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

Stefan Elders

1. Background Information on Kulango and Gur

(1) Position of Kulango in Gur


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

Parallel branches: Kulango-Loron; Viemo; Tiefo

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

Kulango-Loron group

Teen (“Loron”) Burkina Faso (between Kampti and Border BF/IC) 8,100
Ivory Coast (between border BF/CF; centres; Govitan, Tehini)

Loma (“Loron”) Ivory Coast (around Doropo) 8,007

Kulango nabay

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), 104,000
Ghana (from border IC-Ghana and Wenchi)

* 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 plurative 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem = root(-ext 1)(-ext 2)(-ext 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplicated stem = stem-reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compound stem = stem 1 + stem 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal noun = stem + noun class suffix + nominal tone pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflectional stem = stem-(irregular) (Object pro. 1)-(Object pro. 2)-(clitic) + consonant inflectional tone pattern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to allomorphy, two general phonological phenomena apply:

1) ATR vowel harmony (with a basic nine-vowel system:
   -ATR: ı e a o u +ATR: ı 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stems</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyllabic</td>
<td>209 (38.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disyllabic</td>
<td>214 (39.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV (133)</td>
<td>bı cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bıı plait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV (190)</td>
<td>dağı ask (favour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suma spit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV.CV (104)</td>
<td>poromıı sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fagolı wash (laundry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV (69)</td>
<td>kee fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kāa fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV.CV (14)</td>
<td>hıoka turn, change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goeka make return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trisyllabic</td>
<td>113 (21.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guadrisyllabic</td>
<td>2 (0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV.CV.CV (2)</td>
<td>puratıı die (plur.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Complex Verb Morphology in Kulango (Gur): Similarities with Bantu

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

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

(4a) CVN.CV.CV (6) bāngalū stitch (also: bāŋali) ba stitch
   CVN.CV (3) kondu give sth. as a present when selling
(4b) VV oo vomit
   VCV ele 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
   di eat stem = root + ext  di-tu eat (plur.)
   hnum sit stem = root + ext1 + ext2  da-ga-tu cut (plur.)
   stem = root + ext1 + ext2 + ext3  ta-ga-su-tu shake (plur.)
   stem = compound verb  di-ka tu refusing to eat
   stem = reduplicated stem  lgi lgi 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.

- **-lı 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 -lV 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 plurative**: 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

• **-su congregative**: bringing persons together; from Emenanjo (1978: 112) for Igbo: “together in one place”.

Formally identical to extension, but no clear semantic link: -lı, -ga, -u

Formal extensions with unclear meaning: -rı, -tı

**Terminals**

- identical to verbal extensions and formal extension:
  { pa, ga, gu, si, mu, ni, 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

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

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

(8) Verbal noun = verb stem + noun class suffix \(-g\), \(-k\); nominal tone pattern High …Low

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple stem</th>
<th>Complex stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dĩ-gɔ</td>
<td>eat (v.n.) stem = root + ext</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hĩmĩ-gɔ</td>
<td>sit (v.n.) stem = root + ext1 + ext2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Inflected verb forms**

5.1 **TAM distinctions**

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

(9) Subject pronoun | Verb form: | 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective Pro = L</td>
<td>V = H…L (H on CV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive Pro = H</td>
<td>V = H…L (L on CV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitival form</td>
<td>V = H…L (L on CV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective Pro-V = HB</td>
<td>V = L…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual Pro:a = H</td>
<td>V = L…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective 2sg. Pro = B</td>
<td>V = L…H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>V = L…H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective 2sg.</td>
<td>NV= H…L; with (-k), (-g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>NV= H…L; with (-h)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) mũ ḡú mĩ=ḡú I have gone out

mũ ḡú mũ=ḡú 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
- 3rd 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
- 3rd 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…’
--- | --- | ---
mu I | -mu me | hɔ bì-mu
wò you sing | -wu you sg. | hɔ bì-wò / bì-gò
bì we | -bi we | hɔ bì-bì
nɔ you pl. | -nɔ we | hɔ bì-nɔ
hɔ s/he | -ɛ you pl. | hɔ bì-ɛ
xɔ it | -ge him/her | hɔ bì-ge
bɔ they (human) | -be them (human) | hɔ bì-be
-му them (non-human limited pl.) | hɔ bì-mu | He has asked them (non-human limited pl.)
-ну them (non-human limited pl.) | hɔ bì-nu | He has asked them (non-human, limited pl.)
-гь they (non-human unlimited pl.) | hɔ bì-гь | He has asked them (non-human, unlimited pl.)
-мё it (= water in large quantity) | hɔ нёé-mё | He has drunk it (water in large quantity)

5.3 Object pronoun with complex verb stem

(13) root + ext | bɔ dá-tʊ-gè | He has cut it pl. (non-human obj.)
root + ext1 + ext2 | bɔ dá-gá-tʊ-gè | He has cut it pl. (non-human obj.)
 | hɔ zé-gɛ-sʊ-wɛ | She has rocked it (the child)
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root + ext1 + ext2 + ext3  $\text{hɔ zɛ.gɛ-sʊ-tʊ-wè}$  She has rocked it several times

compound verb  $\text{hɔ sǎtǎt- bè}$  He has united them (human obj.)

reduplicated stem  $\text{hɔ lɪɡl-ɪɡl- yɛ}$  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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclitics on verb</th>
<th>Free form of tonal phrase H…L</th>
<th>Host of clitic</th>
<th>ATR vowel harmony</th>
<th>Epenthetic consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relational enclitic:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= complément</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= wo associative-reciprocal</td>
<td>wō</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational enclitic</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=ro with</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Verb, NP</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=m in, among</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Verb, NP</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ti there (pronominal adverb, cf. French be there y, en)</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicative enclitics</th>
<th>(no clear limit)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=da today</td>
<td>daà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=fi there (near addressee) fi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=le identifying</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kɔ aussì</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ê negation</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 gyèì ‘I don’t know’.

