GRAMMAR ANALYSIS

Sisaaliŋ Tumuluŋ

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Grammar Analysis
Sisaala

1. The Clause

1.1. Non-verbal Clause

1.1.1. Nominal Clause, demonstrative: Part. loc. temp. adj.

Dia ne ngu. (part.)
House focus this
This is a house.

Tu-bal ne wurunj. (adj.)
Big tree focus very
This is a very big tree.

U dia ne daha. (loc.)
His house focus here
Here is his house.

Che-bal ne jinu. (temp.)
Day big focus today
It is a big day (festival) today.

1.1.2. Nominal Clause, descriptive (not common without verb)
Diibie geem.
Bird descr. for a long time
The bird did this for a long time.

1.1.3. Equative Clause
U yiru ne Hayugo.
Her name focus Hayugo
Her name is Hayugo.

1.1.4. Temporal Clause, demonstrative: part. temp.
Chee kala ngu ne. (part.)
Day every this focus
It was like this every day.

U tapclaa batori ne jinu.
Its days three focus today
It is three days today.

Itu ne deen deen chee-na kala.
This focus for a long time day focus every
It went on like this for a long time, every day.

1.2  
**Verbal Clause**

1.2.1  
**Copulative**

ɗaa + complement (nom. phr.)
descr. Adverb/adjective numeral

U ṇaa ků-bie nɛ. (nom. phr.) adj.
It is thing small focus
It is a small thing.

U ṇaa nyaaba nɛ. (nom. phr.) noun
He is poor person focus
He is a poor person.

Lee-la ṇaa foɔ. (descr. adjective)
Place the is descr. very quiet.
The place is very quiet.

Baal-la ṇaa woruŋ. (adverb)
Man the did well.
The man did well.

Niaa ṇaa baalা nɛ. (numeral)
The people are two focus.
The people are two.

1.2.2  
**Intransitive**

a)  Uni fil nɛ. (action verb)
He is jumping

b)  U suma. (stative verb. The only expansion is an
It is sweet. adverb or temperal)

1.2.3.  
**Transitive**

Baal-la nyua liiŋ.
Man the drank water
The man drank water.

1.2.4.  
**Ditransitive**

a)  U pt baal-la kudiilee.
He gave man the food.
He gave food to the man.

b)  U joŋ kudiilee pt baal-la.
He took food gave man the
He gave food to the man.

1.2.5. Motion (absol.)
Baal-la  mwa.
Man the  go (completive)
The man has gone.

1.2.6. Motion (directed)
Baal-la  mò  dia.
Man the  went (incompl.)  home.
The man went home.

1.2.7. Locative
Mì  nyumma  hé  dà  lé.
My father is  house  in.
My father is in the house.

1.2.8. Time
Baal-la  mò  dà  jinuj.
Man the  went  home  today.
The man went home today.

1.2.9. Adverbial
Baal-la  juj  v  tuntujaa  woroj.
Man the  know  his  work  well.
The man knows his work well.

1.2.10. Instrumental
Baal-la  hèj  dume  halu.
Man the  sat  there  descr.  for  a  long  time.
The man sat there for a long time.

1.2.11. Instrumental
Baal-la  hèj  dume  halu.
Man the  sat  there  descr.  for  a  long  time.
The man sat there for a long time.

1.3. Clause Expansions

1.2.1. Temporal
Final (focus part. not obligatory)
a)  Mì  nav  jinuj.
or  Mì  nav  jinuj  ne.
    I  saw  him  today  (focus).
    I saw him today.

b)  Mì  nav  yobo  cheejj.
or  Mì  nav  yobo  cheejj  ne.
    I  saw  him  market  day  (focus)
    I saw him on market day.
Initial (focus part. obligatory)

a) ʃɪŋ ne mɪ naų.
    Today focus I saw him
    I saw him today.

b) ʃɪbɔ cheŋ ne mɪ naų.
    Market day focus I saw him
    I saw him on market day.

Medial form without object does not require the focus particle

a) ʃɪ today saw him.
   I today saw him.

1.3.2. Locative

Final (focus part. not obligatory)

Mɪ naų ʃɪbɔ ne.
I saw him market in.
I saw him in the market.

or Mɪ naų ʃɪbɔ lɛ ne.
I saw him market in focus.
I saw him in the market.

Initial (focus part. obligatory)

ʃɪbɔ lɛ ne mɪ naų.
I saw him in focus.
I saw him in the market.

1.3.3. Adverbial

Final (adj. descr. or other)

U ŋaa felele.
It is descr. for lukewarm
It is lukewarm.

U tʊ v tʊŋŋa lʊma.
He worked his work quickly.
He did his work quickly.

Preceding the verb (+/- particle + modal verb) foc. obligatory

U faaʃa tʊ v tʊŋŋa ne. (modal verb)
He intensely works his work focus
He is a hard worker. (He works hard).

U yie faaʃa tʊ v tʊŋŋa ne.
(part. + modal verb)
He always intensely works his work focus
He always works hard.

1.3.4. Example of possible expansion:
He always stood unexpectedly in front of him like this.

2. The Sentence

2.1. Coordination

Baal-la kaa via, ka v haala bira chaarę.
Man the take refuse and (contrast) his wife again take out.
The man refused to take, and his wife took (them) out again.

