SG	mú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ mɔ́(ʔ~^{k})
3SG.HUM	rɛ́(ʔ~^{k})
3SG.NHUM	ɓɔ̀(ʔ~^{k})
1PL	tú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ tɔ́(ʔ~^{k})
2PL	nú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ nɔ́(ʔ~^{k})
3PL.HUM	rī(ʔ~^{k}) ~ rɛ̄(ʔ~^{k})
3PL.NHUM	ɔ̀(ʔ~^{k})

Table 23. Non-subject pronominals

Non-subject pronominals are used to encode pronominal Secondary Objects, i.e. the pronominal Theme of a ditransitive verb as well as the complement of the Comitative preposition *à*, as in (282) - (284).

(282)

Lúkpêwà	kèèmí	tí	kpǎm	mɛ́	wā
|Lúkpêwà	kèèmí	=tí	kpǎm	=mɛ́	=wā|
Luikpiewa	show.APPL	PFV	chief	1SG.NS	PFM

'Luikpiewa showed me to the chief.' [KUG_20181124_BB_060]

(283)

à	wè		pɔ̄	kī	à	mɛ́
|à	wē	$=^{L}$	pɔ̄	=kī	à	=mɛ́|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	COM	1SG.NS

'I am/was a farmer.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(284)

ɗɛ̄	ɯ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄	rí	dą̄ą́
|ɗɛ̄	ɯ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄	=rí	dą̄ą́|
3SG.HUM.S1	slaughter	PFV	ram

ɗɛ̄	ɛ̄ɛ̄		sí	tí
|ɗɛ̄	ɛ̄rí	$=^{L}$	=sí	=tí|
3SG.HUM.S1	come	RES	APPL	PFV

wē	ɗɔ́ŋ	à	ɓɔ̀
|wē	ɗɔ́ŋ	à	ɓɔ̀|
person.CF1	old	COM	3SG.NHUM.NS

'S/he slaughtered a ram and brought it to an elder.' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_91]

Non-subject pronominals have a latent consonant /k/, which surfaces when followed by the Presentative marker $=\grave{\varepsilon}$, as in (285).

(285)

ɗáy	è	dóó	rī	tí
|ɗá^{y}	=è	dóó	=rī	=tí|
3SG.HUM.S3	PRST	start.VF3	VEN	PFV

kèèm	è		mɛ́	ɔ̀k	è
|kèèmí	=ɛ̄	$=^{L}$	=mɛ́	=ɔ̀^{k}	=è|
tell.APPL	NMLZ	TR	1SG.O	3PL.NHUM.NS	PRST

'S/he was the first who told me (about) this.' (lit.: 'It is s/he who started telling me this.')
[Notebook_KUG_2020_5_46]

4.4 Addressee pronominals

Kugama has two addressee pronominals: *mū ~ mú* for singular addressee and *nū ~ nú* for plural addressee, as in (286) and (287). They come after the verb. Addressee pronominals are used in Imperative and Resultative 5 (which is based on Imperative).

(286)
láá	mū
|láá	=mū|
fish	SG.ADR

'Fish! (addressed to one person)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

(287)
pɔ̄	nú
|pɔ̄	=nú|
farm.VF1	PL.ADR

'Farm! (addressed to several persons)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

The only context where the addressee is not specified is when the first person pronominal is used as the Primary Object of a verb, as in (288).

(288)
kɛ̀ɛ̀m	ú	˩Lúkpɛ̂wà
|kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	=ú^{L}	Lúkpɛ̂wà|
show.APPL	1SG.O	Luikpiewa

'Show Luikpiewa to me!' [KUG_20220803_BB_049]

4.5 Possessive pronominals

4.5.1 Bound possessive pronominal modifiers

4.5.1.1 Overview

Kugama has two paradigms of bound possessive modifiers, viz. inalienable and alienable, see Table 24. The two paradigms are distinct in the first person singular, second person singular and in the third person non-human. Bound possessive modifiers come immediately after the head noun.

	Inalienable possessive modifiers	Alienable possessive modifiers
1SG	mɛ́(ʔ~^{k}) ~ mí(ʔ~^{k})	ráā(ʔ~^{k}) ~ râ(ʔ~^{k})
2SG	ɔ̄(ʔ~^{k})	rúɔ̄(ʔ~^{k})
3SG.HUM	rɛ́(ʔ~^{k})	
1PL	tú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ tɔ́(ʔ~^{k})	
2PL	nú(ʔ~^{k}) ~ nɔ́(ʔ~^{k})	
3PL.HUM	rī(ʔ~^{k}) ~ rē(ʔ~^{k})	
3SG.NHUM	^{L} / ɔ̀	rɛ̂(ʔ~^{k}) / ɔ̀
3PL.NHUM		

Table 24. Bound possessive pronominal modifiers

Bound possessive modifiers do not distinguish non-human forms in number. A non-human modifier can take three forms $=^{L}$, $=ɔ̀$, and $=rɛ̂$, as shown in Table 24. The non-human possessive modifier $=ɔ̀$ is used with both inalienably- and alienably-possessed nouns of a CVC shape, as in (289), and with some nouns of a CVV structure, e.g. *úū* 'head (CF1)'. I currently lack the data necessary to determine whether the form $=ɔ̀$ has a latent consonant /k/ as other pronominal modifiers. The form $=^{L}$ occurs with most CVV inalienably-possessed nouns. The form is used $=rɛ̂$ is used with all alienably-possessed nouns except for the ones that have a CVC structure.

(289) kǰm ɔ̀
|kǰm $=^{L}$ =ɔ̀|
body_hair GEN 3NHUM.POSS
'its/their (NHUM) body hair' [KUG_20181205_BB_076]

As mentioned above, possessive pronominal modifiers come after the head noun. It is not possible to insert any other element between the head noun and a bound possessive pronominal except for the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ and the Possessive marker $=rī$. All these markers are discussed in Section 4.5.1.2. There is a group of nouns that have Construct Forms. These nouns appear in their Construct Form when modified by a bound possessive pronominal modifier. For example, the noun *ɓɛ̂y* 'stomach' is used in its Construct Form 1 *ɓáā* 'stomach (CF1)' when it functions as the head of a possessive construction, as in (290). More information on Construct Forms of nouns is provided in Section 3.4.

(290) ɓáā mɛ́ʔ
|ɓáā =mɛ́ʔ|
stomach.CF1 1SG.POSS.INAL
'my stomach' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

4.5.1.2 Bound possessive pronominal modifiers and possessive constructions

Kugama has six possessive constructions. In all of them, the head comes before the modifier, see Table 25. The structure of the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, Inalienable Common Possessive construction, Alienable Proprial Possessive construction, Alienable Common Possessive construction, and Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction depends on i) the morphosyntactic classification of the head noun as Alienably-possessed vs. Inalienably-possessed, and ii) the morphosyntactic classification of the modifier as Proper Name vs. Common Noun. More information on morphosyntactic classifications of nouns is provided in Section 3.1. The Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction is used only with four modifiers: *=ráā(ʔ)* 1SG.POSS.ALIEN, *=rúɔ̄(ʔ)* 2SG.POSS.ALEIN, *=rê(ʔ)* 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN, *=ɔ́* 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN.

Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]
Inalienable Common Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]
Alienable Proprial Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$ GEN + =rī POSS + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]
Alienable Common Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$ GEN + =rī POSS + $=^{\text{L}}$ GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]
Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$ GEN + =ráā(ʔ~^{k}) 1SG.POSS.ALIEN, =rúɔ̄(ʔ~^{k}) 2SG.POSS.ALIEN, =rê(ʔ~^{k}) 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN, =ɔ́ 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN]

Table 25. Types of possessive constructions

As schematized in Table 25, if the possessive modifier is a Common Noun, it is preceded by the Genitive marker $=^{\text{L}}$, while the Genitive marker $=^{\text{L}}$ is absent when the possessive modifier is a Proprial Noun. The Possessive marker *=rī* occurs if the head noun is alienably-possessed. The marker *=rī* is not used with inalienably-possessed nouns.

Bound possessive pronominal modifiers like nominal possessive modifiers can be found in all the five possessive constructions: the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, Inalienable Common Possessive construction, Alienable Proprial Possessive construction, Alienable Common Possessive construction and Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction. The bound possessive pronominal modifiers *=tú(ʔ)* ~ *=tɔ́(ʔ)* 1PL.POSS.INAL/ALIEN, *=nú(ʔ)* ~ *=nɔ́(ʔ)* 2PL.POSS.INAL/ALIEN, *=rī(ʔ)* ~ *=rē(ʔ)* 3PL.POSS.HUM.INAL/ALIEN belong to the class of Common Nouns because in the possessive construction they are introduced by the Genitive marker $=^{\text{L}}$, see (291) and (292).

Thus, they occur only in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction and Alienable Common Possessive construction.

(291) ɓáá ˡtɔ̀ʔ
|ɓáā =ᴸ =tɔ́ʔ|
stomach.CF1 GEN 1PL.POSS.INAL
'our stomach' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(292) váà rú ˡnúʔ
|váā =ᴸ =rī =ᴸ =núʔ|
child GEN POSS GEN 2PL.POSS.ALIEN
'your (PL) child' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

The bound possessive pronominal modifiers *=mɛ́(ʔ) ~ =mí(ʔ)* 1SG.POSS.INAL, *=ɔ̄(ʔ)* 2SG.POSS.INAL/ALIEN, *=rɛ́(ʔ)* 3SG.POSS.HUM.INAL/ALIEN, and *=wí ~ =wé* LOG.POSS.INAL/ALIEN belong to the class of Proper Names because in the possessive construction they are not introduced by the Genitive marker =ᴸ, see (293) and (294). Thus, they occur only in the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction and Alienable Proprial Possessive construction.

(293) ɓáā rɛ́ʔ
|ɓáā =rɛ́ʔ|
stomach.CF1 3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL
'his/her stomach' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

(294) váà rī rɛ́ʔ
|váā =ᴸ =rī =rɛ́ʔ|
child GEN POSS 3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL
'his/her child' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

A possessive construction can include two Genitive markers =ᴸ, as in (292). In this case, the first Genitive marker =ᴸ connects the head noun with the Possessive marker *=rī*. The second Genitive marker =ᴸ occurs before the modifier signaling that the modifier is a Common Noun. From a historical perspective, the Genitive marker =ᴸ that occurs between the head and the modifiers *=ráā(ʔ)* 1SG.POSS.ALIEN, *=rúɔ̄(ʔ)* 2SG.POSS.ALEIN and *=rɛ̂(ʔ)* 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN is the one which is used to connect the head noun with the Possessive marker *=rī*. The three alienable possessive modifiers *=ráā(ʔ), =rúɔ̄(ʔ)* and *=rɛ̂(ʔ)* are complex and derived from the Possessive marker *=rī*, which is always used in the Alienable Possessive constructions, see (295) and (296).

(295) kǫ̀ǫ̀ ˩rêʔ
|kǫ̀ǭ =ᴸ =rêʔ|
lion GEN 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN
‘its/their (NHUM) lion’ [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(296) váà ˩ráāʔ
|váā =ᴸ =ráāʔ|
child GEN 1SG.POSS.ALIEN
‘my child’ [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

4.5.2 Free possessive pronominals

Free possessive pronominals can be used both on their own and as modifiers, in the latter case they precede the noun they modify. The distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is not relevant in the construction with these pronominals used as modifiers.

Possessor	Possessee	
	SG	PL
1SG	ɓām	ām
2SG	ɓūɔ̄(ʔ~ᵏ)	ūɔ̄(ʔ~ᵏ)
3SG.HUM	ɓēré(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ) ~ ɓèrē(ʔ~ᵏ)	ēré(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ) ~ āré(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ) ~ èrē(ʔ~ᵏ)
1PL	ɓītɔ́(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ) ~ ɓītú(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ)	ītɔ́(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ) ~ ītú(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ)
2PL	ɓīnɔ́(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ) ~ ɓīnú(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ)	īnɔ́(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ) ~ īnú(ʔ~ᵏ)(ᴸ)
3PL.HUM	ɓìrī(ʔ~ᵏ) ~ ɓèrī(ʔ~ᵏ)	ìrī(ʔ~ᵏ) ~ èrī(ʔ~ᵏ) ~ ērí(ʔ~ᵏ)
3SG/PL.NHUM	?	?

Table 26. Free possessive pronominals

The paradigm of free possessive pronominals does not have a special form to express the 3SG/PL.NHUM category. The possibility of using a 3SG.HUM or 3PL.HUM form to refer to a 3SG/PL.NHUM possessor that I have recorded with some speakers requires further confirmation.

Free possessive pronominals mark, firstly, the number and person values of the possessor and, secondly, the number value of the possessee, see (297) and (298). Free possessive pronominals with the pattern MH have an optional final floating ᴸ tone that causes downstep of the following tone.

(297)

ɓɛ̄ré		ˈzɛ̂y
|ɓɛ̄ré^{L}		zɛ̂y|
SG.3SG.POSS		dog

'his/her dog' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(298)

ɛ̄ré		ˈzɛ̂y
|ɛ̄ré^{L}		zɛ̂y|
PL.3SG.POSS		dog

'his/her dogs' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

Bound and free possessive pronominal modifiers are interchangeable only when the pronominal possessive modifier is the only modifier of the noun phrase. In more complex noun phrases, only free possessive pronominal modifiers are possible. For example, when the head noun is followed by the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́*, the Genitive marker =^{L}, and a relative clause, only a free possessive pronominal can be used, as in (299).

(299)

yéŋ		ˈām	wɛ̄nī	sóōrī	ɛ́	
|yɛ̂ŋ	=^{L}	ām	wɛ̄nī	sóōrī	=ɛ́	=^{L}|
mother	GEN	PL.1SG.POSS	people	adult_female	DEM	GEN

níīrī	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|níīrī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́|
two	DEM	GEN	PROX

'mothers of these two my wives' (lit.: 'mothers of these my wives that are two') [KUG_20211124_BB_035]

As mentioned above, free possessive pronominals can be used on their own without a head noun, as in (300).

(300)

dɛ̄		gɔ̰	kì		ɛ̄ré	sɔ̰m
|dɛ̄	=è	gɔ̰	=kī	=^{L}	ɛ̄ré	sɔ̰m|
3SG.HUM.S2	PROG	do	NMLZ	TR	PL.3SG.POSS	work

mé	ɓɔ́	nè	mɛ̄		gɔ̰	kì		ām
|mé	ɓɔ́	nè	mɛ̄	=è	gɔ̰	=kī	=^{L}	ām|
1SG.S3	also	EMPH	1SG.S2	PROG	do	NMLZ	TR	PL.1SG.POSS

'(We woke up, prayed first,) she was doing her work, and I was doing mine.' [KUG_20200130_AC_007]

4.6 Reflexive pronominals

Kugama has the following reflexive pronominals:

1SG	úūmí(ʔ~ᵏ) ~ úūmé(ʔ~ᵏ)
2SG	úɔ̄(ʔ~ᵏ)
3SG.HUM	úūrɛ́(ʔ~ᵏ)
1PL	úúᴸtɔ́(ʔ~ᵏ) ~ úúᴸtú(ʔ~ᵏ)
2PL	úúᴸnɔ́(ʔ~ᵏ) ~ úúᴸnú(ʔ~ᵏ)
3PL.HUM	úúᴸrī(ʔ~ᵏ)
3NHUM	úɔ̀

Table 27. Reflexive pronominals

Reflexive pronominal forms have the structure of the inalienable possessive construction with the noun *úū* ‘head (CF1)’ followed by a bound pronominal possessive modifier. The latter is coreferential with the subject or with the addressee pronominal.

(301)

ɗɛ́	yîì		rí	úūrɛ́
|ɗɛ́	yíí	=ᴸ	=rí	úūrɛ́ᵏ|
3SG.HUM.S1	beat.VF3	RES	PFV	3SG.HUM.REFL

‘S/he killed him/herself.’ [KUG_20170524_AC_077]

(302)

ɓáá	ˡmākārántá	á		ˡrɛ́	
|ɓáā	=ᴸ màkàrántá	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́|	
in	GEN school	DEM	GEN	PROX	

mààlàmí		rɛ́	ˡtì	ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	sā
|mààlàmī	=ᴸ	=rɛ́ᵏᴸ	tì	ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	=sā|
teacher	GEN	DEF	PROG	call	RECP

úúˡrī	à	nîŋ		tɔ̄ŋ
|úúᴸrī	à	nîŋ	=ᴸ	tɔ̄ŋ|
3PL.HUM.REFL	COM	name	GEN	father

‘In this school, teachers call themselves among each other using the father’s name.’ [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

In addition to reflexive pronominals, we may need to distinguish yet another pronominal paradigm of *reciprocal pronominals* that are formed by the noun *nɔ́ɔ̄* ‘eye (CF1)’ and a bound possessive pronominal modifier, as in (303).

(303)

zêy		rê	ɲɔ́m	ā	tú	wā	à	nɔ́ɔ̀
|zɛ̂y	=^{L}	=rê^{k}	ɲɔ́m	=ā	=tí	=wā	à	nɔ́ɔ̀|
dog	GEN	DEF	bite	RECP	PFV	PFM	COM	3NHUM.RECP

'The dogs bit each other.' [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

I found this type of pronominals only in some elicited constructions with the main verb being used with the Reciprocal marker *=sā / =ā*. In some elicited constructions, it can be replaced by the reflexive pronominal form, as in (304), but I do not know yet what the conditioning is exactly. As my corpus lacks the necessary data on these reciprocal pronominals, I do not further discuss them here.

(304)

yíí	ˈwɛ̄nī	ɛ́		ˈɲááˈdūrī	ɛ́		ˈré
|yíí^{L}	wɛ̄nī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	ɲáá^{L}dùrī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	rɛ́|
many	people	DEM	GEN	clan	DEM	GEN	PROX

dī	váá	sā	tú	wā	à	nɔ́ɔ́ˈrī
|dī	váá	=sā	=tí	=wā	à	nɔ́ɔ́^{L}rī|
3PL.HUM.S1	marry	RECP	PFV	PFM	COM	3PL.HUM.RECP

'Many people in this clan are married to each other.' (lit.: Many people who are in this clan, they are married to each other.' [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

4.7 The pronominal system in quotative constructions with *mā ~ má* and *kà*

This section focuses on the pronominal system in quotative constructions formed by one of the two clause-linking markers *mā ~ má* and *kà* whose primary use is to encode quotation. These markers are placed between the reporting speech segment and the reported speech segment. A reporting speech segment can include not only a speech predicate but also non-speech predicates like knowledge, perception, wish, motion, action, etc. The clause-linking marker *mā ~ má* is used with first- and second-person subjects in a reporting speech segment, as in (305). The marker *kà* is used with third person subjects in the reporting speech segment, see (306). More information on quotative constructions is provided in Section 15.4.

(305)

tū	kɛ̀m	rí	má
|tū	kɛ̀m	=rí	má|
1PL.S1	tell.VF1	PFV	1~2.CLM

tū	ɲâŋ		tú	wā	à	ɓáá$^{↓}$tóō
|tū	ɲáŋí	=^{L}	=tí	=wā	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō|
1PL.S1	leave.VF2	RES	PFV	PFM	COM	bush

'We said that we went to the bush.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_2]

(306)

Yáálό	kɛ̀m	rí	kà	dɛ̃	ɲân	
|Yáálό	kɛ̀m	=rí	kà	dɛ̃	ɲáŋí	=^{L}|
Yaalo	tell.VF1	PFV	3.CLM	3SG.HUM.S1	leave.VF2	RES

tú	wā	à	ɓáá$^{↓}$tóō
|=tí	=wā	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō|
PFV	PFM	COM	bush

'Yaalo$_{i}$ said that s/he$_{j}$ went to the bush.' [KUG_20181206_BB_080]

The system of person index marking in quotative constructions is marked by two unusual features, viz. the use of dedicated logophoric person indexes for the 2SG and 3SG.HUM categories and the neutralization of the distinction between the 2PL and 3PL.HUM categories. The following Sections 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 discuss these features in details.

Note that the Imperative constructions never occur in quotative constructions with clause-linking markers *mā ~ má* and *kà.* Thus, this section does not discuss addressee pronominals, which are used only in the Imperative constructions.

4.7.1 Logophoric pronominals

Kugama has an asymmetrical logophoric system, which marks only 2SG and 3SG.HUM categories without making a formal distinction between the two, as in (307) and (308).

(307)

Yáálóˈ	kèm	rí	kà	wī	ɲân	
|Yáálóˈ	kèm	=rí	kà	wī	ɲáŋ́	=L|
Yaalo	tell.VF1	PFV	3.CLM	LOG.S1	leave.VF2	RES

tú	wā	à	ɓááˈtóō
|=tí	=wā	à	ɓááLtóō|
PFV	PFM	COM	bush

'Yaalo$_i$ said that he$_i$ went to the bush.' [KUG_20181206_BB_080]

(308)

mū	kèm	rí	má	wí	ɲân	
|mū	kèm	=rí	má	wí	ɲáŋ́	=L|
2SG.S1	tell.VF1	PFV	1~2.CLM	LOG.S1	leave.VF2	RES

tú	wā	à	ɓááˈtóō
|=tí	=wā	à	ɓááLtóō|
PFV	PFM	COM	bush

'You said that you went to the bush.' [KUG_20181206_BB_080]

Kugama has a number of logophoric pronominals that occur in different constructions and in different syntactic positions, see (309). All logophoric forms share the common segmental part *we ~ wi* that is likely to be related to the noun *wēm* 'person'.

(309)

Subject pronominal of the 1st and 2nd paradigm (S1 and S2)	wī ~ wí ~ wē ~ wé
Subject pronominal of the 3rd paradigm (S3)	wí ~ wé
Subject pronominal of the 4th paradigm (S4)	wì ~ wè
Object pronominal	wī ~ wē[27]
Non-subject pronominal	wī ~ wē
Bound possessive pronominal modifier	wí ~ wé
Free possessive pronominal	ɓīwí (SG) / īwí (PL)
Reflexive pronominal	úūwí ~ úūwé

I do not know if the logophoric pronominals in (309) have a latent consonant /k/ or /y/ as well as a floating L tone in their morphophonological structure, as I do not have examples in my corpus where logophoric pronominals would be used in the relevant environments.

I provide more examples with logophoric pronominals in (310) and (311).

[27] My corpus has one example in which the logophoric object pronominal *=wē* takes the form *=ɔ̄*.

(310)

Àlí	kèm	rí	kà	
|Àlí	kèm	=rí	kà|	
Ali	tell.VF1	PFV	3.CLM	
Lúkpêwà	kā	tí	wō	wā
|Lúkpêwà	kā	=tí	=wé	=wā|
Luikpiewa	see.VF1	PFV	LOG.O	PFM

'Ali$_i$ said that Luikpiewa saw him$_i$.' [KUG_20181206_BB_080]

(311)

dɛ̃	kèm	rí	kà				
|dɛ̃	kèm	=rí	kà|				
3SG.HUM.S1	tell.VF1	PFV	3.CLM				
yɛ̃ŋ	wí	ɲân		tú	wā	à	ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō
|yɛ̃ŋ	=wí	ɲáŋí	$=^{L}$	=tí	=wā	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō|
mother	LOG.POSS.INAL	leave.VF2	RES	PFV	PFM	COM	bush

'S/he$_i$ said that his/her$_i$ mother went to the bush.' [KUG_20181206_BB_080]

4.7.2 Neutralization between 2PL and 3PL.HUM

The distinction between 2PL and 3PL.HUM is neutralized in quotative constructions with clause-linking markers *mā ~ má* and *kà*. The form which refers to 2PL and 3PL.HUM corresponds to third person human plural pronominals elsewhere. This neutralization concerns subject pronominals (all four paradigms), as in (312), object pronominals, non-subject pronominals, bound possessive pronominal modifiers, as in (313), free possessive pronominals, and reflexive pronominals.

(312)

ā	kèm	rí	má	dī	ɲân	
|ā	kèm	=rí	má	dī	ɲáŋí	$=^{L}$|
1SG.S1	tell.VF1	PFV	1~2.CLM	2~3PL.S1	leave.VF2	RES
tú	wā	à	ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō			
|=tí	=wā	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō|			
PFV	PFM	COM	bush			

'I said that you(PL)/they went to the bush.' [KUG_20181206_BB_080]

(313)

tū	kɛ̀m	rí	má
|tū	kɛ̀m	=rí	má|
1PL.S1	tell.VF1	PFV	1~2.CLM

yɛ̂ŋ		rī	ɲán	tú	wā	à	ɓáá$^{\text{꜔}}$tóō
|yɛ̂ŋ	$=^{L}$	$=rī^{k}$	ɲáŋí	=tí	=wā	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō|
mother	GEN	2~3PL.POSS.INAL	leave.VF2	PFV	PFM	COM	bush

‘We said that your(PL)/their mother went to the bush.’ [KUG_20181206_BB_080]

5 Numerals

5.1 Cardinal numerals

Kugama has a vigesimal counting system with elements of quinary and decimal systems. Numerals from 200 can be formed in two different ways: applying regular numerals or using borrowed lexemes. These aspects of the Kugama counting system are described in Section 5.1.5.

Kugama speakers can also employ Hausa numerals above 10 (which originate from numerals in Arabic), as in (314). However, examples with these numerals are infrequent in my corpus, and I do not focus on them in my description.

(314)

sáákì		ráā	àrbàín
|sáákī	=^{L}	=ráā	àrbàín|
year	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN	forty

'I am forty.' (lit.: 'My year(s) are forty.')
(Replying to the question 'How old are you?') [KUG_20180428_022b]

Higher cardinal numerals are formed by means of arithmetic operations of addition and multiplication. Addition is marked with the linkers *tí*(^{L}), *kì* and with the Comitative preposition *à*. Multiplication is expressed through simple juxtaposition of numerals.

5.1.1 Numerals from 1 to 10

Cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 are provided in Table 28. Historically, these numerals except for *bíní* 'one' and *kóp* 'ten' have complex morphological structure. "Two" to "five" share the word-initial element *ní ~ né*, which historically is a Construct Form of the noun *nɛ̄y* 'hand'. The optional glottal stop between *ní* and *īrī* of the numeral *níīrī ~ níʔīrī* 'two' suggests an earlier word boundary between these two elements. This optional glottal stop is absent in the speech of younger speakers. The numerals 'six', 'seven' and 'nine' are based on a quinary numeral system, since they have the structure [5 + …]. But the exact composition of these compounds is not synchronically transparent. Probably, the numerals 'six', 'seven', and 'nine' were derived from the construction [5 + tí(^{L}) (addition) + 1 or 2]. 'Eight' and 'nine' forms include the numeral 'four'. Table 28 provides all forms of cardinal numerals from 1 to 10. Some of the variant forms differ only in their word-initial element *ní ~ né*, as in *ní^{L}sa̰ā̰ ~ né^{L}sa̰ā̰* 'three'. In the following sections, I will only use the forms with the word-initial element *ní* for illustration purposes, even though the corresponding forms with the word-initial element *né* are also always possible.

1	ɓíní	6	níˡgìtááɓíní ~ néˡgìtááɓíní
2	níīrī ~ níʔīrī	7	níˡgìtíníīrī ~ níˡgìtíníʔīrī néˡgìtíníīrī ~ néˡgìtíníʔīrī
3	níˡsa̱ā̱ ~ néˡsa̱ā̱	8	o̱náˡníˡhe̱ē̱ ~ o̱náˡnéˡhe̱ē̱
4	níˡhe̱ē̱ ~ néˡhe̱ē̱	9	ɔˡgìnááˡníˡhe̱ē̱ ~ ɔˡgìnááˡnéˡhe̱ē̱
5	níˡgìná ~ néˡgìná	10	kɔ́p

Table 28. Cardinal numerals from 1 to 10

5.1.2 Numerals from 11 to 19

Numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by *kɔ́p* 'ten', the linker of addition *tí* and a single-digit number from 1 to 9, as shown in (315) and Table 29.

(315) [kɔ́p(ᴸ) 'ten' + tí(ᴸ) (addition) + Single-digit number from 1 to 9]

11	kɔ́p tí ˡɓíní	14	kɔ́p tí níˡhe̱ē̱	17	kɔ́p tí níˡgìtíníīrī
12	kɔ́p tí níīrī	15	kɔ́p tí níˡgìná	18	kɔ́p tí o̱náˡníˡhe̱ē̱
13	kɔ́p tí níˡsa̱ā̱	16	kɔ́p tí níˡgìtááˡɓíní	19	kɔ́p tí ɔˡgìnááˡníˡhe̱ē̱

Table 29. Odd numerals from 11 to 19

5.1.3 Numerals above 10 that are multiples of 10

Round numerals which are multiple of 20 (for example, 20, 40, 60, etc.) are formed with *mī ~ mɛ̄* 'twenty' multiplied by a natural number from 1, as illustrated in (316a.). Round numerals which are not a multiple of 20 (for example, 30, 50, 70, etc.) are formed with *mī ~ mɛ̄* 'twenty' multiplied by a natural number from 1 followed by *kì* (addition) and *kɔ́p* 'ten', as in (316b.). The noun *mī ~ mɛ̄* 'twenty' is probably related to *bìméɛ̄* 'body'.

(316) a. [mī ~ mɛ̄ 'twenty' × Natural number]
b. [mī ~ mɛ̄ 'twenty' × Natural number + kì (addition) + kɔ́p 'ten']

20	mī ɓíní (20 × 1)	70	mī níˡsa̱ā̱ kì kɔ́p (60 + 10)
30	mī ɓíní ˡkì kɔ́p (20 + 10)	80	mī níˡhe̱ē̱ (20 × 4)
40	mī níīrī (20 × 2)	90	mī níˡhe̱ē̱ kì kɔ́p (80 + 10)
50	mī níīrī kì kɔ́p (40 + 10)	100	mī níˡgìná (20 × 5)
60	mī níˡsa̱ā̱ (20 × 3)	110	mī níˡgìná kì kɔ́p (100 + 10)

Table 30. Multiples of 10 starting from 20

5.1.4 Numerals above 10 that are not multiples of 10

Numerals above 10 that are not multiples of 10 are the combination of a round number (e.g. 20, 30, etc.) and a single-digit number from 1 to 9. A single-digit number can be added to a round number with two different connectors: *kì* and *tí*$^{(L)}$. When a round number is multiple of 20, the connector *kì* is used, as in (317a) and (318). When a round number is not multiple of 20, the connector *tí* is used, see (317b) and (319).

(317) a. [mī ~ mɛ̄ 'twenty' × Natural number + kì (addition) + Single-digit number from 1 to 9]

b. [mī ~ mɛ̄ 'twenty' × Natural number + kì (addition) + kɔ́p$^{(L)}$ 'ten' + tí$^{(L)}$ (addition) + Single-digit number from 1 to 9]

(318)

mī	ɓíní	˩kì	ɓíní
|mī	ɓíní^{L}	kì	ɓíní|
twenty	one	plus	one

'twenty one' (lit.: 'one time twenty plus one') [KUG_20170509_YF_062]

(319)

mī	ɓíní	˩kì	kɔ́p	tí	˩ɓíní
|mī	ɓíní^{L}	kì	kɔ́p	tí^{L}	ɓíní|
twenty	one	plus	ten	plus	one

'thirty one' (lit.: 'one time twenty plus ten plus one') [KUG_2014_EC_198]

5.1.5 Numerals from 200 and above

Numerals from 200 and above are formed in the same way as numerals lower than 200: the noun *mī ~ mɛ̄* 'twenty' multiplied by a natural number, see (320) - (323).

(320)

mī	kɔ́p
|mī	kɔ́p|
twenty	ten

'two hundred' (lit.: 'twenty multiplied by ten') [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(321)

mī	kɔ́p	tú	né^{ꜜ}hɛ́ɛ̀	kì	ɓíní
|mī	kɔ́p	tí	né^{L}hɛ́ɛ̀	kì	ɓíní|
twenty	ten	plus	four	plus	one

‘two hundred eighty one’ (lit.: ‘twenty multiplied by fourteen, and plus one’) [KUG_2014_TY_061]

(322)

mī	mī	ɓíní	ꜜkì	nígìná
|mī	mī	ɓíní^{L}	kì	nígìná|
twenty	twenty	one	plus	five

‘five hundred’ (lit.: ‘twenty multiplied by twenty five’) [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(323)

mī	mī	níīrī	kì	kɔ́p
|mī	mī	níīrī	kì	kɔ́p|
twenty	twenty	two	plus	ten

‘one thousand’ (lit.: ‘twenty multiplied by fifty’, whereas ‘fifty’ is ‘two times twenty plus ten’) [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

Numerals from 200 and above can also be formed by the numeral *ɓùkɔ̄* ‘two hundred’. Round numerals that are multiple of 200 are formed by *ɓùkɔ̄* ‘two hundred’ multiplied by a natural number from 1 and above, see (324a) and (325). Round numerals that are not multiple of 200 are formed by *ɓùkɔ̄* ‘two hundred’ multiplied by a natural number from 1 and above, plus the Comitative preposition *à* and any natural number, see (324b) and (326). The numeral *ɓùkɔ̄* is probably related to *bùhúú* ‘bag, sack’ in Hausa. Numerals formed with *ɓùkɔ̄* ‘two hundred’ are usually employed for counting money. Historically, bags *bùhúú* (Hausa) and *jàkáá* ‘bag’ (Hausa) were used for keeping money. These bags could hold about two hundred *kwábòò* ‘kwabo, penny’ (Hausa).

(324)
a. [ɓùkɔ̄ ‘two hundred’ × Natural number]
b. [ɓùkɔ̄ ‘two hundred’ × Natural number + à COM + Natural number]

(325)

ɓùkɔ̄	níīrī
|ɓùkɔ̄	níīrī|
two_hundred	two

‘four hundred (Naira)’ (lit.: ‘two hundred multiplied by two’) [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(326)

ɓùkɔ̄	ɓíní	à	mī	nígìná
|ɓùkɔ̄	ɓíní	à	mī	nígìná|
two_hundred	one	COM	twenty	five

'three hundred (Naira)' (lit.: 'two hundred multiplied by one and twenty multiplied by five') [KUG_20211201_BB_036]

The numeral *ɓùkɔ̄* 'two hundred' is often used together with another complex numeral *sì vḭ̄ḭ̄pī* 'twenty'. The form *sì vḭ̄ḭ̄pī* is a compound which literally means 'thing of blackness' (*sì* 'thing', *vḭ̄ḭ̄pī* 'blackness'). This has to do with the fact that twenty naira is a dark green bill. Only round numerals that are not multiple of 200 are formed by *sì vḭ̄ḭ̄pī*, as shown in (327).

(327) [ɓùkɔ̄ 'two hundred' × Natural number + à COM + sìvḭ̄ḭ̄pī 'twenty' × ní^{L}gìná 'five']

(328)

ɓùkɔ̄	ɓíní	à	sìvḭ̄ḭ̄pī	nígìná
|ɓùkɔ̄	ɓíní	à	sìvḭ̄ḭ̄pī	nígìná|
two_hundred	one	COM	twenty	five

'three hundred' (lit.: 'two hundred multiplied by one and twenty multiplied by five' [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(329)

ɓùkɔ̄	níīrī	à	sìvḭ̄ḭ̄pī	nígìná
|ɓùkɔ̄	níīrī	à	sìvḭ̄ḭ̄pī	nígìná|
two_hundred	two	COM	twenty	five

'five hundred' (lit.: 'two hundred multiplied by two and twenty multiplied by five' [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

5.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are basically cardinal numerals with the ordinal marker *nā*, e.g. *nā ní^{ꜜ}sa̱ā̱* 'the third one'. Only 'first' has a special ordinal form *ɲá ^{ꜜ}ha̱ɲrè* which does not have any formal correspondences with the cardinal numeral *ɓíní* 'one'. The form *ɲá ^{ꜜ}ha̱ɲrè* originates from a possessive construction with the following structure: [*ɲā* 'mouth (CF1)' / ORD + =^{L} GEN + *ha̱ɲrè* 'first']. However, the form *nā ɓíní* 'first' which consists of the Ordinal marker *nā* and *ɓíní* 'one' also exists in the language. Numerals from 2 and higher have the same form as their equivalent cardinal numerals, see Table 31.

1	ɲá ˡhɻ̱ŋrè / nā ɓíní	6	nā níˡgìtááɓíní
2	nā níīrī ~ nā níʔīrī	7	nā níˡgìtíníīrī ~ nā níˡgìtíníʔīrī
3	nā níˡsą̱ą̄	8	nā ǭnáˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀
4	nā níˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀	9	nā ɔ́ˡgìnááˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀
5	nā níˡgìná	10	nā kɔ́p

Table 31. Ordinal forms from 1 to 5

Kugama speakers also use two other forms: *ɲá ˡką̱ą̀ tɛ̄* ‘second, middle’ (lit.: ‘middle of something’) and *tɔ̌m ˡgbɛ́sɛ̀* ‘third, last’ (lit.: ‘back of the last’). When there are three people or items to count, the speaker uses the forms *ɲá ˡhɻ̱ŋrè* ‘first’, *ɲá ˡką̱ą̀ tɛ̄* ‘second’, and *tɔ̌m ˡgbɛ́sɛ̀* ‘third’. If a speaker counts two or more than three items or people, they use *ɲá ˡhɻ̱ŋrè* ‘first’, *nā níīrī* ‘second’, *nā níˡsą̱ą̄* ‘third’, etc.; the last item or person will be counted with *tɔ̌m ˡgbɛ́sɛ̀* ‘last’ or a simple ordinal numeral formed with *nā* and a cardinal numeral.

The two forms *nā* ORD and *ní ~ né* as the the initial element in numerals 2-5 are probably different Construct Forms of the noun *nɛ̄́y* ‘hand’.

6 Quantifiers and indefinites

6.1 Universal quantifiers

The Kugama universal quantifiers summarized in (330) have a complex structure.

(330) kɔ́ɔ́ ˡwɛ́ɛ̀ yī(ī) ‘everybody’
kɔ́ɔ́ ˡtɛ́ɛ̀ yī(ī) ‘everywhere’
kɔ́ɔ́ ˡɔ̀kɛ̀ yī(ī) ‘everything’

The first element of this complex phrase *kɔ́ɔ́* ‘every’ is related to the conjunction *kóó* ‘or’ in Hausa. The elements *wɛ́ɛ̀ yī(ī)*, *tɛ́ɛ̀ yī(ī)*, and *ɔ̀kɛ̀ yī(ī)* have similar forms with the question words *wɛ́* ‘who?’, *ɓìrī tɛ̄* ‘where?’, *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘what?’ and the content question marker *=yí*. The forms *wɛ́ɛ̀*, *tɛ́ɛ̀* and *ɔ̀kɛ̀* are also complex. Historically, they were stems such as *wɛ́ (related to *wēm* ‘person’), *tɛ́ (related to *tɛ̄* ‘place’), and *ɔ̀ (related to the third-person non-human pronominal *=ɔ̀(ʔ)* |ɔ^{k}|) followed by the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*.

(331)

sì	ɛ́		ˡtì	pa̰n	ɛ̄
|sì	=ɛ́	=^{L}	tì	pa̰ní	=ɛ̄|
thing	DEM	GEN	PROG	do.VF2	NMLZ

ɓáá		ˡdàlā	zɔ́ntà	pát
|ɓáā	=^{L}	dàlā	zɔ́ntà	pát^{L}|
in	GEN	outside	now	all

ˡkɔ́ɔ́ˡwɛ́ɛ̀yīī	à	ɛ̄rí	ɲáá		ˡkòy
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}wɛ́ɛ̀yīī	à	ɛ̀rī	ɲáā	=^{L}	kɔ̀y|
everybody	COM	PL.3PL.POSS	language.CF1	GEN	village

‘The thing that is happening everywhere in the world now - every person has his/her own native language.’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

6.2 Universal determiner

The universal determiner in Kugama is a complex expression whose structure is outlined in (332).

(332) [kɔ́ɔ́^{L} ‘every$_1$’ + ɓìrī ‘which.SG’ + Noun + (=ɛ̀ PRST + =yī(ī) ‘every$_2$’)]

The first element of this complex phrase *kɔ́ɔ́* ‘every’ is related to the conjunction marker *kóó* ‘or’ in Hausa. The final element *=yī(ī)* ‘every’ corresponds to the content question marker *=yí*. The Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* and *=yī(ī)* ‘every’ are optional.

(333)

kɔ́ɔ́	ɓìrī	lúy	è	yīī
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ˡɓìrī	lū̀y	=è	=yīī|
every$_1$	which.SG	day	PRST	every$_2$

wɔ́kátī	é		ˡtū	ɛ̄ɛ̄	tɛ́ɛ̱̄		pát
|wɔ́kátī	=é	=^{L}	tū	ɛ̄rí	=tí	hɛ́ɛ̱̄	pát|
time	DEM	GEN	1PL.S1	come	PFV	here	all

‘Every day we all come here…’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

(334)

à	kɔ́ɔ́	ˡɓìrī	wēm
|à	kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ɓìrī	wēm|
PRST.COMM	every$_1$	which.SG	person

mí		ˡtí	mɔ̄ɔ̄kù		rɛ́k	è	yī	ā̱
|mí	=^{L}	=tí	mɔ̄ɔ̄kū	=^{L}	=rɛ́^{kL}	=è	=yī	ā̱|
cross.VF1	RES	PFV	river	GEN	DEF	PRST	every$_2$	NEG

‘Not every person crossed the river.’ (lit. ‘It is not every person who crossed the river.’) [KUG_20180514_AC_035]

6.3 Indefinite *tɛ̄* ‘someone’

Kugama has the indefinite nominal *tɛ̄* ‘someone’. It has the same form with *tɛ̄* ‘place’, but it is not clear whether these two forms are related. It is possible that the indefinite nominal *tɛ̄* ‘someone’ is related to the noun *tɔ̄ŋ* ‘father’, as well as to the human male sex marker *tɛ̄* and the animal male sex marker *tì* described in Section 8.4.5. In my corpus, the indefinite nominal *tɛ̄* is only used as a human object (335) or a possessor with inalienably-possessed nouns (336).

(335)

à	ɲɔ́s	é		ˡtààpɔ̄
|à	ɲɔ́sí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}	tààpɔ̄|
1SG.S4	drink.VF2	NMLZ	TR	tabacco

kɔ́ɔ́	ˡɔ̀	yí	tɛ̄	wā
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ɔ̀	yí	tɛ̄	=wā|
even_if	EXPL.S1	beat.VF1	someone	PFM

‘I will keep smoking, even if it kills.’ [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

(336) nɔ́ɔ́ ˈtɛ̄
|nɔ́ɔ̄ =L tɛ̄|
eye.CF1 GEN someone
‘eye of someone’ [KUG_2014_EC_042]

7 Specifiers

7.1 The demonstrative marker *=ɛ́*

The Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* comes after the noun it modifies. It never marks a noun on its own. The Demonstrative marker is followed by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ and the demonstrative modifiers that mark further distance distinctions, such as *=ré* (~ *rí*)[28] (PROX) and *=sòrè* (DIST), as in (337). It is also used in the formation of relative clauses, in which case it is placed after the head noun and equally followed by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, see (338). The interaction between the Demonstrative *=ɛ́* and the preceding vowel is described in Section 2.5.1. The Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* is always used with the Free Form of nouns.

(337)

gōdɔ̄	ɔ́		˩rɛ́
|gòdɔ̄	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́|
robe	DEM	GEN	PROX

'this robe', 'these robes' [KUG_20180429_BB_026]

(338)

ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	[ɛ́		˩Sīndīgāw	è]
|ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	Sīndīgāwɔ̄	=è|
SG.1SG.POSS	son	DEM	GEN	Sindigawo	PRST

à	wɛ̀		bɛ̀	kī	à	rɛ́
|à	wɛ̄	$=^{L}$	bɛ̀	=kī	à	=rɛ́|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	hunt.VF1	NMLZ	COM	3SG.HUM.NS

'My son who lives in Sindigawo is a hunter.' (lit. 'My son who is in Sindigawo, he is a hunter.') [KUG_20180506_BB_031]

My corpus has a few examples with two nouns *ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́* 'house' and *gàá˩tɛ́* 'morning' followed by the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* where the sequence of the final vowel /ɛ/ of these nouns and the Demonstrative marker =ɛ́ are found shortened, as in (339a). This does not happen with other nouns that end in /ɛ/, see (339b).

(339)

a. ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ 'house' + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN + =rɛ́ PROX → ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ ˩rɛ́
   gàá˩tɛ́ 'morning' + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN + =rɛ́ PROX → gàá˩tɛ́ ˩rɛ́
b. lɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̄ 'jar' + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN + =rɛ́ PROX → lɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̄ ɛ́ ˩rɛ́

[28] I encountered this form only in one text.

7.2 Deictic markers

Kugama has a minimal deictic system that includes the Proximal marker *=rɛ́* and the Distal marker *=sòrè*. The two markers are always introduced by the Demonstrative *=ɛ́* and the Genitive marker =ᴸ, see Section 8.7. The two deictic markers denote spatial and temporal deixis. The temporal meaning occurs in combination with nouns with temporal semantics, as in (343).

(340)
gūw ɛ́ ˈrɛ́
|gùū =ɛ́ =ᴸ =rɛ́|
axe DEM GEN PROX
'this axe', 'these axes' [KUG_20180429_BB_026]

(341)
zìmā á ˈrɛ́
|zìmā =ɛ́ =ᴸ =rɛ́|
needle DEM GEN PROX
'this needle', 'these needles' [KUG_20180429_BB_026]

(342)
zìmā á ˈsòrè
|zìmā =ɛ́ =ᴸ =sòrè|
needle DEM GEN DIST
'that needle', 'those needles' [KUG_20181203_BB_069]

(343)
ā lóò wà à
|ā lóó =ᴸ =wā à|
1SG.S1 sleep.VF2 RES PFM COM

lúy ɛ́ ˈrɛ́
|lūy =ɛ́ =ᴸ =rɛ́|
afternoon DEM GEN PROX
'I have slept this afternoon.' [KUG_20211218_BB_037]

7.3 The anaphoric marker

The rare anaphoric modifier *=lé* 'the aforementioned' makes reference to a previously mentioned noun phrase. Like proximal and distal demonstratives, the anaphoric demonstrative is introduced by the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* and the Genitive marker =ᴸ, see Section 8.7. This anaphoric modifier was found only in one narrative text about the traditional Kugama

funeral ceremony. This text describes activities before and after the burial. The nouns *véépī* 'corpse' and *gbènsì* 'log' are mentioned at least twice in the text. This is what the speaker says: "After they bury the body [vɛ́ɛ́pī], this is the time when they dance. After the dances they take a log [gbènsì]. They put it beneath a granary. They seat a person there. They find leaves", see (344) - (349) for the continuation of the story. At the end of this text, the speaker uses these two nouns *véépī* 'corpse' and *gbènsì* 'log' with the anaphoric marker *=lé* referring to the same previously mentioned nouns.

(344)

dɛ́	ērī	dɛ̄		nīm	
|dɛ́	ērī	dɛ̄	=è	nīm|	
3SG.NHUM.S1	come.VF2	3SG.HUM.S2	PROG	chase.NMLZ	

'S/he starts chasing…' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

(345)

à	kūm	úú		˩gbènsì	ɛ́		˩lé
|à	kūm	úū	=^{L}	gbènsì	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=lé|
COM	fly	above	GEN	log	DEM	GEN	ANAPH

'flies away above that log that…' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

(346)

dǐ	yósí	tí	ɛ́		˩rɛ́
|dǐ	yósí	=tí	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ|
3PL.NHUM.S1	put	PFV	DEM	GEN	PROX

'they have placed' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

(347)

ɓɔ̀y	è	mɛ̀ɛ̀mòkɔ́
|ɓɔ̀^{y}	=è	mɛ̀ɛ̀mòkɔ́|[29]
3SG.NHUM.S3	PRST	instead_of

'as if it is...' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

[29] This form is related to the expression *màìmákón* 'instead of' in Hausa. I want to thank Nlabephee Othaniel for his help in translating this expression and many others from Hausa.

(348) véépī ɛ́ ˈlé
|véépī =ɛ́ =ᴸ =lé|
body DEM GEN ANAPH
'that dead person who…' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

(349) ɗɛ̋ hóó rī tí ɛ́ ˈrɛ́
|ɗɛ̋ hóó =rī =tí =ɛ́ =ᴸ =rɛ́|
3SG.NHUM.S1 bury.VF3 VEN PFV DEM GEN PROX
'was buried.' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

Kugama also has the particle *lɛ́* 'recently, before' (Section 12.14). This particle and the anaphoric marker *=lé* may have the same origin.

7.4 The definite marker

The Definite marker *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =ré(ʔ)* is linked to the noun it marks by the Genitive marker =ᴸ, as follows: [Noun + =ᴸ GEN + =rɛ̂ᵏ ~ =réᵏᴸ DEF]. The meaning and conditions of use of this marker are not well understood. The reason why I call it "definite marker" is because my consultants translate it as the definite article in English. However, the use of this determiner remains largely optional and definiteness is clearly not a grammatical category in Kugama. The Definite marker *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =ré(ʔ)* has a latent consonant /k/ that surfaces when the marker is followed by the Presentative *=ɛ̀*, more information about latent consonants is given in Section 2.5.11.

The modifier *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =ré(ʔ)* is used only with the Free Form of nouns. The noun phrase with the modifier *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =ré(ʔ)* can be the same as a noun phrase with the third-person non-human pronominal possessive modifier *=rɛ̂(ʔ)* in some cases, as in Table 32.

Head Noun		Modification with DEF	Modification with 3NHUM.POSS
váā	child	váà rɛ̂	váà rɛ̂
kɔ́ɔ̄	lion	kɔ́ɔ́ ˈrɛ̂	kɔ́ɔ́ ˈrɛ̂
vɔ̀ɔ̄	phlegm	vɔ̀ɔ́ ˈrɛ̂	vɔ̀ɔ́ ˈrɛ̂

Table 32. Nouns modified by the definite marker and the third person non-human possessive pronominal

The third-person non-human pronominal possessive modifier *=rɛ̂(ʔ)* comes after alienably-possessed nouns and the Genitive marker =ᴸ. If alienably-possessed nouns have Construct forms, the construction with the third-person non-human pronominal possessive modifier *=rɛ̂(ʔ)* differs from the construction with the Definite marker: the Construct Form is used with the pronominal possessive modifier, while the Free Form is used with the Definite marker, as was illustrated in

(350). However, most noun stems do not have a corresponding Construct Form. And in this case, the same noun phrase will mean both ‘its / their (NHUM) X’ and ‘the X’.

(350) a.
zɛ́		˩rɛ̂ʔ
|zɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ̂ᵏ|
dog.CF2	GEN	3NHUM.ALIEN

‘its / their (NHUM) dog’ [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

b.
zɛ́y		˩rɛ̂ʔ
|zɛ́y	=ᴸ	=rɛ̂ᵏ|
dog	GEN	DEF

‘the dog’ [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

The Definite marker has two forms *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =rɛ́(ʔ)*. It is still not clear why one of these two forms is sometimes chosen by speakers. Some examples of noun phrases with the Definite marker in a sentence are provided in (351) - (353).

(351)
tɛ̄ɛ̄pì		rɛ́	˩só		˩tú	
|tɛ̄ɛ̄pī	=ᴸ	=rɛ́ᵏᴸ	só	=ᴸ	=tí|	
rat	GEN	DEF	enter.VF1	GEN	PFV	

ɗɛ́ɛ́	˩tú	
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=ᴸ	=tú|
house.CF1	GEN	3PL.POSS.INAL

kpáá		˩ɲáá		˩kpáā	ɗî	pūy
|kpáā	=ᴸ	ɲáā	=ᴸ	kpáā	ɗî	pūy|
through	GEN	mouth.CF1	GEN	side	CNJ	hole

‘The rats enter our house through a door and through holes.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

(352)
sɔ̄m	ɛ̄	ɓáá		˩bŏm		rɛ́	a̰	ɓɔ̄ɔ́
|sɔ̄m	=ɛ̄	ɓáā	=ᴸ	bŏm	=ᴸ	=rɛ́ᵏᴸ	ā̰	ɓɔ̄ɔ́|
guinea_corn	NEG	in	GEN	hut	GEN	DEF	NEG	QM

‘Isn't there guinea corn in the room?’ [KUG_20180516_BB_038]

(353)

á		wɛ́	˩à		ɓìrī		lū́y
|á		wɛ́^{L}	à		ɓìrī		lúy|
PRST.SG.PROP		who	PRST.COMM		which.SG		day
ī	māā	rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́		˩rɛ́k	ɛ̀	yí
|ī	māā	=rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́^{kL}	=ɛ̀	=yí|
IMPS.S1	build	PFV	house	GEN	DEF	PRST	QM.CON

‘Who built the house and when?’ [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

8 Noun phrase morphosyntax

Noun phrases in Kugama have two word orders: [Head + Modifier] and [Modifier + Head]. The head-modifier noun phrases include Possessive constructions (Section 8.1) and summary constructions with a numeral (Section 8.2), as well as constructions with Pre-nominal Property Nouns (Section 8.3), Bound Nouns (Section 8.4), Post-nominal Property Nouns (Section 8.5), numerals (Section 8.6), the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* (Section 8.7) and the Definite marker *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =rɛ́(ʔ)* (Section 8.8). The modifier-head noun phrases only include constructions with free possessive and interrogative pronominals (Sections 8.9 and 8.10). This chapter also discusses noun phrase coordination (Section 8.11).

8.1 Possessive constructions

Kugama has five possessive constructions: the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, the Alienable Proprial Possessive construction, the Alienable Common Possessive construction, and the Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction. The choice of the construction depends on (i) the morphosyntactic classification of the head noun as Inalienably-possessed vs. Alienably-possessed and (ii) the morphosyntactic classification of the modifier as Proprial Noun vs. Common Noun. All Possessive constructions are provided in Table 33.

Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]
Inalienable Common Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]
Alienable Proprial Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + =rī POSS + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]
Alienable Common Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + =rī POSS + $=^{\text{L}}$GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]
Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction	[$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + ^{L}GEN + =ráā(ʔ) 1SG.POSS.ALIEN, =rúɔ̄(ʔ) 2SG.POSS.ALEIN, =rɛ̂(ʔ) 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN, =ɔ 3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN]

Table 33. Types of possessive constructions

When the modifier is a Common Noun, it is preceded by the Genitive marker $=^{\text{L}}$, as in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction and Alienable Common Possessive construction. The Genitive marker $=^{\text{L}}$ is absent before the modifier when it is a Proper Name, as in the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction and Alienable Proprial Possessive construction. The Possessive marker *=rī* occurs if the head noun is alienably-possessed, as in the Alienable

Proprial Possessive construction and Alienable Common Possessive construction. The Possessive marker *=rī* is not used with inalienably-possessed nouns, as in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction and Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction. The Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction originates from the Alienable Possessive constructions: the head is alienably-possessed and pronominal modifiers *=ráā(ʔ)*, *=rúɔ̄(ʔ)*, and *=rêʔ* are complex and originate from the Possessive marker *=rī* used in all the other Alienable Possessive constructions.

The Inalienable Possessive constructions express various relations between the head noun and the modifier such as part-whole relationships, kinship relationships, partnership, location, ethnicity, etc. All of these relations are subsumed under the notion of inalienable possession. Inalienable Possessive constructions do not normally express the relation of ownership. This meaning is conveyed by the Alienable Possessive constructions.

8.1.1 The Inalienable Common Possessive construction

The Inalienable Common Possessive construction has the following structure:

(354) $[\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}} + =^{\text{L}}\text{GEN} + \text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}]$

The Genitive marker $=^{\text{L}}$ comes after the head and before the modifier. The head noun is inalienably-possessed (Section 3.1.2). For instance, the noun *ɓáā* ‘stomach (CF1)’ is inalienably-possessed, as in (355) and (356). The modifier of the Inalienable Common Possessive construction is a Common Noun (Section 3.1.1). For instance, the noun *náákī* ‘cow’ and the bound possessive pronominal *=tɔ́ʔ* ‘our’ belong to the class of Common Nouns, as in (355) and (356).

(355) ɓáá ꜜnáákī
|ɓáā =L náákī|
stomach.CF1 GEN cow
‘stomach of the cow’ [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

(356) ɓáá ꜜtɔ́ʔ
|ɓáā =L =tɔ́ʔ|
stomach.CF1 GEN 1PL.POSS.INAL
‘our stomach’ [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

The Inalienable Common Possessive construction is a very common source construction for compounds and historically complex words. As it was mentioned in Section 8.1, the Inalienable Possessive constructions convey a number of relations between the head noun and the modifier,

e.g. part-whole relationships, kinship relationships, partnership, location, and ethnicity. All these relations are commonly expressed by the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, see (357) - (359).

(357) tɔ́ŋ ˡváā
|tɔ̄ŋ =ᴸ váā|
father GEN child
'father of the child' [KUG_20180419_AC_005]

(358) náákí ˡbàā
|náákī =ᴸ bàā|
cow GEN herd
'cow of the herd' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(359) wɛ̄nì Nààjɛ́ríyà
|wɛ̄nī =ᴸ Nààjɛ́ríyà|
people GEN Nigeria
'Nigerian people' [KUG_20211124_BB_035]

The Inalienable Possessive construction can be used with a classifying modifier, as in (360) - (366). Note that uncountable body parts terms are alienably-possessed. However, they can be used in the Inalienable Possessive construction as classifying modifiers, as in (362) - (364).

(360) bàà ˡnáákī
|bàā =ᴸ náákī|
herd GEN cow
'cow herd' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(361) gɛ́rɛ́ ˡɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|gɛ́rɛ̄ =ᴸ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
pig GEN house
'domestic pig' (lit.: 'pig of the house') [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(362) ɗɛ̀è wēm
|ɗɛ̄ɛ̄ =L wēm|
blood GEN person
'human blood' [KUG_20181207_BB_083]

(363) ɓɛ̀ɛ̀ nɑ́ɑ́kī
|ɓɛ̄ɛ̄ =L nɑ́ɑ́kī|
skin.CF1 GEN cow
'cow skin' [Notebook_KUG_2018_02_2]

(364) kʊ̰m ˈnɔ̃y
|kʊ̰m =L nɔ̃y|
body_hair GEN eye
'eyelash' [KUG_20170510_YF_064]

(365) yìì zɛ̃y
|yìī =L zɛ̃y|
fear GEN dog
'fear of dogs' (I am afraid of dogs) [KUG_20181207_BB_083]

(366) sʊ̰m hɑ́ɑ́kī
|sʊ̰m =L hɑ́ɑ́kī|
work GEN farm
'farm work' [KUG_20181207_BB_083]

The nouns that have a Construct Form 1 (secondary allomorph), see Section 3.4.1, appear in this construct form when used as heads in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction. Example (367) has the Construct Form 1 *zāā* of the noun *zɛ̄y* 'leg'.

(367) zàà wēm
|zāā =L wēm
leg.CF1 GEN person
'leg of the person' [KUG_20180419_AC_004]

8.1.2 The Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction

The Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction has the following structure:

(368) [$\text{Head}_{\text{INALIENABLE}}$ + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]

The head comes before the modifier. The modifier of the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction is expressed by a Proprial Noun (Section 3.1.1), as in (369) and (370).

(369) ɓáā Lúkpêwà
|ɓáā Lúkpêwà|
stomach.CF1 Luikpiewa
'stomach of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

(370) ɓáā mɛ́ʔ
|ɓáā =mɛ́ʔ|
stomach.CF1 1SG.POSS.INAL
'my stomach' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

This type of Inalienable Possessive constructions commonly expresses part-whole relationship, kinship relationship and partnership, see (371) and (372). The nouns that have a Construct Form 1 (secondary allomorph), see Section 3.4.1, appear in this construct form when used as heads in the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction.

(371) tɔ̄ŋ Àlí
|tɔ̄ŋ Àlí|
father Ali
'father of Ali' [KUG_20180419_AC_005]

(372) sóō Àlí
|sóō Àlí|
wife.CF1 Ali
'wife of Ali' [KUG_20180417_AC_001]

8.1.3 The Alienable Common Possessive construction

The Alienable Common Possessive construction has the following structure:

(373) [$\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + $=^{\text{L}}$ GEN + =rī POSS + $=^{\text{L}}$ GEN + $\text{Modifier}_{\text{COMMON NOUN}}$]

The Alienable Common Possessive construction includes the Possessive marker *=rī*. The head noun is followed by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$. This suggests that the Possessive marker *=rī* historically originates from a noun. Since in the Alienable Common Possessive construction the modifier is a Common Noun, the modifier is further linked to the Possessive marker *=rī* by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, as in (374) and (375).

(374)
náákì		rí		ˈwēm
|náákī	$=^{L}$	=rī	$=^{L}$	wēm|
cow	GEN	POSS	GEN	person

'cow of the person' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(375)
vɔ̰̰sì		rí		ˈváā
|vɔ̰̰sì	$=^{L}$	=rī	$=^{L}$	váā|
insect	GEN	POSS	GEN	child

'insect of the child' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

All Alienable Possessive constructions such as the Alienable Proprial Possessive construction, Alienable Common Possessive construction, and Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction express ownership relationships. In addition, these constructions describe part-whole, kinship and partnership relationships with a group of body-part and kinship terms that are alienably-possessed, e.g. *bèèsì* 'skin', *vɔ̰̰̄* 'phlegm', *nĩŋ* 'tendon', *fúffùkɛ̄* 'lung', *dúū dɔ̃ŋ* 'molar tooth', *zàŋ lékī* 'family, descendant', *váā sóōrī* 'fiancée, girlfriend', etc., see Section 3.1.2.

(376)
dɛ̀è		rí		ˈwēm
|dɛ̄ɛ̄	$=^{L}$	=rī	$=^{L}$	wēm|
blood	GEN	POSS	GEN	person

'blood of the person' [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_1]

(377)
yìì		rí		ˈzɛ̂y
|yìī	$=^{L}$	=rī	$=^{L}$	zɛ̂y|
fear	GEN	POSS	GEN	dog

'fear of dogs' (dogs are afraid) [KUG_20181207_BB_083]

(378) sə̰̄m rí ˈwēm
|sə̰̄m =L =rī =L wēm|
work GEN POSS GEN person
'work of the person' [KUG_20181207_BB_083]

The nouns that have a Construct Form 2 (secondary allomorph), see Section 3.4.2, appear in this construct form when used as heads in the Alienable Common Possessive construction, as in (379). However, the Free Form of these nouns can also be used in the Alienable Common Possessive construction.

(379) gbɛ̀ rí ˈváā
|gbɛ̄ =L =rī =L váā|
skirt.CF2 GEN POSS GEN child
'skirt of the child'

8.1.4 The Alienable Proprial Possessive construction

The Alienable Proprial Possessive construction has the following structure:

(380) [Head$_{\text{ALIENABLE}}$ + =L GEN + =rī POSS + Modifier$_{\text{PROPRIAL NOUN}}$]

Like the Alienable Common Possessive construction, the Alienable Proprial Possessive construction includes the Possessive marker *=rī*. The Genitive marker =L does not occur between the Possessive marker *=rī* and the modifier, as the latter is a Proprial Noun (Section 3.1.1).

(381) nɑ́ɑ́kì rī Lúkpɛ̂wà
|nɑ́ɑ́kī =L =rī Lúkpɛ̂wà|
cow GEN POSS Luikpiewa
'cow of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(382) vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀sì rī Lúkpɛ̂wà
|vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀sì =L =rī Lúkpɛ̂wà|
insect GEN POSS Luikpiewa
'insect of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(383)

súm		ˈrī	Lúkpêwà
|sūm	$=^{L}$	=rī	Lúkpêwà|
hair	GEN	POSS	Luikpiewa

'hair of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

The nouns that have a Construct Form 2 (secondary allomorph), see Section 3.4.2, appear in this construct form when used as heads in the Alienable Common Possessive construction, as in (384). However, the Free Form of these nouns can also be used in the Alienable Common Possessive construction.

(384)

gbɛ̀		rī	Lúkpêwà
|gbɛ̄	$=^{L}$	=rī	Lúkpêwà|
skirt.CF2	GEN	POSS	Luikpiewa

'skirt of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

8.1.5 The Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction

The Secondary Alienable Pronominal Possessive construction is formed by four pronominal modifiers that are normally used with alienably-possessed head nouns. These are the first person singular pronominal modifier *=ráā(ʔ)*, the second person singular pronominal modifier *=rúɔ̄(ʔ)*, the third person non-human pronominal modifier *=rɛ̂(ʔ),* and the third person non-human pronominal modifier *=ɔ̀*. This construction has the following structure:

(385) $[\text{Head}_{\text{ALIENABLE}} + =^{L}\text{GEN} + =\text{ráā(ʔ)}, =\text{rúɔ̄(ʔ)}, =\text{rɛ̂(ʔ)}, =\text{ɔ̀}]$

The head noun is alienably-possessed. It is connected to the pronominal modifier by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$. Like in the other Alienable Possessive constructions, the head noun can be used in its Construct Form 2, if it has one, or in its Free Form, see Section 3.4.2.

(386)

váā	vɛ́		ˈráā
|váā	vɛ́	$=^{L}$	=ráā|
child	male.CF2	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN

'my fiancé' [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

(387)

zàŋ	lɛ́	kì		ráā
|zàŋ	lɛ́	=kī	$=^{L}$	=ráā|
?	give_birth	NMLZ	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN

'my family' [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

8.1.6 Complex Alienable Possessive constructions

Inalienably-possessed nouns can be used as heads of constructions with Post-nominal Property Nouns or as heads of ordinal constructions, as in (388) and (389). When the resulting noun phrases function as the head of a Possessive construction, this Possessive construction is always alienable, as in (390) - (393). In these examples, ordinal constructions or constructions with Post-nominal Property Nouns are presented [between square brackets].

(388)

ɗúū	ɗɔ́ŋ
|ɗúū	ɗɔ́ŋ|
tooth.CF1	bigness

‘molar tooth’ (lit.: ‘big tooth’) [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

(389)

ɗɛ́ɛ́		˩nā	nɛ́˩sa̱a̱
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=ᴸ	nā	nɛ́ᴸsa̱a̱|
house.CF1	GEN	ORD	three

‘the third house’ [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(390)

[ɗúū	ɗɔ́ŋ]		˩ráā
|ɗúū	ɗɔ́ŋ	=ᴸ	=ráāᵏ|
tooth.CF1	bigness	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN

‘my molar tooth’ (lit.: ‘my big tooth’) [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

(391)

[ɗɛ́ɛ́		˩nā	nɛ́˩sa̱à̱]		rī	Àlí
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=ᴸ	nā	nɛ́ᴸsáā	=ᴸ	=rī	Àlí|
house.CF1	GEN	ORD	three	GEN	POSS	Ali

‘the third house of Ali’ [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(392)

[dɛ́ɛ́		˧ɲá		˧híŋ̱rè]
|dɛ́ɛ̄	=L	ɲá	=L	híŋrè	=L|
house.CF1	GEN	ORD	GEN	first	GEN

rí	˧tɔ̄ŋ	mí
|=rī	=L	tɔ̄ŋ	=mí|
POSS	GEN	father	1SG.POSS.INAL

'the first house of my father' [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(393)

[nɔ́ɔ̄	púūpì]		rí	
|nɔ́ɔ̄	púūpī	=L	=rī	=L|
eye.CF1	whiteness	GEN	POSS	GEN

˧wè		nɔ́		ɓɔ́ɔ́kì		sī
|wē	=L	nɔ̄	=L	ɓɔ́ɔ́kí	=L	=sī|
person.CF1	GEN	eye.CF1	GEN	blind	RES	NMLZ

'white eyes of the blind person' [KUG_20211124_BB_035]

8.2 Summary constructions with a numeral

Kugama has noun phrases that are regularly used to summarize the number of elements involved in nominal coordination or in comparison, see (394) - (396). I refer to these noun phrases as summary constructions. Structurally, they are possessive constructions with a numeral as a head and a possessive pronominal as a modifier. Only two possessive pronominals occur in summary constructions: *=rī* (3PL.HUM.POSS.ALIEN) and *=rɛ̂* (3PL.NHUM.POSS.ALIEN). The pronominal *=rī* is used for human coordinands and elements of comparison, while the pronominal *=rɛ̂* is used for non-human ones.

(394)

ɔ̀zūrúwā	dɛ́ɛ̀	Lúkpɛ̂wà	à	Bɛ̀nā	tì	sɛ́ɛ́	kī
|ɔ̀zūrúwā	dɛ́ɛ̀	Lúkpɛ̂wà	à	Bɛ̀nā	tì	sɛ́ɛ́	=kī|
Ozuruwa	CONJ	Luikpiewa	COM	Bena	PROG	fight	NMLZ

ní˧sa̱a̱	rí	˧rī
|ní˧sa̱a̱	=L	=rī	=L	=rī|
three	GEN	POSS	GEN	3PL.HUM.POSS.ALIEN

'Ozuruwa, Luikpiewa and Bena are fighting, all three of them.'

(395)

yúmˈsì	kpɛ́ɛ̰̀		kà	lûy	gbírí	wā
|yúmᴸsì	kpɛ́ɛ́	=ᴸ	kà	lûy	gbírí	=wā|
north_wind	answer.VF3	RES	3.CLM	sun	exceed	PFM

à	kál	ɛ̄
|à	kálí	=ɛ̄|
COM	be_strong	NMLZ

nîì		rí		ˈrī
|nîì	=ᴸ	=rī	=ᴸ	=rī|
two.CF1	GEN	POSS	GEN	3PL.HUM.POSS.ALIEN

'The North Wind confessed that the Sun was the stronger, among the two of them.' [KUG_20200128_AC_001]

(396)

ā	kā	tí	dìŋ		kísā	ɗéè
|ā	kā	=tí	dīŋ	=ᴸ	kísā	ɗéè|
1SG.S1	see.VF1	PFV	tree.CF1	GEN	baobab	CONJ

dìŋ		zɛ̃m	à	dìŋ		nɔ̄rī
|dīŋ	=ᴸ	zɛ̃m	à	dīŋ	=ᴸ	nɔ̄rī|
tree.CF1	GEN	tamarind	COM	tree.CF1	GEN	shea

à	dìŋ		gbèlɛ́	tì	gèp	ɛ̄
|à	dīŋ	=ᴸ	gbèlɛ́ᴸ	tì	gèpí	=ɛ̄|
COM	tree.CF1	GEN	gbele_tree	PROG	grow	NMLZ

ɓáá		háákī	níˈhɛ̰̀		rɛ̂
|ɓáā	=ᴸ	háákī	níᴸhɛ̰̄	=ᴸ	rɛ̂|
in	GEN	farm	four.CF2	GEN	3PL.NHUM.POSS.ALIEN

'I saw a baobab tree, a tamarind tree, a shea tree and a gbele tree (the species of this tree is unknown) growing in the farm, all four of them.' [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

8.3 The construction with Pre-nominal Property Nouns

There is a group of Pre-nominal Property Nouns (Section 3.2.2) that includes nouns with frozen non-productive extensions +tɛ́, +kɛ́, +lɛ́, +tɛ̀, +lɛ̀, e.g. gbɪ́ŋtɛ́lɛ̀(ᵏ) 'shortness', bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀(ᵏ) 'width', hɛ́ntɛ́lɛ̀(ᵏ) 'shallowness', fɔ̰́ŋlɛ̀(ᵏ) 'lightness (not heaviness)', sɪ́ŋkɛ́lɛ́(ᵏᴸ) ~ sɛ́ŋkɛ́lɛ́(ᵏᴸ)

'sharpness', and ideophonic nouns, e.g. síríríˊ 'narrowness', mɔ́rɔ́rɔ́ˊ 'narrowness', kpìkpítíríˊ 'thickness', tɛ̰ŋtɛ̰ŋˋ 'cleanliness, smartness', ɓɔ́ɔ̀ɓɔ̄k ~ ɓɔ́ɔ̀ɓɔ̄p 'softness', kpùkpɔ́rɔ́ˊ 'bravery, intelligence', pɛ̰pˋ 'smallness'. Pre-nominal Property Nouns are analyzed as possessee-like qualifiers. In a noun phrase, they are followed by the Genitive marker =ˋ and the noun they qualify. Such constructions are formally identical to the Inalienable Common Possessive construction (Section 8.1.1). Although syntactically these Property Nouns are heads, semantically they qualify the noun that syntactically is their dependent. Following Van de Velde (2012, 2013), these head nouns are called possessee-like qualifiers.

(397) síríríˊ ꜜɲáꜜdàkpáā
|síríríˊ =ˋ ɲáˋdàkpáā|
narrowness GEN road
'narrow road' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(398) kpìkpítíríˊ ꜜgààsì
|kpìkpítíríˊ =ˋ gààsì|
thickness GEN stick
'thick stick' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(399) fɛ̰ŋlɛ̀ sɪ̃ŋ
|fɛ̰ŋlɛ̀ =ˋ sɪ̃ŋ|
lightness GEN basket
'light basket' [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

(400) bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀ ɲáꜜdàkpáā
|bɛ̀ntɛ̀lɛ̀ =ˋ ɲáˋdàkpáā|
width GEN road
'wide road' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

8.4 Constructions with Bound Nouns

There is a small group of nouns in Kugama that cannot stand alone and that I refer to as Bound nouns (Section 3.2.4). They are listed in (401). Some of these Bound Nouns have both singular and plural forms, which specify the number of the following noun.

(401)		
	kpa̱m (SG) / kpa̱nì (~kpa̱nɛ̀)[30] (PL)	‘big (one)’
	fáà ~ fâ (SG) / sáà ~ sâ (PL)	(DIM.SG/PL), ‘small, young (one)’
	gɔ̀ɔ̀ (SG/PL) (gɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̀ (PL))	‘big (one)’
	yîì ~ yî ~ yíí^{L}	‘many (COUNT)’
	ú̱^{L} ~ ú̱ú̱^{L}	‘some, any’
	gāá^{L}	‘remaining, other (PL)’
	ɓī (SG.NHUM) / ī (PL.NHUM)	‘the one of’ / ‘the ones of’
	sóò ~ sóó^{L} ~ sô ~ só^{L}	‘adult female’
	tɛ̄	(human masculine)
	yɛ̄	(human feminine)
	tì	(animal masculine)
	yɛ́ní^{L}	(animal feminine)

Bound nouns are placed before another noun. Syntactically, I analyze these Bound Nouns as heads. These constructions look like Inalienable Possessive constructions (Section 8.1). The Genitive marker $=^{L}$ that is present in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction can also be found with these Bound Nouns. In particular, it either remains floating as in *sóó^{L}* ‘wife, woman, adult female’, *yíí^{L}* ‘many (COUNT)’, or *yéní^{L}* (animal feminine), or it is realized on the last mora of the preceding Bound Noun, as in *fáà* ‘small, young (one), DIM.SG’ and *sáà* ‘small, young (ones), DIM.PL’. The realization of the floating ^{L} tone can vary with some Bound Nouns, as in (402) and (403). Finally, the noun *ɓī* (SG.NHUM) ‘the one of’ / *ī* (PL.NHUM) ‘the ones of’ can be followed by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ if these forms are used with a Common Noun, see Section 8.4.4.

(402)		
	yíí	ˈɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
	|yíí^{L}	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
	many	house
	‘many houses’	

(403)		
	yîì	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
	|yîì	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
	many	house
	‘many houses’	

[30] The form *kpa̱nɛ̀* is found in one example.

8.4.1 Diminutive constructions

Diminutive constructions are formed by the diminutive marker *fáà ~ fâ* (SG) / *sáà ~ sâ* (PL) 'small, young (one) / DIM' and another nominal, as in (404) and (405). The diminutive marker agrees in number with the following nominal even when the latter does not have a dedicated plural form.

(404)
fáà	táāpī
|fáà	táāpī|
DIM.SG	stone

'small stone' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(405)
sáà	táāpī
|sáà	táāpī|
DIM.PL	stone

'small stones' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

Diminutive constructions like all other constructions with Bound Nouns originate from the Inalienable Common Possessive construction, which has the following structure [Head + $=^{L}$ GEN + Modifier]. The diminutive *fáà ~ fâ* / *sáà ~ sâ* was originally a noun meaning 'small one'. This is suggested not only by the formal similarity to *váā* 'child' / *sīzáā* 'children', but also by the HL tone on the diminutive marker. The initial H tone was originally (part of) the lexical tone, whereas the following L originates from the Genitive marker $=^{L}$. Formally diminutive forms are often found in compounds for animal names and kinship terms, see Section 3.5.8 for more details.

8.4.2 Augmentative constructions

There are two augmentative nouns in Kugama: *kpà̰m* (SG) / *kpà̰nì* (PL) 'big (one)' and *gɔ̀ɔ̀* (SG/PL) / (*gɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̀* (PL)) 'big (one)'. The augmentative *kpà̰m* (SG) / *kpà̰nì* (PL) 'big (one)' marks the number of the following noun. The plural form *gɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̀* 'big (ones)' is very infrequent, and is commonly replaced by the form *gɔ̀ɔ̀* that does not distinguish number.

