

UC Berkeley
UC Berkeley Previously Published Works

Title
Essentials of Gwari Grammar

Permalink
<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1zj6s6vx>

Author
Hyman, Larry M.

Publication Date
1970-07-01

Peer reviewed

ESSENTIALS OF GWARI GRAMMAR

ESSENTIALS OF GWARI GRAMMAR

by

LARRY M. HYMAN

Department of Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles

and

DANIEL J. MACAJI

Head of History Department
St. Malachy's College
Miami, N. W. State

NOVEMBER 1970

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

OCCASIONAL PUBLICATION NO. 17

Cover Design by L. A. Anifalaje

ESSENTIALS OF GWARI GRAMMAR

by

LARRY M. HYMAN

*Department of Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles*

and

DANIEL J. MAGAJI

*Head of History Department
St Malachy's College
Minna, N. W. State*

NOVEMBER 1970

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

OCCASIONAL PUBLICATION NO. 27

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND PREFACE

This grammar of the Gwari language (known to its speakers as Gbāgyī, to Yorubas and Nupes as Gbārī, and to Hausas and English speakers as Gwārī) is the result of an intensive seven week investigation undertaken by the two authors during the Summer of 1970 in Gwari country. We should like to express our gratitude towards Mgr. E. J. Fitzgibbon, Prefect Apostolic of Minna, as well as Frs. W. Mullally and J. Joyce of St. Malachy's College, Minna-Bosso, North West State, Nigeria, for the constant encouragement, aid and advice they accorded to us during our study. We should also like to thank Mr. Sebastian Galadima of St. Malachy's College, who devoted much of his valuable time to our project.

This grammar is intended as a practical introduction to the study of the Gwari language. We have therefore refrained as much as possible from technical terminology, without, we hope, seriously detracting from the quality of the analysis. Further linguistic treatments of Gwari are to follow in the form of shorter articles. It is hoped that our initial plunge into this important--but all too neglected--language will encourage others to join us in our attempt to introduce written Gwari to its people, their fellow Nigerians, and the world.

The first author was affiliated with the University of Ibadan as a Post-Graduate Occasional Student in the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages during all phases of work on this grammar. He was supported by a Fulbright-Hays research fellowship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PART ONE: GENERAL	
Chapter 1: Introduction [1-7]	5
Chapter 2: The Sound System [8-14]	9
Chapter 3: The Tone System [14'-28]	15
PART TWO: THE NOUN PHRASE	
Chapter 4: The Noun and Personal Pronouns [29-37]	21
Chapter 5: Associative Constructions [38-53]	24
Chapter 6: Derived Nouns [54-68]	29
Chapter 7: Adjectives [69-96]	34
Chapter 8: Determiners [97-122]	41
Chapter 9: Relative Clauses [123-135]	47
PART THREE: THE VERB PHRASE	
Chapter 10: The Verb and the Habitual Aspect [136-147]	50
Chapter 11: The Continuous Aspect [148-155]	53
Chapter 12: The Completed Aspect [156-174]	56
Chapter 13: The Subjunctive and the Imper- ative [175-185]	61
Chapter 14: The Verbs <u>lá</u> and <u>kú</u> [186-204]	63
Chapter 15: Auxillary Verbs [205-244]	68
Chapter 16: Locative Verbs [245-275]	76
Chapter 17: Inchoative Verbs [276-301]	85
Chapter 18: Object Complements [302-324]	92

PART FOUR: THE SENTENCE

Chapter 19: Simultaneous Conjunction [325-335]	98
Chapter 20: Consecutive Conjunction [336-353]	101
Chapter 21: Subjunctive Conjunction [354-361]	107
Chapter 22: Conditions, Before- and After- Clauses [362-371]	110
Chapter 23: Interrogation [372-390]	113
Chapter 24: Negation [391-406]	118
Chapter 25: Focus [407-416]	122
PART FIVE: APPENDICES	
Appendix 1: Some Common Gwari Greetings	125
Appendix 2: English-Gwari Wordlist	129
INDEX	146

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1. Geography. The Gwari people are found in the Niger, Zaria, Benue and Kabba provinces of Nigeria. They occupy a vast area extending 200 miles north-south and, at times, 100 miles east-west. They are found as far north as Birnin Gwari, as far south as Lokoja. They extend as far west as Zungeru and as far east as Keffi. They form the majority tribe in Niger province, while they are an important tribe in Zaria province. They are less numerous in Benue and Kabba provinces. The Gwari people number about 500,000.

2. Towns. The largest Gwari towns are Minna, Kaduna and Abuja. Of these, only Minna is ruled by a Gwari. Kaduna is a cosmopolitan town and is therefore ruled by an administrator, while Abuja, which was established during the Fulani Jihad, is ruled by the original Hausa tribe (the Habe) who withdrew from Zaria when it became occupied by the Fulani in 1803. The surrounding villages in the Abuja Emirate are however Gwari, as are many of the villages surrounding the non-Gwari towns Zungeru, Keffi and Lokoja.

3. Origin. Information concerning the origin of the Gwari people is still largely dependent on oral tradition. Consequently, the answer is not yet clear or definite. It is generally believed that they came from an easterly direction. In fact, some name Bornu as their original home, from which a hunter and his family are said to have migrated in search of game. He was later followed by his tribesmen. In relation to this version of the story, historians believe that the Gwari were probably driven from somewhere in the North by stronger tribes in about the 12th century. Since

that time they have moved as far south as Lokoja at the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers.

4. Language. The Gwari language belongs to the Kwa sub-branch of the Niger-Congo language family. It is most closely related to Nupe, which is spoken to the south of Gwari country. Gwari, Nupe and a few less widely spoken languages form one unit, while the closest related languages outside of this unit appear to be Igbirra, Igala and Yoruba. Gwari is not related to Hausa (see 6).

5. Dialect Variation. Gwari can be divided into two language communities. The larger community, comprising perhaps as many as 4/5 of the Gwari population, is spoken in all parts of Gwari territory, with the exception of a narrow belt along the southern Nupe border. In this belt the dialects of Maikonkele, Bosso, Paiko and Gawun, among other villages, constitute the second language community. These dialects have been heavily influenced by Nupe. These two groups are popularly differentiated by their form of greeting. The larger community has adopted the Hausa word sannu as sànũ or hànũ, while the dialects in the smaller community employ the term ñkwâ, meaning 'greetings'. The dialect described in this grammar is that of Kuta, which is representative of the various minor regional variants found in the larger community. Some indication of dialect differences is obtained from the following word comparisons. Gawun represents Gawun and Paiko, while Maikonkele represents Maikonkele and Bosso. In addition, forms are given from a language known to its speakers as Gana-Gana, spoken in the village of Zuba a few miles from Abuja. These forms are intermediate between Nupe and Gwari Kuta.

	NUPE	GANAGANA	GAWUN	MAIKONKELE	KUTA
'to sow'	<u>dzò</u>	<u>dywè</u>	<u>byè</u>	<u>byè</u>	<u>byè</u>
'to bury'	<u>dzū</u>	<u>dywī</u>	<u>byī</u>	<u>byī</u>	<u>byī</u>
'moon'	<u>etswā</u>	<u>ēpshā</u>	<u>ēpyá</u>	<u>ēpyá</u>	<u>ōpyá</u>
'eye'	<u>ēyé</u>	<u>āyé</u>	<u>ēwyé</u>	<u>ēwyé</u>	<u>ōwyé</u>
'wine'	<u>ēgē</u>	<u>ēgyē</u>	<u>ēdē</u>	<u>ējē</u>	<u>ōjē</u>

These comparisons convincingly demonstrate the unity of all Gwari dialects. The above chart is arranged to highlight the degree of relationship between the different language communities. Thus while Nupe and Kuta Gwari are the most distantly related, Ganagana is somewhat intermediate between Nupe and Gwari, while Gawun is closer to Maikonkele than it is to Kuta, etc.

6. Linguistic Features. One distinctive characteristic of all Gwari dialects is the presence of consonant + nasal clusters. Other Kwa languages usually have corresponding nasalized vowels (marked by word-final n): Gwari gnā, Nupe gān 'to surpass', Gwari dnā, Nupe dān 'to be in'. Another mark of Gwari is the full reduplication obtained in nominalization, as opposed to the occurrence of i or u, in many Kwa languages; in the reduplicated syllable: Gwari gwò, Nupe gò 'to receive', Gwari gwōgwò, Nupe gūgò 'receiving'; Gwari, Nupe sá 'to cut', Gwari sásá, Nupe sīsá 'cutting'. All Gwari dialects form noun plurals by means of an a prefix: ōyā 'canoe', pl. āyā (cf. Nupe ēyā, pl. ēyāzhi). In contrast with Nupe, the possessor precedes the possessed noun in Gwari: Gwari miya, Nupe ēyā'mī 'my canoe'. Finally, Gwari is noted for its complex tense-aspect structure, notably Gwari Kuta and closely related communities, where time is divided up into past tense today, past tense yesterday,

past tense beyond-yesterday, present tense, future tense today, future tense tomorrow, future tense beyond-tomorrow. In addition, most of these tenses can be differentiated into continuous and completed aspect. While not all Gwari dialects make all of these distinctions, all are more complex than neighboring Nupe.

7. Foreign Elements. Gwari has borrowed heavily from Hausa, a non-related language, and to a lesser extent, from Nupe and Yoruba. A few English borrowings are also found. When words are taken from Hausa, those Gwari speakers who know Hausa well will tend to reproduce the word more or less as it is in Hausa, while many others will completely nativize the word into the Gwari sound system. Thus, for example, there are two forms for Hausa labari 'story, news': làbārī (said by those who speak Hausa) and nàbāgyī (said by those who do not speak Hausa). The more accurate pronunciation often tends to replace the less accurate one: rógō is preferred over lógō (from Hausa rogo 'cassava'), while Hausa kokari 'attempt' is always pronounced kùkōrī and never with l. Hausa borrowings are generally easy to detect, since they tend to be much longer than Gwari words. Nupe borrowings are harder to detect, since the two languages are closely related and the borrowed word quickly becomes integrated into the sound pattern of Gwari. Yoruba borrowings probably were obtained through Nupe, for example, kóbò 'penny' and tóró or tóló 'thruppence'.