Tumu sisele ka waa ne, ama v ha bi
Tumu now contin. marker grow focus, but it still not døre.
finish
Tumu is growing now, but it is not finished yet.

Baala m vo supaaŋ, aŋ ka v haala mage haruŋ.
man go front but his wife stay back.
The man went ahead, but his wife stayed behind.

Wiaa bi niaa che, maa n che wiaa.
Trouble not people seek, people cont. seek trouble.
Trouble does not seek people, people seek trouble.

Leriŋ kala hila see vil-bala dundoŋa ne keŋ luŋ.
Place all dry except well one only focus has water
The place is dry except one well which has water.

2.2 Subordination

2.2.1. Condition/Time

Subordinate clause sentence initial:

(Di) ḋe ne bi maa, m jajŋ ṣmobinŋ.
if you focus not go, I will beat you.
(‘di’ optional)
If you don’t go, I will beat you.

(Di) ḋe ne m vo Kumasi, yɔɔ geruŋ kaa kɔ pumę. (‘di’ opt.)
When you focus go Kumasi, buy cloth take come give me.
When you go to Kumasi, buy a cloth for me.

(Di) ḋe ne kɔ m vo Kumasi, yɔɔ geruŋ kaa kɔ pumę
If you foc. come go Kumasi, buy cloth take come give me
If you happen to go to Kumasi, buy a cloth for me.
Subordinate clause sentence final: (‘d’ obligatory)

Ba bī yie dī baal-la.chuŋ ba sūpaŋ
They not reached when man the stood they front
They had not reached when the man stood in front of them.

2.2.1.1. Two conditional clauses following each other:

(Dī) D mū yōbo koo (dī) n mū baga,
If you go market or if you go farm
n jaŋ naba.
you will see them.
If you go to market or if you go to farm, you will see them.

(Dī) v nu yī dia, dī ba tuo dūmē,
If he cont. reach house, if they not be there
v jaŋ mūmē.
he will return.
If he reaches the house and they are not there, he will return.
(First ‘dī’ optional, second ‘dī’ obligatory)

2.2.2. Relative
Relative clause sentence initial:

Baal-la sī hē Kumasi lē, (v) chie
Man the who is Kumasi in, he tomorrow
jaŋ kō.
will come.
The man who is in Kumasi will come tomorrow.

Relative clause sentence final:

Baal-la tuŋ fa cheye v haala sī sī v
Man the inside past sad his wife when said she
jaŋ viiri.
will go home
The man was sad when his wife said she would go home.

Relative clause not marked: ‘sī’ optional.

Tapolu kala v (sī) yie nāa kūdiilee,
Day every he (when) always make food,
kū-la kū nūmō.
thing the came deceive him
Every day when he was cooking, the thing came and deceived him.

2.2.3. Purpose: (high tone on ‘dī’ in contrast to cond./time which is low tone)
U tŋ baal-la dɔŋ mʋ Kumasi.
He send man the that he go Kumasi.
He sent the man to Kumasi.

U tumba dí bá mʋ Kumasi.
He send them that they go Kumasi
He sent them to Kumasi.

2.2.3.1. Two ‘di’ sentences following each other:
Ba mʋ da di ba saa kɔlɔŋ di baal-la dii.
They go home that they cook tizet that man the eat
They went home to cook tizet so that the man could eat.

2.2.4. Indirect speech
Baal-la bɔlɔ aŋ v jaŋ mʋ Kumasi.
Man the said that he will go Kumasi
The man said he would go to Kumasi.

2.2.5. Explanatory Clause
Laa bɔlɔŋ aŋ ŋ si kənla kaa mʋ Kumsai
We thank you that you rel.have us take go Kumasi
We thank you that you took us to Kumasi.

U ŋaa kudiilee aŋ v haala st yie
He make food like his wife relat. always
ŋaa ŋu.
make like this.
He cooked food just like his wife always did.

2.2.6. Reason
U sî vʋ (dʋ) mʋ Kumasi nɛ,
He said that he go Kumasi focus,
ŋu nɛ tu v jʋ lɔri-la.
that’s why he entered car the
He said he was going to Kumasi, that’s why he entered the car.

Bile dìa bì sikuuri mʋa, bɛɛ wiaa v
Child the yesterday not school went, because he
bì doloŋ kɛnɛ.
not strength had.
The child did not go to school yesterday because he wasn’t well.

2.2.7. Subordination without any markers
U hɔŋ dìa le halu, wu jʋ.
He sat house in descr. for a long time sun entered
He was in the house for a long time, until the sun went down.

*See also 2.2.2. final clause: Relative clause not marked.

2.2.8. Combination of subordinate clauses

Laa lalləŋ ari ŋ si ŋaa kudiilee
we thank you that relat. you made food give
pila dì la dii.
us that we eat.
We thank you that you cooked food for us so that we could eat.

Dì ŋ kò da see dì ŋ saa krılenŋ.
When you come home unless that you make tizet
When you come home, you should make tizet.