(406)
gɔ̀ɔ̀	táāpī
|gɔ̀ɔ̀	táāpī|
big	stone

'big stone(s)' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(407) kp̰ǎn táāpī
|kp̰ǎm táāpī|
big.SG stone
'big stone' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(408) ām kp̰ǎnì ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ām kp̰ǎnì ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
PL.1SG.POSS big.PL house
'my big houses' [KUG_20170331_CY_016]

The difference between these two augmentatives is not clear. There are even several examples in my corpus with the two augmentatives being used together, see (409) and (410).

(409) kp̰ǎŋ gɔ̀ɔ̀ ɗɛ́ɛ́ kpă̰m
|kp̰ǎm gɔ̀ɔ̀ ɗɛ́ɛ̄ =ᴸ kpă̰m|
big.SG big house.CF1 GEN chief
'big house of the chief' [KUG_20170331_CY_016]

(410) kp̰ǎnì gɔ̀ɔ̀ zàà zɛ̰̂y nɛ́ʰh̰ɛ́ɛ̰̀
|kp̰ǎnì gɔ̀ɔ̀ zāā =ᴸ zɛ̰̂y nɛ́ᴸh̰ɛ́ɛ̰̀|
big.PL big leg.CF1 GEN dog four
'the four big legs of the dog' [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

The augmentative *kp̰ǎm* (SG) / *kp̰ǎnì* (PL) 'big (one)' can be used with compounds whose first element is sourced from the diminutive *fǎà ~ fǎ̂* (SG) / *sáà ~ sâ* (PL) 'small, young (one) / DIM', as in (411). I have not yet checked whether *gɔ̀ɔ̀* (SG/PL) / (*gɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̀* (PL)) 'big (one)' can be similarly used with compounds that formally include the diminutive marker.

(411) kp̰ǎm fâ gínɛ̄
|kp̰ǎm fâ gínɛ̄
big.SG DIM.SG type_of_snake
'big *gine* snake' [KUG_20180522_AC_045]

8.4.3 Constructions with quantifying and indefinite Bound Nouns

This section focuses on the three Bound Nouns with quantifying and indefinite semantics: *yîī ~ yî ~ yííᴸ* 'many (COUNT)', *ṵ̄ᴸ ~ ṵ́ṵ́ᴸ* 'some, any', and *gāáᴸ* 'remaining, other (PL)'. The quantifier *yîī ~ yî ~ yííᴸ* 'many (COUNT)' occurs only with countable nouns with plural semantics, as in (412). More information on countable and uncountable nouns is provided in Section 3.1.4.

(412)

yîì	yíī
|yîì	yíī|
many	goat

'many goats' [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

The quantifier/indefinite *ṵ̱́ᴸ ~ ú̱ṵ̱́ᴸ* 'some, any' can be used with both countable and uncountable nouns that can have singular and plural semantics. It often occurs with the generic nouns *wɛ̄m* 'person', *wɛ̄nī* 'people', and *sì* 'thing', as in (413).

(413)

wɛ̄nī	ɛ́		ˈɛ̄rī	zɔ́ntà	í	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà
|wɛ̄nī	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	ɛ̄rī	zɔ́ntà	í	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà|
people	DEM	GEN	go.VEN	now	IMPS.S1	say	3.CLM

mū	ɛ̄ɛ̄	tú	wā	
|mū	ɛ̄rí	=ᴸ	=tí	=wā|
2SG.S1	come	RES	PFV	PFM

ɓáá		ˈtɛ̄	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|ɓáā	=ᴸ	tɛ̄	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́|
inside	GEN	place	DEM	GEN	PROX

ú̱ṵ̱́	ˈwɛ̄nī	ɓáá		ˈrī
|ú̱ṵ̱́ᴸ	wɛ̄nī	ɓáā	=ᴸ	=rī|
some	people	stomach.CF1	GEN	3PL.POSS.INAL

tì	mít	ɛ̀		rī
|tì	mítí	=ɛ̄	=ᴸ	=rī|
PROG	be_upset	NMLZ	TR	3PL.O

'People who come now. They are told that you have come to this place. Some of them feel upset.' (lit.: 'some people, their stomach is upsetting them.') [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

The indefinite *gāáᴸ* 'the remaining one, other (PL)' is very infrequent in my corpus. It occurs with countable and uncountable nouns. However, the indefinite is used only with plural nouns or with nouns with the plural meaning.

(414)

gāá	ˈsì		mɔ̀k	ɛ̄
|gāáᴸ	sī	=ᴸ	mɔ̀kí	=ɛ̄|
the_remainder_of	thing.CF1	GEN	eat.VF2	NMLZ

‘leftovers’ (lit.: ‘the remainder of things of eating’) [KUG_20170422_AC_035]

(415)

gāá	ˈwɛ̄nī
|gāáᴸ	wɛ̄nī|
the_remainder_of	people

‘remaining people’ [KUG_20211218_BB_037]

8.4.4 Constructions with the non-human individualizer *ɓī / ī* ‘the one(s) of’[31]

The Bound Noun *ɓī* (SG.NHUM) ‘the one of’ / *ī* (PL.NHUM) ‘the ones of’ agrees in number with the noun it refers to. In (416) and (417), the bound form *ɓī* refers to the noun *fâ nɔ̄y* ‘bird’, whereas the form *ī* refers to the noun *sâ nɔ̄y* ‘birds’.

(416)

fâ	nɔ̄y	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́	ɓɔ
|fâ	nɔ̄y	=ɛ́	ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɓɔ|
DIM.SG	bird	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S2

ɓī	púūpī
|ɓī	púūpī|
the_one_of	whiteness

‘This bird, it is white.’ [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

[31] Non-human individualizer *ɓī* (SG.NHUM) / *ī* (PL.NHUM) shows formal similarities with the non-human pronominals *ɓɔ* (SG) and *ɔ* (PL).

(417)

sâ	nɔ̄y	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́	ɔ̀
|sâ	nɔ̄y	=ɛ́	L	=rɛ́	ɔ̀|
DIM.PL	bird	DEM	GEN	PROX	3PL.NHUM.S2

ī	púūpī
|ī	púūpī|
the_ones_of	whiteness

'These birds, they are white.' [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

The Bound Noun *ɓī* / *ī* refers to non-human nouns. If the reference is to humans, the nouns *wēm* 'person' and *wēnī* 'people' are used, as in (418).

(418)

à	wē	púūpī	à	mɛ́
|à	wē	púūpī	à	mɛ́|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	whiteness	COM	1SG.NS

'I am white.' [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

Noun phrases with the Bound Noun *ɓī* / *ī* have the same structure as the Inalienable Proprial and Common Possessive constructions as well as constructions with Post-nominal Property Nouns. When *ɓī* / *ī* is followed by a Common Noun, the latter noun is connected by the Genitive marker =^{L}, as in (419). If the Bound Noun comes before a Proprial Noun or a Post-nominal Property Noun, the Genitive marker =^{L} is not used, as in (420), (416) - (418).

(419)

ɓì		wēm
|ɓī	=^{L}	wēm|
the_one_of	GEN	person

'the one of the person'

(420)

ɓī	Àlí
|ɓī	Àlí|
the_one_of	Ali

'the one of Ali'

8.4.5 Constructions with female and male qualifiers

Kugama has the following female and male qualifiers: *sóò ~ sóó*^{L} *~ sô ~ só*^{L} 'adult (non-human) female', *tɛ̄* '(human) male', *yɛ̄* '(human) female', *tì* '(non-human) male' and *yɛ́ní* '(non-human) female', see (421) - (423). Since I treat the constructions with these qualifiers as compounds, see Section 3.5.9 for more details.

(421) sóò gérɛ́ ˡdɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|sóò gérɛ̄ =L dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
adult_female pig GEN house
'sow (female domestic pig)' (lit.: 'female pig of the house') [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(422) yɛ́ní ˡgbɛ̀nɛ̄
|yɛ́níL gbɛ̀nɛ̄|
female horse
'mare' [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(423) tɛ̄ ɓáám ɛ̄
|tɛ̄ ɓáámí =ɛ̄|
male be_old.VF4 NMLZ
'grandparent (male), ancestor (male), mother's brother (elder), someone from mother's side' [KUG_20170511_YF_066]

Noun phrases with these qualifiers originate from possessive constructions. The qualifiers *tì* '(non-human) male' and *yɛ́ní* '(non-human) female' are probably lexicalized construct forms of the nouns *tɔ̄ŋ* 'father' and *yɛ̄ŋ* 'mother' followed by the Genitive marker =L. The qualifiers *tɛ̄* '(human) male' and *yɛ̄* '(human) female' are also lexicalized construct forms of the nouns *tɔ̄ŋ* 'father' and *yɛ̄ŋ* 'mother', but without the Genitive marker =L.

8.5 The construction with Post-nominal Property Nouns

There is a group of Post-nominal Property Nouns (Section 3.2.3) that usually occur in noun phrases as modifiers. Structurally, these nouns phrases are similar to the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, as the head noun and the following Post-nominal Property Noun are not connected by the Genitive marker =L. For example, (424) is an instance of the Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, while (425) is an instance of the construction with a Post-nominal Property Noun. However, these two constructions may differ in the choice of the allomorph of the head noun. In particular, some nouns can have three different forms: a Free From, a Construct Form 1 and a Construct Form 2. For example, the noun *dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́* 'house' is used in its Free Form when followed by a Post-nominal Property Noun, while the same noun is used in its Construct Form 1 *dɛ́ɛ̄* 'house (CF1)' in Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction, see (424) and (425) again.

(424)

ɗɛ́ɛ̄	Lúkpêwà
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	Lúkpêwà|
house.CF1	Luikpiewa

'house of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

(425)

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	ˈvíīpī
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L}	víīpī|
house	blackness

'black house' [KUG_20211110_BB_031]

The choice of the allomorph of a noun when modified by a particular Post-nominal Property Noun may be variable. For example, some CVy stems can be used in their Construct Form 1 in one example, and in their Free Form in other examples, as in (426) and (427). This variation of allomorphs (Free Form vs. Construct Form) is also found in the Ordinal construction and Alienable Possessive constructions. The choice of the allomorph of the noun is much more fixed in the Inalienable Common Possessive construction and Inalienable Proprial Possessive construction.

(426)

nɔ́ɔ̄	púūpī
|nɔ́ɔ̄	púūpī|
eye.CF1	whiteness

'white eyes' [KUG_20211124_BB_035]

(427)

hɔ̄y	ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄
|hɔ̄y	ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄|
calabash	redness

'red calabash' [KUG_20211110_BB_031]

The group of Post-nominal Property Nouns includes nouns that express color, e.g. *víīpī* 'blackness', *púūpī* 'whiteness', *ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄* 'redness', *sɔ́ɔ̄rī* 'green', or other properties, e.g. *ɗɔ́ŋ* 'bigness, supremacy, oldness', *pɔ̄y* 'novelty', *hɛ́ɛ́nī* 'tallness, longness', *ɓáánī* 'oldness', *tą̄ą́nī* 'sweetness', *gɛ̀ɛ̄pī* 'bigness'. Disyllabic nouns of this group historically originate from verbs.

(428)

wɛ̄	ɗɔ́ŋ
|wɛ̄	ɗɔ́ŋ|
person.CF1	oldness

'elder' [KUG_20170511_YF_067]

(429)
sĭŋ	ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄
|sĭŋ	ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄|
basket	redness

‘red basket(s)’ [KUG_20181205_BB_076]

(430)
gààsì	hɛ́ɛ́nī
|gààsì	hɛ́ɛ́nī|
stick	longness

‘long stick(s)’ [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

Nouns of this group do not occur alone in a phrase. If there is no specific head noun, the noun *wɛ̄* ‘person (CF1)’, *wɛ̄nī* ‘people’ or the non-human individualizer *ɓī / ī* ‘the one(s) of’ occur as the head of a construction with one of these Post-nominal Property Nouns. For example, this takes place when a Post-nominal Property Noun qualifies the subject of the clause, as in (431).

(431)
fâ	nɔ̄y	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́	ɓɔ̀
|fâ	nɔ̄y	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɓɔ̀|
DIM.SG	bird	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S2

ɓī	púūpī
|ɓī	púūpī|
the_one_of	whiteness

‘This bird, it is white.’ [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

8.6 Constructions with numeral modifiers

8.6.1 Cardinal constructions

Cardinal constructions are formed through juxtaposition of the Free form of a noun and a cardinal numeral (Sections 3.2.1 and 5.1), as schematized in (432).

(432) [Noun + Cardinal numeral]

(433)
bíˈná	ɓíní
|bíᴸná	ɓíní|
granary	one

‘one granary’ [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

(434)

	dą̱ą́	ˡkɔ́p
	|dą̱ą́^{L}	kɔ́p|
	sheep	ten

‘ten sheep’ [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

(435)

	tɛ̱ɛ̱	níīrī
	|tɛ̱ɛ̱	níīrī|
	chicken	two

‘two chickens’ [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

(436)

	zɛ̄y	mɛ̄	ɓíní[32]
	|zɛ̄y	mɛ̄	ɓíní|
	leg	twenty	one

‘twenty-one legs’ [KUG_20181129_BB_064]

(437)

	wɛ̄nī	mī	kɔ́p	tí	néˡhɛ́ɛ̱	kì	ɓíní
	|wɛ̄nī	mī	kɔ́p	tí	né^{L}hɛ́ɛ̱	kì	ɓíní|
	people	twenty	ten	plus	four	plus	one

‘two hundred and eighty-one people’ [KUG_20180503_AC_030]

When a noun needs to be modified by a deictic demonstrative and a cardinal numeral modifier at the same time, the numeral is construed as a relative clause, as in (438) and (439). Such a relative clause involves the demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* after the head noun and a deictic demonstrative (e.g. *=rɛ́* PROX) at the end of the relative clause (see Section 15.6 on relative clauses). Relative clauses are presented [between square brackets].

(438)

	zìì̀mā	[á		ˡníīrī	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́]
	|zìì̀mā	=ɛ́	=^{L}	níīrī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ|
	needle	DEM	GEN	two	DEM	GEN	PROX

‘these two needles’ (lit.: ‘these needles that are two’) [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

[32] More information on numerals above 10 that are multiples of 10 is provided in Section 5.1.3.

(439)

yɛ́ŋ		ˡām	wɛ̄nī	sóōrī	[ɛ́	
|yɛ̄ŋ	=ᴸ	ām	wɛ̄nī	sóōrī	=ɛ́	=ᴸ|
mother	GEN	PL.1SG.POSS	people	adult_female	DEM	GEN

níīrī	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́]
|níīrī	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́|
two	DEM	GEN	PROX

'the mothers of these two my wives' (lit.: 'mothers of these my wives that are two') [KUG_20211124_BB_035]

8.6.2 Ordinal constructions

Ordinal constructions are formed with the Genitive marker =ᴸ and the Ordinal marker *nā*. Both markers are placed between the head noun and a cardinal numeral. Ordinal noun phrases for 'first' are formed either with the phrase *ɲá ˡhi̱ŋrè* 'first' or by the combination of *nā* and the cardinal numeral ɓíní(ᴸ) 'one', see (440).

(440) a. [Noun + =ᴸ GEN + ɲá ORD + =ᴸ GEN + hi̱ŋrè 'first']
b. [Noun + =ᴸ GEN + nā ORD + Cardinal numeral]

Nouns can occur in their Free Form or Construct Form 1, if they have the latter. CVy stems occur in their Construct Form 2.

(441)

ɗɛ́ɛ́		ˡnā	nɛ́ˡsa̱a̱
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=ᴸ	nā	nɛ́ᴸsa̱a̱|
house.CF1	GEN	ORD	three

'the third house' [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(442)

hɔ́		ˡɲá		ˡhi̱ŋrè
|hɔ́	=ᴸ	ɲá	=ᴸ	hi̱ŋrè|
calabash.CF2	GEN	ORD	GEN	first

'the first calabash' [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(443)

hɔ́		ˡnā	ɓíní
|hɔ́	=ᴸ	nā	ɓíní|
calabash.CF2	GEN	ORD	one

'the first calabash' [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(444)

hɔ́		ˈnā	níīrī
|hɔ́	=L	nā	níīrī|
calabash.CF2	GEN	ORD	two

'the second calabash' [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

The ordinal marker *nā* can be deleted if the final lexical tone of the head noun is either M or H. While the ordinal marker can be deleted, the Genitive marker =L stays there. For example, the noun *váā* 'child' can be used without the ordinal marker *nā*, as in (445), where the Genitive marker =L deletes the M tone of *váā* resulting in a HL contour. However, it is not possible to delete the ordinal marker *nā* after the noun *dìŋsì* 'tree' with a final lexical L tone, presumably because the ordinal noun phrase without *nā* will not be distinguishable from the cardinal noun phrase, see (446) and (447).

(445)

váà		(nā)	nɛ́ˈsa̰a̰
|váā	=L	nā	nɛ́Lsa̰a̰|
child	GEN	ORD	three

'the third child' [KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(446)

dìŋsì		nā	níīrī
|dìŋsì	=L	nā	níīrī|
tree	GEN	ORD	two

'the second tree' [KUG_20181205_BB_076]

(447)

dìŋsì	níīrī
|dìŋsì	níīrī|
tree	two

'two trees'

8.7 Constructions with the Demonstrative marker =*ɛ́*

The Demonstrative marker =*ɛ́* occurs after the head noun. The marker is always followed by the Genitive marker =L. It is involved in the formation of relative clauses (448a) and it connects the head noun with the deictic demonstrative modifiers =*rɛ́* (PROX) and =*sòrè* (DIST) or the anaphoric marker =*lé*, (448b).

(448) a. [Noun + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN + Relative clause]
b. [Noun + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN + =ré PROX / =sòrè DIST / =lé ANAPH]

Nouns that are immediately followed by the Demonstrative *=ɛ́* are always used in their Free From, see examples below. More information about the Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* is provided in Section 7.1.

(449)

wɛ̄nī	ɛ́		˩ré
|wɛ̄nī	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́|
people	DEM	GEN	PROX

'these people' [KUG_20181203_BB_069]

(450)

zìɪ̀mā	á		˩sòrè
|zìɪ̀mā	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=sòrè|
needle	DEM	GEN	DIST

'that needle', 'those needles' [KUG_20181203_BB_069]

(451)

wə̀m	ɛ́		˩lé
|wə̀m	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=lé|
beans	DEM	GEN	ANAPH

'the aforementioned beans' [KUG_20181203_BB_069]

8.8 Constructions with the Definite marker *=rɛ̂ ~ =rɛ́*

Noun phrases with the Definite marker =rɛ̂ ~ =rɛ́ have the following structure:

(452) [Noun + $=^{L}$ GEN + $=rɛ̂^{k}$ ~ $=rɛ́^{kL}$ DEF]

The Genitive marker $=^{L}$ is placed between the head noun and the Definite marker *=rɛ̂ ~ =rɛ́*.[33] All head nouns are used in the Free Form. More information on the Definite marker is provided in Section 7.4.

[33] Given that the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ is used to link not just two nouns but also a noun to the Definite marker *=rɛ́ ~ =rɛ̂*, it could also be refered to by a broader term such as *Attributive linker*.

(453) zììmà rɛ̂
|zììmā =L =rɛ̂k|
needle GEN DEF
'the needle' [KUG_20181203_BB_069]

(454) nîŋ rɛ̂
|n̄îŋ =L =rɛ̂k|
name GEN DEF
'the name' [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

8.9 Constructions with free possessive pronominals

Free possessive pronominals originate from the combination of the Bound Noun *ɓī* (SG.NHUM) 'the one (of)' / *ī* (PL.NHUM) 'the ones (of)' and bound inalienable possessive pronominals.

Possessor	Possessee	
	SG	PL
1SG	ɓām	ām
2SG	ɓūɔ̄(ʔ~k)	ūɔ̄(ʔ~k)
3SG.HUM	ɓɛ̄rɛ́(ʔ~k)(L) ~ ɓɛ̀rɛ̄(ʔ~k)	ɛ̄rɛ́(ʔ~k)(L) ~ ārɛ́(ʔ~k)(L) ~ ɛ̀rɛ̄(ʔ~k)
1PL	ɓītɔ́(ʔ~k)(L) ~ ɓītú(ʔ~k)(L)	ītɔ́(ʔ~k)(L) ~ ītú(ʔ~k)(L)
2PL	ɓīnɔ́(ʔ~k)(L) ~ ɓīnú(ʔ~k)(L)	īnɔ́(ʔ~k)(L) ~ īnú(ʔ~k)(L)
3PL.HUM	ɓìrī(ʔ~k) ~ ɓɛ̀rī(ʔ~k)	ìrī(ʔ~k) ~ ɛ̀rī(ʔ~k) ~ ɛ̄rí(ʔ~k)
3SG/PL.NHUM	?	?

Table 34. Free possessive pronominals

The Free possessive pronominals can stand alone in a phrase, as in (455).

(455)

dɛ̄		gə̰	kì		ērέ	sə̰m
|dɛ̄	=è	gə̰	=kī	=L	ērέ	sə̰m|
3SG.HUM.S2	PROG	do	NMLZ	TR	PL.3SG.POSS	work

mɛ́	ɓɔ́	nɛ̀
|mɛ́	ɓɔ́	nɛ̀|
1SG.S3	also	EMPH

mɛ̄		gə̰	kì		ām
|mɛ̄	=è	gə̰	=kī	=L	ām|
1SG.S2	PROG	do	NMLZ	TR	PL.1SG.POSS

‘(We woke up, prayed first,) she was doing her work, and I was doing mine.’
[KUG_20200130_AC_007]

In addition, free possessive pronominals can form a noun phrase with another noun. In this case, a free pronominal precedes the noun it modifies, as in (456) - (458). Free possessive pronominals agree in number with the noun they modify.

(456)

ɓām	váā
|ɓām	váā|
SG.1SG.POSS	child

‘my child’ [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(457)

ām	sízáā
|ām	sízáā|
PL.1SG.POSS	children

‘my children’ [KUG_20170524_AC_075]

(458)

ɓītɔ́	ˈnɔ́ɔ́		lɛ̄y
|ɓītɔ́L	nɔ́ɔ̄	=L	lɛ̄y|
SG.1PL.POSS	eye.CF1	GEN	fire

‘our gun’ (lit.: ‘our eye of fire’) [KUG_20170524_AC_076]

8.10 Constructions with *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī / ìrī ~ èrī* ‘which one(s)?’

Noun phrases with the selective interrogative pronominals *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* ‘which one?’ / *ìrī ~ èrī* ‘which ones?’ have the following structure:

(459) [ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī ‘which one’ / ìrī ~ èrī ‘which ones’ + Noun]

The selective interrogative pronominal forms *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* ‘which one?’ / *ìrī ~ èrī* ‘which ones?’ may be related to the third plural free possessive pronominals *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* (SG.3PL.HUM) and *ìrī ~ èrī ~ ērí* (PL.3PL.HUM). Like the Free possessive pronominals, the noun *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* ‘which one?’ / *ìrī ~ èrī* ‘which ones?’ can be used on its own in a phrase, as in (460). It can also precede a noun it modifies. In this case, the interrogative marks the number of the following noun, as in (461).

(460)

ìrī	ɓúrí	à	kál	ɛ̄	è	yī
|ìrī	ɓúrí	à	kálí	=ɛ̄	=è	=yí|
which_ones	exceed	COM	be_strong	NMLZ	PRST	QM.CON

‘Which ones (several out of many) are stronger?’ [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

(461)

ɓìrī	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	kpǎm	māā	rí	ɛ́	ˈyí
|ɓìrī	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	kpǎm	māā	=rí	=è	=yí|
which_one	house	chief	build	PFV	PRST	QM.CON

‘[I see several houses] Which house has the chief built?’
[KUG_20170423_LP_036_1_044]

The noun *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* ‘which one?’ / *ìrī ~ èrī* ‘which ones?’ is involved in the formation of ‘which one?’-questions (Section 13.4.4), and noun phrases with the universal determiner ‘every’ (Section 6.2).

8.11 Noun phrase coordination

8.11.1 Noun phrase conjunction

8.11.1.1 Coordination with the conjunction *ɗîì ~ ɗɛ́è ~ íì ~ ɛ́è*

Two nouns are coordinated within one noun phrase by means of the conjunction marker *ɗîì ~ ɗɛ́è ~ íì ~ ɛ́è*[34] ‘and’. The noun phrase with this conjunction can function as subject (462), direct object (463) or prepositional complement (464), (465). As a coordinator, this marker is used only for noun phrase conjunction.

[34] These forms *ɗîì ~ ɗɛ́è ~ íì ~ ɛ́è* are examples of inter-speaker variation: AC uses the form *ɗîì ~ ɗɛ́è* and BB uses the form *íì ~ ɛ́è*.

(562)

Fātímà	ɗéè	Àlí	tì	sɛ̰́ɛ̰́	kī
|Fātímà	ɗéè	Àlí	tì	sɛ̰́ɛ̰́	=kī|
Fatima	CNJ	Ali	PROG	fight	NMLZ

‘Fatima and Ali are fighting.’ [KUG_20170525_AC_082]

(463)

à	mɔ̀	kì		máŋˈgɔ̀rɔ̀	ɗĩ̀	àyàbà
|à	mɔ̀	=kī	=L	máŋLgɔ̀rɔ̀	ɗĩ̀	àyàbà|
1SG.S4	eat.VF1	NMLZ	TR	mango	CNJ	banana

‘I will eat mangoes and bananas (all of them together).’ [KUG_20181122_AC_056]

(464)

á	gɔ̰̀	sɔ̰̀m	à	ɗúúkī	ɗĩ̀	kāā
|á	gɔ̰̀	sɔ̰̀m	à	ɗúúkī	ɗĩ̀	kāā|
1SG.S1	do.VF1	work	COM	hoe	CNJ	machete

‘I work with a hoe and a machete.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

(465)

tɛ̄ɛ̄pì		ré	ˈsó		ˈtí
|tɛ̄ɛ̄pī	=L	=rékL	só	=L	=tí|
rat	GEN	DEF	enter.VF1	RES	PFV

ɗɛ́ɛ́		ˈtú
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=L	=tú|
house.CF1	GEN	1PL.POSS.INAL

kpáá		ˈŋáá		ˈkpáā	ɗĩ̀	pūy
|kpáā	=L	ŋáā	=L	kpáā	ɗĩ̀	pūy|
through	GEN	mouth.CF1	GEN	way	CNJ	hole

‘The rats entered our house through a door and through holes.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

The forms *ɗĩ̀ ~ ɗéè* are probably derived from for the third-person human plural pronominal *ɗĩ̌* and the Comitative preposition *à / =è*, while the forms *ì ~ éè* are probably formed from for the third-person human impersonal pronominal *í* and the Comitative preposition *à / =è.* This hypothesis can be supported by the presence of the Comitative preposition *à / =è* in the coordination of subsequent coordinands, as described in Section 8.11.1.2. The conjunction marker *ɗĩ̀* and the second coordinand are not included in the predicate group (Section 11.3), as they are separated from the first coordinand by the predicate-final marker *=wā*, as in (466) and (467).

(466)

á	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	Lúkpêwà	wà	dʃ̂ì	Yáálóˈ
|á	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	Lúkpêwà	=wā	dʃ̂ì	Yáálóˈ|
1SG.S1	like	Luikpiewa	PFM	CONJ	Yaalo

‘I like Luikpiewa and Yaalo.’ [KUG_20201123_BB_015]

(467)

á	pɔ̄	súˈɓùkɔ̀	wà	dʃ̂ì	wàà
|á	pɔ̄	súᴸɓùkɔ̄	=wā	dʃ̂ì	wàā|
1SG.S1	farm.VF1	maize	PFM	CNJ	beans

‘I farm maize and beans.’ [KUG_20180420_BB_010]

8.11.1.2 Coordination with the conjunction *dʃ̂ì ~ dɛ́ɛ̀ ~ ì̂ ~ ɛ́ɛ̀* and the Comitative *à / =ɛ̀*

When the noun phrase includes more than two coordinands, the third and any other subsequent coordinands are introduced by the Comitative preposition *à / =ɛ̀*, as schematized in (468).

(468) [noun$_1$ + *dʃ̂ì ~ dɛ́ɛ̀ ~ ì̂ ~ ɛ́ɛ̀* CONJ + noun$_2$ + *à* COM + noun$_3$ + *à* COM + noun$_4$ …]

(469)

á	kā	tí	dìŋ		kísā		
|á	kā	=tí	dīŋ	=ᴸ	kísā|		
1SG.S1	see.VF1	PFV	tree.CF1	GEN	baobab		
dʃ̂ì	dìŋ		zɛ̂m	à	dìŋ		nɔ̄rɛ̄
|dʃ̂ì	dīŋ	=ᴸ	zɛ̂m	à	dīŋ	=ᴸ	nɔ̄rɛ̄|
CONJ	tree.CF1	GEN	tamarind	COM	tree.CF1	GEN	shea
à	dìŋ		gbɛ̀lɛ́	tì	gɛ̀p	ɛ̄	
|à	dīŋ	=ᴸ	gbɛ̀lɛ́	tì	gɛ̀pí	=ɛ̄|	
COM	tree.CF1	GEN	type_of_tree	PROG	grow	NMLZ	
ɓáá		ˈháákī	néˈhɛ̰̀		rɛ̂		
|ɓáā	=ᴸ	háákī	néᴸhɛ̰̄	=ᴸ	=rɛ̂|		
in	GEN	farm	four.CF1	GEN	3PL.NHUM.POSS.ALIEN:?		

‘I saw a baobab tree, a tamarind tree, a shea tree and a *gbele* tree growing in the farm, all four of them.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

8.11.1.3 Coordination through juxtaposition

I found a few examples in which coordinands are simply juxtaposed. This juxtaposition possibly takes place when coordinands are simply listed, as in (470).

(470)

wè		pɔ̄	kī	wè		láá	kī
|wē	$=^{L}$	pɔ̄	=kī	wē	$=^{L}$	láá	=kī|
person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	person.CF1	GEN	fish	NMLZ

wè		bɛ̀	kī	tì	sa̰	a̰l	ɛ̄
|wē	$=^{L}$	bɛ̀	=kī	tì	sa̰	=Vlí	=ɛ̄
person.CF1	GEN	hunt.VF1	NMLZ	PROG	speak	PLAC	NMLZ

né^{ꜜ}sa̰a̰		rí		^{ꜜ}rī
|né^{L}sa̰ā	$=^{L}$	=rī	$=^{L}$	=rī|
three	GEN	POSS	GEN	3PL.HUM.POSS.INAL

'A farmer, fisherman, and hunter are talking, all three of them.' [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

8.11.1.4 Sequential nominal coordination with *ká ~ kā*

The marker *dîì ~ déè ~ îì ~ éè* is used for simultaneous coordination of nouns (Section 8.11.1.1), whereas the conjunction marker *ká ~ kā* 'and then, before' implies the sequence of coordinated items, as in (471). The marker can be also used in clause coordination, see Section 15.5.1.

(471)

à	mɔ̀	kì		máŋ^{ꜜ}gɔ̀rɔ̀	ká	àyàbà
|à	mɔ̀	=kī	$=^{L}$	máŋ^{L}gɔ̀rɔ̀	ká	àyàbà|
1SG.S4	eat.VF1	NMLZ	TR	mango	then	banana

'I will eat mangoes and then bananas.' [KUG_20181122_AC_056]

8.11.2 Noun phrase disjunction

Noun phrase disjunction is expressed through the marker *kɔ́(ɔ́)* 'or', see (472) and (473). It is related to the Hausa *kóó* 'or, whether, introduces question, perhaps, even, even if'. The marker is used for noun coordination and clause coordination. When two alternatives are provided, it can be repeated twice, as in (474).

(472)

á	gɔ̰	sɔ̰m	à	ɗóókī	kɔ́ɔ́	^{ꜜ}à	kāā
|á	gɔ̰	sɔ̰m	à	ɗóókī	kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	à	kāā|
1SG.S1	do.VF1	work	COM	hoe	or	COM	machete

'I work with a hoe or with a machete.' [KUG_20181122_AC_056]

(473)

á	bɛ̄ɛ̄	wɛ̄nī	dĩ	pɔ̄lú
|á	bɛ̄ɛ̄	wɛ̄nī	dĩ	pɔ̄lí|
1SG.S1	look_for	people	3PL.HUM.S1	farm.VF2

ɓɔ̀	à	náákī	kɔ́ɔ́	mɔ́ɔ́tà
|ɓɔ̀	à	náákī	kɔ́ɔ́	mɔ́ɔ́tà|
3SG.NHUM.NS	COM	cow	or	car

‘(When I clear the farm), I look for people to plant it either by a cow or a tractor.’ [KUG_20180420_BB_010]

(474)

má	nɔ́ɔ́		ˈsúɓùkɔ̄	ɓɔ́lùū			tú	wā
|má	nɔ́ɔ̄	$=^{L}$	súɓùkɔ̄	ɓɔ́lí	$=^{L}$	=rī	=tí	=wā|
EMPH	seed.CF1	GEN	maize	germinate	RES	VEN	PFV	PFM

ā	yàk	ɔ́	ˈpa̱n	ɛ̄
|ā	yàkí	=ɔ̀	pa̱ní	=ɛ̄|
1SG.S1	allow.VF2	3PL.NHUM.O	do.VF2	NMLZ

kɔ́ɔ́	ɓàà	séè		ɓíní	kɔ́ɔ́	ˈséé		níīrī
|kɔ́ɔ́	ɓàà	séē	$=^{L}$	ɓíní	kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	séē	$=^{L}$	níīrī|
or	like	month	GEN	one	or	month	GEN	two

‘Once maize seeds germinate, I leave the germinated sprouts to keep growing for one or two months.’ (lit.: ‘I allow them either for one or two months.’) [KUG_20180420_BB_010]

8.11.3 The coordinator *sé(é) ~ séy* ‘but, except’

The coordinator *sé(é) ~ séy* ‘but, except’ originates from the Hausa coordinator *sái* ‘then, if, until, unless, etc.’. It is used for both noun phrase and clause coordination (Section 15.5.2).

(475)

sɛ́ɛ́	ˈwɛ̄nī	ɗɔ́ŋ	ɛ́		ˈɓáá		ˈdùrɛ̄	ɛ̀
|sɛ́ɛ́^{L}	wɛ̄nī	ɗɔ́ŋ	=ɛ́	=^{L}	ɓáā	=^{L}	ˈdùrɛ̄	=ɛ̀|
but	people	bigness	DEM	GEN	in	GEN	clan	PRST

ɗĭ	ɛ̀		sɔ́	kī
|ɗĭ	=ɛ̄	=ɛ̀	sɔ́	=kī|
3PL.HUM.S3	PRST	FUT	enter.VF1	NMLZ

mɛ́ɛ̄	rɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|mɛ́ɛ̄	=rɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́^{kL}|
towards	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL	GEN	DEF

‘(But if he is inside, people cannot enter inside of the shelter), except for elders who are in the clan, they are the ones who can enter [inside] to him.’
[KUG_20170405_JW_023]

(476)

ɗɛ́	ɲā	gɔ̰	ṵ́	ˈsì	ā̰
|ɗɛ́	ɲā	gɔ̰	ṵ́^{L}	sì	ā̰|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	do.VF1	some	thing	NEG

sɛ́y	mɔ̀	kì
|sɛ́y	mɔ̀	=kī|
but	eat	NMLZ

‘S/he does nothing but eat.’ [KUG_20200204_BB_011]

9 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

9.1 Comitative *à / =ɛ̀*

The preposition *à / =ɛ̀* functions as a comitative, instrumental, and general locative marker, see (477) - (482). I refer to it as *Comitative preposition* in my description. The Comitative preposition *à / =ɛ̀* combines with nouns, pronominals and other locative and directional prepositions. It has two forms, one independent, viz. *à*, and one cliticized, viz. *=ɛ̀*.

(477)

tó	nɔ̄kí	tí	háŋkɛ̄	tɔ́ɔ̀		Lúkpêwà
|tó	nɔ̄kí	=tí	háŋkɛ̄	tɔ́	=ɛ̀	Lúkpêwà|
1PL.S1	cook.VF2	PFV	soup	1PL.?	COM	Luikpiewa

'We cooked the soup together with Luikpiewa.' (lit.: 'We cooked the soup we with Luikpiewa.') [KUG_20200129_AC_006]

(478)

tó	nɔ̄kí	tí	háŋkɛ̄	à	tą̰ą̄		ꜜkpàm
|tó	nɔ̄kí	=tí	háŋkɛ̄	à	tą̰ą̄	=^{L}	kpà̰m|
1PL.S1	cook.VF2	PFV	soup	COM	ashes	GEN	chief

'We cooked the soup with salt.' (lit.: 'We cooked the soup with ashes of the chief.') [KUG_20200129_AC_006]

(479)

Yáálò	kààmì		tí	tâŋ		rɛ̂	wā	à	méɛ̄
|Yáálò	kàámí	=^{L}	=tí	táŋ	=^{L}	=rɛ̂^{k}	=wā	à	méɛ̄|
Yaalo	fill.VF4	RES	PFV	pot.CF1	GEN	DEF	PFM	COM	water

'Yaalo has filled the pot with water.' [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

(480)

á	gɔ̰̀	tí	dĩ̄ĩ	à	sì		láá	kī
|á	gɔ̰̀	=tí	dĩ̄ĩ	à	sī	=^{L}	láá	=kī|
1SG.S1	catch.VF1	PFV	fish	COM	thing.CF1	GEN	fish	NMLZ

'I caught fish with a net.' (lit.: 'I caught fish with the thing of fishing.') [KUG_20170525_AC_080]

(481)

ā	á	tí	Yɔ́ɔ́là	à	mɔ́ɔ́tā
|ā	á	=tí	Yɔ́ɔ́là	à	mɔ́ɔ́tā|
1SG.S1	go	PFV	Yola	COM	car

'I went to Yola by car.' [KUG_20200129_AC_006]

(482)

mɛ̄	tì	á	kī	à	ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$gɔ̀rɛ̄
|mɛ̄	tì	á	=kī	à	ɓáá^{L}gɔ̀rɛ̄|
1SG.S2	PROG	go	NMLZ	COM	Baagore

'I am going to Baagore.' [KUG_20200129_AC_006]

The Comitative *à / =ɛ̀* introduces the parameter of comparison, as in (483), certain nouns functioning as time or manner adverbials, as in (484), and the coordinand in phrases with nominal coordination (Section 8.11).

(483)

zìɪ̀mā	á		$^{\downarrow}$ré	ɓɔ̀	ɓúrú	wā
|zìɪ̀mā	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=ré	ɓɔ̀	ɓúrí	=wā|
needle	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM	exceed	PFM

à	síŋkɛ́lɛ́
|à	síŋkɛ́lɛ́|
COM	sharpness

'This needle is sharper.', 'This needle is the sharpest.' ('This needle exeeds in sharpness.') [KUG_20180423_BB_019]

(484)

dɛ̄	mɔ̀ɔ̀		rí	nɔ́ɔ́		$^{\downarrow}$wǎm	lɛ́
|dɛ̄	mɔ̀ɔ̀	$=^{L}$	=rí	nɔ́ɔ̄	$=^{L}$	wǎm	lɛ́^{L}|
3SG.HUM.S1	eat.VF3	RES	PFV	seed.CF1	GEN	beans	before

$^{\downarrow}$à	dààzéɛ̄
|à	dààzéɛ̄|
COM	night

'S/he ate beans tonight.' [KUG_20181127_BB_062]

Some verbs introduce their complement with the Comitative preposition *à / =ɛ̀*, as in (485). With motion verbs such as *só* 'enter (somewhere)', *á* 'go (somewhere)', *ɲáŋ* 'leave (somewhere)' the Comitative *à* indicates direction 'in' or 'to', as in (486). When the verb has the Ventive marker *=rī*, the Comitative denotes the movement 'from', as in (487). Not only motion verbs can be used with the Ventive *=rī* and the Comitative *à / =ɛ̀*, see (487).

(485)

mɛ́	ɲà		yɛ́mī	kī	à	ɓɔ̀	à̱
|mɛ́	ɲā	=ɛ̀	yɛ́mī	=kī	à	ɓɔ̀	à̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	FUT	forget	NMLZ	COM	3SG.NHUM.NS	NEG

'I will not forget it.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_41]

(486)

tó	sóò		wà	à	ɓáá		ꜜbŏm		ꜜtɛ̰̰̄pī
|tó	sóó	=L	=wā	à	ɓáā	=L	bŏm	=L	tɛ̰̰̄pī|
1PL.S1	enter.VF3	RES	PFM	COM	in	GEN	hut	GEN	darkness

'We have entered the dark hut.' [KUG_20200129_AC_006]

(487)

ā	váá	rí	tí	à	Sīndīgāwɔ̄
|ā	váá	=rī	=tí	à	Sīndīgāwɔ̄|
1SG.S1	marry	VEN	PFV	COM	Sindigawo

'I got married in Sindigawo (and came back to Mayo-Belwa (from there)).' [KUG_20200204_BB_011]

Identificational constructions (Section 11.1.2) are also formed with the Comitative preposition *à / =ɛ̀* that comes before a non-subject pronominal, demonstrative pronominal or human proper name, as in (488). Locative clauses commonly do not have this preposition in the predicate position. It does not occur together with locative prepositions or with nouns which have location semantics (such as *ɓááꜜtóō* 'bush' (lit.: 'inside the grass'), *dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́* 'house', etc.), see (489).

(488)

à	wɛ̀		pɔ̄	kī	à	mɛ́
|à	wɛ̄	=L	pɔ̄	=kī	à	=mɛ́|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	COM	1SG.NS

'I am/was a farmer.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(489)

mɛ̄	ɓááꜜtóō
|mɛ̄	ɓáá[L]tóō|
1SG.S2	bush

'I am/was in the bush.' [KUG_20180425_AC_020]

Note, however, that there are a number of examples in my database where locative, directional and other non-locative prepositions are used together with the Comitative preposition *à / =ɛ̀*, as in (490) and (491).

(490)

dī	yósí	rɛ́ɛ̄		ɓáá		ˡbɔ̌m
|dī	yósí	=rɛ́	=ɛ̀	ɓáā	=L	bɔ̌m|
3PL.HUM.S1	place	3SG.HUM.O	COM	in	GEN	hut

'They place it [corpse] inside of the hut.' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

(491)

mɔ́	óò		hìī	rɔ̄	ā	ɓàà	gà̱ā̱
|mɔ́	óó	=L	hìī	=rɔ̀	à	ɓàà	gà̱ā̱|
2SG.S1	run.VF3	RES	fear	FOC	COM	like	crow

'You are scared like a crow.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

9.2 Locative and directional prepositions

There are a number of prepositions in Kugama, which express various spatial relations. Many of them are related to body-part terms, as noted in Table 35.

Preposition	Gloss	Comments
úū	'on, above (horizontal); about, in honor of'	derived from *ū̂y* 'head'
ɓáā	'in'	derived from *ɓɛ̄y* 'stomach'
mɛ́ɛ̄	'to (direction); on (vertical)'	derived from *bìmɛ́ɛ̄* 'body'
ɲáā	'near'	derived from *ɲɛ̄y* 'mouth'
tùgū̱ū̱ ~ dùgū̱ŋ	'behind'	derived from *tùgū̱y* 'back'
zāā	'under, below, beneath'	derived from *zɛ̄y* 'leg'
pòō	'in front of'	derived from from *pɔ̀y* 'face'
tɔ̃m	'behind'	derived from from *tɔ̃m* 'back, buttock'
kpáā	'towards, through, via'	derived from from *kpáā* 'side, way'
kà̱à̱ rī	'near, beside, by the side of'	contains *kà̱à̱* 'side of body (CF1)', =L GEN, =rī POSS
ɲáˡkà̱à̱ tɛ̀ rī	'between'	contains *ɲáˡkà̱à̱* 'heart (CF1)', *tɛ̄* 'someone', =L GEN, *=rī* POSS
ɓáá ˡpùsɛ̀	'under'	contains *ɓáā* 'in', sɛ̄ 'thing (CF2)', =L GEN, occurs with Common Nouns
ɓáá ˡpùsɛ̀ rī	'under'	contains *ɓáā* 'in', *sɛ̄* 'thing (CF2)', =L GEN, *=rī* POSS, occurs with Proprial Nouns
púrí	'under'	used only with trees, i.e. Commons Nouns
dìgà	'from'	related to *dàgà* 'from' in Hausa

Table 35. Locative and directional prepositions

Prepositional phrases are structurally Possessive constructions, in which prepositions function as the head noun. Some of these prepositions are the same as the Construct Form of the noun they are derived from. For instance, the preposition *úū* 'on' is the same as the Construct Form 1 *úū* 'head (CF1)' of the noun *ūy* 'head'.

Like the head of Possessive constructions, these prepositions require the presence of the Genitive marker =ᴸ before Common nouns, as in (492) and (493). These prepositions do not require the Genitive marker =ᴸ before Proprial nouns, as in (494) and (495). More information on Common Nouns and Proprial Nouns is given in Section 3.1.1. Since prepositional phrases are structurally Possessive constructions, prepositions are used with bound possessive modifiers, as in (495).

(492) ɓáá ˩ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɓáā =ᴸ ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
inside GEN house
'in the house' [KUG_20230204_BB_054]

(493) méɛ́ ˩tɛ̄
|méɛ̄ =ᴸ tɛ̄|
towards GEN place
'to the place' [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

(494) ɓáā Lúkpêwà
|ɓáā Lúkpêwà|
inside Luikpiewa
'inside of Luikpiewa'

(495) méɛ̄ rɛ́
|méɛ̄ =rɛ́|
towards 3SG.POSS.INAL
'(go) to him' [KUG_20170405_JW_023]

Since the preposition *púrí* 'under' occurs only with tree names, i.e. Common Nouns, it is always followed by the Genitive marker =ᴸ. The preposition *ɓáá ˩pùsɛ̄* 'under' occurs with other Common Nouns, and therefore it is always followed by the Genitive marker =ᴸ. The preposition *ɓáá ˩pùsɛ̀ rī* 'under' is followed by Proprial Nouns, and it does not require the

Genitive marker $=^{L}$ after it. The presence of the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ after the preposition *dìgà* 'from' with the final lexical L tone is not possible to verify.

Some prepositions have a complex structure that can be construed as a possessive construction. For example, the prepositions *ɓáá ˈpùsè* and *ɓáá ˈpùsè rī* 'under' include the preposition *ɓáā* (or the Construct Form 1 *ɓáā* of the noun *ɓɛ̄y* 'stomach'), the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, the possessive marker *=rī*, the unidentifiable part *pù* and probably *sɛ̄* 'thing (CF2)'. Given the formal and semantic similarity, the part *pù* of these two prepositions might have the same origin as the part *pú* of *púrí* 'under (a tree)'. The preposition *ɲáˈkə̰ə̰ tɛ̀ rī* 'between' is made up of the noun *ɲáˈkə̰̄y* 'heart, middle', *tɛ̄* 'someone, place', the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ (which replaces the M tone of *tɛ̄*), and the possessive marker *=rī*.

Some clan names are derived from a prepositional phrase with *púrí* such as *ɲáˈ wə̰́nà púrúˈ gə̄ŋ* 'Nyawana Purugang clan' (lit.: 'under the *gə̄ŋ* tree'), *ɲáˈ ɰ̰ánà púrúˈ zólú* 'Nyawana Puruzolu clan' (lit.: 'under the *zólú* tree'). In (496), the noun *sì* 'thing' is used instead of *dìŋsì* 'tree' with the preposition *púrí.*

(496)

ī	yɔ́sì		rɛ́	ɓɛ́	ˈpúrí		ˈsì|
|ī	yɔ́sí	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́	ɓɛ́^{L}	púrí	$=^{L}$	sì|
IMPS.S1	put	RES	3SG.HUM.O	when	under	GEN	thing

'When they put it [corpse] under the tree…' [KUG_20180428_EI_024]

9.3 The prepositions *sèrī* and *sɛ̄ɛ̄*

The preposition *sèrī* 'about, because of' includes the Construct Form 2 *sɛ̄* of the noun *sì* 'thing', the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ and the Possessive marker *=rī*. The prepositional phrase with *sèrī* 'about, because of' is structurally the same as Alienable Possessive constructions (Section 8.1). Therefore, like in any regular Alienable Possessive construction, the following Common Noun is linked to this preposition by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, as in (497), while the following Proprial Noun is directly juxtaposed, as in (498) and (499).

(497)

sèrí		ˈɓām	váā
|sèrī	$=^{L}$	ɓām	váā|
about	GEN	SG.1SG.POSS	child

'about my child' [KUG_20180506_BB_031]

(498) sèrī Lúkpêwà
|sèrī Lúkpêwà|
about Luikpiewa
'about Luikpiewa' / 'because of Luikpiewa' [KUG_20180506_BB_031]

(499) wēm ɲā sɔ́ŋ ī sèrī ré a̱
|wēm ɲā =è sɔ́ŋ =ī sèrī =ré a̱|
person NEG FUT think NMLZ about 3SG.POSS.INAL NEG
'(Whether s/he does or does not come,) no one will think of him/her.'
[KUG_20181121_BB_055]

The preposition *sèrī* 'about' can also mean 'because of' but only when it is followed by a Proprial Noun. For now, I have not found examples of *sèrī* with the meaning 'because of' with a Common Noun. The preposition *sɛ̄ɛ̄* is the Construct Form 1 *sɛ̄ɛ̄* 'thing (CF1)' of the noun *sì* 'thing'. It commonly occurs with a Common Noun meaning 'because of', as in (500).

(500) dɛ̂ yí kì wè rī
|dɛ̂ yí =kī =^{L} wè =^{L} =rī|
3SG.HUM.S4 beat.VF1 NMLZ TR person.CF2 GEN POSS

ré sɛ̀ɛ̀ yɛ́ɛ́kī
|=ré sɛ̄ɛ̄ =^{L} yɛ́ɛ́kī|
3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL because_of GEN money
'S/he would kill his/her brother for money.' [KUG_20170501_BB_050]

9.4 Other prepositions

Other prepositions found in Kugama are provided in Table 36. Most of them are borrowed from Hausa.

Preposition	Gloss	Comments
ɓàà	'like'	
sɛ́(ɛ́)^{L} ~ séy^{L}	'except, but', 'until'	from Hausa *sái* 'then, until' in Hausa
hár	'till'	from Hausa *hãr* 'till, even, so much so that, in spite of'
kààmín^{L}	'before'	from Hausa *kàafĩn*, *kàafîn* 'before'
báyá^{L}	'after'	from Hausa *báyá* 'back', *báyán* 'after, behind'

Table 36. Non-locative prepositions

The preposition *ɓàà* ‘like’ can be followed by a Common Noun or a Proprial Noun without changing its tone pattern. This means that the distinction between Common Noun and Proprial Nouns is not relevant in noun phrases with the preposition *ɓàà* ‘like’.

(501)

ɓàà	Lúkpêwà
|ɓàà	Lúkpêwà|
like	Luikpiewa

‘like Luikpiewa’ [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(502)

ɓàà	wēm
|ɓàà	wēm|
like	person

‘like the person’ [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

All examples with borrowed prepositions from Hausa that are found in my corpus express temporal meanings.

(503)

sɛ́ɛ́	ˈɗààzórɛ̄
|sɛ́ɛ́^{L}	ɗààzórɛ̄|
till	tomorrow

‘See you tomorrow.’

9.5 The preposition *ɗíì ~ ɗɛ́è ~ íì ~ éè*

The conjunction *ɗíì ~ ɗɛ́è ~ íì ~ éè* ‘and’ commonly coordinates two nominals, see (504) and Section 8.11. Additionally, it can introduce complements expressing the meaning ‘than, instead’, as in (505) and (506).

(504)

à	mɔ̀	kì		máŋgɔ̀rɔ̀	ɗíì	àyàbà
|à	mɔ̀	=kī	=^{L}	máŋgɔ̀rɔ̀	ɗíì	àyàbà|
1SG.S4	eat.VF1	NMLZ	TR	mango	CNJ	banana

‘I will eat mangoes and bananas (all of them together).’ [KUG_20181122_AC_056]

(505)

ɔ̀	zūrú	wā	tū	kɔ̀ɔ̀	hɛ́ɛ̱́
|ɔ̀	zūrí	=wā	tū	kɔ̀ɔ̀	hɛ́ɛ̱́|
EXPL.S1	be_good	PFM	1PL.S1	stay.VF3	here

dΐ̂ì	kɔ̀ɔ̀k	ɛ̄	ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō
|dΐ̂ì	kɔ̀ɔ̀kí	=ɛ̄	ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō|
CNJ	stay.VF4	NMLZ	bush

‘It is better we stay here than stay in the bush.’ [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

(506)

ɔ̀	zūrí	wā	mū	ɲɔ́mlí	dΐ̂ì	kpá̱á̱	kī
|ɔ̀	zūrí	=wā	mū	ɲɔ́mlí	dΐ̂ì	kpá̱á̱	=kī|
EXPL.S1	be_good	PFM	2SG.S1	laugh	CNJ	cry.VF3	NMLZ

‘It is better you laugh than cry.’ [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

10 Verbs

10.1 Verb stems and their structure

Underived Kugama verb stems can be monosyllabic or disyllabic.[35] Monosyllabic verbs as well as the first syllable of disyllabic verbs can have a V, CV, VV, CVV, VC, or CVC form, e.g. *á* 'go', *gɔ̰̀* 'do (VF1.IC1)', *māā* 'build', *hēm* 'be tall (VF1.IC6)', *kɑ̰̄* 'shave (VF1.IC4)', *bàkí* 'help', *gɑ̰̀ɑ̰̀sí* 'repair', *zūrí* 'be good', *kɔ̰́ɔ̰́sí* 'be dry', *hālí* 'pass by', *ím* 'be heavy (VF1.IC6)'. Verbs with a (C)VC structure end in /m/ or /ŋ/, e.g. *zɔ̄m* 'poison', *zíŋ* 'descend'. The second syllable of disyllabic verbs is always Ci, e.g. *lákí* 'hear', *sáŋkí* 'urinate', *kààmí* 'be full (VF4.IC6)'. It can carry either H or M tone, e.g. *tɑ́pí ~ tɑ̰́pī* 'be cold'. This free variation is discussed in Section 2.6.3.4. In the text of my description, I usually include only the form with a final H tone, e.g. *tɑ́pí* 'be cold' to avoid overloading the description. In the examples, the tones of verbs are transcribed as is.

A number of verb stems have a historically complex structure. These verbs may include one or two *extensions* that probably were separate morphemes. Anything other than extensions in a verb stem is referred to as the *root*. Table 37 groups verbs according to the type of extension they have in their form. Extensions are separated by the symbol < + >.

Extensions	Examples
(C)V + V	kpɛ́ɛ́ 'agree (VF3.IC1)', mɔ̀ɔ̀ 'eat (VF3.IC4)'
(C)V + m	ɓám 'be old (VF1.IC6)', yɛ́m 'disappear (VF1.IC6)'
(C)V + lí	bɛ̀lí 'hunt (VF2.IC2)', hālí 'pass by', kálí 'be strong'
(C)V + tí	kótí 'fetch (VF2.IC3)', mítí 'annoy'
(C)V + pí	vípí 'be black', tɑ̰́pí 'be cold'
(C)V + sí	gbāsí 'keep silence', kɔ́sí 'cough', gbɛ́sí 'be last'
(C)V + kí	bàkí 'help', ɓékí 'be bad (VF2.IC4)', nɔ̄kí 'cook (VF2.IC4)'
(C)V + V + mí	gʊ̰̄ʊ̰̄mí 'surround (VF4.IC6)', léɛ́mí 'injure (VF4.IC6)'
(C)V + V + kí	hɑ̰̄ɑ̰̄kí 'break (VF4.IC4)', mɔ̀ɔ̀kí 'eat (VF4.IC4)'

Table 37. Some types of extensions of verb stems

It is not always possible to determine with certainty that a given verb stem contains an extension. At this point, I use several criteria that could indicate the presence of an extension or extensions within a stem:

[35] It is not always possible to distinguish historically derived verbs from underived verbs.

(i) Some extensions may be present or absent in certain morphosyntactic environments. For example, extensions +V and +mí of *ɓáámí* 'be old (VF4.IC6)' (ɓa +V+mí) are present when the verb is used with the Resultative marker $=^{L}$. However, they are absent elsewhere.

(ii) A verb stem can be analyzed as including extensions, if it shares the same root with other lexemes, e.g. with nouns, as in (507).

(507) víı̱̄pī (vi̱+V+pi) 'blackness', vípí (vi+pi) 'be black'
yénī (yɛ+ni) 'loneliness', yém (yɛ+m) 'disappear (VF1.IC6)', yɛ́ɛ́mí (yɛ+V+mi) 'disappear (VF4.IC6)', yém (yɛ+m) 'alone, on one's own (n)'

(iii) The presence of voiceless stops /k/, /p/, /s/, /t/ in prosodically weak position (i.e. in stem-internal position) shows that verb stems may have been historically complex, see Section 2.3 on prosodic prominence.

(iv) Verbs can have allomorphs that differ in vowel length of the first syllable, e.g. *yúkí* 'close (VF2.IC4)' and *yúúkí* 'close (VF4.IC4)'. The fact that the second syllable can be detached from the first syllable by an extra vowel may indicate that the verb originally has a historically complex structure.

(v) The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ can mark a verb twice: it occurs after both the first syllable and the second syllable of a verb stem, compare *ɓáámí* 'be old (VF4.IC6) and *ɓáá mì* 'become old'. This double marking may indicate that extensions of verbs are not fully integrated into their root.

Allomorphs of verbs can be different in the number and type of extensions they have in their form, e.g. *yí* 'beat (VF1.IC1)' and *yíí* (yi+V) 'beat (VF3.IC1)', *bɛ̀* 'hunt (VF1.IC2)' and *bɛ̀lí* (bɛ+li) 'beat (VF2.IC2)', *yúkí* (yu+ki) 'close (VF2.IC4)' and *yúúkí* (yu+V+ki) 'close (VF4.IC4)'. More information about verbal allomorphy is provided in the following Section 10.2.

10.2 Allomorphs of verbs

Kugama has verbs whose form is stable across different morphosyntactic environments and verbs that have allomorphs depending on the morphosyntactic environment. For example, verbs whose form does not change are *mɑ̄ɑ̄* 'build', *vɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄* 'write', *lóó* 'sleep', *váá* 'marry', *bàkí* 'help', *hàlí* 'pass by', *kɔ̱̄ɔ̱̄sí* 'be dry', *yɔ́sí* 'put', *káŋsí* 'add', *yɔ́lí* 'be tired', etc. Other verbs can have up to four different allomorphs here called Verb Form 1, Verb Form 2, Verb Form 3 and Verb Form 4, see Table 38. I use the slash </> for separating allomorphs of a verb. Furthermore, the verbs that have different allomorphs are distributed over six Inflectional Classes (IC). Inflectional Classes categorize verbs into different groups, each of which demonstrates similar behavior across different morphosyntactic environments. Different Inflectional Classes are also listed in Table 38. This table is likely to be expanded with other Verbs Forms and Inflectional

Classes in the future, as I have not been able to check all verbs in different morphosyntactic environments yet.

Inflectional Class	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Examples
1	(C)V		(C)VV		yí / yíí ‘beat’, gɔ́ / gɔ́ɔ́ ‘finish’, gɔ̰ / gɔ̰ɔ̰ ‘do’, ká / káá ‘break’, kpɛ́ / kpɛ́ɛ́ ‘agree’
2	(C)V	(C)Vlí			hɛ̰ / hɛ̰lí ‘wipe’, ɲā / ɲālí ‘boil’, hɔ̰ / hɔ̰lí ‘bathe, wash’
3	(C)V	(C)Vtí			só / sótí ‘enter’, kɔ́ / kɔ́tí ‘fetch’
4	(C)V	(C)Vkí	(C)VV	(C)VVkí	ó / ókí / óó / óókí ‘run’, mɔ̀ / mɔ̀kí / mɔ̀ɔ̀ / mɔ̀ɔ̀kí ‘eat’, yúkí / yúúkí ‘close’, kā̰ / kā̰ā̰kí ‘shave’
5	(C)Vŋ	(C)Vŋí			tɛ̰ŋ / tɛ̰ŋí ‘lean’, gāŋ / gāŋí ‘count’
6	(C)Vm			(C)VVmí	kàm / kààmí ‘be full’, ím / íímí ‘be heavy’

Table 38. Verb Forms and Inflectional Classes of some verbs

Allomorphs of verbs can be monosyllabic (Form 1 and Form 3) or disyllabic (Form 2 and Form 4). Verbs like *yí / yíí* ‘beat’, *gɔ́ / gɔ́ɔ́* ‘finish’, *gɔ̰ / gɔ̰ɔ̰* ‘do’, *ká / káá* ‘break’, *kpɛ́ / kpɛ́ɛ́* ‘agree’ do not have disyllabic forms. For the moment, I found only six Inflectional Classes (IC) of verbs that are distinguished on the basis of their stem-internal consonant (C2) that can be *l, t, k, ŋ,* or *m* (except for the Inflectional Class 1). In this chapter, verbs are given with information about their Verb Form and the Inflectional Class they belong to, e.g. *gāŋ* ‘count (VF1.IC5)’ and *gāŋí* ‘count (VF2.IC5)’. In the rest of the text, I only mention the number of their Verb Form, e.g. *gāŋ* ‘count (VF1).

A number of verbs with a stem-internal consonant *l* or *k* do not have allomorphs like the verbs in Table 38. For instance, the verbs *mákí* ‘know’, *lákí* ‘taste, hear’, and *bàkí* ‘help’ have only one form and are different from *yúkí / yúúkí* ‘close’ that has two forms. The verbs *hàlí* ‘pass by’ and *yɔ́lí* ‘be tired’ have only one form, whereas verbs like *hɛ̰ / hɛ̰lí* ‘wipe’, *ɲā / ɲālí* ‘boil’ have two allomorphs.

Allomorphs of verbs occur in different morphosyntactic environments, in particular, with different verb-to-verb derivational morphemes, viz. Resultative *=ᴸ*, Applicative *=sí ~ =sī*, Ventive *=rī* and Pluractional *=rī* and in certain constructions, e.g. in the Applicative construction. In addition, there are a few verbs whose allomorphs are used only with the nominalization marker *=kī/=ɛ̄/=ī/=ɛ̀*. These are discussed in Section 10.6.1.

10.3 Structure of the verb group

A verb group includes a verb stem that can be followed by other morphemes such as verb-to-verb derivational morphemes (Section 10.5), verb-to-noun derivational morphemes (Section 10.6), the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí* (Section 10.4), as well as object pronominals (Section 4.2). Depending on the construction, a verb group can maximally have one of the two structures presented in (508).

(508) verb stem + verb-to-verb derivational morpheme(s) + =tí/=rí PFV + object pronominal
verb stem + verb-to-verb derivational morpheme(s) + NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR + object pronominal

Example (509) and (510) illustrate the two structures with all the slots filled, while example (511) illustrates a verb group with only the Perfective marker *=tí / =rí* present.

(509)

Yáálò	ŋɔ́mlí	sí	tí	rɛ́
|Yáálò	ŋɔ́mlí	=sí	=tí	=rɛ́|
Yaalo	laugh	APPL	PFV	3SG.HUM.O

'Yaalo made her/him laugh.' [KUG_20200212_BB_026]

(510)

Yáálò	tì	kpàmlɛ̄	s	è		rɛ́
|Yáálò	tì	kpàmlí	=sī	=ɛ̄	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́|
Yaalo	PROG	learn	APPL	NMLZ	TR	3SG.HUM.O

ŋáá		ʉ̀ám
|ŋáā	$=^{L}$	ʉ̀ám|
language.CF1	GEN	Kugama

'Yaalo is teaching him/her the Kugama language.'

(511)

ɗɛ́	vɛ̱ɛ̱	rí	wàsí^{L}kà	wà
|ɗɛ́	vɛ̱ɛ̱	=rí	wàsí^{L}kà	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	write	PFV	letter	CFM

'S/he wrote letter(s).' [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

10.4 Perfective *=tí / =rí*

Kugama has a Perfective marker *=ti / =ri*. It occurs after a verb stem, as in (512). If a verb stem is followed by derivational enclitics, the Perfective marker is placed after them, as shown (513) and (514).

(512)

mɛ́	ɲā	ɓám	rí	a̱
|mɛ́	ɲā	ɓám	=rí	a̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	be_old.VF1.IC6	PFV	NEG

'I am not old.' [KUG_2014_TY_168]

(513)

ā	ɓáá'mù				tú	wā
|ā	ɓáá	=L	mí	=L	=tí	=wā|
1SG.S1	be_old.VF4.IC6$_1$	RES	be_old.VF4.IC6$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM

'I am old / I have become old.' [KUG_2014_TY_167]

(514)

Lúkpêwà	ká	sā	tí	gààsù	wā
|Lúkpêwà	ká	=sā	=tí	gààsì	=wā|
Luikpiewa	break.VF1.IC1	RECP	PFV	stick	CFM

'Luikpiewa broke a stick (into two parts).' [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

The choice between the two allomorphs of the Perfective marker depends on the weight of the preceding syllable. The allomorph *=rí* comes after heavy syllables (CVC, VC, CVV, VV), and *=tí* comes after light syllables (CV, V), as in (515). The Perfective marker *=tí / =rí* can be found after all allomorphs of a verb.

(515)

māā 'build' + PFV	→ māā rí
yí 'beat (VF1.IC1)' + PFV	→ yí tí
kɛ̀m 'say (VF1.IC6)' + PFV	→ kɛ̀m rí
tɛ̰ŋ 'lean (VF1.IC5)' + PFV	→ tɛ̰ŋ rí
tà 'hang (VF1.IC2)' + PFV	→ tà tí
tàlí 'hang (VF2.IC2)' + PFV	→ tàlí tí
táá 'chew (VF3.IC4)' + PFV	→ táá rí
yíí 'beat (VF3.IC1)' + =L RES + PFV	→ yîı rí
mɔ̀ɔ̀ 'eat (VF3.IC4)' + PFV	→ mɔ̀ɔ̀ rí
kɛ̀ɛ̀mí 'say (VF4.IC6)' + PFV	→ kɛ̀ɛ̀mí tí

Some CVCV verb forms may lose their final vowel V2 or their stem-internal consonant C2 resulting in CVC, VC, CVV, or VV forms (Sections 2.5.8 and 2.5.10). In these cases, the

Perfective marker *=tí* is used even if the preceding syllable is heavy, as in (516). The deletion of V2 and C2 takes place when a verb is used with the Resultative marker =^{L} (Section 10.5.1).

(516) ɲáɲí ‘leave (VF2.IC5)’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV → ɲâŋ tí
zíŋí ‘descend (VF2.IC5)’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV → zîŋ tí
hɛ́lí ‘wipe (VF2.IC2)’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV → hɛ́l lí |hɛ́lì=tí|
lákí ‘taste’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV → láà tí
mákí ‘know’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV → máà tí ~ mákì tí
ɛ̄rí ‘come’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV → ɛ̄ɛ̄ tí
kīrí ‘come out’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV → kīī tí

10.5 Verb-to-verb derivation[36]

10.5.1 Resultative =^{L}

Resultative verbs are formed by the marker =^{L} and either express the state resulting from the action (The grass is dry / got dry; the door is open) or highlight the completion of the action (I have written a letter, I have finished it), as in (517) and (518).

(517)

tóó			ˈré	ɓɔ̀	kɔ́ɔ́ˈsù		tú	wā
|tóō	=é	=^{L}	=ré	ɓɔ̀	kɔ́ɔ́^{L}sí	=^{L}	=tí	=wā|
grass	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S1	be_dry:RES	RES	PFV	PFM

‘This grass is dry.’ [KUG_20221028_AC_051]

(518)

dɛ̄	vɛ̱́ɛ́		ˈwàsíˈkà	wà
|dɛ̄	vɛ̱́ɛ́	=^{L}	wàsí^{L}kà	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	write	RES	letter	PFM

‘S/he has written a letter(s).’ [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

The Resultative marker =^{L} comes immediately after the verb stem, as in (519). The marker can remain floating or be realized on the preceding mora.

(519) lóó ‘sleep’ + =^{L} RES → lóò
māā ‘build’ + =^{L} RES → māá^{L}
ɓátí ‘be early (VF2.IC3)’ + =^{L} RES → ɓá^{L}tì

Another important feature of the Resultative marker =^{L} is that it marks some verbs twice, as demonstrated in (520). However, the usage of the Resultative derivation with verbs requires

[36] Combinability and mutual ordering of the derivational enclitics discussed here require more research.

further research. Some details on the tonal realization of Resultative marker $=^{L}$ with verbs are provided in Sections 2.6.6.6 and 2.6.6.7.

(520)	ā	ɓááꜜmù					tú	wā
	|ā	ɓáá	$=^{L}$	mí	$=^{L}$	=tí	=wā|	
	1SG.S1	be_old.VF4.IC6$_1$	RES	be_old.VF4.IC6$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM	
	'I am old.' [KUG_2014_TY_167]							

The Resultative marker $=^{L}$ does not occur with monosyllabic verbs that have a (C)V structure.[37] It is hosted only by monosyllabic verbs with the (C)VV or (C)VC structure, as in (521).

(521) yíí 'beat (VF3.IC1)' + $=^{L}$ RES → yîì
gə̰ə̰ 'do (VF3.IC1)' + $=^{L}$ RES → gə̰ə̰̀

Verbs that belong to the Inflectional Classes 4 and 6 use Verb Form 4 with the Resultative marker $=^{L}$, as in (522).

(522) dɔ̄ɔ̄kí 'burn (VF4.IC4)' → dɔ́ɔ́^{L}kì 'burn (RES)'
yúúkí 'close (VF4.IC4)' → yúú^{L}kì 'close (RES)'
hū̱ū̱mí 'pound (VF4.IC6)' → hú̱ú̱mì 'pound (RES)'
dììmí 'braid (VF4.IC6)' → dììmì 'braid (RES)'

Verbs that belong to the Inflectional Classes 1 are used in their Verb Form 3 with the Resultative marker $=^{L}$, as in (523).

(523) yíí 'beat (VF3.IC1)' → yîì 'beat (RES)'
gə̰ə̰ 'do (VF3.IC1)' → gə̰ə̰̀ 'do (RES)'

Verbs of the Inflectional Classes 2, 3 and 5 occur in their Verb Form 2 with the Resultative marker $=^{L}$, as in (524).

(524) hə̰́tí 'find (VF2.IC3)' → hə̰́^{L}tì 'find (RES)'
kālí 'see (VF2.IC2)' → kālì 'see (RES)'

Disyllabic (C)VCV verb stems (viz. invariable verbs or verbs that belong to IC) may have a stem-internal consonant (C2) *r, t, k, l, n* or *ŋ*. The C2 *r, t, k* or *n* of these verbs is always or optionally deleted with the Resultative derivation, as in (525). However, there are exceptions, such as *bàkí* 'help', which is never used with the Resultative marker.

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[37] The Resultative marker ^{L} can be found on a (C)V syllable in lexicalized multiword construction, i.e. compounds. However, this (C)V syllable has lost its vowel length due to higher degree of formal integration of compound elements. For example, the human proper name Lúkpêwà originates from a form *kpéɛ̀* that includes the verb kɛ́ɛ́ 'answer (VF3)' and the Resultative marker $=^{L}$.

(525)

sótí ‘enter (VF2.IC3)’ + =^{L} RES + =rī VEN	→ sótì rī ~ sóò rī
gbírí ‘exceed’ + =^{L} RES	→ gbîì
térí ‘fall’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV	→ téè tí
mákí ‘know’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV	→ mákì tí ~ máà tí
pa̱ní ‘do’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV	→ pa̱nì tí ~ pa̱n tí ~ pa̱n tí ~ pa̱a̱ tí

In addition, (C)VCV verbs (viz. invariable verbs or verbs that belong to IC) with C2 *l, n* or *ŋ* can lose their final vowel V2 when used with the Resultative enclitic, as in (526). This deletion commonly takes place before the Perfective marker *=rí/=tí* (Section 10.4).

(526)

he̱lí ‘wipe (VF2.IC2)’+ =^{L} RES + =tí PFV	→ he̱l lí
pa̱ní ‘do’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV	→ pa̱nì tí ~ pa̱n tí ~ pa̱n tí ~ pa̱a̱ tí
ɲáŋí ‘leave (VF2.IC5)’ + =^{L} RES + =tí PFV	→ ɲâŋ tí
zíŋí ‘descend (VF2.IC5)’+ =^{L} RES + =rī VEN	→ zîŋ rī

Kugama has a number of invariable (C)VCV verbs with C2 *r*, e.g. *gbírí* ‘exceed’, *térí* ‘fall’. In addition to these verbs, Kugama has disyllabic forms derived by means of the Ventive marker *=rī*, e.g. *kī=rī* ‘come out’ (*kī* ‘go out’ + *=rī* VEN). Like underived disyllabic forms with C2 *r*, derived ventive verbs always lose their C2 *r* with the Resultative marker =^{L}, see (527).

(527)

á ‘go’ + =rī	→ ērī
ērí ‘come’ + ^{L}RES + =tí PFV	→ ēē tí
kī ‘go out’ + =rī	→ kīrī
kīrí ‘come out’ + ^{L}RES + =tí PFV	→ kīī tí

These ventive verbs appear to have been re-analyzed as underived (C)VrV verbs when used in Resultative constructions. This is suggested by a couple of examples that I found in my corpus, in which the verb *ērí* ‘come’ is used with the Ventive marker *=rī*, as if it were an underived form, see (528).

(528)

ɛ̄ɛ̄		sù	rū	mú	
|ɛ̄rí	=ᴸ	=sí	=rī	=mú|	
come	RES	APPL:?	VEN	2SG.ADR	

wē	sóōrī	ɛ́	
|wē	sóōrī	=ɛ́	=ᴸ|
person.CF1	adult_female	DEM	GEN

˩lɛ́ɛ́˩mì	tú	ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	méɛ̄	rɛ́
|lɛ́ɛ́ᴸ-mì	tú	ɛ̄rí	=ᴸ	=tí	méɛ̄	=rɛ́|
yesterday	1PL.S1	come	RES	PFV	towards	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL

à	méɛ̄
|à	méɛ̄|
COM	water

'Bring water to the woman who we went to yesterday.' [KUG_20180509_BB_033]

10.5.2 Reciprocal *=sā / =ā*

The marker *=sā / =ā* forms reciprocal verbs. The allomorph *=sā* comes after (C)V, (C)VV and CVŋ verb stems, while the allomorph *=ā* is used with (C)Vm and disyllabic verb stems, as in (529). The verbs of the six Inflectional Classes presented in Section 10.2 seem to use their Verb Form 1 when combined with the Reciprocal marker *=sā / =ā*, although this needs to be further investigated as I have not been able to check all such verbs in this respect.

(529)

ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ 'steal' + =sā RECP	→ ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ sā 'have(ing) sexual intercourse'
kpɛ́ 'agree (VF1.IC1)' + =sā RECP	→ kpɛ́ sā 'agree(ing)'
zɔ́ŋ 'follow' + =sā RECP	→ zɔ́ŋ sā 'follow(ing) each other'
ɲɔ́m 'bite (VF1.IC6)' + =ā RECP	→ ɲɔ́m ā 'bite(ing) each other'
yɔ̀ɔ̀lí 'love' + =ā RECP	→ yɔ̀ɔ̀l ā 'love(ing) each other'

Reciprocal verb forms can function as finite verbs and nominalized verbs. Thus, compare the Imperfective constructions in (530) that require a finite verb in the predicate position and the Progressive construction in (531) that requires a nominalized verb after the Progressive marker *tì ~ tɛ̀ / =ɛ̀*.

(530)

dī	yɔ̀ɔ̀l	ā	wā
|dī	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	=ā	=wā|
3PL.HUM.S1	love	RECP	PFM

'They love each other.' [KUG_20220726_BB_048]

(531)	Àlí	tì	sɛ́ɛ́	sā	dĩ̀	Fātímà
	|Àlí	tì	sɛ́ɛ́	=sā	dĩ̀	Fātímà|
	Ali	PROG	fight	RECP	CNJ	Fatima

'Ali is fighting with Fatima.' [KUG_20170525_AC_082]

The marker *=sā / =ā* can also have a separative meaning (probably the meaning of separation of two parts of one item). This meaning is found with verbs that describe cutting and breaking activities, e.g. *zɔ̰̀ sā* 'tear', *ɓì sā* 'fork (in path), disconnect', *ɓú sā* 'cut open, split', as in (532).

(532)	Lúkpêwà	ká	sā	tí	gààsù	wā
	|Lúkpêwà	ká	=sā	=tí	gààsì	=wā|
	Luikpiewa	break.VF1.IC1	RECP	PFV	stick	PFM

'Luikpiewa broke a stick (into two parts).' [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

10.5.3 Pluractional *=mlí / =Vlí / =lí*

The marker *=mlí (~ =mlī) / =Vlí (~ =Vlī) / =lí (~ =lī)* is involved in the formation of pluractional verbs. Like the second syllable of disyllabic verb stems, the Pluractional marker can carry either H or M tone. In order to avoid burdening the description, I cite this derivational morpheme with a H tone like *=mlí / =Vlí / =lí*. In the examples that follow my description, this marker is transcribed with the tone it is used with.