CHAPTER TWO

The Sound System

8. The vowels of Gwari are a, e, i, o and u, which are generally pronounced as in Italian.

a is pronounced as in the musical note fa
e is pronounced as in the musical note re
i is pronounced as in the musical note mi
o is pronounced as in the musical note do
u is pronounced as in English two, though it is
 is not diphthongized

However, these vowels tend to be shortened in fast speech, particularly when found in the first syllable of a multi-syllabic word. In such cases the vowel qualities are realized differently.

a is pronounced as in English but: làbārī 'story'
e is pronounced as in English bet: bègyè 'voice'
i is pronounced as in English bit: pisé 'fowl'
o is pronounced as in English bought: bōdā 'speech'
u is pronounced as in English put: àmùsà 'sweat'

In addition, a vowel tends to become assimilated to the following consonant. This means that i and e tend to become u and o before a labial consonant, while u and o tend to become i and e before a palatal consonant: bwí + ōsì 'to run', sibwí or subwí 'running'; dù ya or dì ya 'to pass by'. Gwari vowels are never diphthongized.

9. The consonant system is considerably more complex.

(a) Labial Consonants

<u>p</u> , with slight aspiration:	<u>ōpé</u> 'mountain'
	<u>òpà</u> 'skin'
<u>b</u> , with slight friction:	<u>ōbwé</u> 'calabash'
	<u>ābā</u> 'place'
<u>ḃ</u> , as in Hausa <u>ḃera</u> 'mouse':	<u>ēḃí</u> 'child'
	<u>ōḃwá</u> 'hand'
<u>f</u> , with considerable friction:	<u>ōfyē</u> 'tse-tse fly'
	<u>ōfwā</u> 'farm'
<u>v</u> , with considerable friction:	<u>òvyì</u> 'thief'
	<u>àvnù</u> 'behind'
<u>m</u> :	<u>òmwi</u> 'dog'
	<u>ōmwā</u> 'big'

(b) Alveolar Consonants

<u>t</u> , with slight aspiration:	<u>ōtnú</u> 'wood ashes'
	<u>òtnă</u> 'without'
<u>d</u> :	<u>òda</u> 'father'
	<u>ōdú</u> 'heart'
<u>s</u> :	<u>ōsū</u> 'chief'
	<u>òsà</u> 'time'
<u>z</u> :	<u>ōzâ</u> 'person'
	<u>ōzō</u> 'beans'
<u>l</u> :	<u>òlà</u> 'river'
	<u>ōlú</u> 'bird'
<u>n</u> :	<u>ōná</u> 'fire'
	<u>òna</u> 'goat'

(c) Palatal Consonants

<u>c</u> , pronounced as English <u>ch</u> :	<u>àcǐ</u> 'needle'
	<u>ōcǐ</u> 'sore'
<u>j</u> , pronounced as in English:	<u>òjě</u> 'cloth'
	<u>ōjǐ</u> 'vein'
<u>sh</u> , pronounced as in English:	<u>òshă</u> 'throat'
	<u>òshè</u> 'sky'
<u>zh</u> , pronounced as the <u>s</u> in <u>pleasure</u> :	<u>ōzhî</u> 'town'
	<u>ōzhê</u> 'tuwo'
<u>y</u> :	<u>òyà</u> 'mother'
	<u>ōyé</u> 'year'
<u>wy</u> , pronounced as in French <u>huit</u> 'eight':	<u>ōwyé</u> 'eye'
	<u>ēwyǐ</u> 'day'
<u>ny</u> , pronounced as in <u>canyon</u> :	<u>ōnyá</u> 'thing'
	<u>ōnyâ</u> 'dance'

(d) Velar Consonants

<u>k</u> , slightly aspirated:	<u>òknǐ</u> 'ground'
	<u>ōká</u> 'white ant'
<u>g</u> :	<u>ògwǒ</u> 'Fulani'
	<u>ògnă</u> 'limit'

(e) Labio-Velar Consonants

<u>kp</u> :	<u>òkpă</u> 'tallness'
	<u>kpè</u> 'to halt'
<u>gb</u> :	<u>ōgbê</u> 'mouth'
	<u>ògbà</u> 'limp'

w : ōwā 'snake'
 āwū 'smoke'
nw, where the n is pronounced ōnwū 'mud'
 as the ng in sing: ōnwū 'rope'

In addition, h has a limited distribution in the language, principally in the words ho 'you', hānū 'greetings', ḡāhnū 'perhaps', jéhnū 'again' and the determiners hò (definite) and ho (indefinite). Variants with g are found in three of these cases: sānū, ḡāsnū and jésnū. Finally, r occurs in many Hausa borrowings, though some speakers substitute l (before a, o, u) or gv (before i, e): àsīrī or àsīgvī 'secret' (from Hausa asiri), rógō or lógō 'cassava' (from Hausa rogo).

10. Using V for vowel, C for consonant, N for nasal consonant and G for glide (i.e. w or y), the possible syllable structures are: V, C, CV, CNV, CGV and CmyV.

<u>V</u> : <u>í</u> 'still'	<u>CNV</u> : <u>kní</u> 'to select'
<u>C</u> : <u>ń</u> 'rel.pron.'	<u>CGV</u> : <u>bwá</u> 'to pound'
<u>CV</u> : <u>sí</u> 'to buy'	<u>CmyV</u> : <u>bmyá</u> 'to be good'

11. CN clusters are very common in Gwari. Their exact phonetic realization depends, however, on the nature of the consonant, as well as the identity of the following vowel, which is limited to i, u or a. CNa represents a consonant with nasal release followed by the oral vowel a. CNi is realized as a consonant with nasal release followed by the oral vowel i only when that consonant is p, b, k or g. Elsewhere, CNi represents a consonant followed by a nasalized i. CNu is realized as a consonant with nasal release followed by a nasalized u. Orthographic km

and gm are short for kpm and gbm. The co-articulated consonants kp, gb, km and gm are produced with a minimum of implosion, as opposed to implosive ɓ. Orthographic ny and nw stand for what would be more consistently written as yn and wn. Before a, ny represents a palatal nasal consonant, while nw represents a labio-velar nasal consonant. In both cases, a is an oral vowel. Orthographic nyi represents, on the other hand, y followed by nasalized i, while nwu represents w followed by nasalized u. CNV is preferred over CVN to represent nasalized vowels as well as nasal release, since it permits a practical representation of the verbal participle, which is formed by an i suffix on the reduplicated verb: knú 'to sell', knúknuí 'saleable, for sale'. The alternative kúnkuní would not permit one unique phonetic interpretation and would only complicate the orthography. Where nasalized i occurs as a grammatical particle, it is written in: woín 'himself'. The following consonants are not found in CN clusters: ḡ, c, j, l and r. There are no mm or nn clusters.

12. Cw, Cy and C contrast before a: bwá 'to pound', byā 'to blow air on a fire', bā 'to read'. In addition, y is distinctive after p(m) and b(m) before i and e: ōbē 'knife', ōbyē 'seedling'; pmī 'to wait for', pmýí 'to twist'. Elsewhere, y is obtained as an automatic palatal off-glide before i and e. It occurs in such a fashion after f, v, n, g and w and is always written, since its pronunciation is obligatory. Cw is less pronounced and not usually obligatory. Note, however, the contrastive pair ōḡó 'reason' and ōḡwó 'hole'. It occurs optionally before u and o after the consonants p, b, k and g and need not be written: gò or gwò 'to receive'. Nw should be kept distinct from n.

13. In a strictly phonemic analysis, c and j, which occur only before i and e would be allophones of t or k and d or g, respectively, since both alveolar and velar stops become palatal before i and e. Ny also has two sources, either /ni/ or /yni/. Gyi and gye are the phonetic reflexes of /li/ and /le/, respectively. Finally, sh and zh can be analyzed as /sy/ and /zy/. While /y/ occurs only before /i/, /e/ and /a/, /w/ occurs as w before /u/, /o/ and /a/ and as wy before /i/ and /e/.

14. Only one case of CNwV has been noted: vnwā 'a lit up place'. CNyV is much more common: òbmyi 'outside', pmjá 'to purify'.

SUMMARY OF NASAL SYLLABLES

Orthographic	Phonetic	Orthographic	Phonetic
<u>pma</u>	[p ^m a]	<u>tnu</u>	[t ⁿ ũ]
<u>tna</u>	[t ⁿ a]	<u>knu</u>	[k ⁿ ũ]
<u>kna</u>	[k ⁿ a]	<u>ma</u>	[ma]
<u>kma</u>	[kp ^m a]	<u>na</u>	[na]
<u>pmi</u>	[p ^m i]	<u>nya</u>	[ña]
<u>kni</u>	[k ⁿ i]	<u>nwa</u>	[ŋwa]
<u>kmi</u>	[kp ^m i]	<u>mi</u>	[mĩ]
<u>fni</u>	[fĩ]	<u>nyi</u>	[ỹi]
<u>sni</u>	[sĩ]	<u>mu</u>	[mũ]
<u>shni</u>	[šĩ]	<u>nu</u>	[nũ]
		<u>nwu</u>	[wũ]

The sequences tni, pmu, kmu, ni, nwi and nyu do not normally occur in Gwari words.

CHAPTER THREE

The Tone System

14. There are three basic tones in Gwari: low (à), mid (ā) and high (á). Monosyllabic verb stems bear one of these three tones.

High Tone	Mid Tone	Low Tone
<u>gyí</u> 'to eat'	<u>sī</u> 'to buy'	<u>gà</u> 'to give'
<u>knú</u> 'to sell'	<u>knā</u> 'to fry'	<u>gyè</u> 'to sharpen'
<u>bé</u> 'to come'	<u>gwō</u> 'to grind'	<u>bmà</u> 'to break'
<u>mwá</u> 'to beg'	<u>fyī</u> 'to die'	<u>gwò</u> 'to receive'

In addition, a fourth level tone slightly lower than mid, as well as a rising tone (ǎ) and a falling tone (â) are found. Absence of any tone mark indicates lower-mid tone.

15. The three basic tones undergo various modifications in certain tonal environments. Nouns generally consist of two syllables and will serve as illustrations. After a low tone syllable, mid tone becomes lower-mid, while high tone becomes rising tone. A second low tone remains low.

Low - Low	Low - Lower-Mid	Low - Rising
<u>òsà</u> 'time'	<u>òda</u> 'father'	<u>òshǎ</u> 'throat'
<u>òvyì</u> 'thief'	<u>òbmya</u> 'fish'	<u>òjě</u> 'cloth'
<u>pàtà</u> 'cover'	<u>ògma</u> 'rain'	<u>bwùgbǎ</u> 'stomach'
<u>yàbà</u> 'banana'	<u>gbògnu</u> 'squirrel'	<u>gyìwyě</u> 'money'

The rise is from low to mid tone.