2.3. Sequences of non-full clauses to make a sentence.

2.3.1. Subject missing

Badere saa sii a keŋ nęŋ-la a kaa
Spider then get and had cow the and take
kpu a saa joŋ nyuŋ a...
kill and then took head and...
Then the spider got up and took the cow and killed it and then took
the head and...

U mño baga aŋ bì pere.  
He went farm and (contrast) not hoe.
He went to the farm but did not hoe.

U bì baga mwa jınıŋ aŋ to mño yoho-la.  
He not farm went today and rather went to funeral
the.
He did not go to farm today but rather went to the funeral.

2.3.2. Predicate missing

Mi dünduŋa bì jaŋ mʊ Kumasi, see mi  
I alone not will go Kumasi, unless we
dì mi nandęŋ.  
and my friend
I will not go to Kumasi alone, I will only go with my friend.

2.3.3. Full clause + temporal
Mɪ  jɑŋ  mʊ  dɑ  see  chie.
I will go home, unless tomorrow
or
Mɪ  jɑŋ  mʊ  dɑ  kɑ  dɪ  chie.
I will go home and so (contrast) tomorrow.
I will go home until tomorrow.

3. Main elements of the Clause

3.1. Nominal phrase

3.1.1. Pronoun system
Pronouns, subject/object:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl. unemph.</th>
<th>pl. emph.</th>
<th>pl. unemph.</th>
<th>pl. emph.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pers.</td>
<td>Mɪ</td>
<td>mɪ-na</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>la-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pers.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>ŋ-na</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pers.</td>
<td>ʋ</td>
<td>ʋ-na</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ba-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2. Articles
sg: noun stem plus suffix “-la”
eg. baala ‘man’
baal-la ‘the man’
pl: noun plural minus last vowel/consonant, plus suffix ‘-la’ (plus suffix ‘-liŋ’, irreg.)
eg. baalaa ‘men’
baala-la ‘the men’
kiaa ‘things’
kialuŋ ‘the things’

3.1.3. Demonstratives
sg. deŋ ‘this’ baala deŋ ‘this man’
pl. deamba ‘these’ baalaa deamba ‘these men’
sg. ɗọŋ ‘other’ baala ɗọŋ ‘another man’
pl. ɗọŋŋ ‘other’ baalaa ɗọŋŋ ‘other men’

3.1.4. Predicatives
sg./pl. ŋu ‘that, like that’ Pɪaa ne ŋu. ‘Those are yams.’
sg./pl. ŋ-la ‘this, like this’ Pɪaa ne ŋ-la. ‘These are yams.’

3.1.5. Numerals
one sg. kɔbala (pl: kɔbalaba ‘some’)
baal kɔbala ‘one man’
baalaa kɔbalaba ‘some men’
two balɑ/bahɑmɑŋ
naa bal’a ‘two people’
naa balaŋ ‘two people’ or ‘these two people’
(with article the form with “-ŋ” is usually used.)

mwa ‘little’
yeŋe ‘many’
kuŋkeŋ ‘plenty’

3.1.6. Adjective or adverb
(use is very restricted)
woruŋ ‘very’

Tu-bal ne wuruŋ. (“woruŋ” in this position in the
Tree big focus very. clause only occurs following This
is a very big tree.
stem + adjective root + foc.)

3.1.7. Interrogative
kewee ne ‘who’
beee ne ‘what’
nu ne ‘where’
Kewee ne? Who foc. marker
Who is it?

3.1.8. Indefinitive
affirm. kweŋkala ‘everything’
eg. kweŋkala bi ‘nothing’
affirm. nuŋkala ‘everybody’
eg. nuŋkala bi ‘nobody’

3.1.9. Order of elements in the Nominal Phrase
3.1.9.1. With noun as head
-/+ poss. + noun -/+ demonstr. -/+ loc. -/+ num. (sequence) or
woruŋ (adj.)

v hambiisŋ deemba batorì kala (kala kala)
His children these three all all all his three children

v hambiisŋ deemba batorì dɔndəŋa
his children these three only
only these three children

taŋ-la dàhà zɔmɔ
town the loc. is good
This part of the town here is good.

taŋ deŋ dàhà zɔmɔ
town this here is good.
This town here is good.

ku-bie deeŋ ku-biisiŋ deembə
thing small this thing small (pl.) these
this small thing these small things

tu-bal nɛ woruŋ
tree big focus very.
this tree is a very big tree

v-na baala deenj
he emph. man this

3.1.9.2. Without noun as head
Pronoun replacing noun:

Ba kala nɛ kɔ.
They all focus came.

Ba balamunŋ kala nɛ kɔ.
They two all focus came.
All the two came.

Ba kala batorimuŋ deembə nɛ kɔ.
They all three these focus came.
All these three came.

Number replacing noun:

Balu nɛ kɔ. mua mua ka.
Two focus came. Small small left.
Two came. Little is left.

Demonstrative:

Dɔŋ nɛ kɔ. Dɔnsoŋ nɛ kɔ. Deenŋ zoom. other focus came Others focus came. This good.
The other one came. The others came. This one is good.

3.1.9.3. With relative Clause
Baala-la batori stŋ mʊ Kumasi.
Man the three who went Kumasi
The three men who went to Kumasi.

