

## Complex Verb Morphology in Kulango (Gur): Similarities and Dissimilarities with Bantu\*

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### 1. Background Information on Kulango and Gur

#### (1) Position of Kulango in Gur

Niger-Congo, Gur (Manessy 1982/1999, Naden 1989)

Central Gur (e.g. Koromfe; Buli-Konni; Gulmancema; Moore; Dagbani; Kasem; Sisala)

Parallel branches: **Kulango-Loron**; Viemo; Tiefu

Position with respect to Central Gur is unclear: Wara-Natioero; Senufo group; Tusya

#### *Kulango-Loron group*

Teen (“Loron”)	Burkina Faso (between Kampti and Border BF/IC) Ivory Coast (between border BF/CF; centres; Govitan, Tehini)	8,100
Loma (“Loron”)	Ivory Coast (around Doropo)	8,007
Kulango <i>nabay</i>	Ivory Coast (2 villages north of Parc National de la Comoë) (SIL: under Bouna Kulango)	
northern dialect	Ivory Coast (around Bouna)	157,500
southern dialect	Côte d’Ivoire (around Bondoukou), Ghana (from border IC-Ghana and Wenchi)	104,000

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#### \* Abbreviations and symbols

- morpheme boundary between stem and affix
- + morpheme boundary between members of a compound
- = morpheme boundary between morphological word and clitic
- : 1) fused morphemes that cannot be segmented 2) morpheme in the object language whose meaning is translated by several morphemes in the meta language (e.g. porte-manteau morpheme)
- . 1) syllable boundary: CV.CV 2) morpheme boundary of petrified morpheme
- \* reconstructed form
- ext** extension; **ext1** first extension in a sequence of extensions; **v.n** verbal noun

**ATR** Advanced Tongue Root; **AP** Adverbial pronoun ‘there’ (cf. French *y, en*); **ASR** associative-reciprocal ‘together; each other’; **-CL** noun class suffix; **C** consonant; **CD:X** concord off the concord class X (non-human sg.), functioning as complement; **DEMN:B** demonstrative near B concord (human plural); **H** high tone; **H...** sequence of high tones; **IMPO** impositive verb extension; **L** low tone; **GEN** general conjunction; **GLP** general locative postposition ‘at, on’; **IM** imperfective; **N** homorganic nasal; **NEG** negative; **O:H** object pronoun of the concord class H (animate sg.); **O:X** object pronoun of the concord class X (non-human sg.); **PLUR** plulative verb extension; **S** subject pronoun; **S.1s** subject pronoun 1sg.; **S.2s** subject pronoun 2sg.; **S:H** object pronoun of the concord class H (animate sg.); **S:B** object pronoun of the concord class B (human pl.); **TENT** tentative verb extension; **V** vowel; **VV** sequence of two vowels (phonetically: long vowel or diphthong).

## 2. Verb structures and verb stem

### 2.1 Verb structures

#### (2) Verb structures

Stem	
stem	= root(-ext 1)(-ext 2)(-ext 3)
reduplicated stem	= stem-reduplication
compound stem	= stem 1 + stem 2
Verbal noun	= stem + noun class suffix + nominal tone pattern
Inflectional stem	= stem-(irregular) (Object pro. 1)-(Object pro. 2)-(clitic) + consonant inflectional tone pattern

With respect to allomorphy, two general phonological phenomena apply:

- 1) ATR vowel harmony (with a basic nine-vowel system:  
-ATR: ɪ ɛ a ɔ ʊ    +ATR: ɪ e o u
- 2) a tone system with no lexical tone classes in nouns and verbs

### 2.2 Verb stem: phonotactic structures

No lexical tone; CV, CVV canonical syllables

The following table (3) was established before the systematic checking of verbs with several extensions. The addition of the latter would raise the proportion of tri- and quadrisyllabics.