16. Falling tones are found when a basic low tone follows a mid or high tone. The fall is always from the level of the preceding mid or high tone down to low. Basic mid -

low becomes mid - falling, while basic high - low becomes high - falling.

Mid - Falling	High - Falling
<u>āgyā</u> 'blood'	<u>tnútnû</u> 'work'
<u>ōzā</u> 'person'	<u>súknû</u> 'bone'
<u>ōbē</u> 'knife'	<u>sháknû</u> 'pot'
<u>zúkwô</u> 'hoe'	<u>shnínwâ</u> 'tree'

There are a few exceptional words of the phonetic form mid-low (e.g. knūbwà 'ear', bmīnyì 'fingernail', būsì 'stick' and fwānyì 'finger') while phonetic high-low is almost non-existent. Since noun vowel prefixes are limited to low or mid tone (e or o in the singular, a in the plural), all high-falling nouns begin with a consonant.

17. The remaining two syllable tone combinations occur without further tonal modification.

Mid-Mid: ōsū 'chief', ēwyī 'day', kūrcī 'lower-leg'

Mid-High: ōnyá 'thing', ōwyé 'child', gnīkwó 'market'

High-Mid: gyībā 'profit', rógō 'cassava', kwánū 'plate'

High-High: túkwó 'head', kútá 'stone', núnwá 'water'

Most high-mid nouns are borrowings from Hausa, as in the examples above.

18. A lower-mid tone is in most cases a mid tone that has been slightly lowered as the result of a preceding low tone. Very often that low tone no longer occurs phonetically, but still exerts its lowering effect. The personal pronouns generally bear lower-mid tone, e.g. wo 'he/she, him/her, his/hers'. The reason for this is that the historical form is òwo, which is still obtained as a disjunctive pronoun: òwo

nu yī 'it is he/she'. In cases where a mid tone has been lowered to a lower-mid, this lower-mid tone then becomes the reference point for mid tone in the sentence. Though all of the tones are mid in the sentence ōsū sī kwō lō 'the chief is buying it', all of the tones of the sentence wo si kwo lo 'he/she is buying it' are lower-mid. The tone of wo is still phonologically mid, though phonetically it has been lowered and causes all following mid tones to comply. There are certain restrictions, however. When ōjē 'wine' is the object of 'buy', if the o prefix is retained, then the word maintains its independent mid tone: wo si ōjē lō 'he/she is buying wine'. However, if the o is elided, all of the tones of the sentence are once again lower-mid: wo si je lo.

19. Some words appear to have independent lower-mid tone either in an initial syllable preceding a high tone or in a syllable following high tone: beyí 'herbalist', kapwí 'crab', ósu 'yesterday, tomorrow', ótina 'last, next year'.

20. Whenever a falling tone does not fall from the level of the non-low tone that precedes it, separate tones are marked: àsēsá 'sitting', ó kwò 'in it'.

21. There are a few words that have low-high where low-rising is expected: nàwyí 'small', nyimwányimwá 'eight'.

22. When a rising tone is followed by a high or mid tone, it becomes a mid tone: gyìwyě 'money', gyìwyē dā 'a possessor of money'; wó kú bē 'he/she has come', wó kú bē gnīkwó 'he/she has come to the market'. This means that phonological high tone is realized as mid tone in these environments, since rising tone comes about when

a high tone is preceded by a low tone.

23. The fall of a falling tone is lost when it is followed by a high or mid tone. This means that a noun of the form high-falling becomes high-high and a noun of the form mid-falling becomes mid-mid. Thus sháknû 'pot' becomes high-high in the sentence sháknû lá bá ya 'the pot has broken'. In the sentence ōzā kú bē 'the person has come', ōzā 'person' has become mid-mid.

24. When the falling tone loses its fall before a mid tone, this mid tone becomes a lower-mid. This often occurs when a low tone verb (e.g. gwò 'to receive') becomes a falling tone after high or mid, and then this falling tone is converted to high or mid before a non-low tone, as in the sentence ōsū gwò kwo lo 'the chief is receiving it'. As was seen in 18, a noun vowel prefix blocks the creation of a lower-mid tone: ōsū gwò ōbwīlō 'the chief is receiving ground-nuts' (cf. ōsū gwò bwi lo). The creation of lower-mid is also found when a noun of the form high-falling or mid-falling precedes a non-low tone: ōsū gwò ōwyī lo 'the chief is receiving guinea-corn' (ōwyī 'guinea-corn').

25. Only one lowering is possible in any given sentence. If the sentence starts with lower-mid, then no further lowering is possible: wogwo kwo lo 'he is receiving it'. This sentence is tonally identical to the sentence 'he is grinding it' (gwò 'to grind') and is therefore ambiguous. Since wo begins the sentence on a lower-mid tone, kwo cannot be lowered a second time after the basic low tone verb gwò. In the sentence ōsū gwò wyi lo 'the chief is receiving guinea-corn', wyi occurs with lower-mid tone, since it follows the verb gwò. However, the present continuous marker lo fails to be further lowered (as, say, a lower-

lower-mid) by the mid-falling tone noun ōwyī.

26. In certain constructions, the effect of a low tone is felt, though the low tone itself is not actually heard. In the completed tenses formed with lá or kú (see 157), there is an occurrence of this low tone effect after the lá or kú (in intransitive sentences) or after the object (in transitive sentences). In the sentences wó kú bē 'he has come' and wó lá sháknû wyī 'he has stolen a pot', high tone verbs (bē 'to come', wyī 'to steal') exhibit rising tone. In the sentence wó lá sháknû mī 'he has made a pot', mī 'to make' occurs with lower-mid tone. In addition, the falling tone of sháknû has failed to become a high tone (in accordance with 23) because of the effect of the following assimilated low tone. Finally, in the sentence wó kú kpè 'he has stopped', the presence of the assimilated low tone after kú has prevented the low tone of kpè 'to stop' from becoming a falling tone (in accordance with 16). This particular low tone is found at numerous points in the grammar.

27. When a word syllable consists of two vowels bearing the same tone, only the first is marked: jàaki 'donkey' (Hausa). Compare gyei in the sentence wó kú mí gyei wyé 'he saw me' [yesterday]. When the first vowel is high and the second lower-mid, the second vowel is marked mid, since there are no occurrences of a high tone vowel followed by a mid tone vowel in the same word syllable. When the first vowel is mid and the second lower-mid, the second vowel is marked low, since there are no occurrences of a mid tone vowel followed by a low tone vowel in the same word syllable. In the sentence wo bēi kúī bēi 'he will have

come' [tomorrow], both vowels of béi are high, the vowels of kúí are high - lower-mid, and the vowels of bēi are mid - lower-mid.

28. Sometimes the phonetic tones bear little relationship to the basic tones that underlie them. As an illustration consider gerund àsāsé 'sitting'. The gerund is obtained by reversing the order of the elements in the complex verb sè + àsá 'to sit'. This yields àsásè. The low tone of sè then becomes a falling tone from high to low (i.e. àsásé) in accordance with 16. The high tone then becomes a rising tone in accordance with 15, and then a mid tone in accordance with 23. Other words have an equally complex tonal history.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Noun and Personal Pronouns

29. Most Gwari nouns consist of two syllables. The majority of these are characterized by a vowel prefix and a single consonant-initial noun stem: ē-bí 'child', ò-bmya 'fish'. The vowel prefix is o (and more rarely e) in the singular, a in the plural, and it bears either mid or low tone. The remaining bisyllabic nouns consist of two consonant-initial syllables: kútá 'stone', yàbà 'banana'.

30. Those nouns with vowel prefixes form their plural by replacing o or e with a, maintaining the independent tone of the singular prefix: ēbí 'child', pl. ābí; òbmya 'fish', pl. àbmya. Where the noun has no singular prefix, the plural is generally formed by prefixing à before low and lower-mid tone initial syllables, and ā before mid and high tone initial syllables: kútá 'stone', pl. ākútá; yàbà 'banana', pl. àyàbà.

31. The personal pronouns are as follows:

<u>1st pers.sg.</u>	: <u>mi</u>	'I, me, my'
<u>pl.</u>	: <u>yi</u>	'we, us, our'
<u>2nd pers.sg.</u>	: <u>ho</u>	'you, your'
<u>pl.</u>	: <u>fye</u>	'you, your'
<u>3rd pers.sg.</u>	: <u>wo</u>	'he, she, him, her, his, her'
	: <u>kwo</u>	'it, its'
	: <u>ce</u>	'it, its'
<u>pl.</u>	: <u>ba</u>	'they'
	: <u>a</u>	'they'

32. The above personal pronouns generally bear lower-mid tone. Historically, these pronouns consisted of a low-tone

vowel prefix followed by a mid tone pronominal stem. A partial view of this can still be seen in the set of disjunctive pronouns: òmi 'I, me', òyi 'we, us', òho 'you', òfye 'youpl.', òwo 'he, she, him, her', òkwo 'it', òce 'it', òba 'they, them'. These forms are used in isolation (as in response to the question 'who is coming?') or as the subject of the verb yì 'to be': òmi nu yì ñ w'á gye wyé 'it is me that he has seen'.

33. In certain constructions the personal pronouns bear tones other than lower-mid. Subject pronouns bear high tone in the present perfect, e.g. wó kú bē 'he has come', and low tone in the subjunctive, e.g. wò bē 'let him come!', and yesterday and beyond yesterday past tenses: hò bei bē 'he was coming' [beyond yesterday]. Lower-mid subject pronouns are found in the present and future tenses: wo bē lō 'he is coming', wo bá bē 'he will come' [today]. While possessive pronouns are always lower-mid, direct object pronouns are found to be mid after high tone verbs, e.g. wo knú bā lō 'he is selling them', and high after lá and kú in the completed tenses: wó kú bá knú 'he has sold them'. Indirect objects are also high tone after high tone verbs: wo knú bá àshnamá 'he is selling the yams for them'.

34. There are three third person singular pronouns. Wo is used for human beings, both male and female, while kwo is used for non-humans, including animals: wo bmyá lō 'he, she is beautiful', kwo bmyá lō 'it is beautiful' (i.e. the cat or the cloth). While kwo is used for concrete non-human objects, ce is used for abstract matters: ce bmyá lō 'it is beautiful' (i.e. the matter, the situation, etc.).