The allomorphs *mlí* and *Vlí* are used with (C)V verbs stems: *=Vlí* after a nasal vowel and *=mlí* elsewhere. The allomorph *=lí* occurs with (C)VV, (C)VC and disyllabic verb stems, see (533). If a verb belongs to one of the six Inflectional Classes, the Pluractional marker commonly occurs with Verb Form 1 or Verb Form 2. However, this aspect requires further research.

(533)	bɛ̀ 'hunt (VF1.IC2)' + =mlí PLAC	→ bɛ̀ mlí 'hunt (a lot / in different places / different animals)'
	vé 'die (VF1.IC1)' + =mlí PLAC	→ vé mlí 'undergo epileptic seizures'
	tà 'hang (VF1.IC2)' + =mlí PLAC	→ tà mlí 'hang (all over / many objects)'
	sà̰ 'speak' + =Vlí PLAC	→ sà̰ à̰lí 'chat'
	mɔ̀ 'eat (VF1.IC4)' + =Vlí PLAC	→ mɔ̀ ɔ̀lí 'eat (a lot of food)'
	māā 'build' + =lí PLAC	→ māā lí 'build (many objects)'
	kɔ̰̄m 'be ill' + =lí PLAC	→ kɔ̰̄m lí 'get more ill (every day)'
	nɔ̄kí 'cook (VF2.IC4)' + =lí PLAC	→ nɔ̄kí lí 'cook (a lot of food)'

The marker *=mlí / =Vlí / =lí* can denote event plurality or plurality of objects. It seems that verbs with this marker can express both types of plurality with the interpretation depending on the context.

(534)	dɛ̂	pɔ̄	ml	è		sâ	háákī
	|dɛ̂	pɔ̄	=mlí	=ɛ̄	=L	sâ	háákī|
	3SG.HUM.S4	farm.VF1.IC2	PLAC	NMLZ	TR	DIM.PL	farm
	'S/he will do small farms / in different places.' [KUG_20180515_BB_037]						

(535)	dɛ̄	ɲɛ̄	mlí	sɛ́ɛ̄pí	wā
	|dɛ̄	ɲɛ̄	=mlí	sɛ́ɛ̄pí	=wā|
	3SG.HUM.S1	swallow	PLAC	pill:?	PFM
	'S/he takes pills often.' [KUG_20200204_BB_012]				

10.5.4 Pluractional *=rī*

The Pluractional marker *=rī* forms pluractional verbs. Like *=mlí / =Vlí / =lí*, the marker *=rī* can express event plurality or plurality of objects, see (536) and compare examples in (537) and (538). This function of the marker *=rī* is not well studied in Kugama. I do not know if the choice between the two Pluractional markers *=rī* and *=mlí / =Vlí / =lí* is lexically determined.[38] For some verbs that look like they were derived with the Pluractional *=rī*, the presumed base verb is not attested or not found yet in my corpus, as in (536).

(536)
- náá 'rain (VF3.IC4)' + =rī PLAC → náá=rī 'rain a lot'
- pí 'untie' + =rī PLAC → pí=rī 'unwrap, distribute'
- tą́ą́ 'tear (once)' + =rī PLAC → tą́ą́=rī 'tear (many times)'
- fṵ́ 'pluck (once)' ? + =rī PLAC → fṵ́=rī 'pluck'
- pùù 'rub (once)' ? + =rī PLAC → pùù=rī 'steer'
- vi̱ì 'roll (once)' ? + =rī PLAC → vi̱ì=rī 'roll'

(537)	à	pō	kí		pɛ̄ɛ̄rī
	|à	pō	=kī	=L	pɛ̄ɛ̄rī|
	1SG.S4	pull_out	NMLZ	TR	straw
	'I will pull out a straw (from a bundle).' [KUG_20181203_BB_068]				

[38] *=rī* could be an allomorph of the Pluractional marker *=mlí / =Vlí / =lí*, but this requires more research.

(538)

à	pō	r	è	pɛ̄ɛ̄rī
|à	pō	=rī	=è	pɛ̄ɛ̄rī|
1SG.S4	pull_out	PLAC	NMLZ	straw

'I will pull out straws (from a bundle).' [KUG_20181203_BB_068]

The Pluractional marker *=rī* and the Ventive marker *=rī* are homonymous. In addition, it seems that the Pluractional marker *=rī* is used with the same types of verb forms as the Ventive marker *=rī*. However, examples of verbs with the Pluractional marker *=rī* are infrequent in my corpus and I cannot provide a more detailed description of them here. In Section 10.5.5, I present an overview of different types of verb forms used with the Ventive marker *=rī*.

10.5.5 Ventive *=rī*

The marker *=rī* forms ventive verbs. The Ventive marker *=rī* is usually found after monosyllabic verb stems.

(539)

á 'go' + =rī VEN	→ ɛ̄ rī 'come'
kī 'go out' + =rī VEN	→ kī rī 'come out'
nā 'carry in arms' + =rī VEN	→ nā rī 'bring'
váá 'marry' + =rī VEN	→ váá rī 'marry and come back'
lóó 'sleep' + =rī VEN	→ lóó rī 'sleep and come back'

Verbs of the Inflectional Classes 2 and 5 use Verb Form 1 with the Ventive marker *=rī*, as in (540).

(540)

mī 'return (VF1.IC2)' + =rī VEN	→ mī rī 'return'
zíŋ 'descend (VF1.IC5)' + =rī VEN	→ zíŋ rī 'come down'

Verbs of the Inflectional Class 4 use Verb Form 3 with the Ventive marker *=rī*, as in (541).

(541)

tóó 'carry on head (VF3.IC4)' + =rī VEN	→ tóó rī 'come carrying on the head'
dɔ́ɔ́ 'start (VF3.IC4)' + =rī VEN	→ dɔ́ɔ́ rī 'start'
óó 'run (VF3.IC4)' + =rī VEN	→ óó rī 'run back'

I do not have examples of verbs of the Inflectional Classes 1, 3 and 6 with the Ventive derivation.

Some (C)VCV disyllabic verb stems with C2 *l* can have C2 *t* when they are followed by the Ventive marker *=rī*, see (542). For example, this C2 *l* replacement by C2 *t* takes place in the verbs *pɔ̄lí ~ pɔ̄tí* 'farm (VF2.IC2)', *ɓúlí ~ ɓútí* 'sprout', *hɔ̰̀lí / hɔ̰̀tí* 'bathe (VF2.IC2)', but not not in *kālí* 'see (VF2.IC2)' or *mālí* 'tie'.

(542) ɓúlí ~ ɓútí 'sprout' + =^{L} RES + =rī VEN + =tí PFV → ɓúlì=rī=tí ~ ɓúlì=ī=tí

ɓúlí ~ ɓútí ‘sprout’ + =^{L} RES + =rī VEN + =ɛ̄ NMLZ → ɓútì=r=ɛ̄

Verbs with the marker *=rī* indicate a movement toward a deictic center. The marker can occur with both motion and non-motion verbs, as in (543) and (544) respectively. Non-motion verbs with *=rī* are interpreted as ‘to do something elsewhere and come back’.

(543)

dɛ̄	nā	r	ɛ̀		tēŋ
|dɛ̄	nā	=rī	=ɛ̀	=^{L}	tēŋ|
3SG.HUM.S4	carry_in_arms	VEN	NMLZ	TR	stool

‘S/he will bring a stool.’ [KUG_20181203_BB_068]

(544)

ā	lóó	rī	tí	à	ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$gɔ̀rɛ̀
|ā	lóó	=rī	=tí	à	ɓáá^{L}gɔ̀rɛ̄|
1SG.S1	sleep	VEN	PFV	COM	Baagore

‘I slept in Baagore and came back.’ [KUG_20200204_BB_011]

When a locative adverbial co-occurs with a ventive verb in one clause, it is introduced by the Comitative preposition *à*, as in (545).

(545)

ā	váá	rī	tí	à	Sīndīgāwɔ̄
|ā	váá	=rī	=tí	à	Sīndīgāwɔ̄|
1SG.S1	marry	VEN	PFV	COM	Sindigawo

‘I got married in Sindigawo and came back.’ [KUG_20200204_BB_011]

10.5.6 Applicative *=sí* and applicative verb forms

Kugama has an Applicative marker *=sí (~ =sī)*. The marker can carry either H or M tone. However, I usually cite this derivational morpheme with a H tone like *=sí* in the text of my description. In the examples that follow, this marker is transcribed with the tone it is used with.

The Applicative marker *=sí* comes after a verb, as in (546). The verbs in (546) are invariable verbs that do not belong to any of the six Inflectional Classes (see Section 10.2).

(546)

lóó ‘sleep’ + =sí APPL	→ lóó sí
māā ‘build’ + =sí APPL	→ māā sí
zɛ́ɛ́ ‘greet’ + =sí APPL	→ zɛ́ɛ́ sí
nɔ̄kí ‘cook’ + =sí APPL	→ nɔ̄kí sí
bɛ̀ní ‘dry (tr.)’ + =sí APPL	→ bɛ̀ní sí
sáŋkí ‘urinate (intr.)’ + =sí APPL	→ sáŋkí sí
tą́pí ‘be cold’ + =sí APPL	→ tą́pí sí

Verbs of the Inflectional Class 1 use their Verb Form 1 with the Applicative marker *=sí*, as in (547).

(547) yí ‘beat (VF1.IC1)’ + =sí APPL → yí sí

Verbs of the Inflectional Class 4 use their Verb Form 2 with the Applicative marker *=sí*, as in (548).

(548) ókí ‘run (VF2.IC4)’ + =sí APPL → ókí sí
dɔ̄kí ‘burn (VF2.IC4)’ + =sí APPL → dɔ̄kí sí
mɔ̀kí ‘eat (VF2.IC4)’ + =sí APPL → mɔ̀kí sí
tákí ‘eat (VF2.IC4)’ + =sí APPL → tákí sí

I do not have examples of verbs of the Inflectional Class 3 with the Applicative derivation.

Verbs of the Inflectional Classes 2 and 5 use their Verb Form 2 when they add one more argument. However, this Verb Form 2 of Inflectional Classes 2 and 5 is used without an overt applicative marker, see (549) and compare (550) and (551). Thus, these Verb Forms 2 can be analyzed as dedicated Applicative forms, as in (551).

(549) bɛ̀lí ‘hunt (VF2.IC2)’ ~ bɛ̀lí ‘hunt for someone’
hǹ̰lí ‘bathe, wash (intr.) (VF2.IC2)’ ~ hǹ̰lí ‘bathe, wash (tr.)’
ɲālí ‘boil (intr.) (VF2.IC2)’ ~ ɲālí ‘boil (tr.)’
tɛ̀n̰ɲí ‘lean (intr.) (VF2.IC5)’ ~ tɛ̀n̰ɲí ‘lean (tr.)’

(550)

ɗóò		rɛ́	˩tà	tí	náá		˩dìŋsì
|ɗóō	=L	=rɛ́kL	tà	=tí	náā	=L	dìŋsì|
rope.CF1	GEN	DEF	hang.VF1.IC2	PFV	branch.CF1	GEN	tree

‘The rope hung from the branch.’ [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

(551)

Lúkpɛ̂wà	tàlí	tí	ɗóò	náá		˩dìŋsì
|Lúkpɛ̂wà	tàlí	=tí	ɗóò	náā	=L	dìŋsì|
Luikpiewa	hang.APPL	PFV	rope	branch.CF1	GEN	tree

‘Luikpiewa hung the rope on the branch.’ [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

Verbs of the Inflectional Class 6 take Verb Form 4 when they add one more argument. Like Verb Form 2 of Inflectional Classes 2 and 5, Verb Form 4 of the Inflectional Class 6 does not occur with an overt applicative marker, see (552) and compare (553) and (554). Thus, this Verb Form 4 can also be analyzed as a dedicated Applicative form, as in (554).

(552) kɛ̀ɛ̀mí ‘say that (tr.) (VF4.IC6)’ ~ kɛ̀ɛ̀mí ‘say to someone that (ditr.), show’

tə̰ə̰mí ‘be sweet, please (VF4.IC6)’	~ tə̰ə̰mí ‘please someone’
yɔ̄ɔ̄mí ‘plant (tr.) (VF4.IC6)’	~ yɔ̄ɔ̄mí ‘plant for someone (ditr.)’
yɔ̄ɔ̄mí ‘plant (tr.) (VF4.IC6)’ + $=^{L}$ RES	~ yɔ̄ɔ̄mì ‘plant for someone (ditr.) and finish’

(553)

ɓɔ̀	tə̰m	wā
|ɓɔ̀	tə̰m	=wā|
3SG.NHUM.S1	be_sweet.VF1.IC6	PFM

‘It is sweet.’ [KUG_20170419_AC_030]

(554)

ó^{L}sì	ɲā	tə̰ə̰mí	rɛ́	ə̰
|ó^{L}sì	ɲā	tə̰ə̰mí	=rɛ́	ə̰|
something	NEG	please.APPL	3SG.HUM.O	NEG

‘Nothing pleases him/her.’ [KUG_20180514_AC_035]

Kugama also has a number of disyllabic verbs whose second syllable is /si/, e.g. *hḭ́ŋsí* ‘wake up’, *yɔ̀ɔ̀sí* ‘melt’, *tímsí* ‘be straight, straighten’. According to the few examples that I have found in my corpus, these verbs can add one more argument without adding the Applicative marker *=sí*, compare (555) and (556).

(555)

váá		ré	ˡhḭ́ŋsù		tú	wā
|váā	$=^{\text{L}}$	=ré^{kL}	hḭ́ŋsí	$=^{\text{L}}$	=tí	=wā|
child	GEN	DEF	wake_up	RES	PFV	PFM

‘The child woke up.’ / ‘The child is awake.’ [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

(556)

Yáálό	ˡhḭ́ŋsì		tí	váá		rɛ́	ˡwà
|Yáálό^{L}	hḭ́ŋsí	$=^{\text{L}}$	=tí	váā	$=^{\text{L}}$	=rɛ́^{kL}	=wā|
Yaalo	wake_up	RES	PFV	child	GEN	DEF	PFM

‘Yaalo woke up the child.’ [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

The applicative introduces one more argument. In particular, it can add locative arguments, as in (557) and (558), causative agents, as in (559), or beneficiaries, as in (560).

(557)

ā	lóó	sí	tí	Mááyɔ
|ā	lóó	=sí	=tí	Mááyɔ|
1SG.S1	sleep	APPL	PFV	Mayo-Belwa

‘I slept in Mayo-Belwa (on my way).’ [KUG_20200204_BB_011]

(558)

ká	fáà	vàtìgăŋ	sáŋkú	sú	mú	úɔ̄
|ká	fáà	vàtìgăŋ	sáŋkí	=sí	=mú^{k}	úɔ̄|
OPT	DIM.SG	frog	urinate	APPL	2SG.O	head.CF1:2SG.POSS.INAL

'God bless you.' (lit.: 'May the small frog urinate on you on your head.')
[Notebook_KUG_2017_1_64]

(559)

Yáálò	ɲɔ́mlí	sí	tí	Lúkpɛ̂wà
|Yáálò	ɲɔ́mlí	=sí	=tí	Lúkpɛ̂wà|
Yaalo	laugh	APPL	PFV	Luikpiewa

'Yaalo made Luikpiewa laugh.' [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

(560)

ɗáy	ɛ̀	nɔ̄kú	sú	tú	túk	ɛ̀
|ɗá^{y}	=ɛ̀	nɔ̄kí	=sí	=tí	=tú^{k}	=ɛ̀|
3SG.HUM.S3	PRST	cook.VF2.IC4	APPL	PFV	1PL.O1	PRST

'It is s/he who cooked for us.' [KUG_20180515_BB_037]

10.6 Verb-to-noun derivation

10.6.1 Nominalization with $=k\bar{\imath}$ / $=\bar{\varepsilon}$ / $=\bar{\imath}$ / $=\grave{\varepsilon}$

10.6.1.1 General remarks

Verbs can be nominalized by the marker $=k\bar{\imath}$ / $=\bar{\varepsilon}$ / $=\bar{\imath}$ / $=\grave{\varepsilon}$. The marker comes after the verb stem or derivational markers. The choice between the allomorphs of the nominalization marker depends on the following aspects: i) the syllable structure of the verb stem, ii) the lexical tone of the verb, and iii) the type of the derivational morpheme that comes before the nominalizer, see Table 39.

Verb	NMLZ	Example
monosyllabic (C)V, (C)VV, some (C)Vŋ[39] verbs	=kī	pɔ̄=kī ‘farming’ (pɔ̄ ‘farm (VF1.IC2)’) ɲáŋ=kī ‘leaving’ (ɲáŋ ‘leave (VF1.IC5)’) māā=kī ‘building’ (māā ‘build’) gbą̄=kī ‘being fat’ (gbą̀ ‘be fat (VF1.IC2)’)
monosyllabic (C)Vm verbs	=ɛ̄~=ī[40]	kèm=ɛ̄ ‘telling’ (kèm ‘tell (VF1.IC6)’)
some monosyllabic (C)Vŋ verbs	=ī	gāŋ=ī ‘counting’ (gāŋ ‘count (VF1.IC5)’)
disyllabic verbs	=ɛ̄	bàk=ɛ̄ ‘helping’ (bàkí ‘help’) sáŋk=ɛ̄ ‘urinating’ (sáŋkí ‘urinate’) gèp=ɛ̄ ‘being big, growing’ (gèpí ‘be big, grow’) yɔ̀l=ɛ̄ ‘wanting’ (yɔ̀lí ‘want’)
verbs with =mlí/=Vlí/=lí PLAC, with =sí APPL, as well as applicative verbs without =sí APPL	=ɛ̄	są̀=ą̀l=ɛ̄ ‘chatting’ (są̀ ‘speak’, =Vlí PLAC) kpàmlɛ̄=s=ɛ̄ ‘teaching’ (kpàmlí ‘learn’, =sí APPL) bèl=ɛ̄ ‘hunting for’ (bèlí ‘hunt (APPL)’)
H and M-toned verbs with =*rī* VEN, with =*rī* PLAC (?), as well as disyllabic verbs with the second syllable *ri*	=ɛ̀[41]	hɛ́ɛ́r=ɛ̀ ‘begging’ (hɛ́ɛ́rī ‘beg)’ ɛ̄=r=ɛ̀ ‘coming’ (á ‘go’, =rī VEN) zūr=ɛ̀ ‘being good’ (zūrí ‘be good’)
L-toned verbs with =rī VEN, with =*rī* PLAC, as well as disyllabic verbs with the second syllable *ri*	=ɛ̄	màr=ɛ̄ ‘being abundant’ (màrí ‘be abundant’) pùùr=ɛ̄ ‘steering’ (pùù ‘rub (?)’ + =rī PLAC)
verbs with =sā / =ā RECP	Ø	lɛ́ɛ́=sā ‘kiss, kissing’
verbs with =^{L} RES	=kī	yíì=kī ‘kill’ (yíí ‘beat (VF3)’ + =^{L} RES) gbą́lì=kī ‘become fat’ (gbą̄lí ‘be fat (VF2.IC2)’ + =^{L} RES) hū̱ū̱mì=kī ‘be pounded’ (hū̱ū̱mí ‘pound (VF4.IC6)’ + =^{L} RES) gą̀ą̀sì=kī (gą̀ą̀sí ‘repair’ + =^{L} RES) ɲâŋ=kī (ɲáŋí ‘leave (VF2.IC5)’ + =^{L} RES)

Table 39. Allomorphs of the nominalization marker

[39] I cannot predict which of CVŋ verbs takes =*kī* and which takes =*ī*.

[40] I cannot predict the choice of the allomorph with (C)Vm verbs. However, the allomorph =*ɛ̄* is more frequent.

[41] At the moment, I cannot explain the L tone of the nominalizer.

As I mention in Section 10.2, allomorphs of the verb are mostly studied with verb-to-verb derivational morphemes. There are a few verbs whose allomorphs are chosen depending on whether the verb form is finite or nominalized. For example, the verb *yɔ̀lí / yɔ̀ɔ̀lí* 'want, love' takes the form *yɔ̀ɔ̀lí* as a finite verb and the form *yɔ̀lí* with the Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄*, the verb *yàà / yààkí* 'allow' takes the form *yààkí* as a finite verb and the form *yàà* with the Nominalization marker *=kī*, the verb *kā / kālí* 'see' takes the form *kā* or *kālí* as a finite verb and the form *kālí* with the Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄*. In addition, two nominalized forms for one verb can exist: *mɔ̀kí* 'eat (VF2.IC4)' with the Nominalization marker *=ɛ̄* occurs in compounds (e.g. *sì mɔ̀kɛ̄* 'food' (lit.: 'thing of eating')), while *mɔ̀* 'eat (VF1.IC4)' with the Nominalization marker *=kī* occurs elsewhere.

Nominalized verbs function as nouns. They denote not only an action (like *bɛ̀* 'hunt (VF1.IC2)' and *bɛ̀=kī* 'hunting'), but also an instrument, e.g. *mā* 'tie (VF1.IC2)' and *mā=kī* 'tie (n)', *kú* 'cover (VF1.IC2)' and *kú=kī* 'mask', *bɔ́* 'give' and *bɔ́=kī* 'gift', event, e.g. *wɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄* 'cut' and *wɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄=kī* 'circumcision', *váá* 'marry' and *váá=kī* 'marriage', abstract concepts, e.g. *kálí* 'be strong' and *kál=ɛ̄* 'power', *sà̱à̱lí* 'chat' + *=Vlí* PLAC and *sà̱=à̱l=ɛ̄* 'speech'. They can, for instance, be the complement of prepositions, the head or the modifier in a possessive construction, as in (561) - (563). In addition, they are used in Progressive, Future, and Immediate past constructions, see (564) and (565).

(561)

à	gbír	ɛ̀		mú	à	gbā̱	kī
|à	gbírí	=ɛ̀	=L	=mú	à	gbā̱	=kī|
1SG.S4	exceed	NMLZ	TR	2SG.O	COM	be_fat.VF1	NMLZ

'I will be fatter that you.' (lit.: 'I will exceed you in fatness.') [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

(562)

mā	kí		ˡváá	kī
|mā	=kī	=L	váá	=kī|
tie.VF1.IC2	NMLZ	GEN	marriage	NMLZ

dɔ́ɔ́ˡkù				tú	wā
|dɔ́ɔ́	=L	kí	=L	=tí	=wā|
start.VF4.IC4$_1$	RES	start.VF4.IC4$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM

'The wedding has started.' (lit.: 'tying the marriage') [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(563) bŏm ˈlóó kī
|bŏm =L lóó =kī|
room GEN sleep NMLZ
'bedroom' (lit.: 'room of sleeping') [KUG_20170424_AC_037]

(564) mɛ̄ tì bɛ̀ kī
|mɛ̄ tì bɛ̀ =kī|
1SG.S2 PROG hunt.VF1.IC2 NMLZ
'I am hunting.'

(565) à bɛ̀ kī
|à bɛ̀ =kī|
1SG.S4 hunt.VF1.IC2 NMLZ
'I will hunt.' / 'I can hunt.'

Nominalized verbs can syntactically function as a non-finite nominalized complement of a verb. For instance, this verb can express situational possibility and desire (*lɛ́ɛ̀*[42] 'can', *wááwí* 'can', *mákí* 'know', *yɔ̀lí* 'want').

(566) à lɛ́ɛ̀ kí ˈsɔ̄ kī
|à lɛ́ɛ̀ =kī =L sɔ̄ =kī|
1SG.S4 can NMLZ TR dance.VF1 NMLZ
'I can dance' [KUG_20180516_BB_038]

(567) mɛ̄ yɔ̀l ɛ̀ lóó kī
|mɛ̄ =ɛ̀ yɔ̀lí =ɛ̄ =L lóó =kī|
1SG.S2 PROG want NMLZ TR sleep NMLZ
'I want to sleep.' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

10.6.1.2 The Transitive marker =L with nominalized transitive verbs

A nominalized verb and its primary object are connected by the Transitive marker =L. The Transitive marker =L comes after the Nominalization marker =*kī* / =*ɛ̄* / =*ī* / =*ɛ̀*, as illustrated in (568). The Transitive marker =L and the Genitive marker =L share the same origin. I prefer to

[42] The verb *lɛ́ɛ̀* 'can' is considered as an archaism by some of my consultants.

distinguish these two markers synchronically because they usually occur in different morphosyntactic environments and because they interact somewhat differently with neighboring tones. Information on the realization of the Transitive marker $=^{L}$ is provided in Sections 2.6.6.5.

(568)

ɓɔ́ 'give' + =kī NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR + sì 'something'	→ ɓɔ́=kì sì
	'(I will) give something'
vɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄ 'write' + =kī NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR + sì 'something'	→ vɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄=kí=^{L}sì
	'(I will) write something'
gɛ̱̄rī 'chop' + =ɛ̀ NMLZ + $=^{L}$ TR + sì 'something'	→ gɛ̱̄r=ɛ̀ sì
	'(I will) chop something'

The Transitive marker $=^{L}$ has two realizations (i) it deletes the L or M tone of the Nominalization marker or (ii) the M tone of the Nominalization marker *=kī / =ɛ̄ / =ī /* is raised to H before the Transitive marker $=^{L}$, in which case the latter remains floating, as in (569).

(569)

Àlí	tì	yɔ̀l	ɛ̀		w̱ɛ̄ɛ̄	kí		ˡnáákī
|Àlí	tì	yɔ̀lí	=ɛ̄	$=^{L}$	w̱ɛ̄ɛ̄	=kī	$=^{L}$	náákī|
Ali	PROG	want	NMLZ	TR	slaughter	NMLZ	TR	cow

'Ali wants to slaughter a cow.' [KUG_20170425_AC_041]

10.6.2 Derivation of attributive nouns from verbs

Attributive nouns are resultative verb forms (Section 10.5.1) followed by the nominalizer *=sī*. The marker *=sī* is possibly related to the noun *sì* 'thing', see (570).

(570)

káá 'break (VF3)' + $=^{L}$ RES	káà 'has broken'
káá 'break (VF3)' + $=^{L}$ RES + =sī NMLZ	káà sī 'broken one'
tá̱pí 'be cold' + $=^{L}$ RES + =tí PFV	tá̱ˡpì tí 'became cold'
tá̱pí 'be cold' + $=^{L}$ RES + =sī NMLZ	tá̱ˡpì sī 'cooled down one'
ɓáámí 'be old (VF4.IC6)' + $=^{L}$ RES + =tí PFV	ɓááˡmì tí 'became old'
ɓáámí 'be old (VF4.IC6)' + $=^{L}$ RES + =sī NMLZ	ɓááˡmì sī 'old one'

These nominalized verbs can be used on their own, as well as be followed by another noun, as in (571) and (572). If another noun comes after an attributive noun, they are connected by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, as in (572).

(571)

ɓɛ́ɛ́là		sī
ɓɛ́ɛ́lā	$=^{L}$	=sī
be_spoiled	RES	NMLZ

'Spoiled (one)!' (used as an insult) [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

(572) a. káà sí gààsì
|káá =^{L} =sī =^{L} gààsì|
break.VF3.IC1 RES NMLZ GEN stick
'broken stick' (lit.: 'broken one of stick') [KUG_20180426_BB_021]

b. ɓááˡmì sí ˡɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɓáá =^{L} mí =^{L} =sī =^{L} ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
be_old.VF4.IC6$_{1}$ RES be_old.VF4.IC6$_{2}$ RES NMLZ GEN house
'old house' (the house that became old) [KUG_20180426_BB_021]

11 Simple clause morphosyntax

This chapter examines the morphosyntax of simple clauses. Section 11.1 focuses on non-verbal clauses formed by means of presentative markers. These include Presentative, Identificational, and Equative constructions. Section 11.2 deals with nominal predications without a copula, including constructions expressing location, attribution, identification, existence, and possession. Section 11.3 discusses simple verbal clauses and outlines their basic morphosyntactic properties. Section 11.4 presents different types of adverbials and describes their formal and semantic properties within simple clauses. Comparison constructions are briefly addressed in Section 11.5. Finally, Section 11.6 examines minimal utterances that function as independent clauses but are morphosyntactically distinct from both verbal and non-verbal clauses.

11.1 Presentative, identificational and equative clauses

In this section, I describe simple non-verbal clauses that are formed by one of the presentative markers *á*, *à*, *ɪ̄ì*, or *=ɛ̀ / =ɛ̄*. These are Presentative (Section 11.1.1), Identificational (Section 11.1.2), and Equative (Section 11.1.3, Section 11.1.4) clauses. All these clauses are negated by the negation marker *ā̱* which occurs clause-finally, as illustrated in (574).

(573)
	à	níˈsè
	|à	níᴸsè|
	PRST.COMM	truth

'It is true' [Notebook_KUG_2017_2]

(574)
	à	níˈsè	ā̱
	|à	níᴸsè	ā̱|
	PRST.COMM	truth	NEG

'It is not true' [Notebook_KUG_2017_2]

The main aim of this section is to describe various constructions with presentative markers found in my corpus, even though the semantic difference between them is not always clear.

11.1.1 Presentative clauses with *á*, *à*, *ɪ̄ì*, and *=ɛ̀*

Presentative clauses in Kugama consist of a noun phrase and a presentative marker. Kugama has four Presentative markers: *á*, *à*, *ɪ̄ì*, and *=ɛ̀*. The choice of a marker depends on the morphosyntactic class of the noun it is used with. The noun can belong to the class of Proprial

Nouns, Common Nouns, as well as to pronominals. All structures of presentative clauses are demonstrated in (575).

(575) [á^{L} PRST.SG.PROP + Proprial Noun]
[à PRST.COMM + Common Noun]
[ĩì PRST.PL.PROP + Conjoined Proprial Noun]
[Possessive pronominal/Subject pronominal + =ɛ̀ / =ɛ̄ PRST]

The Presentative marker *á* is used only with a Proprial Noun (Section 3.1.1), while the Presentative marker *à* is found with a Common Noun(s) (Section 3.1.1), as in (576) and (577).

(576)

á	ˈLúkpɛ̂wà
|á^{L}	Lúkpɛ̂wà|
PRST.SG.PROP	Luikpiewa

'It is Luikpiewa.' [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

(577)

à	wɛ̀		ɯ̰̀m
|à	wɛ̄	=^{L}	ɯ̰̀m|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	Kugama

'It is a Kugama person.' [KUG_20211110_BB_032]

The Presentative marker *ĩì* is used with two or more conjoined Proprial Nouns, as in (578).

(578)

ĩì	Yáálɔ́	dĩ̀	Lúkpɛ̂wà
|ĩì	Yáálɔ́	dĩ̀	Lúkpɛ̂wà|
PRST.PL.PROP	Yaalo	CONJ	Luikpiewa

'It is Yaalo and Luikpiewa.' [KUG_20201211_BB_016]

Unlike the Presentative markers *á*, *à*, and *ĩì* that occur in the beginning of a clause, the presentative marker *=ɛ̀* comes after the noun phrase. The noun phrase can take the form of a subject pronominal of the third paradigm or the form of a noun modified by a bound inalienable or alienable possessive pronominal, see (579) - (581).

(579)

mɛ́y	ɛ̀
|mɛ́^{y}	=ɛ̀|
1SG.S3	PRST

'It is me.' [KUG_20170519_LP_072]

(580)

vētɔ̃ŋ	mɛ́k	ɛ̀
|vētɔ̃ŋ	=mɛ́^{k}	=ɛ̀|
friend	1SG.POSS.INAL	PRST

'It is my friend.' [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

(581)

nɑ́ɑ́kī		rɑ́ɑ́k	ɛ̀
|nɑ́ɑ́kī	=^{L}	=rɑ́ɑ̄^{k}	=ɛ̀|
cow	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN	PRST

'It is my cow.' [KUG_20180516_BB_038]

11.1.2 Identificational clauses

Identificational clauses are presentative clauses that include a noun phrase with the Comitative preposition *à* / *=ɛ̀*. In (582), I list different structures of identificational clauses. The semantic difference between Identificational clauses and Equative clauses in Kugama requires further investigation.

(582) [á^{L} PRST.SG.PROP + Proprial Noun + à COM + Prepositional Argument]
[à PRST.COMM + Common Noun + à COM + Prepositional Argument]
[īì PRST.PL.PROP + Conjoined Proprial Noun + à COM + Prepositional Argument]
[Possessive pronominal/Subject pronominal + =ɛ̀ PRST + à COM + Prepositional Argument]

The argument of the Comitative preposition *à* can be expressed by: i) a non-subject pronominal, ii) a noun phrase that includes a pronominal modified by the Demonstrative *=ɛ́*, the Genitive marker =^{L} and the proximal or distal demonstratives *=rɛ́* (PROX) / *=sòrɛ̀* (DIST), or iii) a Proprial Noun, see (583) - (585).

(583)

à	wɛ̀		pɔ̄	kī	à	mɛ́
|à	wē	=^{L}	pɔ̄	=kī	à	=mɛ́^{k}|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	COM	1SG.NS

'I am/was a farmer.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(584)

á	ˡɔzūrúwā	à	ɗá	á		ˡrɛ́
|á^{L}	ɔzūrúwā	à	ɗá	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́|
PRST.PROP	Ozuruwa	COM	3SG.HUM.S3	DEM	GEN	PROX

'This (person) is Ozuruwa.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_50]

(585)

yɛ́ŋ		ˡnɔ́k	ɛ̀	à	Lúkpɛ̂wà	yā
yɛ̄ŋ	ᴸ	=nɔ́ᵏ	=ɛ̀	à	Lúkpɛ̂wà	yā|
mother	GEN	2PL.POSS.INAL	PRST	COM	Luikpiewa	QM.POL

‘Is Luikpiewa your mother?’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_48]

11.1.3 Equative clauses 1

Equative clauses 1 are presentative constructions (Section 11.1.1) that are followed or preceded by another noun or noun phrase. In (586), I provide different structures of the Equative clauses 1. The choice of word order probably depends on the information structure, but the exact details require further research.

(586) [$Noun_1$ + [PRST + $Noun_2$]]
[Noun + [Possessive pronominal + PRST]]
[[PRST + $Noun_2$] + $Noun_1$]
[[Possessive pronominal + PRST] + Noun]

In (587) - (591), I provide some examples of these clauses. When $Noun_1$ occurs in the beginning of a clause, it is separated by a pause from the rest of the clause.

(587)

ɓām	váà		níˡsa̰a̰	á	ˡLúypòòmí
|ɓām	váā	=ᴸ	níᴸsa̰a̰	áᴸ	Lúypòòmí|
SG.1SG.POSS:?	child	GEN	three	PRST.SG.PROP	Luipomi

‘My third child is Luipomi.’ (lit.: ‘My third child, it is Luipomi.’)
[KUG_20181207_AC_085]

(588)

á	ˡÀlí	wè		kál	ɛ̀	
|áᴸ	Àlí	wɛ̄	=ᴸ	kálí	=ɛ̄	=ᴸ|
PRST.SG.PROP	Ali	person.CF1	GEN	be_strong	NMLZ	GEN

Máábálwà
\|Máábálwà\|
Mayo-Belwa
‘Ali is the strongest person in Mayo-Belwa.’ (lit.: ‘It is Ali, the person of strength of Mayo-Belwa.’) [KUG_20200130_AC_008]

(589)

Àlí	tɔ́ŋ	mík	ɛ̀
|Àlí	tɔ̄ŋ	=mí^{k}	=ɛ̀|
Ali	father	1SG.POSS.INAL	PRST

'Ali is my father.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(590)

nɔ́ɔ́^{ꜜ}sa̱a̱		ɓáá^{ꜜ}dàlā	à	dààzéē
|nɔ́ɔ́^{L}sa̱a̱	=^{L}	ɓáá^{L}dàlā	à	dààzéē|
shadow	GEN	Earth	PRST.COMM	night

'The shadow of the Earth, it is the night.' [KUG_20201007_BB_009]

(591)

à	dààzéē	nɔ́ɔ́^{ꜜ}sa̱a̱		ɓáá^{ꜜ}dàlā
|à	dààzéē	nɔ́ɔ́^{L}sa̱a̱	=^{L}	ɓáá^{L}dàlā|
PRST.COMM	night	shadow	GEN	Earth

'The night is the shadow of the Earth.' [KUG_20201006_AC_008]

11.1.4 Equative clauses 2

Equative clauses 2 are formed with the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*. I outline their structure in (592).

(592) [Noun$_1$ [Subject Pronominal + =ɛ̀ PRST] Noun$_2$]

The Subject Pronominal in this construction is expressed by the third paradigm of subject pronominals. It comes before the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* and agrees in person and number with Noun 1. Noun 1 can be separated from the rest of a clause by a pause.

(593)

gɔ̀rɛ̄	ɓɔ̀y	ɛ̀	ɗɛ́ɛ́		ꜜw̱àà
|gɔ̀rɛ̄	ɓɔ̀^{y}	=ɛ̀	ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=^{L}	w̱àā|
mountain	3SG.NHUM.S3	PRST	house.CF1	GEN	Kugama

'The mountains are the house of Kugama' (lit.: 'The mountain(s), it is the home of Kugama') [KUG_20201211_BB_016]

(594)

kpă̱m		ˡɓáá		fâ	kŏ̱y
|kpă̱m	=ᴸ	ɓáā	=ᴸ	fâ	kŏ̱y|
chief	GEN	in	GEN	DIM.SG	village

ɗéy	è	dūmlɛ́		yɛ̄ŋ	rɛ́
|ɗɛ́ʸ	=è	dūmlɛ̄	=ᴸ	yɛ̄ŋ	=rɛ́|
3SG.HUM.S3	PRST	son	GEN	mother	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL

'The chief of the village is his brother' (lit.: 'The chief of the village, he is his brother')
[KUG_20170519_LP_072]

Equative clauses 2 and Equative clauses 1 can be interchangeable. However, Equative clauses 2 are preferred when either Noun 1 or Noun 2 are complex possessive constructions that include more than two elements, as in (595).

(595)

yɔ́ɔ́là	ɓɔ̀y	è
|yɔ́ɔ́là	ɓɔ̀ʸ	=è|
Yola	3SG.NHUM.S3	PRST

ɗɛ́ɛ̄	ɗɔ́ŋ		ˡnɔ́ɔˡtą̱ą̄pí		ˡNàjɛ́ɛ́ríyá	ą̄
|ɗɛ́ɛ̄	ɗɔ́ŋ	=ᴸ	nɔ́ɔᴸtą̱ą̄pī	=ᴸ	Nàjɛ́ɛ́ríyá	ą̄|
house.CF1	bigness	GEN	country	GEN	Nigeria	NEG

'Yola is not the capital of Nigeria' (lit.: 'Yola, it is not the capital of Nigeria')
[KUG_20201211_BB_016]

11.1.5 Presentative clauses with *=èrɛ́*

Presentative clauses with *=èrɛ́* are formed by a noun and the Presentative marker *=èrɛ́*. A presentative construction with *=èrɛ́* may differ from the corresponding constructions with the Proximal Demonstrative modifier or the Definite modifier only by tone, compare (596) and (597). Consultants translate presentative clauses with *=èrɛ́* as "Here is/are X".

(596)

wēm	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́
|wēm	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́|
person	DEM	GEN	PROX

'this person' [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

(597) wēm èrɛ́
|wēm =èrɛ́|
person PRST
'Here is a person.' [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

11.2 Nominal predications without a copula

Nominal predication constructions without a copula have the following structure:

(598) [Subject + Nominal predicate]

Nominal predication constructions without a copular verb may refer to the event in the present or past. When an event takes place in the future, the copular verb *kɔ̀ɔ̀* is used. More information on nominal predications with the copula *kɔ̀ɔ̀* is given in Section 12.13.2.

Like simple declarative verbal clauses (Section 11.3), nominal predications without a copula are negated by two negation markers *ɲā* and *ā̱*, see (599) and (600). More information on negation is provided in Section 12.16.

(599) mɛ̄ ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō
|mɛ̄ ɓáá$^{\downarrow\text{L}}$tóō|
1SG.S2 bush
'I am in the bush' [KUG_20180425_AC_020]

(600) mɛ́ ɲā ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō ā̱
|mɛ́ ɲā ɓáá$^{\downarrow\text{L}}$tóō ā̱|
1SG.S3 NEG bush NEG
'I am not in the bush' [KUG_20180425_AC_020]

In the following Sections 11.2.1 - 11.2.5, I focus on different types of nominal predications. In particular, the predicate position of nominal predication constructions without a copula can be occupied by a locative noun, a prepositional phrase, a Pre-nominal Property Noun, a numeral or a noun phrase with a numeral, as well as a construction formed by the non-human individualizer *ɓī* 'the one of' / *ī* 'the ones of'. Depending on the semantics of the nominal predicate, these clauses can express meanings of location, existence, attribution, identification or possession.

11.2.1 Locative and attributive clauses

The nominal predicate in locative clauses can be a prepositional phrase, or a locative noun, such as *ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō* 'bush'. A number of locative nouns originate from prepositional phrases. For

example, the noun *ɓáá'tóō* 'bush' includes the preposition *ɓáā* 'inside', the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, and *tóō* 'grass'.

(601)

mɛ̄	ɓáá'tóō
|mɛ̄	ɓáá^{L}tóō|
1SG.S2	bush

'I am/was in the bush.' [KUG_20180425_AC_020]

(602)

kpə̌m	ɓáá		'yɔ́ɔ́là
|kpə̌m	ɓáā	$=^{L}$	yɔ́ɔ́là|
chief	in	GEN	Yola

'The chief is in Yola.' [KUG_20170519_LP_072]

(603)

ɲá'dàkpáá			'rɛ́	ɓɔ̀[43]
|ɲá^{L}dàkpáā	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́	ɓɔ̀|
road	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S2

kpáná?ūrɛ̀		mɔ̄ɔ̄kù		=rɛ̂
|kpáná?ūrɛ̄	$=^{L}$	mɔ̄ɔ̄kū	$=^{L}$	=rɛ̂^{k}|
south	GEN	river	GEN	DEF

'This road is/was to the south of the river.' (lit.: 'This road, it is in the south of the river.') [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_10]

I also found a few examples with the nominal predicate expressed through the preposition *méɛ̄* 'to (direction); on, onto' and its argument. This type of clause expresses emotions and feelings, as in (604) and (605). Note that the preposition *méɛ̄* is related to the noun *bìméɛ̄* 'body'.

(604)

mɛ̄	tə̰a̰nī	méɛ̄	mɛ́
|mɛ̄	tə̰a̰nī	méɛ̄	=mɛ́|
water.CF1	sweetness	on	1SG.POSS.INAL

'I am happy' (lit.: 'Happiness is on me') [Notebook_KUG_2018_01_27]

[43] When a noun in the subject position is modified by proximal/distal demonstrative modifier constructions (comprised of *=ɛ́* DEM, $=^{L}$ GEN and *=ré* PROX or *=ɛ́* DEM, $=^{L}$ GEN and *=sòrè* DIST), the modified noun is commonly resumed by a coreferential pronominal, see (603) and Section 4.1.

(605)

níínɛ̄	méɛ̄	mé
|níínɛ̄	méɛ̄	=mé|
thirst	on	1SG.POSS.INAL

'I am thirsty' (lit.: 'Thirst is on me') [KUG_20210714_BB_027]

11.2.2 Attributive and identifying clauses

Attributive clauses include a nominal predicate that is expressed through a Pre-nominal Property Noun (cf. Section 3.2.2 on Pre-nominal Property Nouns).

(606)

gààsì	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́	ɓɔ̀	gbíŋ̱télɛ̀
|gààsì	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́	ɓɔ̀	gbíŋ̱télɛ̀|
stick	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S2	shortness

'This stick is short.' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(607)

mɛ̄	tɛ̱ŋtɛ́ŋ
|mɛ̄	tɛ̱ŋtɛ́ŋ|
1SG.S2	cleanliness

'I am clean/smart.' [KUG_20181203_AC_073]

The nominal predicate without a copula can be expressed through a numeral or noun phrase with a numeral modifier. This type of clause is used to specify someone's age, as in (608) and (609).

(608)

sáákì		ráā	àrbàín
|sáákī	=^{L}	=ráā	àrbàín|
year	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN	forty

'I am forty.' (lit.: 'My year is forty.')
(Replying to the question 'How old are you?') [KUG_20180428_022b]

(609)

dɛ̄	sáákī	mī	ɓíní	ˡkì	kɔ́p
|dɛ̄	sáákī	mī	ɓíní^{L}	kì	kɔ́p|
3SG.HUM.S2	year	twenty	one	plus	ten

'S/he is 30 years old.' [KUG_20230704_AC_073]

11.2.3 Existential clauses with *nɛ̀ ~ nì*

Existential clauses are formed by the locative noun *nɛ̀ ~ nì* 'there, that place' that is placed in the predicate position. These clauses can express both the general notion of existence and the existence in a specific location.

(610)

sa̱a̱	nɛ̀
|sa̱a̱	nɛ̀ᵏ|
ghost	there

‘Ghosts exist.’ / ‘There are ghosts there (e.g. in the house).’ [Notebook_KUG_2020_6_1]

(611)

sa̱a̱	ɲā	nɛ̀	a̱
|sa̱a̱	ɲā	nɛ̀ᵏ	a̱|
ghost	NEG	there	NEG

‘Ghosts do not exist.’ / ‘Ghosts are not there (e.g. in the house).’ [Notebook_KUG_2020_6_1]

11.2.4 Possessive clauses with *nɛ̀ ~ nì* and *à*

The nominal predicate can be occupied by the locative noun *nɛ̀ ~ nì* ‘there’ and a prepositional phrase with the Comitative preposition *à / =ɛ̀*. In this case, a clause expresses a possessive meaning, as in (612) - (614).

(612)

mɛ̄	nì	ɛ̀	zɛ̂y	ɓíní	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|mɛ̄	nìᵏ	=ɛ̀	zɛ̂y	ɓíní	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
1SG.S2	there	COM	dog	one	house

zɛ̂y	ɓíní	háákī
|zɛ̂y	ɓíní	háákī|
dog	one	farm

‘I have one dog in the house and one dog on the farm’ [KUG_20230704_AC_073]

(613)

à	za̱a̱		ˈɲɛ̄y	à	mɛ́
|à	za̱a̱	=ᴸ	ɲɛ̄y	à	=mɛ́|
PRST.COMM	rich?	GEN	mouth	COM	1SG.NS

mɛ̄	nì	ɛ̀	yɛ́ɛ́kī
|mɛ̄	nìᵏ	=ɛ̀	yɛ́ɛ́kī|
1SG.S2	there	COM	money

‘I am rich, I have money.’ [KUG_20230704_AC_073]

(614)

ɔ̀	nì	ɛ̀	sàdā	màrī
|ɔ̀	nì^{k}	=ɛ̀	sàdā	màrī|
EXPL.S2	there	COM	expensiveness	much

‘It is very expensive.’ [KUG_20170501_AC_048]

11.2.5 Possessive and attributive clauses with *ɓī / ī*

The nominal predicate can be expressed through the noun phrase that includes the non-human individualizer *ɓī* ‘the one of’ / *ī* ‘the ones of’. In this case, the clause can have the meaning of a possessive predication “X belongs to Y”, literally “X is the one of Y”, as in (615), or the meaning of an attributive predication “X is Q[uality]”, literally “X is the one of (a class of objects that are characterized by the quality) Q”, as in (616). Attributive predication meaning is commonly expressed when *ɓī* ‘the one of’ / *ī* ‘the ones of’ is used together with a color noun, as in (616).

(615)

náákī	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́	ɔ̀	ī	Àlí
|náákī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́	ɔ̀	ī	Àlí|
cow	DEM	GEN	PROX	3PL.NHUM.S2	the_ones_of	Ali

‘These cows belong to Ali.’ (lit.: ‘These cows, they are the ones of Ali.’)
[KUG_20180420_BB_011]

(616)

fâ	nɔ̄y	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́	ɓɔ̀
|fâ	nɔ̄y	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́	ɓɔ̀|
DIM.SG	bird	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S2

ɓī	púūpī
|ɓī	púūpī|
the_one_of	whiteness

‘This bird, it is white.’ [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

The Bound Noun *ɓī* ‘the one of’ / *ī* ‘the ones of’ agrees in number with the subject of a clause, see (617) and (618).

(617)

sâ	nɔ̄y	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́	ɔ̀
|sâ	nɔ̄y	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɔ̀|
DIM.PL	bird	DEM	GEN	PROX	3PL.NHUM.S2

ī	púūpī
|ī	púūpī|
the_ones_of	whiteness

'These birds, they are white.' [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

(618)

náákī	ɛ́		ˡrɛ́	ɓɔ̀	ɓī	Àlí
|náákī	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɓɔ̀	ɓī	Àlí|
cow	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S2	the_one_of	Ali

'This cow belongs to Ali.' (lit.: 'This cow, it is the one of Ali.') [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

11.3 Simple verbal clause

A simple verbal clause in Kugama has SVO (subject-verb-object) word order. The word order is strict.

(619)

á	māā	rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	wā
|á	māā	=rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=wā|
1SG.S1	build	PFV	house	PFM

'I built a house.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_37]

(620)

mí	ɛ̄	sa̱	ɲáá		ˡgóórá	a̱
|mí	=ɛ̄	sa̱	ɲáā	=ᴸ	góórá	a̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	speak	language.CF1	GEN	Yendang	NEG

'I do not speak the Yendang language.' [KUG_20180514_AC_035]

The subject of a simple verbal clause can be followed by a number of morphemes that are involved in the expression of tense, aspect, modality and polarity, as in (621).

(621)

a. subject + Negation marker ɲā + verb stem + verb-to-verb derivational morpheme(s) + Perfective marker tí/rí+ object(s) + predicate-final marker wā or Negation marker a̱

b. subject + Negation marker ɲā + pre-verbal marker (e.g. à FUT, tì PROG) + verb stem + verb-to-verb derivational morpheme(s) + Nominalization marker kī/ɛ̄/ī/ɛ̀+ Transitive marker ᴸ + object(s) + Negation marker a̱

A number of constructions that convey modal meanings, viz. the Hortative 2, the Optative and the Prohibitive, have pre-subject markers that are absent in other verbal clauses, as schematized in (622).

(622) pre-subject marker (e.g. ká OPT, sɛ̀ HORT) + subject + verb stem + verb-to-verb derivational morpheme(s) + object + Negation marker a̱

The only constructions that do not have an SVO word order are Imperative constructions and the Resultative 8 (based on Imperative constructions). Their structures are shown in (623).

(623) a. verb stem + verb-to-verb derivational morpheme(s) + addressee pronominal (mū~mú SG, nū~nú PL) + NP or third person object
b. verb stem + verb-to-verb derivational morpheme(s) + first person object

Different tense, aspect, modality and polarity constructions are discussed in Chapter 12.

11.3.1 Objects of a verb

Verbal clauses can have zero, one or two objects, see (624) - (626).

(624)

sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	ɲɔ́m	wā
|sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	ɲɔ́m	=wā|
snake	bite.VF1	PFM

'Snakes bite. (Do not play with them!)' [KUG_20210727_BB_029]

(625)

á	sa̱	ɲáá		˩wǎ̱m	wā
|á	sa̱	ɲáā	=^{L}	wǎ̱m	=wā|
1SG.S1	speak	language.CF1	GEN	Kugama	PFM

'I speak the Kugama language.' [KUG_20180502_AC_028]

(626)

Lúkpêwà	kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	tí	kpǎ̱m	mɛ́	wā
|Lúkpêwà	kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	=tí	kpǎ̱m	=mɛ́	=wā|
Luikpiewa	show.VF4	PFV	chief	1SG.NS	PFM

'Luikpiewa showed me to the chief.' [KUG_20181124_BB_060]

For some verbs first or second object can only be licensed by the use of the Applicative marker *=sí* or, if available, by a dedicated Applicative form of the verb, as in (627) and (628).

(627)

Lúkpêwà	púkí	sí	tí
|Lúkpêwà	púkí	=sí	=tí|
Luikpiewa	open.VF2	APPL	PFV

Yáálóɲ́áá		˩kpáā
|Yáálóɲ́áā	=[L]	kpáā|
Yaalo	mouth.CF1	GEN direction

'Luikpiewa opened a door for Yaalo.' [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

(628)

ā	yɔ̄ɔ̄mí	tí	Lúkpêwà
|ā	yɔ̄ɔ̄mí	=tí	Lúkpêwà|
1SG.S1	plant.APPL	PFV	Luikpiewa

nɔ́ɔ́		˩sɔ̄m	wā
|nɔ́ɔ̄	=[L]	sɔ̄m	=wā|
seed.CF1	GEN	guinea_corn	PFM

'I planted guinea corn for Luikpiewa.' [KUG_20221114_BB_052]

In clauses with two objects, the Primary Object (Goal) precedes the Secondary Object (Theme). Two nominal objects of a verb are distinguished by word order, while two pronominal objects are distinguished by both word order and by the choice of the pronominal paradigm, as in (629). The Primary Object is expressed by an object pronominal, while the Secondary Object takes the form of a non-subject pronominal, see Section 4.2 and Section 4.3.

(629)

ɗɛ́	kɛ̀ɛ̀mú	tú	tú	múɔ̄	
|ɗɛ́	kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	=tí	=tú	=mú	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	show.VF4	PFV	1PL.O	2SG.NS	PFM

'S/he showed you to us.' [KUG_20170525_AC_082]

11.3.2 The predicate-final marker *=wā*

The predicate-final marker *=wā*[44] occurs only in positive declarative verbal constructions and in positive polar interrogative verbal constructions. In particular, the constructions that are used with *=wā* are Imperfective, Perfective, Resultative 1 (based on the Imperfective construction), and Resultative 2 (based on the Perfective construction), see Chapter 12. The marker is placed at the end of the predicate. The predicate includes a verb that can be followed by the Perfective

[44] My corpus has one example in which the marker *=wā* takes the form *=ɔ̄*.

marker *=tí/=rí* and the object(s), see (630) - (632). The predicate-final marker *=wā* triggers right-to-left rounding vowel harmony, see (631) and Section 2.5.2 for more details.

(630)

dɛ̄	váà		wā
|dɛ̄	váá	=L	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	marry	RES	PFM

'S/he is married.' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_43]

(631)

zéy	é		ˡré
|zɛ̄y	=é	=L	=ré|
dog	DEM	GEN	PROX

ɓɔ̀	ɓááˡmù						
|ɓɔ̀	ɓáá	=L	mí	=L	=tí	=wā|	
3SG.NHUM.S1	be_old.VF4$_1$	RES	be_old.VF4$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM	

'This dog is old.' [KUG_20180418_BB_003]

(632)

ā	yɔ̄ɔ̄mí	tí	Lúkpɛ̂wà
|ā	yɔ̄ɔ̄mí	=tí	Lúkpɛ̂wà|
1SG.S1	plant.APPL	PFV	Luikpiewa

nɔ́ɔ́		ˡsɔ̄m	wā
|nɔ́ɔ̄	=L	sɔ̄m	=wā|
seed.CF1	GEN	guinea_corn	PFM

'I planted guinea corn for Luikpiewa.' [KUG_20221114_BB_052]

The predicate-final marker *=wā* can be followed, for instance, by i) adverbials, e.g. *màrī* 'a lot', *zūrí* 'well', *lɛ́ɛ́ˡmì* 'yesterday', *hɛ́ɛ̄* 'here', *à gàáˡtɛ́* 'in the morning', *à ɓááˡtóō* 'in the bush', *úú ˡtɛ̄ŋ* 'on the stool', ii) the conjunction *dīì ~ dɛ̌è* with the second coordinand, iii) the numeral that modifies an object, see (633) - (636).

(633)

mú	kā	tí	ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	wā	lɛ́ɛ́ˡmì	yā
|mú	kā	=tí	ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	=wā	lɛ́ɛ́Lmì	yā|
2SG.S1	see.VF1	PFV	SG.1SG.POSS	son	PFM	yesterday	QM.POL

'Did you see my son yesterday?' [KUG_2017_AC_069_104]

(634)

dáá^{ꜜ}ṳ̀nà	tōó		wā	pòō	mɛ́ʔ
|dáá^{L}ṳ̀nà	tōō	$=^{\text{L}}$	=wā	pòō	=mɛ́ʔ|
Daawana	stop	RES	PFM	in_front_of	1SG.POSS.INAL

'Daawana has stopped in front of me.' [KUG_20230430_AC_071]

(635)

ā	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	Lúkpêwà	wā	ɗĩ̀	Yáálóꜜ
|ā	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	Lúkpêwà	=wā	ɗĩ̀	Yáálóꜜ|
1SG.S1	like	Luikpiewa	PFM	CONJ	Yaalo

'I like Luikpiewa and Yaalo.' [KUG_20201123_BB_015]

(636)

ɗɛ̄	wɛ̰̄ɛ̰́		ꜜkpà̰nɛ̀	gɔ̀ɔ̀	gérɛ̄	wā	níꜜsá̰à̰
|ɗɛ̄	wɛ̰̄ɛ̰́	$=^{\text{L}}$	kpà̰nɛ̀	gɔ̀ɔ̀	gérɛ̄	=wā	ní^{L}sá̰à̰|
3SG.HUM.S1	slaughter	RES	big.PL	big	pig	PFM	three

'S/he has slaughtered three big pigs.' [KUG_20170414_LP_028]

The precise meaning and function of the predicate-final marker *=wā* are not clear. It is not always possible to predict when the predicate-final marker *=wā* occurs and when it does not. It appears that this marker is related to discourse structure and possibly conveys the full-stop of an utterance (speaker's thought). Thus, it may have a non-consecutive interpretation. For example, the predicate-final marker *=wā* does not occur with some types of clause coordination that are expressed through clausal juxtaposition, as in (637), or the conjunction *ká ~ kā* 'before, and then', as in (638).

(637)

ā	pɔ̄	tí	ā	bɛ̀	ā	hṳ̄m
|ā	pɔ̄	=tí	ā	bɛ̀	ā	hṳ̄m|
1SG.S1	farm.VF1	PFV	1SG.S1	hunt.VF1	1SG.S1	pound.VF1

nɔ́ɔ́		ꜜsɔ̄m	ā	kólì		sɛ́ɛ̀
|nɔ́ɔ̄	$=^{\text{L}}$	sɔ̄m	ā	kólí	$=^{\text{L}}$	sɛ́ɛ̀|
seed.CF1	GEN	guinea_corn	1SG.S1	lie.VF2	RES	down

'I farmed, hunted, pounded guinea corn, and lay down.' [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

(638)

á	kôl		lí	ká	vēɓâm	mɛ́
|á	kólí	=L	=tí	ká	vēɓâm	=mɛ́|
1SG.S1	lie.VF2	RES	PFV	then	younger_brother	1SG.POSS.INAL

ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɛ̄rí	=L	=tí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
come	RES	PFV	house

‘I went to bed before my brother came home.’ [KUG_20181130_AC_067]

11.4 Adverbials

Adverbials are phrases modifying the predicate. They can express time, frequency, location, direction, manner, instrument, quality, degree, and modality, see (639). Adverbials can be expressed through: i) simple nouns, compounds, and possessive constructions, e.g. *léɛ́ˈmì* ‘yesterday’, *ɗáàzúrɛ̄* ‘tomorrow’, *sónɛ̀* ‘soon’, *hɛ́ɛ̱̄* ‘here’, *lúɔ́* ‘before, long ago’, *lɛ̀mlɛ̀m / lɛ̀lɛ̀ɛ̀m* ‘slowly’, *zūrí* ‘well, properly’, *lúɔ́ ˈpát* ‘always, usually’, *dɔ́ɔ́lɛ̄* ‘necessary’, *ɓì hɛ́ɛ̱̄* ‘like this’, etc. and ii) prepositional phrases with the Comitative preposition *à*, e.g. *à léɛ̀nī* ‘in the evening’, *à gbìŋtɛ̄* ‘fiercely, loudly’, *à ɓááˈgɔ̀rɛ̄* ‘in Baagore’, *à tɑ́ɑ̱́ ˈkpǎm* ‘with salt’, *à mɔ́ɔ́tà* ‘by car’, and other types of prepositions, e.g. *mɛ́ɛ̄ mɛ́* ‘on me’. Adverbial nouns and noun phrases can also be relativized, as in (640).

(639)

mɛ́	ɲā		gɔ̱̀	kì		sɔ̱̄m	sàáˈrɛ́	ā̱
|mɛ́	ɲā	=ɛ̀	gɔ̱̀	=kī	=L	sɔ̱̄m	sàáˈrɛ́	ā̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	FUT	do.VF1	NMLZ	TR	work	today	NEG

‘I will not work today.’ / ‘I cannot work today.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_44]

(640)

kà	mú	ɛ̄	rī	zɑ̀ɑ̱̀			wí
|kà	mú	ɛ̄	=rī	zɑ̀ɑ̱̀	=ɛ̄	=L	=wí|
3.CLM	2SG.S1	go	VEN	visit	NMLZ (?)	TR	LOG.O

bɛ́ɛ̀	mákɔ̄	[ɔ́		tì	ɛ̄r	ɛ̀]	
|bɛ́ɛ̀	mákɔ̄	=ɛ́	=L	tì	ɛ̄rī	=ɛ̀	=L|
next (?)	week	DEM	GEN	PROG	go:VEN	NMLZ	PRST

‘(Zuri told me that she really likes you and that I should ask you) that you come to visit her next week.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_13]

Adverbials come after the predicate. If a clause includes the predicate-final marker =wā, adverbials are placed after this marker. Some adverbials of time, location, and modality (e.g. *léɛ́ˈmì* ‘yesterday’, *zɔ́ntà* ‘now, today’, *hɛ́ɛ̱̄* ‘here’, *dɔ́ɔ́lɛ̄* ‘necessary’) can also occur before the

subject. In this case, the adverbial is probably emphasized, see (641) - (643). Prepositional phrases with the Comitative preposition *à* always come after the predicate, as in (644).

(641)

lɛ́ɛ́ˈmì	á	kā	tí	gɔ̀ɔ̀	zɛ̂y	wā
|lɛ́ɛ́ᴸmì	á	kā	=tí	gɔ̀ɔ̀	zɛ̂y	=wā|
yesterday	1SG.S1	see.VF1	PFV	big	dog	PFM

'It is yesterday when I saw a big dog.' [KUG_2018_LP_072_085]

(642)

mɛ́	ŋ̀nā	váá	rí	lɛ́ɛ́ˈmì	ā̰
|mɛ́	ŋ̀nā	váá	=rí	lɛ́ɛ́ᴸmì	ā̰|
1SG.S3	NEG	marry	PFV	yesterday	NEG

'I did not get married yesterday.' [KUG_20170501_AC_048]

(643)

mɛ́ɛ́			ˈrɛ́	tā́pū	wā	lúɔ́
|mɛ́ɛ̄	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	tā́pī	=wā	lúɔ́|
water	DEM	GEN	PROX	be_cold	PFM	before

'This water used to be cold (when I swam in this water many years ago).'
[KUG_20181124_AC_059]

(644)

ā	lóò		wā	à
|ā	lóó	=ᴸ	=wā	à|
1SG.S1	sleep	RES	PFM	COM

lúy	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|lūy	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́|
afternoon	DEM	GEN	PROX

'I have slept this afternoon.' [KUG_20211218_BB_037]

Adverbials with the Comitative preposition *à* can express a wide range of meanings: temporal (*à gàáˈtɛ́* 'in the morning (from 5 am to 11 am)', *à lūy* 'in the afternoon (from 11 am to 4 pm)', *à lɛ́ɛ̀nī* 'in the evening (from 4 pm to 8 pm)', *à dààzɛ́ɛ̄* 'at night (from 8 pm to 5 am)'), instrumental (*à sì láákī* 'with a net'), locative (*à ɓááˈtóō* 'to/in/from the bush'), manner (*à gbìŋ̀tɛ̄* 'fiercely, loudly'), etc. More information about the Comitative preposition *à* is provided in Section 9.1.

Adverbials that are expressed through simple nouns, compounds, possessive constructions and other types of prepositional phrases (different from phrases with the Comitative *à*) can have the

meaning of time (*ɗáàzúrɛ̄* ‘tomorrow’, *gbī̋ŋ* ‘again’, *lúɔ́* ‘before, long ago’, *ɓélā* ‘before, not anymore’), location (*hɛ́ɛ̱̄* ‘here’, *nè ~ nì* ‘there’, *ɓáá ꜜyɔ́ɔ́là* ‘in Yolla’), frequency (*lúɔ́ ꜜpát* ‘usually, always’), modality (*dɔ́ɔ́lɛ̄* ‘necessary’), manner (*ɓì hɛ́ɛ̱̄* ‘like this’, *bàà yɛ̄ŋ mí* ‘like your mother’, *pēlāpēlā* ‘quickly’, *zūrí* ‘well’), or cause (*sèè yéékī* ‘because of money’).

A number of manner adverbials have a reduplicated form, e.g. *pēlāpēlā* ‘quickly’, *lèmlèm* / *lèlèèm* ‘slowly’, *pɛ́(ɛ́)pɛ́* ‘little’, *ɲàkɔ́ɲàkɔ́* ‘continuously’, *ɓíníɓíní* ‘one by one’, *gbə̀ɛ́ꜜgbə̀* ‘immediately’, *tɛ́ŋtɛ́ŋ* ‘cleanly’. There are two adverbials that are similar or identical in form as the corresponding quality verbs: *zūrí* |zūríᴸ ~ zūrí| ‘well’ vs. *zūrí* ‘be good’, *màrī* ‘a lot’ vs. *màrī* ‘be abundant’.

(645)

ā	kpɔ̀kì		tí	tébìl	tɛ́ŋtɛ́ŋ
|ā	kpɔ̀kí	=ᴸ	=tí	tébìl	tɛ́ŋtɛ́ŋ|
1SG.S1	scratch.VF2	RES	PFV	table	cleanly

‘I cleaned the table.’ [KUG_20181203_AC_073]

The noun phrase *ɓì hɛ́ɛ̱̄* ‘like this’ functions as an adverbial and can express the meaning of manner, quality, and degree. This noun phrase includes the Bound Noun *ɓī* ‘the one of’, the Genitive marker =ᴸ, and the deictic adverb *hɛ́ɛ̱̄* ‘here’.

(646)

Lúkpêwà	hēm	ɓì		hɛ́ɛ̱̄
|Lúkpêwà	hēm	ɓī	=ᴸ	hɛ́ɛ̱̄|
Luikpiewa	be_tall	the_one_of	GEN	here

‘Luikpiewa is this tall.’ (e.g. measuring the height of Luikpiewa by hand)
[Notebook_KUG_2020_5_22]

(647)

í	sɛ́	ɓì		hɛ́ɛ̱̄
|í	sɛ́	ɓī	=ᴸ	hɛ́ɛ̱̄|
IMPS.S1	cut.VF1	the_one_of	GEN	here

‘We cut like this.’ (e.g. showing how to cut grass) [KUG_20200209_MN_020]

11.5 Comparison constructions

Comparison constructions in Kugama have the following structure:

(648) [Subject (Comparee) + Verb + Object (Standard) + à COM + Noun (Parameter)]

The verb slot of the comparison construction can be occupied by two verbs *gbírí* ‘exceed’ or *ɓúrí* ‘exceed’. The verb *ɓúrí* is borrowed from Fulfulde (*ɓur-* ‘dépasser, l’emporter sur, être supérieur à, être plus...’) (Noye 1989: 59). These two verbs are semantically equivalent and interchangeable.

(649)

ā	gbîì		ré	wā	à	hɛ̄m	ɛ̄
|ā	gbírí	=^{L}	=ré	=wā	à	hɛ̄m	=ɛ̄|
1SG.S1	exceed	RES	3SG.HUM.O	PFM	COM	be_tall	NMLZ

‘I am taller than s/he is.’ (lit.: ‘I exceed him/her in tallness.’) [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_53]

(650)

vá	á		ˈré	dɛ̄	ɓúrí
|váā	=é	=^{L}	=ré	dɛ̄	ɓúrí|
child	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.HUM.S1	exceed

ɗá	á		ˈrê	wā	à	ím	ī
|ɗá	=é	=^{L}	=rê^{k}	=wā	à	ím	=ī|
3SG.HUM	DEM	GEN	DEF	PFM	COM	be_heavy.VF1	NMLZ

‘This child is heavier than that one.’ (lit.: ‘This child exceeds this one in heaviness.’) [KUG_20180420_BB_011]

The Parameter is introduced by the Comitative preposition *à*. It can take the form of a regular noun or a deverbal noun. The object (Standard) of a comparison construction can be deleted. I need to check if this construction can have both comparative and superlative readings, as in (651).

(651)

zìì mā	á		ˈré	ɓɔ̀	ɓúrú	wā
|zìì mā	=é	=^{L}	=ré	ɓɔ̀	ɓúrí	=wā|
needle	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S1	exceed	PFM

à	síŋkɛ́lɛ́|
|à	síŋkɛ́lɛ́|
COM	pricking

‘This needle is more pricking.’ [KUG_20180423_BB_019]

11.6 Minimal utterances

This section discusses minimal utterances that function as separate clauses but that are morphosyntactically different from verbal and verbless clauses (Sections 11.1 - 11.3). For example, minimal utterance can be interjections (652), greetings (653), vocatives (654), or insults (655). Minimal utterances frequently occur in quotative constructions.

(652)

sɛ́	ˡdɛ́	tɔ̀	kà
|sɛ́ᴸ	dɛ́	tɔ̀	kà|
then	3SG.HUM.S1	say	3.CLM

wúúúyɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄	kàà		fâ	dŭm
|wúúúyɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄	kà	à	fâ	dŭm|
INTERJ	3.CLM	PRST.COMM	DEM.SG	hyena

‘She [the woman] said: “Help! A small hyena!” ’ [KUG_20180428_AT_022b]

(653)

lèèmá
|lèèmá|
welcome

‘Welcome!’ (Response to “Hello!”) [KUG_20230428_BB_070]

(654)

Múúsá	kālú	mú
|Múúsá	kālí	=mú|
Musa	see.VF2	2SG.ADR

‘Musa, look!’ [Notebook_KUG_2017_01_55]

(655)

pùù		tɔ̌m		yɛ́ŋ		ˡnú
|pūū	=ᴸ	tɔ̄m	=ᴸ	yɛ̄ŋ	=ᴸ	=nú|
hole.CF1	GEN	anus	GEN	mother	GEN	2PL.POSS.INAL

‘Hole of your mother’s anus!’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_02_12]

In addition, a noun phrase with the Additive particle *má ~ máá* ‘also, too’ can be used as a minimal utterance. In particular, the particle *má ~ máá* is used for the predicate ellipsis, i.e. it can replace the predicate of the clause that has been mentioned before, as in (656) and (657). Predicate ellipsis with the particle *má ~ máá* is possible in the speech of one person as well as in a dialogue.

(656)

á	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	ām	wɛ̄nì	
|á	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	ām	wɛ̄nī	$=^{L}$|
1SG.S1	like	PL.1SG.POSS	people	GEN

ɲáá		ˡɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	wā
|ɲáā	$=^{L}$	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=wā|
mouth.CF1	GEN	house	PFM

sóō	mɛ́	má
|sóō	=mɛ́	má|
wife.CF1	1SG.POSS.INAL	ADD

‘I like my neighbors. My wife (likes them) too.’ [KUG_20201120_BB_014]

(657)

SP1:	mí	ɛ̄	sa̱	ɲáá		ˡgóórá	a̱
	|mí	=ɛ̄	sa̱	ɲáā	$=^{L}$	góórá	a̱|
	1SG.S3	NEG	speak	languge.CF1	GEN	Yendang	NEG

‘I do not speak the Yendang language.’

SP2:	mɛ́	má
	|mɛ́	má|
	1SG.S3	ADD

‘Neither do I (speak the Yendang language).’ [KUG_20180514_AC_035]

12 Tense, aspect, modality and polarity

The main focus of this chapter is a description of different tense, aspect, modality, and polarity constructions. I primarily concentrate on the description of positive clauses. Negation is discussed in Section 12.16. This chapter also provides some information on means of tense expression in verbless constructions, the use of the particle *lɛ́* 'before, recently' and phrasal polarity particles.

In the following subsections, I use the term *verb* to illustrate morphosyntactic structures of different tense, aspect, modality and polarity constructions. The term *verb* refers to a verb stem or to a verb stem followed by derivational morphemes, excluding the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ and the Nominalization marker *=kī / =ɛ̄ / =ī / =ɛ̀*. If the latter two derivational morphemes occur in a construction, they are mentioned separately from the *verb* (viz. verb + NMLZ or verb + RES), see Sections 12.3, 12.4, 12.5 and 12.12.

12.1 Imperfective constructions

Imperfective constructions have the following structures:

(658)	positive IPFV	[NP/S1 + verb + (=wā PFM)]
	negative IPFV	[NP/S3 + ŋ̀ā NEG + verb + a̰ NEG]

In positive Imperfective constructions, the subject is expressed by a full noun phrase or the first paradigm of subject pronominals. The marker *=wā* occurs at the end of the predicate, immediately after the verb or the object(s). However, it is not always present in the positive Imperfective, see Section 11.3.2 for more information.

(659)	á	lóó	wā	màrī
	|á	lóó	=wā	màrī|
	1SG.S1	sleep	PFM	a_lot
	'I sleep a lot.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]			

Imperfective constructions are negated by the markers *ŋ̀ā* and *a̰*, as in (660). The subject has the form of a full noun phrase or the third paradigm of subject pronominals. The clause-final marker *=wā* never co-occurs with negation in one clause.

(660)	mɛ́	ŋ̀ā	lóó	màrī	a̰
	|mɛ́	ŋ̀ā	lóó	màrī	a̰|
	1SG.S3	NEG	sleep	a_lot	NEG
	'I do not sleep a lot.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]				

Imperfective constructions express a number of meanings. For example, they are used to refer to general facts, as in (661) - (663).

(661)

à	ɲɔ́s	ɛ́		˩tààpɔ̄
|à	ɲɔ́sí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}	tààpɔ̄|
1SG.S4	drink	NMLZ	TR	tobacco

kɔ́ɔ́	˩ɔ̀	yí	tɛ̄	wā
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ɔ̀	yí	tɛ̄	=wā|
even_if	EXPL.S1	beat.VF1	someone	PFM

'I will keep smoking, even if it kills.' [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

(662)

á	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	vạ̀	kì		bál	wā
|á	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	vạ̀	=kī	=^{L}	bál	=wā|
1SG.S1	like	hit	NMLZ	TR	ball	PFM

'I like football.' (lit.: 'I like hitting a ball.') [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_61]

(663)

Múúsá	kīīsí	Àlí
|Múúsá	kīīsí	Àlí|
Musa	resemble	Ali

'Musa resembles Ali.' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_58]

Imperfective constructions make reference to habitual events in the present and in the past, as in (664) and (665).

(664)

dɛ̄	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	wàsíkà	wà
|dɛ̄	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	wàsíkà	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	write	letter	PFM

'S/he writes letter(s).' [KUG_20181124_AC_058]

(665)

dɛ́	pɔ̄	wā	dɛ́	bɛ̀	wā
|dɛ́	pɔ̄	=wā	dɛ́	bɛ̀	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	farm.VF1	PFM	3SG.HUM.S1	hunt.VF1	PFM

'He farms. He also hunts.' [KUG_20210703_AC_026]

The Imperfective can be used with quality verbs such as *zūrí* 'be good/beautiful', *gèpí* 'be big', *hɛ̄m* 'be tall', *ím* 'be heavy', *tɑ́pí* 'be cold', etc. These constructions express attributive meaning.

(666)

ɓāŋ	háákī	zūrú	wā	
|ɓām	háákī	zūrú	=wā|	
SG.1SG.POSS	farm	be_good	PFM	

'My farm is good.' [KUG_20210716_AC_028]

(667)

mɛ́	ɛ́		ꜜrɛ́	tą́pū	wā
|mɛ́ɛ̄	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	tą́pī	=wā|
water	DEM	GEN	PROX	be_cold	PFM

'This water is/was cold.' [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

(668)

úsɔ̀kɔ̀	zūrí	ɓàà	yɛ̄ŋ	rɛ́
|úsɔ̀kɔ̀	zūrí	ɓàà	yɛ̄ŋ	=rɛ́|
Usoko	be_beautiful	like	mother	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL

'Usoko is beautiful like her mother' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_54]

12.2 Perfective constructions

Perfective constructions are formed in the following way:

(669)

positive PFV	[NP/S1 + verb + =tí / =rí PFV + (=wā PFM)]
negative PFV	[NP/S3 + ɲā NEG + verb + =tí / =rí PFV + ą̄ NEG]

The Perfective is marked by the clitic *=tí / =rí*. It comes after the verb stem or verb-to-verb derivational morphemes. The choice between the two allomorphs of the Perfective marker depends on the weight of the preceding syllable. The allomorph *=rí* follows a heavy syllable (CVC, CVV), and *=tí* follows a light syllable (CV). The subject of positive Perfective constructions is expressed by a full noun phrase or the first set of subject pronominals. The clause-final marker *=wā* may also occur in the positive Perfective. Its distribution is outlined in Section 11.3.2. Perfective clauses describe a specific event as a whole, rather than representing a repeated event (e.g. a habitual event). Actions expressed by Perfective clauses commonly refer to an event in the past. More research needs to be done on the semantics of Perfective.