(3) Verb stems	n = 537	
monosyllabic	209 (38,9%)	
disyllabic	214 (39,3%)	
CV (133)	<b>bɪ</b>	cook
	<b>bĩ</b>	plait
CV.CV (190)	<b>daɪ</b>	ask (favour)
	<b>suma</b>	spit
CV.CV.CV (104)	<b>poromɪ</b>	sweat
	<b>fɔŋɔli</b>	wash (laundry)
CVV (69)	<b>kee</b>	fall
	<b>kãã</b>	fill
CVV.CV (14)	<b>hɔɔka</b>	turn, change
	<b>goeka</b>	make return
trissyllabic	113 (21,0%)	
quadrisyllabic	2 (0,4%)	
CVV.CV.CV (2)	<b>pɪratu</b>	die (plur.)

CV.CV.CV.CV (2)	<b>yegyege</b>	be weak, be flexible
	<b>hemeleme</b>	itch
CV.CV.CV.CV (3)	<b>dugaratu</b>	close (plur.); ext = <b>-ra, -tu</b>
	<b>xumakapa</b>	pour (plur.); ext = <b>-ka, -pa</b>
	<b>tagasutu</b>	shake (plur.); <b>-ga, -su, -tu</b> ext = <b>-ka, -pa</b>

Non-canonical verb structures contain syllables other than CV and CVV: CVN, initial V [ʔV]

(4a)	CVN.CV.CV (6)	<b>bāngali</b>	stitch (also: <b>bāŋali</b> ) <b>ba</b> stitch
	CVN.CV (3)	<b>kōndu</b>	give sth. as a present when selling
(4b)	VV	<b>oo</b>	vomit
	VCV	<b>ele</b>	lean against (tr., it.)

### 2.3 Verb stem: morphological structure

Verb stem = segmentally minimal free form of the verb (without object pronouns or enclitics; without verbal noun suffix).

Simple verb stem = a stem without an additional morpheme that modifies its lexical meaning

Complex verb stem = contains a morpheme modifying its lexical meaning: derivative verb suffix (verbal extension); an additional stem resulting in a compound verb; stem reduplication

(5)	simple stem	complex stem		
	<b>d<sub>1</sub></b> eat	stem = root + ext	<b>d<sub>1</sub>-tu</b>	eat (plur.)
	<b>h<sub>m</sub></b> sit	stem = root + ext1 + ext2	<b>da-ga-tu</b>	cut (plur.)
		stem = root + ext1 + ext2 + ext3	<b>ta-ga-su-tu</b>	shake (plur.)
		stem = compound verb	<b>d<sub>1</sub>-ka<sub>1</sub></b>	refusing to eat
		stem = reduplicated stem	<b>h<sub>g</sub>h<sub>g</sub></b>	tickle

## 3. Verbal extensions

### 3.1 Status

Verbal extension is verbal derivative suffix, verb-to-verb derivation; noun-to-verb derivation is rare and examples are mostly problematic.

Extensions have mainly been established by: **Addition (A)** to verb root. **Substitution (S)** of extension for another extension is relatively rare. **Petrified (P)**: no corresponding verb but similar form-meaning correspondence as in Addition or Substitution.

**Formal extension (FE)**: extensions that can be isolated on formal grounds (Addition or Substitution), but for which no clear meaning can be established.

**Terminal:** Verb endings that cannot be shown to be derivational suffixes.  
(Formal extension, Terminal cf. Meeussen 1967: formal extension/expansion)

### 3.2 Semantics

Two central notions: Position of a nominal referent in the verbal situation; Plurality of the verbal situation.

Prominence of pluratives in the verb system:

- (i) the existence of several extensions containing the semantic feature ‘plurative’: (plurative **-ga**, plurative **-tu**)
- (ii) the productivity of plurative **-tu**, repetitive **-pa**, including addition to verbs borrowed from Jula and Akan
- (iii) the occurrence in sequences of extensions
- (iv) plurative reading of verbal reduplication

Extensions including change in transitivity or voice only are absent from the system.