35. Ce is also used as an anaphoric pronoun. This means that where the antecedent noun appears elsewhere in the same sentence, ce must be used in all cases: wó lá òbē gyè,

w'ā sā ābū ò ce i 'he has sharpened the knife to cut meat with it'. In this case, ce is used in the place of wo and kwo. It also replaces ba in the plural: wó lá ābē gyè, w'ā sā ābū ò ce i 'he has sharpened the knives to cut meat with them', wó lá nūgnūdò lā bē ò ce i 'he has brought a friend' (lit. he has taken a friend come with him). When the antecedent noun does not occur in the same sentence, wo, kwo and ba are used: bē ò wo i 'bring him!', mí kú ābū sa ò kwo i 'I have cut meat with it', wó kú bē ò ba i 'he has brought them' (lit. he has come with them).

36. The third person plural pronoun ba is the corresponding plural form of wo, kwo and ce. Thus, ba bmyá lō 'they are good/beautiful' can refer to ābí 'children', āmwi 'dogs' or ābó 'matters'.

37. The pronoun a is used as an indefinite personal pronoun, corresponding to one in English. It is, however, inherently plural and should be considered an indefinite 'they': a si àshnamá lō 'they are buying yams' (meaning 'some people'). The form of this pronoun should be compared to the plural a prefix (see 30). Note that the singular pronoun wo 'he, she' is sometimes used as a corresponding singular indefinite pronoun: wo si àshnamá lō 'one is buying yams'.

CHAPTER FIVE

Associative Constructions

38. The term "associative" refers to a very common construction in the Gwari language corresponding to the genitive in a case language. Like the genitive case, it has a number of functions. In the associative construction, one noun is associated with another, thereby providing a limited number of semantic relationships between them. This may mean, for example, that one noun represents the possessor of the other noun, or quite possibly, the object of the action described in a verbal noun: ēbí + àshnamá 'the child's yams', shnamá + sí 'yam-buying'. In 'the child's yams' the relationship is one of possession; in 'yam-buying' a gerund has been formed by means of an associative construction (see 55).

39. The terms "possessed noun" and "possessor noun" are adopted, though possession is only one of the associative's functions. Thus, in Gwari, the possessor noun precedes the possessed noun. This pertains to noun possessors as well as pronoun possessors, which bear lower-mid tone: woshnamá 'his yam', kwosí 'the buying of it' (lit. it's buying). Compare the words minyá 'mine', honyá 'yours' etc., which are created from a possessive pronoun and the word onyá 'thing' in an associative construction (lit. my thing, your thing, etc.).

40. As a matter of convention, when a pronoun is associated with a simple noun (i.e. not with a compound which is itself comprised of an associative construction), the two are written as one word. This serves to distinguish homophonous phrases such as mi shnamási 'my yam-buying', mishnamási 'the buying of my yam(s)'. In addition, when

a gerund is created (see 55) it is written as one word, e.g. shnamási 'yam-buying'. Whenever nouns and pronouns are written together, this means that each one is entering into an associative relationship with the single noun that follows. From the verbal complex cé + ōbwá 'to help' (lit. to support (with) the hand) we find mi wo bwacé 'my helping him' (lit. my hand-supporting of him) and mi wo mi bwacé 'my helping him' (lit. my supporting-of-my-hand of him). Gwari is extremely rich in associatives and as we have seen, it is not impossible to find a number of such constructions in succession one after the other (see 61 for further discussion).

41. There is a set of prepositional nouns that frequently enter into this relationship, thereby forming locative phrases: ó tēbùl shē 'on top of the table' (lit. at the table's sky), ó mitúkwô 'on top of me' (lit. at my head), ó nyaknú vnù 'behind the house' (lit. at the house's behind), ó nyaknú mî 'inside the house' (lit. at the house's interior). The prepositional nouns in question are òshè 'sky', túkwó 'head', àvnù 'behind, buttocks', òmi 'interior', among others.

Possessed

42. Nouns of the structure low-low, low-lower-mid, low-rising and mid-low undergo tonal modifications depending upon the tonal structure of the possessor noun. In the following illustrations all tones are given in their basic form (i.e. no lower-mid, rising or falling tones) on the left. Their phonetic form is seen on the right.

43. The possessor noun ends in high tone: ēbí 'child'.

<u>ēbí</u> + <u>òpà</u>	:	<u>ēbí pà</u>	'the child's skin'
<u>ēbí</u> + <u>yàbà</u>	:	<u>ēbí yábà</u>	'the child's banana'

<u>ēbí</u> + <u>òbmyā</u>	:	<u>ēbí</u> <u>bmyā</u>	'the child's fish'
<u>ēbí</u> + <u>gbògnū</u>	:	<u>ēbí</u> <u>gbógnu</u>	'the child's squirrel'
<u>ēbí</u> + <u>òjé</u>	:	<u>ēbí</u> <u>jé</u>	'the child's cloth'
<u>ēbí</u> + <u>gyíwyé</u>	:	<u>ēbí</u> <u>gyíwyě</u>	'the child's money'
<u>ēbí</u> + <u>tnúbwà</u>	:	<u>ēbí</u> <u>tnúbwà</u>	'the child's ear'

44. The possessor noun ends in mid tone: ōsū 'chief'.

<u>ōsū</u> + <u>òpà</u>	:	<u>ōsū</u> <u>pā</u>	'the chief's skin'
<u>ōsū</u> + <u>yābà</u>	:	<u>ōsū</u> <u>yābà</u>	'the chief's banana'
<u>ōsū</u> + <u>òbmyā</u>	:	<u>ōsū</u> <u>bmyā</u>	'the chief's fish'
<u>ōsū</u> + <u>gbògnū</u>	:	<u>ōsū</u> <u>gbógnu</u>	'the chief's squirrel'
<u>ōsū</u> + <u>òjé</u>	:	<u>ōsū</u> <u>jé</u>	'the chief's cloth'
<u>ōsū</u> + <u>gyíwyé</u>	:	<u>ōsū</u> <u>gyíwyě</u>	'the chief's money'
<u>ōsū</u> + <u>tnúbwà</u>	:	<u>ōsū</u> <u>tnúbwà</u>	'the chief's ear'

45. The possessor noun ends in low tone: òvyì 'thief'.

<u>òvyì</u> + <u>òpà</u>	:	<u>òvyì</u> <u>pā</u>	'the thief's skin'
<u>òvyì</u> + <u>yābà</u>	:	<u>òvyì</u> <u>yābà</u>	'the thief's banana'
<u>òvyì</u> + <u>òbmyā</u>	:	<u>òvyì</u> <u>bmyā</u>	'the thief's fish'
<u>òvyì</u> + <u>gbògnū</u>	:	<u>òvyì</u> <u>gbognu</u>	'the thief's squirrel'
<u>òvyì</u> + <u>òjé</u>	:	<u>òvyì</u> <u>jé</u>	'the thief's cloth'
<u>òvyì</u> + <u>gyíwyé</u>	:	<u>òvyì</u> <u>gyíwyě</u>	'the thief's money'
<u>òvyì</u> + <u>tnúbwà</u>	:	<u>òvyì</u> <u>tnúbwà</u>	'the thief's ear'

46. The possessor noun ends in rising tone (basic low-high): Dògnū (a proper name). In this case, the possessed noun undergoes the same modifications as seen in 43, but the low-rising possessor noun, instead of ending in high or rising tone, ends in mid tone, in accordance with 22: Dògnū yābà 'Dognu's banana', Dògnū gbógnu 'Dognu's squirrel', Dògnū gyíwyě 'Dognu's money'.

47. The possessor noun ends in falling tone (basic high-low or mid-low): ōzā 'person'. In such cases, the fall is

lost and the noun functions as either high-high or mid-mid, depending on whether it was originally high-falling or mid-falling: ōzā pā 'the person's skin', ōzā yābà 'the person's banana', ōzā gyíwyě 'the person's money', etc. The loss of the fall does not have any lowering effect on the following syllable (cf. however 24).

48. In 43, 44 and 45 it is observed that whenever the possessed noun begins with a vowel prefix, that prefix is lost in the associative construction. If the prefix is low tone, the loss occurs before it has lowered a following mid tone to lower-mid or a high tone to rising tone: ēbí jé 'the child's cloth'. The tones of cloth are normally low-rising: èjě.

49. After a low tone a marked falling tone falls from lower-mid to low: òvyì pā 'the thief's skin'. A historical mid tone associative marker accounts for the fall, as well as for the lower-mid in òvyì yābà 'the thief's banana'. The final low tone of 'thief' lowers the mid of the initial syllable of 'banana' to lower-mid.

50. Possessive pronouns bear lower-mid tone and cause similar tonal modifications to those above: wopā 'his skin', woyabà 'his banana', wobmyā 'his fish', wogbognu 'his squirrel', wojé 'his cloth', wogyiwyě 'his money', wotnúbwà 'his ear'.

51. There are no tonal modifications when the possessed noun is of one of the following forms: mid-falling, mid-mid, mid-high, high-falling, high-mid, high-high. The vowel prefix of the possessed noun, if present, must fall: ēbí wyí 'the child's guinea-corn' (ōwyí 'guinea-corn').

52. Although nouns form their plural by the presence of a low or mid tone a prefix (see 30), when the possessed

noun is plural, the tone of its prefix is mid: ēbī āpā 'the child's skins', ēbī āyābà 'the child's bananas', ēbī ābmyā 'the child's fish pl.', ēbī āgbōgnu 'the child's squirrels', ēbī ājé 'the child's cloths', ēbī āgyīwyě 'the child's money pl.', ēbī ātnúbwà 'the child's ears'. This plural prefix is never deletable. The possessed noun behaves as though the plural prefix were part of the possessor noun. These forms are therefore identical to those presented in 44, where the possessor noun ends in mid tone.

53. When possessive pronouns occur with plural possessed nouns they are contracted. The a vowel of the plural prefix is heard, although with the lower-mid tone of the possessive pronoun: w'apā 'his skins', w'ayabà 'his bananas', w'abmya 'his fish pl.', w'agbognu 'his squirrels', w'ajé 'his cloths', w'agyiwyě 'his money pl.', w'atnúbwà 'his ears'.