3.1.9.4. Coordinate Nominal Phrase

La ɗi mɪ njaana
We and my younger brother
I and my younger brother

Haala-la arì baala-la kala
Women the and men the all
All the women and men

3.1.9.5. Associative Nominal Phrase

baal-la nyumma
man the father
the man’s father

baal kɔbala nyumma dɔa
man certain father house
a certain man’s father’s house
haalaa deemba balɔ nyumma dɔa
women these two father house
These two women’s father’s house

3.1.9.6. Loc. Nominal Phrase

Yaŋ tɔŋ kaa
Bush inside things
Bush animals

3.2 Order of elements in the Verbal Clause

3.2.1. Preverbal Particles

3.2.1.1. Aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Hist. Past</th>
<th>Hist. Intentional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jaŋ</td>
<td>fa (perfect)</td>
<td>fa jaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faa (imperfect)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I will come.  I had come  I would have come

Imperfective aspect markers

If a pronoun is preceding the verb, the pronoun is lengthened, and the stress marker “nɛ” is added at the end of the phrase.

Uɔ mɔ yɔbɔ nɛ  He is going to market
(Contrast: U mɔ yɔbɔ  He went to market)

Otherwise:  nu OR ka nɛ

Haal-la nu mɔ yɔbɔ.  The woman is going to market.
OR
Haal-la ka mɔ yɔbɔ nɛ.  The woman is going to market.

Negative: order: neg. object verb

Haal-la bɔ yɔbɔ mɔ.  The woman is not going to market.
OR
Haal-la bɔ yɔbɔ ka mɔ.  The woman is not going to market.

Haal-la fa bɔ yɔbɔ mɔa.  The woman had not to the market.
BUT:
Haal-la fa bî jaŋ m̡o yêbo. The wom. would not have gone the market.

3.2.1.2. Particles which show the relation of the clause and which precede the neg. marker if the sentence has neg. form.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{U } \text{vie } bî \text{ dia ka m̡o.} & \text{U } \text{vie } m̡o \text{ dia.} \\
\text{He always not home go} & \text{He always went home} \\
\text{He never goes home.} & \text{He always goes home.} \\

\text{U } \text{saa } bî \text{ dia m̡o.} & \text{U } \text{saa } m̡o \text{ dia.} \\
\text{He then not home went} & \text{He then went home.} \\
\text{He therefore did not go home.} & \text{He therefore went home.} \\

\text{U } \text{bra } bî \text{ dia m̡o.} & \text{U } \text{bra } m̡o \text{ dia.} \\
\text{He again not home went} & \text{He again went home.} \\
\text{He did not go home again.} & \text{He went home again.} \\

\text{U } \text{yaan } bî \text{ dia m̡o.} & \text{U } \text{yaan } m̡o \text{ dia.} \\
\text{He not at all not home went} & \text{He habitually went home} \\
\text{He did not go home at all.} & \text{Her regularly went home.} \\

\text{U } \text{paala } bî \text{ dia m̡o.} & \text{U } \text{paala } m̡o \text{ dia.} \\
\text{He even not home went} & \text{He even went home.} \\
\text{He even did not go home.} & \text{He even went home.} \\

\text{U } \text{ha } bî \text{ dia m̡o.} & \text{U } \text{ha } \text{hē } \text{dum}̡e \\
\text{He still not home went} & \text{He still is there} \\
\text{He has not gone home yet.} & \text{He is still there.} \\
\end{array}
\]

Two particles:
\[
\text{U } \text{vie } \text{bira } \text{chichē } \text{kiaa.} \\
\text{He always again (cont.) look for things.} \\
\text{He is always looking for things again.}
\]

\[
\text{U } \text{vie } \text{bra } \text{bi } \text{kiaa } \text{ka chē.} \\
\text{He always again not things cont. part. look for} \\
\text{He is never looking for things again.}
\]

\[
\text{U } \text{vie } \text{bra } \text{bi } \text{diał } \text{m̡o.} \\
\text{He always again not home(cont.) go.} \\
\text{He is not going home any more.}
\]

Time words in medial position also fill in this slot.
He yest. not market went. He yest. go market.
He did not go to market yesterday. He went to market yesterday.

He did not go to market yesterday.

He went to market yesterday.

3.2.1.3. Modal verbs
There may be a sequence of two modal verbs.
eg. fiela ‘slowly’
    faasa ‘intensely etc.’
If the clause has neg. form, modal verbs follow the neg.marker ‘bi’.

He slowly walking go home focus
He is walking home slowly.

Negative
He not slowly walk go home.
He is not walking home slowly.

Two modal verbs:

He again slowly walk go home
He walked again home slowly.

He did not walk home slowly again.

3.2.1.4. Auxiliary verbs.
order: auxiliary verb-verb
or auxiliary verb-complement-verb
    keŋ ‘have’    can be preceded by verb “wuo” ‘can’
    joŋ ‘take’
    kʋ ‘come’    verb: kо
joŋo ku! ‘put it down!’ (take put down)
joŋo pi! ‘take give!’
kʋ jоŋо! ‘come enter!’