(670)

ɗɛ́	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	rí	wàsíkà	wà
|ɗɛ́	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	=rí	wàsíkà	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	write	PFV	letter	PFM

[A: When you visited your brother yesterday, what he DO after you had dinner? ANSWER:] 'He wrote letter(s).' [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

Negation in Perfective constructions is expressed by the markers *ɲnā* and *ā̱*, as in (671). The subject slot of the negative Perfective construction can be a full noun phrase or the third paradigm of subject pronominals. The clause-final marker *= wā* is never used with negation in one clause.

(671)

mɛ́	ɲnā	gà	tí	ó	yɔ̄y	ā̱
|mɛ́	ɲnā	gà	=tí	ó^{L}	yɔ̄y	ā̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	try	PFV	some	beer	NEG

'I did not try any (type of) beer.' [KUG_20180514_AC_035]

12.3 Progressive constructions

The structure of positive and negative Progressive constructions can be schematized as follows:

(672)

positive PROG	[NP/S2 + tì ~ tɛ̀ / =ɛ̀ PROG + verb + NMLZ]
negative PROG	[NP/S3 + ɲnā NEG + tì ~ tɛ̀ / =ɛ̀ PROG + verb + NMLZ + ā̱ NEG]

The progressive is expressed through the marker *tì ~ tɛ̀ / =ɛ̀* which is placed after the subject and before the nominalized verb. It is historically related to the noun *tɛ̄* 'place' implying the following reading: 'X is at the place of doing Y'. Its L tone is related to the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ that originally connected the noun *tɛ̄* 'place' and the following nominalized verb. Progressive constructions describe an ongoing event that can take place either in the present or in the past, but never in the future.

(673)

dɛ̄	tù	kʉ̱́	sā	gààsì
|dɛ̄	tì	kʉ̱́	=sā	gààsì|
3SG.HUM.S2	PROG	bend	RECP	stick

dɛ̄	mánsā	tí
|dɛ̄	mánsā	=tí|
3SG.HUM.S1	be_close	PFV

káá		k		ɔ́	wā
|káá	$=^{L}$	=kī	$=^{L}$	=ɔ	=wā|
break.VF3	RES	NMLZ	TR	3NHUM.O	PFM

'S/he is bending a stick in half. S/he is about to break it.' [KUG_20220805_AC_050]

In spontaneous speech, the Progressive marker is typically cliticized as *=ɛ̀* to the preceding subject pronominal of the second paradigm, as in (674). However, the full form *tì ~ tɛ̀* of the Progressive marker can always be used instead of the the cliticized form *=ɛ̀*.

(674)

mɔ̄		mɔ̀	kī
|mɔ̄	=ɛ̀	mɔ̀	=kī|
2SG.S2	PROG	eat	NMLZ

'You are/were eating.'

In Negative Progressive clauses, the Progressive marker *tì ~ tɛ̀* follows the Negation marker *ɲā*, as in (675).

(675)

Lúkpɛ̂wà	ɲā	tì	mɔ̀	kī	a̱
|Lúkpɛ̂wà	ɲā	tì	mɔ̀	=kī	a̱|
Luikpiewa	NEG	PROG	eat	NMLZ	NEG

'Luikpiewa is/was not eating.'

12.4 Future tense constructions

Future constructions have the following structures:

(676)

positive FUT	[NP + à / =ɛ̀ FUT + verb + NMLZ]
positive FUT	[S4 + verb + NMLZ]
negative FUT	[NP/S3 + ɲā + à / =ɛ̀ FUT + verb + NMLZ + a̱ NEG]

In positive Future constructions, the subject is expressed either by a full noun phrase or the fourth paradigm of subject pronominals. The subject of negative Future constructions has the form of a full noun phrase or the fourth paradigm of subject pronominals. The predicate position of Future constructions is always occupied by a nominalized verb, as in (677) and (678).

(677)

mù	hɔ̱́	kì		kpùkpɔ́rɔ́	ɗéè
|mù	hɔ̱́	=kī	$=^{L}$	kpùkpɔ́rɔ́	ɗéè|
2SG.S4	find.VF1	NMLZ	TR	intelligence	CONJ

ɓɛ́ɛ́là		sí		ˈwɛ̄nī
|ɓɛ́ɛ́lā	$=^{L}$	=sī	$=^{L}$	wɛ̄nī|
be_spoiled	RES	NMLZ	GEN	people

kɔ́ɔ́	ˈɓɛ̀rī	tɛ́	ɛ̀	yīī
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ɓɛ̀rī	tɛ̄	=ɛ̀	yīī|
$every_{1}$	each	place	PRST	$every_{1}$

'You will/can find intelligent and spoiled people everywhere.'
[KUG_20211218_BB_037]

(678)

mɛ́	ɲā	gà	tí	ɲós	ɛ́	
|mɛ́	ɲā	gà	=tí	ɲósí	=ɛ̄	=L|
1SG.S3	NEG	try	PFV	drink	NMLZ	TR

ˡtààpɔ̄	ā̱	mɛ́	ɲā	ɓɔ́	à
|tààpɔ̄	ā̱	mɛ́	ɲā	ɓɔ́	à
tobacco	NEG	1SG.S3	NEG	also	FUT

gā	k		ɔ̀	ā̱
|gà	=kī	=L	=ɔ̀	ā̱|
try	NMLZ	TR	3NHUM.O	NEG

‘I haven’t tried smoking neither do I intend to.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_40]

In positive clauses, the Future marker *à / =ɛ̀* occurs only with nominal subjects and never with pronominal subjects, as in (679).

(679)

Àlí	ɛ̀	sɔ̄	kī
|Àlí	=ɛ̀	sɔ̄	=kī|
Ali	FUT	dance.VF1	NMLZ

‘Ali will/can dance.’

When Future constructions are negated, the Future marker *=ɛ̀* comes after the Negation marker *ɲā / =ɛ̄*, as in (680) and (681).

(680)

Àlí	ɲà		mɔ̀	kī	hɛ́ɛ̱̄	ā̱
|Àlí	ɲā	=ɛ̀	mɔ̀	=kī	hɛ́ɛ̱̄	ā̱|
Ali	NEG	FUT	eat.VF1	NMLZ	here	NEG

‘Ali will not / cannot eat here.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_43]

(681)

mɔ́	ɔ̀		māā	kí		ˡɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	ā̱
|mɔ́	=ɛ̄	=ɛ̀	māā	=kī	=L	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	ā̱|
2SG.S3	NEG	FUT	build	NMLZ	TR	house	NEG

‘I will not build a house.’ [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

Future constructions can describe a number of different situations, such as a simple, ongoing or habitual event that will take place in the future as well as some modal meanings, such as ability, obligation, and intention.

(682)

à	íŋ	kī	à	gàáˈtɛ́	ɓút
|à	íŋ	=kī	à	gàáˈtɛ́	ɓút|
1SG.S4	wake_up.VF1	NMLZ	COM	morning	dawn

‘[This week I have to go to work early.] I will rise at dawn.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_52]

(683)

dɛ̃	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	kí		ˈwàsíkà
|dɛ̃	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	=kī	=L	wàsíkà|
3SG.HUM.S4	write	NMLZ	TR	letter

‘[Q: What your brother DO when we arrive, do you think? (=What activity will he be engaged in?)] He will be writing letter(s).’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_34]

[A: My brother has got a new job. He'll start tomorrow. B: What kind of work he DO there] ‘He will write letters.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_34]

(684)

à	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	kí		ˈwàsíkà
|à	vɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄	=kī	=L	wàsíkà|
1SG.S4	write	NMLZ	TR	letter

[Q: What are you planning to do right now? A:] ‘I will write letter(s).’, ‘I am going to write letter(s).’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_34]

(685)

mù	sɔ̄	kī	ɓáá		ˈw̰ɛ̄ɛ̄kī
|mù	sɔ̄	=kī	ɓáā	=L	w̰ɛ̄ɛ̄kī|
2SG.S4	dance.VF1	NMLZ	in	GEN	circumcision

‘You should dance during the circumcision (ceremony).’ [KUG_20220805_AC_050]

12.5 The Immediate past construction

The Immediate past construction refers to an event that took place shortly before the moment of utterance. It has the following structure:

(686) [NP/S1 + dòō ‘just, still’ + máà IMM + verb + NMLZ + =rɔ̀ FOC]

The subject position is occupied by a full noun phrase or the first paradigm of subject pronominals. Elsewhere, the form *dòō* also functions as a phasal polarity marker ‘still’.

(687)

á	dòō	máà			
|á	dòō	máà|			
1SG.S1	just	IMM			
mák	è		ré		rɔ̀
|mákí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}	=ré		=rɔ̀|
know.VF2	NMLZ	TR	3SG.HUM.O		FOC

'I have just got to know him/her.' [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

(688)

léɛ̄	dòō	máà	nák	ɛ̄	rɔ̀
|léɛ̄	dòō	máà	nákí	=ɛ̄	=rɔ̀|
rain	just	IMM	rain.VF2	NMLZ	FOC

'It has rained (not long ago).' [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

12.6 The Hortative 1 construction

Hortative 1 is used to encourage an action and express wishes. The construction is formed in the following way:

(689) [NP/S1 + verb]

Hortative 1 is structurally similar to the Imperfective. However, the Hortative 1 construction is never used with the clause-final marker =*wā*.

(690)

á	á	Kpátíyɛ́rɛ̄
|á	á	Kpátíyɛ́rɛ̄|
1SG.S1	go	Kpatiyere

'Let me go to Kpatiyere!' [KUG_20180502_BB_029]

(691)

tú	á	pòò		tɛ̄
|tú	á	pòō	=^{L}	tɛ̄|
1PL.S1	go	in_front	GEN	place

'Let's continue!' (lit.: 'Let's go forward!') [KUG_20180509_BB_033]

12.7 The Hortative 2 construction

The structure of the Hortative 2 construction can be schematized as follows:

(692) [sè ~ sì HORT + NP/S1 + verb]

This construction is formed with the clause-initial Hortative marker *sɛ̀ ~ sì*. The Hortative marker is followed by a pronominal subject from the first paradigm of subject pronominals or a full noun phrase. It seems that the hortative marker *sɛ̀ ~ sì* is used to avoid ambiguity between the Imperfective and Hortative 1. As mentioned in 12.6, one of the main differences between the Imperfective and Hortative 1 is the clause-final marker *=wā* which occurs in the Imperfective but never in Hortative 1. However, the marker *=wā* may not be present in certain contexts of the Imperfective, see Section 11.3.2. For example, the marker *=wā* does not co-occur with the phrase *kɔ́ɔ́ ˈɓɛ̀rī lūy yī* 'every day'.

(693)

dɛ́		gə̰	sə̰m	hɑ́ɑ́kī
dɛ́		gə̰	sə̰m	hɑ́ɑ́kī|
3SG.HUM.S1		do.VF1	work	farm
kɔ́ɔ́	ˈɓɛ̀rī	lūy	yī	
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ɓɛ̀rī	lūy	yī|	
every$_{1}$	each	day	every$_{1}$	

'He works on a farm every day.' [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

(694)

sɛ̀	dɛ́	gə̰	sə̰m	hɑ́ɑ́kī	
|sɛ̀	dɛ́	gə̰	sə̰m	hɑ́ɑ́kī|	
HORT	3SG.HUM.S1	do.VF1	work	farm	
kɔ́ɔ́	ˈɓɛ̀rī	lūy	yī		
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ɓɛ̀rī	lūy	yī|		
every$_{1}$	each	day	every$_{1}$		

'Let him work on a farm every day.' [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

The Hortative marker *sɛ̀ ~ sì* is also used in the Prohibitive, see Section 12.10 for more details.

12.8 The Optative construction

The Optative construction in Kugama expresses wishes or hopes. It has the following structure:

(695) [ká(^{L}) OPT + NP/S1 + verb]

The Optative is formed by the marker *ká* |ká ~ ká^{L}|. It occurs clause-initially. The marker *ká* is probably the same as the marker *ká* used to form counterfactual conditional constructions (Section 15.7.5).

(696)

ká	ˈɔ̀	kɔ̀ɔ̀	ɓàà	ɔ̀
|ká^{L}	ɔ̀	kɔɔ̀	ɓàà	ɔ̀|
OPT	EXPL.S1	stay	like	3PL.NHUM.NS

‘Amen’ (lit. ‘May it stay like this.’) [KUG_20181118_MS_051]

(697)

ká	Lūy	ɓɔ́	mú	hn̲kī
|ká	Lūy	ɓɔ́	=mú	hn̲kī|
OPT	God	give	2SG.O	luck

‘May God give you luck.’ [KUG_20200129_BB_005]

(698)

ká	fáà	vàtìgāŋ	sáŋkú	sú	mú	úɔ̄
|ká	fáà	vàtìgāŋ	sáŋkí	=sí	=mú	úɔ̄|
OPT	DIM.SG	frog	urinate	APPL	2SG.O	head.CF1:2SG.POSS.INAL

‘God bless you.’ (lit. ‘May a small frog urinate on your head.’)
[Notebook_KUG_2017_1_64]

12.9 Imperative constructions

Imperative clauses in Kugama have the following structures:

(699) [verb + SG.ADR / PL.ADR]
[verb + SG.ADR / PL.ADR + NP or third person object]
[verb + first person object]

Imperative clauses start with a verb. The verb is followed by the addressee marker *mū ~ mú* (addressed to one person) or *nū ~ nú* (addressed to several persons), see (700) and (701). The only context where the addressee is not specified is when a first person pronominal (singular or plural) is used as the object, as in (702) and (703) and compare with (704) and (705).

(700)

ím	mū
|íŋ	=mū|
stand_up.VF1	SG.ADR

‘Stand up! (addressed to one person)’ [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

(701) ín nū
|íŋ =nū|
stand_up.VF1 PL.ADR
'Stand up! (addressed to several persons)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

(702) zɛ̱ɛ̱ tú?
|zɛ̱ɛ̱ =tú?|
greet 1PL.O
'Greet us! (addressed to one person / several persons)' [KUG_20230226_AC_061]

(703) bàk ú
|bàkí =ú|
help 1SG.O
'Help me! (addressed to one person / several persons)' [KUG_2018_0509_BB_033]

(704) zɛ̱ɛ̱ mū ré
|zɛ̱ɛ̱ =mū =ré|
greet SG.ADR 3SG.HUM.O
'Greet him/her!' (addressed to one person)
[KUG_20220803_BB_049] [KUG_20230226_AC_061]

(705) māā mú ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|māā =mú ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
build SG.ADR house
'Build a house!' (addressed to one person) [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

12.10 The Prohibitive construction

Prohibitive clauses have the following structure:

(706) [sɛ̀ ~ sì HORT + NP/S1 + verb + ā̱ NEG]

The Prohibitive construction is a Hortative 2 with the clause-final negative marker *ā̱*. The Prohibitive includes the Hortative marker *sɛ̀ ~ sì* followed by a subject pronominal of the first paradigm or a full noun phrase. The subject pronominal can optionally be cliticized to *sɛ̀ ~ sì*.

(707)

sɛ̀	mū	bàkī	a̱
|sɛ̀	mū	bàkī	a̱|
HORT	2SG.S1	help	NEG

'Don't help! (addressed to one person)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

(708)

sɛ̀	nū	bàkī	a̱
|sɛ̀	nū	bàkī	a̱|
HORT	2SG.S1	help	NEG

'Don't help! (addressed to several persons)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

(709)

kà	sì	wēm	táá	ɗīī	à	pɛ̀ɛ̀rī	a̱
|kà	sì	wēm	táá	ɗīī	à	pɛ̀ɛ̀rī	a̱|
3.CLM	HORT	person	eat.VF3	fish	COM	fast	NEG

'(Our parents told us) not to eat fish too fast (you can choke on its bone).'
(lit.: 'that a person should not eat fish fast, a person can choke on its bone.')
[KUG_20210727_BB_029]

(710)

sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	ɲɔ́m	wā
|sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	ɲɔ́m	=wā|
snake	bite.VF1	PFM

sɛ̀	ī	wàtī	lí	à	ɔ	a̱
|sɛ̀	ī	wàtī	=lí	à	ɔ	a̱|
HORT	IMPS.S1	play	PLAC	COM	3PL.NHUM.NS	NEG

'Snakes bite. Do not play with them!' [KUG_20210727_BB_029]

12.11 The Consecutive construction

A Consecutive construction is minimally marked. It has the following structure:

(711) Consecutive [S1 + verb]

When a complex sentence includes several juxtaposed clauses, the second and other subsequent clauses are used in the Consecutive. The Consecutive is used when the first clause is in the Imperfective, the Perfective (712), the Imperative, or the Prohibitive. Combinations of other tense, aspect, modality and polarity constructions with the Consecutive need to be checked.

(712)

ā	pɔ̄	tí	ā	bɛ̀	ā	hū̱m
|ā	pɔ̄	=tí	ā	bɛ̀	ā	hū̱m|
1SG.S1	farm.VF1	PFV	1SG.S1	hunt.VF1	1SG.S1	pound.VF1

nɔ́ɔ́		ˈsɔ̄m	ā	kólì		sɛ́ɛ̀
|nɔ́ɔ̄	$=^{L}$	sɔ̄m	ā	kólí	$=^{L}$	sɛ́ɛ̀|
seed.CF1	GEN	guinea_corn	1SG.S1	lie.VF2	RES	down

'I farmed, hunted, pounded guinea corn and lay down.' [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

12.12 Resultative constructions

Kugama has a number of Resultative constructions, summarized in (713). All these constructions include a verb with the Resultative marker $=^{L}$ (Section 10.5.1). They are structurally similar to one of the following constructions: Imperfective, Perfective, Progressive, Future, Hortative 2, Imperative, or Consecutive, as demonstrated in (713). Resultative constructions 5 and 7 based on Hortative 1 and Optative are not confirmed yet because of lack of data in my corpus.

(713)

RES 1 (based on IPFV)	[NP/S1 + verb + $=^{L}$ RES + (wā PFM)]
RES 2 (base on PFV)	[NP/S1 + verb + $=^{L}$ RES + =tí / =rí PFV + (=wā PFM)]
RES 3 (based on PROG)	[NP/S2 + tì ~ tɛ̀ PROG + verb + $=^{L}$ RES + NMLZ]
RES 4 (based on FUT)	[NP/S4 + (à FUT) + verb + $=^{L}$ RES + NMLZ]
RES 5 (based on HORT 1) (?)	[NP/S1 + verb + $=^{L}$ RES]
RES 6 (based on HORT 2)	[sɛ̀ ~ sì HORT + NP/S1 + verb + $=^{L}$ RES]
RES 7 (based on OPT) (?)	[ká OPT + NP/S1 + verb+ $=^{L}$ RES]
RES 8 (based on IMP)	[verb + ^{L} RES + (SG.ADR / PL.ADR) + O]
RES 9 (based on PROH)	[sɛ̀ HORT + NP/S1 + verb + $=^{L}$ RES + ā̱ NEG]
RES 10 (based on CONS)	[S1 + verb+ $=^{L}$ RES]

I have not studied Resultative constructions in details. The combination of different Resultative constructions with negation is possible, as in (714) and (715), but can also be restricted, compare (716) and (717). This aspect requires further investigation.

(714)

ká	lū̀y	kóó	kà		
|ká	lū̀y	kóó	kà|		
OPT	God	cause	3.CLM		
sì	ɛ̄	vɛ́ɛ̀		ā̠	
|sì	=ɛ̄	vɛ́ɛ́	=L	ā̠|	
HORT	1SG.S1	die.VF3	RES	NEG	

'May I live long!' (lit.: 'May God make that I don't die') [KUG_20200129_BB_005]

(715)

ɗɛ́	ɛ̄	máà		tí	ā̠
|ɗɛ́	=ɛ̄	mákí	=L	=tí	ā̠|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	know	RES	PFV	NEG

'I do not know.' [KUG_20180428_AT_022b]

(716)

ā	ɓáá˩mù				tú	wā
|ā	ɓáá	=L	mí	=L	=tí	=wā|
1SG.S1	be_old.VF4$_1$	RES	be_old.VF4$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM

'I am old.'

(717)

mɛ́	ŋā	ɓám	rí	ā̠
|mɛ́	ŋā	ɓám	=rí	ā̠|
1SG.S3	NEG	be_old.VF1	PFV	NEG

'I am not old.'

Semantically, Resultative constructions focus on the state resulting from the action, as in (718), or highlight the completion of the action, as in (719) and (720).

(718)

ŋá˩kpáā	púú˩kù				tú	wā
|ŋá^{L}kpáā	púú	=L	kí	=L	=tí	=wā|
door	open.VF4$_1$	RES	open.VF4$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM

'The door has opened / is open.' [KUG_20181122_BB_057]

(719)

dɛ̄	vɛ̱ɛ́		ˡwàsíˡkà	wà
|dɛ̄	vɛ̱ɛ̱	$=^{L}$	wàsí^{L}kà	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	write	RES	letter	PFM

‘S/he has written a letter(s).’ [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

(720)

ā	zîŋ		tú	wā
|ā	zíŋí	$=^{L}$	=tí	=wā|
1SG.S1	descend.VF2	RES	PFV	PFM

úú		ˡɓām	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|úū	$=^{L}$	ɓām	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
on	GEN	SG.1SG.POSS	house

‘I descended from the roof of my house.’ [KUG_20220314_BB_014]

The distinction between Resultative construction 1 and Resultative construction 2 is not always clear. They appear to be used with different types of verbs, i.e. with different valency and semantics. For example, Resultative construction 1 is used with some intransitive verbs, e.g. *vɛ́ɛ́* ‘die (VF3)’, *lɛ́ɛ́* ‘give birth (VF3)’, *lóó* ‘sleep’, *váá* ‘marry’, as in (721) and (722). While Resultative construction 2 occurs with other intransitive verbs like change of state verbs, [45] see (723) - (724).

(721)

ɓɔ̀	vɛ́ɛ̀		wā
|ɓɔ̀	vɛ́ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=wā|
3SG.NHUM.S1	die.VF3	RES	PFM

‘It is dead.’ [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_43]

(722)

dɛ̄	lóò		wā
|dɛ̄	lóó	$=^{L}$	wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	sleep	RES	PFM

‘S/he is asleep.’ / ‘S/he is sleeping.’ [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_3]

[45] Elsewhere in this grammar, I refer to these verbs as *quality verbs*.

(723)

mā	kí		ˈváá	kī
|mā	=kī	=^{L}	váá	=kī|
tie.VF1	NMLZ	GEN	marriage	NMLZ

dɔ́ɔ́ˈkù				tú	wā
|dɔ́ɔ́	=^{L}	kí	=^{L}	=tí	=wā|
start.VF4$_1$	RES	start.VF4$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM

'The wedding has started.' (lit.: 'tying the marriage') [KUG_20170501_AC_049]

(724)

méɛ́			ˈré
|méɛ̄	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=ré|
water	DEM	GEN	PROX

tą̄ˈpù				tú	wā
|tą̄	=^{L}	pí	=^{L}	=tí	=wā|
be_cold$_1$	RES	be_cold$_2$	RES	PFV	PFM

This water has become cold (now or then).' [KUG_20181124_AC_059]

12.13 The expression of tense in verbless constructions

Nominal predication constructions as well as constructions formed by one of the Presentative markers *á, à, ī̀, =ɛ̀* (e.g. the Identificational construction) do not refer to future events. They can refer to an event in the present or in the past. If it is important to specify that an event took place in the past, speakers commonly use the particle *lɛ́* or time adverbials, see Sections 11.4 and 12.13.1. In order to make a reference to a future event, the copula *kɔ̀ɔ̀* can be used, see Sections 12.13.2. Note that there are more ways of specifying tense for verbless constructions that I have not studied yet, e.g. the auxiliary *dâ* that refers to future events.

12.13.1 Past tense

In this section, I focus on nominal predication constructions without copula and the Identificational construction formed by one of the Presentation markers *á, à, ī̀, =ɛ̀.* All these verbless constructions can refer to events in the present and in the past. It is possible to add adverbial nouns to express the time of the event. For instance, Example (725) is an Identificational clause with the adverbial noun *lúɔ́* 'before, long ago' that refers to a past event. The particle *lɛ́* 'before, recently' is also found in verbless constructions, as in (726).

(725)

à	wè		pɔ̄	kī	lúɔ́
|à	wē	$=^{L}$	pɔ̄	=kī	lúɔ́^{L}
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	long_ago

ˡà rɛ́
|à =rɛ́|
COM 3SG.HUM.NS
'S/he was a farmer long ago.' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_39]

(726)

mī	lɛ́	ˡɓáá		Nàjɛ́ɛ́ríyà
|mī	lɛ́^{kL}	ɓáā	$=^{L}$	Nàjɛ́ɛ́ríyà|
1SG.S2	recently	in	GEN	Nigeria

'I was in Nigeria recently.' [KUG_2014_EC_379]

12.13.2 Future tense of the copula *kɔ̀ɔ̀*

The verb *kɔ̀ɔ̀* 'be, become, sit, stay (VF3)' functions as the future tense of the copula. It indicates an action in the future for constructions with nominal predications and constructions formed with presentative markers, as in (727) and (728). The copula is used in the Future construction.

(727)

dɛ̄	kɔ̀ɔ̀	kí		ˡwè		pɔ̄	kī
|dɛ̄	kɔ̀ɔ̀	=kī	$=^{L}$	wē	$=^{L}$	pɔ̄	=kī|
3SG.HUM.S4	be.VF3	NMLZ	TR	person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ

'S/he will become a farmer.' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_39]

(728)

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́			ˡré	ɓɔ̀	ɲā	
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́	ɓɔ̀	ɲā	=è|
house	DEM	GEN	PROX	3SG.NHUM.S3	NEG	FUT

kɔ̀ɔ̀	kī	à	ɓááˡtóō	a̱
|kɔ̀ɔ̀	=kī	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō	a̱|
be.VF3	NMLZ	COM	bush	NEG

'This house will not be in the bush.' [Notebook_KUG_2017_1_56]

12.14 The particle *lɛ́*

The particle *lɛ́* |lɛ́^{k}(^{L})| ‘before, recently’ is used to specify that an event took place in the past. This particle commonly occupies the position immediately before a subject or before a predicate, as in (729) and (730). Note that Kugama also has an anaphoric marker *=lɛ́* (Section 7.3) and the two may be historically related.

(729)

à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	lɛ́	ˈmɔ̄	tɛ̀	gɔ̰̀	kī
|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	lɛ́^{kL}	mɔ̄	tɛ̀	gɔ̰̀	=kī|
PRST.COMM	what	recently	2SG.S2	PROG	do	NMLZ

à	gàáˈtɛ́	ɛ́		ré	ˈyí
|à	gàá^{L}tɛ́	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=ré	=yí|
COM	morning	DEM	GEN	PROX	QM.CON

‘What were you doing recently this morning?’ [KUG_20170518_AC_069]

(730)

mī	lɛ́	tì	kāl	è	
|mī	lɛ́^{k}	tì	kālí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}|
1SG.S2	recently	PROG	see.VF2	NMLZ	TR

wɛ̄	sóōrī	ɛ́		tì	nɔ̄k	è		kɛ̄
|wɛ̄	sóōrī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	tì	nɔ̄kí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}	kɛ̄|
person.CF1	adult_female	DEM	GEN	PROG	cook	NMLZ	PRST	INT

‘I was looking at the woman recently, who was cooking.’ [KUG_20200208_BB_013]

Nominal predication constructions, constructions formed by one of the Presentation markers *á, à, ī̀, =ɛ̀*, as well as the Progressive construction commonly refer to the event in the past or in the present without using any tense markers or time adverbials. However, if speakers want to specify that an event took place in the past, they use the particle *lɛ́* ‘before, recently’ or some time adverbials like *lɛ́ɛ́ˈmì* ‘yesterday’, *lúɔ́* ‘before, long ago’, *ɓɛ́lā* ‘before, but not anymore’ (see Section 11.4), as in (731) and (732).

(731)

méɛ́			ˈré	tɑ́pū	wā	lúɔ́
|méɛ̄	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=ré	tɑ́pī	=wā	lúɔ́|
water	DEM	GEN	PROX	be_cold	PFM	long_ago

‘This water used to be cold (when I swam in this water many years ago).’
[KUG_20181124_AC_059]

(732)

ā	kɔ̀ɔ̀	rí	ɓélā	à	Máábálwā
|ā	kɔ̀ɔ̀	=rí	ɓélā	à	Máábálwā|
1SG.S1	sit.VF3	PFV	before	COM	Mayo-Belwa

'I used to live in Mayo-Belwa (but not now).' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_91]

12.15 Phasal polarity particles

Continuative and terminative phasal values which correspond to the English phasal polarity expressions "still", "not yet" and "no longer" are marked by specialized particles and by the negation marker. Particles and negation can be combined, see Table 40. Two Kugama phasal polarity expressions "not yet" and "no longer" are used with negation. The "no longer" expression is a negated form of *dòō* 'still'. The particle *kpa̱ā̱* which occurs in the construction for "not yet" is never used without negation. As for the inchoative "already", there is no specialized item to mark this concept.

already	no longer
ø	*dòō* + NEG
not yet	still
kpa̱ā̱ + NEG	*dòō*

Table 40. Phasal polarity particles

The particles *kpa̱ā̱* and *dòō* can occur in verbal clauses or non-verbal clauses. In verbal clauses and nominal predications clauses, these particles come after the subject or the negative marker *ɲā*, see (733) - (735).

(733)

dɛ̄	dòō	tì	mɔ̀	kī
|dɛ̄	dòō	tì	mɔ̀	=kī|
3SG.HUM.S2	still	PROG	eat.VF1	NMLZ

'(You are too early), s/he is still eating.' [KUG_20200129_BB_003]

(734)

dɛ́	ɲā	kpa̱ā̱	hɛ́ɛ̄	a̱
|dɛ́	ɲā	kpa̱ā̱	hɛ́ɛ̄	a̱|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	yet	here	NEG

'(You are too early,) s/he is not here yet.' [KUG_20200129_BB_003]

(735)

Múúsá	ɲā	dòō	tì	kīīs	è	
|Múúsá	ɲā	dòō	tì	kīīsí	=ɛ̄	=L|
Musa	NEG	still	PROG	resemble	NMLZ	TR

tɔ̄ŋ	rɛ́	ā̱
|tɔ̄ŋ	=rɛ́	ā̱|
father	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL	NEG

'Musa no longer resembles his father. (He resembles his grandfather right now)' [KUG_20220805_AC_050]

12.16 Negation

Kugama employs two markers for negation: *ɲā (/ =ɛ̄)* and *ā̱*. The maker *ɲā* is always used together with the marker *ā̱* in a sentence. As for the marker *ā̱*, it can negate some types of clauses on its own without *ɲā*. Clauses which are negated only by the marker *ā̱* are discussed in Section 12.16.1. I analyze the constructions where both negation markers are used in Section 12.16.2.

12.16.1 Simple negation with the marker *ā̱*

The negative marker *ā̱* is added at the end of the corresponding positive clause so that such negative constructions can be described as symmetric. This marker is used: i) for negating non-verbal clauses formed by one of the presentative markers *á*, *à*, *īì*, or *=è*, compare (736) and (737), (738) and (739); ii) for negating cleft constructions, as in (740); iii) in the Prohibitive construction, as in (741).

(736)

á	ꜜÀlí
|áL	Àlí|
PRST.SG.PROP	Ali

'It is Ali.'

(737)

á	ꜜÀlí	ā̱
|áL	Àlí	ā̱|
PRST.SG.PROP	Ali	NEG

'It is not Ali.'

(738)

à	wè		pɔ̄	kī	à	mɛ́
|à	wɛ̄	$=^{L}$	pɔ̄	=kī	à	=mɛ́|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	COM	1SG.NS

'I am/was a farmer.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(739)

à	wè		pɔ̄	kī	à	mɛ́	a̱
|à	wɛ̄	$=^{L}$	pɔ̄	=kī	à	=mɛ́	a̱|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	COM	1SG.NS	NEG

'I am/was not a farmer.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(740)

à	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	ɗɛ̄	māā	rí	ɛ́	ˡa̱
|à	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	ɗɛ̄	māā	=rí	=ɛ̀	a̱|
PRST.COMM	house	3SG.HUM.S1	build	PFV	PRST	NEG

à	bɔ̌m	ɗɛ̄	māā	rí	ɛ́
|à	bɔ̌m	ɗɛ̄	māā	=rí	=ɛ̀|
PRST.COMM	hut	3SG.HUM.S1	build	PFV	PRST

'It is not a house he built but a hut.'

(741)

sɛ̀	mū	bàkī	a̱
|sɛ̀	=mū	bàkī	a̱|
HORT	2SG.S1	help	NEG

'Don't help! (addressed to one person)' [KUG_20180501_BB_027]

12.16.2 Double negation with the markers *ɲā / =ɛ̄* and *a̱*

Negation with two markers, *ɲā / =ɛ̄* and *a̱*, is formed in the following way:

(742) a. [NP/S3 + ɲā / =ɛ̄ NEG + Predicate + a̱ NEG]

The position of *ɲā / =ɛ̄* is immediately after the subject. The negation marker *a̱* is placed clause-finally.

(743)

gbɛ̀nɛ̄	ɲā	táá	wɛ̂y	ā̱
|gbɛ̀nɛ̄	ɲā	táá	wɛ̂y	ā̱|
horse	NEG	chew.VF3	meat	NEG

‘A horse does not eat meat, …’ [KUG_20201120_BB_014]

(744)

ó^{ꜜ}sì	ɲā	tà̱à̱mí	ré	ā̱
|ó^{L}sì	ɲā	tà̱à̱mí	=ré	ā̱|
something	NEG	please.VF4	3SG.HUM.O	NEG

‘Nothing pleases him/her.’ [KUG_20180514_AC_035]

(745)

méɛ̄		váá	rí	lɛ́ɛ́^{ꜜ}mì	à̱
|mɛ́	=ɛ̄	váá	rí	lɛ́ɛ́^{L}mì	ā̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	marry	PFV	yesterday	NEG

‘I did not get married yesterday.’ [KUG_20170501_AC_048]

Kugama uses two markers *ɲā / =ɛ̄* and *ā̱* for negating most types of simple declarative clauses. They can be verbal clauses and nominal predication clauses without a copula, compare (746) with (747) and (748) with (749).

(746)

à	gɔ̱̀	kì		sɔ̱̀m	sàá^{ꜜ}rɛ́
|à	gɔ̱̀	=kī	=^{L}	sɔ̱̀m	sàá^{ꜜ}rɛ́|
1SG.S4	do.VF1	NMLZ	TR	work	today

‘I will work today.’ / ‘I can work today.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_44]

(747)

mɛ́	ɲà		gɔ̱̀	kì		sɔ̱̀m	sàá^{ꜜ}rɛ́	ā̱
|mɛ́	ɲā	=ɛ̀	gɔ̱̀	=kī	=^{L}	sɔ̱̀m	sàá^{ꜜ}rɛ́	ā̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	FUT	do.VF1	NMLZ	TR	work	today	NEG

‘I will not work today.’ / ‘I cannot work today.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_44]

(748)

dɛ̄	ɓáá^{ꜜ}tóō
|dɛ̄	ɓáá^{L}tóō|
3SG.HUM.S2	bush

‘S/he is in the bush.’ [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_31]

(749)

ɗɛ́	ɲā	ɓáá^{HL}tóō	a̱	
|ɗɛ̄	ɲā	ɓáá^{L}tóō	a̱|	
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	bush	NEG	

'S/he is not in the bush.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_31]

The double-negation construction with *ɲā / =ɛ̄* and *ā̱* is characterized by some further structural differences with the corresponding positive constructions. Firstly, negation with *ɲā* and *ā̱* requires the presence of the third paradigm of subject pronominals, compare (750) and (751). Secondly, the predicate-final marker *=wā*, which often occurs in positive Imperfective, Perfective, Resultative 1 and Resultative 2, must be absent in the corresponding negative constructions, as in (751).

(750)

ā	lóó	wā	màrī
|ā	lóó	=wā	màrī|
1SG.S1	sleep	PFM	a_lot

'I sleep a lot.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

(751)

mɛ́	ɲā	lóó	màrī	a̱
|mɛ́	ɲā	lóó	màrī	a̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	sleep	a_lot	NEG

'I do not sleep a lot.' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

As mentioned above, the negative marker *ā̱* is placed clause-finally. It also occurs at the end of the Quotative construction 1 (that is formed by the clause-linking markers CLM *má~mā* or *kà*) regardless of the type of the clause - reporting or reported - being negated:

(752)
a. [S + ɲā NEG + Predicate + má~mā / kà CLM + S + Predicate + a̱ NEG]
b. [S + Predicate + má~mā/ kà CLM + S + ɲā NEG + Predicate + a̱ NEG]
c. [S + ɲā NEG + Predicate + má~mā/ kà CLM + S + ɲā NEG + Predicate + a̱ NEG]

The negation of the reporting clause is formed by placing the marker *ɲā* after the subject of the reporting clause and the marker *ā̱* at the end of the whole quotative construction, see (752a) and (753). Both markers *ɲā* and *ā̱* co-occur in one clause when negating a reported clause, as in (752b) and (754). The negation of both clauses requires the presence of *ɲā* in both the reporting and reported clauses and the presence of *ā̱* at the end of the quotative construction, see (752c) and (755).

(753)

mɛ́	ɲā	máà		tí	má
|mɛ́	ɲā	mákí	$=^{L}$	=tí	má|
1SG.S3	NEG	know	RES	PFV	1~2.CLM

Yáálò	ɓáá		ꜜlūūmɔ̀	a̱
|Yáálò	ɓáā	$=^{L}$	lūūmɔ̀	a̱|
Yaalo	in	GEN	market	NEG

'I didn't know that Yaalo was in the market.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_42]

(754)

dɛ̄	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà
|dɛ̄	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà|
2SG.HUM.S1	say	3.CLM

dɛ́	ɲā	tì	yɔ̀l	è	
|dɛ̄	ɲā	tì	yɔ̀lí	=ɛ̄	$=^{L}$|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	PROG	want	NMLZ	TR

á	kī	Nāmzɔ̄	a̱
|á	=kī	Nāmzɔ̄	a̱|
go	NMLZ	Namzo	NEG

'S/he$_1$ said that s/he$_2$ does not want to go to Namzo.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_1_61]

(755)

dɛ́	ɲā	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà
|dɛ̄	ɲā	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	say	3.CLM

dɛ́	ɲā	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	wī	a̱
|dɛ̄	ɲā	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	=wī	a̱|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	like	LOG.O	NEG

'S/he$_1$ did not say that s/he$_2$ does not like him/her$_1$.' [KUG_20210410_AC_021]

13 Interrogative constructions

13.1 Polar question with *yā*

Kugama uses the question marker *yā* to form polar interrogative constructions. It is added at the end of the corresponding declarative sentence, as in (756).

(756)

mú	kā	tí	ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	wā	lɛ́ɛ́ˈmì	yā
|mú	kā	=tí	ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	=wā	lɛ́ɛ́ᴸmì	yā|
2SG.S1	see.VF1	PFV	SG.1SG.POSS	son	PFM	yesterday	QM.POL

'Did you see my son yesterday?' [KUG_20170518_AC_069]

In my corpus, I found one example of a polar question used in the quotative construction. The reported phrase consists of two clauses coordinated by the conjunction *kɔ́(ɔ)* 'or'. The polar question marker *yā* is placed at the end of the first clause before *kɔ́(ɔ)* 'or', see (757).

(757)

dɛ̄	kālí	dɛ́	ɲâŋ		à
|dɛ̄	kālí	dɛ́	ɲáŋ́	=ᴸ	à|
3SG.HUM.S1	see.VF2	3SG.HUM.S1	leave.VF2	RES	COM

'He thought whether he should leave with'

wɛ́y	ɛ́		ˈré	yā	kɔ́
|wɛ̂y	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=ré	yā	kɔ́ᴸ|
meat	DEM	GEN	PROX	QM.POL	or

'this meat or'

ˈdɛ̄	nàà		fáà	dɔ̀kí	ɛ́		ˈré
|dɛ̄	nāā	=ᴸ	fáà	dɔ̀kí	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=ré|
3SG.HUM.S1	take.VF3	RES	DIM.SG	grasshopper	DEM	GEN	PROX

'he should take this grasshopper?' [KUG_20181118_MS_051]

13.2 Negative polar question with *a̱à̱*

When a polar question is negated, the negative polar question marker *a̱à̱* is used in addition to the regular negative marker *ɲā* after the subject. In all probability, this marker results from the combination of the negative marker *ā̱* and the polar question marker *yā*. More information about negation in Kugama is provided in Section 12.16.

(758)

Àlí	ɲā	ɓáá$^{\downarrow}$tóō	á̰à̰
|Àlí	ɲā	ɓáá^{L}tóō	á̰à̰|
Ali	NEG	bush	QM.POL.NEG

'Isn't Ali in the bush?' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

13.3 Polar question with *kɔ́(ɔ́)*

Polar questions in Kugama can also be formed using the question marker *kɔ́(ɔ́)* which is sourced from *kóó* 'or; question marker' in Hausa. I have not studied in detail this type of question in Kugama. I just found a few examples of questions with *kɔ́(ɔ́)* in audio and text messages which I received from Kugama speakers, see (759) and (760). All questions with *kɔ́(ɔ́)* were asked to get a confirmation.

(759)

mɔ̄ɔ̀		gə̰̀	kì		sə̰̀m	kɔ́ɔ́
|mɔ̄	tì	gə̰̀	=kī	$=^{L}$	sə̰̀m	kɔ́ɔ́|
2SG.S2	PROG	do.VF1	NMLZ	TR	work	QM.POL

'Are you working?'

tɔ̀	gə̰̀	mū	sə̰̀m	zūrí	má
|tɔ̀	gə̰̀	=mū	sə̰̀m	zūrí	má|
INTERJ	do.VF1	SG.ADR	work	well	ADD

'Work well then!' [KUG_20190108_AC_003]

(760)

mù	ērˈ	è	ɓáá		$^{\downarrow}$séè		ɓíní	kɔ́ɔ́
|mù	ērí	=è	ɓáā	$=^{L}$	séē	$=^{L}$	ɓíní	kɔ́ɔ́|
2SG.S4	come	NMLZ	in	GEN	month	GEN	one	QM.POL

'You will come in January (first month), right?' (possible representation of the text message, November 2019)

13.4 Content questions

This section focuses on different content interrogative constructions that form 'who?', 'what?', 'why?', 'which one?', 'when?', 'where?', 'how many/much?' and 'how?' questions. All content questions are cleft-like constructions. Almost all of them have the Presentative marker =è clause-finally. Despite the absence of the clause-final Presentative marker *=è̀* in questions with the in-situ interrogative phrases *ɔ̀kè̀* 'what?' and *sèè̀ ɔ̀kè̀* 'why?', a trace of the Presentative marker *=è̀* can be found within their forms *ɔ̀kè̀* that historically originate from the non-human/expletive pronominal *ɔ̀^{k}* and the Presentative marker *=è̀*, see (761).

(761)	mū	kúlí	tí	ɓūɔ̄	sǐŋ
	|mū	kúlí	=tí	ɓūɔ̄	sǐŋ|
	2SG.S1	put.VF2	PFV	SG.2SG.POSS	basket

	úú		ɔ̀kɛ̀	yí
	|úū	=L	ɔ̀kɛ̀	=yí|
	on	GEN	what	QM.CON

'On what did you put your basket?' [KUG_20230204_BB_054]

The interrogative phrases *wɛ́* 'who?' and *ɔ̀kɛ̀* 'what?', when used clause-initially, are introduced by one of the presentative markers *á, à* or *ī̀*, as in (762). This also confirms the cleft-like nature of content questions. More information about cleft constructions is provided in Section 14.1.

(762)	à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	ɲɔ́m	rú	múk	ɛ̀	yí
	|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	ɲɔ́m	=rí	=mú^{k}	=ɛ̀	=yí|
	PRST.COMM	what	bite.VF1	PFV	2SG.O	PRST	QM.CON

'What bit/stung you?' [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

All content questions are formed by the question marker *=yí* that comes after the interrogative phrase and/or the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* at the end of the clause, as in (763). Note that the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* after pronominals can carry a M tone *=ɛ̄*.

(763)	á	ˈwɛ́	ɛ̀	ɓááˈtówɛ̀		yí
	|áL	wɛ́	=ɛ̀	ɓááLtóō	=ɛ̀	=yí|
	PRST.SG.PROP	who	COM	bush	PRST	QM.CON

'Who is in the bush?' [KUG_20180514_AC_034]

13.4.1 'Who?'-questions

'Who?'-questions have the following structure:

(764) [á(L) PRST.SG.PROP + wɛ́(L) 'who?' + … + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]
[ī̀ PRST.PL.PROP + wɛ́(L) 'who?' + … + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]

The interrogative *wɛ́* is related to the noun *wēm* 'person' and is used to inquire the identity of humans. It is always preceded by a presentative marker, *á* PRST.SG.PROP or *ī̀* PRST.PL.PROP,[46] distinguishing number with human referents, as in (765) and (766).

[46] The presentative markers *á* and *ī̀* are used with Proprial Nouns in cleft constructions. Since the interrogative *wɛ́* occurs with these presentative markers, I classify it as a Proprial Noun (Section 3.1.1).

(765)

á	ˡwɛ́	ˡmú	kā	tí
|áᴸ	wɛ́ᴸ	mú	kā	=tí|
PRST.SG.PROP	who	2SG.S1	see.VF1	PFV

ɓáá	ˡkɔ̃y	ɛ̀	yí
|ɓáā	=ᴸ	kɔ̃y	=ɛ̀	=yí|
in	GEN	village	PRST	QM.CON

‘Whom (SG) did you see in the village?’ [KUG_20170518_AC_069]

(766)

īì	wɛ́	ˡmāā	rí
|īì	wɛ́ᴸ	māā	=rí|
PRST.PL.PROP	who	build	PFV

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ̂			rɛ̀	yì
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	=yí|
house	DEM	GEN	PROX	QM.CON

‘Who (PL) built these houses?’ [KUG_20201217_AC_019]

13.4.2 ‘What?’-questions

A ‘what?’-question is formed in the following way:

(767) [à PRST.COMM + ɔ̀kɛ̀ ‘what?’ + … + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]
[… + ɔ̀kɛ̀ ‘what?’ + =yí QM]

When the interrogative phrase *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘what’ occurs clause-initially, it is always preceded by the presentative marker *à*.[47] This construction ends in the Presentative marker =ɛ̀ and the question marker *=yí*.

(768)

à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	mū	tì	gə̰	kī	ɛ̀	yí
|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	mū	tì	gə̰	=kī	=ɛ̀	=yí|
PRST.COMM	what	2SG.S2	PROG	do.VF1	NMLZ	PRST	QM.CON

‘What are you doing?’ [KUG_20170518_AC_069]

When the interrogative phrase *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘what’ occurs in-situ as the argument of a preposition, it is followed only by the question marker *=yí*, as in (769). The interrogative *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘what’ can also

[47] The Presentative marker à is used with Common Nouns in cleft constructions. Therefore, the interrogative *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘what’ belongs to the category of Common Nouns in Kugama (Section 3.1.1).

be extracted from a prepositional phrase and placed in the clause-initial position, in which case it is resumed by a co-referential pronominal in the prepositional phrase from which it is extracted, as in (770).

(769)

mū	kúlí	tí	ɓūɔ̄	sǐŋ
|mū	kúlí	=tí	ɓūɔ̄	sǐŋ|
2SG.S1	put.VF2	PFV	SG.2SG.POSS	basket

úú		ɔ̀kɛ̀	yí
|úū	=^{L}	ɔ̀kɛ̀	=yí|
on	GEN	what	QM.CON

'On what did you put your basket?' [KUG_20230204_BB_054]

(770)

àkɛ̀		mú	māā	rí
|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	mú	māā	=rí|
PRST.COMM	what	2SG.S1	build	PFV

ɓū	ɔ̄	dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɓī	=ɔ̄	dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
the_one_of	2SG.POSS.INAL	house

dʊ̀gʊ̰̀		ɔ̀k	ɛ̀	yí
|dùgʊ̰̄ʊ̰̄	^{L}	=ɔ̀^{k}	=ɛ̀	=yí|
behind	GEN	3NHUM.POSS	PRST	QM.CON

'Behind what did you build your house?' (lit.: 'It is what that you built your house behind it?') [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

The Presentative marker *à* can optionally delete the initial vowel of *ɔ̀kɛ̀* resulting in the form *àkɛ̀*, as in (770).

Like in English, the interrogative *ɔ̀kɛ̀* 'what' is used in Kugama in questions about non-human referents as well as in questions about the classification of human referents, as when asking about the sex of a newly born, as in (771), or the kinship and social relationship, as in (772).

(771)

à	ɔkɛ̀	sóò		dūmlɛ́		ˈkpằm
|à	ɔkɛ̀	sóō	$=^{L}$	dūmlɛ̄	$=^{L}$	kpằm|
PRST.COMM	what	wife.CF1	GEN	son	GEN	chief

lɛ́	tí	ɛ̀	yí
|lɛ́	=tí	=ɛ̀	=yí|
give_birth.VF1	PFV	PRST	QM.CON

‘[Asking about the sex of a newly born] What did the wife of the son of the chief give birth to?’ [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

(772)

à	ɔkɛ̀	Rákīyā	mɔ́k	ɛ̀	yí
|à	ɔkɛ̀	Rákīyā	mɔ́^{k}	=ɛ̀	=yí|
PRST.COMM	what	Rakiya	2SG.NS?	PRST	QM.CON

‘What is Rakiya to you?’ [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

13.4.3 ‘Why?’-questions

(773) [à PRST.COMM + ɔkɛ̀ ‘what’ + kóó ‘cause’ + … + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]
[... sɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘because’ + ɔkɛ̀ ‘what’ + =yí QM]

A ‘why?’-question is formally a ‘what?’-question with the structure of a causative construction (Section 15.1), as in (774).

(774)

à	ɔkɛ̀	kóó	rú	mú	kā
|à	ɔkɛ̀	kóó	=rí	=mú	kā|
PRST.COMM	what	cause	PFV	2SG.O	before

mú	hą̱ą́kí	tí
|mú	hą̱ą́kí	=tí|
2SG.S1	break.VF4	PFV

hɔ́		rɛ́k	ɛ̀	yí
|hɔ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́^{kL}	=ɛ̀	=yí|
calabash.?	GEN	DEF	PRST	QM.CON

‘Why did you break the calabash?’ (lit. ‘It is what that caused you before you broke the calabash?’) [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

Another way of forming a ‘why?’-question is to use the preposition *sɛ̀ɛ̀* ‘because’ and the interrogative *ɔkɛ̀* ‘what’ as the prepositional argument, see (775).

(775)

mú	hą̰ą̰kí	tí	hɔ́		rɛ́
|mú	hą̰ą̰kí	=tí	hɔ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́^{kL}|
2SG.S1	break.VF4	PFV	calabash.?	GEN	DEF

ˡsɛ̀ɛ̀	ɔkɛ̀	yí
|sɛ̀ɛ̀	ɔkɛ̀	=yí|
because	what	QM.CON

'Why did you break the calabash?' (lit.: 'You broke the calabash because of what?') [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

13.4.4 'Which one?'-questions

'Which one?'-questions are formed by two selective interrogative pronominals / interrogative modifiers *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* 'which one?' */ ìrī ~ èrī* 'which ones?' as follows:

(776) [ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī 'which one?' / ìrī ~ èrī 'which ones?' + … + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]
[ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī 'which one?' / ìrī ~ èrī 'which ones?' + NP + … + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]

The form *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* is used to ask about one non-human referent, and *ìrī ~ èrī* is used to ask about several non-human referents. Both forms have the same forms as the free possessive pronominals *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* and *ìrī ~ èrī* 'their' (Section 4.5.2). 'Who?'-questions are used to ask about a human referent.

(777) a.

ɓìrī	ɓúrí	à	kál	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	yí
|ɓìrī	ɓúrí	à	kálí	=ɛ̄	=ɛ̄	=yí|
which_one	exceed	COM	be_strong	NMLZ	PRST	QM.CON

'Which one (one out of many) is stronger?' [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

b.

ìrī	ɓúrí	à	kál	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	yí
|ìrī	ɓúrí	à	kálí	=ɛ̄	=ɛ̀	=yí|
which_ones	exceed	COM	be_strong	NMLZ	PRST	QM.CON

'Which ones (several out of many) are stronger?' [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

(778)

ɓìrī	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	kpă̰m	māā	rí	ɛ́	ˡyí
|ɓìrī	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	kpă̰m	māā	=rí	=ɛ̀	=yí|
which_one	house	chief	build	PFV	PRST	QM.CON

'[I see several houses] Which house has the chief built?' [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

13.4.5 ‘When?’-questions

A ‘when?’-question is based on a noun phrase formed by the interrogative modifier *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* ‘which one?’ and a noun with temporal meaning, e.g. *lūy* ‘day’ or *yáákɛ̄* ‘moment’ (related to *yaake* in Fulfulde), as in (779). I have not checked the possibility of ‘when?’-questions with the interrogative modifier *ìrī ~ èrī* ‘which ones?’.

(779) [ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī ‘which one?’ + lūy ‘day’ / yáákɛ̄ ‘moment’ + … + =è PRST + =yí QM]

(780)

ɓìrī	lūy	kpə̌m	māā	rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɓìrī	lūy	kpə̌m	māā	=rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
which_one	day	chief	build	PFV	house

à	ɓáá^{L}tówɛ̀		yí
|à	ɓáá^{L}tóō	=è	=yí|
COM	bush	PRST	QM.CON

‘When did the chief build a house in the bush?’ [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

(781)

ɓìrī	yáákɛ̄	wɛ̄nì		Nàmzɔ́	ɓɔ́	
|ɓìrī	yáákɛ̄	wɛ̄nī	=^{L}	Nàmzɔ́	ɓɔ́|	
which_one	moment	people	GEN	Namzo	give	

ì		rī	náákī	sùmɔ̀kɛ̄	è	yí
|ī	=^{L}	=rī	náákī	sùmɔ̀kɛ̄	=è	=yí|
the_ones_of	GEN	3PL.POSS.INAL	cow	food	PRST	QM.CON

‘When do people in Namzo give food to their cows?’ [KUG_20180516_BB_039]

13.4.6 ‘Where?’-questions

A ‘where?’-question is based on a noun phrase formed by the interrogative modifier *ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī* ‘which one?’ and the noun *tɛ̄* ‘place’. This type of question always includes the deictic adverbial noun *nɛ̀ ~ nì* ‘there, that place’, which occurs before the Presentative marker *=è* and which can be analyzed as resuming the locative interrogative. I have not checked the possibility of ‘where?’-questions with the interrogative modifier *ìrī ~ èrī* ‘which ones?’.

(782) [ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī ‘which one?’ + tɛ̄ ‘place’ + … + nɛ̀^{k}~nì^{k} ‘there’ + =è PRST + =yí QM]

(783)

ɓìrī	tɛ̄	kpə̀m	māā	rí
|ɓìrī	tɛ̄	kpə̀m	māā	=rí|
which_one	place	chief	build	PFV

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	nɛ̀k	ɛ̀	yí
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	nɛ̀^{k}	=ɛ̀	=yí|
house	there	PRST	QM.CON

'Where has the chief built a house?' (lit.: 'Which place is it that the chief built a house there?') [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

13.4.7 'How many/much?'-questions

A 'how many/much?'-question is formed by the quantifier *kɛ́*. It comes after a noun phrase in the subject or predicate position, as schematized in (784). The noun phrase can be separated from *kɛ́* by an adverbial, as demonstrated in (786).

(784) [NP + kɛ́ QNT + … + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]
[… + NP + kɛ́ QNT + =ɛ̀ PRST + =yí QM]

(785)

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	˥kɛ́	kpə̀m	māā	rí	ɛ́	˥yí
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́^{L}	kɛ́	kpə̀m	māā	=rí	=ɛ̀	=yí|
house	QNT	chief	build	PFV	PRST	QM.CON

'How many houses has the chief built?' [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

(786)

tāɓáám	ɔ̄	ɓɔ́	tú	mú	yɛ́ɛ́kī
|tāɓáámɛ̄	=ɔ̄	ɓɔ́	=tí	=mú	yɛ́ɛ́kī|
uncle	2SG.POSS.INAL	give	PFV	2SG.O	money

lɛ́ɛ́˥mì	kɛ́	ɛ̀	yí
|lɛ́ɛ́^{L}mì	kɛ́	=ɛ̀	=yí|
yesterday	QNT	PRST	QM.CON

'How much money did your uncle give you yesterday?' [KUG_20180516_BB_039]

13.4.8 'How?'-questions

13.4.8.1 The interrogatives *kàwɛ́* and *máwɛ́*

'How?'-questions are expressed by means of the interrogatives *kàwɛ́* and *máwɛ́*. They occur in-situ. The structure of 'how?'-questions is provided in (787).

(787) [... kàwɛ́ / máwɛ́ ‘how’ + =ɛ̀ PRST + yí QM]

The forms *kà* and *má* of the interrogatives *kàwɛ́* and *máwɛ́* are probably related to the clause-linking markers *kà* and *má*, see Section 15.4. I did not observe any differences between questions with *kàwɛ́* and *máwɛ́*. However, the interrogative *káwɛ́* occurs in the majority of ‘how’-questions that are found in my corpus.

(788) a.

mù	sa̱	kī	kàwɛ́	ɛ̀	yí
|mù	sa̱	=kī	kàwɛ́	=ɛ̀	=yí|
2SG.S4	speak	NMLZ	how	PRST	QM.CON

‘How can you talk like this?’ (with your mouth full of food)
[KUG_20210410_AC_021]

b.

mù	sa̱	kī	máwɛ́	ɛ̀	yí
|mù	sa̱	=kī	máwɛ́	=ɛ̀	=yí|
2SG.S4	speak	NMLZ	how	PRST	QM.CON

‘How can you talk like this?’ (with your mouth full of food)
[KUG_20210410_AC_021]

(789)

nú	pɛ́ɛ̱́	gbɛ̄ɛ̄rī	kàwɛ́	ɛ̀	yí
|nú	pɛ́ɛ̱́	gbɛ̄ɛ̄rī	kàwɛ́	=ɛ̀	=yí|
2PL.S1	peel	groundnut	how	PRST	QM.CON

‘How do you peel groundnut?’ [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

The interrogative ‘how?’ and the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀* can be separated from the question marker *yí* by an adverbial or a clause, as in (790) and (791).

(790)

í	ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	méɛ̄	kàwɛ́	ɛ̀
|í	ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	méɛ̄	kàwɛ́	=ɛ̀|
IMPS.S1	call	water	how	PRST

ŋ̀ɲáá		ꜜháwsá	ꜜyí
|ŋ̀ɲáā	=L	háwsá	=yí|
language.CF1	GEN	Hausa	QM.CON

‘How do they say “water” in Hausa?’ (lit.: ‘How does one call water in Hausa?’)
[KUG_20181127_BB_061]

(791)

ɔ̀	pa̱a̱		tí	kàwɛ́	ɛ́
|ɔ̀	pa̱ní	=L	=tí	kàwɛ́	=è|
EXPL.S1	do	RES	PFV	how	PRST

˧dɛ́	ɲā	kā	tó		a̱	yí
|dɛ́	ɲā	kā	=tí	=óL	a̱	=yí|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	see.VF1	PFV	1SG.O	NEG	QM.CON

‘How come s/he did not see me?’ (lit.: ‘How did it happen that s/he did not see me?’) [KUG_20180516_BB_038]

A ‘how?’-question can be used to ask for the name of a person or a thing, including trees, animals, words, and places. This kind of question can be formed by means of the verb *ɓɛ̄ɛ̄* ‘call’ (792) and the impersonal subject pronominal *ɪ́ ~ ɪ̄* or by means of a possessive construction with the head noun *nîŋ* ‘name’, see (793) and (794).

(792)

ɪ́	ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	mú	kàwɛ́	è	yí
|ɪ́	ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	=mú	kàwɛ́	=è	=yí|
IMPS.S1	call	2SG.O	how	PRST	QM.CON

‘How are you called?’ / ‘What is your name?’ (lit.: ‘How does one call you?’) [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

(793)

nîŋ		sóò		dūmlɛ́		˧kpằm
|nîŋ	=L	sóō	=L	dūmlɛ̄	=L	kpằm|
name	GEN	woman.CF1	GEN	son	GEN	chief

kàwɛ́	è	yí
|kàwɛ́	=è	=yí|
how	PRST	QM.CON

‘What is the name of the wife of the son of the chief?’ [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

(794)

nîŋ		dìŋsì	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|n̂íŋ	$=^{L}$	dìŋsì	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́|
name	GEN	tree	DEM	GEN	PROX

kàwɛ́	ɛ̀	yí
|kàwɛ́	=ɛ̀	=yí|
how	PRST	QM.CON

'What is the name of this tree?' [KUG_20181127_BB_061]

13.4.8.2 The question word *nǒy*

In greetings, Kugama speakers can use the question word *nǒy (nòy)* 'how' for asking a 'how'-question. This phrase is related to *no* 'how' in Fulfulde (Noye 1989: 264).

(795)

nǒy	sàáˈrɛ́
|nǒy	sàá^{L}rɛ́|
how	today

'How is today?' [KUG_20170312_AC_002]

(796)

nǒy	lūy	níīrī
|nǒy	lūy	níīrī|
how	day	two

'How have you been doing lately?' (lit.: 'How are the two days?' implying that it has been a while already since I last saw you) [KUG_20200212_BB_026]

14 Information structure

This chapter offers a preliminary exploration of information structure in Kugama. In the absence of a sizeable corpus of spontaneous discourse, the observations presented here are based largely on elicited data and should therefore be regarded as provisional. Section 14.1 examines cleft constructions that are used to express completive and contrastive focus. Section 14.2 focuses on the predicate focus marker *=rɔ̀*, which seems to be primarily associated with contrastive focus. Section 14.3 is devoted to the particle *bɔ́*, which may tentatively be analysed as a marker of contrastive topic. Finally, Section 14.4 discusses the topic particle *kúmɔ́ ~ kúmá*.

14.1 Cleft constructions

Kugama uses cleft constructions to express completive and contrastive focus. Cleft constructions can be used to focalize subjects, objects, and adverbial phrases expressed through locative nouns. Depending on the type of the focalized noun phrase, cleft constructions in Kugama have different structures which are schematized in (797).

(797) a. [á(ᴸ) PRST.SG.PROP + NP + … + =ɛ̀ PRST]
b. [à PRST.COMM + NP + … + (nɛ̀ᵏ ~ nìᵏ ‘there’) + =ɛ̀ PRST]
c. [ɨ̀ PRST.PL.PROP + NP + … + =ɛ̀ PRST]
d. [Possessive pronominal/Subject pronominal + =ɛ̀ PRST + … + =ɛ̀ PRST]

All of the constructions in (797) end in the Presentative marker =ɛ̀, which is often realized with a M tone *=ɛ̄* after pronominals. The constructions in (797) also have in common that the focalized noun phrase occurs with one of the presentative markers (*á*, *à*, *ɨ̀*, or *=ɛ̀*). When the focalized element is a locative noun, the cleft construction includes the deictic adverb *nɛ̀ ~ nì* ‘there’, as in (797b) and (798).

(798)

à	ɓááˈtóō	kpə̀m	māā	rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	nɛ̀k	ɛ̀
|à	ɓááˡtóō	kpə̀m	māā	=rí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	nɛ̀ᵏ	=ɛ̀|
PRST.COMM	bush	chief	build	PFV	house	there	PRST

[‘Where did the chief build the house?’] ‘It is in the bush that the chief built the house.’ (lit.: ‘It is (in) the bush that the chief built a house there.’) [KUG_20170423_LP_036]

The cleft constructions in (797) have different presentative markers. The choice of the presentative marker depends on the morphosyntactic category of the noun phrase that is in focus, see Section 3.1 on the morphosyntactic subcategorization of nouns. When a Proprial Noun is in focus, the presentative *á* is chosen, as in (799) and (800).

(799)

á	ˡLúkpêwa	māā	rí	ɗéékɛ́
|á^{L}	Lúkpêwa	māā	=rí	ɗéékɛ́|
PRST.SG.PROP	Luikpiewa	build	PFV	house

à	ɓááˡtówɛ̀		
|à	ɓáá^{L}tóō	=ɛ̀|	
COM	bush	PRST	

['Who built the house in the bush?'] 'It is Luikpiewa who built the house in the bush.'

(800)

Mūūsā		ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	ā̱
|Mūūsá	=ɛ̄	ɛ̄rí	=^{L}	=tí	ā̱|
Musa	NEG	come	RES	PFV	NEG

á	ˡÀlí	ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	ɛ́
|á^{L}	Àlí	ɛ̄rí	=^{L}	=tí	=ɛ̀|
PRST.SG.PROP	Ali	come	RES	PFV	PRST

['Did Musa come to help you yesterday?'] 'Musa did not come. It is Ali who came.' [KUG_20180515_BB_037]

When the focalized noun phrase is expressed by more than one Proprial Noun, the presentative marker *ī̀ì* is used, as in (801).

(801)

ī̀ì	Yáálóˡ	dī̀ì	Lúkpêwà	māā	lí	tí
|ī̀ì	Yáálóˡ	dī̀ì	Lúkpêwa	māā	=lí	=tí|
PRST.PL.PROP	Yaalo	CONJ	Luikpiewa	build	PLAC	PFV

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́		rɛ̀k	ɛ̀
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́^{kL}	=ɛ̀|
house	GEN	DEF	PRST

['Who built these houses?'] 'It is Yaalo and Luikpiewa who built these houses.' [KUG_20201211_BB_016]

When the focalized noun phrase is expressed through a Common Noun, either singular or plural, it occurs with the presentative marker *à*, as in (802) and (803).

(802)

à	wɛ̄nì		pɔ̄	kī	māā	lí	tí
|à	wɛ̄nī	$=^{L}$	pɔ̄	=kī	māā	=lí	=tí|
PRST.COMM	people	GEN	farm.VF1	NMLZ	build	PLAC	PFV

ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́		rɛ̀k	ɛ̀
|ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́	$=^{L}$	$=$rɛ́^{kL}	=ɛ̀|
house	GEN	DEF	PRST

['Who built these houses?'] 'It is farmers who built these houses.'
[KUG_20201211_BB_016]

(803)

zɛ̂y	ɲā	ɲɔ́m	a̱	à	dŭm	ɲɔ́m	ɛ̀
|zɛ̂y	ɲā	ɲɔ́m	a̱	à	dŭm	ɲɔ́m	=ɛ̀|
dog	NEG	bite	NEG	PRST.COMM	hyena	bite	PRST

'Dogs do not bite, it is hyenas that bite.' [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_47]

Unlike the presentative markers *á*, *à* and *íí*, the presentative *=ɛ̀* comes at the end of the focalized noun phrase. The noun phrase that occurs with the Presentative *=ɛ̀* can be expressed: (i) by a subject pronominal of the third paradigm or (ii) by a noun phrase with a bound possessive pronominal, as in (804) and (805).

(804)

ɗáy	ɛ̀	nɔ̄kú	sú	tú	túk	ɛ̀
|ɗá^{y}	=ɛ̀	nɔ̄kí	=sí	=tí	=tú^{k}	=ɛ̀|
3SG.HUM.S3	PRST	cook	APPL	PFV	1PL.O	PRST

'It is s/he who cooked for us.' [KUG_20180515_BB_037]

(805)

fâ	sènɛ́		ˈráāk	ɛ̀
|fâ	sènɛ̄	$=^{L}$	=ráā^{k}	=ɛ̀|
DIM.SG	uncle	GEN	1SG.POSS.ALIEN	PRST

ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	r	ók	ɛ̀
|ɓɛ̄ɛ̄	=rí	=ó^{kL}	=ɛ̀|
call	PFV	1SG.O	PRST

'It is my uncle who called me.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_6]

14.2 The predicate focus marker *=rɔ̀*

Kugama has a focus marker *=rɔ̀* that is placed at the end of a predicate, i.e. after the verb or its objects. I refer to it as the predicate focus marker. It cannot co-occur with the predicate-final

marker =*wā* in one clause. The focus marker =*rɔ̀* is primarily used to mark contrastive focus, see Section 14.2.1. I have also found a number of heterogeneous examples of the marker =*rɔ̀* being used in contexts other than contrastive focus that require further investigation and that I present in Section 14.2.2.

14.2.1 Contrastive focus

The predicate focus marker =*rɔ̀* marks contrastive focus. It occurs in a complex construction where two clauses are coordinated. The subjects of these coordinated clauses are co-referential. The first clause is negated, while the second clause is not. The marker =*rɔ̀* occurs in the second clause at the end of the predicate, see (806) and (807).

(806)

ɗɛ́	ɲā	pɔ̄	a̱	ɗɛ́	bɛ̀	rɔ̀
|ɗɛ́	ɲā	pɔ̄	a̱	ɗɛ́	bɛ̀	=rɔ̀|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	farm.VF1	NEG	3SG.HUM.S1	hunt.VF1	FOC

'S/he does not farm, s/he hunts.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_02_37]

(807)

ɗɛ́	ɲā	sa̱	ɲá		˩góórá	a̱
|ɗɛ́	ɲā	sa̱	ɲā	=L	góórá	a̱|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	speak	language.CF1	GEN	Yendang	NEG

ɗɛ́	sa̱	ɲáá		˩wa̱m	rɔ̀
|ɗɛ́	sa̱	ɲáā	=L	wa̱m	=rɔ̀|
3SG.HUM.S1	speak	language.CF1	GEN	Kugama	FOC

'S/he does not speak the Yendang language, s/he speaks the Kugama language.' [KUG_20201213_AC_017]

14.2.2 The predicate focus marker =*rɔ̀* in contexts other than contrastive focus

There are a number of heterogeneous examples in my corpus where the predicate focus marker =*rɔ̀* does not seem to express contrastive focus. As I only have one or two examples for each of these non-contrastive uses and I have not had the opportunity to further investigate them, I present them here as is. The first two examples (808) and (809) vaguely share some modal semantics.

(808)

dĩ	kóó	rí	ré	rɔ̀	kà
|dĩ	kóó	=rí	=ré	=rɔ̀	kà|
3PL.HUM.S1	cause.VF2	PFV	3SG.HUM.O	FOC	before

dɛ́	gɔ̰̀	sɔ̰̀m	ɓáá		ˡháákī
|dɛ́	gɔ̰̀	sɔ̰̀m	ɓáā	=^{L}	háákī|
3SG.HUM.S1	do.VF1	work	in	GEN	farm

'They made him/her work in the farm.' (lit. 'They made (caused) him/her before s/he works in the farm.') [KUG_20201213_AC_017]

(809)

ɔ̀	gɔ̰̀	tí	rɔ̀	mù	pɑ̰̄n	ɔ̀
|ɔ̀	gɔ̰̀	=tí	=rɔ̀	mù	pɑ̰̄ní	=ɔ̀|
EXPL.S1	do.VF1	PFV	FOC	2SG.S4	do	3NHUM.O

'You must do it.' (lit.: 'It is obligatory that you do it.') [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_38]

The marker *=rɔ̀* is also found in answers to questions whose main verb is *gɔ̰̀* 'do (VF1)'. A speaker replies to the question with the focus marker *=rɔ̀* specifying an activity they did, as in (810). In this case, the marker *=rɔ̀* can possibly be analyzed as marking information focus, since it is used in an answer to a question.

(810) SP1:

à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	mú	gɔ̰̀	tí
|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	mú	gɔ̰̀	=tí|
PRST.COMM	what	2SG.S1	do.VF1	PFV

lɛ́ɛ́ˡmì	ɛ̀	yí
|lɛ́ɛ́^{L}mì	=ɛ̀	=yí|
yesterday	PRST	QM.CON

'What did you do yesterday?'

SP2:

á	gɑ̰̀ɑ̰̀sí	tí	ɓām	mɔ́ɔ́tà	rɔ̀
|á	gɑ̰̀ɑ̰̀sí	=tí	ɓām	mɔ́ɔ́tà	=rɔ̀|
1SG.S1	repair	PFV	SG.1SG.POSS	car	FOC

'I repaired my car' [KUG_20201213_AC_017]

The homophonous marker *=rɔ̀* is used in the Immediate Past construction, see Section 12.5 for more information.

14.3 The contrastive topic particle *ɓɔ́*

This section offers a preliminary descriptive account of the particle *ɓɔ́* |ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɔ́^{L}|, based on a limited set of examples in my corpus. Although the exact function of this particle has yet to be fully determined, I hypothesise that it may serve as a contrastive topic particle. It occurs in the second clause of two juxtaposed clauses. It may be related to the particle *boo* in Fulfulde which means 'quant à, de (son) côté, aussi, également' (Noye 1989: 42). I do not know if the particle *ɓɔ́* has a common origin with the marker *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* 'if, when, even if' (Section 15.7.2).

(811)

Lúkpêwà	tì	nɔ̄k	ɛ̀	
|Lúkpêwà	tì	nɔ̄kí	=ɛ̀|	
Luikpiewa	PROG	cook	NMLZ	
Yáálò	ɓɔ́	tì	gɛ̰	kī
|Yáálò	ɓɔ́	tì	gɛ̰	=kī|
Yaalo	also	PROG	wait	NMLZ

'Luikpiewa is/was cooking and Yaalo is/was waiting' [KUG_20181122_AC_056]

(812)

mɛ́	ɲā	gà	tí	ɲós	ɛ́	
|mɛ́	ɲā	gà	=tí	ɲósí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}|
1SG.S3	NEG	try	PFV	drink	NMLZ	TR
ˈtààpɔ̄	a̰	mɛ́	ɲā	ɓɔ́	à	
|tààpɔ̄	a̰	mɛ́	ɲā	ɓɔ́	à|	
tabacco	NEG	1SG.S3	NEG	also	FUT	
gā	k		ɔ̀	a̰		
|gà	=kī	=^{L}	=ɔ̀	a̰|		
try	NMLZ	TR	3NHUM.O	NEG		

'I haven't tried smoking neither do I intend to.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_2_40]

14.4 The topic particle *kúmɔ́ ~ kúmá*

I found a few examples of *kúmɔ́ ~ kúmá* 'also, too' used as a contrastive topic particle in Kugama. The particle *kúmɔ́ ~ kúmá* 'also, too' is related to *kúmá* 'also, too' in Hausa.

(813)

mū	yɔ̀ɔ̀lī	tú	wā	méɛ́	
|mū	yɔ̀ɔ̀lī	=tí	=wā	má	í|
2SG.S1	like	PFV	PFM	1~2.CLM	IMPS.S1

lɛ́	tɔ́	ɔ̄	ɓáá	ˡw̱àà	kàm	
|lɛ́	=tí	=wē	ɓáā	=L	w̱àā	kàm|
give_birth.VF1	PFV	LOG.O	in	GEN	Kugama	definitely

‘[Since you like Kugama], you would like that you were born among Kugama people’

w̱àā	kúmɔ́	dǐ	gɔ̰̀ɔ̰́		ˡmū	ɔ̄
|w̱àā	kúmɔ́	dǐ	gɔ̰̀ɔ̰́	=L	=mū	=wā|
Kugama	also	3PL.HUM.S1	hold	RES	2SG.O	PFM

nā	níīrī
|nā	níīrī|
hand.?	two

‘As for the Kugama, they have taken you with both hands.’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

(814)

tū	mī	rī	à	dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́			
|tū	mī	=rī	à	dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|			
1PL.S1	return.VF1	VEN	COM	house			

tɔ̀	wàā	kúmá	ā	pɔ̄ŋɔ́		
|tɔ̀	wàā	kúmá	á	pɔ̄	ŋí	=ɔ̀|
INTERJ	beans	also	1SG	farm.VF1	?	3NHUM.O

ˡɓáá		sí		ˡnígītíníīrī	kɔ́	ɔ̰̀nánɛ̰́hɛ̰̀
|ɓáā	=L	síī	=L	nígītíníīrī	kɔ́	ɔ̰̀nánɛ̰́hɛ̰̀|
in	GEN	month	GEN	seven	CNJ	eight

‘We gather it (maize) in one place (house). As for beans, I used to plant it from July (seventh month) to August (eighth month).’ [KUG_20180420_BB_010]

15 Complex sentences and clause combining

This chapter addresses different types of complex sentences and patterns of clause combining. Sections 15.1 and 15.2 examine causative and permissive constructions, which involve a verb and its clausal complement. Clause juxtaposition, in which clauses with coreferential subjects express sequential or simultaneous activities, is discussed in Section 15.3. Section 15.4 deals with two types of quotative constructions as well as the naming construction. Section 15.5 outlines clause coordination with the markers *ká ~ kā*, *sé(é) ~ séy*, *kɔ́(ɔ́)*, and *àmá(á) ~ àmáà*. Relative clauses are discussed in Section 15.6, with attention to the role of the relativised noun phrase in both the relative clause and the main clause, as well as to non-restrictive relative clauses and relative clauses with adverbial semantics. Finally, Section 15.7 focuses on different types of adverbial clauses formed by means of *túnˈdɛ̀*, *yáˈdà(à)*, *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)*, *=ɛ́*, *kɔ́ɔ́*, *ká*, and *ɓáā*.