CHAPTER SIX

Derived Nouns

54. The Gwari language provides a number of ways of deriving complex nouns from smaller units. The verbal noun is identical in form to the verb stem, but is in common use only when the verb is intransitive: bé 'to come, coming', cē 'to become wise, becoming wise', kpè 'to stop, stopping'. These forms are commonly used in object position: wo kpé bé 'he knows how to come' (lit. he knows coming), wo kpé cē 'he knows how to become wise' (lit. he knows becoming wise), wo kpé kpè 'he knows how to stop' (lit. he knows stopping). In subject position, however, these forms must be reduplicated: bébě dná bó 'coming is hard', cēce dná bó 'becoming wise is hard', kpèkpè dná bó 'stopping is hard'.

55. When a noun is derived from a transitive verb, the verb's direct object is required as part of the noun. The noun is obtained by reversing the order of the verb and its object:

sī + shnamá 'to buy yams': shnamási 'yam-buying'
zhnī + thútnū 'to do work': tnutnúzhni 'work-doing'

This derived noun is referred to as the gerund. Corresponding to the verbal noun of intransitive verbs is the infinitival gerund, which is obtained by reversing the order of the transitive verb and the dummy object ōnyá 'thing, something':

knú + ōnyá 'to sell something': nyaknú 'selling'
kā + ōnyá 'to write something': nyākā 'writing'
gyè + ōnyá 'to sharpen something': nyagyé 'sharpening'

Gerunds can be used in subject or object position: wo kpé

shnamási 'he knows how to buy yams' (lit. he knows yam-buying), shnamási dná bó 'yam-buying is hard'; wo kpé nyākā 'he knows how to write' (lit. he knows writing), nyākā dná bó 'writing is hard'.

56. There is an occurrence of an assimilated low tone preceding the first syllable of the gerund. Thus, ōnyā becomes nyā in nyākā 'writing', while high tone is further lowered to a lower-mid when the following syllable bears high tone, e.g. nyaknú 'selling'. Appropriately, when the verbal complex nwā + ōgyē 'to sleep' is formed into a gerund, the tones are lower-mid throughout: gyenwa 'sleeping'. The vowel prefix of the noun is usually deleted.

57. The plural prefix a can occur on a gerund: wo kpé àtnutnúzhni 'he knows several kinds of work-doing'.

58. The basis of the gerund is the associative construction (see 38, 40). A second noun can enter into an associative relationship with a gerund, representing the subject of the corresponding verb: wo si shnamá 'he buys yams': wo shnamási 'his yam-buying'. Where the corresponding verb can take two objects, a third noun can enter into an associative relationship with the gerund, this time representing the indirect object of the corresponding verb: wo ga mi shnamá 'he gives me yams': wo mi shnamágâ 'his yam-giving to me'.

59. There is a strict ordering of gerund associative modifiers: Subject Noun + Indirect Object Noun + Direct Object Noun + Verbal Noun. The order of these elements in the corresponding sentence is: Subject Noun + Verb + Indirect Object Noun + Direct Object Noun. Thus, in order to form the corresponding gerundive phrase, the verb is extracted from the sentence and transposed to the

end of the verb phrase. Where only one noun modifies the verbal noun, it is unambiguously the direct object of the corresponding verb: bagâ 'the giving of them' (not 'their giving (of something)' or 'the giving (of something) to them'). Where two nouns occur, the first is the subject noun and the second is the object noun: wo bagâ 'his giving them' (and not 'the giving of them to him'). It is only when a third noun occurs that an indirect object is possible: wo mi bagâ 'his giving them to me'.

60. When the subject noun occurs with an intransitive verbal noun, the verbal noun must be reduplicated: mibébé 'my coming', wocece 'his becoming wise'.

61. Any of the nouns in the gerundive phrase can in turn be modified by a further associative construction: wo mishnamási 'his buying my yams'. In addition, auxiliary verbs can be incorporated into the gerundive phrase: wo si shnamá zō 'he finishes buying yams': woshnamázōsī 'his finishing buying yams'; wo gna bōdā 'he talks too much': wo bōgnādā 'his talking too much'.

62. A participle noun is formed by reduplicating the verb:

<u>knú</u> 'to sell'	:	<u>knúknú</u> 'selling'
<u>sī</u> 'to buy'	:	<u>sīsī</u> 'buying'
<u>gyè</u> 'to sharpen'	:	<u>gyègyè</u> 'sharpening'

The second syllable is preceded by an assimilated low tone that causes the second high tone of 'selling' to become a rise and the second mid tone of 'buying' to become a lower-mid.

63. The participle noun is used to emphasize the action of the verb. It occurs at the end of the verb phrase and the focus marker nù is required (see 408): wo lo gnīkwó

lolo nû 'he's going to the market' (not returning), wo bma busi bmàbmà ya nû 'he broke the stick' (not burned). The two sentences ēbí sī shnamá sisi nû and ēbí sī shnamá wò i sisi are synonymous, both meaning approximately 'the child gets yams by buying'. The second sentence possibly provides the historical source of the first.

64. The participle noun is also used attributively, in this case resembling an adjective as much as a noun. Since the exact translation is often ambiguously rendered as an English present or past participle, the term "participle" is very appropriate: shnamá dūdu 'cooking yam' or 'cooked yam'. The phrase takáàda babà can be translated 'a reading book' (i.e. a book for reading) or 'a read book' (i.e. a book that is read). Alternatively, shnamá dūdu can be viewed as 'a cookable yam'.

65. The participle noun, when used attributively, can occur with the attributive suffix í. In this case there is no difference in meaning, but the form is best viewed as a participle adjective: shnamá dūduí 'cooking or cooked yam', takáàda babàí 'reading or read book'. The only difference between the participle noun and the participle adjective is that the former forms a compound with the noun it modifies, while the latter is an independent adjective. Thus an assimilated tone lowers the high tone of ōnyá 'thing' in nyagyígyí 'something to eat', but not in the synonymous nyá gyígyíí.

66. In the case of verbs occurring with the yā extension (see 137), the present and past participle forms are distinguishable: sháknú báyāí 'a breakable pot', sháknú bábaí yā 'a broken pot'.

67. An agent noun is obtained by adding the attributive suffix í 'characterized by' to the gerund:

<u>zhní</u>	+	<u>tnútnû</u>	'to work'	:	<u>tnutnúzhnií</u>	'worker'
<u>cé</u>	+	<u>ōbwá</u>	'to help'	:	<u>bwacéí</u>	'helper'
<u>nû</u>	+	<u>ōfwá</u>	'to farm'	:	<u>fwànùí</u>	'farmer'
<u>nwū</u>	+	<u>túkwó</u>	'to shave'	:	<u>tukwónwūí</u>	'barber'

The infinitival gerund can also be used to create an agent noun: gyè + ōnyá 'to sharpen something' : nyagyéí 'sharpener'; sī + ōnyá 'to buy something' : nyāsīí 'buyer'; knú + ōnyá 'to sell something' : nyaknúí 'seller'.

68. Instrumental nouns are formed by adding ōnyá 'thing' to the gerund. In the absence of a specific direct object, the infinitival gerund must be used. Compare the following instrumentals with the forms in 67: tnutnúzhni nyá 'something to work with', nyabwácé nyá 'something to help with', fwànù nyá 'something to farm with', tukwónwū nyá 'something to shave with', nyagyé nyá 'something to sharpen with'.

Where a verb normally occurs with an adverbial complement (e.g. gyē + ōwyé 'to see', cé + ōbwá 'to help'), the infinitival gerund must be used: nyawyégyē nyá 'something to see with'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Adjectives

69. The class of adjectives in Gwari consists of a group of noun-like words, most of which carry the attributive suffix í 'characterized by'. Some of the more common adjectives are: mánái 'good', núkwói 'bad'; dnāgmái 'big', nàwyí, bíi 'small'; kwói, kwókwói 'old', kāsāi 'young'; kwókwói 'old', wói 'new'; pyéi 'hot', fúi 'cold'; byeí 'red', buí 'white', zhií 'black'.
70. Some of these are clearly related to (if not derived from) verbs, while others are related to nouns: kwói, kwókwói, kwókwói 'old', kwó 'to become old'; pyéi, napyéi 'hot', pyé + (óná) 'to be(come) hot'; bíi 'small', ēbí 'child'. The words óló 'yellow' and ògyi 'green' are actually nouns meaning 'locust bean' and 'algae', respectively. Although they do not have the attributive suffix í, these nouns are used in every way as the above adjectives.
71. Adjectives stand postposed to the noun they modify: jàaki zhií 'a black donkey', ntóló ògyi 'a green leaf', ōzā mánái 'a good person', òna bíi 'a small goat', núnwá pyéi 'hot water'.
72. When modifying plural nouns, adjectives optionally take a plural concord prefix a: àjàaki (à)zhií 'black donkeys', āā (ā)mánái 'good people', àna (ā)bíi 'small goats'.
73. The adjective bíi 'small' generally modifies only non-human nouns: òmwí bíi 'a small dog', sháknú bíi 'a small pot'. However, in the case of some foreign tribes, the language permits the use of bíi, while in the case of more familiar tribes it does not: ògwō bíi 'a small Fulani',

nāsālā bíi 'a small European' (but not jēi bíi 'a small Hausa or gbāgyī bíi 'a small Gwari'). The adjective nawyi can be used for all nouns: òmwí nàwyí 'a small dog', sháknú nàwyí 'a small pot', ōzā nàwyí 'a small person', gbāgyī nàwyí 'a small Gwari'.

74. The adjective kwói can be used only for human nouns: ōsū kwói 'an old chief'. The adjective participle kwókwói (lit. oldened) derived from the verb kwó 'to become old' is used for non-human nouns: òmwí kwókwói 'an old dog'. Both kwói and kwókwói should be kept distinct from kwókwói, which means 'old' in the sense of 'not new': làbārī kwókwói 'an old story'. Kwókwói also means 'former': ōsū kwókwói 'the former chief' (cf. ōsū kwói 'the old chief').

75. Adjective participles are obtained by suffixing í to the reduplicated verb: yàbà bíbíí 'a ripened banana' (bí 'to ripen'), ēbí cēcéí 'a wise child' (cē 'to become wise'), ōbē gyegyēí 'a sharpened knife' (gyē 'to sharpen'). An assimilated low tone lowers the second syllable of reduplicated high and mid tone verbs to lower-mid (see also 62 - 66).

