

Contents

Abbreviations	13
1 Introduction	15
1.1 Language family, subgroups, and dialects	15
1.2 Orthographic conventions	17
1.2.1 Linguistic orthography	17
1.2.2 Applied orthography	18
1.3 The data base	19
2 Phonology	21
2.1 Inventory of phonemes	21
2.1.1 Vowels	21
2.1.2 Consonants	22
2.1.3 Tones	24
2.2 Syllable structure	26
3 Morphology	35
3.1 Nouns	35
3.1.1 Tone classes and tonal sandhi	35
3.1.2 Person-Gender-Number ('PGN')	40
3.1.3 Participant marking	47
3.1.3.1 Constituent order	47
3.1.3.2 Core participants (subject, direct and indirect object)	51
3.1.3.3 Peripheral participants (recipient, addressee, locative, instrument, comitative, ablative, agentive, and temporal relations)	64
3.1.3.4 Nominal possession	69
3.1.3.5 Genitive	77
3.1.3.6 Topic	79
3.1.3.7 Summary	80
3.1.4 Nominal derivation	81
3.1.4.1 Privative	81
3.1.4.2 Vocative	82
3.1.4.3 Associative	83
3.1.4.4 Distributive	85
3.1.4.5 Nominalization	87
3.1.5 Between nominal compounding and derivation: classifier-like nouns	89
3.1.5.1 <i>Nomina agentis</i> and <i>nomina instrumentii</i>	90
3.1.5.2 Collective <i>-kx'éi</i>	91

3.1.5.3	Diminutive	92
3.1.5.4	Male/female distinction	93
3.1.5.5	<i>Ngú</i> and <i>tcóò</i>	94
3.1.5.6	Others	95
3.2	Verbs	97
3.2.1	Conjugation	98
3.2.1.1	Tense-aspect-mood ('TAM')	98
3.2.1.1.1	Present tense	98
3.2.1.1.2	Future tense	101
3.2.1.1.3	Past tense	102
3.2.1.2	Voice	106
3.2.1.2.1	Impersonal/passive <i>-i</i>	106
3.2.1.2.2	Active voice	108
3.2.1.3	ZERO-marking	121
3.2.1.3.1	Obligation: imperative, jussive, and hortative	121
3.2.1.3.2	Tenseless form	123
3.2.1.4	Emphatic imperative <i>è</i> and prohibitive	126
3.2.1.5	Strong obligation with <i>mùtù</i>	128
3.2.1.6	Volition, intention, and purpose <i>-ca</i>	129
3.2.1.7	Irreal <i>ngó</i>	131
3.2.2	Syntactic and semantic verb classes	132
3.2.2.1	Dynamic verbs	134
3.2.2.2	State verbs	134
3.2.2.3	Copula verbs	135
3.2.3	Verbal derivation	140
3.2.3.1	Aspect suffixes	142
3.2.3.1.1	<i>-ci</i>	142
3.2.3.1.2	Durative	143
3.2.3.1.3	Completive	145
3.2.3.1.4	Frequentative and iterative	146
3.2.3.2	Suffixes relevant for participant marking	149
3.2.3.2.1	Reciprocal, collective and dyadic marker <i>-ku</i>	149
3.2.3.2.2	Impersonal, agentless passive, neuter-passive	150
3.2.3.2.3	Reflexive, anti-causative (middle voice, and passive <i>-can</i>	154
3.2.3.2.4	Causative	158
3.2.3.2.5	Benefactive	162
3.2.3.2.6	Comitative	162
3.2.3.2.7	Locative	163