He take pot put down ground.
He put the pot on the ground.

He have his friend take go home.
He took his friend home.
U jaŋ wuo joŋ bile mvu dia.
He will can take child go home.
He will be able to take the child home.

U joŋ kədiilee pt v nandəŋ.  
He take food give his friend.  
He gave food to his friend.

3.2.2 Serial verbs  
There can be many verbs in a series without any particle in between.

Fâ mvu kaa mvu pe.  
Run go take go give him.  
Run and give it to him.

U fâ mvu jaaaa dia.  
He run go entered house.  
He ran and entered the house.

Sii joŋ kədiilee kaa mvu dia.  
Get up take food take go home.  
Get up and take the food home.

3.2.2.1. Verbs which are always at the end of a series:

U che nuaa ka.  
He looked for people failed.  
He looked for people and failed.

U təŋ v tətəŋaa dere.  
He worked his work finished.  
He finished his work.

U fâ lel.  
He ran lost  
He ran away.

3.2.2.2. Same verb repeated in a series:

U che che nuaa ka.  
He look for look for people failed.  
He looked and looked for people and failed.

3.2.3. Adjectival Verbs  
These are intransitive verbs and don’t take the perfective form when negative.

U jaŋ zəŋ.  
It will be good.  
comp. U jaŋ jul.  
He will climb.
U zəmə.  
It is good.  
U jula.  
He climbed.
U bi zəŋ.  
It is not good.  
U bi jul.  
He did not climb.
(⋆U bì zëmö not possible)

U suma. It is sweet.
U faasa suma këkëkë këkëkë. It is still very, very
intensely sweet very much very much sweet (nice).

3.2.4. Positional verbs

họŋ ‘to sit’
chọŋ ‘to stand’

These verbs have to be followed by a loc. phrase, and they cannot take
imperfective aspect.

U họŋ da le.
He sit house in.
He sat in the house.

3.3. Relational Phrases

3.3.1. Locative Phrase

Noun phrase as head noun + loc. noun
loc. particle
U họŋ da ṭọŋ. U họŋ da le.
He sat house inside. He sat house in.
He sat inside the house. He sat in the house.

U họŋ da haruŋ.
He sat house back.
He sat at the back of the house.

Location word as head:

Dumë ‘there’ U he dumë.
He is there.
daha ‘here’ U he daha.
He is here.

3.3.2. Temporal Phrase

Clause initial and clause final:

Head: time noun

Tapelü këbala e më Kumasi.
day one he went Kumasi.
One day he went to Kumasi.
Head noun phrase + time noun:
U tapəlaa batori cheŋ ne.       U tapəlaa batori cheŋ ba sii viiri.
Its days three day focus.       On the third day they got up and went home.

A whole clause:
Chechøŋ a kaa me didaanŋ
Morning and take go evening
From morning to evening

Temp. phrase which can be initial, medial or final:
temp. word:  daa ‘yesterday’
duo ‘the day before yesterday, etc.’

3.3.3 Adverbal phrase clause final
rel: art + N. P. Or a nage+ N.P.

Mɛ ari yarfielaa.       U venε a nage v nyinma
Go with health.       He walk and like his father
Go in peace!       He walked like his father.

Head + adverb

woruŋ ‘much, very’ repeated:  kʊŋkeŋ kʊŋkeŋ
kʊŋkeŋ ‘much’
gel gel ‘lightly’

Descriptive adverbs/adjectives can be added to ordinary verbs, but many following the verb ɲaa ‘is’.

U ɲaa  felele ne.
It is descrip. almost cold, lukewarm
It is lukewarm.

U ɲaa kʊbine ne firi firi firi.
It is  black focus very very very black (only used with kʊbine)
It is very, very black.

Clause medial modal verbs have adverbial character:
(see modal verbs):  U fiela veŋ.
He slowly walked.
He walked slowly.
Morphology

1. The Nominal
1.1. Formation of singular and plural

Singular: sg. stem + sg. suffix

- baal-a ‘man’
- suuŋ ‘guinea fowl’

sg. with article + sg. stem
+ art. suffix ‘-la’

- baal-la ‘that man’
- suuŋ-la ‘that guinea fowl’

plural: sg. stem + pl. suffix

- baal-aa ‘men’

pl. with sing: stem + (pl. suffix minus last cons. or V) + -la or –liŋ

- baala-la ‘the men’
- suuŋŋa ‘guinea fowl’
- suunu-la ‘the guinea fowls’

but:
- naa ‘people’
- nua-liŋ ‘the people’

1.2 Noun classes

Noun stems can be divided into four classes according to the plural suffixes they take.

- group 1 -VV
- group 2 -CVŋ
- group 3 -ba
- group 4 no suffix

Only nouns of group 3 and group 4 belong to semantic groups.

1.2.1. Group 1
This group takes –VV for plural and either Vŋ or V for singular.

1.2.1.1 Consonant final stems except stems ending with ‘m’ and ‘b’
These take –Vŋ or –V in the singular. The plural –VV is just added to the stem without change of the stem.