### 3.3 Shape

Basic form of extension: -ATR vowel; high vowel or low vowel (mid vowels only in allomorphs). Extensions undergo ATR harmony.

### 3.4 Verbal extensions in Kulango and their cognates

(6) Kulango verbal extensions

- **-pa repetitive:** an accomplished verbal situation is again the case. With active subject: subject repeats an action that was accomplished at an earlier moment: ‘X again, re-X’. With non-active subject: plurality of the subject (verb = lexically intransitive or medio-passive).
- **-tu plurative:** plurality of verbal situation: repetitive or distributive action, plurality of nominal referent.
- **-li iterative-expertive:**
  - 1) iterative “repetition of situation, the successive occurrence of several instances of the give situation”( Comrie 1976: 27)
  - 2) expertive: “the expertive meaning appears as a clear and obvious extension of the frequentative. Things frequently done become activities done expertly”. (Voeltz 1977: 39 on the cognate extension -IV in Dagara, based on Girault 1963).
- **-ra**
  - 1) plurative-terminative: plurative action done completely to an endpoint
  - 2) terminative (no plurative component): action done completely to an endpoint.
- **-ka impositive:** “put (sth.) into some position” (Schadeberg 2003: 74)
- **-si stative:** physical state of the subject of the verb.

- **-si depositive**: a nominal referent (subject, object) is brought into contact with the ground or is on the ground (cf. Bianco 1979: 33) “[ -si ] indique qu’au sens de base radical on ajoute un aspect locatif “détermine”, “de contact” ”.
- **-su tentative**: “actively making firm contact” (Schadeberg 2003: 77)
- **-mi positional**: “The common element of meaning is ‘assuming a position’, or – when used in a perfective aspect form – ‘to be in a position’ ”. (Schadeberg 2003: 75)
- **-ni comparative**: the position of a state of a nominal referent of the verb is evaluated by the subject or the speaker with respect to a standard. This use has been borrowed from Reineke (1995: 59), who describes it for languages of the Eastern branch of Oti-Volta.
- **-ga plulative**: plurality of verbal situation: repetitive action or plurality of a nominal referent.
- **separative**: ‘movement out of some original position’ (Schadeberg 2003: 78) Kulango has a large number of separative extensions most of them with a high rounded vowel: **-tu, -ru, -gu, -u, -la**
- **-ku congregative**: bringing persons together; from Emenanjo (1978: 112) for Igbo: “together in one place”.

Formally identical to extension, but no clear semantic link: **-li ; -ga ; -u**

Formal extensions with unclear meaning: **-ri, -ti**

Terminals

- identical to verbal extensions and formal extension:  
{ **pa, ga, gu, si, mi, ni, li, lu, la, ri** }
- different from verbal extensions:  
{ **ta, ba, di, da, du, gi, ge, fu, sa, na, la, lo, ro, yi, wa** }

### 3.5 Comparison

- Several verbal extensions are cognate with Proto-Bantu
- Correspondences with Central Gur are illustrated by Oti-Volta (Manessy 1975): reconstructions; forms with limited regional distribution have not been reconstructed.
- A few other languages where relevant for particular forms (Dogon, Igbo)