76. In many dialects the adjective participle is also used as a stative verb: yàbà bíbíí lō 'the banana is ripe', ēbí cēcéí lō 'the child is wise'. In other dialects, the verb yí 'to be' is required: yàbà yí bíbíí lō, ēbí yí cēcéí lō.

77. Verb complexes containing the extension yā (see 137) are capable of forming two distinct participles: òjē zhnáyāí 'washable cloth' and òjē zhnázhnái yā 'washed cloth' (zhná yā 'to wash'). Of these, only the second can serve as a stative verb: òjē zhnázhnái yā lō 'the cloth is washed'.

78. Many adjectives, including all of the color terms, can be reduplicated together with their i suffix (if present). This pertains primarily to adjectives consisting of a single syllable stem. The function of this reduplication is contrastive, and the modified noun always has a definite referent: jàaki buí 'a white donkey', jàaki buíbuí 'the white donkey' (i.e. the white one of the donkeys), ntóló ògyi 'a green leaf', ntóló ògyiògyi 'the green leaf' (i.e. the green one of the leaves), ōfwā wōí 'a new farm', ōfwā wōíwōí 'the new farm' (i.e. the new one of the farms). Adjectives of two syllable stems (e.g. mánái 'good', dnāgmái 'big') do not permit this distinction.

79. Adjectives can generally be used as nouns without the support of a pronoun such as English one (as in the red one): mi yé dnāgmái i lō 'I want the big one', m'a kú byeíbyeí gye wyé 'I saw the red one' [today], wò bei kú āzhnáyāi knū 'he sold the washable ones' [beyond yesterday].

80. In conjoining adjectives, color terms follow other adjectives when neither is emphasized: bě ò jáaki dnāgmái byeí i 'bring the big red donkey'. When the color is emphasized, the reduplicated form is used: bě ò jáaki dnāgmái byeíbyeí 'bring the red big donkey' (i.e. the red one of the big donkeys).

81. In cases where one of the two adjectives has no reduplicated form, the order can be reversed to obtain its emphasis: bě ò jáaki byeíbyeí dnāgmái i 'bring the big red donkey' (i.e. the big one of the red donkeys).

82. Where neither of two conjoined adjectives can be reduplicated, the emphasis is determined entirely on the basis of word order: ēbí núkwói dnāgmái 'the big bad child', ēbí dnāgmái núkwói 'the bad big child'.

83. Two adjectives can be conjoined without emphasizing one or the other by means of the preposition ò ... i 'with', which is the closest thing Gwari has to a conjunction 'and': ēbí dnāgmái o núkwói i 'a big and bad child'. In some cases a particular ordering of the adjectives is preferred. The sentence ēbí núkwói ò dnāgmái i 'a bad and big child' is grammatical, but sounds as awkward as its English equivalent. When like adjectives are combined, either order is acceptable: jàaki byeíbyeí ò zhiízhii i 'the red and black donkey', jàaki zhiízhii ò byeíbyeí i 'the black and red donkey'. It should be noted, however, that such sentences are likely to be misconstrued as 'the red donkey and the black one' and 'the black donkey and the red one', since they are ambiguous.

84. In addition to the set of noun-like adjectives (whose mark is the attributive suffix i), there is another set of adjectives, this time more adverb-like than noun-like. Its mark is a mid tone ō prefix: ōbmyá 'good, well' (pertaining to sight), ōdá 'good, well' (pertaining to senses other than sight), ōmwā 'big, much', ōdū and ōgnā 'surpassing', ōsnū 'reaching', ōwú 'appearing', ōzhê 'flowing', ōpyé 'fast'. They are all derived from verbs: bmyá 'to be good, beautiful', dá 'to be good, sweet', mwā 'to be plentiful', dù 'to surpass', gnā 'to surpass', snū 'to reach', wú 'to appear', zhê 'to flow', pyé 'to be fast'.

85. ōbmyá, ōdá, ōmwā and ōpyé are intransitive and can be found corresponding to both adverbs and adjectives in English: wo kpē àjē ōbmyá 'he dresses well' (lit. he wears clothes well), bíñkwói wú ōbmyá 'the girl appears beautiful', wo da bó ōmwā 'he talks a lot/loudly', àkwàtì wú ōmwā 'the box appears big'.

86. The adverbial adjectives ōdū, ōgnā, ōsnū, ōwú and ōzhê require a complement. Once again the function of these words appears to be both adverbial and adjectival: wo ceceí lō ōdū mi 'he is wiser than I' (lit. he is wise surpassing me), āzā yī lo ōdū mi ó cēce 'there are wiser people than I' (lit. there are people surpassing me in wisdom).

87. The most frequent environment in which these forms are found is when the adjective is separated from the verb phrase, as in the sentence bīnkwói yī lo ōbmyá 'there is a beautiful girl' (lit. there is a girl beautiful). If ōbmyá were part of the verb phrase, it would occur before the present continuous marker lō. In the synonymous sentences àjàaki zhií yī lo and àjàaki yī lo ōwú zhiízhí, both meaning 'there are black donkeys' (though the second is literally 'there are donkeys appearing black'), it is observed that when the color term appears outside of the verb phrase, the adverbial adjective ōwú 'appearing' must be used.

88. When an adjective participle occurs outside of the verb phrase, it too must carry an ō prefix: ēbí yī lo ōcēceí 'there is a wise child' (lit. there is a child wise), ēbí yī lo ōgyēgyeí 'there is a child found' (gyē 'to see, find').

89. Ōzhê is used with the negative of ōbmyá and ōdā: wo kpé àjē ōzhê àlàbmyá 'he dresses badly', wo kwó ānyí ōzhê àlàdā 'he sings badly' (àlàbmyá 'bad(ly)' (pertaining to sight), àlàdā 'bad(ly)' (pertaining to senses other than sight)).

90. Some verbs other than yī 'to be' commonly used with adjectives are: zhnī 'to do, make', wú 'to appear', zè 'to

turn into, become', gyí 'to eat'. Zhnī is interchangeable with yī and is more frequently used: fùla zhnī wōiwōi nū 'the cap is new', jàaki zhnī byeíbyeí nū 'the donkey is red'. Since zhnī normally requires a noun complement (as in the sentences wo bá zhnī ōsū mánái 'he will make a good chief' and àvyi zhnī ānúkwó (ā)núkwói 'thieves make bad friends') one concludes that wōiwōi and byeíbyeí are taking the place of nouns in the above sentences.

91. The verb wú 'to appear' requires ngyē 'like, as' when there is a noun complement: wo wú ngyē zā mánái nū 'he seems like a good person'. Ngyē is not required with an adjective complement: kwo wú lō mánái 'it appears a good one', kwo wú lō dnāgmái 'it appears a big one'.

92. Zè (lit. to turn (in)to) is used to mean 'to become'. It also requires a noun complement, though an adjective can stand for a noun: ēbí lá zè zā dnāgmái 'the child has become a grown-up' (lit. a big person), làbārī lá zè kwókwói 'the story has become old', jàaki ze byeí zēzēi lō 'the donkey is turned red'.

93. Gyí (lit. to eat) is used to indicate the thoroughness of the adjectival qualification of the noun: àjàaki gyí zhií 'the donkeys are thoroughly black' (lit. the donkeys eat black), fùla gyí wōi 'the cap is brand new' (lit. the cap eats new).

94. Adverbial adjectives can be used after yī and wú, but not after zhnī, zè, or gyí: bīnkwói yī ōbmyá 'there is a girl beautiful', bīnkwói wú ōbmyá 'the girl appears beautiful'.

95. The noun òda 'father' (commonly shortened to da) has come to mean 'the owner/possessor of' and can be used

where an adjective might otherwise be expected: gyìwyē dā 'a rich person' (lit. a father of money), kālā dā 'a strong person' (lit. a father of strength). These compounds can in turn be used as adjectives: ēbí gyìwyē dā 'a rich child', ēbí kālā dā 'a strong child'.

96. Adjective meaning is sometimes expressed by means of a verb or verbal complex: bīnkwói bmyá lō 'the girl is beautiful' (bmyá 'to be beautiful'), ēbí mwā kpā lō 'the child is tall' (mwā+òkpā 'to be tall'), tákáàda dná bó 'the book is difficult' (dná+óbó 'to be difficult').

CHAPTER EIGHT

Determiners

97. Gwari nouns most commonly occur without a definite or indefinite article. The noun ēbí refers either to 'a child' or 'the child' and the distinction is often irrelevant or determined by context.

98. There are two demonstrative pronouns used to situate an object: yē 'this' (close to speaker), yì 'that' (far from speaker). These demonstrative pronouns follow the noun they modify: ēbí yē 'this child', ēbí yì 'that child'. They are also used with plural nouns: ābí yē 'these children', ābí yì 'those children'.

99. The forms dōyē 'this (one)' and dōyì 'that (one)' are used as noun replacives (pronouns). They can take a plural prefix: mì yé dōyē ī lō 'I want this one', mì bei kú ādōyì gye wyē 'I saw those' [beyond yesterday].

100. A relative clause frequently is used as a determiner. The deictics nyí 'over here' and nú 'over there' (sg.) and nyĩ and nũ (pl.) are required:

<u>āpyí</u> <u>yē</u> <u>á</u> <u>bā</u> <u>gní</u> <u>nyí</u>	'this house standing here'
<u>āpyí</u> <u>yē</u> <u>á</u> <u>bā</u> <u>zhī</u> <u>nyĩ</u>	'these houses standing here'
<u>āpyí</u> <u>yì</u> <u>á</u> <u>bā</u> <u>gní</u> <u>nú</u>	'that house standing there'
<u>āpyí</u> <u>yì</u> <u>á</u> <u>bā</u> <u>zhī</u> <u>nũ</u>	'those houses standing there'

In these sentences the speaker is pointing to the house or houses. (For a discussion of gní/zhī 'to be standing', see 248.) Other common relative clauses used as determiners are seen below:

tákáàda yē ń kwō tú nyí 'this book on (top) here'

ātákáàda yê ñ bā kpē nyí 'these books on (top) here'
tákáàda yî ñ kwō tú nú 'that book on (top) there'
ātákáàda yî ñ bā kpē nǔ 'those books on (top) there'
tákáàda yê ñ kwō shí nyí 'this book being held'
ātákáàda yê ñ bā shí nyí 'these books being held'
shnamá yê ñ kwō shī nyí 'this yam on the ground'
àshnamá yê ñ bā zhī nyí 'these yams on the ground'

The verb shí means that the speaker is holding or touching the object. In the sentence 'this yam on the ground', the deictic nyí appears with rising tone because the independently low tone verb shí 'to be on the ground' causes a rise to be created.