15.1 Causative constructions

The causative construction is formed by the verb *kóó* ‘cause’ and a complement clause, as in (815).

(815)	á	kóó	rí	dɛ̄	gɔ̰	sɔ̰m
	|á	kóó	=rí	dɛ̄	gɔ̰	sɔ̰m|
	1SG.S1	cause	PFV	3SG.HUM.S1	do.VF1	work
	‘I made him/her work.’ [Notebook_KUG_2020_5_42]					

I found a few examples of ‘why?’-questions that are formed by the verb *kóó* ‘cause’. In this case, the predicate with *kóó* ‘cause’ is followed by the clause conjunction particle *ká ~ kā* ‘and then, before’ and another clause, as in (816).

(816)	à	àkɛ̀	kóó	rí	kā	à
	|à	ɔ̀kɛ̀	kóó	=rí	kā	à|
	PRST.COMM	what	cause.VF2	PFV	before	PRST.COMM
	dòō	à	mɔ́	ɔ́	ˈyí	
	|dòō	à	mɔ́	=ɛ̀	yí|	
	lazyness	COM	2SG.NS	PRST	QM.CON	
	‘Why are you lazy?’ (lit.: ‘What caused you to be lazy?’) [KUG_20200129_BB_004]					

15.2 Permissive constructions

The permissive construction uses the verb *yààkí ~ yààkī* ‘allow’ that is followed by a clausal complement, as in (817) and (818).

(817)

dɛ̃	yàà	kí		ˈwēm	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|dɛ̃	yàà	=kī	=L	wēm	=ɛ́	=L	=rɛ́|
3SG.HUM.S4	allow.VF3	NMLZ	TR	person	DEM	GEN	PROX

dɛ̄	váá	ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	rɛ́
|dɛ̄	váá	ɲɔ̄ɔ̄	=rɛ́|
3SG.HUM.S4	marry	daughter.CF1	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL

‘S/he will allow this man to marry his/her daughter.’ [KUG_20230204_BB_054]

(818)

ā	yààkī	úūmɛ́	ā	gɔ̰	sɔ̰m
|ā	yààkī	úūmɛ́	ā	gɔ̰	sɔ̰m|
1SG.S1	allow.VF4	1SG.REFL	1SG.S1	do.VF1	work

‘I allowed myself to work.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_007]

15.3 Clausal juxtaposition

In this section, I present clauses with coreferential subjects that express sequential activities and simultaneous activities.

15.3.1 Sequential activities with coreferential subjects

Clauses that express sequential activities with coreferential subjects are juxtaposed. The second and other subsequent clauses are Consecutive clauses (Section 12.11), if the first clause is in the Perfective, Imperfective, Imperative, or Prohibitive, as in (819) - (822). There is a short prosodic break before each of the following clauses. The Consecutive construction is not used when the first clause is in the Future. In this case, the following clauses are also given in the Future, as in (823). I did not check sequential activities with coreferential subjects in other tense, aspect, modality and polarity constructions.

(819)

ā	pɔ̄	tí	ā	bɛ̀	ā	hṵ̄m
|ā	pɔ̄	=tí	ā	bɛ̀	ā	hṵ̄m|
1SG.S1	farm.VF1	PFV	1SG.S1	hunt.VF1	1SG.S1	pound.VF1

nɔ́ɔ́	ˈsɔ̃m	ā	kólì	sɛ́ɛ̀
|nɔ́ɔ̃ =L	sɔ̃m	ā	kólí =L	sɛ́ɛ̀|
seed.CF1 GEN	guinea_corn	1SG.S1	lie.VF2 RES	down

‘I farmed, hunted, pounded guinea corn, and lay down.’ [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

(820)

váá		ré	ˈhâŋkí			tí
|váā	=L	=rékL	háŋ	=L	kí	=tí|
child	GEN	DEF	yawn$_1$	RES	yawn$_2$	PFV

dɛ̄	lóò	
|dɛ̄	lóó	=L|
3SG.HUM.S1	sleep	RES

‘The child yawned and fell asleep.’ [KUG_20220314_BB_041]

(821)

kɔ̀ɔ̀	mū	sɛ́ɛ̀	mɔ̄	nɔ̄kí
|kɔ̀ɔ̀	=mū	sɛ́ɛ̀	mɔ̄	nɔ̄kí|
sit.VF3	ADR.SG	down	2SG.S1	cook

mɔ̄	mɔ̀ɔ̀
|mɔ̄	mɔ̀ɔ̀|
2SG.S1	eat.VF3

‘Come, sit down, and eat!’ [KUG_20200204_BB_012]

(822)

sɛ̀	mú	ɛ̄rī	mū	mɔ̀ɔ̀	ā̱
|sɛ̀	=mú	ɛ̄rī	mū	mɔ̀ɔ̀	ā̱|
HORT	2SG.ADR	go.VEN	2SG.S1	eat.VF3	NEG

‘Don‘t come and eat!’ [KUG_20200210_AC_024]

(823)

à	kpàmlɛ̀	s	ɛ̀		tɛ̄
|à	kpàmlí	=sí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}	tɛ̄|
1SG.S4	teach	APPL	NMLZ	TR	someone

à	gɔ̰	kì		háákī
|à	gɔ̰	=kī	=^{L}	háákī|
1SG.S4	do.VF1	NMLZ	TR	farm

à	wàtɛ́	l	ɛ́	à	sīzáā
|à	wàtí	=lí	=ɛ̄	à	sīzáā|
1SG.S4	play	PLAC	NMLZ:?	COM	children

'I will teach (someone), work on the farm, and play with children.'
[KUG_20230204_BB_012]

15.3.2 Simultaneous activities with coreferential subjects

Clausal juxtaposition is used to express simultaneous activities with coreferential subjects. In this case, the second clause is marked as Progressive and its subject is omitted, as in (824) and (825).

(824)

Àlí	tì	kpa̰a̰	kī	tì	ɲɔ́ml	ɛ̄
|Àlí	tì	kpa̰a̰	=kī	tì	ɲɔ́mlí	=ɛ̄|
Ali	PROG	cry	NMLZ	PROG	laugh	NMLZ

'Ali is/was crying and laughing (at the same time).' [KUG_20200129_BB_005]

(825)

sīzáā	níīrī	tì	nɛ́ɛ́	sā
|sīzáā	níīrī	tì	nɛ́ɛ́	=sā|
children	two	PROG	chase	RECP

tì	á	kī	úú		ˡɲádākpáā
|tì	á	=kī	úū	=^{L}	ɲádākpáā|
PROG	go	NMLZ	on	GEN	street

'The two kids are chasing each other (and are going) down the street.'
[KUG_20200129_BB_004]

15.4 Quotative constructions

The label *Quotative construction* refers to a complex construction whose primary use is to encode quotation. Kugama has two types of quotative constructions:

(826) Quotative construction 1 [Speech reporting segment + clause-linking marker + Reported speech segment]
Quotative construction 2 [Speech reporting segment + Reported speech segment]

The Quotative construction 1 includes the clause-linking marker *má ~ mā* or *kà* that is absent in the Quotative construction 2. This section is mainly dedicated to Quotative construction 1, which is discussed in Section 15.4.1. A few features of Quotative construction 2 are described in Section 15.4.2. The naming construction that is formed by the clause-linking marker *kà* is discussed in Section 15.4.3.

15.4.1 Quotative construction 1

Quotative construction 1 is formed by the clause-linking markers *má ~ mā* or *kà*. These markers are placed between the speech reporting segment and the reported speech segment. There is usually a prosodic break before the clause-linking markers *má ~ mā* and *kà*. The clause-linking markers *má ~ mā* and *kà* agree in person with the subject of the speech reporting segment: *má ~ mā* is used with first- and second-person controllers, whereas *kà* is used with third-person controllers, as in (827) and (828).

(827)

tū	kɛ̀m	rí	má
|tū	kɛ̀m	=rí	má|
1PL.S1	tell.VF1	PFV	1~2.CLM

tū	ɲâŋ		tí	wā	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō
|tū	ɲáŋí	=^{L}	=tí	=wā	à	ɓáá^{L}tóō|
1PL.S1	leave.VF2	RES	PFV	PFM	COM	bush

'We said that we went to the bush.' [Notebook_KUG_2018_4_2]

(828)

dɛ̄	métù		t	ó
|dɛ̄	métí	$=^{L}$	=tí	$=ó^{L}$|
3SG.HUM.S1	annoy	RES	PFV	1SG.O

ˈɓáā	mɛ́	wā
|ɓáā	=mɛ́	=wā|
stomach.CF1	1SG.POSS.INAL	PFM

kà	wé	ɲā	māā		tí
|kà	wé	ɲā	mákí	$=^{L}$	=tí|
3.CLM	LOG.S3	NEG	know.VF2	RES	PFV

kpɛ́ɛ̀		kī	a̱
|kpɛ́ɛ̀	$=^{L}$	=kī	a̱|
answer.VF3	RES	NMLZ	NEG

'S/he annoyed me (my stomach) by not knowing the answer.' [KUG_20181127_BB_062]

A sentence may have one speech reporting segment and more than one reported segment. Each of these reported segments are introduced by the clause-linking marker *má ~ mā* or *kà*, as in (829).

(829)

dɛ̄	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà
|dɛ̄	tɔ̀ɔ̀	kà|
3SG.HUM.S1	say	3.CLM

ɛ̄wé	sīzáā	tì	gɛ̱	kí		ˈwē
|ɛ̄wé	sīzáā	tì	gɛ̱	=kī	$=^{L}$	=wē|
PL.LOG.POSS	children	PROG	wait	NMLZ	GEN	LOG.O

kà	wè	ɲâŋ		kī
|kà	wè	ɲáŋí	$=^{L}$	=kī|
3.CLM	LOG.S4	leave.VF2	RES	NMLZ

'She$_1$ said that her children were waiting for her$_1$, so she$_1$ had to leave.'
[KUG_20181121_AC_052]

Different predicates are found before the clause-linking markers *má ~ mā* and *kà*. These are not only speech predicates like *tɔ̀(ɔ̀)* 'say', *kèm / kèèmí* 'tell, show',[48] *ɓí* 'ask', but also non-speech

[48] The verb *kèm / kèèmí* 'tell, show (VF1 / VF4.IC6)' can be followed by one or two objects, while the verb *tɔ̀(ɔ̀)* 'say' cannot.

predicates like knowledge, perception, wish, motion, action and others, e.g. *mákí* ‘know, notice’, *kā* ‘see, think’, *lá* ‘hear, feel, touch’, *hɛ̰̄sā* ‘dispute’, *yɔ̀ɔ̀lí* ‘like’, *kpɑ́ɑ́* ‘cry’, *mítí* ‘annoy’, *mílī* ‘return’, *yí* ‘beat’, etc, see (830). This is in line with cross-linguistic findings on non-speech predicates in quotative constructions (Jordanoska et al. 2022).

(830)

mù	mílī	kī	à	úú		˩váā
|mù	mílī	=kī	à	úū	=^{L}	váā|
2SG.S4	return.VF2	NMLZ	COM	on	GEN	child

mù	yí	í		˩ré
|mù	yí	=ī	=^{L}	=ré|
2SG.S4	beat.VF1	NMLZ (?)	TR	3SG.HUM.O

má	káà	gbò̰gbɔ́tɔ́tɔ́	nɔ̃y	ɓáá		˩nɔ́ɔ̃
|má	káà	gbò̰gbɔ́tɔ́tɔ́	nɔ̃y	ɓáā	=^{L}	nɔ́ɔ̃|
1~2.CLM	INTERJ	very_big	eye	in	GEN	eye.CF1

ré	kàwɛ́	è	rɑ̰́
|=ré	kàwɛ́	=è	=rɑ̰́|
3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL	how	PRST	QM

‘(If you fight with your husband), you will get back to your child, you will beat him: Hey! How big his eyes are!’ (lit.: ‘How big eyes are in his eyes (child’s or husband’s?)!’) [KUG_2018_0423_ME_018]

The reported speech segment can take the form of a verbal or verbless clause, as well as a minimal utterance, e.g. an interjection (831). The reported segment of Quotative construction 1 is never expressed through the Imperative construction. This construction is commonly used in Quotative construction 2 (Section 15.4.2). In Quotative construction 1, commands can take the form of the Hortative 1 construction or Prohibitive, as in (832) and (833). Some remarks on negation used in Quotatove construction 1 are given in Section 12.16.

(831)

sɛ́ɛ́	ˈdŭm	ˈnàà		kpá̱á̱	kī	kà
|sɛ́ɛ́^{L}	dŭm^{L}	nāā	=^{L}	kpá̱á̱	=kī	kà|
then	hyena	start.VF3	RES	cry	NMLZ	3.CLM

wŭ̱ù̱	sɛ́	dɛ́	tɔ̀	kà
|wŭ̱ù̱	sɛ́	dɛ́	tɔ̀	kà|
woof	then	3SG.HUM.S1	say	3.CLM

wúúúyɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄	kà	à	fâ	dŭm
|wúúúyɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄	kà	à	fâ	dŭm|
INTERJ	3.CLM	PRST.COMM	DEM.SG	hyena

‘Then the hyena started crying: “Woof!”
And she [the woman] said: “Help! A small hyena!” ’ [KUG_20180428_AT_022b]

(832)

dŭm		ˈrɛ̂	kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	tí	ɓɛ̀pí	kà
|dŭm	=^{L}	=rɛ̂^{k}	kɛ̀ɛ̀mí	=tí	ɓɛ̀pí	kà|
hyena	GEN	DEF	tell.VF4	PFV	rabbit	3.CLM

ɓɔ̀	hɛ̱̀sì		rī	ɓɔ̀	zɛ́ɛ̱́		wē
|ɓɔ̀	hɛ̱́sí	=^{L}	=rī	ɓɔ̀	zɛ́ɛ́	=^{L}	=wē|
3SG.NHUM.S1	approach	RES	VEN	3SG.NHUM.S1	greet	RES	LOG.O

‘The hyena$_1$ told the rabbit to approach and greet him$_1$!’ [KUG_20181121_AC_052]

(833)

kà	sì	wēm	táá	dīī	à	pɛ̀ɛ̀rī	ā̱
|kà	sì	wēm	táá	dīī	à	pɛ̀ɛ̀rī	ā̱|
3.CLM	HORT	person	eat.VF3	fish	COM	fast	NEG

‘(Our parents told us) not to eat fish too fast (you can choke on its bone).’
(lit.: ‘that a person should not eat fish fast, a person can choke on its bone.’)
[KUG_20210727_BB_029]

An important feature of Quotative construction 1 is the presence of logophoric pronominals for 2SG and 3SG.HUM as well as neutralization of the distinctions between 2PL and 3PL.HUM pronominals, as in (834), (835), and (836). I discuss these aspects of the Kugama pronominal system in Section 4.7. Logophoric pronominals for 2SG and 3SG.HUM as well as neutralization of the distinctions between 2PL and 3PL.HUM pronominals do not appear in the Quotative construction 2.

(834)

mū	yɔ̀ɔ̀lū	tú	wā	méɛ́	
|mū	yɔ̀ɔ̀lī	=tí	=wā	má	í|
2SG.S1	like	PFV	PFM	1~2.CLM	IMPS.S1

lɛ́	tɔ́	ɔ̄	ɓáá		ˡw̰àā	kàm
|lɛ́	=tí	=wē	ɓáā	=L	w̰àā	kàm|
give_birth.VF1	PFV	LOG.O	in	GEN	Kugama	EMPH

‘(Since you like Kugama), you would like that you were born among Kugama people.’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

(835)

á	kɛ̀m	rí	má	dĩ	ɲân		tú	wā
|á	kɛ̀m	=rí	má	dĩ	ɲáŋ́í	=L	=tí	=wā|
1SG.S1	say.VF1	PFV	1~2.CLM	2~3PL.S1	leave.VF2	RES	PFV	PFM

à	ɓááˡtóō
|à	ɓááᴸtóō|
COM	bush

‘I said that you(PL)/they went to the bush.’

(836)

dɛ̄	mákù		tú	wā
|dɛ̄	mákí	=L	=tí	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	know	RES	PFV	PFM

kà	ɔ̀zūrúwā	tì	yɔ̀ɔ̀l	ɛ̀		wē
|kà	ɔ̀zūrúwā	tì	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	=ɛ̄	=L	=wē|
3.CLM	Ozuruwa	PROG	like	NMLZ	TR	LOG.O

‘S/he$_1$ knows that Ozuruwa likes him/her$_1$’ [KUG_20230204_BB_054]

15.4.2 Quotative construction 2

The Quotative construction 2 includes the speech reporting segment followed by the reported speech segment. Unlike Quotative construction 1, Quotative construction 2 can express commands through Imperative construction, as in (837) and (838). However, I did not find logophoric pronominals for 2SG and 3SG.HUM and neutralization in person between 2PL and 3PL.HUM in Quotative construction 2.

(837)

dŭ̋m		ˈrê	kèèmí	tí	ɓèpí		ˈrê
|dŭ̋m	$=^{L}$	=rê^{k}	kèèmí	=tí	ɓèpí	$=^{L}$	=rê^{k}|
hyena	GEN	DEF	tell.APPL	PFV	rabbit	GEN	DEF

hɛ̀sù		rū	mú	mú	zɛ́ɛ́	ʔ
|hɛ̀sí	$=^{L}$	=rī	=mú	mú	zɛ́ɛ́	=ʔ|
approach	RES	VEN	SG.ADR	2SG.S1	greet	1SG.O

‘The hyena told the rabbit: Approach and greet me!’ [KUG_20181121_AC_052]

(838)

dŭ̋m	kèèmí	tí	ɓèpí		ˈrê	héy	kàlú	mú
|dŭ̋m	kèèmí	=tí	ɓèpí	$=^{L}$	=rê	héy	kàlí	=mú|
hyena	tell.APPL	PFV	rabbit	GEN	DEF	INTERJ	see.VF2	SG.ADR

mɔ̄ɔ̀		yɔ̀l	ɛ̀		mīl	ɛ̀		mɛ́
|mɔ̄	=ɛ̀	yɔ̀lí	=ɛ̄	$=^{L}$	mīlí	=ɛ̄	$=^{L}$	=mɛ́|
2SG.S2	PROG	want	NMLZ	GEN	turn.VF2	NMLZ	GEN	1SG.O

fâ	sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	yá
|fâ	sɔ̄ɔ̄kī	yá|
DIM.SG	snake	QM.POL

‘Hyena told the rabbit: Hey, look at you! Are you trying to fool me?’ (lit. ‘Do you want to turn me into a small snake?’) [KUG_20181121_AC_052]

Quotative construction 1 and Quotative construction 2 are widely used in naturalistic data. However, Quotative construction 2 is infrequent in my elicited data. More research needs to be done on this strategy of quotation encoding.

15.4.3 The naming construction

The clause-linking marker *kà* is also used to introduce proper names, see (839).

(839)

nîm	mí	kà	Ándrù	Krìstófà	Yáálò
|nîŋ	=mí	kà	Ándrù	Krìstófà	Yáálò|
name	1SG.POSS.INAL	3.CLM	Andrew	Christopher	Yaalo

‘My name is Andrew Christopher Yaalo.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_007]

15.5 Coordinating conjunctions

15.5.1 Clause conjunction with *ká ~ kā*

The coordinator *ká ~ kā* ‘and then’, ‘before’ encodes sequential activities with non-coreferential subjects, as in (840) and (841). There is a prosodic break before the coordinator.

(840)

Yáálò	mɔ̀kí	sí	Lúkpêwà
|Yáálò	mɔ̀kí	=sí	Lúkpêwà|
Yaalo	eat.VF2	APPL	Luikpiewa

ká	ɗɛ́	á	màkārāntā
|ká	ɗɛ́	á	màkārāntā|
then	3SG.HUM.S1	go	school

‘Yaalo fed Luikpiewa and then she (Luikpiewa) went to school.’ (or ‘Yaalo fed Luikpiewa before she (Luikpiewa) went to school.’) [KUG_20181122_AC_056]

(841)

ā	kôl		lí	ká	vēɓām	mɛ́
|ā	kólí	=^{L}	=tí	ká	vēɓām	=mɛ́|
1SG.S1	lie.VF2	RES	PFV	then	younger_brother	1SG.POSS.INAL

ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|ɛ̄rí	=^{L}	=tí	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
come	RES	PFV	house

‘(Yesterday evening) I went to bed before my younger brother came home.’ [KUG_20181130_AC_067]

15.5.2 Clause conjunction with *sé(é) ~ séy*

Sequential clause coordination in narrative texts is commonly marked by the coordinator *sé(é) ~ séy* ‘then’. This conjunction is related to the Hausa coordinator *sái* ‘then, if, until, unless, etc.’. In careful re-speaking, Kugama speakers commonly pronounce this coordinator as [séj] like in Hausa. But in spontaneous speech the coordinator is pronounced as [sé], [sé:], [s^{j}é], or [sjé]. There is a prosodic break before the coordinator.

(842)

dɛ̄	á	dɛ̀	nàà		kí	
|dɛ̄	á	dɛ̀	nāā	$=^{L}$	=kī	$=^{L}$|
3SG.HUM.S1	go	3SG.HUM.S4	take.VF3	RES	NMLZ	TR

ˈfáà	dɔ̀kí	**séé**	ˈdɛ̄	térī
|fáà	dɔ̀kí	séé^{L}	dɛ̄	térī|
DIM.SG	grasshopper	then	3SG.HUM.S1	fall

dɛ̄	térī	à	sɛ́ɛ̀	dɛ́	térī	à	sɛ́ɛ̀
|dɛ̄	térī	à	sɛ́ɛ̀	dɛ́	térī	à	sɛ́ɛ̀|
3SG.HUM.S1	fall	COM	down	3SG.HUM.S1	fall	COM	down

kɔ́ɔ̰̄	rɛ́	káà
|kɔ́ɔ̰̄	=rɛ́	káá $=^{L}$|
neck.CF1	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL	break.VF3 RES

dɛ̄	vɛ́ɛ̀	
|dɛ̄	vɛ́ɛ́	$=^{L}$|
3SG.HUM.S1	die.VF3	RES

‘He goes to take the grasshopper. Then he falls down. He falls down. He falls down. His neck breaks. He dies.’ [KUG_20181118_MS_051]

15.5.3 Disjunctive coordination with *kɔ́(ɔ́)*

The coordinator *kɔ́ ~ kɔ́ɔ́* ‘or’ is related to the Hausa *kóó* ‘or, whether, perhaps, even, even if’. The marker is placed between the two coordinated clauses, as in (843) and (844). A prosodic break is placed before the coordinator *kɔ́ ~ kɔ́ɔ́* ‘or’.

(843)

ɗɛ́	ɛ̄ri	ɓéé	kɔ́ɔ́	
|ɗɛ́	ɛ̄rī	ɓéé	kɔ́ɔ́^{L}|	
3SG.HUM.S1	come	if	or	

ˈɗɛ̄	ɲā	ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	a̱
|ɗɛ̄	ɲā	ɛ̄rí	=^{L}	=tí	a̱|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	come	RES	PFV	NEG

wɛ̄m	ɲà		sɔ́ŋ	ī	sɛ̀rī	rɛ́	a̱
|wɛ̄m	ɲā	=ɛ̀	sɔ́ŋ	=ī	sɛ̀rī	=rɛ́	a̱|
person	NEG	FUT	think	NMLZ	about	3SG.POSS.INAL	NEG

‘Whether s/he does or does not come, no one will think of him/her.’
[KUG_20181121_BB_055]

(844)

ɗɛ̄	kālí	ɗɛ́	ɲâŋ		à
|ɗɛ̄	kālí	ɗɛ́	ɲáŋ́	=^{L}	à|
3SG.HUM.S1	see.VF2	3SG.HUM.S1	leave.VF2	RES	COM

wɛ́y	ɛ́	ˈrɛ́	yā	kɔ́	
|wɛ̄y	=ɛ́	=^{L} =rɛ́	yā	kɔ́^{L}|	
meat	DEM	GEN PROX	QM.POL	or	

ˈɗɛ̄	nàà		fáà	ɗɔ̀kí	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|ɗɛ̄	nāā	=^{L}	fáà	ɗɔ̀kí	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́|
3SG.HUM.S1	take.VF3	RES	DIM.SG	grasshopper	DEM	GEN	PROX

‘He thought whether he should leave with this meat or he should take this grasshopper?’
[KUG_20181118_MS_051]

15.5.4 Adversative coordination with *àmá(á) ~ àmáà*

Adversative coordination in Kugama is marked by the coordinator *àmá(á) ~ àmáà* ‘but’. It is placed at the beginning of the clause, see (845) and (846). The coordinator *àmá(á) ~ àmáà* is related to the Hausa form *àmmáá* ‘but’.

(845)

àmáá	dɛ̄		ɓɔ́	ɓá		˩kúmlɛ̀		tɛ̄
|àmáá	dɛ̄		ɓɔ́	ɓā	$=^{L}$	kúmlɛ̄	$=^{L}$	tɛ̄|
but	3SG.HUM.S2		when	in	GEN	shelter	GEN	place

wɛ̄ŋà		só	kī	mɛ̄	rɛ̄		a̱
|wɛ̄nī	ŋā =ɛ̀		só	=kī	méɛ̄	=ré	a̱|
people	NEG	FUT	enter.VF1	NMLZ	towards	3SG.POSS.INAL	NEG

‘But when he [the chief] is in the shelter, people cannot enter to him.’
[KUG_20170405_JW_023]

(846)

àmáà	tú	ɓɔ́	tú	ɓɔ̀ŋsī	tí	lūy	wā
|àmáà	tú	ɓɔ́	tú	ɓɔ̀ŋsī	=tí	lūy	=wā|
but	1PL.S1	give	1PL.S1	thank	PFV	God	PFM

yá˩dàà	lūy	ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	è	mɔ́
|yá^{L}dàà	lūy	ɛ̄rí	$=^{L}$	=tí	=è	=mɔ́|
how	God	come	RES	PFV	COM	2SG.NS

‘But we thank God the way he has brought you.’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

15.6 Relative clauses

The structure of Kugama relative clauses can be schematized as follows:

(847) [Head + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN + Relative clause + (nɛ̀^{k} ~ nì^{k} ‘there’) + =ɛ̀ PRST]

The Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* and the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ occur on the head noun. The relative clause ends with the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*, as in (848). The presentative marker can be optionally omitted or be absent in a relative clause. It is still not clear what determines this optional omission or absence. Relative clauses are provided [between square brackets].

(848)

ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	[ɛ́		ˈSīndīgāw	ɛ̀]
|ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	=ɛ́	=^{L}	Sīndīgāwō	=ɛ̀|
SG.1SG.POSS	son	DEM	GEN	Sindigawo	PRST

à	wɛ̀		bɛ̀	kī	à	rɛ́
|à	wɛ̄	=^{L}	bɛ̀	=kī	à	=rɛ́|
PRST.COMM	person.CF1	GEN	hunt.VF1	NMLZ	COM	3SG.NS

‘My son who is in Sindigawo is a hunter.’ (lit.: ‘My son who is in Sindigawo, he is a hunter.’) [KUG_20180506_BB_031]

The position of the presentative marker *=ɛ̀* can be occupied by the proximal demonstrative construction: *ɛ́ ˈrɛ́* ‘this’ (=ɛ́ DEM + =^{L} GEN + =rɛ́ PROX). I do not know what function the proximal demonstrative construction has when it is used instead of the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*. The adverbial *nɛ̀ ~ nì* ‘there’ is used in a relative clause when the relativized noun phrase is expressed by a locative noun. An example of this case is provided in Section 15.6.4.

Below, I describe relative clauses in Kugama according to the role of the relativised noun phrase in the relative clause (Section 15.6.1) and in the main clause (Section 15.6.2). I also discuss the non-restrictive relative clause in Kugama, which is infrequent in my corpus (Section 15.6.3). Finally, I discuss different types of subordinate clauses with adverbial semantics that are formally relative clauses (Section 15.6.4).

15.6.1 Functions of the relativised noun phrase in the relative clause

The relativised noun phrase can function in its relative clause as the subject, object, the possessor of the possessive construction, or the prepositional argument. The head noun used as the subject of the relative clause is immediately followed by the predicate of the relative clause, as in (849).

(849)

mɛ̄		tākɛ̀	s	ɛ̀		tɔ̃y
|mɛ̄	tì	tākí	=sí	=ɛ̄	=L	tɔ̃y|
1SG.S2	PROG	spread.VF2	APPL	NMLZ	TR	ear

méɛ́	˩wē	sóōrī	[é	
|méɛ̄ =L	wē	sóōrī	=é	=L|
towards GEN	person.CF1	female_adult	DEM	GEN

˩tì	sɨ̂ŋ	sɨ̂ŋ	zūrí	é]
|tì	sɨ̂ŋ	sɨ̂ŋ	zūrí	=è|
PROG	sing	song	well	PRST

‘I am/was listening to the woman who is/was singing well.’ (lit.: ‘I am/was spreading the ear towards the woman who is/was singing well.’) [KUG_20180506_BB_031]

In (850), the relativized noun phrase functions as the object of the relative clause.

(850)

ɲāvɛ́ɛ̀rí		˩ɓām	vētɔ̃ŋ	[é	
|ɲāvɛ́ɛ̀rī	=L	ɓām	vētɔ̃ŋ	=é	=L|
ghost	GEN	SG.1SG.POSS	friend	DEM	GEN

í	yî	rí	lɛ́	è	ú	sáákī	ɛ́		˩ré]
|í	yî	=rí	lɛ́	=è	ú	sáákī	=é	=L	=ré|
IMPS.S1	kill.VF3	PFV	before	COM	other	year	DEM	GEN	PROX

ɓɔ̀	tì	ērɛ	è	mɛ̄ɛ̄	mɛ́
|ɓɔ̀	tì	ērí	=è	mɛ́ɛ̄	=mɛ́|
3SG.NHUM.S2	PROG	go.VEN	NMLZ	towards	1SG.POSS.INAL

kɔ́ɔ́	˩ɓɛ̀rī	dààzɛ̄	è	yíí
|kɔ́ɔ́L	ɓɛ̀rī	dààzéē	=è	=yíí|
every$_1$	which.SG	night	PRST	every$_2$

‘The ghost of my friend, who was killed last year, comes to me every night.’ (lit.: ‘The ghost of my friend, who they/someone killed (him) last year, it comes to me every night.’) [KUG_20180509_BB_033]

The relativized noun phrase can function as the possessor of a possessive construction or a prepositional argument in the relative clause. In this case, a resumptive pronominal coreferential with the possessor or a prepositional argument is used in the relative clause. The pronominal comes after either the possessee or the preposition, as in (851) and (852).

(851)

ā	ɛ̄ɛ̄		sì	rī	tí
|ā	ɛ̄rí	=L	=sí	=rī	=tí|
1SG.S1	come	RES	APPL.?	VEN	PFV

wē	sóōrī	[ɛ́	
|wē	sóōrī	=ɛ́	=L|
person.CF1	adult_female	DEM	GEN

ā	lóó	rí	ɗɛ́ɛ̄	rɛ́]	à	yáā
|ā	lóó	=rí	ɗɛ́ɛ̄	=rɛ́	à	yáā|
1SG.S1	sleep	PFV	house.CF1	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL	COM	firewood

‘I brought firewood to the woman in whose house I spent the night.’
[KUG_20180509_BB_033]

(852)

ɛ̄ɛ̄		sù	rū	mú
|ɛ̄rí	=L	=sí	=rī	=mú|
come	RES	APPL:?	VEN	2SG.ADR

wē	sóōrī	[ɛ́	
|wē	sóōrī	=ɛ́	=L|
person.CF1	adult_female	DEM	GEN

˩lɛ́ɛ́˩mì	tú	ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	mɛ́ɛ̄	rɛ́]
|lɛ́ɛ́˩mì	tú	ɛ̄rí	=L	=tí	mɛ́ɛ̄	=rɛ́|
yesterday	1PL.S1	come	RES	PFV	towards	3SG.HUM.POSS.INAL

à	mɛ́ɛ̄
|à	mɛ́ɛ̄|
COM	water

‘Bring water to the woman who we went to yesterday.’ [KUG_20180509_BB_033]

15.6.2 Functions of the relativised noun phrase in the main clause

This section focuses on functions of the relativized noun phrase in the main clause. Example (853) demonstrates the relativization of the object of the main clause, while Example (854) illustrates the relativization of the subject of the main clause. In the latter case, the subject is

resumed by means of a resumptive pronominal after the relative clause and before the predicate of the main clause, as in (854).

(853)

Yáálǒ	tì	sà̰l	è		wē	sóōrī	[é	
|Yáálǒ	tì	sà̰lí	=ē	=L	wē	sóōrī	=é	=L|
Yaalo	PROG	talk.VF2	NMLZ	TR	person.CF1	adult_female	DEM	GEN

ˡkɔ̀ɔ̀	rí	hé̱ḛ̱	lɛ́	ˡɓɛ́là	è]
|kɔ̀ɔ̀	=rí	hé̱ḛ̱	lɛ́L	ɓɛ́là	=è|
live.VF3	PFV	here	before	long_ago	PRST

‘Yaalo is/was talking to the woman, who has lived here for a long time.’
[KUG_20180506_BB_031]

(854)

yíí	ˡwɛ̄nī	[é		ˡŋáá		
|yííL	wɛ̄nī	=é	=L	ŋáā	=L|	
many	people	DEM	GEN	mouth.CF1	GEN	

dùrī	é		ˡré]	dī	váá	sā
|dùrī	=é	=L	=ré	dī	váá	=sā|
clan	DEM	GEN	PROX	3PL.HUM.S1	marry	RECP

tú	wā	à	nɔ́ɔ́ˡrī
|=tí	wā	à	nɔ́ɔ́Lrī|
PFV	PFM	COM	3PL.RECP

‘Many people in this clan are married to each other.’ (lit.: ‘Many people who are in this clan, they are married to each other.’ [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

15.6.3 The non-restrictive relative clause

There are a few examples of non-restrictive relative clauses in my corpus. The full-fledged noun phrase occurs in a main clause, while a resumptive pronominal coreferential with this noun phrase occurs outside of the main clause and is relativized, as in (855) and (856).

(855)

ɗɛ́	yí	tì		tí	ɓɛ̀pí
|ɗɛ́	yí	ti	$=^{L}$	=tí	ɓɛ̀pí|
3SG.HUM.S1	beat	?	RES	PFV	rabbit

ɓɔ̀	[ɔ́		wɛ́		rɛ́
|ɓɔ̀	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	wɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́|
3SG.NHUM.S3	DEM	GEN	meat.CF2	GEN	3NHUM.POSS.ALIEN

˩tə̰m	wā	ɛ̀]
|tə̰m	=wā	=ɛ̀|
be_sweet.VF1	PFM	PRST

‘S/he killed a rabbit of which the meat is delicious.’ (lit. ‘'S/he killed a rabbit, the one that its meat is sweet.’) [KUG_20180509_BB_033]

(856)

ɗɛ̄	ɓúrí	ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	wā
|ɗɛ̄	ɓúrí	ɓām	dūmlɛ̄	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	exceed	SG.1SG.POSS	son	PFM

à	hɛ̄m	ɛ̄
|à	hɛ̄m	=ɛ̄|
COM	be_tall.VF1	NMLZ

ɗɛ́	[ɛ́		˩sáákì		rī	rɛ́
|ɗɛ́	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	sáákī	$=^{L}$	=rī	=rɛ́|
3SG.HUM.S3	DEM	GEN	year	GEN	POSS	3SG.HUM.POSS.ALIEN

kɔ́p	ɛ́		˩rɛ́]
|kɔ́p	=ɛ́	$=^{L}$	=rɛ́|
ten	DEM	GEN	PROX

‘S/he is taller than my son who is ten years.’ (lit.: ‘S/he exceeds my son in being tall, he who is ten years old.’) [KUG_20180509_BB_033]

15.6.4 Relative clauses with adverbial semantics

Kugama has a number of types of subordinate clauses with adverbial semantics that formally can be construed as relative clauses where the head of the relative clause is followed by the Demonstrative marker $=\acute{\varepsilon}$ and the Genitive marker $=^{L}$ or only by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$.

However, unlike in regular relative clauses, there tends to be a certain degree of idiosyncratic fusion between the relativized nouns and the subsequent Demonstrative marker *=ɛ́* and the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, and some heads of such relative clauses with adverbial semantics may not be found as regular nouns anymore. For example, locative relative clauses are introduced by the subordinator *tɛ̄ɛ́* 'where' or *tɛ̀ɛ̀* 'where'. These subordinators historically originate from *tɛ̄* 'place'. The form *tɛ̄ɛ́* 'where' includes the Demonstrative *=ɛ́* and the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, while *tɛ̀ɛ̀* 'where' is the secondary allomorph (Construct Form) *tɛ̄ɛ̄* 'place (CF1)' of a noun *tɛ̄* 'place' followed by the Genitive marker $=^{L}$, see (857).

Similar to all other relative clauses, adverbial clauses end in the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*. However, this final Presentative marker may be absent. I am not sure whether the presence or absence of the presentative marker is fully optional or reflects some semantic difference.

Such an adverbial clause can be pre-posed or post-posed to the main clause.

The subordinators that are involved in the formation of this type of adverbial clauses can express the meaning of place, manner, time, reason, cause, and concession. In (857), I list all types of adverbial clauses that I found so far. They are given between square brackets together with nouns and prepositions from which the subordinators introducing adverbial clauses have been sourced. Note that the adverbial clause of place with *tɛ̀ɛ̀* 'where' and *tɛ̄ɛ́* 'where' also includes the resumptive adverbial *nɛ̀ ~ nì* 'there'.

(857) [tɛ̀ɛ̀ 'where' (tɛ̄ɛ̄ 'place (CF1)' + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + nɛ̀^{k} ~ nì^{k} 'there' + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[tɛ̄ 'place' + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN + Adverbial clause + nɛ̀^{k} ~ nì^{k} 'there' + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[kpáá 'how' (kpáā 'way' + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[ɓàá^{L} 'as if' (ɓàà 'like, as' + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[sɛ̄ɛ́^{L} 'because' (sɛ̄ɛ̄ 'because' + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[ɔ́ɔ́^{L} 'when' (ɔ́ 3PL.NHUM/EXPL + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[ɓáá^{L} ɔ́ɔ́^{L} 'although' (ɓáā 'in, stomach (CF1)' + $=^{L}$ GEN + ɔ́ 3PL.NHUM/EXPL + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[sɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ́ɔ́^{L} 'because' (sɛ̄ɛ̄ 'because' + $=^{L}$ GEN + ɔ́ 3PL.NHUM/EXPL + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]
[ɓà ɔ́ɔ́^{L} 'how, the way, as' (ɓàà 'like, as' + ɔ́ 3PL.NHUM/EXPL + =ɛ́ DEM + $=^{L}$ GEN) + Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]

In (858) - (861), I provide some examples of adverbial clauses from my corpus.

(858)

ɗɛ́	ɲâŋ		tí
|ɗɛ́	ɲáŋí	=L	=tí|
3SG.HUM.S1	leave.VF2	RES	PFV

sɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀ɔ́	˩mú	tɔ̄	tí	ré	kɛ́
|sɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀ɔ́L	mú	tɔ̄	=tí	=ré	kɛ́|
because	2SG.S1	insult	PFV	3SG.HUM.O	INT

‘S/he has left because you insulted him/her.’ [KUG_20181121_BB_055]

(859)

ɓɔ̀	zíŋí	tí	mú
|ɓɔ̀	zíŋí	=tí	=mú|
3SG.NHUM.S1	land.VF2	PFV	2SG.O

méɛ́		˩tɛ̄	ɛ́	
|méɛ̄	=L	tɛ̄	=ɛ́	=L|
towards	GEN	place	DEM	GEN

˩ī	lɛ́	tú	ɯ̱àā	nɛ̀k	è
|ī	lɛ́	=tí	ɯ̱àā	nɛ̀k	=è|
IMPS.S1	give_birth.VF1	PFV	Kugama	there	PRST

‘He [God] dropped you in the place where Kugama people were born.’
[KUG_20180423_ME_015]

(860)

sɛ̄ɛ́			˩ā	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	rɛ́	dɔ̋ŋ	ɛ́
|sɛ̄ɛ̄	=ɛ́	=L	ā	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	=rɛ́	dɔ̋ŋ	=è|
because	DEM	GEN	1SG.S1	like	3SG.HUM.O	much	PRST

mɛ́	ɲà		fṵ̱m	è		ré	a̱
|mɛ́	ɲā	=è	fṵ̱m	=ɛ̄	=L	=ré	a̱|
1SG.S3	NEG	FUT	be_angry.VF1	NMLZ	TR	3SG.HUM.O	NEG

‘Because I like him/her too much I cannot feel anger against him/her.’
[KUG_20181121_BB_055]

(861)

ɓáá ˡɔ̀ɔ́	ˡkpɛ̂y	ūū	Yáálό	dɔ́ŋ	ɛ́
|ɓáá^{L} ɔ̀ɔ́^{L}	kpɛ̂y	úū	Yáálό^{L}	dɔ́ŋ	=ɛ̀|
although	debt	on	Yaalo	much	PRST

ˡdɛ́	nāá		ˡwā
|dɛ́	nāā	=^{L}	=wā|
3SG.HUM.S1	decide	RES	PFM
3SG.HUM			

dɛ̂	váá	kì		Lúkpêwà
|dɛ̂	váá	=kī	=^{L}	Lúkpêwà|
3SG.HUM.S4	marry	NMLZ	TR	Luikpiewa

'Although Yaalo was in debts he decided to marry Luikpiewa.' [KUG_20181121_BB_055]

There are two markers used to form adverbial constructions of time: *ɔ̀ɔ́* 'when' (862) and *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* 'if, when, even if' (Section 15.7.2). It seems that the construction with *ɔ̀ɔ́* 'when' refers to an event in the past, while *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* 'if, when, even if' is used for non-past events. Probably, all subordinators with *ɔ̀ɔ́* such as *ɓáá ˡɔ̀ɔ́* 'although', *sɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀ɔ́* 'because', and *ɓà ɔ̀ɔ́* 'how' also refer to events in the past.

(862)

ɔ̀ɔ́	ˡsóō	mɛ́	à	púū	ɛ̀
|ɔ̀ɔ́^{L}	sóō	=mɛ́	à	púū	=ɛ̀|
when	adult_female.CF1	1SG.POSS.INAL	COM	pregnancy	PRST

dɛ̄	dɔ̀ò	wā	ɓáá		ˡlūūmɔ̀
|dɛ̄	dɔ̀ò	=wā	ɓáā	=^{L}	lūūmɔ̀|
3SG.HUM.S1	go	PFM	in	GEN	market

'When my wife was pregnant, she used to go to the market.' [KUG_20181121_BB_055]

15.7 Adverbial clauses

15.7.1 Adverbial clauses with *túnˡdɛ̀* and *yáˡdà(à)*

Adverbial clauses in Kugama can be formed by means of the borrowed subordinators *túnˡdɛ̀* and *yáˡdà(à).* I found these markers only in spontaneous speech. They occur at the beginning of adverbial clauses, as in (863) and (864). The subordinator of cause *túnˡdɛ̀* 'since, as, because' is related to the Hausa form *tún dà* 'since'. The adverbializer of manner *yáˡdà(à)* 'how, the way' is related to the Hausa form *yáddà* 'how, the manner that'.

(863)

tún^{H}dɛ̀	mɔ̄	tɛ̀	yɔ̀ɔ̀l	ɛ̀		
|tún^{L}dɛ̀	mɔ̄	tɛ̀	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí	=ɛ̄	=^{L}|	
since	2SG.S2	PROG	like	NMLZ	GEN	

ɲáá		^{H}ɯ̱àà	
|ɲáā	=^{L}	ɯ̱àā|	
language.CF1	GEN	Kugama	

mū	yɔ̀ɔ̀lī	tɔ́	ɔ̄	mɛ́ɛ́	
|mū	yɔ̀ɔ̀lī	=tí	=wā	má	í|
2SG.S1	like	PFV	PFM	1~2.CLM	IMPS.S1

lɛ́	tɔ́	ɔ̄	ɓáá		^{H}ɯ̱àà	kàm
|lɛ́	=tí	=wē	ɓáā	=^{L}	ɯ̱àā	kàm|
give_birth.VF1	PFV	LOG	in	GEN	Kugama	EMPH

‘Since you like Kugama, you would like that you were born among Kugama people.’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

(864)

àmáà	tú	ɓɔ́	tú	ɓɔ̀ŋsī	tí	lūy	wā
|àmáà	tú	ɓɔ́	tú	ɓɔ̀ŋsī	=tí	lūy	=wā|
but	1PL.S1	give	1PL.S1	thank	PFV	God	PFM

yá^{H}dàà	lūy	ɛ̄ɛ̄		tí	ɛ̀	mɔ́
|yá^{L}dàà	lūy	ɛ̄rī	=^{L}	=tí	=ɛ̀	=mɔ́|
how	God	come	RES	PFV	COM	2SG.NS

‘But we thank God for the way he has brought you.’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

15.7.2 Adverbial clauses with *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)*

Factual conditional clauses, concessive clauses, and adverbial clauses of time can be formed by the marker *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* ‘if, when, even if’. In my data, the choice of the marker depends on the speaker.[49] This type of adverbial clause has the following structure:

[49] AC prefers the form *ɓɔ́*, while BB uses the form *ɓɛ́(ɛ́)*.

(865) [Adverbial clause with ɓɔ́(ᴸ) ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́ᴸ) ‘if, when, even if’ + =è PRST] [Main clause]
[Main clause] [Adverbial clause with ɓɔ́ᴸ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́ᴸ) ‘if, when, even if’ + =è PRST]

(866)

vá	á		ˈrɛ́	kpa̱a̱	ɓɔ́
|váā	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	kpa̱a̱	ɓɔ́ᴸ|
child	DEM	GEN	PROX	cry.VF3	if

ˈmù	ɓɔ́	kì		rɛ́	ɲɛ́ɛ̄
|mù	ɓɔ́	=kī	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɲɛ́ɛ̄|
2SG.S4	give	NMLZ	TR	3SG.HUM.O	milk

‘If the child cries, you will give him milk.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

My corpus has examples where the subordinate clause also includes the Presentative marker *=è*, as in (867). I do not know what conditions its presence or absence in adverbial clauses.

(867)

ɗɛ́	ɲa̱		ɛ̄r	è	a̱
|ɗɛ́	ɲā	=è	ɛ̄rī	=è	a̱|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	FUT	go.VEN	NMLZ	NEG

lɛ́ɛ̄	náà		ɓɔ́	ɛ̄
|lɛ́ɛ̄	nákí	=ᴸ	ɓɔ́	=ɛ̄|
rain	rain.VF2	RES	if	PRST

‘S/he will not come if it rains.’ [KUG_20181121_BB_055]

In positive adverbial clauses, the marker *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* is commonly placed after the verb or its object, if there is one. The exception is the Progressive construction, where the marker *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* comes before the Progressive marker *tì ~ tɛ̀*. When an adverbial clause is negated, the marker *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* is found before the negative marker *ɲā*, as in (868).

(868)

vá	á		ˈrɛ́	ɓɔ́	ˈɲā	kpa̱a̱	rí	a̱
|váā	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́	ɓɔ́ᴸ	ɲā	kpa̱a̱	=rí	a̱|
child	DEM	GEN	PROX	if	NEG	cry.VF3	PFV	NEG

mú	ɲa̱		ɓɔ́	kì		rɛ́		ɲɛ́ɛ̄	a̱
|mú	ɲā	=è	ɓɔ́	=kī	=ᴸ	=rɛ́		ɲɛ́ɛ̄	a̱|
2SG.S3	NEG	FUT	give	NMLZ	TR	3SG.HUM.O		milk	NEG

‘If the child does not cry, you will not give him milk.’ [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

In (869) - (871), I provide some extra examples of the factual conditional, concessive, and adverbial clause of time formed by the marker *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)*.

(869)

á	á	ɓɔ́	ˈnɛ̀k	ɛ̀
|á	á	ɓɔ́^{L}	nɛ̀^{k}	=ɛ̀|
1SG.S1	go	if	there	PRST

à	hɻ̰	kì		yí	kī
|à	hɻ̰	=kī	=^{L}	yí	=kī|
1SG.S4	get.VF1	NMLZ	TR	beat.VF1	NMLZ

'If I go there, I will be beaten.' (lit.: 'If I go there, I will get beating.')
[KUG_20200130_AC_009]

(870)

mū	á	ɓɛ́	ˈmɛ́ɛ́		ˈwɛ̀		pa̰a̰	máá
|mū	á	ɓɛ́^{L}	mɛ́ɛ̄	=^{L}	wɛ̄	=^{L}	pa̰a̰	máá|
2SG.S1	go	if	towards	GEN	person.CF1	GEN	cure	ADD

mú	ɲāà		kálì		kī	a̰
|mú	ɲā	=ɛ̀	kálí	=^{L}	=kī	a̰|
2SG.S3	NEG	FUT	recover	RES	NMLZ	NEG

'Even if you go to the witch doctor, you will not heal.' [KUG_20181121_BB_055]

(871)

ā	gɛ̀pī	ɓɔ́
|ā	gɛ̀pī	ɓɔ́^{L}|
1SG.S1	be_big	when

à	hɔ́ɔ́	kì		kpa̰m	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
|à	hɔ́ɔ́	=kī	=^{L}	kpa̰m	ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́|
1SG.S4	buy.VF3	NMLZ	TR	big.SG	house

'When I grow up, I will buy a big house.' [KUG_20181130_AC_067]

Kugama also has a contrastive topic particle *ɓɔ́*, which I discuss in Section 14.3. I do not know if this particle and *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* 'if, when, even if' have the same origin.

15.7.3 Adverbial clauses with *=ɛ́^{L}*

I found a number of examples of conditional constructions with the marker *=ɛ́^{L}*, as in (872) and (873). At the moment, it remains unclear if the marker *=ɛ́^{L}* is an allomorph of the marker *ɓɔ́(^{L}) ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)(^{L})* 'if, when, even if' or whether these are two different markers. The marker *=ɛ́^{L}* occurs after pronominals.

(872)

mɔ́ɔ́		ˈyéŋkí	lí	fâ	yą̄ŋ
|mɔ́	=ɛ́^{L}	yéŋkí	=lí	fâ	yą̄ŋ|
2SG.S1	if	tease	PLAC	DIM.SG	cat

ɓɔ̀	kpą́ą́	kà	myáú
|ɓɔ̀	kpą́ą́	kà	myáú|
3SG.NHUM.S1	cry	3.CLM	meow

'If you tease a cat, it will meow.' [KUG_20181129_AC_065]

(873)

mɔ́ɔ́		ˈkālí	rɛ́	kɛ́
|mɔ́	=ɛ́^{L}	kālí	=rɛ́	kɛ́|
2SG.S1	if	see.VF2	3SG.HUM.O	INT

mū	kù	s	ú	ˈrɛ́
|mū	kù	=sí	=ú^{L}	=rɛ́|
2SG.S1	hug	APPL	1SG.O	3SG.HUM.NS

'If you see him/her, hug him/her for me.' [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

15.7.4 Concessive conditionals with *kɔ́ɔ́*

Concessive conditional constructions in Kugama can be formed by the borrowed marker *kɔ́ɔ́* 'even if' which is related to the Hausa conjunction marker *kóó* 'or, whether, perhaps, even, even if'. Concessive conditional constructions have the following structure:

(874) [kɔ́ɔ́^{L} 'even if' + Conditional clause] [Main clause]
[Main clause] [kɔ́ɔ́^{L} 'even if' + Conditional clause]

The marker *kɔ́ɔ́* is placed at the beginning of a conditional clause, as in (875) and (876).

(875)

kɔ́ɔ́	ˈmú	kóó	rí	tą̰ą̄pī
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	mú	kóó	=rí	tą̰ą̄pī|
even_if	2SG.S1	put	PFV	stone

ɓáá	ˈɓùkɔ̄	ɔ́	ˈrɛ́
|ɓáā =^{L}	ɓùkɔ̄	=ɛ́	=rɛ́|
in	GEN	bag	DEM	GEN	PROX

ɓɔ̀	ɲā		hą̰ą̄		kī	ą̰
|ɓɔ̀	ɲā	=ɛ̀	hą̰ą̄	=^{L}	=kī	ą̰|
3SG.NHUM.S3	NEG	FUT	break.VF3	RES	NMLZ	NEG

'Even if you put a stone into this bag, it will not break.' [KUG_20181129_AC_065]

(876)

à	ɲɔ́s	ɛ́	ˈtààpɔ̄
|à	ɲɔ́sí	=ɛ̄ =^{L}	tààpɔ̄|
1SG.S4	drink	NMLZ	TR	tabacco

kɔ́ɔ́	ˈɔ̀	yí	tɛ̄	wā
|kɔ́ɔ́^{L}	ɔ̀	yí	tɛ̄	=wā|
even_if	EXPL.S1	beat.VF1	someone	PFM

'I will keep smoking, even if it kills.' [KUG_20210617_AC_022]

I did not observe differences in meaning between adverbial clauses with *kɔ́ɔ́* 'even if' and adverbial clauses with *ɓɔ́ ~ ɓɛ́(ɛ́)* 'if, when, even if'.

15.7.5 Counterfactual conditionals with *ká*

Counterfactual conditional constructions are formed by the marker *ká*, which is repeated at the beginning of both the main and subordinate clause, as schematized in (877). The subordinate clause commonly comes before the main clause. If the main clause precedes the subordinate clause, the latter additionally ends in the Presentative marker *=ɛ̀*, compare (878) and (879).

(877)
a. [ká(^{L}) Adverbial clause] [ká(^{L}) Main clause]
b. [ká(^{L}) Main clause] [ká(^{L}) Adverbial clause + =ɛ̀ PRST]

(878)

ká	ɗɛ́	ˈhɔ̰	tí	yɛ́ɛ́kī	wā
|ká^{L}	ɗɛ́	hɔ̰	=tí	yɛ́ɛ́kī	=wā|
CFC	3SG.HUM.S1	get.VF1	PFV	money	PFM

ká	ɗɛ́	ˈɛ̄ɛ̄		tú	wā
|ká^{L}	ɗɛ́	ɛ̄rī	=^{L}	=tí	=wā|
CFC	3SG.HUM.S1	come	RES	PFV	PFM

'If s/he had got money, s/he would have come.' [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

(879)

ká	ɗɛ́	ˈɛ̄ɛ̄		tú	wā
|ká^{L}	ɗɛ́	ɛ̄rī	=^{L}	=tí	=wā|
CFC	3SG.HUM.S1	come	RES	PFV	PFM

ká	ɗɛ́	ˈhɔ̰	tí	yɛ́ɛ́kī	wā	ɛ̀
|ká^{L}	ɗɛ́	hɔ̰	=tí	yɛ́ɛ́kī	=wā	=ɛ̀|
CFC	3SG.HUM.S1	get.VF1	PFV	money	PFM	PRST

'S/he would have come, if s/he had got money.' [KUG_20200130_AC_009]

15.7.6 Simultaneous construction with *ɓáā*

This section is dedicated to complex sentences that express the idea of one activity taking place while another activity is in progress. The first clause of this complex sentence describes the activity that is in progress. This clause includes a nominal predicate without a copula. The predicate consists of the preposition *ɓáā* 'in', the Genitive marker =^{L}, and a nominalized verb, see (880) and (881).

(880)

tū	ɓáá		ˈgɔ̰	kì		sɔ̰m
|tū	ɓáā	=^{L}	gɔ̰	=kī	=^{L}	sɔ̰m|
1PL.S2	in	GEN	do	NMLZ	TR	work

Rákīyā	tì	wàtɛ́	l	ɛ́	à	sīzáā
|Rákīyā	tì	wàtí	=lí	=ɛ̄	à	sīzáā|
Rakiya	PROG	play	PLAC	NMLZ:?	COM	children

'While we are working, Rakiya is playing with children.' [KUG_20200129_BB_004]

(881)	tɔ̄	ɓáá		ˈɗòò	sā		mú
	|tɔ̄	ɓáā	$=^{L}$	ɗòò	=sā	$=^{L}$	=mú|
	1PL.S2	in	GEN	go	RECP	COM	2SG.NS

ká	ˈlūy	bàkú	mú	nɛ̄y	nɛ̀
|ká^{L}	lūy	bàkí	=mú	nɛ̄y	nɛ̀^{k}|
OPT	God	help	2SG.O	hand	there

‘While walking together with you, may God help you.’ [KUG_20180423_ME_015]

Appendix I: Text

The story about the woman and the hyena by Angelina Turuma

sīŋááˈmɔ̄ɔ̄kū	ɛ́		ˈà	kɛ̀m	ɛ̄	ɛ̀
|sīŋááᴸmɔ̄ɔ̄kū	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	à	kɛ̀m	=ɛ̄	=ɛ̀|
story	DEM	GEN	1SG.S4	tell.VF1	NMLZ	PRST

The story I will tell

ɓɔ̀	ɓàà	ɔ̀	ɔ́		ˈrɛ́
|ɓɔ̀	ɓàà	ɔ̀	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	=rɛ́|
3SG.NHUM.S2	like	3.NHUM.S3	DEM	GEN	PROX

is like this.

à	lɔ́ɔ́ˈkɔ̀tí	ɛ́		ˈlúɔ́	ˈkà
|à	lɔ́ɔ́ᴸkɔ̀tí	=ɛ́	=ᴸ	lúɔ́ᴸ	kà|
PRST.COMM	time	DEM	GEN	before	3.CLM

In old times,

wɛ̄nī	ɗɔ́ŋ	kɔ̀ɔ̀	rí	ɛ́
|wɛ̄nī	ɗɔ́ŋ	kɔ̀ɔ̀	=rí	=ɛ̀|
people	old	live.VF3	PFV	PRST

when elders lived [we were told that]

ˈkà	lɛ́ɛ̄	náá	rī	lɛ́ɛ̄	náá	rī
|kà	lɛ́ɛ̄	náá	=rī	lɛ́ɛ̄	náá	=rī|
3.CLM	rain	rain.VF3	PLAC	rain	rain.VF3	PLAC

it was raining heavily.

sɛ́ɛ́	ˈtı̰ı̰pī	dàlā	sɔ̀ɔ̀sáy
|sɛ́ɛ́ᴸ	tı̰ı̰pī	dàlā	sɔ̀ɔ̀sáy|
then	darkness	outside	very

It was very dark outside.

séé	wēsóòrī	tòò	rí	é
|séé	wēsóòrī	tòò	=rí	=è|
then	woman	cook	PFV	COM

A woman was cooking

ēré	nɔ́ɔ́		˩zɛ́kē
|ēré	nɔ́ɔ̄	=L	zɛ́kē|
PL.3SG.POSS	seed.CF1	GEN	hibiscus

her seeds of hibiscus,

záámànī	é	lúy	é		˩ré
|záámànī	=é	lūy	=é	=L	=ré|
time	DEM	day	DEM	GEN	PROX

in these [old] times,

à	nɔ́ɔ́		˩sɔ̄m	
|à	nɔ́ɔ̄	=L	sɔ̄m|	
COM	seed.CF1	GEN	guinea_corn	

with seeds of guinea corn.

tɔ	úú	˩sìmɔ̀kē	nè	a̱	kènân	fã
|tɔ	úúL	sìmɔ̀kē	nè	a̱	kènân	fã|
INTERJ	some	food	there	NEG	EMPH	EMPH

There was no food at all,

ɔ̀y	è	lɛ́ɛ̀nī	ì	táá	kī	è
|ɔ̀y	=è	lɛ́ɛ̀nī	ì	táá	kī	=è|
3PL.NHUM.S3	PRST	evening	IMPS.S4	eat.VF3	NMLZ	PRST

they [seeds of hibiscus and guinea corn] were the only food to eat.

tɔ	séé	˩ɔ	nɔ́ɔ́kì	sɛ́	ī	ís	ɔ
|tɔ	sééL	ɔ	nɔ́ɔ́kì	sɛ́	ī	ísí	=ɔ|
INTERJ	then	3PL.NHUM.S1	cook:RES	then	IMPS.S1	pour	3PL.NHUM.O

They [seeds of hibiscus and guinea corn] were cooked and poured [served].

lɛ́ɛ̄	náá	rī	tíī̲pī	nɛ̀	sɔ̀ɔ̀sáy
|lɛ́ɛ̄	náá	=rī	tíī̲pī	nɛ̀	sɔ̀ɔ̀sáy|
rain	rain.VF3	PLAC	darkness	there	very

It was raining, and it was very dark.

sɛ́ɛ́	dɛ̄	ɛ̀	táá	kì	
|sɛ́ɛ́	dɛ̄	=ɛ̀	táá	=kī	=^{L}|
then	3SG.HUM.S2	PROG	eat.VF3	NMLZ	TR

She was eating

nɔ́ɔ́		˩zɛ́kɛ̄	ɛ́		˩rɛ́
|nɔ́ɔ̄	=^{L}	zɛ́kɛ̄	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́|
seed.CF1	GEN	hibiscus	DEM	GEN	PROX

these seeds of hibiscus.

dɛ̄	ɓáá		˩táá	k	ɔ̀
|dɛ̄	ɓáā	=^{L}	táá	=kī	=ɔ̀|
3SG.HUM.S2	in	GEN	eat.VF3	NMLZ	3PL.NHUM.O

While she was eating them,

à	sì	ɛ́		˩dŭm	˩ɛ̄ɛ̄	tú	wā
|à	sì	=ɛ́	=^{L}	dŭm^{L}	ɛ̄ɛ̄	=tí	=wā|
PRST.COMM	thing	DEM	GEN	hyena	come:RES	PFV	PFM

that [thing] a hyena came

ɓɔ̀	ɗûŋ	tú	wā
|ɓɔ̀	ɗûŋ	=tí	=wā|
3SG.NHUM.S1	squat:RES	PFV	PFM

and squatted

ɗɛ́	ɛ̄	máà	tí	a̲
|ɗɛ́	=ɛ̄	máà	=tí	a̲|
3SG.HUM.S3	NEG	know:RES	PFV	NEG

she was not aware of.

ɗɛ̄		kɛ̄l	è	kà	à	fáà	zɛ̄y
|ɗɛ̄	=è	kɛ̄lí	=ɛ̄	kà	à	fáà	zɛ̄y|
3SG.HUM.S2	PROG	think.VF2	NMLZ	3.CLM	PRST.COMM	DIM.SG	dog

She thought that it was a small dog.

dè	ɗɛ̄	táá	ɗɛ̄	táá
|dè	ɗɛ̄	táá	ɗɛ̄	táá|
then	3SG.HUM.S1	eat.VF3	3SG.HUM.S1	eat.VF3

She was eating and eating!

sɛ́ɛ́	ˈɗɛ́	kālí	sì	ɛ́		ˈrɛ́
|sɛ́ɛ́	ɗɛ́	kālí	sì	=ɛ́	=L	=rɛ́|
then	3SG.HUM.S1	see.VF2	something	DEM	GEN	PROX

Then she saw something

ɓɔ̀	tì	hɛ̰̀ɛ̰̀	r	ɛ̄	mɛ́ɛ̄	rɛ́
|ɓɔ̀	tì	hɛ̰̀ɛ̰̀	=rī	=ɛ̄	mɛ́ɛ̄	=rɛ́|
3SG.NHUM.S2	PROG	approach.VF3:?	VEN	NMLZ	towards	3SG.HUM.POSS

that was approaching her.

ɗɛ̀	wáárɛ̄	kàwɛ́	è	yī
|ɗɛ̀	wáárɛ̄	kàwɛ́L	=è	=yí|
3SG.HUM.S4	do:NMLZ	how	PRST	QM.CON

What will she do?

sɛ́ɛ́	ɗɛ́	tɔ̀	kà	káyà
|sɛ́ɛ́	ɗɛ́	tɔ̀	kà	káyà|
then	3SG.HUM.S1	say	3.CLM	INTERJ

She said: ‘What the hell!

kà	ɔ̀kɛ̀	yí	fâ	zɛ̄y
|kà	ɔ̀kɛ̀	yí	fâ	zɛ̄y|
3.CLM	what	QM.CON	DIM.SG	dog

What [do you need], small dog?

kà	à	nɔ́ɔ́		˩zɛ́kɛ̄
|kà	à	nɔ́ɔ̄	=^{L}	zɛ́kɛ̄|
3.CLM	PRST.COMM	seed.CF1	GEN	hibiscus

It is seeds of hibiscus,

à	ɔ	ɔ́	
|à	ɔ	=ɛ́	=^{L}|
PRST.COMM	3PL.NHUM.S3	DEM	GEN

this is what

˩mɛ̄		táá	kī	ɛ́		˩rɛ́
|mɛ̄	=ɛ̀	táá	=kī	=ɛ́	=^{L}	=rɛ́|
1SG.S2	PROG	eat.VF3	NMLZ	DEM	GEN	PROX

I am eating.'

sɛ́ɛ́	˩dŭm	˩nàà	kpá̱	kī	kà	wŭ̱ù̱
|sɛ́ɛ́^{L}	dŭm^{L}	nàà	kpá̱	=kī	kà	wŭ̱ù̱|
then	hyena	start:RES	cry	NMLZ	3.CLM	woof

The hyena started crying: 'Woof!'

sɛ́	ɗɛ́	tɔ	kà	wúúúyɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄
|sɛ́	ɗɛ́	tɔ	kà	wúúúyɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄|
then	3SG.HUM.S1	say	3.CLM	INTERJ

And she said: 'Help!

kà	à	fâ	dŭm
|kà	à	fâ	dŭm|
3.CLM	PRST.COMM	DIM.SG	hyena

It is a small hyena!'

yā	kāārɛ̀
|yā	kāārɛ̀|
3SG	finish

The end [in Hausa].