## (7) Comparative table

<b>Kulango</b>	<b>Gur (Oti-Volta)</b>	<b>Proto-Bantu</b>	<b>Other Niger-Congo</b>
<b>-pa</b> repetitive < K. adverb <b>pá</b> again			
<b>-tu</b> plurative < K. <b>-tu</b> separative			
<b>-tu</b> separative	POV <b>*-t</b> inversif	<b>*-ud-</b> separative (tr)	
<b>-ru</b> separative	<b>*-d</b> inversif	<b>*-ud-</b> separative (tr)	
<b>-la</b> separative			Dogon (Toro So) <b>-la</b> (Calme Griaule 1968)
<b>-ka, ika?</b> impositive	<b>-g</b> applicative? (Western OV e.g. Moore)	<b>*-ik-</b> impositive Meinhof: <b>*-eka</b>	
<b>-ku</b> congregative			Igbo: <b>-ko</b> congregative (Emenanjo 1978)
<b>-ga</b> plurative		<b>*-ag-</b> repetitive (pre-final, not extension)	
<b>-gu</b> separative	<b>-g</b> inversif (Western OV)	<b>*-uk-</b> separative (intr)	
<b>-u</b> separative < <b>-gu</b>			
<b>-si</b> stative	<b>*-s</b> stative	<b>*-ik-</b> neuter Meinhof: <b>*-ika</b>	
<b>-si</b> depositive < CALL 2006			
<b>-su</b> tentative		<b>*-at-</b> tentative	
<b>-mi</b> positional	<b>-m</b> “continuité du process out état” (Western OV)	<b>*-am-</b> positional	
<b>-ni</b> comparative (cf. =no with?)	Eastern Oti-Volta Assoziativ/Komparativ = clitic/particle <b>nV</b> ‘and, with’ (Reineke 1995)		
<b>-li</b> iterative- expertive	<b>*-l</b> applicative (Western OV, Buli) Dagara <b>-IV</b> expertive (Voeltz 1977, cf. Girault 1963)	<b>*-il-</b> applicative/ dative	
<b>-ra</b> (plurative-) terminative < terminative	<b>-d</b> factitive? (Eastern OV + Yom)		

#### 4. Verbal Noun

Verbal noun/infinitive = verb stem + noun class suffix **-gɔ** or **-kɔ** + nominal tone pattern (series High, with Low on the final syllable/mora).

- (8) Verbal noun = verb stem + noun class suffix **-gɔ**, **-kɔ**; nominal tone pattern High ...Low

simple stem	complex stem		
<b>dí-gɔ</b> eat (v.n.)	stem = root + ext	<b>dí-tú-gɔ</b> eat (pl.) (v.n.)	
<b>híní-gɔ</b> sit (v.n.)	stem = root + ext1 + ext2	<b>dá-gá-tú-gɔ</b> cut (pl.) (v.n.)	
	stem = root + ext1 + ext2 + ext3	<b>tá-gá-sú-tú-gɔ</b> shake (pl.) (v.n.)	
	stem = compound verb	<b>dí-káí-gɔ</b> refusing to eat	
	stem = reduplicated stem	<b>lígíligí-gɔ</b> tickle (v.n.)	

#### 5. Inflected verb forms

##### 5.1 TAM distinctions

Basic TAM distinctions = tone pattern on verb + shape of subject pronoun.

(9)	Subject pronoun	Verb form:		
Perfective	Pro = L	V = H...L (H on CV)	<b>mì dɔ́h</b>	I have sold
Subjunctive	Pro = H	V = H...L (L on CV)	<b>mí dɔ́h</b>	May I sell
Infinitival form	—	V = H...L (L on CV)	<b>lé dɔ́h</b>	...to sell/ ...and sell
Imperfective	Pro-V = HB	V = L...	<b>mû dɔ́h</b>	I am selling
Habitual	Pro:a = H	V = L...	<b>má dɔ́h</b>	I sell (hab.)
Verbal				
Imperfective 2sg.	—	V = L...H	<b>dɔ́lí</b>	Sell!
2pl.	Pro = B	V = L...H	<b>ɔ́ dɔ́lí</b>	Sell (plural)!
Nominal				
Imperfective 2sg.	—	NV= H...L; with <b>-kɔ</b> , <b>-gɔ</b>	<b>dɔ́lí-gɔ</b>	Sell!
2pl.	—	NV= H...L; with <b>-hɔ</b>	<b>dɔ́lí-hɔ</b>	Sell (plural)!

Optional +ATR vowel before stem with –ATR vowel; assimilated from = phonological proclitic.