### 6.2 Tonal behaviour of enclitics

Enclitics are part of verbal tone pattern, except for the negative marker $=\ddot{b}$; change tone according to TAM form (cf. object pronouns). Enclitics are part of the tone pattern of the imperfective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclitic on verb</th>
<th>Corresponding form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$=\ddot{w}$ hôù yì=\ddot{w}$</td>
<td>$\ddot{w}$ hôù yì wồ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| S:B:IM | beat:IM =ASR  
| They are beating each other |
| $=\ddot{r}$ yër-è hôù yì=\ddot{r}$ | $\ddot{r}$ yër-è hôù yì |
| woman-CL | S:H:IM come:IM=with  
yô-kö |
| water-CL | The woman is bringing water |
| $=\ddot{t}$ môn pò-kè=û | PP môn pò-kè |
| S.1s:IM | put:into:IM-O:X=AP  
| I am putting it inside it |
| $=\ddot{d}$ hôù yàà=dà | dàhôù yàà dà |
| S:H:IM | go:IM=today  
| He is leaving today |
| $=\ddot{l}$ wôù lèrèm=ô | — |
| S.2s:IM | lie IM=PID  
| You are lying! |
| $=\ddot{k}$ mà mà lèrèm=yë̀ | — |
| 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:

\[ =\text{wo} \quad \text{bò yí=wò} \]
S:B beat=ASR
They have beaten each other

\[ w\text{oo} \quad \text{bò yí wòd} \]
S:B beat ASR
They have beaten each other

\[ =\text{ro} \quad \text{yèr-è yí=rò yò-kò=rò} \]
woman=CL come=with water-CL
The woman has brought water

\[ =\text{ro} \quad \text{yèr-è yí yò-kò=rò} \]
woman=CL come CL=with
The woman has brought water

\[ =\text{mu} \quad \text{hò hùmú yògò=mù lè pàrà} \]
S:H stand:up lift=in GEN speak
He stood up among (the people) and started speaking

\[ \text{hò hùmú yògò bèrè=mù} \]
S:H stand:up lift DEMN:B=in
GEN speak
He stood up among them and started speaking

\[ =\text{tu} \quad \text{mù pò-kè=û} \]
S:1s put:into-o:X=AP
I have put it there (inside it)

\[ =\text{da} \quad \text{hò yàá=dà} \]
S:H leave=today
He left today

\[ =\text{le} \quad \text{wò lérémì=lè} \]
S:2s lie=PID
You lied!

\[ =\text{çè} \quad \text{mà lérémì=yèr} \]
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:

\[ \text{hò tèèkà-gà} \]
He has shown it (direct object)

\[ \text{hò tèèkà-mù} \]
He has shown me (direct object; indirect object)

Verb-Pro-Pro:

\[ \text{hò tèèkà-mù-bè} \]
He has shown me to them

\[ \text{hò tèèkà-gà-mù} \]
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).
They have beaten each other. (also *bò ví wò*)

They have brought it (lit: They have gone with – the object ‘it’ being understood)

Pronominal adverb ‘there’ after object pronoun.

I have put (it) there (sth. understood)

I have put it

I have put it there/I have added it

He has spread out on the ground (sth. understood)

He has spread out on the ground

He has spread out there (on the ground understood)

He has spread out on there (on the ground)

Negation: *=a* on subject pronoun; predicative enclitic on the verb *=ëë*

Complex verb

| root + ext | hà dá-tó-gëí | He hasn’t cut it (plur.) non-human object |
| root + ext1 + ext2 | hà dá-gá-tó-gëí | He hasn’t cut it (plur.) non-human object |
| | hà zé.gé-só-wëí | She hasn’t rocked it (the child) |
| root + ext1 + ext2 + ext3 | hà zé.gé-só-tó-wëí | She hasn’t rocked it several times |
| compound verb | hà sá+táá-bëí | He hasn’t united them (human object) |
| reduplicated stem | hà lìgí.lìgí-yëí | S/he hasn’t tickled him/her |

Stem + object pronoun/enclitic

*tee.ka* show (with -*ka* impositive)

| Verb-Pro | hà tèéká-ga=yëí | He hasn’t shown it (direct object) |
| | hà tèéká-myëí | He hasn’t shown me (direct object; indirect object) |
| Verb-Pro-Pro | hà tèéká-mí-bëí | He hasn’t shown me them |
| | hà tèéká-gá-myëí | He hasn’t shown it to me |
Verb + Relational enclitic

(22)

Verb-Rel.  

bà ví=w5=yěí  They haven’t eaten each other  
bà yáá=r5=yěí  They haven’t brought it (lit: They have gone with – the object ‘it’ being understood).  
mà sa=tú  I haven’t put (it) there (sth. understood)

Verb-Pro-Pro  
mà sa-ga=yěí  I haven’t put it  
mà sa-ga=tú  I haven’t put it there/I have added it

Verb-Pro-Pro-Rel  
mà sa-ga=tú  I haven’t put it there/I have added it

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

Verb-Ext  

hà léré-ká=yěí  He hasn’t spread out on the ground (sth. understood)

Verb-Ext-Pro  

hà lere-ka=yěí  He hasn’t spread out on the ground

Verb-Ext-Rel  

hà lere-ka=tú  He hasn’t spread it out there (on the ground understood)

Verb-Ext-Pro-Rel  

hà lere-ka-ga=tú  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.

References
Bianco (1979)