Appendix II: Kugama - English Lexicon

Abbreviations

cc: Coordinating connective; gr: grammatical morpheme; id: ideophone; int: interrogative phrase; intj: interjection; N: Noun; num: numeral; NV: nominalized verb; part: particle; pr: pronominal; prep: preposition; sub: subordinating connective; V: Verb

á$_1$ [gr] Presentative Sg Proprial marker
á$_2$ [V] go
à$_1$ [pr] I (1st person sg subject pron., 4th paradigm)
à$_2$ [gr] Presentative Common marker
à$_3$ [prep] Comitative preposition
=ā [gr] Reciprocal marker
a̱ [gr] Negation marker
ā ~ á [pr] I (1st person sg subject pron., 1st paradigm)
á pòò tē [V] continue, resume
a̱à̱ [gr] Negative polar question marker
a̱a̱sí [V] nurse, suckle (baby)
àbàrvā [N] pineapple
àkwàtì ~ àkɔ̄ɔ̄tī [N] box
Àlí [N] Ali (male proper name)
àlkáwàrì [N] promise
ām [pr] mine (pl)
àmá ~ àmáá ~ àmáà [cc] but
Ándrù [N] Andrew (male proper name)
Āŋgɔ́ˡwà [N] Angowa (proper name)
àràhá [N] cheapness
àyàbà [N] banana, plantain
á?á?á [intj] expressing surprise
bàā 1) [N] herd. 2) [N] cattle pen. 3) [N] flock
bàà da̱a̱ [N] herd of sheep
bàà náákī [N] herd of cows
bàà nɔ̄ɔ̄ [N] flock of birds
bàkí [V] help
bàntē [NV] fence in
bármà [N] antelope
bàsúúsà [N] baby sling
bātâŋ kūūrī [N] place for cooking food
bātúúrè 1) [N] white man. 2) [N] foreigner
báyá [prep] after
bè [V] hunt
bè̱è̱rē [N] flower
békē [N] crust
bèkì gàfúkà [N] fifth hunting (end of April)
bèkì lâŋ [N] first hunting (in January)
bèkì míí ˡsàpɛ́ [N] third hunting (in March)
bèkì sa̱a̱mì [N] fourth hunting (beginning of April)
bèkì úú ˡkópē [N] second hunting (in Febuary)
Bènā [N] Bena (female/male name)
bènē [N] chest
bèntèlè [N] width
bè̱sā [V] explain
bíˡná [N] granary
bìmɛ́ɛ̄ [N] body
bìmɛ́ɛ́ ˡdìŋsì [N] trunk of tree
bɔ̌m [N] room; hut
bɔ̌m ˡlóókī [N] bedroom
bɔ̌m ˡnɔ̄kè [N] kitchen
bɔ̌m ˡpēērī [N] hut with a peaked grass roof
bɔ̰ tɔ̃m [N] anus
bɔ́kɔ́tì [N] bucket
bɔ̄mlè [N] elephantiasis
bɔmtí [V] stutter
bɔn tè̱è̱ [N] rooster
bɔ́ɔ́ [V] be tight
bɔɔ̀kī 1) [N] mould (pottery). 2) [N] mud
bɔ́ɔ́sā [V] tighten
bùrɔ́ɔdì [N] bread
ɓá$_1$ [part] EMPH
ɓá$_2$ [V] be early

ɓà ɔ [N] right, correct
ɓà ɔ́ɔ́ [sub] how, the way, as
ɓáˡdìnɛ̰y [N] palm (of hand)
ɓáā [prep] in
ɓàá [sub] as if
ɓàà [prep] like
ɓāā 1) [V] wave (hand as a greeting). 2) [V] announce
ɓááˡdàlā 1) [N] world. 2) [N] Earth
ɓááˡdìŋsì [N] savanna
ɓááˡdɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ [N] compound, house
ɓááˡgɔ̀rɛ̄ 1) [N] Baagore region. 2) [N] in mountain(s)
ɓááˡnɔ̃y [N] pupil (of eye)
ɓááˡɔ̀ɔ́ [sub] although
ɓááˡpùsè [prep] under (used with Common Nouns)
ɓááˡpùsè rī [prep] under (used with Proprial Nouns)
ɓááˡsą̄ą̄ [N] desert
ɓááˡsɛ̄ɛ̄ [N] ground, land
ɓááˡtą́ą́pī [N] cold weather
ɓááˡtɛ̄ sūū [N] hot weather
ɓááˡtóō 1) [N] bush. 2) [N] any place outside of home village
ɓááˡyáā [N] bush country, rural area
ɓāā ɲɛ̰y [V] announce
ɓáánī [N] oldness
ɓáàrī [N] cocoon
ɓāāsè [N] announcement; news
ɓàɓàlāk [N] very hot
ɓą́dì zɛ̄y [N] sole
ɓákā [V] meet, encounter
ɓàkí [V] congratulate
ɓám [V] be old
ɓām [pr] mine (sg)
ɓą̄ŋ 1) [V] declare. 2) [V] be taboo, prohibit. 3) [V] fan. 4) [V] slap
ɓé [V] be bad
ɓéékìsí [NV] poorly
ɓéélā [V] destroy, spoil
ɓé [V] skin
ɓɛ̄ [V] blow (with mouth)
ɓé ~ ɓéɛ́ [sub] if, when, even if
ɓɛ̄ fúúsè 1) [N] sadness. 2) [N] anger
ɓɛ̄ ɲá ˡhɔ̰̄y [V] blow nose
ɓɛ̄ yémī [N] forgetfulness
ɓɛ̄ɛ̄ 1) [V] call. 2) [V] look for
ɓéɛ̄ kɔ̰̄mɛ̄ [N] stomachache, upset stomach
ɓɛ̄ɛ̄ níŋ [V] gossip
ɓèè nɔ́ ˡdìŋsì [N] skin of fruit
ɓèè nɔ̃y [N] eyelid
ɓéélàsí 1) [NV] bad. 2) [NV] spoiled
ɓèèsì 1) [N] skin. 2) [N] hide (of animal). 3) [N] loincloth (for men)
ɓɛ̄kíˡkɛ́rɛ̄ [N] slander
ɓélà ~ ɓélàm [N] before
ɓélɛ̄ [N] left side
ɓèní 1) [V] dry (tr.). 2) [V] spread out (maize)
ɓéŋ [V] waver
ɓɛ̄ŋ [N] elder brother
ɓèpí [N] hare
ɓɛ̄ré ~ ɓèrɛ̄ [pr] his/hers (sg)
ɓɛ̰y 1) [N] stomach. 2) [N] abdomen. 3) [N] womb
ɓí [V] ask
ɓì [V] carry (child) on back
ɓī (~ ī) [N] the one of
ɓḭ̄gbárà [N] porcupine
ɓìì [V] fetch (firewood)
ɓììsí 1) [V] shorten. 2) [V] substract, take away. 3) [V] branch off
ɓíkā [V] be confused
ɓíkī 1) [N] request. 2) [NV] asking, requesting
ɓíní [num] one (1)
ɓíní ɓíní [N] one by one
ɓīnɔ́ ~ ɓīnú [pr] yours (pl) (sg)
ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī$_1$ [int] which one?
ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī$_2$ [pr] theirs (sg)
ɓìrī lṵ̄y [int] when?
ɓìrī tɛ̄ [int] where?
ɓìsā 1) [N] fork (in path). 2) [V] divide, disconnect
ɓītɔ́ ~ ɓītú [pr] ours (sg)

ɓīwí ~ ɓīwé 1) [pr] his/hers (sg logophoric pron.). 2) [pr] yours (sg logophoric pron.)
ɓókī [N] noise, sound
ɓó$_1$ [V] give
ɓó$_2$ [part] also
ɓó$_3$ [sub] if, when, even if
ɓò 1) [pr] it (3rd person non-human sg subject pron., 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th paradigms)
=ɓò [pr] it (3rd person non-human sg non-subject pron.)
ɓó kpɛ̄y [V] lend
ɓó ní^{L}sè [V] believe
ɓókī 1) [N] gift. 2) [NV] giving
ɓólè wáŋkɛ̄ [NV] rustling (leaves)
ɓɔ̀nè yíī [N] he-goat, billy goat
ɓóŋ 1) [N] well. 2) [N] healthy
ɓɔ̀ŋsí [V] thank
ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ [V] steal
ɓɔ̀ɔ̄ [N] thief
ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ ɲɔ́mlɛ̀ [V] smile
ɓɔ́ɔ́ɓɔ̄k ~ ɓɔ́ɔ́ɓɔ̄p [N] softness
ɓɔ́ɔ́kí [V] be blind
ɓɔ́ɔ́kī [N] valley
ɓɔ̀ɔ̀sā [V] have sexual intercourse
ɓɔ̀ɔ̀tɛ̀ zɛ̄y [N] calf of leg
ɓɔ̀ɔ̀tí [V] soften
ɓɔ́rɔ́ ^{L}zɛ̄y [N] shin (front of leg)
ɓūké ^{L}zɔ̄m [N] gall bladder
ɓùkɔ̄ 1) [N] bag. 2) [N] pocket
ɓùkɔ́ ^{L}sì mɔ̀kɛ̄ [N] gizzard
ɓùkɔ̄ ɓíní [num] two hundred (200)
ɓùkɔ̄ ɓíní à sìvɪ̰̄pī nígìná [num] three hundred (300)
ɓùkɔ̄ kɔ́p [num] two thousand (2000)
ɓùkɔ̄ ní^{L}gìná [num] one thousand (1000)
ɓùkɔ̄ ní^{L}hɛ́ɛ̰̀ [num] eight hundred (800)
ɓùkɔ̄ ní^{L}hɛ́ɛ̰̀ à sìvɪ̰̄pī nígìná [num] nine hundred (900)
ɓùkɔ̄ ní^{L}sā̰ā̰ [num] six hundred (600)
ɓùkɔ̄ ní^{L}sā̰ā̰ à sìvɪ̰̄pī nígìná [num] seven hundred (700)
ɓùkɔ̄ níīrī [num] four hundred (400)
ɓùkɔ̄ níīrī à sìvɪ̰̄pī nígìná [num] five hundred (500)
ɓùlā séē [N] eclipse (moon)
ɓúlí [V] sprout, germinate
ɓùm [V] swim
ɓùm [N] thigh
ɓúnī [N] pawpaw, papaya
ɓūɔ̄ [pr] yours (sg) (sg)
ɓúrí [V] exceed
ɓúsā 1) [V] cut open (fruit). 2) [V] split
ɓúú [V] hide, keep, save
ɓūú [N] pap, mushy food
ɓūūkī [N] monitor lizard
ɓúúrī [N] bark (of tree)
dā [V] pay (for goods, services, etc.)
dáà 1) [N] dear. 2) [N] grandfather, father
dā̰á̰ [N] sheep
Dáá^{L}bènā [N] Daabena (male name)
Dáá^{L}gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ [N] Daageele (male name)
Dáá^{L}ɣànà [N] Daawana (male name)
dáákè dɪ̃̄y [N] jaw
dáárù [N] headpad
dààzéē [N] night
dākī [N] payment
dàlā [N] outside
dāmlí [N] cane rat
dànkálī [N] sweet-potato
dànkálī bàtúúrē [N] potato
dāŋ [N] elephant
dàŋlɛ̄ [N] curdled milk
dɛ̀ (~ dī$_2$) [cc] while
dègígɛ̄ 1) [N] shovel. 2) [N] spade
dɛ̂n (~ dī$_2$) 1) [cc] so. 2) [cc] then
dìdàŋ [N] talking drum
dìgà [prep] from
dìké [N] dullness
dìkī [N] drizzle
dīkī [N] fabric skein
dílé ^{L}vɔ́ɔ́rī [N] beehive
dīlí [V] be dirty

dìm [V] plait, braid (hair)
dīnè [N] fist
dīnè zɛ̄y [N] heel
dīŋāārè [N] onion
dīŋ [N] earwax
dìŋ gbèlé [N] type of tree
dìŋ kím 1) [N] teak tree. 2) [N] silk-cotton tree. 3) [N] kapok tree
dìŋ kísā [N] baobab tree
dìŋ kɔ́ɔ́pɛ̄ [N] thorn-tree
dìŋ nɔ̄y [N] oil palm
dìŋ ɲáápī [N] fig tree
dìŋ ɲɛ́ɛ̀pɛ̄ [N] mahogany tree
dìŋ pàŋā [N] type of tree
dìŋ pókī [N] bulb, tuber
dìŋ yɔ̄y [N] type of tree
dìŋ zɛ́m [N] tamarind tree
dìŋ zólū [N] type of tree
dìŋsì ~ dɛ̀ŋsì [N] tree
dìŋsì lɛ́ɛ́kī [N] vine
dìŋsì rí ˡbātúúrè [N] type of tree from Europe
dòō 1) [N] laziness. 2) [part] still. 3) [part] just. 4) [part] no longer (when used with negation)
dórè [N] leprosy
dɔ̄ 1) [V] burn. 2) [V] be wounded. 3) [V] be hot
dɔ̀kā [V] stir
dókí [V] start
dɔ̀m dą̄ą́ [N] ram
dɔ̀m sɔ̄m [N] bundle of guinea corn
dɔ̄mlí [V] get wounded many times
dɔ̀msì [N] bundle
dɔ̀ɔ̀ká [N] command
dɔ̨̀ɔ̨̀rī [N] star
dɔ̨̀ɔ̨̀rì gàáˡté [N] Orion
dɔ̨̀ɔ̨̀rì lákè háŋkē 1) [N] Big Dipper. 2) [N] Great Bear
dɔ̨̀ɔ̨̀rì zɔ̨̄kī [N] shooting star
dɔ̀rā [N] turkey
dúkí [V] spy
dúm [N] hyena
dūmlē [N] son
dūmlé ˡtárī (~ dūmlɛ̀ tárī) [N] son-in-law
dúmlè méɛ̄ [N] wave
dūmlè tárī (~ dūmlé ˡtárī) [N] son-in-law
dúú [V] die
dá 1) [V] pierce. 2) [V] stab
dà ~ dàà [gr] Consecutive marker (?)
dáá 1) [V] please, satisfy. 2) [V] be enough. 3) [V] suit, befit
dáà bɛ̀ɛ̀ lūy [N] day after tomorrow
dāākī$_1$ [N] big stick for mixing food
dāākī$_2$ [NV] choking
dáálā [N] equal
dáàzúrē [N] tomorrow
dákā [V] be same
dām [N] cricket
dáŋ [N] rubber
dàŋī [N] strap
dɛ́ 1) [V] escape. 2) [V] slither (snake). 3) [V] cut down (tree)
dɛ̄ɛ̄ [N] blood
dɛ́ɛ̀ ~ dîî (~ éè ~ îì) 1) [cc] and. 2) [cc] with. 3) [prep] then
dɛ̀ɛ̀ váā [N] fetus
dɛ̄ɛ̄kí [V] bleed
dɛ̄ [V] dwell, inhabit
dɛ́ ~ dá [pr] he/she (3rd person human sg subject pron., 3rd paradigm)
dɛ̀ ~ dà [pr] he/she (3rd person human sg subject pron., 4th paradigm)
dɛ̄ ~ dɛ́ ~ dā ~ dá 1) [pr] he/she (3rd person human sg subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms)
dɛ́ɛ́ [V] carve
dɛ́ɛ́ ˡmàrɛ̄ [N] polygamy
dɛ́ɛ́ ˡnɔ̄ɔ̄ [N] nest
dɛ́ɛ́ ˡɲà vɛ́ɛ́rī [N] dwelling of the dead (spiritual)
dɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ 1) [N] house. 2) [N] village
dɛ̀ɛ̀kí 1) [V] flow. 2) [V] spill (liquid)
dɛ̀ɛ̀rū [N] tortoise (land)
dí [pr] they (3rd person human pl subject pron., 3rd paradigm)

ɗî [pr] they (3rd person human pl subject pron., 4th paradigm)
ɗî$_1$ 1) [V] knead. 2) [V] weave
ɗî$_2$ (~ dên, dè) [cc] while
ɗî ~ ɗĩ 1) [pr] they (3rd person human pl subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms)
ɗīī [N] fish
ɗìì gɔ̀y [N] eel
ɗìì ɲáᶣɲɛ́kɛ̄ [N] mudfish
ɗīm [V] take offense, be angry
ɗɔ̀kɛ́ ᶣzɛ̄m [N] praying mantis
ɗɔ̀kɛ́ ~ ɗɔ̀kí [N] grasshopper
ɗóɔ̀ 1) [N] rope. 2) [N] string
ɗɔ̀ɔ̀ 1) [V] go. 2) [V] walk. 3) [V] travel. 4) [V] move
ɗóɔ̀ bɛ̀kī [N] hunting net
ɗóɔ̀ tākɛ̀ nɔ̄y 1) [N] bird trap. 2) [N] birdlime
ɗɔ̀ɔ̀kī 1) [N] journey, trip. 2) [N] movement
ɗɔ̀ɔ̀sā [V] accompany, walk together
ɗɔ̀sālā [V] wander
ɗɔ́ŋ 1) [N] old. 2) [N] supreme. 3) [N] big
ɗɔ́ŋrī [N] type of plant
ɗɔ̄ɔ̄$_1$ [N] tether (sheep, goats)
ɗɔ̄ɔ̄$_2$ [V] domesticate, tame
ɗɔ́ɔ́kɛ̄ 1) [N] dirt. 2) [N] soil
ɗɔ́ɔ́kí méɛ̄ [V] be dirty (on)
ɗú [V] defecate
ɗùgū̱ŋ (~ tùgū̱ū̱) [prep] behind
ɗúŋ 1) [V] bow (as in greeting). 2) [V] squat. 3) [V] perch
ɗúŋsí [V] sink
ɗúú ᶣdáŋ [N] elephant's tusk
ɗúú ᶣyàŋrē [N] spider's web
ɗúū ɗɔ́ŋ [N] molar tooth
ɗúúkī [N] hoe
ɗúúkī ɗɔ́ŋ [N] big hoe
ɗūy [N] tooth
éè ~ îì (~ ɗéè ~ ɗíì) [cc] and
=ɛ́ [gr] Demonstrative marker
=ɛ̀$_1$ [gr] Presentative marker
=ɛ̀$_2$ [gr] Nominalization marker
=ɛ̀$_3$ [prep] Comitative preposition
=ɛ̄ [gr] Nominalization marker
ɛ̱́ [V] burn, blaze
ɛ́lí [V] inherit
=ɛ́ᴸ [sub] if
=èrɛ́ [gr] Presentative marker
ērɛ́ ~ ārɛ́ ~ èrē [pr] his/hers (pl)
ērī [V] come
fā [part] certainly
fà ɗɔ̀nē [N] rat
fà gīnē [N] snake
fáà ~ fà (~ sáà ~ sà) 1) [N] piece. 2) [N] DIM.SG. 3) [N] small one. 4) [N] young one
fáà dą̄ą́ [N] lamb
fáà dūmlē 1) [N] young man. 2) [N] lover
fáà gérɛ́ ᶣɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ [N] piglet
fáà hɔ̱̄ɔ̱̄ 1) [N] ringworm. 2) [N] maggot
fáà hɔ̱̀ɔ̱̀ vù̱rē [N] intestinal worm
fáà kírkù̱m [N] colt
fáà kɔ̱̄nē [N] younger sister of mother-in-law
fáà làrā [N] iron belt for decoration
fáà náákī [N] calf
fáà nɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ́ŋ [N] sister (younger)
fáà nɔ̄y [N] bird
fáà ɲāŋ [N] kitten
fáà ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī$_1$ [N] lover
fáà ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī$_2$ [N] virgin
fáà sènē [N] father's brother (uncle)
fáà sīŋ [N] eagle
fáà sɔ́ŋtɔ́lɔ́ hɔ̄y [N] type of spoon
fáà sɔ̄ɔ̄kī 1) [N] stupid person. 2) [N] small snake
fáà tâŋ hɔ̱̄ɔ̱̄ [N] small cooking pot
fáà tárī [N] brother-in-law
fáà tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄ [N] mother's brother (uncle) (younger)
fáà tɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄ [N] chick
fáà tìì náákī [N] heifer
fáà tɔ̄ŋ 1) [N] relative (by blood, father's side). 2) [N] cousin
fáà vēntɛ̀ [N] colt
fáà vîm [N] small(est) drum
fáà wē sóōrī [N] girl

fáà wē véērī [N] boy
fáà wɛ̰nénɛ́ [N] hawk
fáà yéní ˡnáákī [N] steer
fáà yɛ̄ŋ [N] relative (by blood, mother's side)
fáà yíī [N] kid
fáà zɛ́y [N] pup
Fāātímà [N] Fatima (female proper name)
fáɓè [NV] living, spending long time
fɛ̰̀fèntìtē [N] marsh
fɔ̀níˡsè [N] guilty
fɔ̰ŋlè [N] lightness (not heaviness)
fɔ̄ɔ̄rī [N] poverty
fɔ̄sè 1) [N] sorrow. 2) [N] problem, trouble
fɔ̄sí [V] lack, be scarce
fúffùkē [N] lung
fùkɛ́ [N] sap
fṵm 1) [V] be angry . 2) [V] complain, grumble
fúrī [V] pluck (feathers)
fúúkī [N] abscess
fúúsí [V] annoy, disturb
gà [V] try
gāá [N] remaining, other ones
gà̰ā̰₁ [N] chaff
gà̰ā̰₂ [N] The black-and-white or white-shouldered crow (Corvus scapulatus; Corvus albus)
gāá ˡsì mɔ̀kē [N] leftovers
gàà dɔ̀ɔ̀kī [N] cane
gàà gùsī [N] plug
gàà ɲáá ˡgùsī [N] plug
gàà sí ˡtààpɔ̄ [N] stick of pipe
gàáˡté 1) [N] morning. 2) [N] dawn (before sunrise)
gà̰à̰sē [N] blessing (e.g. before death)
gáásí [V] caress
gààsì [N] stick
gà̰à̰sí 1) [V] mend, repair. 2) [V] create. 3) [V] decorate
gààsífiŋ [N] big stick for mixing food
gádà [N] bridge
gàlɔ̃́m [N] fishhook
gām 1) [V] squeeze. 2) [V] wring out
gām ɲɛ́ɛ̄ [V] milk (cows, goats)
gàmlí [V] imitate
gāŋ [V] count
gàŋgáŋ [N] drum (with a stick)
gàtìgātī [N] rough
géérī [V] gnaw
gɛ̰̄₁ [V] cut
gɛ̰̄₂ [V] wait
gɛ̰̄ váákī [V] divorce
gɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄ [V] cut across (once, parts are not divided)
gɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄kí [V] cut across (once, two parts are devided)
gèɛ̄pī [N] bigness
gèɛ̀rɛ̄ [N] lake
gɛ́ɛ̰kɛ̄ [N] tax
gɛ̄lūbà [N] camel
gêmlé ˡkɔ̄y [N] clitoris
gèpèsɛ̄ [NV] respecting, honouring
gèpí 1) [V] grow. 2) [V] be big
gérɛ̄ 1) [N] boar (wild pig with tusks). 2) [N] warthog
gérɛ́ ˡdɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ [N] pig
gɛ̰̄rī 1) [V] cut across. 2) [V] chop into pieces
gɛ́y [N] waist, small of back
gɪ̰̄ [V] avoid
gìlé ˡwɛ̄y [N] tail
gīm 1) [V] fold. 2) [V] coil
gìnè nɔ̃́y [N] eyebrow
gìrī [V] rub
góórè [N] kidney
gɔ́ [V] finish, end
gɔ̰́ [V] sound, pronounce
gɔ̰̀ 1) [V] do. 2) [V] hold. 3) [V] catch. 4) [V] trap
gɔ̰̀ sɔ̰̃m [V] work
gɔ̀dɔ̄ [N] robe
gɔ̰̀kí [V] snore
gɔ̃́m [N] hunger
gɔ̀m tɔ̰̀y [N] termite hill
gɔ̄mlɔ̄ [N] okra
gɔ̀ɔ̀ / gɔ̀ɔ̀lè [N] big one
gɔ̀ɔ̀ vím [N] big(gest) drum
gɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀lā [N] genet

gɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̀ (~ gɔ̀ɔ̀) [N] big ones
gɰ̃ɰ̃rɛ̀ [NV] growling
gɔ̃ɔ̃rɔ̃ [N] cola nut
gòrɛ̄ [N] mountain
gòtɛ̀ kɰ̃y [N] nape of neck
gɔ̃y [N] lizard
góyvà [N] guava
gɰ̃m [V] surround
gûm nɛ̋y 1) [N] elbow. 2) [N] knuckle
gùm pórɛ̄ [N] anteater, aardvark, antbear
gūmā tɛ̄ [N] round
gūmì nɔ̃y [NV] blinking, winking (eye)
gûn gùū [N] handle of the axe
gūnā 1) [N] ring. 2) [N] rattle
gūnà gôm nɛ̋y [N] iron ring with balls for shooting
gūnà nɛ̋y 1) [N] ankle ring, bangle. 2) [N] ankle engagement ring
gūnà pùù nɛ̋y [N] wide iron ring for shooting
gúrɛ̀ [N] depth
gùré [N] wall
gùrɛ̄ [N] camp, encampment
gúrɛ̀ tɛ̄ [N] ditch, valley
gùsī [N] bottle
gùsòlútɛ̄ [N] pit
gùsúlúūrū [N] owl
gùū [N] axe
gbá 1) [V] prevent. 2) [V] protect
gbɰ̃ [V] be fat, be thick
gbá ˈûy [N] antenna
gbɰ̃ɰ̃ [N] stalk
gbáá ˈdīī [N] fin
gbáá ˈnáákī [N] horn of cow
gbɰ̀ɰ̀ tɰ́ɰ́kī [N] sugar cane
gbàáˈgbɰ̀ [N] immediately
gbɰ̀ɰ̀lí [V] crawl
gbɰ̃lí [V] awe
gbɰ̀ŋ̀ī [NV] being sour
gbàŋkí [V] ferment
gbāsí [V] keep silence, be silent
gbè [V] scrape
gbēlā [V] crook
gbēlāsí 1) [NV] crooked. 2) [NV] bent. 3) [NV] curved
gbɛ̋ŋ [N] again
gbɛ̄ŋ [N] hip
gbɛ̀ɛ̀kí [V] be bald
gbɛ̄ɛ̄rī [N] groundnut
gbènɛ̄ [N] horse
gbènsì [N] log
gbérí [V] finish, complete
gbésí [V] be last
gbɛ̄y [N] traditional skirt
gbɛ̋y / sâgbɛ̋y 1) [N] horn (mammal part). 2) [N] horn (musical instrument), fife
gbìkírì [N] front loincloth (for women)
gbìŋ̀tɛ̄ [N] fierce
gbíŋ̀télɛ̀ [N] shortness
gbīré 1) [N] rubbish. 2) [N] dwarf
gbīré ˈdìŋsì [N] stump
gbīré ˈzɛ̄y [N] shin (from knee to feet)
gbírí [V] exceed
gbɔ̃lɔ̃ŋ [N] bell
gbɔ̃m [N] baboon
gbɰ́ɰ́ ˈzɛ̄y [N] ankle
gbú [V] bark
gbúrɛ̀ tɔ̃m [N] buttock
gbúúrī 1) [N] hump. 2) [N] hunchback. 3) [N] tumour
há [V] place, put, set, drop
háá (~ hár) [prep] even
hàà [V] sweep
hāākɛ̀sí ˈhɔ́y [N] type of utensils
háákī [N] farm
hɰ̀ɰ́kī [N] upper grinding stone
hákɛ̄ [NV] being drunk
hɰ̃kí 1) [V] break. 2) [V] hit
hālí 1) [V] pass by. 2) [V] exceed
hɰ́m [V] spoil (food)
hâŋ gìrɛ̄ [N] soup made of leaves of beans
hâŋ kɰ̀kī [N] draw soup made of small fish and beans

hâŋ kórɔ́ [N] draw soup made of small fish and beans
hâŋ kpōréwà [N] type of soup
hâŋ sérúwáŋà [N] type of soup
hâŋ sìtūwàsé [N] type of soup
hâŋ tìtém [N] type of soup
hâŋ wǎm [N] soup made of beans
háŋkē [N] soup, broth
háŋkí [V] yawn
hár (~ hää) [prep] even
háwsá [N] the Hausa
hé [V] lead, guide
hé̱ [V] wipe
hē̱ [V] approach
hēē [N] leisure
hé̱é̱ [V] blow
hé̱è̱ 1) [V] forbid. 2) [V] refuse. 3) [V] abandon
hé̱ē̱ 1) [N] here. 2) [N] now
hē̱ē̱ [V] reject
hē̱ē̱lè [N] breath
hē̱ē̱lí 1) [V] breathe. 2) [V] live (be alive)
hē̱ē̱lí nää ˡtím [V] pant
héénī [N] longness, tallness
héérí 1) [V] beg (for money). 2) [V] plead, implore
hēērī [N] broom
héérí lúy [V] pray
héésè [NV] interceding, mediating
hékì kpää [NV] leading, guiding
hēm$_1$ [N] saliva
hēm$_2$ 1) [V] be long. 2) [V] be tall
héntélé [N] shallowness
hē̱sā 1) [N] argument. 2) [V] argue
hī̱ī̱ [N] new
hī̱ī́nē [N] mortar, pounding pot
hi̱kārī [N] people
hí̱ŋrè [N] early
hí̱ŋsí [V] wake up, be awake
hīrè tē [N] open place, clearing
hóó [V] bury
hóókì véépī [N] funeral (at occasion of death)
hɔ̄ 1) [V] pour. 2) [V] pour libation
hɔ́$_1$ [V] bless, praise
hɔ́$_2$ 1) [V] find. 2) [V] get, obtain
hɔ̀ 1) [V] bathe. 2) [V] wash
hɔ́ ˡbē̱ē̱kī [N] type of calabash
hɔ́ ˡkɔ̄y [N] larynx
hɔ́ní [V] fry
hɔ́ɔ́ [V] buy
hɔ̄ɔ̄$_1$ [N] food
hɔ̄ɔ̄$_2$ [V] roast, bake
hɔ̀ɔ̀ ɲáˡkā̱y [N] liver
hɔ̀ɔ̀ ɲɔ̄ŋ [N] dish made of millet
hɔ̀ɔ̀ sɔ̄m [N] dish made of guinea corn
hɔ̀ɔ̀ ū̱y [N] brain
hɔ́pē [N] bitter
hɔ̄y [N] calabash
hū̱m 1) [V] pound. 2) [V] knock, punch
hú̱ù̱ [intj] Oh! (expressing sadness)
húúsí [V] enlarge
í [pr] they (impersonal subject pron., 3rd paradigm)
ì [pr] they (impersonal subject pron., 4th paradigm)
ī (~ ɓī) [N] the ones of
=ī [gr] Nominalization marker
ī ~ í 1) [pr] they (impersonal subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms)
íí [intj] Hurrah!
îì ~ ēè [gr] Presentative Plural Proprial marker
îì ~ íí [intj] yes
ííwò [intj] Wow!
ím [V] be heavy
īnɔ́ ~ īnú [pr] yours (pl)
íŋ 1) [V] stand up. 2) [V] lift. 3) [V] wake up
ìrī ~ èrī [int] which ones?
ìrī ~ èrī ~ ērí [pr] theirs (pl)
ísí [V] pour, take out
ītɔ́ ~ ītú [pr] ours (pl)
īwí ~ īwé 1) [pr] his/hers (pl logophoric pron.). 2) [pr] your (sg) (pl logophoric pron.)
ká$_1$ 1) [gr] Optative marker. 2) [sub] Counterfactual conditional marker

ká$_2$ [V] wrestle

ká$_3$ [V] break

ká$_4$ 1) [V] transfer, carry (from one place to another). 2) [V] migrate, move away

kà [cc] Clause-linking marker (agreement in 3rd person)

kā 1) [V] see. 2) [V] foresee. 3) [V] think. 4) [V] feel like

kə̰ [V] shave

ká ~ kā 1) [cc] and then. 2) [cc] before

kàà 1) [V] be defeated. 2) [V] throw. 3) [V] throw away, get rid of

kāā [N] machete, cutlass, big axe

kààmín [prep] before

kə̰àə̰rī 1) [N] side (of something). 2) [prep] nearby. 3) [prep] beside, by the side of

kə̰àə̰rì bɛ̃́y [N] side of body

kàkɔ̄ [N] type of grass

kálɛ̄ 1) [NV] being strong, great, powerful. 2) [N] strength, power. 3) [N] eager, zealous

kálí 1) [V] be strong, hard. 2) [V] be stupid. 3) [V] be stingy. 4) [V] recover, get well

kàm$_1$ [part] definitely

kàm$_2$ 1) [V] fill, be full. 2) [V] be sated

kānānā wènéní [N] centipede

káŋsí 1) [V] add. 2) [V] increase. 3) [V] repeat

kárī [V] weed

kàwɛ́ [int] how?

káy [intj] Interjection of surprise

kə̰y [N] side, place from the armpit to the hip

kɛ́ [int] how many/much?

kèm 1) [V] tell. 2) [V] prophesize. 3) [V] show

kèmè sì [N] divine, prophesy

kènân [part] indeed

kérè [N] shield

kérē [N] slander

kèsɔ́ ˡhɔ̃́y [N] flour

kì [gr] plus

=kī [gr] Nominalization marker

kìɓə́à [N] abstain

kìgákáká [N] hard

kīī [V] exorcise

kīīsā [V] resemble

kīkɛ́ɛ́kā [N] cattle egret

kīkí ˡpúū [N] miscarriage

kīkídíyààpē [N] naming ceremony

kílè dáŋ [N] elephant's trunk

kílè nɛ̃́y [N] shoulder blade

kīrī 1) [V] go out. 2) [V] remove

kó [V] lie down

kólí úú ˡmɛ́ɛ̄ [V] float

kə̰nā / wē kə̰nā [N] the Kona

kònáà zɛ̃́m [N] tarantula

kóó$_1$ [V] cause

kóó$_2$ 1) [V] keep, save. 2) [V] store (up)

kóókì ɲáˡkə̰y [NV] hoping

kōōrè [NV] whistling

kōōrē [N] dove

kɔ̀y [N] village, town

kɔ́ [V] fetch (water)

kə̰ [V] squeeze, mix

kɔ́ ~ kɔ́ɔ́ 1) [cc] or. 2) [gr] Question marker. 3) [sub] even if (Concessive conditional marker)

kə̰kɛ́ ˡpə̰àə̰rī [N] eggshell

kɔ̂m [N] comb

kɔ̀m [N] hair (of body)

kə̰m$_1$ 1) [V] be sick. 2) [V] be difficult

kə̰m$_2$ [N] pain

kɔ̌m ˡnɔ̃́y [N] feather

kɔ̌m ˡnɔ̃́y [N] eyelash

kɔ̌m ˡɲɛ́y [N] beard

kɔ̀mbɔ́ [N] canoe

kə̰mɛ̄ [N] fever (not malaria)

kə̰mɛ́ ˡlɛ́kī [N] labour, birth pains

kə̰msí 1) [V] encourage. 2) [V] advise. 3) [V] punish

kə̰́nɛ̀ [N] chin

kə̰nɛ̄ [N] mother-in-law

kɔ̀ŋ [N] war, fight

kɔ̄ɔ̄ 1) [V] be, become. 2) [V] stay. 3) [V] live. 4) [V] sit. 5) [V] Future tense of the copula

kə́ə̰̄ [N] lion

kə̰ə̰̀ [V] evade

kɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄$_1$ 1) [V] clean. 2) [V] clear land for planting
kɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄$_2$ [V] be late
kɔ́ɔ́ ˡɓèrī lúyī [N] always, usually
kɔ́ɔ́ ˡɔ̀kè yīī ~ kɔ́ɔ́ ˡɔ̀kè yī [N] everything
kɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ dīī [N] fish-scale
kɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ gbɛ̄ɛ̄rī [N] shell of groundnut
kɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ sɔ̃m [N] corn husk
kɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ vísí ˡnɛ̃y [N] fingernail
kɔ́ɔ́ˡ téè yīī ~ kɔ́ɔ́ˡ téè yī [N] everywhere
kɔ́ɔ́ˡ wéè yīī ~ kɔ́ɔ́ˡ wéè yī [N] everybody
kɔ̄ɔ̄kí (ērɛ́) sì pānè [V] become (his/her) habit
kɔ́ɔ́pē 1) [N] thorn. 2) [N] long knife
kɔ́ɔ́pē kɔ̰̀y [N] palm needle
kɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄rī [V] dawn
kɔ̰́ɔ́sí ~ kɔ́ɔ́sí [V] be dry
kɔ́p [num] ten (10)
kɔ̂p [N] cup
kɔ́p tí ˡɓíní [num] eleven (11)
kɔ́p tí ˡníīrī [num] twelve (12)
kɔ́p tí níˡgìná [num] fifteen (15)
kɔ́p tí níˡgìtááˡɓíní [num] sixteen (16)
kɔ́p tí níˡgìtíníīrī [num] seventeen (17)
kɔ́p tí níˡhɛ́ɛ̰̀ [num] fourteen (14)
kɔ́p tí níˡsáā̰ [num] thirteen (13)
kɔ́p tí ɔ́ˡgìnááˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̰̀ [num] nineteen (19)
kɔ́p tí ɔ̰́náˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̰̀ [num] eighteen (18)
kɔ̰̀pé 1) [N] snail. 2) [N] game with shalls
kɔ́rɔ́ [N] grewia bicolour, grewia mollis
kósé ˡzàà [N] hoof
kɔ̰́sí [V] load
kósí ~ kɔ̰́sí [V] cough
kɔ̄y [N] vagina
kɔ̰̀y [N] doum palm
kɔ̰̄y [N] neck
kɔ̰̀y lɛ́ɛ́kī [N] raffia palm
kú 1) [V] put, cover. 2) [V] hide
kù 1) [V] hug. 2) [V] incubate, sit (on eggs)
kú ˡnɔ́ɔ́ ˡkàkɔ̄ [N] type of fence
kú ˡnɔ́ɔ́ ˡsā̰pī [N] type of fence
kúˡdɛ́ɛ́ [N] fence
kúˡkāŋ (~ kúˡkā̰y) [N] rib
kúˡkā̰y (~ kúˡkāŋ) [N] rib
kúkī 1) [N] mask. 2) [NV] covering
kùlā [V] twist
kúlé ˡzákɛ̄ [N] type of dish
kúlū [N] turtle (water)
kūm [N] fly
kṵ̄m [N] knife, saw
kūm ˡbènē [N] breastbone
kūm ˡdīī [N] fish bone
kūm ˡtùgṵ̄y [N] spine, backbone
kūm ˡū́y [N] skull
kūm ˡwēm [N] skeleton
kùm ɲómɛ̄ [N] dragonfly
kúmá [part] also
kúmlētɛ̄ [N] tent, roof
kúmɔ́ [part] also
kūmpī [N] bone
kūmsì [N] bone (for eating)
kùsū [N] cloud
kúúsà [N] nail
kūūsí 1) [V] clap (hands). 2) [V] spank (child)
kwákwā [N] coconut palm
kpā̰ [V] cry
kpà̰ [V] embrace, hug
kpā̰ [V] obey
kpá ˡdɛ́ɛ́ké [N] courtyard
kpá ˡná ˡūrē [N] south
kpá ˡūrē [N] east
kpáá [sub] how
kpáā$_1$ 1) [prep] towards. 2) [prep] through. 3) [prep] like
kpáā$_2$ 1) [N] entrance hut. 2) [N] side, region, direction, position with reference to a central line, space, point, way
kpà̰ā̰ [part] not yet (phasal polarity particle used with negation)
kpā̰ā̰ [V] heal, cure
kpáá ˡɓèkī [N] meaning
kpáá ˡnáá ˡséè [N] north
kpáá ˡpòò tē [N] in front of, before
kpáá ˡséè [N] west

kpáá ˡtŏm ˡtɛ̄ 1) [N] behind. 2) [N] backwards
kpààrī [N] dry season
kpàdǐŋ [N] mud wasp
kpa̰kí ˡséɛ̄ [N] menstrual period
kpa̰m / kpa̰nì ~ kpa̰nɛ̀ [N] big one
kpàm ~ kpàà [N] chief
kpàm ɯ̰ǎm [N] Kugama chief
kpàmlí [V] learn
kpàmlísí [V] teach
kpàŋ [N] field
kpa̰ŋ [V] be sticky
kpélɛ̀ [NV] being difficult
kpélɛ̀ nɛ̋y [N] shoulder
kpēlí [V] punish
kpɛ́ 1) [V] answer. 2) [V] agree, admit (to a wrong). 3) [V] agree
kpɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄ [V] accuse
kpéɛ̀kí ˡlɛ̋y [N] spark
kpɛ̀ɛ̀rī [N] quick, fast
kpɛ́lí [V] catch
kpɛ́sā [N] agreement
kpɛ̋y [N] debt, credit, money
kpìkpítírí [N] thick
kpíŋzɔ̄lɔ̄ [N] hornbill
kpɔ̀ 1) [V] smoothen. 2) [V] scratch, brush. 3) [V] clean
kpùkpórɔ́ 1) [N] intelligence. 2) [N] bravery, courage
láá [V] fish
lāā [V] offer, give
làà dīī [N] gill
làà gɔ̀rɛ̄ [N] cave
láásā 1) [V] resolve, settle (dispute). 2) [V] haggle, negotiate a price. 3) [N] compromise. 4) [N] peace
lákɛ̄ [N] taste
lákí 1) [V] hear. 2) [V] taste. 3) [V] feel
làmá [intj] Sorry
làmbú [N] garden
làmɛ̄ [NV] throbbing (with pain)
lāŋsí [V] forget
lásā 1) [V] turn round. 2) [V] alter, change
=lɛ́ [gr] Anaphoric marker
lèlɛ̀ɛ̀m [N] slowly
lèmlèm [N] slowly
lɛ́$_1$ [N] before, recently
lɛ́$_2$ [V] give birth
lɛ́ɛ́ [V] lick
lɛ́ɛ̄ 1) [N] rain. 2) [N] rainy season
lɛ̀ɛ̀ mɛ́ɛ̄ [V] give pain, hurt
lɛ́ɛ́ ŭy [V] conquer, defeat
lɛ́ɛ́kī [N] tendril
lɛ̀ɛ̀lí [V] deceive, lie
lɛ́ɛ́mí [V] wound, injure
lɛ́ɛ́mì [N] yesterday
lɛ́ɛ̀nī ~ lɛ́ɛ̄nī 1) [N] evening. 2) [N] dusk, twilight
lɛ́ɛ́rɛ̄ [N] flute
lɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̄ [N] pot for water
lɛ́ɛ́sā ɲɛ̋y [V] kiss
lɛ̄ɛ̄sɔ̀ [N] bed
lɛ̄ɛ̄táŋ [N] weak
lɛ̀ɛ̀tɛ̀ pɛ̀tɛ́ ˡnɛ̋y [NV] flapping the wings
lɛ̀ɛ̀tí [V] tickle
lɛ̀ɛ̀váā / lɛ̀ɛ̀sīzáā [N] baby
lɛ̀m [V] get engaged, betrothed
lɛ̀m pa̰à̰rī [V] cackle (as of chicken)
lɛ̋y [N] cheek
lɛ̋y$_1$ [N] hail
lɛ̋y$_2$ [N] fire
=lí ~ =lī [gr] Pluractional marker
lím [V] quench, extinguish
ló [V] dream
lòlɔ̀kɔ̄ [N] crop (of bird)
lóó [V] sleep
lɔ̄ [V] be rotten, spoiled
lɔ́m [V] be sharp
lɔ̀m [V] hollow out
lɔ́m ŭy [V] take revenge
lɔ́ɔ́kì kpǎm [NV] ruling over, dominating
lɔ́ɔ́kɔ̀tī [N] time
lɔ́ó̰lɔ̄ō̰ [N] sleepy
lú ˡkpá gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ [N] Monday

lú ˈkpá tíyérē [N] Thursday
Lúkpêwà [N] Luikpiewa (proper name)
lùm$_1$ [N] cassava, manioc
lùm$_2$ [N] bud
lúɔ́ [N] before, long ago
lúɔ́ ˈhɛ́ɛ̰̄ [N] day before yesterday
lúɔ́ ˈpát [N] always, usually
lúú ˈàlàrbà [N] Wednesday
lúú ˈásàwè [N] Saturday
lúú ˈgbílà [N] Friday
lúú ˈláádì [N] Sunday
lúú ˈsí dɔ́ndɔ́n [N] Tuesday
lūūkī [N] knot (in wood)
lūūmɔ̀ ~ lūmɔ̀ [N] market
lùùsí [N] traditional headwear with horns
lùùtí [V] palpitate (of heart)
lū̃y 1) [N] God (supreme being). 2) [N] sun. 3) [N] day. 4) [N] daytime
Lúylāārómɔ́kè [N] Luilaaromoke (proper name)
Lúypòòmɛ́ [N] Luipoome (proper name)
mā [V] tie, fasten, bind (load), wrap
má ~ mā [cc] Clause-linking marker (agreement in first and 2nd person)
má ~ máá 1) [part] also. 2) [part] still
máà [gr] Immediate past marker
māā [V] build
Máá Bálwà [N] Mayo-Belwa
màkákáà ~ màákáà [N] Makakaa (nickname)
mákè sà̰kī [NV] eloquent
mákè sì [N] knowledge
mákí 1) [V] know. 2) [V] notice. 3) [V] able to
mākī 1) [N] knot. 2) [N] tie. 3) [NV] wrapping, tying
mākí ˈváákī [N] wedding (ceremony)
málí [V] castrate
màmlí [V] stalk
mánsà [V] close to, about to
màŋ kɔ̰̀y [N] army ant, soldier ant
máŋˈgɔ̀rɔ̀ [N] mango
mà̰ŋkā [V] pretend
màrī 1) [N] many, much. 2) [N] often
mārī [V] have, possess
màrí ~ màrī [V] be abundant
māsī [N] yam
māsì kɔ̀pɛ̄ [N] cocoyam, taro
máwɛ́ [int] how?
mɛ́ ˈtúká 1) [N] Benue river. 2) [N] big river that never becomes dry
mɛ̄ ~ mɛ́ ~ mī ~ mí [pr] I (1st person sg subject pron., 2nd paradigm)
mɛ́ ~ mí [pr] I (1st person sg subject pron., 3rd paradigm)
=mɛ́ ~ =mí 1) [pr] me (1st person sg object pron.). 2) [pr] me (1st person sg non-subject pron.). 3) [pr] my (1st person sg inalienable possessive pron.)
mɛ̄ púūpī [N] shame
mɛ̄ tà̰ŋ̰̄nī [N] happiness
mɛ́ɛ̄$_1$ 1) [prep] onto (vertically). 2) [prep] towards
mɛ́ɛ̄$_2$ [N] water
mɛ́ɛ́ ˈɓáá ˈmɔ̄ɔ̄kū [N] current (river, stream)
mɛ́ɛ́ ˈdìŋsì [N] juice
mɛ́ɛ́ ˈsáà dìŋsì [N] lemon
mɛ́ɛ́ ˈsáŋkɛ̄ [N] urine
mɛ́è gbúkī [N] flood
Mɛ́èɓááˈnɔ́kɛ̄ [N] Meebaanoke (proper name)
mɛ́ɛ́sì [N] semen
mɛ́níní [N] catfish
mɛ́tí [V] upset, annoy
mī 1) [V] return, give back. 2) [V] account (report)
mí ~ mɛ́ [V] cross
mī ~ mɛ̄ [num] twenty
mī ɓíní [num] twenty (20)
mī ɓíní ˈkì ɓíní [num] twenty-one (21)
mī ɓíní ˈkì kɔ́p [num] thirty (30)
mī kɔ́p [num] two hundred (200)
mī kɔ́p tí níˈgìná [num] three hundred (300)
mī mī ɓíní [num] four hundred (400)
mī mī ɓíní ˈkì kɔ́p [num] six hundred (600)
mī mī ɓíní ˈkì níˈgìná [num] five hundred (500)
mī mī kɔ́p tí níˈgìná [num] seven hundred (700)
mī mī níˈgìná [num] two thousand (2000)
mī mī níīrī [num] eight hundred (800)

mī mī níīrī kì kóp [num] one thousand (1000)
mī mī níīrī kì ní˥gìná [num] nine hundred (900)
mī ní˥gìná [num] one hundred (100)
mī ní˥hɛ́ɛ̀ [num] eighty (80)
mī ní˥hɛ́ɛ̀ kì kóp [num] ninety (90)
mī ní˥sɑ́ɑ̄ [num] sixty (60)
mī ní˥sɑ́ɑ̄ kì kóp [num] seventy (70)
mī níīrī [num] forty (40)
mī níīrī kì kóp [num] fifty (50)
mīlā$_1$ [N] often, frequently
mīlā$_2$ [N] barter, exchange (of goods)
mīlī [N] all, whole
mítèrē [N] correct one
=mlí ~ =mlī [gr] Pluractional marker
mɔ́ [V] swell
mɔ̀ 1) [V] eat (liquid food). 2) [V] win
mɔ́kā [V] add
mɔ̀kē 1) [NV] eating. 2) [N] right side
mɔ̀kè nɛ̄y [NV] being corrupt
mɔ̀kísí wēm yɛ́ɛ́mā [V] protect someone by charm
mɔ̀kìtē 1) [N] witchcraft. 2) [NV] bewitch, cast spell
mɔ̀mlí [V] be slow
mɔ̄nsí 1) [V] calm (oneself). 2) [V] be patient
mɔ̄ɔ̄kū [N] river
mɔ́ɔ́lɔ́ [N] balafon
mɔ́ɔ́sí [V] hatch
mɔ̀rē [N] egg-plant
mɔ́rɔ́rɔ́ [N] narrowness
mɔ̀sā [V] crush
mú ~ mɔ́ [pr] you (2nd person sg subject pron., 3rd paradigm)
=mú ~ =mɔ́ 1) [pr] you (2nd person sg object pron.). 2) [pr] you (2nd person sg non-subject pron.)
mù ~ mɔ̀ [pr] you (2nd person sg subject pron., 4th paradigm)
=mū ~ =mú [pr] you (sg addressee pron.)
mū ~ mú ~ mɔ́ ~ mɔ̄ 1) [pr] you (2nd person sg subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms)
Múúsá [N] Musa (male proper name)
mùzíkà [N] music
ná$_1$ [V] stamp, crush, smash, press (with foot)
ná$_2$ [V] rain
nā$_1$ 1) [V] take, carry in arms. 2) [V] pick up. 3) [V] start. 4) [V] remove
nā$_2$ [gr] Ordinal marker
nā ɓíní [num] first
nā ní˥sɑ́ɑ̄ [num] third
nā níīrī ~ nā ní?īrī [num] second
náá [gr] Negation marker
náá ˥ɓáá ˥nɔ́ɔ́ ˥sɛ̄ɛ̄ [N] brown
náá ˥dàà séè 1) [N] down. 2) [N] lower
náá ˥dìŋsì [N] branch (of tree)
náá ˥gūnā [N] wrist
náá ˥gùsī [N] handle
náá ˥kɔ̨y 1) [N] palm branch. 2) [N] frond
náá ˥mɔ̄m [N] yellow
náá ˥sì vɪ̨ɪ̨pī [N] dark (colour)
náá ˥tē púrē [N] light colour
náá ˥wáŋkē [N] green
Nàá˥bènā [N] Naabena (female name)
Nàá˥gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ [N] Naageele (female name)
Nàá˥wɑ̨ànà [N] Naawana (female name)
náákī 1) [N] cow . 2) [N] ox
náánɛ̄ [N] clam
nám [V] grind
nǎm ˥méɛ̄ [N] hippopotamus
nâm ɓɛ̄lɛ̄ [N] left side
nâm mɔ̀kɛ̄ [N] right side
nâŋ$_1$ [N] emptiness
nâŋ$_2$ [N] nudity
nāŋ [N] scorpion
nārī [V] bring
nè ~ nì [N] there
nésí [V] chase away
nɛ̄y 1) [N] hand. 2) [N] arm
ní [V] shiver, tremble
ní˥gìná ~ né˥gìná [num] five (5)
ní˥gìtááɓíní ~ né˥gìtááɓíní [num] six (6)
ní˥gìtíníīrī ~ ní˥gìtíní?īrī ~ né˥gìtíníīrī ~ né˥gìtíní?īrī [num] seven (7)

ní˥hɛ́ɛ̰̀ ~ né˥hɛ́ɛ̰̀ [num] four (4)
ní˥sà̰à̰ ~ né˥sà̰à̰ [num] three (3)
ní˥sè 1) [N] truth. 2) [N] fair, just
nīī [V] be wet
nííkī [NV] sucking
níínɛ̄ [N] thirst
níīrī ~ níʔīrī [num] two (2)
nììsā lûy [N] sunset
ním 1) [V] look at, watch. 2) [V] look after
nímlí 1) [V] wither (plant). 2) [V] wrinkle (on skin)
nīnîŋ [N] moth
nîŋ 1) [N] tendon . 2) [N] name
níŋ˥sì [N] root
nīŋā [V] twist, turn
nɔ́kɛ̀sɛ̄ [N] marriage (state of wedlock)
nɔ̄kí 1) [V] cook, prepare (food). 2) [V] be ripe
nɔ́m 1) [V] polish. 2) [V] apply (ointment)
nɔ́ɔ̄ 1) [N] alive. 2) [N] awake
nɔ̄ɔ̄ [N] bird
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥díní ˥vɔ̀kɔ̄ [N] cowrie shell
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥dìŋsì [N] fruit
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥dīī [N] small fish
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥dúū [N] back loincloth (for women)
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥gìrɛ̄ [N] seeds of baobab tree
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥gùū [N] iron head of the axe
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥hɛ́rɛ̀ [N] tears
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥kɔ̰̀y [N] date
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥lɛ́y [N] gun
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥sá˥ɓùkɔ̄ [N] kernel (of corn, maize)
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥sà̰pī [N] type of material
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥tà̰à̰pī 1) [N] country. 2) [N] ground
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥yìī [N] coward
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥yɔ̄m [N] seed
nɔ́ɔ́ ˥zɔ́y [N] head of arrow
nɔ̀ɔ̀ ɓáá ˥kūmpī [N] bone marrow
nɔ̀ɔ̀ dɔ̄ŋī [N] parrot
nɔ̀ɔ̀ láákī [N] kingfisher
nɔ̀ɔ̀ lɛ́ɛ̄ [N] stork (marabou)
nɔ̀ɔ̀ nùkɔ̄ [N] weaver-bird
nɔ̀ɔ̀ úú ˥zɔ̄m [N] malaria (severe)
nɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ̄ŋ [N] sister
nɔ̀ɔ̀ yéŋ ˥tɔ́ŋ [N] father's sister (aunt)
nɔ̀ɔ̀ yéŋ ˥yɛ́ŋ [N] mother's sister (aunt)
nɔ́ɔ́˥sà̰à̰ 1) [N] shelter. 2) [N] shadow
nɔ́ɔ́pɛ̄ [N] wound, sore
nɔ̀ɔ̀pī [N] shrew
nɔ̄rī [N] shea tree
nɔ̄sā$_1$ [V] sleepwalk
nɔ̄sā$_2$ [V] frighten
nɔ́sɔ̀ kɔ̰̀y 1) [N] neck, waist and back decoration rope (for women). 2) [N] beads
nɔ̌y [int] how?
nɔ̄y 1) [N] oil. 2) [N] fat. 3) [N] bird
nɔ̃y 1) [N] eye. 2) [N] seed
nú ~ nɔ́ [pr] you (2nd person pl subject pron., 3rd paradigm)
=nú ~ =nɔ́ 1) [pr] you (2nd person pl object pron.). 2) [pr] you (2nd person pl non-subject pron.). 3) [pr] your (2nd person pl possessive pron.)
nù ~ nɔ̀ [pr] you (2nd person pl subject pron., 4th paradigm)
=nū ~ =nú [pr] you (pl addressee pron.)
nū ~ nú ~ nɔ̄ ~ nɔ́ 1) [pr] you (2nd person pl subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms)
nùkɔ̄ 1) [N] cotton. 2) [N] thread
núú 1) [V] cook (liquid food). 2) [V] strain (food)
ɲā$_1$ [gr] Negation marker
ɲā$_2$ [V] boil, bubble up
ɲá ˥dàárɛ̄ [N] Nyadaare clan
ɲá ˥dàárɛ́ ɓàŋ kísā [N] Ɓaŋkisa subclan of the Nyadaare clan
ɲá ˥dàárɛ́ ɓàŋ zɛ̃́m [N] Ɓaŋdzem subclan of the Nyadaare clan
ɲá ˥dúúnɛ̀ / wɛ̀ dúúnɛ̀ [N] the Bacama
ɲá ˥dūŋ [N] knee
ɲá ˥gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ / wɛ̀ gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ [N] the Gengle
ɲá ˥gɔ́ŋá [N] Nyagonga clan
ɲá ˥gɔ́ŋá ˥ɲá dīgīzà [N] Nyadigiza subclan of Nyagonga clan
ɲá ˥gɔ́ŋá ˥ɲá kpànī [N] Nyakpani subclan of Nyagonga clan

ɲá ˈgúúrá ~ ɲá ˈgóórá / wé ˈgúúrá [N] the Yendang

ɲá ˈhíŋ̰rè [num] first

ɲá ˈlérī / wè lérī ~ wé ˈlérī [N] the Mumuye (from Yoro)

ɲá ˈmùm / wé ˈmùm [N] the Vere

ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀nā [N] Nyanyoona clan

ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈɓáá ˈhēērī [N] Ɓaaheeri subclan of the Nyanyoona clan

ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈkpá úré [N] Kpa'ure subclan of the Nyanyoona clan

ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈkpáá ˈséè [N] Kpasye subclan of the Nyanyoona clan

ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈɲɔ́ónē [N] Nyoone subclan of the Nyanyoona clan

ɲá ˈpésàlū / wé ˈpésàlū [N] the Fulani

ɲá ˈpūrē [N] Nyapure clan

ɲá ˈpūrē ɲá ˈbótə̰y [N] Nyabotoy subclan of the Nyapure clan

ɲá ˈpūrē ɲɔ́ónē [N] Nyoone subclan of the Nyapure clan

ɲá ˈpūrē vī̱pī [N] Viipi subclan of the Nyapure clan

ɲá ˈsɔ̀rɔ̀ / wéé ˈsɔ̀rɔ̀ [N] the Satte

ɲá ˈtíyérē [N] Nyatiyere clan

ɲá ˈtíyéré ˈɲá ˈgósùlū [N] Nyagosulu subclan of the Nyatiyere clan

ɲá ˈtíyéré ˈɲá ˈká ˈséè ~ ɲá ˈtíyéré ˈɲá ˈká séè [N] Nyakasye subclan of the Nyatiyere clan

ɲá ˈtíyéré ˈɲá màlēkē [N] Nyamaleke subclan of the Nyatiyere clan

ɲá ˈtíyéré ˈɲá tì kpà̰à̰rī [N] Nyatikpaari subclan of the Nyatiyere clan

ɲá ˈtíyéré ˈɲáá gērē [N] Nyagere subclan of the Nyatiyere clan

ɲá ˈŋ̰ànà [N] Nyawana clan

ɲá ˈŋ̰ànà bɔ̀túúˈtāā [N] Botuuta subclan of the Nyawana clan

ɲá ˈŋ̰ànà ɓáá ˈgà̰ā̰ [N] Ɓaagaa subclan of the Nyawana clan

ɲá ˈŋ̰ànà ɲáá mɔ̄ɔ̄kū [N] Nyaamooku subclan of the Nyawana clan

ɲá ˈŋ̰ànà púrú ˈgā̰ŋ [N] Purugang subclan of the Nyawana clan

ɲá ˈŋ̰ànà púrú ˈzólū [N] Puruzolu subclan of the Nyawana clan

ɲá ˈŋ̰ànà tāāsī [N] Taasi subclan of the Nyawana clan

ɲá ˈzàndōōlɛ̄ / wé ˈzàndōōlɛ̄ [N] the Chamba

ɲá ˈzàntálī / wé ˈzàntálī [N] the Longuda

ɲá ˈzànzə̰̄ / wé ˈzànzə̰̄ [N] the Jenjo

ɲá ˈzīnà / wé ˈzīnà [N] the Mumuye (from Zing)

ɲà sóŋ̰kɔ̀rɔ̄ [N] earthworm

ɲā véérī [N] spirit (of dead person) (invisible)

ɲáˈdàkpá ˈɗēē [N] vein

ɲáˈdàkpá ˈwɛ̄y [N] track (animal)

ɲáˈdàkpáā [N] path, road

ɲáˈdākpáá ˈháákī [N] road to the field

ɲáˈdākpáá ˈɲáá ˈméē [N] road to the river

ɲáˈdākpáá ˈzɛ̄y [N] foot road

ɲáˈdākpáā dɔ́ŋ [N] highway

ɲáˈfī̱y [N] nose

ɲáˈkà̰à̰ tɛ̄ [N] middle

ɲáˈkà̰à̰ tè rī [prep] between

ɲáˈkā̰y 1) [N] heart. 2) [N] life

ɲáà [N] edge

ɲáā [prep] near

ɲáá ˈbɔ̌m ˈtèè héérè [N] place of worship, church

ɲáá ˈɗiŋ̰ [N] garbage dump

ɲáá ˈdùrī [N] family within ɲáá ˈlā̰ŋ 'clan'; subclan

ɲáá ˈɗéékɛ́ [N] neighbourhood

ɲáá ˈɗɔ̀ɔ̀kī [N] acquaintance

ɲáá ˈkà̰à̰ tè lṵ̄y [N] noon

ɲáá ˈkɔ̀y 1) [N] language. 2) [N] community, ethnic group, tribe

ɲáá ˈkə̰̄msè [N] penalty, punishment

ɲáá ˈkɔ̄ŋ [N] enmity

ɲáá ˈkpáā [N] doorway

ɲáá ˈlā̰ŋ 1) [N] tradition, custom. 2) [N] clan

ɲáá ˈméē [N] place with water

ɲáá ˡmɔ̄ɔ̄kū [N] river bank
ɲáá ˡɲɛ́kī ~ ɲáá ˡɲɛ́kɛ̄ [N] breast
ɲáá ˡsíkī [N] umbilical cord
ɲáá ˡsɨ̂ŋ [N] proverb
ɲáá ˡtíŋ [N] forehead
ɲáá ˡtúká [N] beach
ɲáá ˡvɔ̧̄ɔ̧̄ [N] law
ɲáá ˡɰ̧ǎm ~ ɲáá ˡɰ̧àā [N] Kugama language
ɲáá ˡwáŋkɛ̄ [N] blade (of grass)
ɲáá ˡwēm / ɲáá ˡwēnī [N] voice
ɲáá ˡyɛ̄ɛ̄ 1) [N] frontier (of ethnic area). 2) [N] boundary (of field)
ɲáá ˡyɛ̀kī [N] harvest season
ɲáá ɲɔ́mlɛ̄ [N] amusing, funny one
ɲáápī [N] fig
ɲáásī [N] in-law, relative by marriage
ɲàgɔ̄mlā [N] chameleon
ɲàkì lɛ̂y [N] lightning
ɲàkɔ́ɲàkɔ́ [N] continuously
ɲàlā [V] mix
ɲáŋ [V] leave
ɲāŋ (~ yą̄ŋ) [N] cat
ɲáŋā [V] succeed, cross
ɲàtūmlɛ̄ [N] millipede
ɲɛ̄ [V] swallow
ɲɛ́ɛ̄ (~ yɛ́ɛ̧̄) [N] milk
ɲɛ́kī [N] udder
ɲépɛ̄ [N] tongue
ɲépè lɛ̂y [N] flame
ɲépìkɛ̄ [N] shrivelled, wrinkled (fruit)
ɲɛ̂y 1) [N] mouth. 2) [N] language. 3) [N] ethnic group. 4) [N] clan. 5) [N] opinion, reputation
ɲɔ́ 1) [V] hit, strike. 2) [V] bump, knock against
ɲɔ́kī [N] hammer
ɲɔ̄kì gbɔ̄lɔ̄ŋ [V] ring (bell)
ɲɔ́kɔ̄ [N] female animal
ɲɔ́m [V] bite
ɲɔ̄m [V] be red
ɲɔ̂m pàŋā [N] puff adder
ɲɔ́mlí [V] laugh
ɲɔ̄ŋ 1) [N] millet (rainy season). 2) [N] mat
ɲɔ̄ŋkɛ̀ [N] colour
ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ tárī [N] daughter-in-law
ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ tɛ̧̀ɛ̧̀ [N] pullet, young hen
ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī [N] daughter
ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄ [N] redness
ɲɔ́sí ~ ɲɔ́lí [V] drink
ɔ́ [V] run
ɔ́kālā [V] be restless
ɔ́kī 1) [N] speed. 2) [NV] running
ɔ́kì yìì [NV] fearing
ɔ̀ 1) [pr] they (3rd person non-human pl subject pron., 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th paradigms)
=ɔ̀ 1) [pr] it (3rd person non-human sg object pron.). 2) [pr] them (3rd person non-human pl object pron.). 3) [pr] them (3rd person non-human pl non-subject pron.). 4) [pr] its (3rd person non-human sg possessive pron.). 5) [pr] their (3rd person non-human pl possessive pron.)
=ɔ̄ [pr] your (2nd person sg inalienable possessive pron.)
ɔ́ˡgìnááˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̧̀ ~ ɔ́ˡgìnááˡnéˡhɛ́ɛ̧̀ [num] nine (9)
ɔ̀kɛ̀ [int] what?
ɔ́ɲáˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̧̀ ~ ɔ́ɲáˡnéˡhɛ́ɛ̧̀ [num] eight (8)
ɔ́ŋɛ̄ [N] dew
ɔ́ɔ́ 1) [V] dig. 2) [V] plunder (a town)
ɔ̀ɔ́ [sub] when
Ɔ̀zùrūwà [N] Ozuruwa (male/female name)
ɔ́ʔɔ̀ [N] no
pą̀ą̀rī [N] egg
pą́ą́sā 1) [V] go round, detour. 2) [V] ford
pàkā [V] hasten, hurry
pą̄ní [V] do
pát [N] all
pēbą́rà [N] zebra
péègùū [N] partridge
pēlāpēlā [N] quickly
pɛ́ɛ̧́$_1$ 1) [V] peel. 2) [V] shell (groundnuts). 3) [V] husk (corn)
pɛ́ɛ̧́$_2$ [N] few
péékí [V] deny

pēél [N] smooth
pēērī [N] straw
péntì [N] paint
pe̱p [N] smallness
pe̱pe̱ [N] tiny
pe̱sā [V] separate
pésálé [N] type of utensils
pésèlē [N] bowl
pètέ ˈnε̂y [N] wing
pí 1) [V] take off, unwrap, untie. 2) [V] lose
pí sì za̱a̱kī [V] undress
píí [N] horn
pi̱i̱ [V] threaten
pīīkī [N] traitor
pínē [N] rock (large)
pi̱ŋ [V] smell, feel
pi̱ŋrè [N] odour, smell
pírī [V] unwrap
pîwī [N] duck
plâŋg [N] plank
pó$_1$ [V] regerminate
pó$_2$ 1) [V] shoot. 2) [V] burst
pō 1) [V] pull, pull out (one thing). 2) [V] draw
pókélé púkúlú púkúlú [id] Ideophone (for swimming)
pókī 1) [N] testicle. 2) [NV] shooting (gun). 3) [NV] regerminating
pókì léē [N] thunder
pòō$_1$ [N] weeds
pòō$_2$ 1) [prep] forward. 2) [prep] in front of
pōrī [V] pull out (smth many), disband
pòy [N] face
pɔ̄ 1) [V] farm. 2) [V] plant. 3) [V] cultivate. 4) [V] hoe
pɔ́ɔ́rē [N] quiver
pɔ̀pí [N] squirrel
pɔ̄y 1) [N] novelty. 2) [N] farming
pú [V] boast, brag
púkē [N] step
púkí 1) [V] open, uncover. 2) [V] pull, drag. 3) [V] lift
pūrè lúy [N] sunshine
pūrè séē [N] moonlight
pūrè tē [N] bright
púrí$_1$ [prep] under
púrí$_2$ 1) [V] be light. 2) [V] shine
pūrī té [V] be light, lighten, shine
pùsínà [N] prisoner, captive
púū [N] pregnancy
pùù kɔ̨y [N] throat
pùù méē [N] well, waterhole
pùù ɲáˈɲékī [N] armpit
pùù pètέ nε̂y [N] armpit
pùù tē [N] window
pùù vέépī [N] grave (before burial)
pùùkī [NV] rubbing
púūpī [N] whiteness
pùùrē [NV] steering
pūy 1) [N] hole, crevice. 2) [N] den, lair, hole
=rą́ [gr] Question marker
=ráā ~ =râ [pr] my (1st person sg alienable possessive pron.)
rágá [N] fishing net
Rákìyā [N] Rakiya (female name)
râm [N] python
=rέ$_1$ [gr] Proximal marker
=rέ$_2$ 1) [pr] him/her (3rd person human sg object pron.). 2) [pr] him/her (3rd person human sg non-subject pron.). 3) [pr] his/her (3rd person human sg possessive pron.)
=rê 1) [pr] its (3rd person non-human sg alienable possessive pron.). 2) [pr] their (3rd person non-human pl alienable possessive pron.)
=rê ~ =rέ [gr] Definite marker
rέέzà [N] razor
=rí [gr] Perfective marker
=rī$_1$ 1) [gr] Ventive marker. 2) [gr] Pluractional marker
=rī$_2$ [gr] Possessive marker
=rī ~ =rē 1) [pr] them (3rd person human pl object pron.). 2) [pr] them (3rd person human

pl non-subject pron.). 3) [pr] their (3rd person human pl possessive pron.)

=rɔ̀ [gr] Focus marker

rɔ́ní [V] inherit

=rúɔ̄ [pr] your (2nd person sg alienable possessive pron.)

=sā [gr] Reciprocal marker

sa̰ [V] speak

sā̰ 1) [V] hammer, cast (iron), forge. 2) [V] castrate

sáˈɓùkɔ̄ ~ súˈɓùkɔ̄ 1) [N] maize, corn. 2) [N] corn cob

sáá [N] different

sá̰á [V] mark out, draw

sá̰̰ā̰̰ 1) [N] soul, spirit, ghost. 2) [N] rope for firewoods

sá̰á̰ ˈtèrè lū̃y [N] sunrise

sáà ~ sâ (~ fáà ~ fâ) 1) [N] pieces. 2) [N] DIM.PL. 3) [N] small ones. 4) [N] young ones. 5) [N] some

sáà tá̰̰ā̰̰pī [N] gravel

sàáˈré [N] today

sáákī [N] year

sáàlɛ̀ [N] fur

sa̰̰à̰̰lɛ̄ 1) [N] speech, discourse. 2) [NV] chatting

sā̰̰ā̰̰pī [N] guinea fowl

sàdá [N] expensiveness

sám [V] despise

sà̰m [N] slave

sá̰m 1) [V] pack. 2) [V] accumulate

sámɛ̄ [N] feast

sámsám [N] never

sántálá [N] hoe

sáŋkí [V] urinate

sá̰pɛ̄ [N] sword

sā̰pī [N] type of grass

séē (~ síī) 1) [N] moon, full moon. 2) [N] month

séē pɔ̄y [N] new moon

sékī [N] navel

sēsá̰ā̰̰ [N] pimple

sɛ́ 1) [V] cut (hair). 2) [V] be small, decrease

sɛ̰́ [V] hiss

sɛ́ ~ sɛ́ɛ́ ~ sɛ́y 1) [prep] then, until, but, except. 2) [cc] until

sɛ̀ ~ sì [gr] Hortative marker

sɛ́ɛ́ [V] fight

sɛ́ɛ̀ [N] down

sɛ̄ɛ́ [sub] because

sɛ̄ɛ̄ 1) [prep] because of. 2) [prep] about

sɛ́ɛ́ ˈkènà [N] pepper (green, red pepper, hot pepper)

sɛ́ɛ́ ˈlɛ̃́y [N] charcoal

sɛ́ɛ̀ bɔ̀m [N] floor

sɛ́ɛ́ ɓɔ̂ŋ [intj] Wow!

sɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀kɛ̀ [int] why?

sɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ́ɔ́ [sub] because

sɛ́ɛ́kī [N] quarrel

sɛ̀ɛ̀kī$_1$ [N] hernia (umbilical)

sɛ̀ɛ̀kī$_2$ [NV] stripping off (bark)

sɛ̀ɛ̀má [N] crab

sɛ́ɛ̄pí ~ sɛ́ɛ̀pī [N] medicine, pills

sɛ́kī [NV] startle, surprise

sɛ̰́kí [V] cool down

sɛ́kì lɛ̃́y [NV] lighting (fire)

sɛ̄né ˈvísɛ̄ [N] flying ant

sɛ́ŋkɛ́lɛ́ [N] sharpness

sɛ́pɛ̄ [N] hoe

sɛ́rī [V] slice

sɛ̀rī 1) [prep] about. 2) [prep] because of

=sí [gr] Nominalization marker

sí ˈtààpɔ̄ [N] tobacco pipe

sì ~ sɛ̀ [N] thing

=sí ~ =sī [gr] Applicative marker

sì ɓéŋí ˈyɛ̄y [N] fan, bellows

sì ɗɛ́ɛ́kī [N] chisel

sì hɛ̰̄kī [N] trousers

sì kālɛ̄ [N] vision (supernatural)

sì kɛ̀mɛ̄ 1) [N] word. 2) [N] prophecy

sì kɔ̀m [N] animal

sì kɔ́ɔ́kɛ̄ [N] chair

sì kɔ̰̃y [N] necklace

sì kpɔ̀kì dū̃y [N] tooth stick, toothbrush

sì kúkì ɲáá ˈhɔ̰̰̄ [N] type of utensils

sì láákī [N] fish trap, fishing line, fishing net, fishhook, bait
sì lāākī [N] letter
sì mākí ˈzàà tɛ̄ [N] splint, cast (for broken leg)
sì mɔ̀kɛ̄ [N] food
sì mɔkɛ̀ gàáˈté [N] breakfast
sì mɔkɛ̀ léènī [N] evening meal
sì nɛ̃́y [N] bracelet
sì ɲáá ˈkpáā [N] door, doorway cover
sì ɲáá ˈmɔ̄ɔ̄kū [N] story, tale
sì sa̰ [N] iron bell
sì sàkì lɛ́ɛ̄ [N] rainbow
sì sa̰y [N] iron
sì tókī [N] load, burden
sì tɔ̃y [N] earring
sì úkī [N] ladder
sì vísí ˈnɛ̃́y [N] ring (finger)
sì yēlɛ̄ [N] sand
sì za̰a̰kī 1) [N] article of clothing, clothes. 2) [N] cloth
sì zūkī [N] shirt
síī (~ séē) 1) [N] moon, full moon. 2) [N] month
sa̰kī [NV] belching
Sīnááˈlūy [N] Sinaalui (proper name)
síŋ [V] sing
sǐŋ [N] basket
sǐŋ [N] song
síŋsíŋ [N] singing
sírírí [N] narrowness
sīzáā (~ váā) [N] children
sīzáā sóōrī [N] fiancées
sīzáà véépī [N] orphans
sīzáā véɛ̄rī (~ váā véɛ̄rī) [N] fiancés
só$_1$ 1) [V] throw. 2) [V] shoot
só$_2$ [V] enter
sóò ~ sóó ~ sô ~ só 1) [N] female. 2) [N] wife
sóò géré ˈdɛ́ɛ́ké [N] domestic sow (female pig)
sóò ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī [N] bride
sóò ta̰a̰kī [N] pestle, pounding stick
sóò váákī [N] wife
sóò véépī [N] widow
=sòrè [gr] Distal marker
sɔ̄ [V] dance
sɔ̀ ɲáá ˈgōrè véépī [N] dance after burial
sɔ̀ pūlà véépī [N] dance around the corpse
sɔ̀ véépī [N] last dance after burial
sɔ̄ké ˈɲáá sùɓùkɔ̄ [N] silk, hair (of maize)
sɔ̃m [N] guinea corn, sorghum (dry season)
sa̰m 1) [V] send. 2) [V] order (someone to do something)
sa̰m 1) [N] work. 2) [N] duty. 3) [N] obligation
sa̰mé ˈnǐŋ 1) [N] naming ceremony (for baby). 2) [NV] giving name
sɔ́mī [NV] remembering
sa̰nɛ̄ 1) [N] nearby. 2) [N] soon
sɔ́ŋ [V] think, decide
sɔ̃ŋlí [V] figure out, think
sɔ́ŋrī [V] remember, recall
sɔ́ŋtólɔ́ ˈhɔ̃y [N] ladle
sɔ̀ɔ̀ pínā [N] green mamba
sɔ̄ɔ̄kī [N] snake
sɔ́ɔ̄rī ~ sɔ́ɔ̀rī [N] spirogyra, green
sɔ̀ɔ̀sɛ̃́y [N] very
sɔ̄rɔ̄ [N] smoke
sɔ̄rɔ̀ lɛ̃́y [N] singe
sɔ́tɔ́tɔ́ [N] Pleiades
sɔ̄y [N] dance
sú vǐŋ [NV] break wind, fart
súkūlúù [N] pelican
sùm 1) [V] assemble, meet together. 2) [V] gather, pile up. 3) [V] heap up
sʊ́m [N] hair (of head)
súm ˈúú ˈnɔ̄ɔ̄ [N] crest (of bird)
sùmī [N] heap
sùnū [N] ostrich
sūsā [V] heat something up
súsɛ̄ [NV] burying, putting inside of the grave
sūū$_1$ [N] heat
sūū$_2$ [V] be hot
tá 1) [V] shoot. 2) [V] sting
tà [V] hang

tā 1) [V] bow down, squat. 2) [V] set a trap, bait. 3) [V] spread
tə̰ [V] touch, feel (active)
tə̰̄ [V] bend down, squat
táá [V] eat, chew, ruminate
tāā [N] monkey
tə́ə́₁ [V] tear (once, parts are not devided)
tə́ə́₂ [V] warm oneself
tə́ə̄ 1) [N] ashes. 2) [N] potash
tə́ə́ ˡkpə̀ə̄ [N] salt
tə́ə́ ˡtɪ̰̄ [N] louse
tə̄ə́nī ~ tə̀ə̄nī [N] sweetness
tə́ə̄pī ~ táāpī 1) [N] stone, pit. 2) [N] stone (small)
tààpɔ̄ [N] tobacco
tāārī 1) [N] blood plum (haematostaphis barteri). 2) [N] grapefruit
tāɓɔ́rtɔ́ [N] palm rat
tə́dɔ̰̀ɔ̰́tá [N] harp
tāfárnówá [N] garlic
tākí tɔ̃y [V] listen
tām [V] spit
tə̄m ~ tə̄m 1) [V] be sweet, kind. 2) [V] please. 3) [V] be important
tánágúlɛ̀ [NV] hiccough
tānīkɔ̀ [N] grandchild
tân [N] pot, big round jar
tân gbɛ̃y [N] jar with legs
tân hɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄ [N] cooking pot (earthenware)
tân hɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ sɛ̰̄y [N] metal pot
tân kúúrī [N] cooking stone
táŋkē [N] reed
tə́pé ˡnámē [N] grinding stone
tárī [N] father-in-law
tə̄rī [V] tear (many times, parts are devided)
tárkɔ̀ [N] trap (n)
téémè sì [N] oath, swear
tém [V] sell
témlē [NV] dropping
tēmsí [V] stretch, be straight
tēŋ [N] stool
tèŋ vàtìgāŋ [N] mushroom
térī 1) [V] fall. 2) [V] fail
tɛ̄₁ [N] human masculine
tɛ̄₂ 1) [N] place. 2) [N] point. 3) [N] time. 4) [N] someone
tɛ̄ ɓáákā [N] old person (male)
tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄ 1) [N] grandparent (male). 2) [N] ancestor (male). 3) [N] mother's father, grandfather. 4) [N] elder mother's brother. 5) [N] someone from mother's side
tɛ̄ ɓíní [N] together
tɛ̄ kɔ̰̄m [N] illness, disease
tè ɔ́ té [N] really, truly
tɛ̄ pāŋ [N] fertile soil
tɛ̄ pūrɛ̀ [N] light
tɛ̄ sūū [N] perspire, sweat
téé 1) [V] choose. 2) [V] follow
tèè [sub] where
tɛ̄ɛ̄₁ 1) [V] accept, receive, take. 2) [V] hire
tɛ̄ɛ̄₂ [V] collect
tɛ̰̀ɛ̰̄ [N] chicken
tèè dɛ̄kī [N] residence
tèè dúkī [N] latrine, toilet
tèè gbɛ̌ŋ [N] away from
tèè héérè lṹy [N] place of worship of God
tèè hɔ̰̀kī [N] bathing place
tèè hɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄kí ˡsèmā [N] potter's kiln
tɛ̄ɛ̄ kpɛ̃y [V] borrow
tèè láákī [N] fish dam
tèè méɛ̄ [N] brook, stream
tèè méé ˡsáŋkɛ̄ [N] bladder
tèè sə̰̄kī [N] forge
téé tɔ̃m [V] follow
tèè úú ˡgɔ̃m [N] cemetery
tèè véépī [N] faint
tèè yíkì sì [N] threshing-floor
tɛ̄ɛ̄ zénɛ̄ [V] host
tɛ̄ɛ̄pī [N] rat
tɛ̰́ɛ̰̄pī ~ tɪ̰̄pī [N] darkness
tɛ́kɛ̄ [N] shoe, sandal
tɛ́kɛ̄ 1) [N] crow. 2) [NV] crow (as a rooster)
tɛ́kùré [N] locust

tɛ̃m [N] cliff
tém ˡkùsū [N] sky
tɛ̀ŋ [V] lean
tɛ́ŋtɛ́ŋ 1) [N] cleanliness. 2) [N] smartness
tɛ̄ré [N] mouse
tɛ̃y [N] bow (hunting)
tí [gr] plus
=tí [gr] Perfective marker
tì [N] animal (male)
tì ~ tɛ̀ [gr] Progressive marker
tì gbènɛ̄ [N] stallion
tì géré ˡdɛ́ɛ́ké [N] boar (male pig)
tì náákī [N] bull
tíī [N] post for rounding the house
tíí ˡdàlā [N] country, ethnic area
tím [N] crocodile
tīmí ˡtɕ̰y [N] omen
tíŋ ˡɲáˡhɕ̰y [N] bridge (of nose)
tìtɛ́ɛ́lí [V] doubt
tó$_1$ [V] carry on head
tó$_2$ [V] push, repel
tòkī [NV] transplanting
tókí ˡū̃y [NV] being proud
tókī ~ tɔ́kī [N] praise
tòlí [V] coagulate
tóō [N] grass
tòò [V] cook
tòò ~ tɔ̀ɔ̀ [V] stand, stop, cease
tóókí ~ tɔ́ɔ́kí 1) [V] stand (ability to stand). 2) [V] stop
tɔ̄ [V] insult
tô ~ tɔ̀ [intj] OK, fine
tɔ́kí 1) [V] finish. 2) [V] die
tɔ̃m 1) [N] bottom. 2) [prep] after
tɔ̃m ˡdɛ́ɛ́ké [N] open place for defecation
tɔ̃m ˡgbésɛ̄ 1) [N] backward (direction). 2) [N] back (of something)
tɔ̃m ˡlákī [N] descendant
tɔ̃m ˡtɛ̄ [N] bottom, under, below
tɔ̀nrɔ̄ [N] bat
tɔ̃ŋ [N] father
tɔ́ŋ ˡdɛ́ɛ́ [N] master
tôŋ térɛ̄ [N] bump, protuberance
tɕ̰ɔ̀ [V] persuade
tɔ̀ɔ̀ ~ tɔ̀ [V] say
tɔ́ólɛ̄ [N] rattle, horn (musical instrument)
tɔ́ótʃî [N] lamp, torch
tɔ́rɛ̄ [N] barren (of land)
tɕ̰y [N] termite
tɕ̰y [N] lump (clay, mud)
tɔ̃y ~ tõy [N] ear
tú ~ tɔ́ [pr] we (1st person pl subject pron., 3rd paradigm)
=tú ~ =tɔ́ 1) [pr] us (1st person pl object pron.). 2) [pr] us (1st person pl non-subject pron.). 3) [pr] our (1st person pl possessive pron.)
tù ~ tɔ̀ [pr] we (1st person pl subject pron., 4th paradigm)
tū ~ tú ~ tɔ̄ ~ tɔ́ 1) [pr] we (1st person pl subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms)
tùgɰ̄ɰ̄ (~ dùgɰ̄ŋ) [prep] behind
tùgɰ̀ɰ̄ zɛ̄y [N] foot
tùgɰ̄y [N] back
túká [N] ocean, sea
tùkì lɛ̃y [N] palate
tùkì lɛ́y [N] fireplace
tùkì méɛ̄ 1) [N] riverbed (dry). 2) [NV] evaporating
tùlā ɲɛ́y [V] say goodbye, take leave of
túmáátùr [N] tomato
túnˡdɛ̀ [sub] since, as, because
túúkī [N] clay pot
tūūkī [N] spitting cobra
tūūsɛ̀ fɔ̄ɔ̄rī [N] pity
ú 1) [V] go up. 2) [V] fly. 3) [V] straddle
ú ˡnãm [N] lower grinding stone
ú ˡɲɛ̃y [N] lip
=ú ~ =ó [pr] me (1st person sg object pron.)
ɰ̰ ~ ɰ̰ɰ̰ [N] some, any
úkí ˡnáá ˡtɛ̃m [NV] soar
úlī [N] flea
úɔ̀ 1) [pr] themselves (non-human). 2) [pr] itself
úɔ̄ [pr] yourself

ūɔ̄ [pr] yours (sg) (pl)
ùrí [V] smoke (fish)
úsúrù [N] whistle (through blowing)
úū 1) [prep] on (horizontally). 2) [prep] about, in honor of
úú ˈgɔ̄m ~ ú ˈgɔ̄m [N] grave, tomb
úú ˈnɔ́ɔ́ ˈtóō [N] rice
úú ˈsą́ą̄kī [N] anvil
úú ˈtē [N] top
úú ˈtɛ̄m [N] summit, highest point
úú ˈwálɛ̀ [N] headache
úú ˈzɔ́y [N] head of arrow
úú ˈzɔ̄m [N] malaria
úúˈnɔ́ ~ úúˈnú [pr] yourselves
úúˈrī [pr] themselves (human)
úúˈtɔ́ ~ úúˈtú [pr] ourselves
úūmí ~ úūmé [pr] myself
úūré [pr] him/herself
úūwí ~ úūwé 1) [pr] him/herself (reflexive logophoric pron.). 2) [pr] yourself (sg reflexive logophoric pron.)
ū́y 1) [N] head. 2) [N] self. 3) [N] roof
ū́ʔṳ̀ hṳ̀ṳ̀ [intj] Oops! (expressing surprise and embarrassment)
vą̀ [V] kick
váá [V] marry
váā (~ sīzáā) 1) [N] child. 2) [N] son. 3) [N] young
váá ˈɓá ˈyɛ̄y / sīzáá ɓá yɛ̄y [N] bastard
váà gbą̀są̄ / sīzáá gbą̀są̄ [N] twin
váā hą̄ī [N] newborn
váā sóōrī (~ sīzáā sóōrī) [N] fiancée (betrothed girlfriend)
váà vɛ́ɛ́pī / sīzáà vyépī [N] orphan
váā vɛ́ɛ̄rī (~ sīzáā vɛ́ɛ̄rī) [N] fiancé (betrothed boyfriend)
váà zą̀ą̀kī [N] domestic servant
vàtìgāŋ [N] frog
vēɓɛ̄y ~ vēɓām [N] younger brother
vētɔ́ŋ [N] friend
vɛ́ 1) [V] die. 2) [V] beat
vé ˈbɔ̄m [N] beam, rafter
vɛ̄ɛ̄ 1) [V] write. 2) [V] draw
vɛ́ɛ́ ˈkɔ̀y [N] date palm
vɛ́ɛ́ ˈwēy [N] impotence
vɛ́ɛ́pī 1) [N] death. 2) [N] corpse
vɛ́lī [N] husband
vɛ́lí ˈɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī [N] groom
vɛ́lí ˈvɛ́ɛ́pī [N] widower
vī̱ [V] blow nose
vī̱pī ~ vī̱pī [N] blackness
vì̱rī [V] roll
vím [V] beat drums
vîm [N] drum
vím ˈdārīŋgà [N] talking drum, hour glass drum
vím ˈsą̀kī [N] talking drum
vìn tákī [N] stinger
vîŋ [N] excrement, faeces
vī̱ŋvī́ŋ [N] sweet
vī́pí [V] be black
vísɛ̄ [N] ant
vísí ˈnáā dɔ́ŋ [N] thumb
vísí ˈnɛ̄y 1) [N] finger. 2) [N] claw
vísí ˈzēy [N] toe
=Vlí ~ =Vlī [gr] Pluractional marker
vɔ̱ŋɛ̄ 1) [N] heron. 2) [N] giraffe
vɔ̀ɔ̄ [N] toad
vɔ̱ɔ̱ 1) [N] evil spirit. 2) [N] phlegm. 3) [N] nasal mucus, snot
vɔ̱ɔ̱ gɔ̄y [N] jigger
vɔ̱ɔ̱ vîŋ [N] cockroach, dung beetle
vɔ̱ɔ̱ yáā [N] caterpillar
vɔ́ɔ́lā [N] stumbling block, obstruction
vɔ̱ɔ̱lā [V] obstruct
vɔ́ɔ́rī 1) [N] honey. 2) [N] bee
vɔ́ɔ́rī kákī [N] swarm
vɔ̱ɔ̱sì [N] insect
vɔ́ɔ́wí [V] become accustomed
vṳ̀rɛ̀ [N] intestines
wā [V] curse
=wā [gr] Predicate-final marker
wá ˈbìméɛ̄ [N] muscle
ɣàà [V] spread