- (10) **mì gú** **mì=gú** I have gone out  
**mû gù** **mû=gú** I am going out

##### 5.2 Subject and object pronouns

- Verb stem in first position of inflected verb;
- Object pronouns and syntactic clitics after verb stem

- 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns = concord forms (semantically based concord: human/animate/inanimate; sg. + pl.)
- Participant object pronouns cf. subject pronoun, possessive pronoun.
- Object pronoun 2sg. **-gu** and **wu** (no phonologically conditioned allomorphs); also in Teen cf. Proto-Bantu 2sg. object pronoun (infix) \***ku** versus 2sg. subject pronoun (verb prefix) \***u**
- 3<sup>rd</sup> person object pronouns: non-human plurals = noun class suffixes.
- Object pronoun **-me** only with ‘drink’

(11) Subject pronouns	Object pronouns	In paradigm ‘He has asked...’
<b>mì</b> I	<b>-mì</b> me	<b>hỳ bí-mì</b> He has asked me
<b>wù</b> you sing	<b>-wu</b> you sg.	<b>hỳ bí-wù / bí-gù</b> He has asked you sg.
	<b>-gu</b> you sg. (phonologically not predictable)	
<b>bì</b> we	<b>-bi</b> we	<b>hỳ bí-bì</b> He has asked us
<b>ʔì</b> you pl.	<b>-ʔì</b> we	<b>hỳ bí-ʔì</b> He has asked you pl.
<b>hỳ</b> s/he	<b>-ε</b> you pl.	<b>hỳ bí-yè</b> He has asked him/her
<b>xò</b> it	<b>-ge</b> him/her (animate)	<b>hỳ bí-gè</b> He has asked it (non-human)
<b>bò</b> they (human)	<b>-be</b> them (human)	<b>hỳ bí-bè</b> He has asked them (human)
	<b>-mu</b> them (non-human limited pl.)	<b>hỳ bí-mù</b> He has asked them (non-human limited pl.)
	<b>-nu</b> them (non-human limited pl.)	<b>hỳ bí-nù</b> He has asked them (non-human, limited pl.)
<b>ηò</b> they (non-human)	<b>-hy</b> them (non-human unlimited pl.)	<b>hỳ bí-hỳ</b> He has asked them (non-human, unlimited pl.)
	<b>-me</b> it (= water in large quantity)	<b>hỳ néé-mè</b> He has drunk it (water in large quantity)

### 5.3 Object pronoun with complex verb stem

(13) root + ext	<b>hỳ dá-tù-gè</b>	He has cut it pl. (non-human obj.)
root + ext1 + ext2	<b>hỳ dá-gá-tù-gè</b>	He has cut it pl. (non-human obj.)
	<b>hỳ zé.gé-sú-wè</b>	She has rocked it (the child)

root + ext1 + ext2 + ext3	<b>h̀ zé.gé-sú-tú-wè</b>	She has rocked it several times
compound verb	<b>h̀ sǎtáá-bè</b>	He has united them (human obj.)
reduplicated stem	<b>h̀ lígí.lígí-yè</b>	He has tickled him/her

## 6. Enclitics on the verb

### 6.1 Criteria for clitichood

Enclitics on the verb are adverbial modification of verb, except for associative-reciprocal (object).

Criteria for clitichood

- phonotactic:           - alternation between bound and reduced form
- tonal behaviour of the High...Low tone phrase
- morphotactic:        which words can function as host?
- syntactic-semantic:   relational; predicative

Relational enclitics bear on a phrase with a nominal referent, closely linked to the verb: a complement in the case of the associative-reciprocal object; an adjunct in other cases: comitative, locative-relational. Predicative enclitics modify their preceding predicate. They have a larger combinability than relational clitics.