3.2.3.2.8	Instrument	164
3.2.3.2.9	Alternative	165
3.2.3.3	Verbal negation	165
3.2.3.4	Gerund	166
3.2.4	Verbal compounding	168
3.3	Pronouns	170
3.3.1	Personal pronouns	171
3.3.1.1	Subject and object pronouns	171
3.3.1.2	Vocative pronouns	174
3.3.1.3	Honorifics	175
3.3.1.4	Possessive pronouns	177
3.3.1.5	Emphatic pronouns	185
3.3.1.6	Restrictive pronouns	188
3.3.2	Demonstratives	188
3.3.3	Interrogatives	192
3.3.4	Relative pronouns	194
3.3.5	Others	194
3.4	Adjectives	195
3.4.1	Adjectives related to verbs ('verbal adjectives')	196
3.4.1.1	Negation of verbal adjectives	200
3.4.1.2	Intensification of verbal adjectives	200
3.4.1.3	Emphatic qualification	201
3.4.2	Adjectives of nominal origin	202
3.4.3	Adjectives related to pronouns	204
3.4.3.1	Attributive demonstratives	204
3.4.3.2	Attributive interrogatives	208
3.4.3.3	Other attributive pronouns	209
3.4.4	Numeral adjectives	210
3.4.5	Restrictive	213
3.4.6	Others	214
3.5	Adverbs and adverbials	214
3.5.1	Manner adverbs	215
3.5.1.1	Non-derived adverbs	215
3.5.1.2	De-verbal adverbs with <i>-xa</i>	216
3.5.1.3	Formation with <i>-ca</i>	218
3.5.1.4	Intensification of manner adverbs	218
3.5.2	Local adverbs and adverbials	219
3.5.2.1	Local adverbs	219
3.5.2.2	Local adverbials	220
3.5.3	Temporal adverbs and adverbials	227
3.5.3.1	Temporal adverbs	227

3.5.3.2	Temporal adverbials	228
3.5.4	Interrogative adverbs and adverbials	231
3.5.4.1	Interrogative adverb	231
3.5.4.2	Interrogative adverbials	232
3.5.5	Numeral adverbs	234
3.6	Postpositions	234
3.6.1	Simple postpositions	234
3.6.2	Complex postpositions: adpositional phrases	237
3.7	Ideophones	241
3.8	Interjections	246
4	Clauses	249
4.1	Simple clauses	249
4.1.1	Non-verbal clauses	249
4.1.1.1	Predicative noun phrases	249
4.1.1.2	Predicative adverbs and adverbials	253
4.1.1.3	Negation of non-verbal clauses	253
4.1.2	Verbal clauses	255
4.1.2.1	Affirmative clauses	255
4.1.2.2	Negation of verbal clauses	256
4.1.3	Predicative possession	257
4.1.3.1	Posture verb plus postposition	258
4.1.3.2	Process verb <i>wòo</i>	260
4.1.3.3	Constructions with the gerund marker <i>-xa</i>	262
4.1.3.4	Constructions with independent possessive pronouns	263
4.1.3.5	Negation of predicative possession	263
4.1.4	Comparison	265
4.1.4.1	Similative	266
4.1.4.2	Comparative	269
4.1.4.3	Superlative	272
4.2	Complex phrases and clauses	273
4.2.1	Conjunctive coordination	273
4.2.1.1	NP conjoining 'and'	275
4.2.1.1.1	'With'-strategy	275
4.2.1.1.2	'Also'-strategy	280
4.2.1.1.3	'And'-strategy	282
4.2.1.1.4	Pronoun strategy	283
4.2.1.1.5	Asyndetic strategy	284
4.2.1.2	Conjoined imperatives	286
4.2.1.3	Conjoined verb phrases and clauses	288

4.2.1.4 Paragraph conjoining	291
4.2.2 Disjunctive coordination	297
4.2.3 Serial verb constructions ('SVC')	300
4.2.4 Converb constructions	308
4.2.5 Temporal clauses	314
4.2.5.1 'When', 'as soon as'	315
4.2.5.2 'While'	317
4.2.5.3 'Until'	319
4.2.5.4 'Since'	320
4.2.5.5 'Before'	322
4.2.5.6 'After'	323
4.2.6 Conditional clauses	326
4.2.7 Concessive and adversative clauses and phrases	331
4.2.7.1 'But', 'although'	331
4.2.7.2 'Instead (of)'	333
4.2.8 Causal clauses	334
4.2.9 Purpose clauses (final clauses)	336
4.2.10 Relative clauses	337
4.2.10.1 Core participants in the relative clause	338
4.2.10.2 Peripheral participants in the relative clause	342
4.2.11 Complement clauses	346
4.2.11.1 Complements introduced with 'that'	346
4.2.11.2 Direct and indirect speech	349
4.2.11.3 Headless relative clauses with an adverb or pronoun	351
Appendix: Spectrograms of dental clicks	355
References	363