ɣáákī [NV] being warm, hot
wáárī [V] do
wàké ˈvʠ́rī [N] beeswax, bee-bread
wākī 1) [N] curse. 2) [NV] cursing
wálí [V] disturb
ɣ̀ām ~ ɣ̀àā / wè ɣ̀ām [N] the Kugama
wàm ~ wām ~ wàā [N] beans
ɣ̀ànē [N] diarrhea
ɣ̀âŋ [N] whip
wáŋkē [N] leaf
ɣ̀àsā 1) [V] spread. 2) [V] scatter
wásī [N] leopard
wàsíkà [N] letter
wàtè kúkī [N] hide-and-seek
wàtēlē [N] game
wàtí [V] play
wàtílí [V] play
wé ˈsáá [N] co-wife
wè bèkī / wēnì bèkī [N] hunter
wè ɓáá / wēnì ɓáá [N] senile person
wè ɓáá ˈméē / wēnì ɓáá ˈméē [N] an Italian
wè ɓáá ˈtóō [N] bush dweller
wè ɓékī / wēnì ɓékī [N] butcher
wè ɓɔ́ɔ́kìsí ˈnɔ̄y [N] blind person
wè dɔ̀ɔ̀kī / wēnì dɔ̀ɔ̀kī [N] traveler
wē dɔ̄ŋ / wēnī dɔ̄ŋ 1) [N] adult. 2) [N] elder
wè fɔ̄ɔ̄rī / wēnì fɔ̄ɔ̄rī [N] poor man
wē héénī [N] giant
wè héérè / wēnì héérè [N] beggar
wè láákī / wēnì láákī [N] fisherman
wè māākī / wēnì māākī [N] potter
wè mɔ̀kì tē / wēnì mɔ̀kì tē [N] sorcerer
wè nîŋ [N] namesake
wè nɔ́ɔ̄ [N] wicked person
wè nɔ́ɔ́ ˈlɛ́y / wēnì nɔ́ɔ́ ˈlɛ̂y [N] soldier
wè ɲáá ˈdɛ́ɛ́ké / **wēnì ɲáá ˈdɛ́ɛ́ké** [N] neighbor
wè ɲáá ˈgàŋ / wēnì ɲáá ˈgàŋ [N] mad person
wè ɲáá ˈkɔ̄ŋ [N] enemy
wè pāā / wēnì pāā [N] medicine man, traditional healer
wè pàà ɲáá ˈgùsī / wēnì pàà ɲáá ˈgùsī [N] fortune-teller, diviner
wè pɔ̄kī / wēnì pɔ̄kī [N] farmer
wē púūpī / wēnī púūpī [N] white man
wè sā̰kī / wēnì sā̰kī [N] blacksmith
wē sóó ˈmɔ̀kì tē / wēnī sóó ˈmòkì tē [N] sorcerer, witch (female)
wē sóó ˈɲáá ˈɓáá / wēnī sóó ˈɲáá ˈɓáá [N] prostitute
wē sóó ˈtɛ̄ɛ̄kí ˈlɛ́kī / wēnī sóó ˈtɛ̄ɛ̄kí ˈlɛ́kī [N] midwife
wē sóó ˈtɔ̄rē / wēnī sóó ˈtɔ̄rē [N] barren woman
wē sóōrī / wēnī sóōrī [N] woman
wè témè sì / wēnì témè sì [N] trader
wè témè wɛ́y / wēnì témè wɛ́y [N] butcher
wè tɛ̰̄nī / wēnì tɛ̰̄nī [N] coordinator (during circumcision)
wè tɔ́ŋ ˈbèkī / wēnì tɔ́ŋ ˈbèkī [N] hunters leader
wè tɔ̄rɔ́ ˈtɔ́y / wēnì tɔ̄rɔ́ ˈtɔ́y [N] deaf person
wè úú ˈtē / wēnì úú ˈtē [N] chief, headman
wē véé ˈmɔ̀kì tē [N] sorcerer, witch (male)
wē véɛ̄rī / wēnī véɛ̄rī [N] man (male)
wè zā̰ā̰ ˈyɛ̰̄y / **wēnì zā̰ā̰ ˈyɛ̰̄y** [N] rich person
wè zàà kpàm / wēnì zàà kpàm [N] member of the council of the chief
wè zà̰à̰kī [N] messenger
wè zéékì tóólē [N] player on toole
wéélí [V] swing, go back and forth
wēm / wēnī [N] human being, person
wɛ̄m [N] god (lesser), fetish (spirit)
wèrā / wēnìrā [N] nephew
wèréè / wēnìréè [N] owner
wé [int] who?
ɣ̀ɛ̄ɛ̄ 1) [V] slaughter. 2) [V] sacrifice. 3) [V] cut. 4) [V] saw (wood)
ɣ̀ɛ̄ɛ̄kī [N] circumcision (male)
ɣ̀ɛ̄ɛ̄kí ˈnɔ́ ˈtɛ̰̀y [N] mud block
wēnī (~ wēm) [N] people
wēnì màrē [N] crowd
wēnì nɔ́ɔ́ ˈlɛ́y [N] army
wɛ̄y 1) [N] penis. 2) [N] tail

wɛ̄y 1) [N] meat. 2) [N] bush animal

wí ~ wé 1) [pr] he/she (3rd person sg logophoric subject pron., 3rd paradigm). 2) [pr] you (2nd person sg logophoric subject pron., 3rd paradigm)

=wí ~ =wé 1) [pr] his/her (possessive logophoric pron.). 2) [pr] your (sg possessive logophoric pron.)

wì ~ wè 1) [pr] he/she (3rd person sg logophoric subject pron., 4th paradigm). 2) [pr] you (2nd person sg logophoric subject pron., 4th paradigm)

=wī ~ =wē 1) [pr] him/her (object logophoric pron.). 2) [pr] you (sg object logophoric pron.). 3) [pr] him/her (non-subject logophoric pron.). 4) [pr] you (sg non-subject logophoric pron.)

wī ~ wí ~ wē ~ wé 1) [pr] he/she (3rd person sg logophoric subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms). 2) [pr] you (2nd person sg logophoric subject pron., 1st and 2nd paradigms)

ʉ̂mlí [V] sharpen

ʉ̄ní [V] sneeze

wɔ̄ sì [V] judge (something)

wɔ̀kā [V] move

wɔ̄kɔ̄ 1) [N] lie, falsehood. 2) [N] wrong

wɔ́ɔ̀ [intj] Oh! (expressing sadness)

ʉ̆ǔù [id] Ideophone (hyena howl)

wúúyɔ̄ɔ̄ [intj] Help!

yā [gr] Polar question marker

yáˡdà ~ yáˡdàà [sub] how, the way

yáā [N] wood

yàà [V] be myopic, be shortsighted

yáá ˡgàà lɛ̄y [N] firewood

yàà lɛ́ɛ̄ [N] storm (with rain)

yàà lɔ́ɔ́rī [N] storm (with strong wind)

yáákɛ̄ [N] moment

Yáálò ~ Yááló [N] Yaalo (proper name)

yáásí [V] whisper

yááwí [V] be quick

yàkí$_1$ [V] itch

yàkí$_2$ 1) [V] allow, permit. 2) [V] stop, finish. 3) [V] leave. 4) [V] drop

yálí [V] be far

yā̰ŋ (~ ɲāŋ) [N] cat

yā̰ŋ ɓáá ˡtóō [N] wild cat

yàŋrē [N] spider

yārī [N] ant

yé [V] winnow, throw in air (grain)

yè [V] harvest

yē [N] human feminine

yē ɓáákā [N] old person (female)

yē ɓáámɛ̄ 1) [N] grandparent (female). 2) [N] ancestor (female). 3) [N] mother's sister, aunt. 4) [N] mother's mother. 5) [N] someone from the mother's side

yèɛ̄ [N] buffalo

yɛ́ɛ̄ (~ ɲɛ́ɛ̄) [N] milk

yɛ́ɛ́kī ~ yɛ́kī 1) [N] money. 2) [N] price

yɛ́ɛ́mā [N] amulet, charm, fetish

yèètí [V] loosen, be loose, slack

yɛ́kí ˡváákī [N] brideprice (for bride's family)

yɛ́m 1) [V] disappear, lose, be lost, diminish, fade. 2) [V] forget

yɛ́má [N] plant called gadali in Hausa

yɛ́ní [N] animal (femelle)

yɛ́nī [N] only, alone

yɛ́ní ˡdā̰á [N] ewe

yɛ́ní ˡgbènɛ̄ [N] mare

yɛ́ní ˡnáákī [N] cow (female)

yɛ́ní ˡtɛ̀ɛ̄ [N] hen

yɛ́ní ˡyíī [N] she-goat, nanny goat

yɛ̄ŋ [N] mother

yɛ́ŋkí [V] tease

yèsā [V] exercise

yèsí 1) [V] shake. 2) [V] squeak (wheel)

yɛ̄y 1) [N] air (breathed). 2) [N] wind

yí 1) [V] beat. 2) [V] kill. 3) [V] thresh, beat (grain)

=yí [gr] Content question marker

yī [V] sew

yíī [N] goat

yìī ~ hɪ̀ɪ̄ [N] fear

yîì ~ yî ~ yíí [N] many
yīlètē ~ yīlā [N] forest
yíní [V] swim
yóólē [NV] bringing up (a child)
yɔ̀ dìŋsì [N] palm wine
yɔ̀ vo̱o̱rī [N] mead, honey beer
yɔ̀lè ū̀y [N] selfishness
yólèsē [NV] serving
yólí [V] be tired
yōm [V] plant, sow, grow (plants)
yɔ̀ɔ̀lí 1) [V] love. 2) [V] want. 3) [V] like. 4) [V] need. 5) [V] admire
yóósì [N] baobab seed sauce
yɔ̀ɔ̀sí [V] melt
yósí [V] put
yōy [N] beer, traditional alcohol
yúkí [V] close
yū́m [N] dust
yúmˈsì [N] harmattan
yúmlí [V] shout
yūū [V] weep
yūū vɛ́ɛ́pī [V] mourn
za̱ [V] arrive, reach
zàà [V] invite
zāā [prep] beneath
za̱a̱ 1) [V] put inside, dip. 2) [V] dress, wear clothes
za̱a̱ ˈya̱y [N] richness, wealth
za̱a̱kī [N] initiation
zám [V] vomit
zɛ̀m [N] sickle
zànà vîŋ [N] vulture
zàŋ lékī [N] family
zàŋ sɔ̄ɔ̄kī [N] fang of snake
zàŋ wɛ̂y [N] footprint
záŋkí [V] read
zé ˈhɑ́ɑ́kī [N] jackal
zē ɓíní [N] once
zɛ́ɛ́ [V] blow (horn)
za̱ɛ́ɛ́ [V] greet
za̱ɛ́ɛ́ ɲɑ́ɑ́ ˈvɛ́ɛ́pī [V] condole
za̱ɛ́ɛ́sí dū̃y [V] bare, show teeth
zɛ́kɛ̄ [N] hibiscus
zénɛ̄ [N] guest, visitor
zènsì [N] rag
zēy [N] leg
zɛ̂y [N] dog
zíí ˈlɛ́ɛ̄nī [N] afternoon
zììmā [N] needle
zīītí [V] limp
zìkā [V] rest
zíŋ 1) [V] descend. 2) [V] land. 3) [V] unload
za̱ŋkɛ̀ [N] adultery
zô̱y [N] arrow
za̱ [V] jump
zō vo̱o̱rī [V] harvest honey from hive
zɔ̄m 1) [N] bile, gall. 2) [N] poison. 3) [V] poison
zɔ̀m sɔ̄ɔ̄kī [N] venom (of snake)
zɔ̀mā [V] join, put together
zɔ̀mālā [V] arrange
zɔ́ntà [N] now
zɔ̀ntɔ̀lɔ̀ ɲɛ̂y [N] beak, bill
zɔ́ŋ [N] mosquito
zɔ̀ŋtɔ̀ŋ [N] hem
zɔ́ɔ́bɛ̀ [N] ring (finger)
za̱ɔ̱sā [V] tear, break, sever
zū [V] cover
zūlā 1) [V] capsize. 2) [V] turn over
zūrí 1) [N] well. 2) [V] be good. 3) [V] be beautiful
Zūrí [N] Zuri (proper name)
=ᴸ₁ [gr] Resultative marker
=ᴸ₂ [gr] Genitive marker
=ᴸ₃ [pr] me (1st person sg object pron.)
=ᴸ₄ 1) [pr] its (3rd person non-human sg inalienable possessive pron.). 2) [pr] their (3rd person non-human pl inalienable possessive pron.

Appendix III: English - Kugama Lexicon

aardvark	gùm pɔ́rɛ̄
abandon	hɛ́ɛ̰̀
abdomen	ɓɛ̃y
able to	mákí
about	sɛ̄ɛ̄; sèrī; úū
abscess	fúúkī
abstain	kìɓá̰à̰
accept	tɛ̄ɛ̄$_1$
accompany	dɔ̃òòsā
account (report)	mī
accumulate	sá̰m
accuse	kpɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄
acquaintance	ɲáá ˡdɔ̃òkī
add	káŋsí; mɔ́kā
admire	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí
admit	kpɛ́
adult	wē dɔ̃ŋ / wɛ̄nī dɔ̃ŋ
adultery	zḭ̄ŋkè
advise	kɔ̰̃msí
after	báyá (<H)
after	tɔ̃m
afternoon	zíí ˡlɛ́ɛ̄nī
again	gbɛ̌ŋ
agree	kpɛ́
agreement	kpɛ́sā
air (breathed)	yɛ̄y
Ali (male proper name)	Àlí
alive	nɔ́ɔ̃
all	mīlī; pát (<F)
allow	yàkí$_2$
alone	yɛ́nī
also	ɓɔ́$_2$; kúmá; kúmɔ́; má ~ máá (<H)
alter	lásā
although	ɓáá ˡɔ̀ɔ́
always	kɔ́ɔ́ ˡɓèrī lúyī; lúɔ́ ˡpát
amulet	yɛ́ɛ́mā
amusing	ɲáá ɲɔ́mlɛ̄
an Italian	wè ɓáá ˡmɛ́ɛ̄ / wɛ̄nì ɓáá ˡmɛ́ɛ̄
Anaphoric marker	=lé
ancestor (female)	yɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
ancestor (male)	tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
and	dɛ́è ~ dī̃ì ~ éè ~ ì̃ì
and then	ká ~ kā
Andrew (male proper name)	Ándrù
anger	ɓɛ̄ fúúsè
Angowa (proper name)	Ā̰ŋgɔ́ˡwà
animal	sì kɔ̃m
animal feminine	yɛ́ní
animal masculine	tì
ankle	gbɔ̰́ɔ̰́ ˡzɛ̃y
ankle engagement ring	gūnà nɛ̃y
ankle ring	gūnà nɛ̃y
announce	ɓāā; ɓāā ɲɛ̃y
announcement; news	ɓāāsè
annoy	fúúsí; métí (<F)
answer (V)	kpɛ́
ant	vísɛ̄; yārī
antbear	gùm pɔ́rɛ̄
anteater	gùm pɔ́rɛ̄
antelope	bármà
antenna	gbá ˡū̃y
anus	bɔ̰̀ tɔ̃m
anvil	úú ˡsá̰á̰kī
any	ṵ́ ~ ṵ́ṵ́
any place outside of home village	ɓáá ˡtóō
Applicative marker	=sí ~ =sī
apply (ointment)	nɔ́m
approach (V)	hɛ̰̄
argue	hɛ̰̄sā
argument	hɛ̰̄sā
arm	nɛ̃y
armpit	pùù ɲáˡɲɛ́kī; pùù pètɛ́ nɛ̃y

army wēnì nɔ́ɔ́ ˡlɛ̄y
army ant màŋ kɔ̰y
arrange zɔ̀mālā
arrive zɑ̰́
arrow zɔ̄y
article of clothing sì zɑ̰́ɑ̰́kī
as ɓà ɔ́ɔ́; túnˡdɛ̀
as if ɓàá
ashes tɑ̰́ɑ̰̄
ask ɓí
asking ɓíkī
assemble sùm
aunt yɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
avoid gḭ̄
awake nɔ́ɔ̄
away from tɛ̀ɛ̀ gbɛ̌ŋ
awe gbɑ̰̄lí
axe gùū
Baagaa subclan of the Nyawana clan ɲá ˡw̰ànà ɓáá ˡgɑ̀ɑ̰̄
Baagore region ɓáá ˡgɔ̀rɛ̄
Baaheeri subclan of the Nyanyoona clan ɲá ˡɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˡɓáá ˡhɛ̄ɛ̄rī
baboon gbɔ̄m
baby lɛ̀ɛ̀váā / lɛ̀ɛ̀sīzáā
baby sling bàsúúsà (< ?)
back tùgṵ̄y
back (of something) tɔ̌m ˡgbɛ́sɛ̄
back loincloth (for women) nɔ́ɔ́ ˡɗúū
backbone kʊ̄m ˡtùgṵ̄y
backward (direction) tɔ̌m ˡgbɛ́sɛ̄
backwards kpáá ˡtɔ̌m ˡtɛ̄
bad ɓɛ́ɛ́làsí
bag ɓùkɔ̄
bait (N) sì láákī
bait (V) tā
bake hɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄$_2$
balafon mɔ́ɔ́lɔ́ (< H)
banana àyàbà (< H)
bangle gūnà nɛ̋y
Baŋdzem subclan of the Nyadaare clan ɲá ˡdààrɛ́ ɓàŋ zɛ̋m
Baŋkisa subclan of the Nyadaare clan ɲá ˡdààrɛ́ ɓàŋ kísā
baobab seed sauce yɔ́ɔ́sì
baobab tree dìŋ kísā
bare zɛ̰́ɛ̰́sí dʊ̃̄y
bark (of tree) ɓúúrī
bark (V) gbú
barren (of land) tɔ́rɛ̄
barren woman wē sóó ˡtɔ̄rɛ̄ / wēnī sóó ˡtɔ̄rɛ̄
barter mīlā$_2$
basket sɨ̋ŋ
bastard váá ˡɓá ˡyɛ̄y / sīzáá ɓá yēy
bat tɔ̀nrɔ̄
bathe hɔ̰̄
bathing place tɛ̀ɛ̀ hɔ̰̄kī
be kɔ̄ɔ̄
be about to mánsà
be abundant màrí ~ màrī
be angry dʊ̃m
be angry fʊ̰́m
be awake hɪ̰́ŋsí
be bad ɓé
be bald gbɛ̰̀ɛ̰̀kí
be beautiful zūrí
be big gɛ̀pí
be black vɪ̰́pí
be blind ɓɔ́ɔ́kí
be close to mánsà
be confused ɓíkā
be defeated kàà
be difficult kɔ̰̄m$_1$
be dirty dīlí
be dirty (on) dɔ́ɔ́kí méɛ̄
be dry kɔ̰́ɔ̰́sí ~ kɔ́ɔ́sí
be early ɓá$_2$
be enough dɑ̋ɑ́
be far yálí
be fat gbɑ̰̄

be full	kàm$_2$
be good	zūrí
be hard	kálí
be heavy	ím
be hot	sūū$_2$
be important	tą̄m ~ tą̄m
be kind	tą̄m ~ tą̄m
be last	gbɛ́sí
be late	kǭǭ$_2$
be light	púrí$_2$; pūrī tɛ́
be long	hɛ̄m$_2$
be loose	yèètí
be lost	yɛ́m
be myopic	yàà
be old	ɓám
be patient	mɔ̄nsí
be quick	yááwí (<F)
be red	ɲɔ̄m
be restless	ókālā
be ripe	nɔ̄kí
be rotten	lɔ̄
be same	ɗákā
be sated	kàm$_2$
be scarce	fɔ̄sí
be sharp	lɔ́m
be shortsighted	yàà
be sick	kǭm$_1$
be silent	gbāsí
be slow	mɔ̀mlí
be small	sɛ́
be sticky	kpą̄ŋ
be stingy	kálí
be straight	tēmsí
be strong	kálí
be stupid	kálí
be sweet	tą̄m ~ tą̄m
be taboo	ɓą̄ŋ
be tall	hɛ̄m$_2$
be thick	gbą̄
be tight	bǫ́ǫ́
be tired	yɔ́lí
well	ɓɔ́ŋ; pùù méɛ̄; zūrí
be wet	nīī
be wounded	dɔ̄
beach	ɲáá ˈtúká
beads	nɔ́sɔ̀ kǭy
beak	zɔ̀ntɔ̀lɔ̀ ɲɛ̄y
beam	vé ˈbɔ̌m
beans	wɑ̌m ~ wɑ̌m ~ wàā
beard	kɔ̌m ˈɲɛ̄y
beat (grain)	yí
beat (V)	vé; yí
beat drums	vím
because	sɛ̄é; sɛ̀è ɔ̀ɔ́; túnˈdè
because of	sɛ̄ɛ̄; sèrī
become	kɔ̄ɔ̄
become (his/her) habit	kɔ̄ɔ̄kí (ɛ̄ré) sì pānè
become accustomed	vɔ́ɔ́wí (<F)
bed	lɛ̄ɛ̄sɔ̀
bedroom	bɔ̌m ˈlóókī
bee	vǫ́ǫ́rī
bee-bread	wàké ˈvǫ́ǫ́rī
beehive	dílé ˈvǫ́ǫ́rī
beer	yɔ̄y
beeswax	wàké ˈvǫ́ǫ́rī
befit	ɗáá
before (cc)	ká ~ kā
before (N)	ɓélà ~ ɓélàm
before (N)	kpáá ˈpòò tɛ̄; lɛ́$_1$; lúɔ́
before (Preposition)	kààmín (<H)
beg (for money)	héɛ́rí
beggar	wè héɛ́rè / wɛ̄nì héɛ́rè
behind	dùgū̱ŋ ~ tùgū̱ū̱
behind (N)	kpáá ˈtɔ̌m ˈtɛ̄
being corrupt	mɔ̀kè nɛ̄y
being difficult	kpélè
being drunk	hákɛ̄
being proud	tókí ˈū̱y
being sour	gbą̀ŋī
being strong	kálɛ̄
being warm	ɯ̱áákī
belching	sḭ́kī

believe ɓɔ́ níˡsè
bell gbɔ̄lɔ̄ŋ
bellows sì ɓéŋ́ ˡyɛ̄y
below tɔ̌m ˡtɛ̄
Bena (female/male name) Bènā
bend down tą̲
beneath zāā
bent gbēlāsí
Benue river mé ˡtúká
beside ką̲ą̀rī
betrothed lèm
between ɲáˡką̲ą̀ tɛ̀ rī
bewitch mɔ̀kìtɛ̄
big ɗɔ́ŋ
big axe kāā
Big Dipper dɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀rì lákɛ̀ háŋkɛ̄
big hoe ɗúúkī ɗɔ́ŋ
big one kpą̀m / kpą̀nì ~ kpą̀nɛ̀
big one gɔ̀ɔ̀ / gɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̀
big river that never becomes dry mé ˡtúká
big round jar tâŋ
big stick for mixing food ɗāākī$_1$; gààsíĩŋ
big(gest) drum gɔ̀ɔ̀ vím
bigness gɛ̀ɛ̄pī
bile zɔ̄m
bill zɔ̀ntɔ̀lɔ̀ ɲɛ́y
billy goat ɓɔ̀nɛ̀ yíī
bind (load) mā
bird fáà nɔ̄y; nɔ̄ɔ̄; nɔ̄y
bird trap ɗóò tākɛ̀ nɔ̄y
birdlime ɗóò tākɛ̀ nɔ̄y
birth pains kɔ̰̄mé ˡlékī
bite ɲɔ́m
bitter hópɛ̄
black-and-white or white-shouldered crow (Corvus scapulatus; Corvus albus) gą̲ą̲$_2$
blackness vĩ̲ĩ̲pī ~ vĩ̲pī
blacksmith wè są̲kī / wɛ̄nì są̲kī
bladder tɛ̀ɛ̀ méé ˡsáŋkɛ̄
blade (of grass) ɲáá ˡwáŋkɛ̄
blaze (V) ɛ̰́
bleed ɗɛ̄ɛ̄kí
bless hɔ̰́$_1$
blessing (e.g. before death) gą̲ą̀sɛ̄
blind person wè ɓɔ́ɔ́kìsí ˡnɔ̄y
blinking gūmì nɔ̄y
blood ɗɛ̄ɛ̄
blood plum (Haematostaphis barteri) tāārī
blow hɛ̰́ɛ̰́
blow (horn) zɛ́ɛ́
blow (with mouth) ɓɛ̄
blow nose ɓɛ̄ ɲá ˡhɔ̰́y; vɪ̰̄
boar (male pig) tì géré ˡɗɛ́ɛ́ké
boar (wild pig with tusks) gérɛ̄
boast pú
body bìméɛ̄
boil (V) ɲā$_2$
bone kŭmpī
bone (for eating) kŭmsì
bone marrow nɔ̀ɔ̀ ɓáá ˡkŭmpī
borrow tɛ̄ɛ̄ kpɛ́y
bottle gùsī
bottom tɔ̄m; tɔ̌m ˡtɛ̄
Botuuta subclan of the Nyawana clan ɲá ˡw̰ànà bɔ̀túúˡtāā
boundary (of field) ɲáá ˡyɛ̄ɛ̄
bow (as in greeting) ɗúŋ
bow (hunting) tɛ́y
bow down tā
bowl pésèlɛ̄
box àkwàtì ~ àkɔ̄ɔ̄tī
boy fáà wē vɛ́ɛ̄rī
bracelet sì nɛ́y
brag pú
braid (hair) dìm
brain hɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ ūy
branch (of tree) náá ˡdìŋsì
branch off ɓììsí
bravery kpùkpɔ́rɔ́
bread bùrɔ́ɔ́dì (<?)

break (V)	hą̱kí; ká$_3$; zo̱sā
break wind	sú vîŋ
breakfast	sì mɔ̀kè gàáˈté
breast	ɲáá ˈɲɛ́kī ~ ɲáá ˈɲɛ́kɛ̄
breastbone	kū́m ˈbɛ̀nɛ̄
breath	hɛ̱ɛ̱lè
breathe	hɛ̱ɛ̱lí
bride	sóò ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī
brideprice (for bride's family)	yɛ́kí ˈváákī
bridge	gádà (<H)
bridge (of nose)	tíŋ ˈɲáˈho̱y
bright	pūrè tɛ̄
bring	nārī
bringing up (a child)	yóólɛ̄
brook	tèè méɛ̄
broom	hɛ̄ɛ̄rī
broth	háŋkɛ̄
brother-in-law	fáà tárī
brown	náá ˈɓáá ˈnɔ́ɔ́ ˈsɛ̄ɛ̄
brush	kpɔ̀
bubble up	ɲā$_2$
bucket	bɔ́kɔ́tì (<H, E?)
bud	lù̱m$_2$
buffalo	yèɛ̄
build	māā
bulb	dìŋ pókī
bull	tì náákī
bump (N)	tô̱ŋ térɛ̄
bump (V)	ɲɔ́
bundle	dɔ̀msì
bundle of guinea corn	dɔ̀m sɔ̄m
burden	sì tókī
burn	dɔ̄; ɛ́
burst	pó$_2$
bury	hóó
burying	súsɛ̄
bush	ɓáá ˈtóō
bush animal	wɛ̂y
bush country	ɓáá ˈyáā
bush dweller	wè ɓáá ˈtóō
but (cc)	àmá ~ àmáá ~ àmáà (<H)
but (Preposition)	sé ~ séɛ́ ~ séy (<H)
butcher	wè ɓɛ́kī / wɛ̄nì ɓɛ́kī; wè témɛ̀ wɛ̂y / wɛ̄nì témɛ̀ wɛ̂y
buttock	gbúrè tɔ̄m
buy	hɔ́ɔ́
by the side of	kà̱à̱rī
cackle (as of chicken)	lèm pà̱à̱rī
calabash	hɔ̄y
calf	fáà náákī
calf of leg	ɓɔ̀ɔ̀tè zɛ̄y
call (V)	ɓɛ̄ɛ̄
calm (oneself)	mɔ̄nsí
camel	gɛ̄lūbà (<F)
camp	gùrɛ̄
cane	gàà dɔ̀ɔ̀kī
cane rat	dāmlí
canoe	kɔ̀mbɔ́ (<F)
capsize	zūlā
captive	pùsínà (<E?)
caress	gáásí
carry (child) on back	ɓì
carry (from one place to another)	ká$_4$
carry in arms	nā$_1$
carry on head	tó$_1$
carve	dɛ́ɛ́
cassava	lù̱m$_1$
cast (for broken leg)	sì mākí ˈzàà tɛ̄
cast (iron)	są̱
cast spell	mɔ̀kìtɛ̄
castrate	málí; są̱
cat	ɲāŋ ~ yą̱ŋ
catch	gɔ̱; kpɛ́lí
caterpillar	vɔ̱ɔ̱ yáā
catfish	ménínì
cattle egret	kīkɛ́ɛ́kā
cattle pen	bàā
cause (V)	kóó$_1$

cave	làà gɔ̀rɛ̄
cease	tòò ~ tɔ̀ɔ̀
cemetery	tèè úú ˈgɔ̄m
centipede	kānānā wènɛ́ní
certainly	fā (<H)
chaff	gə̰ə̰$_1$
chair	sì kɔ́ɔ́kɛ̄
chameleon	ɲàgɔ̄mlā
change (V)	lásā
charcoal	sɛ́ɛ́ ˈlɛ̰̄y
charm	yɛ́ɛ́mā
chase away	nésí
chatting	sə̰ə̰̀lɛ̄
cheapness	àràhá (<H)
cheek	lɛ̰̄y
chest	bènɛ̄
chew	táá
chick	fáà tɛ̰̀ɛ̰̄
chicken	tɛ̰̀ɛ̰̄
chief	kpə̄m ~ kpàà; wè úú ˈtɛ̄ / wɛ̄nì úú ˈtɛ̄
child	váā / sīzáā
chin	kə̰̀nɛ̀
chisel	sì ɗɛ́ɛ́kī
choking	ɗāākī$_2$
choose	téɛ́
chop into pieces	gɛ̰̄rī
church	ɲáá ˈbɔ̆m ˈtèè héɛ́rɛ̀
circumcision (male)	ɯ̰̄ɛ̄kī
clam	náánɛ̄
clan	ɲáá ˈlāŋ; ɲɛ̰̄y
clap (hands)	kūūsí
Clause-linking marker (agreement in 3rd person)	kà
Clause-linking marker (agreement in first and 2nd person)	má ~ mā
claw	vísí ˈnɛ̰̄y
clay pot	túúkī
clean (V)	kə̰̄ə̰̄$_1$; kpɔ̀
cleanliness	tɛ́ŋtɛ́ŋ
clear land for planting	kə̰̄ə̰̄$_1$
clearing	hīrè tɛ̄
cliff	tɛ̄m
clitoris	gɛ̂mlɛ́ ˈkɔ̄y
close (V)	yúkí
cloth	sì zə̰́ə̰́kī
clothes	sì zə̰́ə̰́kī
cloud	kùsū
coagulate	tòlí
cockroach	və̰̀ə̰̀ víŋ
coconut palm	kwákwā
cocoon	ɓáàrī
cocoyam	māsì kɔ̀pɛ̄
coil	gīm
cola nut	gɔ̄ɔ̄rɔ̄ (<?)
cold weather	ɓáá ˈtə̰́ə̰́pī
collect	tɛ̄ɛ̄$_2$
colour	ɲɔ̄ŋkɛ̀
colt	fáà kírkʉ̰̀m; fáà vɛ̄ntɛ̀
comb	kɔ̂m
come	ɛ̄rī
Comitative preposition	à$_3$; =ɛ̀$_3$
command	dɔ̀ɔ̀ká (<H)
community	ɲáá ˈkɔ̄y
complain	fʉ̰̀m
complete	gbɛ́rí
compound	ɓáá ˈɗɛ́ɛ́ké
compromise	láásā
condole	zɛ̰́ɛ̰̀ ɲáá ˈvɛ́ɛ́pī
congratulate	ɓàkí
conquer	léɛ́ ūy
Consecutive marker (?)	dà ~ dàà
Content question marker	=yí
continue	á pòò tɛ̄
continuously	ɲàkɔ́ɲàkɔ́
cook	nɔ̄kí; tòò
cook (liquid food)	núú
cooking pot (earthenware)	tâŋ hə̰̄ə̰̄
cooking stone	tâŋ kúúrī
cool down	sɛ̰̄kí

coordinator (during circumcision) wè tɛ̰nī / wēnì tɛ̰nī
corn sáˈɓùkɔ̄ ~ súˈɓùkɔ̄
corn cob sáˈɓùkɔ̄ ~ súˈɓùkɔ̄
corn husk kɔ̰̄ sɔ̄m
corpse vɛ́ɛ́pī
correct ɓà ɔ̀
correct one mítèrɛ̄
cotton nùkɔ̄
cough (V) kɔ́sí ~ kɔ̰́sí
count (V) gāŋ
Counterfactual conditional marker ká$_1$
country nɔ́ɔ́ ˈtą̰ā̰pī; tíí ˈdàlā
courage kpùkpɔ́rɔ́
courtyard kpá ˈɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
cousin fáà tɔ̄ŋ
cover (V) kú; zū
covering kúkī
cow náákī
cow (female) yɛ́ní ˈnáákī
coward nɔ́ɔ́ ˈyìī
co-wife wé ˈsáá
cowrie shell nɔ́ɔ́ ˈdíní ˈvɔ̀kɔ̄
crab sɛ̀ɛ̀má
crawl gbą̰à̰lí
create gą̰à̰sí
credit kpɛ̃y
crest (of bird) súm ˈúú ˈnɔ̄ɔ̄
crevice pūy
cricket ɗ̃ām
crocodile ɾ̃im
crook gbēlā
crooked gbēlāsí
crop (of bird) lòlɔ̀kɔ̄
cross (V) mí ~ mɛ́; ɲáŋā
crow tɛ́kɛ̄
crow (as a rooster) tɛ́kɛ̄
crowd wēnì màrɛ̄
crush mɔ̀sā; ná$_1$
crust bɛ́kɛ̄
cry (V) kpą́
cultivate pɔ̄
cup kɔ̂p (< ?)
curdled milk dàŋlɛ̄
cure (V) kpą̰ā̰
current (river mɛ́ɛ́ ˈɓáá ˈmɔ̄ɔ̄kū
curse (N) wākī
curse (V) wā
cursing wākī
curved gbēlāsí
custom ɲáá ˈlāŋ
cut w̰ɛ̄ɛ̄
cut gɛ̰̄$_1$; sɛ́
cut across gɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄; gɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄kí; gɛ̰̄rī
cut down (tree) ɗɛ́
cut open (fruit) ɓúsā
cutlass kāā
Daabena (male name) Dááˈbènā
Daageele (male name) Dááˈgɛɛlɛ̄
Daawana (male name) Dááˈwàànà
dance (N) sɔ̄y
dance (V) sɔ̄
dance after burial sɔ̀ ɲáá ˈgōrè vɛ́ɛ́pī
dance around the corpse sɔ̀ pūlà vɛ́ɛ́pī
dark (colour) náá ˈsì vḭ̄ḭ̄pī
darkness tɛ́ɛ̰̄pī ~ tḭ̄ḭ̄pī
date nɔ́ɔ́ ˈkɔ̰̄y
date palm vɛ́ɛ́ ˈkɔ̰̄y
daughter ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī
daughter-in-law ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ tárī
dawn (before sunrise) gàáˈtɛ́
dawn (V) kɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄rī
day lūy
day after tomorrow ɗáà ɓɛ̀ɛ̀ lūy
day before yesterday lúɔ́ ˈhɛ́ɛ̰̄
daytime lūy
deaf person wè tɔ̄rɔ́ ˈtɔ̃y / wēnì tɔ̄rɔ́ ˈtɔ̃y
dear dáà
death vɛ́ɛ́pī
debt kpɛ̃y

deceive lèèlí
decide sɔ́ŋ
declare ɓa̰ŋ
decorate ga̰a̰sí
decrease sɛ́
defeat léé ũy
defecate ɗú
Definite marker =rê ~ =ré
definitely kàm$_1$ (<H)
Demonstrative marker =é
den pūy
deny péɛ́kí
depth gúrè
descend zíŋ
descendant tŏm ˡlákī
desert ɓáá ˡsa̰a̰
despise sám
destroy ɓéélā
detour pa̰á̰sā
dew ɔ́ŋē
diarrhea wa̰nē
die dúú; tɔ́kí; vé
different sáá
dig ɔ́ɔ́
DIM.PL sáà ~ sâ
DIM.SG fáà ~ fâ
diminish yém
dip za̰á̰
direction kpáā$_2$
dirt ɗɔ́ɔ́kē
disappear yém
disband pōrī
disconnect ɓìsā
discourse sa̰a̰lē
disease tē kɔ̰m
dish made of guinea corn hɔ̰ɔ̰ sɔ̄m
dish made of millet hɔ̰ɔ̰ ɲɔ̄ŋ
Distal marker =sòrè
disturb fúúsí; wálí
ditch gúrè tē
divide ɓìsā
divine kɛ̀mè sì
diviner wè pàà ɲáá ˡgùsī / wēnì pàà ɲáá ˡgùsī
divorce gɛ̰ váákī
do gɔ̰; pa̰ní; wáárī
dog zɛ̰y
domestic servant váà za̰a̰kī
domestic sow (female pig) sóò géré ˡɗéké
domesticate dɔ̄ɔ̄$_2$
dominating lɔ́ɔ́kì kpằm
door sì ɲáá ˡkpáā
doorway ɲáá ˡkpáā
doorway cover sì ɲáá ˡkpáā
doubt tìtɛ́élí
doum palm kɔ̰y
dove kōōrē
down náá ˡdàà séè; séè
drag púkí
dragonfly kùm ɲɔ́mɛ̄
draw pō; sa̰á̰; vɛ̰ɛ̰
draw soup made of small fish and beans hâŋ kɔ̰kī; hâŋ kɔ́rɔ́
dream (V) ló
dress (V) za̰á̰
drink (V) ɲɔ́sí ~ ɲɔ́lí
drizzle dìkī
drop (V) há; yàkí$_2$
dropping témlɛ̄
drum vîm
drum (with a stick) gàŋgáŋ
dry (tr.) ɓèní
dry season kpààrī
duck pîwī
dullness dìké
dung beetle vɔ̰ɔ̰ vîŋ
dusk léènī ~ léɛ̄nī
dust yūm
duty sɔ̰m
dwarf gbīré
dwell dɛ̄
dwelling of the dead

(spiritual)	ɗɛ́ɛ́ ˡɲà véérī
eager	kálɛ̄
eagle	fáà sīŋ
ear	tɔ̄y ~ tō̩y
early	hi̱ŋrè
earring	sì tɔ̄y
Earth	ɓáá ˡdàlā
earthworm	ɲà sɔ́ŋkɔ̀rɔ̄
earwax	ɗiŋ
east	kpá ˡūrɛ̄
eat	táá
eat (liquid food)	mɔ̀
eating	mɔ̀kɛ̄
eclipse (moon)	ɓùlā séɛ̄
edge	ɲáà
eel	dìì gɔ̀y
egg	pa̱à̱rī
egg-plant	mɔ̀rɛ̄
eggshell	kɔ̱ké ˡpa̱à̱rī
eight (8)	ɔ̱náˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀ ~ ɔ̱náˡnéˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀
eight hundred (800)	ɓùkɔ̄ níˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀; mī mī níīrī
eighteen (18)	kɔ́p tí ɔ̱náˡníˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀
eighty (80)	mī níˡhɛ́ɛ̱̀
elbow	gûm nɛ̄y
elder	wē ɗɔ́ŋ / wēnī ɗɔ̄ŋ
elder brother	ɓɛ̄ŋ
elder mother's brother	tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
elephant	dāŋ
elephantiasis	bɔ̄mlè
elephant's trunk	kílè dāŋ
elephant's tusk	ɗúú ˡdāŋ
eleven (11)	kɔ́p tí ˡɓíní
eloquent	mákè sà̱kī
embrace	kpà̱
EMPH	ɓá$_1$
emptiness	nâŋ$_1$
encampment	gùrɛ̄
encounter	ɓákā
encourage	kɔ̱msí
end (V)	gɔ́
enemy	wè ɲáá ˡkɔ̄ŋ
enlarge	húúsí
enmity	ɲáá ˡkɔ̄ŋ
enter	só$_2$
entrance hut	kpáā$_2$
equal	ɗáálā
escape	ɗé
ethnic area	tíí ˡdàlā
ethnic group	ɲáá ˡkōy; ɲɛ̄y
evade	kɔ̱̀ɔ̱̀
evaporating	tùkì méɛ̄
even	háá ~ hár (< H)
even if	ɓɛ́ ~ ɓɛ́ɛ́; ɓɔ́$_3$
even if (Concessive conditional marker)	kɔ́ ~ kɔ́ɔ́
evening	léɛ̀nī ~ léɛ̄nī
evening meal	sì mɔ̀kè léɛ̀nī
everybody	kɔ́ɔ́ˡ wéɛ̀ yīī ~ kɔ́ɔ́ˡ wéɛ̀ yī
everything	kɔ́ɔ́ ˡɔ̀kè yīī ~ kɔ́ɔ́ ˡɔ̀kè yī
everywhere	kɔ́ɔ́ˡ téɛ̀ yīī ~ kɔ́ɔ́ˡ téɛ̀ yī
evil spirit	vɔ̱̀ɔ̱̀
ewe	yéní ˡdā̱á̱
exceed	gbírí; hālí; ɓúrí (< F)
except	sɛ́ ~ séɛ́ ~ séy (< H)
exchange (of goods)	mīlā$_2$
excrement	vîŋ
exercise (V)	yèsā
exorcise	kīī
expensiveness	sàdá (< H)
explain	bɛ̱̀sā
expressing surprise	áʔáʔá
extinguish	lím
eye	nɔ̄y
eyebrow	gìnè nɔ̄y
eyelash	kɔ̆m ˡnɔ̄y
eyelid	ɓɛ̀ɛ̀ nɔ̄y
fabric skein	dīkī

face	pɔ̃y
fade	yɛ́m
faeces	vĩŋ
fail	térī
faint	tɛ̀è vɛ́ɛ́pī
fair	níˈsè
fall (V)	térī
falsehood	wɔ̄kɔ̄
family	zàŋ lɛ́kī
family within ɲáá ˈlãŋ 'clan'; subclan	ɲáá ˈdùrī
fan	ɓa̰ŋ; sì ɓɛ́ŋí ˈyɛ̄y
fang of snake	zàŋ sɔ̄ɔ̄kī
farm (N)	háákī
farm (V)	pɔ̄
farmer	wè pɔ̄kī / wɛ̄nì pɔ̄kī
farming	pɔ̄y
fart	sú vĩŋ
fast	kpɛ̀ɛ̀rī
fasten	mā
fat	nɔ̄y
father	dáà; tɔ̄ŋ
father-in-law	tárī
father's brother (uncle)	fáà sènɛ̄
father's side	fáà tɔ̄ŋ
father's sister (aunt)	nɔ̀ɔ̀ yéŋ ˈtɔ̄ŋ
Fatima (female proper name)	Fāātímà
fear	yìī ~ hi̱i̱
fearing	ókì yìī
feast	sámɛ̄
feather	kɔ̆m ˈnɔ̄y
feel	lákí; pi̱ŋ
feel (active)	ta̱
feel like	kā
female	sóò ~ sóó ~ sô ~ só
female animal	ɲɔ́kɔ̄
fence	kúˈɗɛ́ɛ́
fence in	bàntɛ̄
ferment	gbàŋkí
fertile soil	tɛ̄ pāŋ
fetch (firewood)	ɓìì
fetch (water)	kɔ́
fetish	yɛ́ɛ́mā
fetish (spirit)	wɛ̄m
fetus	ɗɛ̀è váā
fever (not malaria)	kɔ̱mɛ̄
few	pɛ́ɛ́$_2$
fiancé (betrothed boyfriend)	váā vɛ́ɛ̄rī / sīzáā vɛ́ɛ̄rī
fiancée (betrothed girlfriend)	váā sóōrī / sīzáā sóōrī
field	kpãŋ
fierce	gbìŋtɛ̄
fife	gbɛ̄y / sâgbɛ̄y
fifteen (15)	kɔ́p tí níˈgìná
fifth hunting (end of April)	bɛ̀kì gàfúkà
fifty (50)	mī níīrī kì kɔ́p
fig	ɲáápī
fig tree	dìŋ ɲáápī
fight (N)	kɔ̄ŋ
fight (V)	sɛ́ɛ́
figure out	sɔ̂ŋlí
fill	kàm$_2$
fin	gbáá ˈɗīī
find	hɔ́$_2$
fine	tɔ̂ ~ tɔ̀
finger	vísí ˈnɛ̄y
fingernail	kɔ̱ɔ̱ vísí ˈnɛ̄y
finish	gɔ́; gbɛ́rí; tɔ́kí; yàkí$_2$
fire	lɛ̄y$_2$
fireplace	tùkì lɛ̄y
firewood	yáá ˈgàà lɛ̄y
first	nā ɓíní; ɲá ˈhi̱ŋrè
first hunting (in January)	bɛ̀kì lãŋ
fish (N)	ɗīī
fish (V)	láá
fish bone	kŭm ˈɗīī
fish dam	tɛ̀è láákī
fish trap	sì láákī
fisherman	wè láákī / wɛ̄nì láákī

fishhook gàlŏm; sì láákī
fishing line sì láákī
fishing net sì láákī; rágá (< H)
fish-scale kɔ̰ɔ̰ dīī
fist dīnɛ̀
five (5) níˈgìná ~ néˈgìná
five hundred (500) ɓùkɔ̄ níīrī à sìvíi̱pī
nígìná; mī mī ɓíní ˈkì
níˈgìná
flame ɲépè lɛ̄y
flapping the wings lèètè pètéˈnɛ̄y
flea úlī
float kólí úúˈméɛ̄
flock bàā
flock of birds bàà nɔ̄ɔ̄
flood méɛ̀ gbúkī
floor séɛ̀ bɔ̆m
flour kèsɔ́ ˈhɔ̄y
flow (V) dɛ̃ɛ̀kí
flower bɛ̰ɛ̰rē
flute léérē
fly (N) kūm
fly (V) ú
flying ant sɛ̄néˈvísɛ̄
Focus marker =rɔ̀
fold gīm
follow téé; téé tɔ̆m
food hɔ̰ɔ̰$_1$; sì mòkɛ̄
foot tùgu̱u̱ zɛ̄y
foot road ɲáˈdākpáá ˈzɛ̄y
footprint zàŋ wɛ̃y
forbid hɛ́ɛ̰
ford pa̱á̱sā
forehead ɲáá ˈfiŋ
foreign bātúúrɛ̀
foresee kā
forest yīlètɛ̄ ~ yīlā
forge (N) tɛ̀ɛ̀ sa̱kī
forge (V) sa̱
forget lāŋsí; yɛ́m
forgetfulness ɓɛ̄ yémī

fork (in path) ɓìsā
forth hunting
(beginning of April) bɛ̀kì sa̱a̱mì
fortune-teller wè pàà ɲáá ˈgùsī /
wɛ̄nì pàà ɲáá ˈgùsī
forty (40) mī níīrī
forward pòō$_2$
four (4) níˈhɛ́ɛ̰ ~ néˈhɛ́ɛ̰
four hundred (400) ɓùkɔ̄ níīrī; mī mī ɓíní
fourteen (14) kɔ́p tí níˈhɛ́ɛ̰
frequently mīlā$_1$
Friday lúú ˈgbílà
friend vētɔ̄ŋ
frighten nɔ̄sā$_2$
frog vàtìgăŋ
from dìgà (< H)
frond náá ˈkɔ̰y
front loincloth (for women) gbìkírì
frontier (of ethnic area) ɲáá ˈyɛ̄ɛ̄
fruit nɔ́ɔ́ ˈdìŋsì
fry hɔ̰ní
full moon séɛ̄ ~ síī
funeral (at occasion of death) hóókì véépī
funny one ɲáá ɲɔ́mlɛ̄
fur sáàlɛ̀
Future tense of the copula kɔ̄ɔ̄
gall zɔ̄m
gall bladder ɓūkɛ́ ˈzɔ̄m
game wàtɛ̄lɛ̄
game with shalls kɔ̰pɛ́
garbage dump ɲáá ˈđiŋ
garden làmbú
garlic tāfárnówá (< H, A)
gather sùm
genet gɔ̰ɔ̰lā
Genitive marker =ᴸ$_2$
germinate ɓúlí
get hɔ́$_2$
get engaged lèm
get rid of kàà
get well kálí

get wounded many times dɔ̄mlí
ghost sa̱a̱
giant wē héénī
gift ɓɔ́kī
gill làà dīī
giraffe va̱ŋē
girl fáà wē sóōrī
give ɓɔ́$_1$; lāā
give back mī
give birth lé$_2$
give pain lèè méē
giving ɓɔ́kī
giving name sa̱mé ˡníŋ
gizzard ɓùkɔ́ ˡsì mɔkē
gnaw géérī
go á$_2$; ɗòò
go back and forth wéélí
go out kīrī
go round pa̱a̱sā
go up ú
goat yíī
god (lesser) wɛ̄m
God (supreme being) lūy
gossip (V) ɓɛ̄ɛ̄ níŋ
granary bíˡná
grandchild tānīkɔ̀ (< F)
grandfather dáà; tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
grandparent (female) yɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
grandparent (male) tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
grapefruit tāārī
grass tóō
grasshopper ɗòké ~ ɗòkí
grave úú ˡgɔ̆m ~ ú ˡgɔ̆m
grave (before burial) pùù vɛ́ɛ́pī
gravel sáà ta̱a̱pī
great kálē
Great Bear dɔ̰a̱rì lákè háŋkē
green náá ˡwáŋkē; sɔ́ɔ̄rī ~ sɔ́ɔ̀rī
green mamba sɔ̀ɔ̀ pínā
greet za̱ɛ́a̱
grewia bicolour kɔ́rɔ́
grewia mollis kɔ́rɔ́
grind nám
grinding stone ta̱pé ˡnámē
groom vɛ́lí ˡɲɔɔ̄kī
ground ɓáá ˡsɛ̄ɛ̄; nɔ́ɔ́ ˡta̱a̱pī
groundnut gbɛ̄ɛ̄rī
grow gèpí
grow (plants) yɔ̄m
growling ga̰a̰a̰rè
grumble fu̱m
guava gɔ́yvà
guest zénē
guide (V) hɛ́
guiding hɛ́kì kpáā
guilty fɔníˡsè
guinea corn sɔ̄m
guinea fowl sa̱a̱pī
gun nɔ́ɔ́ ˡlɛ̄y
haggle láásā
hail lɛ̄y$_1$
hair (of body) kɔ̄m
hair (of head) sūm
hair (of maize) sɔ̄ké ˡɲáá sùɓùkɔ̄
hammer (N) ɲɔ́kī
hammer (V) sa̱
hand nɛ̄y
handle náá ˡgùsī
handle of the axe gûn gùū
hang tà
happiness mē ta̱a̱nī
hard kìgákáká
hare ɓɛ̀pí
harmattan yúmˡsì
harp ta̱dɔ̰a̰tá
harvest (V) yɛ̀
harvest honey from hive zɔ̄ va̰a̰rī
harvest season ɲáá ˡyɛ̀kī
hasten pàkā
hatch mɔ́ɔ́sí
have mārī

have sexual intercourse	ɓɔ̀ɔ̀sā
hawk	fáà wɛ̰nénɛ́
he/she	dɛ̄ ~ dɛ́ ~ dā ~ dá ; dɛ́ ~ dá ; dɛ̀ ~ dà ; wī ~ wí ~ wē ~ wé ; wí ~ wé ; wì ~ wè
head	ûy
head of arrow	nɔ́ɔ́ ˈzɔ̃y; úú ˈzɔ̃y
headache	úú ˈwálè
headman	wè úú ˈtɛ̄ / wɛ̄nì úú ˈtɛ̄
headpad	dáárù
heal	kpa̰a̰
healthy	ɓɔ́ŋ
heap	sùmī
heap up	sùm
hear	lákí
heart	ɲáˈka̰y
heat	$sūū_1$
heat something up	sūsā
heel	dīnè zɛ̄y
he-goat	ɓɔ̀nè yíī
heifer	fáà tìì náákī
help (V)	bàkí
Help!	wúúyɔ̄ɔ̄
hem	zɔ̀ŋtɔ̀ŋ
hen	yéní ˈtɛ̰ɛ̰
herd	bàā
herd of cows	bàà náákī
herd of sheep	bàà da̰a̰
here	hɛ́ɛ̰
hernia (umbilical)	$sɛ̀ɛ̀kī_1$
heron	vɔ̰ŋɛ̄
hibiscus	zɛ́kɛ̄
hiccough	tánágúlè
hide (of animal)	ɓɛ̀ɛ̀sì
hide (V)	ɓúú; kú
hide-and-seek	wàtɛ̀ kúkī
highest point	úú ˈtɛ̃m
highway	ɲáˈdākpáā dóŋ
him/her	$=$ré$_2$; $=$wī ~ $=$wē
him/herself	úūré ; úūwí ~ úūwé
hip	gbɛ̃ŋ
hippopotamus	nǎm ˈméɛ̄
hire	$tɛ̄ɛ̄_1$
his/her	$=$ré$_2$; $=$wí$_1$ ~ $=$wé$_1$
his/hers	ɓɛ̄ré ~ ɓɛ̀rɛ̄ ; ɛ̄ré ~ āré ~ èrɛ̄ ; ɓīwí ~ ɓīwé ; īwí ~ īwé
hiss	sɛ́
hit	ha̰kí; ɲɔ́
hoe (N)	ɗúúkī; sántálá; sépē
hoe (V)	pɔ̄
hold	gɔ̰
hole	pūy; pūy
hollow out	lɔ̀m
honey	vɔ̰ɔ̰rī
honey beer	yɔ̀ vɔ̰ɔ̰rī
honouring	gèpèsɛ̄
hoof	kɔ́sé ˈzàà
hoping	kóókì ɲáˈka̰y
horn	píí
horn (mammal part)	gbɛ̃y / sâgbɛ̃y
horn (musical instrument)	gbɛ̃y / sâgbɛ̃y; tɔ́ólɛ̄
horn of cow	gbáá ˈnáákī
hornbill	kpɪ́ŋzōlɔ̄
horse	gbènɛ̄
Hortative marker	sè ~ sì
host (V)	tɛ̄ɛ̄ zénɛ̄
hot	wa̰ákī
hot pepper	sɛ́ɛ̰ ˈkènà
hot weather	ɓáá ˈtɛ̄ sūū
hotness	dɔ̄
hour glass drum	vím ˈdārīŋgà
house	ɓáá ˈɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́; ɗɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
how	ɓà ɔ̀ɔ́; kpáá; yáˈdà ~ yáˈdàà
how many/much?	kɛ́
how?	kàwé; máwé; nǒy (< F)
hug (V)	kù; kpa̰
human being	wēm / wēnī ~ wēnī

human feminine yɛ̄
human masculine tɛ̄$_1$
hump gbúúrī
hunchback gbúúrī
hunger gɔ̄m
hunt bɛ̀
hunter wè bɛ̀kī / wɛ̄nì bɛ̀kī
hunters leader wè tóŋ ˡbɛ̀kī / wɛ̄nì tóŋ ˡbɛ̀kī
hunting net ɗóò bɛ̀kī
Hurrah! íí
hurry pàkā
hurt lɛ̀ɛ̀ méɛ̄
husband vɛ́lī
husk (corn) pɛ̰́ɛ̰́$_1$
hut with a peaked grass roof bǒm ˡpɛ̄ɛ̄rī
hyena dǔm
I ā ~ á ; mé ~ mí ; mɛ̄ ~ mɛ́ ~ mī ~ mí ; à$_1$
Ideophone (for swimming) pókélé púkúlú púkúlú
Ideophone (hyena howl) ʋ̰ǔù
if ɓɛ́ ~ ɓɛ́ɛ́; ɓɔ́$_3$; =ɛ́^{L}
illness tɛ̄ kʊ̰̄m
imitate gàmlí
Immediate past marker máà
immediately gbàáˡgbą̰
implore héɛ́rí
impotence vɛ́ɛ́ ˡwɛ̄y
in ɓáā
in front of kpáá ˡpòò tɛ̄
in front of pòō$_2$
in honor of úū
in mountain(s) ɓáá ˡgɔ̀rɛ̄
increase káŋsí
incubate kù
indeed kɛ̀nân (<H)
inhabit dɛ̄
inherit ɛ́lí; rɔ́ní (<F)
initiation zą̰́ą̰́kī
injure lɛ́ɛ́mí
in-law ɲáásī
insect vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀sì
insult tɔ̄
intelligence kpùkpɔ́rɔ́
interceding héɛ́sɛ̀
Interjection of surprise káy
intestinal worm fáà hɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ vʊ̰̀rɛ̄
intestines vʊ̰̀rɛ̀
invite zàà
iron sì są̰̄y
iron bell sì są̰̄
iron belt for decoration fáà làrā
iron head of the axe nɔ́ɔ́ ˡgùū
iron ring with balls for shooting gūnà gʊ̂m nɛ̰́y
it =ɓɔ̀; ɓɔ̀; =ɔ̀
itch (V) yàkí$_1$
its =rɛ̂ ; =ɔ̀ ; =$^{L}_{4}$
itself úɔ̀
jackal zɛ́ ˡháákī
jar with legs tâŋ gbɛ̰́y
jaw dáákɛ̀ dʊ̄y
jigger vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̀ gɔ̄y
join zɔ̀mā
journey ɗòòkī
judge (V) wɔ̄ sì
juice méɛ́ ˡdìŋsì
jump zɔ̰̄
just dòō; níˡsè
kapok tree dìŋ kĩm
keep ɓúú; kóó$_2$
keep silence gbāsí
kernel (of corn nɔ́ɔ́ ˡsáˡɓùkɔ̄
kick vą̰̀
kid fáà yíī
kidney góórɛ̀
kill yí
kingfisher nɔ̀ɔ̀ láákī
kiss lɛ́ɛ́sā ɲɛ̰́y
kitchen bǒm ˡnɔ̄kɛ̀

kitten	fáà ɲāŋ
knead	dĭ$_1$
knee	ɲá ˈdū̱ŋ
knife	kū̱m
knock	hū̱m
knock against	ɲɔ́
knot	mākī
knot (in wood)	lūūkī
know	mákí
knowledge	mákè sì
knuckle	gûm nɛ̄y
Kpasye subclan of the Nyanyoona clan	ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈkpáá ˈséè
Kpa'ure subclan of the Nyanyoona clan	ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈkpá úrɛ́
Kugama chief	kpàm ʉ̱̀m
Kugama language	ɲáá ˈʉ̱̀m ~ ɲáá ˈʉ̱̀àā
labour	kɔ̄mé ˈlékī
lack	fɔ̄sí
ladder	sì úkī
ladle	sɔ́ŋtɔ́lɔ́ ˈhɔ̄y
lair	pūy
lake	gèèrē
lamb	fáà dā̱á̱
lamp	tɔ́ɔ́tʃì
land (N)	ɓáá ˈsēē
land (V)	zíŋ
language	ɲáá ˈkɔ̀y; ɲɛ̄y
larynx	hɔ́ ˈkɔ̄y
last dance after burial	sɔ̀ véépī
latrine	tèè ɗúkī
laugh	ɲɔ́mlí
law	ɲáá ˈvɔ̀ɔ̄
laziness	dòō
lead (V)	hɛ́
leading	hɛ́kì kpáā
leaf	wáŋkē
lean	tɛ̀ŋ
learn	kpàmlí
leave	ɲáŋ; yàkí$_2$
left side	ɓélē; nâm ɓēlē
leftovers	gāá ˈsì mɔ̀kē
leg	zēy
leisure	hēē
lemon	méé ˈsáà dìŋsì
lend	ɓɔ́ kpɛ̄y
leopard	wásī
leprosy	dórè
letter	sì lāākī; wàsíkà
lick	léé
lie (N)	wɔ̄kɔ̄
lie (tell lies)	lèèlí
lie down	kó
life	ɲáˈkā̱y
lift (V)	íŋ; púkí
light	tē pūrè
light colour	náá ˈtē púrē
lighten	pūrī té
lighting (fire)	sékì lɛ̄y
lightness (not heaviness)	fɔ̱́ŋlè
lightning	ɲàkì lɛ̄y
like	kpáā$_1$; yɔ̀ɔ̀lí
like (prep)	ɓàà
limp	zīītí
lion	kɔ̱́ɔ̱̄
lip	ú ˈɲɛ̄y
listen	tākí tɔ̄y
live	kɔ̄ɔ̄
live (be alive)	hɛ̱̄ɛ̱̄lí
liver	hɔ̱̀ɔ̱̀ ɲáˈkā̱y
living	fáɓè (< F)
lizard	gɔ̄y
load (N)	sì tókī
load (V)	kɔ̱́sí
locust	tékùrɛ́
log	gbènsì
loincloth (for men)	ɓèèsì
long ago	lúɔ́
long knife	kɔ́ɔ́pē
longness	héɛ́nī
look after	ním
look at	ním

look for ɓɛ̄ɛ̄
loosen yɛ̀ɛ̀tí
lose pí; yém
louse tą̱ą́ ˈtī̱
love (V) yɔ̀ɔlí
lover fáà dūmlɛ̄; fáà ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī$_1$
lower náá ˈdàà séɛ̀
lower grinding stone ú ˈnām
Luikpiewa (proper name) Lúkpêwà
Luilaaromoke (proper name) Lúylāārómɔ́kɛ̀
Luipoome (proper name) Lúypòòmé
lump (clay) tǫ̱y
lung fúffùkɛ̄
machete kāā
mad person wè ɲáá ˈgàŋ / wɛ̄nì ɲáá ˈgàŋ
maggot fáà hǫ̱ǫ̱
mahogany tree dìŋ ɲéɛ̀pɛ̄
maize sáˈɓùkɔ̄ ~ súˈɓùkɔ̄
maize nɔ́ɔ ˈsáˈɓùkɔ̄
Makakaa (nickname) màkákáà ~ màákáà
malaria úú ˈzɔ̄m
malaria (severe) nɔ̀ɔ úú ˈzɔ̄m
man (male) wē vɛ́ɛ̄rī / wɛ̄nī vɛ́ɛ̄rī
mango máŋˈgɔ̀rɔ̀ (<?)
manioc lùm$_1$
many màrī; yîì ~ yî ~ yíí
mare yɛ́ní ˈgbɛ̀nɛ̄
mark out są́ą́
market lūūmɔ̀ ~ lūmɔ̀
marriage (state of wedlock) nɔ́kɛ̀sɛ̄
marry váá
marsh fɛ̱ɛ̀fɛ̀ntìtɛ̄
mask kúkī
master tɔ́ŋ ˈdɛ́ɛ́
mat ɲɔ̄ŋ
Mayo-Belwa Máá Bálwà
me =mɛ́ ~ =mí; =ú ~ =ó; =$^{L}{}_{3}$
mead yɔ̀ vǫ̱ǫ́rī
meaning kpáá ˈɓɛ̀kī
meat wɛ̄y
mediating héɛ́sɛ̀
medicine séɛ̄pí ~ séɛ̀pī
medicine man wè pāā / wɛ̄nì pāā
Meebaanoke (proper name) Méɛ̀ɓááˈnɔ́kɛ̄
meet ɓákā
meet together sùm
melt yɔ̀ɔsí
member of the council of the chief wè zàà kpə̄m / wɛ̄nì zàà kpə̄m
mend gą̱ą̱sí
menstrual period kpą̱kí ˈséɛ̄
messenger wè zą̱ą̱kī
metal pot tâŋ hǫ̱ǫ̱ sɛ̱y
middle ɲáˈką̱ą̱ tɛ̄
midwife wē sóó ˈtɛ̄ɛ̄kí ˈlékī / wɛ̄nī sóó ˈtɛ̄ɛ̄kí ˈlékī
migrate ká$_4$
milk ɲéɛ̄ ~ yɛ́ɛ̱̄
milk (V) gām ɲéɛ̄
millet (rainy season) ɲɔ̄ŋ
millipede ɲàtūmlɛ̄
mine ɓām ; ām
miscarriage kīkí ˈpúū
mix (V) kǫ̱; ɲàlā
molar tooth dúū dɔ́ŋ
moment yáákɛ̄ (<F)
Monday lú ˈkpá gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
money kpɛ́y; yɛ́ɛ́kī ~ yɛ́kī
monitor lizard ɓūūkī
monkey tāā
month séɛ̄; síī
moon séɛ̄ ~ síī
moonlight pūrɛ̀ séɛ̄
morning gàáˈtɛ́
mortar hí̱ínɛ̄
mosquito zɔ̄ŋ
moth nīnîŋ
mother yɛ̱ŋ
mother-in-law kǫ̱nɛ̄

mother's brother (uncle) (younger) fáà tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
mother's father tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
mother's mother yɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
mother's side fáà yɛ̂ŋ
mother's sister yɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
mother's sister (aunt) nɔ̀ɔ́ yéŋ ˈyɛ̂ŋ
mould (pottery) bɔ̀ɔ̀kī
mountain gɔ̀rɛ̄
mourn yūū vɛ́ɛ́pī
mouse tɛ̄ré
mouth ɲɛ̂y
move (V) dɔ̀ò; wɔ̀kā
move away ká$_4$
movement dɔ̀ɔ̀kī
much màrī
mud bɔ̀ɔ̀kī
mud block ʉ̱ɛ̄ɛ̄kí ˈnɔ́ ˈtɔ̰̂y
mud wasp kpàɗiŋ
mud tɔ̰̂y
mudfish dìì ɲáˈɲɛ́kɛ̄
Musa (male proper name) Múúsá
muscle wá ˈbìmɛ́ɛ̄
mushroom tèŋ vàtìgāŋ
mushy food ɓūú
music mùzíkà
my =mé ~ =mí ; =ráā ~ =râ
myself úūmí ~ úūmɛ́
Naabena (female name) Nàáˈbɛ̀nā
Naageele (female name) Nàáˈgɛɛlɛɛlɛɛ
Naawana (female name) Nàáˈʉ̱ànà
nail kúúsà (<H?)
name nîŋ
namesake wè nîŋ
naming ceremony kīkídíyààpɛ̄
naming ceremony (for baby) sɔ̰̄mé ˈnîŋ
nanny goat yɛ́ní ˈyíī
nape of neck gɔ̀tɛ̀ kɔ̰̂y
narrowness mórórɔ́; síríríˊ (<H)
nasal mucus vɔ̰̀ɔ̰̄
navel sékī
near ɲáā
nearby sɔ̰́nɛ̄
nearby kà̰à̰rī
neck kɔ̰̂y
neck decoration nɔ́sɔ̀ kɔ̰̂y
necklace sì kɔ̰̂y
need yɔ̀ɔ̀lí
needle zììmā
Negation marker ā̰; ɲā$_1$; náá (<F)
Negative polar question marker á̰à̰
negotiate a price láásā
neighbor wè ɲáá ˈdɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ / wɛ̄nì ɲáá ˈdɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
neighbourhood ɲáá ˈdɛ́ɛ́kɛ́
nephew wèrā / wɛ̄nìrā
nest dɛ́ɛ́ ˈnɔ̄ɔ̄
never sámsám
new hḭ́ḭ̄
new moon séē pɔ̄y
newborn váā hḭ́ḭ̄
night dààzéē
nine (9) ɔ́ˈgìnááˈníˈhɛ́ɛ̰̀ ~ ɔ́ˈgìnááˈnɛ́ˈhɛ́ɛ̰̀
nine hundred (900) ɓùkɔ̄ níˈhɛ́ɛ̰̀ à sìvḭ́ḭ̄pī nígìná; mī mī níīrī kì níˈgìná
nineteen (19) kɔ́p tí ɔ́ˈgìnááˈníˈhɛ́ɛ̰̀
ninety (90) mī níˈhɛ́ɛ̰̀ kì kɔ́p
no ɔ́ʔɔ̀
no longer (when used with negation) dòō
noise ɓókī
Nominalization marker =è$_2$; =ɛ̄; =ī; =kī; =sí
noon ɲáá ˈkà̰à̰ tè lṵ̄y
north kpáá ˈnáá ˈsɛ́è
nose ɲáˈɦɔ̰̂y
not yet (phasal polarity particle used with negation) kpà̰ā̰

notice mákí
novelty pɔ̄y
now hɛ́ɛ̱̄; zɔ́ntà (< F?)
nudity nâŋ$_2$
nurse (V) ɡ̱ɡ̱sí
Nyaamooku subclan of the Nyawana clan ɲá ˈw̱ànà ɲáá mɔ̄ɔ̄kū
Nyabotoy subclan of the Nyapure clan ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄ ɲá ˈbɔ́tɔ̱y
Nyadaare clan ɲá ˈdààrɛ̄
Nyadigiza subclan of the Nyagonga clan ɲá ˈgɔ̱ŋá ˈɲá dīgīzà
Nyagere subclan of the Nyatiyere clan ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ́ ˈɲáá gērɛ̄
Nyagonga clan ɲá ˈgɔ̱ŋá
Nyagosulu subclan of the Nyatiyere clan ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ́ ˈɲá ˈgósùlū
Nyakasye subclan of the Nyatiyere clan ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ́ ˈɲá ˈká ˈsɛ́ɛ̀ ~ ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ́ ˈɲá ˈká sɛ́ɛ̀
Nyakpani subclan of the Nyagonga clan ɲá ˈgɔ̱ŋá ˈɲá kpànī
Nyamaleke subclan of the Nyatiyere clan ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ́ ˈɲá màlɛ̄kɛ̄
Nyawana clan ɲá ˈw̱ànà
Nyanyoona clan ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀nā
Nyapure clan ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄
Nyatikpaari subclan of the Nyatiyere clan ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ́ ˈɲá tì kpà̱à̱rī
Nyatiyere clan ɲá ˈtíyɛ́rɛ̄
Nyoone subclan of the Nyanyoona clan ɲá ˈɲɔ̀ɔ̀ná ˈɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄
Nyoone subclan of the Nyapure clan ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄ ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄
oath téémè sì
obey kpā̱
obligation sɔ̱̄m
obstruct vɔ̱̀ɔ̱̀lā
obstruction vɔ́ɔ́lā
obtain hɔ́$_2$
ocean túká
odour pɪ́ŋrè
offer (V) lāā
often màrī; mīlā$_1$
Oh! (expressing sadness) hʊ́ʊ̱̀; wɔ́ɔ̀
oil nɔ̄y
oil palm dìŋ nɔ̄y
OK tɔ̂ ~ tɔ̀
okra gɔ̄mlɔ̄
old ɗɔ́ŋ
old person (female) yɛ̄ ɓáákā
old person (male) tɛ̄ ɓáákā
oldness ɓáánī
omen tīmí ˈtɔ̱̄y
on (horizontally) úū
once zɛ̄ ɓíní
one (1) ɓíní
one by one ɓíní ɓíní
one hundred (100) mī níˈgìná
one thousand (1000) ɓùkɔ̄ níˈgìná; mī mī níīrī kì kɔ́p
onion dīŋāārè
only yɛ́nī
onto (vertically) méɛ̄$_1$
Oops! (expressing surprise and embarrassment) ʊ́ʔʊ̱̀ hʊ̀ʊ̱̀
open púkí
open place hīrè tɛ̄
open place for defecation tɔ̆m ˈɗɛ́kɛ́
opinion ɲɛ̱̄y
Optative marker ká$_1$
or kɔ́ ~ kɔ́ɔ́
order (someone to do something) sɔ̱̄m
Ordinal marker nā$_2$
Orion dɔ̱̀ɔ̱̀rì gàáˈtɛ́
orphan váà vɛ́ɛ́pī / sīzáà vyépī
orphans sīzáà vɛ́ɛ́pī
ostrich sùnū

other ones	gāá
our	=tú ~ =tɔ́
ours	ɓītɔ́ ~ ɓītú ; ītɔ́ ~ ītú
ourselves	úú^{L}tɔ́ ~ úú^{L}tú
outside	dàlā
owl	gùsúlúūrū
owner	wèréɛ̀ / wēnìréɛ̀
ox	náákī
Ozuruwa (male/female name)	Ɔ̀zùrūwà
pack (V)	sa̱m
pain	ka̱m$_2$
paint	péntì
palate	tùkì lɛ̄y
palm (of hand)	ɓá^{L}dìnɛ̄y
palm branch	náá ^{L}ka̱y
palm needle	kɔ́ɔ́pɛ̄ ka̱y
palm rat	tāɓɔ́rtɔ́
palm wine	yɔ̀ dìŋsì
palpitate (of heart)	lùùtí
pant	hɛ̱ɛ̱lí náá ^{L}tím
pap	ɓūú
papaya	ɓúnī
parrot	nɔ̀ɔ̀ dɔ̄ŋī
partridge	péègùū
pass by	hālí
path	ɲá^{L}dàkpáā
pawpaw	ɓúnī
pay	dā
payment	dākī
peace	láásā
peel	pɛ́ɛ́$_1$
pelican	súkūlúù
penalty	ɲáá ^{L}ka̱msɛ̀
penis	wɛ̄y
people	hi̱kārī; wēnī ~ wɛ̄nī
pepper (green	sɛ́ɛ́ ^{L}kɛ̀nà
perch	ɗúŋ
Perfective marker	=rí; =tí
permit	yàkí$_2$
person	wēm / wɛ̄nī
perspire	tɛ̄ sūū
persuade	ta̱a̱
pestle	sóò ta̱a̱kī
phlegm	va̱a̱
pick up	nā$_1$
piece	fáà ~ fâ / sáà ~ sâ
pierce	ɗá
pig	géré ^{L}ɗɛ́ɛ́ké
piglet	fáà gɛ́ré ^{L}ɗɛ́ɛ́ké
pile up	sùm
pills	sɛ́ɛ̄pí ~ sɛ́ɛ̀pī
pimple	sēsa̱a̱
pineapple	àbàrvā (<H)
pit	gùsòlútɛ̄; ta̱a̱pī ~ táāpī
pity	tūūsè fɔ̄ɔ̄rī
place (N)	tɛ̄$_2$
place (V)	há
place for cooking food	bātâŋ kūūrī
place from the armpit to the hip	ka̱y
place of worship	ɲáá ^{L}bɔ̌m ^{L}tɛ̀ɛ̀ hɛ́ɛ́rɛ̀
place of worship of God	tɛ̀ɛ̀ hɛ́ɛ́rɛ̀ lūy
place with water	ɲáá ^{L}méɛ̄
plait	dìm
plank	plâŋg
plant (V)	pɔ̄; yɔ̄m
plant called gadali in Hausa	yémá
plantain	àyàbà (<H)
play (V)	wàtí; wàtílí
player on toole	wè zɛ́ɛ́kì tɔ́ɔ́lɛ̄
plead	hɛ́ɛ́rí
please (V)	ɗáá; ta̱m ~ ta̱m
Pleiades	sɔ́tɔ́tɔ́
pluck (feathers)	fúrī
plug	gàà gùsī; gàà ɲáá ^{L}gùsī
plunder (a town)	ɔ́ɔ́
Pluractional marker	=lí ~ =lī; =mlí ~ =mlī; =rī$_1$; =Vlí ~ =Vlī
plus	kì; tí