101. The determiner hò is used to refer to nouns already having been referred to in the past. It is best translated 'the one in question' and is the closest thing Gwari has to a definite article: ēbí hò 'the child in question', ōsū hò 'the chief in question', òvyì hò 'the thief in question'. The plural prefix a optionally occurs with plural nouns: ābí (ā)hò 'the children in question', āsū (ā)hò 'the chiefs in question', àvyì (ā)hò 'the thieves in question'. The corresponding noun replative is dōhò 'the one in question', pl. ādōhò 'the ones in question'.

102. The determiner dò 'another, other' carries an optional a prefix in the plural: ēbí dô 'another child', ābí (ā)dô 'other children', ōsū dô 'another chief', āsū (ā)dô 'other chiefs', òvyì dô 'another thief', àvyì (ā)dô 'other thieves'. The noun replative is dōdò 'another one, the other one', pl. ādōdò 'other ones, the other ones'.

103. The determiner ho means 'a certain, certain' in the indefinite sense. It constitutes the closest thing Gwari

has to an indefinite article and is used to mark indefiniteness in cases where the distinction might be crucial: ēbí ho 'a certain child', ōsū ho 'a certain chief', òvyì ho 'a certain thief'. In the plural, ho cannot take an a prefix: ābí ho 'certain children', āsū ho 'certain chiefs', àvyì ho 'certain thieves'.

104. The lower-mid tone of ho can be attributed to the lowering effect of a preceding dò syllable. The longer form dòho can optionally be used in place of the shorter form ho. Dòho optionally takes an a prefix in the plural: ēbí dòho 'a certain child', ābí (ā)dòho 'certain children'; ōsū dòho 'a certain chief', āsū (ā)dòho 'certain chiefs'; òvyì dòho 'a certain thief', àvyì (ā)dòho 'certain thieves'.

105. When (dò)ho is used with the words 'person', 'place', 'time', 'thing' and 'way', the following pronominal forms are obtained: zā (dò)ho 'someone' (ōzā 'person'), ābā (dò)ho 'somewhere' (ābā 'place'), sà (dò)ho 'sometime' (òsà 'time'), nyá (dò)ho 'something' (ōnyá 'thing'), wú (dò)ho 'somehow' (ōwú 'way, method').

106. When dòho is reduplicated it requires the meaning 'any' in both singular and plural: ēbí dōhodoho 'any child', ābí (ā)dōhodoho 'any children'. In some dialects, the attributive suffix í is added: ēbí dōhodohóí.

107. The pronominal forms in 105 can be reduplicated (without dò) to obtain the corresponding 'any' forms: zāhozaho 'anyone', āzāhozaho 'any persons'; ābāhobaho 'anywhere' (identical plural); sāhosàho 'anytime', àsāhosàho 'any times'; nyáhonyáho 'anything', ānyáhonyáho 'any things', wúhowúho 'anyhow', āwúhowúho 'any methods'.

108. Forms such as 'any child' are based on the indefinite

determiner ho. The definite determiner hò constitutes the basis of the construction when there is an indication of which group the noun is selected from. The two forms are distinguished tonally: tákáàda dōhōdōhō átákáàda hò 'any book from the books in question', ēbí dōhōdōhō ábí hò 'any child from the children in question'.

109. The word gmànyí means 'one' in the singular, 'some' in the plural: ōzā gmànyí 'one person', àzà gmànyí 'some people'; ābā gmànyí 'one place', àbà gmànyí 'some places'; sháknū gmànyí 'one pot', āsháknū gmànyí 'some pots'. (The mid tone prefix of mid-falling nouns such as ōzā and ābā is lowered to a low tone in the plural and the falling tone fails to be created))

110. The quantifier vnyānyā means 'whole, entire' in the singular, 'all' in the plural: yàbà vnyānyā 'the whole banana', àyàbà vnyānyā 'all the bananas'; tákáàda vnyānyā 'the whole book', ātákáàda vnyānyā 'all the books'.

111. The quantifier bwōyē means 'much, many': núnwá bwōyē 'much water', shnamá bwōyē 'much yams', āshnamá bwōyē 'many yams', ābí bwōyē 'many children'.

112. The quantifier bēgyē means 'many' and can be substituted for bwōyē when modifying countable nouns: āshnamá bēgyē 'many yams', ābí bēgyē 'many children'. It is used in conjunction with the verb mwā, meaning 'to be big, to be plentiful': àvyi mwa bēgyē lō 'the thieves are many'. That bēgyē is actually a noun meaning 'abundance' is seen in the sentence àvyi yi lo ò bēgyē ī 'the thieves have abundance'.

113. The quantifier fyéwyí means 'little, few' and can be used with both mass and countable nouns: núnwá fyéwyí 'little water', ābí fyéwyí 'few children'.

114. The numbers one through ten are as follows: nnū 'one', mbà 'two', ntā 'three', nnyi 'four', ntnū 'five', tnāi 'six', tnāàbà 'seven', nyimwányimwá 'eight', cíwágmányí 'nine', ñwō 'ten'. To form the numbers eleven through nineteen, these numbers are added to ten by means of cēi (lit. with it): ñwō cēi gmànyí 'eleven', ñwō cēi àbà 'twelve', etc.

115. Nnū 'one' is used only in counting. The form gmànyí is used in all other environments, e.g. ēbí gmànyí 'one child'.

116. The numbers twenty, thirty, etc. are formed by suffixing the numbers two, three, etc. to the decade stem shīi-: shīibà 'twenty', shīitā 'thirty', shīinyi 'forty', shīitnū 'fifty', shīitnāi 'sixty', shīitnāàbà 'seventy', shīinyimwányimwá 'eighty', shīicíwágmányí 'ninety'. The number for 'one hundred' is tàgyi (from Hausa ṣari). The number for 'one thousand' is dūbū (from Hausa dubu).

117. Cēi is used to conjoin numbers: shīibà cēi gmànyí 'twenty-one', tàgyi cēi ñwō 'one hundred ten'.

118. The nasal prefixed numbers are used in counting, while the nasal prefix is replaced by an a prefix to modify plural nouns: ābí àbà 'two children', àyàbà àwō 'ten bananas' (cf. 115).

119. The noun ōgnú 'unit' can be used to individualize or itemize countable nouns: āshnamá àbà 'two yams', āshnamá ōgnú àbà 'two units of yams'. In some cases there is a clear difference in meaning depending on the presence or absence of ōgnú: sūlè àbà 'two shillings (worth)', sūlè ōgnú àbà 'two shilling-pieces'. Compare also the sentences mí kú āshnamá gyī ōgnú àbà 'I have eaten two (units of) yams' and mí kú āshnamá àbà gyī 'I have eaten

two yams (worth)'. In the first sentence the emphasis is on the two yams that were bought, while in the second sentence the emphasis is on the preparation made of the two yams, i.e. two yams' worth of yams.

120. Ordinal numbers are obtained by suffixing yí on the appropriate number: ōzā tāyí 'the third person', ōzā tnūyí 'the fifth person'. There is an irregular form for 'first': ōzā kmīsnuyí 'the first person', pl. āzā ākmīsnuyí 'the first people'. Kmīsnuyí is derived from the verbal complex kmī + snū 'to reach first'.

121. The words znù or ōbwá (= hand) are used with numerals to indicate the number of times something has been done: znù ngmānyí or ōbwá gmānyí (lit. one hand) 'once', znā mbà or ābwá àbà 'twice', znù ntā or ābwá àtā 'thrice', etc.

122. The general word order for noun modifies is: Noun + Adjective + Quantifier + Article + Demonstrative: āvýì àdnāgmái àbà dò 'the two other big thieves', ābí ānúkwói bēgyē yí 'those many bad children', āvýì àdnāgmái àbà dò yē 'these two other big thieves'.

CHAPTER NINE

Relative Clauses

123. Relative clauses are formed by placing ń (a velar nasal) or ó at the beginning of the clause. The whole clause follows the noun it modifies: mi yé àshnamá ĩ ń bā dá 'I want yams that are sweet'.

124. When the modified noun has a definite referent, the marker nyí is placed at the end of the relative clause: mi yé àshnamá ĩ ń bā dá nyí 'I want the yams that are sweet'. Nyí becomes a rise after low, lower-mid and mid tone: ēbí ń wō lō zhīmì nyí 'the child who is going to town', ēbí ń wō cē lō nyí 'the child who is becoming wise'.

125. The modified noun is generally repeated in the form of a pronoun within the relative clause. When the modified noun is the subject of the relative clause, it must be so repeated: ōzā ń wō bé lō nyí 'the person who is coming' (lit. the person that he is coming), āzā ń bā bé lō nyí 'the people who are coming' (lit. the people that they are coming), kwánū ń kwō tú lō ó tēbùl nyí 'the pot that is on the table', ōbó ń cē bmyá lō nyí 'the affair that is good'.

126. When the relativized noun is the direct object of the relative clause, it is usually not repeated, though a corresponding pronoun is sometimes found: ōzā ń mī kpé (wō) yē nyí 'the person whom I know', āzā ń mī kpé (bā) yē nyí 'the people whom I know'.

127. When the relativized noun is possessive, a corresponding pronoun must be present in the relative clause: ōzā ń m̄ bei kú womwi gye wyé nyí 'the person whose dog I found' [beyond yesterday] (lit. the person that I found

his dog), òmwí ñ kwosúknú nú yí nyí 'the dog whose bone it is' (lit. the dog that its bone it is).

128. When the relativized noun refers to an object other than the direct object in the relative clause, a pronoun must be present: òzā ñ mī gyí nyagyí ò wó i nyí 'the person whom I eat with' (lit. the person that I eat with him), òmwí ñ mī bei lá súknú gá kwo nyí 'the dog that I gave a bone to' (lit. the dog that I gave it a bone).

129. One common use of the relative clause in Gwari is in indirect questions (see also 383-388): mī kpé ābā yē lō ñ wō lō 'I know where he's going' (lit. I know the place that he's going), mī kpé sà yē lō ñ wō lō ò ce i 'I know when he's going' (lit. I know the time that he's going with it).