Examples:
- peel-ŋ  peel-ee  ‘mountain’
- tapɔl-ŋ  tapɔl-aa  ‘day’
- hɔl-ŋ  hɔl-ɔɔ  ‘charcoal’
- haal-a  haal-aa  ‘woman’
- kuor-ɔ  kuor-oo  ‘charcoal’
- pies-ɛ  pies-ee  ‘sheep’
1.2.1.2. Stems ending with ‘m’ or ‘b’
The ‘m’ or ‘b’ is changed into ‘åå’ in plural

Examples:
- hâm - hâåå 'arrow'
- ji mâ - jiåå 'arrow'
- tôm - tôåå 'beard'
- lêb - lâåå 'shelter'

1.2.1.3. Stems ending with two vowels.
These take –å in the singular and –VV in plural.

Subgroup 1: Second vowel drops in plural form:
Examples:
- pu-ŋ - pû-aa 'yam'
- su-ŋ - st-aa 'eye'
- bi-ŋ - bi-ee 'seed'

Subgroup 2: Second vowel doesn’t drop in plural form.
Examples:
- jeeŋ - jey-ee 'wall'
- boi-ŋ - boy-ee 'gate'
- bubui-ŋ - bubuy-aa 'duck'
("i" interpreted as “y” in plural form)

Subgroup 3: Consonant ‘r’ is added to the stem in plural form:
Examples:
- în-ŋ - lur-aa 'water'
- noo-ŋ - noor-aa 'sheanut butter'
- nii-ŋ - niir-ee 'mouth'

1.2.2. Group 2
This group takes –CVŋ for plural. The sing. Suff. is –ŋ or –V or #
Examples:
- suu-ŋ - suu-nûŋ 'guinea fowl'
- too-ŋ - too-nûŋ 'pig'
- liŋi-ŋ - liŋi-ŋ 'fence'
- nyi-ŋ - nyi-ľiŋ 'horn'
- dundol-o - dundol-lun 'hill'
- kûkëŋ - kûkën-şûŋ 'wing'

1.2.2.2. These nouns have the singular suffix #. The stem changes in different ways when the plural suffix is added.

1.2.2.2.1. The last CV of the singular stem drops in plural form.

Examples:
- fehe fe-siŋ 'stomach'
- kaha ka-suŋ 'grass'
- gentine gentin-siŋ 'tree trunk'

(One can usually see what the noun stem consists of from the way the article is added)
- fehe-la 'the stomach' (not fe-la)
- pire-la 'the hoe'
- but: nyil-la 'the horn' (from nyile 'horn')

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1.2.2.2. The last V of the singular stem changes into a transitional vowel in plural form.
Examples: pire → piri-siŋ ‘hoe’
          baga → bagi-siŋ ‘farm’
          chuga → chogo-siŋ ‘load’

1.2.2.3. The singular stem is not changed in pl. form, exc. for changing η to n
Examples: bere → bere-siŋ ‘trap’
          daboro → daboro-siŋ ‘wood’
          loŋ → lon-nuŋ ‘gourd’
          gugonŋ → gugon-nuŋ ‘gugon-nuŋ’

1.2.2.4. Heterogenous vowels become homogenous.
Examples: dia → du-siŋ ‘house’
          bie → bii-riŋ ‘child’
          tua → tu-siŋ ‘tree’

1.2.2.5. Some nouns with ending –CVC have the stem final consonant changed
in plural form, but not all of them.
Examples: gerŋ → gen-nuŋ ‘dress’
          moŋ-ŋ → mo-suŋ ‘straw’
          ŋmē-ŋ → ŋmē-suŋ ‘rope’
          but: ŋmēn-ŋ → ŋmē-nē ‘okra’

1.2.3. Group 3
This group takes –ba in the plural form and # in the singular. (Mainly
kinship terms and borrowed words)
Examples: ŋaanŋ → ŋaam-ba ‘mother’
          nyumma → nyimma-ba ‘father’
          nyumma → nyimma-ba ‘bucket’ (engl.)
          amanŋ → aman-ba ‘small fish’ (Twi)

1.2.4. Group 4
This group takes no plural form.
(mainly abstract words, diseases, verbal nouns, collective nouns, etc.)

abstract nouns: doluŋ ‘strength’
                fawellŋ ‘fear’

diseases: tuturuŋ ‘catarrh’
          tcō-lenni ‘disentry’

verbal nouns: duunuŋ ‘drumming’
              yra ‘meeting’

others: daarŋ ‘soup’
        yamŋ ‘sour water’
1.3. Adjectives

There are only descriptive adjectives.
Examples:  Leriŋ kala ŋaa fɔu nɛ.
            Place all is descr. very quiet
            The place is very quiet.