pocket ɓùkɔ̄
point kpáā$_2$; tē$_2$
poison zɔ̄m; zɔ̄m
Polar question marker yā
polish nɔ́m
polygamy dɛ́ɛ́ ˡmàrē
poor man wè fɔ̄ɔ̄rī / wɛ̄nì fɔ̄ɔ̄rī
poorly ɓéékìsí
porcupine ɓī̲gbárà
position with reference to a central line kpáā$_2$
possess mārī
Possessive marker =rī$_2$
post for rounding the house tíī
pot tâŋ
pot for water lèèrē
potash tą̲ą̄
potato dànkálī bàtúúrē (<H)
potter wè māākī / wɛ̄nì māākī
potter's kiln tèè hɔ̲ɔ̲kí ˡsèmā
pound (V) hū̲m
pounding pot híī̲nē
pounding stick sóò tɔ̲ɔ̲kī
pour hɔ̄; ísí
pour libation hɔ̄
poverty fɔ̄ɔ̄rī
power kálē
powerful kálē
praise (N) tókī ~ tɔ́kī
praise (V) hɔ́$_1$
pray héérí lū̱y
praying mantis dɔ̀kɛ́ ˡzēm
Predicate-final marker =wā
pregnancy púū
prepare (food) nɔ̄kí
Presentative Common marker à$_2$
Presentative marker =è$_1$; =èré
Presentative Plural Proprial marker īì ~ ēè
Presentative Singular Proprial marker á$_1$
press (with foot) ná$_1$
pretend mą̄ŋkā
prevent gbá
price yɛ́ɛ́kī ~ yɛ́kī
prisoner pùsínà (<H)
problem fɔ̄sè
Progressive marker tì ~ tɛ̀
prohibit ɓą̄ŋ
promise àlkáwàrì (<H)
pronounce gɔ̲́
prophecy sì kɛ̀mē
prophesize kɛ̀m
prophesy kɛ̀mɛ̀ sì
prostitute wē sóó ˡɲáá ˡɓáá / wɛ̄nī sóó ˡɲáá ˡɓáá
protect gbá
protect someone by charm mɔ̀kísí wēm yɛ́ɛ́mā
protuberance tôŋ térē
proverb ɲáá ˡsíŋ
Proximal marker =ré$_1$
puff adder ɲɔ̂m pàŋā
pull pō; púkí
pull out pō; pōrī
pullet ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ tɛ̲̀ɛ̲̄
punch hū̲m
punish kɔ̲̄msí; kpēlí
punishment ɲáá ˡkɔ̲̄msɛ̀
pup fáà zɛ̄y
pupil (of eye) ɓáá ˡnɔ̄y
Purugang subclan of the Nyawana clan ɲá ˡw̲ànà púrú ˡgāŋ
Puruzolu subclan of the Nyawana clan ɲá ˡw̲ànà púrú ˡzólū
push tó$_2$
put há; kú; yɔ́sí
put inside zą̲́ą̲́
put together zɔ̀mā
putting inside of the grave súsē

python	rā̰m
quarrel	sɛ́ɛ́kī
quench	lím
Question marker	kɔ́ ~ kɔ́ɔ́; =rą́
quick	kpɛ̀ɛ̀rī
quickly	pēlāpēlā
quiver	pɔ́ɔ́rē
raffia palm	kɔ̨y lɛ́ɛ́kī
rafter	vɛ́ ˈbɔ̌m
rag	zènsì
rain (N)	léɛ̄
rain (V)	ná$_2$
rainbow	sì sàkì léɛ̄
rainy season	léɛ̄
Rakiya (female name)	Rákìyā
ram	dɔ̀m dą̄ą́
rat	fà dɔ̀nɛ̄; tɛ̄ɛ̄pī
rattle	gūnā; tɔ́ɔ́lɛ̄
razor	réɛ́zà
reach	zą́
read	záŋkí
really	tɛ̀ ɔ̀ té
recall	sɔ́ŋrī
receive	tɛ̄ɛ̄$_1$
recently	lɛ́$_1$
Reciprocal marker	=ā; =sā
recover	kálí
red pepper	sɛ́ɛ̨́ ˈkɛ̀nà
redness	ɲɔ́ɔ́nɛ̄
reed	táŋkɛ̄
refuse	hɛ́ɛ̨̄
regerminate	pó$_1$
regerminating	pókī
region	kpáā$_2$
reject	hɛ̨̄ɛ̨̄
relative (by blood	fáà tɔ̄ŋ; fáà yɛ̄ŋ
relative by marriage	ɲáásī
remaining	gāá
remember	sɔ́ŋrī
remembering	sɔ́mī
remove	kīrī; nā$_1$
repaire	gą̀ą̀sí
repeat	káŋsí
repel	tó$_2$
reputation	ɲɛ̄y
request	ɓíkī
requesting	ɓíkī
resemble	kīīsā
residence	tɛ̀ɛ̀ dɛ̄kī
resolve	láásā
respecting	gɛ̀pɛ̀sɛ̄
rest (V)	zìkā
Resultative marker	=ˡ$_1$
resume	á pòò tɛ̄
return	mī
rib	kúˈkāŋ ~ kúˈką̄y
rice	úú ˈnɔ́ɔ́ ˈtóō
rich person	wè zą́ą́ ˈyɛ̨̄y / wēnì zą́ą́ ˈyɛ̨̄y
richness	zą́ą́ ˈyɛ̨̄y
right	ɓà ɔ̀
right side	mɔ̀kɛ̄; nâm mɔ̀kɛ̄
ring	gūnā
ring (bell)	ɲɔ̄kì gbɔ̄lɔ̄ŋ
ring (finger)	sì vísí ˈnɛ̄y; zɔ́ɔ́bɛ̀ (<H)
ringworm	fáà hɔ̨̄ɔ̨̄
river	mɔ̄ɔ̄kū
river bank	ɲáá ˈmɔ̄ɔ̄kū
riverbed (dry)	tùkì méɛ̄
road	ɲáˈdàkpáā
road to the field	ɲáˈdākpáá ˈháákī
road to the river	ɲáˈdākpáá ˈɲáá ˈméɛ̄
roast	hɔ̨̄ɔ̨̄$_2$
robe	gɔ̀dɔ̄ (<F?)
rock (large)	pínɛ̄
roll	vì̱i̱rī
roof	kúmlɛ̄tɛ̄; ūy
room; hut	bɔ̌m
rooster	bɔ̀n tɛ̨̄ɛ̨̄
root	níŋˈsì
rope	ɗóò

rope for firewoods	sa̱a̱
rough	gàtìgātī
round	gūmā tɛ̄
rub	gìrī
rubber	dãŋ
rubbing	pùùkī
rubbish	gbīré
ruling over	lɔ́ɔ́kì kpə̀m
ruminate	táá
run	ó
running	ókī
rural area	ɓáá ˈyáā
rustling (leaves)	ɓɔ́lè wáŋkɛ̄
sacrifice (V)	w̱ɛ̄ɛ̄
sadness	ɓɛ̄ fúúsè
saliva	hɛ̄m$_1$
salt	ta̱a̱ ˈkpa̱a̱
sand	sì yɛ̄lɛ̄
sandal	tékē
sap	fùkɛ́
satisfy	ɗáá
Saturday	lúú ˈásàwè
savanna	ɓáá ˈdìŋsì
save	ɓúú; kóó$_2$
saw	kū̱m
saw (wood)	w̱ɛ̄ɛ̄
say	tɔ̀ɔ̀ ~ tɔ̀
say goodbye	tùlā ɲɛ̄y
scatter	w̱àsā
scorpion	nãŋ
scrape	gbè
scratch	kpɔ̀
sea	túká
second	nā níīrī ~ nā níʔīrī
second hunting (in Febuary)	bèkì úú ˈkɔ́pɛ̄
see	kā
seed	nɔ́ɔ́ ˈyɔ̄m; nɔ̄y
seeds of baobab tree	nɔ́ɔ́ ˈgìrɛ̄
self	ū̱y
selfishness	yɔ̀lè ū̱y
sell	tém
semen	méésì
Sinaalui (proper name)	Sīnááˈlū̱y
send	sɔ̱m
senile person	wè ɓáá / wɛ̄nì ɓáá
separate	pɛ̱sā
serving	yɔ́lèsɛ̄
set	há
set a trap	tā
settle (dispute)	láásā
seven (7)	níˈgìtíníīrī ~ níˈgìtíníʔīrī ~ néˈgìtíníīrī ~ néˈgìtíníʔīrī
seven hundred (700)	ɓùkɔ̄ níˈsa̱a̱ à sìvī̱pī nígìná; mī mī kɔ́p tí níˈgìná
seventeen (17)	kɔ́p tí níˈgìtíníīrī
seventy (70)	mī níˈsa̱a̱ kì kɔ́p
sever	zɔ̱sā
sew	yī
shadow	nɔ́ɔ́ˈsa̱a̱
shake	yèsí
shallowness	hɛ́ntélɛ́
shame	mɛ̄ púūpī
sharpen	w̱îmlí
sharpness	séŋkélɛ́
shave	ka̱
shea tree	nɔ̄rī
sheep	da̱a̱
she-goat	yéní ˈyíī
shell (V)	pɛ́ɛ́$_1$
shell of groundnut	kɔ̱ɔ̱ gbɛ̄ɛ̄rī
shelter	nɔ́ɔ́ˈsa̱a̱
shield	kɛ́rè
shin (from knee to feet)	gbīré ˈzɛ̄y
shin (front of leg)	ɓɔ́rɔ́ ˈzɛ̄y
shine	púrí$_2$; pūrī tɛ́
shirt	sì zūkī
shiver	ní
shoe	tékē

shoot pó$_2$; só$_1$; tá
shooting (gun) pókī
shooting star dɔ̰ɔ̰rì zɔ̰kī
shorten ɓììsí
shortness gbíŋtélè
shoulder kpélè nɛ̃y
shoulder blade kílè nɛ̃y
shout yúmlí
shovel dègígē
show kèm
show teeth zɛ̰ɛ̰sí ɗũy
shrew nɔ̀ɔpī
shrivelled ɲépìkē
sickle zǎm
side kā̰y; kpáā$_2$
side (of something) kà̰à̰rī
side of body kà̰à̰rì ɓɛ̃y
silk sɔ̄ké ˈɲáá sùɓùkɔ̄
silk-cotton tree dìŋ kĩm
since túnˈdè
sing síŋ
singe sɔ̄rɔ̀ lɛ̃y
singing síŋsíŋ
sink ɗúŋsí
sister nɔ̀ɔ yɛ̃ŋ
sister (younger) fáà nɔ̀ɔ yɛ̃ŋ
sit kɔ̄ɔ̄
sit (on eggs) kù
six (6) níˈgìtááɓíní ~ néˈgìtááɓíní
six hundred (600) ɓùkɔ̄ níˈsą́ą̄; mī mī ɓíní ˈkì kɔ́p
sixteen (16) kɔ́p tí níˈgìtááˈɓíní
sixty (60) mī níˈsą́ą̄
skeleton kʊ́m ˈwēm
skin (N) ɓèèsì
skin (V) ɓé
skin of fruit ɓèè nɔ́ ˈdìŋsì
skull kʊ́m ˈũy
sky tém ˈkùsū
slack yèètí
slander ɓɛ̄kí ˈkérɛ̄; kérɛ̄
slap ɓā̰ŋ
slaughter (V) w̰ɛ̄ɛ̄
slave sǎm
sleep (V) lóó
sleepwalk nɔ̄sā$_1$
sleepy lɔ́ɔ́lɔ̰ɔ̰
slice sérī
slither (snake) ɗé
slowly lèlèèm
slowly lèmlèm
small cooking pot fáà tâŋ hɔ̰ɔ̰
small fish nɔ́ɔ́ ˈɗīī
small of back gɛ̃y
small one fáà ~ fâ
small ones sáà ~ sâ
small snake fáà sɔ̄ɔ̄kī
small(est) drum fáà vîm
smallness pɛ̰p
smartness tɛ́ŋtɛ́ŋ
smash ná$_1$
smell (N) pɪ́ŋrè
smell (V) pɪ́ŋ
smile (V) ɓɔ̀ɔ ɲɔ́mlè
smoke sɔ̄rɔ̄
smoke (fish) ùrí
smooth pɛ̄ɛ́l
smoothen kpɔ̀
snail kɔ̰pɛ́
snake fâ gīnɛ̄; sɔ̄ɔ̄kī
sneeze (V) w̰īní
snore gɔ̰kí
snot vɔ̰ɔ̰
so dɛ̂n ~ ɗī$_2$ (< F)
soar úkí ˈnáá ˈtɛ̃m
soften ɓɔ̀ɔtí
softness ɓɔ́ɔ̀ɓɔ̄k ~ ɓɔ́ɔ̀ɓɔ̄p
soil ɗɔ́ɔ́kɛ̄
soldier wè nɔ́ɔ́ ˈlɛ̃y / wɛ̄nì nɔ́ɔ́ ˈlɛ̃y
soldier ant màŋ kɔ̰y

sole	ɓa̱dì zɛ̄y
some	sáà ~ sâ; ú ~ ú̱ú̱
someone	tɛ̄$_2$
someone from the mother's side	tɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
someone from the mother's side	yɛ̄ ɓáámɛ̄
son	dūmlɛ̄; váā
song	sǐŋ
son-in-law	dūmlɛ̀ tárī ~ dūmlɛ́ ˡtárī
soon	sɔ̱nɛ̄
sorcerer	wè mɔ̀kì tɛ̄ / wɛ̄nì mòkì tɛ̄; wē sóó ˡmɔ̀kì tɛ̄ / wɛ̄nī sóó ˡmòkì tɛ̄; wē véé ˡmɔ̀kì tɛ̄
sore	nɔ́ɔ́pɛ̄
sorghum (dry season)	sɔ̄m
sorrow	fɔ̄sɛ̀
Sorry	làmá
soul	sa̱a̱
sound (N)	ɓókī
sound (V)	gɔ̱
soup	háŋkɛ̄
soup made of beans	hâŋ wă̄m
soup made of leaves of beans	hâŋ gìrɛ̄
south	kpá ˡná ˡūrɛ̄
sow	yɔ̄m
space	kpáā$_2$
spade	dɛ̀gígɛ̄
spank (child)	kūūsí
spark	kpɛ́ɛ̀kí ˡlɛ̄y
speak	sa̱
speech	sa̱a̱lɛ̄
speed	ókī
spending long time	fáɓɛ̀
spider	yàŋrē
spider's web	ɗúú ˡyàŋrē
spill (liquid)	ɗɛ̀ɛ̀kí
spine	kŭm ˡtùgu̱y
spirit	sa̱a̱
spirit (of dead person) (invisible)	ɲā véérī
spirogyra	sɔ́ɔ̄rī ~ sɔ́ɔrī
spit	tām
spitting cobra	tūūkī
splint	sì mākí ˡzàà tɛ̄
split	ɓúsā
spoil	ɓéélā
spoil (food)	ha̱m
spoiled	ɓéélàsí
spoiled	lɔ̄
spread	tā; wa̱à; wa̱sā
spread out (maize)	ɓɛ̀ní
sprout	ɓúlí
spy	dúkí
squat	ɗúŋ; tā; ta̱
squeak (wheel)	yɛ̀sí
squeeze	gām; kɔ̱
squirrel	pɔ̱pi̱
stab	ɗá
stalk (N)	gba̱a̱
stalk (V)	màmlí
stallion	tì gbɛ̀nɛ̄
stamp	ná$_1$
stand	tòò ~ tɔ̀ɔ̀
stand (ability to stand)	tóókí ~ tɔ́ɔ́kí
stand up	íŋ
star	dɔ̱ɔ̱rī
start (V)	dɔ́kí; nā$_1$
startle	séékī
stay	kɔ̄ɔ̄
steal	ɓɔ̀ɔ̀
steer	fáà yɛ́ní ˡnáákī
steering	pùùrɛ̄
step	púkɛ̄
stick	gààsì
stick of pipe	gàà sí ˡtààpɔ̄
still	dòō; má ~ máá (<H)
sting	tá

stinger vìn tákī
stir dɔ̀kā
stomach ɓɛ̄y
stomachache ɓɛ́ɛ̄ kɔ̰̄mɛ̄
stone tɑ́ɑ̰̄pī ~ táāpī
stone (small) tɑ́ɑ̰̄pī ~ táāpī
stool tēŋ
stop tòò ~ tɔ̀ɔ̀; tóókí ~ tɔ́ɔ́kí; yàkí$_2$
store (up) kóó$_2$
stork (marabou) nɔ̀ɔ̀ lɛ́ɛ̄
storm (with rain) yàà lɛ́ɛ̄
storm (with strong wind) yàà lɔ́ɔ́rī
story sì ɲáá ˡmɔ̄ɔ̄kū
straddle ú
strain (food) núú
strap dɑ̀ŋī
straw pɛ̄ɛ̄rī
stream tɛ̀ɛ̀ méɛ̄
stream méɛ́ ˡɓáá ˡmɔ̄ɔ̄kū
strength kálɛ̄
stretch tēmsí
strike ɲɔ́
string ɗóò
stripping off (bark) sɛ̀ɛ̀kī$_2$
stumbling block vɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄lā
stump gbīré ˡdìŋsì
stupid person fáà sɔ̄ɔ̄kī
stutter bɔmtí
substract ɓììsí
succeed ɲáŋā
sucking nííkī
suckle (baby) ɑ́ɑ̰́sí
sugar cane gbɑ̰̀ɑ̰̀ tɑ́ɑ̰́kī
suit ɗáá
summit úú ˡtɛ̄m
sun lū̄y
Sunday lúú ˡláádì
sunrise sɑ́ɑ̰́ ˡtèrè lū̄y
sunset nììsā lū̄y
sunshine pūrè lū̄y

supreme ɗɔ̄ŋ
surprise sɛ́kī
surround gṵ̄̄m
swallow (V) ɲɛ̄
swarm vɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄rī kákī
swear téémɛ̀ sì
sweat tɛ̄ sūū
sweep hàà
sweet vɪ̰̄ŋvɪ́ŋ
sweetness tɑ̰̄ɑ́nī ~ tɑ̰̀ɑ̰̄nī
sweet-potato dànkálī (< H)
swell mɔ́
swim ɓùm; yíní
swing wéélí
sword sɑ́pɛ̄
Taasi subclan of the Nyawana clan ɲá ˡw̰ànà tāāsī
tail gìlɛ́ ˡwɛ̄y; wɛ̄y
take tɛ̄ɛ̄$_1$
take away ɓììsí
take in arms nā$_1$
take leave of tùlā ɲɛ̄y
take off pí
take offense ɗīm
take out ísí
take revenge lɔ́m ū̄y
tale sì ɲáá ˡmɔ̄ɔ̄kū
talking drum dìdàŋ; vím ˡdārīŋgà; vím ˡsɑ̰̀kī
tallness héɛ́nī
tamarind tree dìŋ zɛ̄m
tame ɗɔ̄ɔ̄$_2$
tarantula kònáà zɛ̄m
taro māsì kɔ̀pɛ̄
taste (N) lákɛ̄
taste (V) lákí
tax gɛ̰́kɛ̄
teach kpàmlísí
teak tree dìŋ kīm
tear (many times) tɑ́rī
tear (once) tɑ́ɑ́$_1$

tear (V) zo̱sā
tears nɔ́ɔ́ ˈhɛ́rɛ̀
tease yéŋkí
tell kɛ̀m
ten (10) kɔ́p
tendon nĩŋ
tendril léɛ́kī
tent kúmlētɛ̄
termite to̱y
termite hill gɔ̀m to̱y
testicle pókī
tether (sheep, goats) dɔ̄ɔ̄$_1$
thank ɓɔ̀ŋsí
the Bacama ɲá ˈdúúnè / wè dúúnè
the Chamba ɲá ˈzàndōōlɛ̄ / wɛ́ ˈzàndōōlɛ̄
the Fulani ɲá ˈpésàlū / wé ˈpésàlū
the Gengle ɲá ˈgɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ / wɛ̀ gɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄
the Hausa háwsá
the Jenjo ɲá ˈzànzō̱ / wé ˈzànzō̱
the Kona ko̱nā / wē ko̱nā
the Kugama wō̱m ~ wō̱à / wè wō̱m
the Longuda ɲá ˈzàntálī / wé ˈzàntálī
the Mumuye (from Yoro) ɲá ˈlérī / wè lérī ~ wé ˈlérī
the Mumuye (from Zing) ɲá ˈzīnà / wé ˈzīnà
the one/s of ɓī / ī
the Satte ɲá ˈsɔ̀rɔ̀ / wéé ˈsɔ̀rɔ̀
the Vere ɲá ˈmùm / wé ˈmùm
the way ɓà ɔ̀ɔ́; yáˈdà ~ yáˈdàà
the Yendang ɲá ˈgúúrá ~ ɲá ˈgóórá / wé ˈgúúrá
their (non-human) =ɔ̀ ; =rê ; =$^{\text{L}}_{4}$
their (human) =rī ~ =rē
theirs ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī$_2$; ìrī ~ èrī ~ ɛ̄rí
them (human) =rī ~ =rē
them (non-human) =ɔ̀
themselves (human) úúˈrī
themselves (non-human) úɔ̀
then dɛ́è ~ dĩì
then sé ~ séɛ́ ~ séy (<H)
then (cc) dɛ̂n (<F)
there nɛ̀ ~ nì
they (human) dĩ ~ dĭ ; dĭ ; dì
they (non-human) ɔ̀
they (impersonal) ī ~ í; í ; ì
thickness kpìkpítírí
thief ɓɔ̀ɔ̄
thigh ɓŭm
thing sì ~ sè
think kā; sɔ́ŋ; sɔ̂ŋlí
third nā níˈsā̱ā̱
third hunting (in March) bɛ̀kì míí ˈsàpɛ́
thirst níínɛ̄
thirteen (13) kɔ́p tí níˈsā̱ā̱
thirty (30) mī ɓíní ˈkì kɔ́p
thorn kɔ́ɔ́pɛ̄
thorn-tree dìŋ kɔ́ɔ́pɛ̄
thread nùkɔ̄
threaten pɪ̄ɪ̄
three (3) níˈsā̱ā̱ ~ néˈsā̱ā̱
three hundred (300) ɓùkɔ̄ ɓíní à sìvɪ̄ɪ̄pī nígìná; mī kɔ́p tí níˈgìná
thresh yí
threshing-floor tɛ̀è yíkì sì
throat pùù ko̱y
throbbing (with pain) làmɛ̄
through kpáā$_1$
throw kàà; só$_1$
throw away kàà
throw in air (grain) yɛ́
thumb vísí ˈnáā dɔ́ŋ
thunder pókì léɛ̄
Thursday lú ˈkpá tíyérɛ̄
tickle lɛ̀ètí
tie (N) mākī
tie (V) mā
tighten bō̱ō̱sā

time	lɔ́ɔ́kɔ̀tī; tɛ̄$_2$
tiny	pɛ̰́pɛ̰́
toad	vɔ̀ɔ̄
tobacco	tààpɔ̄
tobacco pipe	sí ˈtààpɔ̄
today	sàáˈrɛ́
toe	vísí ˈzēy
together	tē ɓíní
toilet	tɛ̀ɛ̀ ɗúkī
tomato	túmáátìr (< H, E?)
tomb	úú ˈgɔ̄m ~ ú ˈgɔ̄m
tomorrow	ɗáàzúrē
tongue	ɲɛ́pē
tooth	dūy
tooth stick	sì kpɔ̀kì dūy
toothbrush	sì kpɔ̀kì dūy
top	úú ˈtē
torch	tɔ́ɔ́tʃì
tortoise (land)	dɛ̀ɛ̀rū
touch (V)	tą̰
towards	kpáā$_1$; méɛ̄$_1$
town	kɔ̄y
track (animal)	ɲáˈdàkpá ˈwɛ̄y
trader	wè témɛ̀ sì / wɛ̄nì témɛ̀ sì
tradition	ɲáá ˈlāŋ
traditional alcohol	yɔ̄y
traditional headwear with horns	lùùsí
traditional healer	wè pāā / wɛ̄nì pāā
traditional skirt	gbɛ̄y
traitor	pīīkī
transfer	ká$_4$
transplanting	tòkī
trap (n)	tárkɔ̀ (< H)
trap (V)	gą̰
travel	ɗòò
traveler	wè ɗòòkī / wɛ̄nì ɗòòkī
tree	dìŋsì ~ dɛ̀ŋsì
tremble	ní
tribe	ɲáá ˈkɔ̄y
trip	ɗòòkī
trouble	fɔ̄sɛ̀
trousers	sì hɛ̰̄kī
truly	tɛ̀ ɔ tɛ́
trunk of tree	bìmɛ́ɛ́ ˈdìŋsì
truth	níˈsè
try	gà
tuber	dìŋ pókī
Tuesday	lúú ˈsí dɔ́ndɔ́n
tumour	gbúúrī
turkey	dɔ̀rā
turn (V)	nīŋā
turn over	zūlā
turn round	lásā
turtle (water)	kúlū
twelve (12)	kɔ́p tí ˈníīrī
twenty	mī ~ mɛ̄
twenty (20)	mī ɓíní
twenty-one (21)	mī ɓíní ˈkì ɓíní
twilight	léɛ̀nī ~ léɛ̄nī
twin	váà gbą̀są̰ / sīzáá gbą̀są̰
twist	kùlā; nīŋā
two (2)	níīrī ~ níʔīrī
two hundred (200)	ɓùkɔ̄ ɓíní; mī kɔ́p
two thousand (2000)	ɓùkɔ̄ kɔ́p; mī mī níˈgìná
tying	mākī
type of tree	dìŋ zɔ́lū
type of calabash	hɔ́ ˈbɛ̰̄ɛ̰̄kī
type of dish	kúlé ˈzákɛ̄
type of fence	kú ˈnɔ́ɔ́ ˈkàkɔ̄; kú ˈnɔ́ɔ́ ˈsą̰pī
type of grass	kàkɔ̄; są̰pī
type of material	nɔ́ɔ́ ˈsą̰pī
type of plant	ɗɔ́ŋrī
type of soup	hâŋ kpōréwà; hâŋ sɛ́rúwáŋà; hâŋ sìtūwàsɛ́; hâŋ tìtɛ̰́m
type of spoon	fáà sɔ́ŋtɔ́lɔ́ hɔ̄y

type of tree	dìŋ gbèlé; dìŋ pàŋā
type of tree	dìŋ yɔ̄y
type of tree from Europe	dìŋsì rí ˈbātúúrè
type of utensils	hāākèsí ˈhɔ̄y; pésálé; sì kúkì ɲáá ˈhɔ̰̄ɔ̰̄
udder	ɲɛ́kī
umbilical cord	ɲáá ˈsíkī
uncover	púkí
under	púrí$_1$
under (N)	tɔ̆m ˈtɛ̄
under (used with Common Nouns)	ɓáá ˈpùsè
under (used with Proprial Nouns)	ɓáá ˈpùsè rī
undress	pí sì za̰a̰kī
unload	zíŋ
untie	pí
until	sé ~ séɛ́ ~ séy (<H)
unwrap	pí; pírī
upper grinding stone	hà̰a̰kī
upset	métí (<F)
upset stomach	ɓéɛ̄ kɔ̰̄mɛ̄
urinate	sáŋkí
urine	méɛ́ ˈsáŋkɛ̄
us	=tú ~ =tɔ́
usually	kɔ́ɔ́ ˈɓèrī lúyī; lúɔ́ ˈpát
vagina	kɔ̄y
valley	ɓɔ́ɔ́kī; gúrè tɛ̄
vein	ɲáˈdàkpá ˈdɛ̄ɛ̄
venom (of snake)	zɔ̀m sɔ̄ɔ̄kī
Ventive marker	=rī$_1$
very	sɔ̀ɔ̀sɛ̂y (<H)
very hot	ɓàɓàlāk
Viipi subclan of the Nyapure clan	ɲá ˈpūrɛ̄ vi̱i̱pī
village	dɛ́ɛ́ké; kɔ̄y
vine	dìŋsì lɛ́ɛ́kī
virgin	fáà ɲɔ̄ɔ̄kī$_2$
vision (supernatural)	sì kālɛ̄
visitor	zénɛ̄
voice	ɲáá ˈwēm / ɲáá ˈwēnī
vomit	zám
vulture	zànà vîŋ
waist	gɛ̰̄y
waist and back decoration rope (for women)	nɔ́sɔ̀ kɔ̰̄y
wait	gɛ̰̄$_2$
wake up	hi̱ŋsí; íŋ
walk	dɔ̂ò
walk together	dɔ̂òsā
wall	gùrɛ́
wander	dɔ̂sālā
want	yɔ̀ɔ̀lí
war	kɔ̀ŋ
warm oneself	ta̰a̰$_2$
warthog	gérɛ̄
wash	hɔ̰̄
watch (V)	ním
water	méɛ̄$_2$
waterhole	pùù méɛ̄
wave	dúmlè méɛ̄
wave (hand as a greeting)	ɓāā
waver	ɓéŋ
way	kpáā$_2$
we	tū ~ tú ~ tɔ̄ ~ tɔ́ ; tú ~ tɔ́ ; tù ~ tɔ̀
weak	lɛ̄ɛ̄táŋ
wealth	za̰a̰ ˈyɛ̰̄y
wear clothes	za̰a̰
weave	dî$_1$
weaver-bird	nɔ̀ɔ̀ nùkɔ̄
wedding (ceremony)	mākí ˈváákī
Wednesday	lúú ˈàlàrbà
weed (V)	kárī
weeds	pòō$_1$
weep	yūū
west	kpáá ˈséɛ̀
what?	ɔ̀kɛ̀
when	ɓɛ́ ~ ɓɛ́ɛ́; ɓɔ́$_3$; ɔ̀ɔ́
when?	ɓìrī lūy
where	tɛ̀ɛ̀
where?	ɓìrī tɛ̄

which one? ɓìrī ~ ɓèrī$_1$
which ones? ìrī ~ èrī
while dêŋ, dè ~ dī$_2$
whip ʉ̱âŋ
whisper (V) yáásí
whistle (through blowing) úsúrù
whistling kōōrè
white man bātúúrè; wē púūpī / wēnī púūpī
whiteness púūpī
who? wé
whole mīlī
why? sèè ɔkè
wicked person wè nɔ́ɔ̄
wide iron ring for shooting gūnà pùù nɛ̄y
widow sóò véépī
widower vélí ˡvéépī
width bèntèlè
wife sóò ~ sóó ~ sô ~ só; sóò váákī
wild cat yʉ̱ŋ ɓáá ˡtóō
win mɔ̀
wind yɛ̄y
window pùù tɛ̄
wing pètέ ˡnɛ̄y
winking (eye) gūmì nɔ̄y
winnow (V) yέ
wipe hέ̱
witch (female) wē sóó ˡmɔ̀kì tɛ̄ / wēnī sóó ˡmòkì tɛ̄
witch (male) wē véé ˡmɔ̀kì tɛ̄
witchcraft mɔ̀kìtɛ̄
with dέè ~ dīì
wither (plant) nímlí
woman wē sóōrī / wēnī sóōrī
womb ɓɛ̄y
wood yáā
word sì kèmɛ̄
work (N) sʉ̱m
work (V) gʉ̱ sʉ̱m
world ɓáá ˡdàlā
wound (N) nɔ́ɔ́pɛ̄
wound (V) léémí
Wow! ííwò; séé ɓɔ̂ŋ
wrap mā
wrapping mākī
wrestle ká$_2$
wring out gām
wrinkle (on skin) nímlí
wrinkled (fruit) ɲɛ́pìkɛ̄
wrist náá ˡgūnā
write vʉ̱ʉ̱
wrong wɔ̄kɔ̄
Yaalo (proper name) Yáálò ~ Yáálό
yam māsī
yawn (V) háŋkí
year sáákī
yellow náá ˡmɔ̄m
yes îì ~ íí
yesterday léémì
you pl (addressee) =nū ~ =nú
you pl (object, non-subject) =nú ~ =nɔ́
you pl (subject) nū ~ nú ~ nɔ̄ ~ nɔ́; nú ~ nɔ́ ; nù ~ nɔ̀
you sg (addressee) =mū ~ =mú
you sg (object, non-subject) =mú ~ =mɔ́ ; =wī ~ =wē
you sg (subject) mū ~ mú ~ mɔ́ ~ mɔ̄, mú ~ mɔ́, mù ~ mɔ̀ ; wī ~ wí ~ wē ~ wé; wí ~ wé$_1$; wì ~ wè
young váā
young hen ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ tʉ̱ʉ̱
young man fáà dūmlɛ̄
young one fáà ~ fâ
young ones sáà ~ sâ
younger brother vēɓɛ́y ~ vēɓâm
younger sister of mother-in-law fáà kʉ̱nɛ̄
your pl =nú ~ =nɔ́
your sg =rúɔ̄ ; =ɔ̄ ; =wí ~ =wé$_2$

yours pl	ɓīnɔ́ ~ ɓīnú ; īnɔ́ ~ īnú
yours sg	ɓūɔ̄ ; ūɔ̄ ; ɓīwí ~ ɓīwé ; īwí ~ īwé
yourself	úɔ̄ ; úūwí ~ úūwé
yourselves	úúˈnɔ́ ~ úúˈnú
zebra	pēbą́rà

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Analyse grammaticale et documentation du kugama, langue adamawa du Nigéria

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Cette thèse est la première description grammaticale et analyse de la langue kugama, une langue adamawa du Nigéria. Ce travail analyse en détail divers aspects de la phonétique, de la phonologie, de la morphologie et de la syntaxe du kugama. De plus, il comprend un texte en kugama et un lexique bilingue kugama-anglais comprenant environ 1800 entrées. Cette recherche est basée sur des données collectées au Nigeria et à distance entre 2017 et 2023. Le travail avec les locuteurs kugama a été mené dans la ville de Mayo-Belwa, proche des villages kugama.

Le document est organisé en quinze chapitres, qui traitent des sujets suivants:

- Le chapitre 1 introduit le kugama, son contexte géographique et culturel, son profil typologique, son cadre de recherche et sa présentation des données.
- Le chapitre 2 décrit le système phonologique du kugama, qui comprend 25 consonnes et 24 voyelles. Il présente également les structures syllabiques et prosodiques, les processus phonologiques et morphophonologiques, et le système tonal complexe du kugama.

- Le chapitre 3 analyse les noms en kugama, leurs classifications morphosyntaxiques, leurs expressions non canoniques, leurs formes libres et construites, et leurs processus de composition.
- Le chapitre 4 examine le système pronominal du kugama, qui comprend des pronoms sujets, objets, non-sujets, destinataires, possessifs, réfléchis et logophoriques.
- Le chapitre 5 présente les numéraux cardinaux et ordinaux en kugama, ainsi que leur formation et leur utilisation.
- Le chapitre 6 traite des quantifieurs et des indéfinis en kugama, qui expriment des notions de quantité et d'identité.
- Le chapitre 7 analyse les spécifieurs en kugama, qui comprennent des marqueurs démonstratifs, déictiques, anaphoriques et définis.
- Le chapitre 8 décrit la morphosyntaxe du syntagme nominal en kugama, qui peut comporter des modifieurs nominaux ou pronominaux. Il présente également les différentes constructions possessives, numériques, attributives et déterminatives en kugama.
- Le chapitre 9 étudie les prépositions et les syntagmes prépositionnels en kugama, qui expriment des relations spatiales, temporelles, causales ou modales entre des éléments de la phrase.

- Le chapitre 10 analyse les verbes en kugama, leurs structures morphologiques et leurs processus de dérivation verbale ou nominale. Il présente également les différentes formes verbales du kugama.
- Le chapitre 11 décrit la morphosyntaxe de la phrase simple en kugama, qui peut être verbale ou non verbale. Il examine également les différents types de prédications nominales (présentatives, identificatives ou équatives), les constructions avec ou sans copule, les adverbiaux, les constructions comparatives en kugama et les énoncés minimaux.
- Le chapitre 12 traite du système de temps, d'aspect, de modalité et de polarité en kugama. Il présente les différentes constructions aspectuelles (imparfaitives, perfectives ou progressives), temporelles (futures ou passées immédiates), modales (hortatives, optatives ou impératives) et négatives en kugama.
- Le chapitre 13 examine les constructions interrogatives en kugama, qui peuvent être polaires ou contentives. Il présente les différents marqueurs interrogatifs (*yā*, *a̱à̱*, *kɔ́(ɔ)*, etc.) et les mots interrogatifs (*ɓìrī ~ ɓɛ̀rī* / *ìrī ~ ɛ̀rī* 'lequel?', *wɛ́* 'qui ?', etc.) en kugama.
- Le chapitre 14 analyse la structure informationnelle en kugama, qui distingue le focus du topique. Il présente divers moyens morphosyntaxiques pour marquer le focus et le topique.

- Le chapitre 15 décrit les phrases complexes et les procédés de combinaison des propositions en kugama. Il examine les constructions causatives, permissives, juxtaposées, quotatives, coordonnées, relatives et adverbiales en kugama.
- Le document se termine par trois annexes : un texte narratif en kugama, un lexique kugama-anglais et un lexique anglais-kugama.

1 Introduction

Le premier chapitre présente le kugama, une langue de la famille hypothétique adamawa parlée au Nigeria. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- La langue kugama : Les locuteurs se réfèrent à leur langue comme *ɲáá ˈɣ̀ǎm* or *ɲáá ˈɣ̀àā* 'langue kugama/wam' (littéralement : 'la langue des kugama/wam'). Le terme *ɣ̀ǎm* ou *ɣ̀àā* est un endonyme, ce qui signifie simplement 'les kugama/wam'. Il peut être attribué à la langue, aux personnes ou à tout ce qui est associé aux Kugama, par exemple *wɛ̄nì ɣ̀ǎm* 'personnes kugama' et *kpàm ɣ̀ǎm* 'le chef des kugama'. En dehors de la communauté, les locuteurs de la langue sont couramment connus sous l'exonyme *kugama*. L'origine de ce nom est inconnue. Le terme *kugama* fait référence à la fois à la communauté et à la langue.
- Classification généalogique : Le kugama est classé dans la famille adamawa du Niger-Congo, mais cette classification est incertaine et repose sur peu de données.

- Situation sociolinguistique : Le kugama est parlé par environ 5000 locuteurs dans plusieurs villages des états de Mayo-Belwa, Fufore et Jada. Le kugama est en contact avec de nombreuses autres langues, notamment le hausa, le fulfulde, le kona, le bile, le mumuye, le bacama, le gengle, le satte (aka kumba), le yendang, le waka, le teme et le vere.

  Le premier chapitre décrit la situation sociolinguistique du kugama. Il situe le kugama dans son contexte géographique et culturel, en décrivant les villages où il est parlé, les langues en contact avec lui, ainsi que les pratiques linguistiques des locuteurs.
- Profil typologique : Le chapitre analyse le profil typologique du kugama. Il présente les caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques, syntaxiques et sémantiques du kugama.

  Le kugama a 25 phonèmes consonantiques et 24 phonèmes vocaliques. L'inventaire des consonnes comprend les occlusives labio-vélaires /kp/ et /gb/ ainsi que les implosives /ɓ/ et /ɗ/. Les phonèmes vocaliques se distinguent par leur longueur et leur nasalité. Les voyelles courtes orales et les voyelles longues orales représentent quatre degrés de hauteur vocalique, tandis que les voyelles courtes nasales et les voyelles longues nasales représentent trois degrés de hauteur vocalique. Les voyelles en kugama peuvent subir une assimilation vocalique en arrondissement et plusieurs assimilations facultatives de hauteur. Le kugama comprend des

types de syllabes légères et lourdes tels que (C)V, (C)VV, (C)VC. Les radicaux nominaux et verbaux en kugama sont principalement monosyllabiques et disyllabiques. La distribution des consonnes, des voyelles et des types de syllabes est sensible à la proéminence prosodique en position initiale du radical. En particulier, presque toutes les consonnes, voyelles et types de syllabes se trouvent en position saillante, tandis qu'un sous-ensemble de consonnes, de voyelles et de types de syllabes se trouve en position prosodiquement faible.

Le kugama possède trois tons contrastifs : Haut (H), Moyen (M) et Bas (L). Kugama a également des tons L flottants qui suivent toujours un ton H. Les contours sur une syllabe sont des séquences de tons de niveau. Les tons en kugama ont des fonctions lexicales et grammaticales. Plusieurs catégories grammaticales peuvent être exprimées à travers un ton L flottant. Kugama possède plusieurs règles tonales, par exemple, le downstep, qui est provoqué par un ton L flottant. Sur le plan phonétique, le downstep peut avoir différentes réalisations, dont l'une est le rehaussement tonal avant un ton L flottant.

Le système pronominal comprend des pronoms sujets, objets, non-sujets, destinataires, possessifs, réflexifs et interrogatifs. Certains d'entre eux sont clitiques, d'autres sont indépendants. Le système pronominal distingue entre les formes pronoms humaines et non humaines. Le

système pronominal comprend également des formes pronoms impersonnelles et expletives. Le système pronominal dans les constructions quotatives présente deux caractéristiques, à savoir l'utilisation de pronoms logophoriques dédiés pour la 2SG et la 3SG.HUM et la neutralisation de la distinction en personne entre la 2PL et la 3PL.HUM. Les pronoms sujets marquent les distinctions de temps, d'aspect, de polarité et de modalité. Ils sont des morphèmes STAMP.

Le kugama n'a pas de système de classes nominales. Les noms manquent également de marqueurs morphologiques de nombre. Le kugama distingue grammaticalement les noms en noms inaliénables et aliénables. Les noms propres par rapport aux noms communs sont également traités différemment dans les constructions possessives et dans les constructions impliquant les marqueurs présentatifs *á*, *à*, *ìì* ou *=è*.

Les concepts numériques sont des noms en kugama. Les concepts de propriété sont exprimés par différents types de noms ainsi que par des verbes de qualité. Il s'agit de noms de propriété pré-nominaux, de noms de propriété post-nominaux et de noms liés. Les noms de propriété post-nominaux et les noms liés ne se produisent pas isolément.

Les syntagmes nominaux en Kugama ont généralement l'ordre des mots tête-modificateur, mais l'ordre des mots modificateur-tête est également trouvé avec certains modificateurs. Le kugama comprend plusieurs

constructions possessives. La structure de la construction possessive dépend principalement de la classification morphosyntaxique du nom de tête en noms inaliénables ou aliénables, ainsi que de la classification morphosyntaxique du modificateur en nom propre ou nom commun. Certains concepts de propriété précèdent le nom qu'ils modifient sémantiquement, d'autres concepts de propriété suivent le nom. Ces constructions peuvent être intéressantes pour les linguistes qui travaillent sur l'inversion de dépendance. Dans cette grammaire, j'analyse toutes ces constructions comme ayant l'ordre des mots tête-modificateur.

Le kugama possède des noms et des verbes qui maintiennent leur forme dans différents environnements morphosyntaxiques, ainsi que des noms et des verbes qui ont des allomorphes en fonction de l'environnement morphosyntaxique. Les allomorphes des noms sont appelés Formes Libres et Construct, tandis que les allomorphes des verbes sont désignés sous le nom de Forme Verbale 1, 2, 3 ou 4.

Les clitiques verbaux comprennent des morphèmes dérivationnels de verbe à verbe, des morphèmes dérivationnels de verbe à nom, le marqueur perfectif *=tí* / *=rí*, ainsi que des pronoms objets. Les morphèmes dérivationnels de verbe à verbe sont les marqueurs résultatif, réciproque, pluractionnel, ventif et applicatif. Les verbes en kugama peuvent avoir un, deux ou trois arguments. Un argument supplémentaire

peut être ajouté au verbe grâce au marqueur applicatif *=sí* ou par l'utilisation d'une tige de verbe applicatif dédiée. Les verbes avec trois arguments sont suivis d'un But en tant qu'objet principal et d'un Thème en tant qu'objet secondaire.

L'ordre des mots dans une phrase verbale déclarative simple et transitif est SVO. Les phrases locatives, attributives de propriété, existentielles et possessives n'ont qu'un copule dans le futur. Les phrases présentatives, identificatoires et équitatives sont formées par les marqueurs présentatifs *á*, *à*, *íì* et *=è*. Les impératifs sont exprimés par un verbe suivi d'un pronom destinataire ou d'un pronom de première personne. Les questions de contenu sont structuralement similaires aux constructions en clivage. Les questions polaires sont marquées uniquement par un marqueur en fin de phrase. Il existe deux principales stratégies de négation. Les constructions présentatives, identificatoires, les constructions en clivage et les prohibitions sont négées par le marqueur *ā̱* en fin de phrase. Les autres clauses non verbales ainsi que les clauses verbales sont négées par deux marqueurs de négation : *ɲā* immédiatement après le sujet et *ā̱* en fin de phrase.

- Cadre de recherche : Le chapitre expose le cadre de recherche dans lequel s'inscrit cette thèse. Il retrace l'historique des travaux sur le kugama, en mentionnant les sources disponibles et les lacunes à combler. Il explique

les méthodes utilisées pour collecter et analyser les données linguistiques du kugama, en détaillant les modalités du travail de terrain et les outils employés. Il décrit la présentation des données et de l'analyse dans le document, en précisant la transcription phonétique utilisée, la notation tonale adoptée, ainsi que la citation des sources bibliographiques et lexicales.

2 Le système phonologique

Le deuxième chapitre décrit le système phonologique du kugama, qui comprend 25 consonnes, 24 voyelles orales et nasales, et un système tonal complexe. Il présente également les structures syllabiques et prosodiques, les processus phonologiques et morphophonologiques, et les clitics. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le kugama a trois tons de base : H, M et L. Il a aussi des tons L flottants. Les tons sont marqués sur les voyelles.
- L'inventaire des voyelles en kugama se compose de sons courts oraux, de sons courts nasaux, de sons longs oraux et de sons longs nasaux. Sept voyelles courtes orales contrastées et sept voyelles longues orales contrastées représentent quatre degrés de hauteur vocale. L'inventaire des voyelles nasales se compose de cinq sons courts et de cinq sons longs. Les voyelles nasales sont indiquées par un tilde sous le phonème vocalique pour éviter de superposer les marques de ton et de nasalité. La

répartition des voyelles montre une sensibilité à la proéminence en position initiale du radical. La première syllabe d'un radical est forte, tandis que toutes les autres syllabes (qui suivent généralement) sont prosodiquement faibles. Toutes les voyelles sont attestées dans la syllabe initiale d'un radical. En même temps, les possibilités de répartition des voyelles sont plus limitées dans les syllabes prosodiquement faibles. De plus, la répartition des voyelles en position prosodiquement forte est spécifiée en fonction de la structure de la syllabe syllabes ouvertes et syllabes fermées.

- Les consonnes en kugama distinguent six points d'articulation et sept modes d'articulation. La description de la distribution des consonnes en kugama est organisée en fonction de leur position dans le radical, à savoir les consonnes en position initiale du radical, les consonnes en position interne du radical entre deux voyelles, les consonnes en position finale du radical, et les séquences de consonnes internes au radical. Je fais également une distinction entre les consonnes courantes et les consonnes exceptionnelles pour une position donnée. Les consonnes courantes sont fréquemment présentes dans des positions données, tandis que les consonnes exceptionnelles sont rarement rencontrées aux mêmes positions. Les consonnes exceptionnelles peuvent apparaître dans des formes historiquement complexes (par exemple, certains numéraux et

noms propres), des idéophones, du vocabulaire emprunté et des formes redoublées (par exemple, des noms adverbiaux).

- La distribution des consonnes est sensible à la proéminence prosodique. La plupart des consonnes ne peuvent apparaître que dans la position prosodiquement forte, qui est la position initiale du radical. Les positions non initiales du radical sont considérées comme prosodiquement faibles. Elles sont occupées par un nombre plus restreint de consonnes possibles.
- Le kugama présente les formes de syllabes suivantes : V, CV, VV, CVV, VC, et CVC. Les noms, les verbes, les morphèmes fonctionnels et les pronoms diffèrent en termes de leurs formes de syllabes typiques.
- Le kugama privilégie la proéminence en position initiale du radical. La proéminence prosodique implique la présence d'une syllabe forte par mot phonologique. Ainsi, en kugama, la première syllabe du radical est forte, tandis que les syllabes suivantes du radical sont prosodiquement faibles. Je me concentre principalement sur les preuves phonologiques de la proéminence prosodique en position initiale du radical en kugama. Je n'ai pas analysé les différences entre les positions prosodiquement fortes et faibles en termes d'intensité et de durée.
- Le kugama a des clitics qui se lient au bord droit du mot hôte. Les clitiques peuvent être segmentaux et tonaux, par exemple le marqueur

perfectif *=tí / =rí*, le marqueur réciproque *=sā / =ā*, le marqueur démonstratif *=ɛ́*, le marqueur génitif $=^{L}$, et le marqueur résultatif $=^{L}$.

- Le kugama a des processus phonologiques et morphophonologiques qui affectent les sons et les tons. Ces processus comprennent la résolution du hiatus, l'assimilation vocalique en arrondissement, de la hauteur et du lieu d'articulation des voyelles et des consonnes nasales, la nasalisation des voyelles orales, l'élision de certaines consonnes et voyelles intervocaliques ou finales, la liaison des consonnes latentes et l'umlaut.
- La section sur le système tonal de kugama se concentre sur la description des modèles tonals, des processus phonologiques et des processus morphotonologiques.

3 Les noms

Le troisième chapitre analyse les noms en kugama, leurs classifications morphosyntaxiques, leurs expressions non canoniques, leurs formes libres et construites, et leurs processus de composition. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le kugama distingue les noms propres et les noms communs, les noms aliénables et inaliénables, les noms humains et non humains, et les noms comptables et non comptables. Ces distinctions ont des implications pour la syntaxe et la morphologie des noms.

- Le kugama a des expressions nominales non canoniques qui comprennent les numéraux, les noms de propriété pré-nominaux et post-nominaux, et les noms liés. Ces expressions ont des propriétés spécifiques par rapport aux noms ordinaires.
- Les noms en kugama peuvent avoir des allomorphes. Le principal allomorphe d'un nom est appelé la Forme Libre, tandis que les autres allomorphes d'un nom sont des Formes Construct. Les Formes Construct des noms apparaissent dans certains contextes que je discute ci-dessous dans cette section. La majorité des noms de mon lexique n'ont pas de Formes Construct; ils ne sont utilisés qu'en Forme Libre. Cependant, il y a environ 50 noms dans mon lexique avec des Formes Construct.
- Un nom est utilisé dans sa Forme Construct lorsque fonctionne en tant que tête de la construction Possessif Proprial Inaliénable, construction Possessif Commun Inaliénable, construction Possessif Proprial Aliénable, construction Possessif Commun Aliénable, construction Possessif Pronominal Secondaire Aliénable, syntagmes nominaux avec des numéraux ordinaux, et syntagmes nominaux avec des Noms de Propriété Post-nominale. Dans toutes ces constructions, la tête est suivie d'un modificateur.
- Le kugama a des processus de composition nominale qui permettent de former des noms à partir de deux ou plusieurs éléments. Ces éléments

peuvent être des noms, des verbes ou des morphèmes fonctionnels. La composition nominale sert à créer des noms propres, des noms d'instruments, d'agents ou de lieux, des noms abstraits, des noms d'arbres, d'insectes ou d'oiseaux, etc.

4 Le système pronominal

Le quatrième chapitre examine le système pronominal du kugama, qui comprend des pronoms sujets, objets, non-sujets, destinataires, possessifs, réfléchis et logophoriques. Il présente également les différentes formes et fonctions des pronoms dans les constructions verbales et non verbales. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le kugama a quatre paradigmes de pronoms sujets. Les pronoms sujets apparaissent dans les clauses verbales, les clauses avec des prédicats nominaux sans copule, ainsi que dans les clauses avec le marqueur Présentatif *=è* (par exemple, dans les constructions Présentatif et clivage), le marqueur Démonstratif *=é*, la particule additive *má ~ máá* et éventuellement dans certains autres contextes. De plus, chaque paradigme de pronoms sujets est assigné à une construction particulière qui exprime un ensemble de catégories de temps, d'aspect, de polarité et de modalité. Certaines informations supplémentaires importantes sur l'utilisation des pronoms sujets sont également données dans le chapitre 12 sur le système TAMP.

- Le kugama a un seul paradigme de pronoms objets. Les pronoms objets codent les objets principaux. Contrairement aux pronoms sujets, les formes de troisième personne non humaine ne s'accordent pas en nombre avec les référents nominaux non humains.
- Les pronoms non-sujets sont utilisés pour encoder les objets secondaires pronominaux, c'est-à-dire le thème pronominal d'un verbe bitransitif ainsi que le complément de la préposition comitative *à*.
- Le kugama a un seul paradigme de pronoms destinataires. Les pronoms destinataires sont utilisés pour marquer le destinataire d'une action.
- Le kugama a deux types de pronoms possessifs : les modifieurs possessifs liés et les pronominaux possessifs libres. Les modifieurs possessifs liés sont des clitiques qui se lient au nom possédé pour exprimer la possession inaliénable ou aliénable. Les pronominaux possessifs libres peuvent être utilisés à la fois seuls et en tant que modificateurs, dans ce dernier cas, ils précèdent le nom qu'ils modifient. La distinction entre la possession aliénable et inaliénable n'est pas pertinente dans la construction avec ces pronominaux utilisés en tant que modificateurs.
- Ce chapitre se concentre également sur le système pronominal dans les constructions quotatives formées par l'un des deux marqueurs de liaison de clause, *mā ~ má* et *kà*, dont l'utilisation principale est d'encoder une citation. Ces marqueurs sont placés entre le segment du discours rapporté

et le segment du discours rapportant. Un segment de discours rapporté peut inclure non seulement un prédicat de discours, mais aussi des prédicats non verbaux tels que la connaissance, la perception, le souhait, le mouvement, l'action, etc. Le marqueur de liaison de clause *mā ~ má* est utilisé avec les sujets de première et deuxième personne dans un segment de discours rapporté. Le marqueur *kà* est utilisé avec les sujets de troisième personne dans le segment de discours rapport.

5 Les numeraux

Le kugama possède un système de comptage vigésimal avec des éléments des systèmes quinaire et décimal. Les numéraux à partir de 200 peuvent être formés de deux manières différentes: en utilisant les numéraux réguliers ou en empruntant des lexèmes. Les numéraux cardinaux plus élevés sont formés au moyen d'opérations arithmétiques d'addition et de multiplication. L'addition est marquée avec les liens *tí(ᴸ)*, *kì* et avec la préposition comitative *à*. La multiplication est exprimée par une simple juxtaposition des numéraux.

Le chapitre commence par présenter les numéraux cardinaux en kugama. Il décrit les numéraux de base de 1 à 10, les numéraux de 11 à 19, les numéraux multiples de 10, les numéraux supérieurs à 10 qui ne sont pas multiples de 10, et les numéraux à partir de 200.

Le chapitre décrit ensuite les numéraux ordinaux en kugama. Les numéraux ordinaux sont essentiellement des numéraux cardinaux auxquels on ajoute le

marqueur ordinal *nā*, par exemple *nā ní⁺sa̱ā̱* ‘le troisième’. Seul le mot ‘premier’ a une forme ordinale spéciale, *ɲá ⁺hi̱ŋrè*, qui n’a aucune correspondance formelle avec le numéral cardinal *ɓíní* ‘un’. Cependant, la forme *nā ɓíní* ‘premier’, qui se compose du marqueur ordinal *nā* et de *ɓíní* ‘un’, existe également dans la langue. Les numéraux à partir de 2 et plus ont la même forme que leurs équivalents numéraux cardinaux.

6 Les quantifieurs et les indéfinis

Ce chapitre se concentre sur la description des quantificateurs universels, des déterminants universels et du marqueur indéfini *tɛ̄* ‘quelqu’un’. Certains de ces quantificateurs ont une structure complexe. En particulier, le premier élément de cette phrase complexe, *kɔ́ɔ́* ‘chaque’, est lié à la conjonction *kóó* en haoussa. Les éléments *wɛ́ɛ̀*, *tɛ́ɛ̀* et *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ont des formes similaires aux mots interrogatifs *wɛ́* ‘qui ?’, *ɓìrī tɛ̄* ‘où ?’, *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘quoi ?’, et au marqueur de question de contenu *=yí*. Les formes *wɛ́ɛ̀*, *tɛ́ɛ̀* et *ɔ̀kɛ̀* sont également complexes. Historiquement, il s’agissait de radicaux tels que *wɛ́ (lié à *wēm* ‘personne’), *tɛ́ (lié à *tɛ̄* ‘endroit’), et *ɔ̀ (lié au pronominal de la troisième personne non humaine *=ɔ̀(ʔ)* |ɔ̀ᵏ|), suivis du marqueur Présentatif *=ɛ̀*.

7 Les spécifieurs

Le septième chapitre présente les spécifieurs en kugama, qui sont des marqueurs qui modifient les noms pour indiquer leur statut défini ou indéfini, leur distance déictique ou leur fonction anaphorique. Les spécifieurs comprennent les

marqueurs démonstratifs, déictiques, anaphoriques et définis. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le kugama a un marqueur démonstratif *=ɛ́*. Il vient après le nom qu'il modifie. Il ne marque jamais un nom par lui-même. Le marqueur démonstratif est suivi du marqueur génitif *=*^{L} et des modificateurs démonstratifs qui marquent des distinctions de distance supplémentaires, tels que *=rɛ́* (~ *rí*) (PROX) et *=sòrè* (DIST). Il est également utilisé dans la formation de propositions relatives, auquel cas il est placé après le nom principal et suivi du marqueur génitif *=*^{L}.
- Le kugama possède un système déictique minimal qui comprend le marqueur proximal *=rɛ́* et le marqueur distal *=sòrè*. Les deux marqueurs sont toujours introduits par le démonstratif *=ɛ́* et le marqueur génitif *=*^{L}. Les deux marqueurs déictiques indiquent la deixis spatiale et temporelle. La signification temporelle se produit en combinaison avec des noms ayant une sémantique temporelle.
- Le modificateur anaphorique rare *=lé*, qui signifie « ce qui a été mentionné précédemment », fait référence à un syntagme nominal précédemment mentionné. Tout comme les démonstratifs proximaux et distaux, le démonstratif anaphorique est introduit par le marqueur démonstratif *=ɛ́* et le marqueur génitif *=*^{L}.

8 La morphosyntaxe du syntagme nominal

Le huitième chapitre étudie la morphosyntaxe du syntagme nominal en kugama. Les syntagmes nominaux en kugama peuvent avoir deux ordres de mots: [Tête + Modificateur] et [Modificateur + Tête]. Les syntagmes nominaux tête-modificateur incluent les constructions possessives et les constructions de résumé avec un numéral, ainsi que les constructions avec des noms de propriété pré-nominale, des noms liés, des noms de propriété post-nominale, des numéraux, le marqueur démonstratif *=ɛ́* et le marqueur défini *=rɛ̂(ʔ) ~ =rɛ́(ʔ)*. Les syntagmes nominaux modificateur-tête n'incluent que les constructions avec les pronoms possessifs et interrogatifs libres. Ce chapitre traite également de la coordination des syntagmes nominaux. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le kugama a cinq constructions possessives : la construction possessive inaliénable propre, la construction possessive inaliénable commune, la construction possessive aliénable propre, la construction possessive aliénable commune, et la construction possessive pronominal aliénable secondaire. Le choix de la construction dépend (i) de la classification morphosyntaxique du nom principal comme possédé inaliénablement ou aliénablement et (ii) de la classification morphosyntaxique du modificateur comme nom propre ou nom commun.
- Il existe un groupe de noms de propriété pré-nominale qui comprend des noms avec des extensions figées non productives +tɛ́, +kɛ́, +lɛ́, +tɛ̀,

+lè, par exemple *gbíŋtélè(ᵏ)* ‘court’, *bèntèlè(ᵏ)* ‘large’, *héntélè(ᵏ)* ‘peu profond’, *fɔ̰ŋlè(ᵏ)* ‘léger’, *síŋkɛ́lɛ́(ᵏᴸ) ~ sɛ́ŋkɛ́lɛ́(ᵏᴸ)* ‘tranchant’, et des noms idéophoniques, par exemple *síríríᵏᴸ)* ‘étroit’, *mɔ́rɔ́rɔ́(ᵏᴸ)* ‘étroit’, *kpìkpítírí(ᵏᴸ)* ‘épais’, *tɛ̰ŋtɛ̰ŋ(ᴸ)* ‘propre, intelligent’, *ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ɓɔ̄k ~ ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ɓɔ̄p* ‘mou’, *kpùkpɔ́rɔ́(ᵏᴸ)* ‘courageux, intelligent’, *pɛ̰p(ᴸ)* ‘petit, minuscule’. Les noms de propriété pré-nominale sont analysés comme des qualificatifs semblables au possédé. Dans un syntagme nominal, ils sont suivis du marqueur génitif =ᴸ et du nom qu’ils qualifient. Ces constructions sont formellement identiques à la construction possessive commune inaliénable. Bien que syntaxiquement ces noms de propriété soient des têtes, sémantiquement, ils qualifient le nom qui, syntaxiquement, est leur dépendant.

- Le kugama a des constructions numériques qui expriment la quantité d’une entité. Les constructions numériques peuvent être cardinales ou ordinales, simples ou complexes.

9 Les prepositions et les syntagmes prépositionnels

Le neuvième chapitre présente les prépositions et les syntagmes prépositionnels en kugama, qui expriment des relations spatiales, temporelles, causales ou modales entre des éléments de la phrase. Les points principaux sont les suivants:

- Le kugama a des prépositions qui se combinent avec des noms ou des pronoms pour former des syntagmes prépositionnels. Les prépositions

peuvent être simples ou complexes, et peuvent avoir plusieurs fonctions syntaxiques et sémantiques.

- La préposition comitative *à / =è* fonctionne comme un marqueur comitatif, instrumental et locatif general. Elle se combine avec des noms, des pronoms et d'autres prépositions locatives et directionnelles. Elle existe sous deux formes, l'une indépendante, à savoir *à*, et l'autre sous forme de clitique, à savoir *=è*.
- Il existe un certain nombre de prépositions en kugama qui expriment diverses relations spatiales. Beaucoup d'entre elles sont liées à des termes de parties du corps.

10 Les verbes

Le neuvième chapitre présente les verbes en kugama, leurs classes flexionnelles, leurs formes verbales, leurs extensions et leurs dérivations. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le kugama possède des verbes dont la forme reste stable dans différents environnements morphosyntaxiques et des verbes qui ont des allomorphes en fonction de l'environnement morphosyntaxique. Par exemple, les verbes dont la forme ne change pas sont *māā* 'construire', *vɛ̱ɛ̱* 'écrire', *lóó* 'dormir', *váá* 'se marier', *bàkí* 'aider', *hàlí* 'passer par', *kɔ̱ɔ́sí* 'être sec', *yɔ́sí* 'mettre', *káŋsí* 'ajouter', *yɔ́lí* 'être fatigué', etc. D'autres verbes peuvent avoir jusqu'à quatre allomorphes différents, appelés ici Forme

Verbale 1, Forme Verbale 2, Forme Verbale 3 et Forme Verbale 4. De plus, les verbes ayant des allomorphes différents sont répartis dans six classes d'inflection. Les classes d'inflection classent les verbes dans différents groupes, chacun démontrant un comportement similaire dans différents environnements morphosyntaxiques.

- Les allomorphes des verbes se produisent dans différents environnements morphosyntaxiques, en particulier avec différents morphèmes dérivationnels verbe-à-verbe, à savoir Résultatif $=^{L}$, Applicatif $=sí \sim =sī$, Ventif $=rī$ et Pluractionnel $=rī$, ainsi que dans certaines constructions, par exemple dans la construction applicative. De plus, il y a quelques verbes dont les allomorphes sont utilisés uniquement avec le marqueur de nominalisation $=kī/=ɛ̄/=ī/=ɛ̀$.

11 La morphosyntaxe de la phrase simple

Le onzième chapitre présente les clauses simples en kugama. Les clauses simples peuvent être verbales ou non verbales. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le kugama a des clauses non verbales qui expriment la présentation, l'identification, l'équation, la localisation, l'attribution, l'existence ou la possession d'une entité.
- Une phrase verbale simple en kugama a un ordre des mots SVO (sujet-verbe-complément d'objet). L'ordre des mots est strict. Les clauses

verbales peuvent avoir zéro, un ou deux objets. Pour certains verbes, le premier ou le deuxième objet ne peut être introduit que par l'utilisation du marqueur applicatif *=sí* ou, s'il est disponible, par une forme applicative dédiée du verbe.

- Les adverbiaux sont des phrases modifiant le prédicat. Ils peuvent exprimer le temps, la fréquence, l'emplacement, la direction, la manière, l'instrument, la qualité, le degré et la modalité. Les adverbiaux peuvent être exprimés par : i) des noms simples, des composés et des constructions possessives, par exemple : *lɛ́ɛ́ˈmì* 'hier', *ɗáàzúrɛ̄* 'demain', *sónè* 'bientôt', *hɛ́ɛ̰̄* 'ici', *lúɔ́* 'avant, il y a longtemps', *lɛ̀mlɛ̀m / lèlɛ̀ɛ̀m* 'lentement', *zūrí* 'bien, correctement', *lúɔ́ ˈpát* 'toujours, habituellement', *dɔ́ɔ́lɛ̄* 'nécessaire', *ɓì hɛ́ɛ̰̄* 'comme ça', etc. et ii) des syntagmes prépositionnels avec la préposition comitative *à*, par exemple : *à lɛ́ɛ̀nī* 'le soir', *à gbìŋtɛ̄* 'férocement, bruyamment', *à ɓááˈgɔ̀rɛ̄* 'à Baagore', *à tɛ́ɛ̰́ ˈkpǎm* 'avec du sel', *à mɔ́ɔ́tà* 'en voiture', et d'autres types de prépositions, par exemple *méɛ̄ mé* 'sur moi'. Les noms et syntagmes nominaux adverbiaux peuvent également être relativisés.

12 Le système de temps, d'aspect, de modalité et de polarité

Le principal objectif du douzième chapitre est de décrire différentes constructions de temps, d'aspect, de modalité et de polarité, telles que l'imparfait, le parfait, le progressif, le futur, le passé immédiat, l'hortatif 1,

l'hortatif 2, l'optatif, l'impératif, le prohibitif, le consécutif et le résultatif. Ce chapitre fournit également des informations sur les moyens d'expression du temps dans les constructions sans verbe, l'utilisation de la particule *lɛ́* 'avant, récemment' et des particules de polarité phrastiques. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Le sujet d'une clause verbale simple peut être suivi de plusieurs morphèmes qui interviennent dans l'expression du temps, de l'aspect, de la modalité et de la polarité, comme illustré dans (1).

(1) a. sujet + marque de négation *ɲā* + radical du verbe + morphème(s) dérivationnel(s) verbe-à-verbe + marque du perfectif *=tí/rí* + objet(s) + marque finale du prédicat *wā* ou marque de négation *a̱*

b. sujet + marque de négation *ɲā* + marque pré-verbale (par exemple, *à* FUT, *tì* PROG) + radical du verbe + morphème(s) dérivationnel(s) verbe-à-verbe + marque de nominalisation *=kī/ɛ̄/ī/ɛ̂* + marque transitive $=^{L}$ + objet(s) + marque de négation *a̱*

- Un certain nombre de constructions qui véhiculent des significations modales, à savoir l'hortatif 2, l'optatif et le prohibitif, ont des marqueurs pré-sujets qui sont absents dans les autres clauses verbales, comme schématisé dans (2).

(2) marqueur pré-sujet (par exemple *ká* OPT, *sɛ̀* HORT) + sujet + radical du verbe + morphème(s) dérivationnel(s) verbe-à-verbe + objet + marque de négation *ā̱*

- Les seules constructions qui n'ont pas un ordre des mots SVO sont les constructions impératives. Leurs structures sont montrées en (3).

(3) a. radical du verbe + morphème(s) dérivationnel(s) verbe-à-verbe + pronom destinataire (*mū* SG / *nú* PL) + NP ou objet de la troisième personne

b. radical du verbe + morphème(s) dérivationnel(s) verbe-à-verbe + objet de la première personne

13 Les constructions interrogatives

Le treizième chapitre présente les constructions interrogatives en kugama. Les constructions interrogatives peuvent être de deux types : les questions polaires, qui demandent une réponse par oui ou par non, et les questions de contenu, qui demandent une information spécifique. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- En kugama, on utilise le marqueur interrogatif *yā* pour former des questions polaires. Il est ajouté à la fin de la phrase déclarative correspondante.
- Les questions polaires en Kugama peuvent également être formées à l'aide du marqueur de question *kɔ́(ɔ́)*, qui provient de *kóó* signifiant 'ou' ou « marqueur de question » en haoussa.

- Il existe différentes constructions de questions de contenu qui forment des questions comme ‘qui ?’, ‘quoi ?’, ‘pourquoi ?’, ‘lequel ?’, ‘quand ?’, ‘où ?’, ‘combien ?’, et ‘comment ?’. Toutes les questions de contenu sont construites de manière similaire aux constructions clivées. Presque toutes comprennent le marqueur de présentation *=ɛ̀* en fin de phrase. Malgré l’absence du marqueur de présentation *=ɛ̀* en fin de phrase dans les questions avec les expressions interrogatives in situ *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘quoi ?’ et *sɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘pourquoi ?’, une trace du marqueur de présentation « =ɛ̀ » peut être trouvée dans leur forme *ɔ̀kɛ̀*, qui trouve historiquement son origine dans le pronom non-humain/expletif |ɔ^{k}| et le marqueur de présentation *=ɛ̀*.
- Les phrases interrogatives *wɛ́* ‘qui ?’ et *ɔ̀kɛ̀* ‘quoi ?’, lorsqu’elles sont utilisées en début de phrase, sont introduites par l’un des marqueurs présentatifs suivants : *á, à* ou *ī̀ì*.
- Toutes les questions de contenu sont formées par le marqueur interrogatif *=yí*, qui vient après la phrase interrogative et/ou le marqueur présentatif *=ɛ̀* à la fin de la proposition.

14 La structure informationnelle

Le quatorzième chapitre présente la structure informationnelle en kugama, qui concerne la façon dont l’information est organisée et mise en relief dans la phrase. Les points principaux sont les suivants :

- Kugama utilise des constructions clivées pour exprimer le focus completif et contrastif. Les constructions clivées peuvent être utilisées pour mettre l'accent sur les sujets, les objets et les phrases adverbiales exprimées à travers des noms locatifs. Selon le type de syntagme nominal mis en avant, les constructions clivées en Kugama ont différentes structures.
- Le kugama possède un marqueur de focalisation du prédicat, *=rɔ̀*, qui est placé à la fin d'un prédicat, c'est-à-dire après le verbe ou ses objets. Il ne peut pas coexister avec le marqueur final du prédicat, *=wā*, dans une même phrase. Le marqueur de focalisation *=rɔ̀* est principalement utilisé pour marquer le focus contrastif. Je discute également de plusieurs exemples hétérogènes où le marqueur *=rɔ̀* est utilisé dans des contextes autres que le focus contrastif.

15 Les phrases complexes et la combinaison des propositions

Le quinzième chapitre présente les phrases complexes et les procédés de combinaison des propositions en kugama. Les points principaux sont les suivants:

- Le kugama a une juxtaposition clausale, qui exprime la relation de séquence ou de simultanéité entre les événements.
- Le kugama possède deux types de constructions quotatives: la construction quotative 1 et la construction quotative 2. La construction

quotative 1 inclut le marqueur de liaison de clause *má ~ mā* ou *kà*, qui est absent de la construction quotative 2.

- Le kugama a des conjonctions qui relient deux propositions dans une relation de coordination. Les conjonctions sont *ká ~ kā* 'et', *sɛ́(ɛ́) ~ sɛ́y* 'mais, sauf', *kɔ́(ɔ́)* 'ou', *àmá(á) ~ àmáà* 'mais, cependant'.
- Les propositions relatives en Kugama sont formées par le marqueur démonstratif $=\acute{\varepsilon}$ et le marqueur génitif $=^{L}$ qui se trouvent sur le nom principal.
- Les propositions adverbiales en Kugama peuvent également être formées à l'aide de sous-ordonnateurs empruntés tels que *túnꜜdɛ̀* 'puisque, comme, parce que', *yáꜜdà(à)* 'comment, de la manière dont'.
- Les propositions conditionnelles factuelles, les propositions concessives et les propositions adverbiales de temps peuvent être formées par le marqueur *bɔ́ ~ bɛ́(ɛ́)* 'si, quand, même si'.
- Les constructions conditionnelles contrefactuelles sont formées par le marqueur *ká*, qui est répété au début de la proposition principale et de la proposition subordonnée. La proposition subordonnée précède généralement la proposition principale. Si la proposition principale précède la proposition subordonnée, cette dernière se termine également par le marqueur présentatif $=\grave{\varepsilon}$.

- Kugama comporte également des phrases complexes qui expriment l'idée qu'une activité se déroule pendant qu'une autre activité est en cours. La première clause de cette phrase complexe décrit l'activité en cours. Cette clause comprend un prédicat nominal sans copule. Le prédicat est composé de la préposition *ɓáā* 'dans', du marqueur génitif $=^{L}$, et d'un verbe nominalisé.

Annexe

L'Annexe I fournit une histoire sur la femme et l'hyène. La narratrice est Angelina Turuma. L'histoire a été enregistrée à Mayo-Belwa, État d'Adamawa, Nigéria en avril 2018.

Le lexique est un dictionnaire bilingue kugama-anglais qui comprend environ 1800 entrées. Il est basé sur les données collectées par l'auteur de la thèse lors de son travail de terrain et à distance avec les locuteurs kugama.

Le lexique suit l'ordre alphabétique du kugama, qui est basé sur l'alphabet latin avec quelques symboles supplémentaires pour représenter les sons spécifiques du kugama. Le lexique fournit une transcription phonologique, des informations grammaticales et une traduction pour chaque entrée.

Lora LITVINOVA

Analyse grammaticale et documentation du kugama, langue adamawa du Nigéria

Résumé

Cette thèse fournit la première analyse grammaticale du kugama, une langue adamawa du Nigeria. Ce travail analyse en détail divers aspects de la phonétique, de la phonologie, de la morphologie et de la syntaxe du kugama. De plus, il comprend un texte en kugama et un lexique bilingue kugama-anglais comprenant environ 1800 entrées. Le kugama présente une variété de caractéristiques typologiques intéressantes, telles que les consonnes labio-vélaires /kp/ et /gb/, des contrastes de longueur et de nasalité des voyelles, l'assimilation vocalique en arrondissement, la proéminence prosodique en début de radical, le rehaussement tonal, la morphologie tonale, l'absence de système de classes nominales, le manqué du nombre morphologique, les morphèmes STAMP, la logophoricité, la possession inaliénable et aliénable, la pertinence grammaticale de la distinction entre les noms propres et les noms communs, et l'allomorphie nominale et verbale conditionnée morphosyntaxiquement. Cette recherche est basée sur des données collectées au Nigeria et à distance entre 2017 et 2023. Le travail avec les locuteurs kugama a été mené dans la ville de Mayo-Belwa, proche des villages kugama. Le nom de la langue *kugama* est un exonyme. Les locuteurs se réfèrent à leur langue comme *ɲáá* ˬ*w̰ām* or *ɲáá* ˬ*w̰àā* 'langue wam/kugama'.

Mots-clés : kow, kuga1239, kugama, wam, Nigeria, langues adamawa, langues d'Afrique, ton, rehaussement tonal, logophoricité, noms propres, allomorphie, morphosyntaxe, grammaire, description linguistique, documentation linguistique

A grammatical analysis and documentation of Kugama, an Adamawa language of Nigeria

Résumé en anglais

This thesis provides the first grammatical analysis of Kugama, an Adamawa language of Nigeria. It contains a comprehensive description of Kugama phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax. It also includes one story in Kugama and a bilingual Kugama-English lexicon comprising approximately 1800 entries. Kugama exhibits a variety of typologically and areally interesting features, such as the labio-velar consonants /kp/ and /gb/, length and nasality contrasts in vowels, rounding assimilation of vowels, stem-initial prosodic prominence, phonetic H-tone raising, tonal morphology, the absence of a noun class system, the lack of morphological number marking, STAMP-morphs, logophoricity, inalienable and alienable possession, a grammatical distinction between proper names and common nouns, and morphosyntactically conditioned nominal and verbal allomorphy. This research is based on data collected both in Nigeria and remotely from 2017 to 2023. The fieldwork on Kugama was carried out in the town of Mayo-Belwa, close to Kugama-speaking villages. The language name *Kugama* is an exonym. The speakers refer to their language as *ɲáá* ˬ*w̰ām* or *ɲáá* ˬ*w̰àā* 'Wam/Kugama language'.

Keywords: kow, kuga1239, Kugama, Wam, Nigeria, Adamawa languages, languages of Africa, tone, H-tone raising, logophoricity, proper names, allomorphy, morphosyntax, grammar, language description, language documentation