(14)

Enclitics on verb	Free form phrase H...L	Part of tonal	Host of clitic harmony	ATR vowel	Epenthetic consonant
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Relational enclitic:

= complément

= <b>wɔ</b> associative- reciprocal	<b>wɔ̀</b>	+	Verb	-	
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Relational enclitic

= adjunct

= <b>rɔ</b> with		+	Verb, NP	-	
= <b>mi</b> in, among		+	Verb, NP	-	
= <b>ti</b> there (pronominal adverb, cf. French <i>y, en</i> )	cf. <b>ti</b> be there	+	Verb	-	

Predicative enclitics

(no clear  
limit)

= <b>da</b> today	<b>dà</b>	+		-	
= <b>fɪ</b> there (near addressee)	<b>fɪ̀</b>	+		-	
= <b>le</b> identifying predicative marker		+ (-)		-	
= <b>kɔ̃</b> aussi		+		-	
= <b>ɛ́</b> negation		+		- (+)	

Note on ATR harmony: ‘with’ only in lexicalised form *yiro* ‘come with’; the negative clitic only undergoes ATR vowel harmony when fused with a +ATR stem: **gi** ‘know’ **mà gyèi** ‘I don’t know’.

## 6.2 Tonal behaviour of enclitics

Enclitics are part of verbal tone pattern, except for the negative marker =**èi**; change tone according to TAM form (cf. object pronouns). Enclitics are part of the tone pattern of the imperfective.

(15) Enclitic on verb	Corresponding form
Verb = Imperfective	
<b>=wɔ</b> <b>bɔ̀ɔ̀</b> <b>vì=wɔ̀</b> S:B:IM beat:IM=ASR They are beating each other	<b>wɔɔ</b> <b>bɔ̀ɔ̀</b> <b>vì</b> <b>wɔ̀ɔ̀</b> S:B:IM beat:IM ASR They are beating each other
<b>=rɔ</b> <b>yér-è</b> <b>hɔ̀ɔ̀</b> <b>yì=rò</b> woman-CL S:H:IM come:IM=with <b>yó-kɔ</b> water-CL The woman is bringing water	<b>=rɔ</b> <b>yér-è</b> <b>hɔ̀ɔ̀</b> <b>yì</b> woman-CL S:H:IM come:IM <b>yó-kɔ=rò</b> water-CL=with The woman is bringing water  <b>yér-è</b> <b>hɔ̀ɔ̀</b> <b>yì</b> woman-CL S:H:IM come:IM <b>xɔ=rò</b> CD:X= with The woman is bringing it
<b>=ti</b> <b>mî</b> <b>pò-kè=tî</b> S.1s:IM put:into:IM-O:X=AP I am putting it inside it	<b>PP</b> <b>mî</b> <b>pò-kè</b> S.1s:IM put:into:IM-O:X <b>té-gé=rì</b> hole-cl=GLP I am putting it into the hole
<b>=da</b> <b>hɔ̀ɔ̀</b> <b>yàà=dà</b> S:H:IM go:IM=today He is leaving today	<b>daa</b> <b>hɔ̀ɔ̀</b> <b>yàà dáà</b> S:H:IM go:IM today He is leaving today
<b>=le</b> <b>wóù</b> <b>lèrè̀mì=lè</b> S.2s:IM lie IM=PID You are lying!	_____
<b>=èi</b> <b>má</b> <b>mì</b> <b>lèrè̀mì=yèi</b> S.1s:NEG S.1s lie:IM= NEG I am not lying	_____

Perfective: because of general High...Low tone phrase, no tonal difference between verb + enclitic and verb + following phonological word.