Numerals can be added to the noun, there is no concordance, except
for numbers where there is an optional concordance. See 3.1.5.
            nnaa yɔɡɛ ‘many people’
            piaa mɔa ‘a few yams’

1.4. Concordant morphemes following the noun:
Only demonstratives. See 3.1.3.

1.5. Compound nouns

1.5.1. Noun—Adjective Compounds
There are two kinds of adj. noun compounds:

1. Noun stem + bound adj. root + sg. or pl. suffix

Examples:  tu-bal-ŋ ‘big tree’  tu ‘tree’
           Tu-bal-aa ‘big trees’ -bal- ‘big’
           kv-bal-ŋ ‘big thing’  kvŋ ‘thing’
           kv-bal-aa ‘big things’  kv ‘thing’

2. Noun stem + root of stative verb plus sg./ or pl. suffix

Examples:  kv-zɔm-ŋ ‘good thing’  zɔŋ ‘to be good’
           (imperfect)
           kv-zɔŋŋɔɔ ‘good things’  zɔmɔ ‘to be good’
           (perfect)

1.5.2. Verbal nouns

1. noun stem + verbal noun
Examples:
           pupoi-meere ‘potter’ (pot moulder) meere to put together
           du-saara ‘builder’ (house builder) saa to build
           pie-daara ‘shepherd’ (sheep watcher daa ‘to look after’)

2. verbal root + noun ending
Examples:  cho-nuŋ ‘love’  cho ‘love’
           suŋ ‘death’  suŋ ‘to die’
           laataa-ra ‘saviour’  laa...ta ‘to save’
3. noun stem + verb (perfective form))
   Examples: nyu-yelle (pillow) ‘head leaner’ yelli-yelle ‘to lean against’
   ke-pva ‘rotten thing’ pva pva ‘to get rotten’
   ke-wuolo ‘empty thing’ wuoli wuolo ‘to get empty’

4. noun stem + verbal root + adverb + noun
   Examples: wo-bel-kuŋeŋ kuŋeŋ tuna ‘big talker’
              thing speak much much owner
   (with ‘tuna’ many other combinations can be made,
   nyu-kpoiŋ tuna ‘bold headed person’
   head th. like a ball owner

1.5.3. Compound nouns which are formed from two noun stems of nouns
1. uncontracted roots
   Examples: da tolo ‘mouse’ da ‘house’
               tolo ‘daughter’
   The meaning of the compound noun has changed in this case.

   gɔŋe-pire ‘iron hoe used as a musical instrument’
   gɔŋ ‘musician’
   pire ‘hoe’
   The meaning of the compound noun has not changed in this case.

2. Contracted roots
   Examples: ha-tolo ‘young woman’ root: haal- ‘woman’
               tolo ‘daughter’
               ba-vire ‘man’s granary’ root: baal- ‘man’
               vire granary

3. noun stem + noun
   Examples: lu-neŋ hippopotamus (water cow)
              lu-ŋ ‘water’
              neŋ ‘cow’
              bagul-neŋ bush cow
              bagul-a ‘bush animal’
              neŋ ‘cow’
   (a transitional vowel connects the two nouns in this last case).
2. The Verb

2.1 Aspects and Tenses

Aspects: imperfective — continuous or habitual action
          perfective — completed action

Tenses: actual, historical, intentional (future), historical
        intentional, imperative.

Focus: Every verb can have two forms: focus and no focus.

A chart about aspects, tenses and focus with examples follows.

2.2 Verb changes in imperfective/perfective aspects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CVV*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>CVCV*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV(V)CV</td>
<td>CV(V)CV*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV(CVCV)</td>
<td>CV(CVCV)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*harmomizing high vowel

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high tone verbs:</td>
<td>high tone verbs:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vá m̱i ne</td>
<td>vá m̱a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vá j̱il né</td>
<td>vá j̱ul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vá víiri né</td>
<td>vá víiré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vá kiriš né</td>
<td>vá kirišé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(! means down step)

low tone verbs: k`o to come  fīl to fly  yīgi to push

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative affirmative and negative:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>víírí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>to high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiriši</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*! means high downstep
Rules for forming imperfective and perfective (affirmative) aspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>Historical</th>
<th>Intentional</th>
<th>Hist. Intentional</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| High tone on the first syllable of the verb. Lengthened vowel with high tone on the pronoun or particle, ‘ká’ or ‘ní’ precedes the verb. Obligatory foc. marker ‘ne’ follows the verb if it is now preceded by ‘ní’.
| Focus          | Actual              | Historical           | Intentional | Hist. Intentional | Imperative |
| non focus      | low tone fà         | jàn      | fà jàn      | intentional form of verb |
| Actual         |                     |                      |             |                   |            |
| Historical     |                     |                      |             |                   |            |
| Intentional    |                     |                      |             |                   |            |
| hist. intentional |                   |                      |             |                   |            |
| Imperative     |                     |                      |             |                   |            |

b. Perfective affirmative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>Historical</th>
<th>Intentional</th>
<th>Hist. Intentional</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fàa</td>
<td>b fàa díi nè</td>
<td>b fàa díi nè</td>
<td>b fàa díi nè</td>
<td>b fàa díi nè</td>
<td>(b) díi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fà</td>
<td>b fà bènè</td>
<td>b fà bènè</td>
<td>b fà bènè</td>
<td>b fà bènè</td>
<td>(b) bènè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form in brackets occurs when an object follows the verb.

Examples:

U dial díi kaa. 'He ate yesterday.'

He yest. ate things

U dial die. 'He ate yesterday.'

He yest. Ate
2.4 Serial Verbs
When verbs occur in series, all the polysyllabic verbs with exception of the last one in the series take perfective suffixes. If the series is in focus, only the first verb takes focus tone. If the series is out of focus, all the verbs take non-focus tone.

Examples: Two verbs in series:
Perf. focus: ù jîlâ jîv nà. He climbed, entered saw.
no focus: ù jîlà jîv nà. He climbed, entered saw.

So that he is climbing in order to enter and see.

no focus: àá jîl dêjîv nà. and is climbing in order to enter and see.
jîl ‘to climb’ (high tone)
jîv ‘to enter’ (low tone)

3. Adjuncts
Over extended adverbs: They are common.
Examples: haliii ‘for a long time’
fuiii ‘very quiet’ (often nazalised)

Particles: Nearly all the particles can be lengthened if preceding a verb in imperfective aspect.

Example:
ba kala sìì àá ñàa kûdiîle nê.
they all got up and were making food.
They all got up and were cooking.

4. Transformation

4.1 Question

4.1.1 Question words

Any phrase in the clause can be replaced by a question word or phrase. If the question phrase or word replaces the subject, the focus form of the verb has to be used, otherwise the non-focus form is used.

Examples: Bëë kûñ nê dia télê?
What thing focus yest. fell?
What fell yesterday?
tèl ‘to fall’
télê ‘perfective focus’

Tu bëë nê ñêmama dia jîl?
tree what emph. monkey yesterday climb?
jîl ‘to climb’
jîlà ‘perf. focus’
If the locational phrase is replaced by a question phrase, the subject can be in focus in imperfective aspect, but not in perfective aspect. The verb always has non-focus tone.

Examples: Nu le ne ò fil? imperf. focus
Where is he flying? two
Nu le ne ò fifil? imperf. no focus possibilities
Where is he flying?
Nu le ne ò fil? perf. non focus only this form
Where did he fly? is possible

4.1.2. A statement can be changed into a question by change of intonation only and lengthening of the last phoneme of the clause.

Examples: U mʊ dia nɛ. He went home.
U mʊ dia nɛɛ? Did he go home?
U mʊ dia ne kʊo? Did he go home? or (Here the question word ‘or’ has been added).

Sometimes the emph. particle at the end falls away in question form, but the last consonant or vowel is lengthened.

Examples: Mɪ tɔŋ Ṇe. I am sitting down.
Mɪ Ṇoŋ? Can I sit down?

4.2. Imperative

4.2.1. Direct command:

The negative particle ‘bɪ’ becomes ‘sɪ’. The low tone verb becomes high, the high tone verb high downstep. See morphology in 2.3.

If there is an object in the clause, the object is front shifted and precedes the verb.

Examples:
Sɪ lʊɔrɪ ɣɪgʊ! Don’t push the lorry! low tone v. ɣɪgʊ
Sɪ tɛnɪŋ ɣmɛnɔ! Don’t write the letter! low tone v.
Sɪ jɪŋŋɛ kɪrɪ!sʊ! Don’t call the chickens! high tone v.

As mentioned in 2.3. the phoneme ‘i’ changes into ‘u’ in polysyllabic verbs.
4.2.2. Indirect command:

It is expressed by a high tone plural at the beginning of the clause.

Examples:
Mt bëla pi haal-la diò k’ô.
I told the woman the that she come.

dì ö becomes döö.

Mt bëla po döö dëi kaa.
I told him to eat (things).

4.3. Negative

4.3.1 No object in the clause:

Imperfective aspect: high tone bi

Perfective aspect: low tone bi

Examples: 
mì mò né I am going
mì bi mò I am not going.
mì mè (né) I went (né not obligatory, but used often).
mì bi dia mè I did not go. (emph. part falls away).

4.3.2 Object in the clause

The objet precedes the verb instead of following it in the neg. form.
Subj. neg. part. ‘bi’ – obj. – verb

Imperfective aspect: Either the object preceding the verb is lengthened or the object is followed by the particle ‘ka’.

Perfective aspect: The verb has perfective suffix (it is clause final).

In both aspects the neg. particle ‘bi’ has got low tone, no emph, particle ‘né’ clause final.

Examples:

imperf. aspect: 
mì mò dia né I am going home
mì bi diaá mú I am not going home
or mì bi dia ká mú I am not going home

perfective aspect: 
mì mò dia (né) I went home
mì bi dia mè I did not go home.
4.3.3. Object + locational particle

If a locational particle or another particle follows the object, this particle is also front shifted and precedes the verb.

Examples:
- mì chà baga le nè
  I stayed on the farm for the night.
- Mì bi baga le chà.
  I did not stay on the farm for the night.
- mì pé ù le nè
  I helped her.
- mì bi ù le pё
  I did not help her.
  pё le ‘to help’

4.3.4. Serial verbs with objects

If two verbs precede an object in affirm. clause, the object is not front shifted.

Examples:
- Mì vene mò dia nè.
  I walked (went) home.
- Mì bi vene mò dia.
  I did not walk home.

If two verbs precede an object and the first one is an aux. verb, the object is front shifted.

Examples:
- Mì joŋ teniŋ nè bil.
  I put the paper down.
- Mì bi teniŋ joŋo bil.
  I did not put the paper down.
  joŋo ‘not’