(16) Verb = Perfective:

<b>=wɔ</b>	<b>b̀̀</b> <b>ví=ẁ̀</b> S:B beat=ASR They have beaten each other	<b>wɔɔ</b>	<b>b̀̀</b> <b>ví</b> <b>ẁ̀</b> S:B beat ASR They have beaten each other
<b>=rɔ</b>	<b>yér-r̀̀</b> <b>yí=r̀̀</b> <b>yó-k̀̀</b> woman=CL come=with water-CL The woman has brought water	<b>=rɔ</b>	<b>yér-è</b> <b>yí</b> <b>yó-k̀̀=r̀̀</b> woman-CL come CL=with The woman has brought water  <b>yér-è</b> <b>yí</b> <b>x̀̀=r̀̀</b> woman-CL come CD:X=with The woman has brought it
<b>=mɪ</b>	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>híní</b> <b>yógú=m̀̀lé</b> <b>pára</b> S:H stand:up lift=in GEN speak He stood up among (the people) and started speaking	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>híní</b> <b>yógú</b> <b>béré=m̀̀</b> S:H stand:up lift DEMN:B=in <b>lé</b> <b>pára</b> GEN speak He stood up among them and started speaking	
<b>=tɪ</b>	<b>m̀̀</b> <b>pó-ké=ŋ̀̀</b> S.1s put:into-O:X=AP I have put it there (inside it)	<b>PP</b>	<b>m̀̀</b> <b>pó-ké</b> <b>tégé=r̀̀</b> S.1s put:into-O:X hole-CL=GLP I have put it into the hole
<b>=da</b>	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>yáá=d̀̀</b> S:H leave=today He left today	<b>daa</b>	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>yáá</b> <b>dáá</b> S:H leave today He left today
<b>=le</b>	<b>ẁ̀</b> <b>léré mí=l̀̀</b> S.2s lie=PID You lied!	<b>le</b>	<b>ẁ̀</b> <b>léré mí</b> <b>lé</b> S.2s lie PID You lied!
<b>=ɛ́</b>	<b>m̀̀</b> <b>léré mí=ỳ̀</b> S.1s:NEG lie=NEG I didn't lie		—

### 6.3 Positions and combinations of object pronouns and enclitics

Maximally two object pronouns: object-indirect object.

(17) Verb-Pro:	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>tééká-g̀̀</b>	He has shown it (direct object)
	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>tééká-m̀̀</b>	He has shown me (direct object; indirect object)
Verb-Pro-Pro:	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>tééká-mí-b̀̀</b>	He has shown me to them
	<b>h̀̀</b> <b>tééká-gá-m̀̀</b>	He has shown it to me

Associative-reciprocal and comitative mutually exclusive; each of them mutually exclusive with the object pronoun (paradigmatic, suffix-like behaviour).



## (22) Verb + Relational enclitic

Verb-Rel.	<b>bà ví=wó=yěi</b>	They haven't eaten each other
	<b>bà yáá=ró=yěi</b>	They haven't brought it (lit: They have gone with – the object 'it' being understood).
	<b>mà sa=fi</b>	I haven't put (it) there (sth. understood)
Verb-Pro-Pro	<b>mà sa-ga=yěi</b>	I haven't put it
Verb-Pro-Pro-Rel	<b>mà sa-ga=fi</b>	I haven't put it there/I have added it
	<b>mà sa-ga=yěi</b>	I haven't put it
	<b>mà sa-ga=fi</b>	I haven't put it there/I have added it

(23) **lerɛka** spread out on the ground (with **-ka** impositive)

VRad.Ext	<b>hà léɛ-ká=yěi</b>	He hasn't spread out on the ground (sth. understood)
VRad.Ext-Pro	<b>hà lerɛ-ka=yěi</b>	He hasn't spread out on the ground
VRad.Ext-Rel	<b>hà lerɛ-ka=fi</b>	He hasn't spread it out there (on the ground understood)
VRad.Ext-Pro-Rel	<b>hà lerɛ-ka-ga=fi</b>	He hasn't spread out there (on the ground)

In conclusion, enclitics are tonally behaving like suffixes, except for the final negative marker. The latter however is subject to glide epenthesis. The pragmatic behaviour of the relational enclitics with respect to object pronouns makes them more suffix-like.

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