130. Relative clauses often function as determiners: āpyí yē ñ bā gní nyí 'this house standing here' (see 100).

131. When a noun is focused in the sentence, a relative clause is often employed: àshnamá nú ñ hō in báí sī 'it's yams that you must buy', lābmī nú ñ mī lō gnīkó ò ce i 'it's in the morning that I'm going to market' (lit. it's morning that I'm going to market with it). When the subject of a sentence is topicalized in this fashion, a relative clause is not needed, though it is optionally used: òvyí nú bei kú shnamá wýí or òvyí nú ñ wō bei kú shnamá 'it's a thief that stole the yams' [beyond yesterday] (see 411).

132. Relative clauses are required for complex sentences involving such concepts as 'whoever', 'whatever', etc.: sàhosàho ñ w'á kwó ānyí, mī bá knà tnūbwà 'anytime he sings, I will listen', nyáhonyáho ñ wō sī, kwo bmyá 'anything he buys is good'.

133. Sometimes it may appear that a relative clause has no noun to modify, such as in the sentence hō bá snu ñ hō zhí nyí, mī í lá shnamá si 'before you return, I shall have bought yams'. In such cases, the relativized noun has been deleted and can usually be recovered: hō bá snu sà ñ hō zhí nyí, mī í lá shnamá si (lit. you will reach the time that you return, I will have bought yams).

134. All kinds of complex constructions can occur within relative clauses, e.g. ēbí ñ wō bei kú lo zhīmī w'à si shnamá nyí 'the child who went to town and then bought yams' [beyond yesterday]. However, relative clauses cannot be strung out one after the other as in the English sentence the boy who went to the market who bought yams.

135. The word ngyē 'like, as' derives from a relative clause. The source of the sentence wo wú ngyē zā mánái nú 'he looks like a good person' is seen in the now archaic sentence wo wú zā ñ ā gyē zā mánái nú 'he looks a person that they (indef.) see a good person'. Thus ngyē comes from the relative marker ñ plus the verb gyē 'to see'. Both the relativized noun and the indefinite subject of the relative clause have been lost.

CHAPTER TEN

The Verb and the Habitual Aspect

136. Almost all verbs consist of a single syllable stem in Gwari, bearing high, mid or low tone: knú 'to sell', sī 'to buy', gwò 'to receive'.

137. In addition, two types of verbal complexes occur. In the first, a verb and adverbial noun complement form one unit: gyē + ōwyé 'to see' (lit. to see (with) eye), kpé + ōyē 'to know' (lit. to know (by) name). In the second type of verbal complex, two verbs form one unit: jé + zè 'to return' (lit. to repeat + to turn). A number of verbal complexes have yā 'to release, to leave' as their second element: zhná yā 'to wash (off)', pmí yā 'to strip (off)', etc.

138. Verbal complexes function as single verbs and can be transitive or intransitive: wó kú mí gye wyé 'he has seen me', wo gbi núnwá lō 'he is swimming' (gbī + núnwá 'to swim', cf. núnwá 'water').

139. Some verbal complexes consist of a verb and its cognate object: nyā + ōnyā 'to dance' (lit. to dance a dance), snú + ōsnū 'to breathe' (lit. to swell breath).

140. Sometimes the verb or the noun of a verbal complex has no independent meaning of its own, but rather is meaningful only in combination with the other element of the verbal complex, e.g. kwó in kwó + ānyí 'to sing', where ānyí means 'song'.

141. The tense system of Gwari is complex: past time is differentiated into past time today, past time yesterday and past time beyond yesterday. Symmetrically, future time is divided into future time today, future time tomorrow and future time beyond tomorrow. In addition, three

aspects are superimposed on the tense system: the habitual aspect, the continuous aspect and the completed aspect.

142. The present tense of the habitual aspect, denoting action that is accomplished as a matter of habit or regular routine, is marked by the mere presence of the verb stem alone. That is, there is no overt grammatical marker. Subject pronouns bear lower-mid tone: wo knú ōbwī 'he sells groundnuts', wo si ōbwī 'he buys groundnuts', yi gô àkyàuta cīcī 'we always receive gifts'.

143. An expanded form using the verb zhnī 'to do' is an exact paraphrase of the simple verb stem construction: wo zhni w'à knū ōbwī 'he sells groundnuts'. This construction is an instance of consecutive conjunction (see chapter 20) and can therefore be literally translated as 'he does and then sells groundnuts'.

144. Sometimes the present continuous marker lō (see 149) is used in a habitual sense: wo si ōbwī lō cīcī 'he is always buying groundnuts'. The corresponding expanded form with zhnī makes use of simultaneous conjunction (see chapter 19): wo zhni wò i si ōbwī cīcī 'he is always buying groundnuts' (lit. he does, always buying groundnuts).

145. The past habitual requires the presence of the auxiliary verb zhnī. Since it is based on the beyond yesterday past continuous tense, subject pronouns bear low tone: wò bei zhni w'à si ōbwī 'he used to buy groundnuts', wò bei zhni wò i si ōbwī cīcī 'he used to be always buying groundnuts'.

146. The future habitual is based on the today future tense, and subject pronouns therefore bear lower-mid tone: wo bá zhni w'à si ōbwī cīcī 'he will always buy groundnuts'.

wo bá zhni wò i si ōbwī cīcī 'he will always be buying groundnuts'.

147. The imperative habitual is obtained by means of zhnī preceded by an optional low tone subject pronoun: (hò) zhni h'à si ōbwī cīcī 'always buy groundnuts!', (hò) zhni hò i si ōbwī cīcī 'always be buying groundnuts'. Compare the corresponding subjunctive habitual constructions: wò zhni w'à si ōbwī cīcī 'let him always buy groundnuts', wò zhni wò i si ōbwī cīcī 'let him always be buying groundnuts'.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Continuous Aspect

148. The continuous aspect is used for both actions and states when emphasis is on the duration of the action or state and not on its precise point in time.

149. The present continuous tense describes an action or state currently in progress. It is formed by adding the particle lō (identical to the verb lō 'to go') to the present habitual tense. Subject pronouns bear lower-mid tone. The lō particle stands at the end of the verb phrase (i.e. preceding locative phrases): wo si ōbwī lō 'he is buying groundnuts', kwánū tú lō ó tēbùl 'the plate is on the table', mi yé ōbwī ī lō 'I want groundnuts'.

150. In the third sentence the state of wanting requires the present continuous tense and can therefore be literally translated as 'I am wanting groundnuts'. While the continuous aspect is used for both actions and states in Gwari, it is used only for actions in English. The corresponding habitual sentence mi yé ōbwī ī means 'I like groundnuts'. To want something habitually is to like it. The original meaning of yé is 'to agree' (requiring a prepositional phrase complement): mi yé ōbwī ī literally means 'I agree with groundnuts'.

151. There is an expanded present continuous construction that can be used in some instances. The two sentences wo ce lo and wo lo wò i ce both mean 'he is becoming wise'. In the second sentence, the verb cē 'to become wise' is simultaneously conjoined (see chapter 19) to the verb lō 'to go' in the first clause. This expanded construction is possible as a paraphrase of the simple present continuous construction, only when the verb of the second clause

is inchoative (see chapter 17). The two sentences wo lo gnīkwó wò i dna znâ 'he is going to the market (by) walking' and wo lo gnīkwó wò i si shnamá 'he is going to the market buying yams' (on his way) are not paraphrases of the sentences wo dna zna lo gnīkwó 'he is walking to the market' and wo si shnamá lō 'he is buying yams', precisely because the verbs dnā + ōznâ 'to walk' and sī 'to buy' are not inchoative.

152. Gwari distinguishes three past continuous tenses: today past continuous, yesterday past continuous and beyond yesterday past continuous:

wo béí si shnamá 'he was buying yams' [today]
wò bei sii shnamá 'he was buying yams' [yesterday]
wò bei si shnamá 'he was buying yams' [beyond yesterday]

The today past continuous is formed with the auxillary béí. Subject pronouns bear lower-mid tone. The yesterday and beyond yesterday past continuous forms are obtained by means of the auxillary bei, yesterday time (abbreviated [Y.]) being distinguished from beyond yesterday time (abbreviated [B.Y.]) by the presence of an i suffix on the main verb. In these two tenses, subject pronouns bear low tone and are responsible for the change from béí to bei. These forms are ultimately related to the verb bé 'to come'.

153. Further examples of these three past continuous tenses are seen in the following:

wo béí gye mi wyé 'he saw me' [today]
wò bei gyei mi wyé 'he saw me' [Y.]
wò bei gye mi wyé 'he saw me' [B.Y.]

Each of these implies continuous seeing over a period of

time within the specific limits of today, yesterday, or beyond yesterday. These sentences are best translated as 'he was seeing me'.

154. There is no distinct form for future continuous meaning, that which would correspond to the English sentence he will be buying yams. Often the simple future (see 170) is used, or where appropriate, phrases such as 'you will see that...' are found: ngyē ho bá lo gnīkwó, ho bá gye wò i si shnamá 'when you go to the market [today], you will see him buying yams' (meaning 'when you go to the market, he will be buying yams').

155. Since the verb lō 'to go' is inherently continuous (see 268), it is the only verb in the language that permits a future continuous interpretation in the future tenses: wo bá lo gnīkwó 'he will be going to the market' [today].

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Completed Aspect

156. The completed aspect is complex and subject to dialect variation. In addition to completed past, present and future tenses, three corresponding anterior tenses are found.

157. The completed aspect is marked by means of the auxillaries lá and kú. Very generally, lá is used for singular objects (in transitive sentences) and singular subjects of inchoative verbs, while kú is used for plural direct objects, and plural subjects of inchoative verbs. Both auxillaries occur as independent verbs meaning 'to take' (see chapter 14).

158. In the present completed tense, subject pronouns bear lower-mid tone: wo lá sháknû mi lo 'he is getting a pot made', wo kú ásháknû mi lo 'he is getting pots made'. The meaning is still present, but emphasis is on the forthcoming completion of the action. Without the lô present continuous marker, the meaning is habitual: wo kú ásháknû mi 'he gets pots made'.

159. The corresponding anterior tense is the present perfect. Subject pronouns bear high tone: wó kú àshnamá si 'he has bought yams'. In this tense the verbal action is completed in the past (at any time, though generally recently), but is somehow related to present time. This is seen in the sentence wó kú bá gye wyé ábwa àtă 'he has seen them three times', where the seeing could have taken place any time prior to the present time.

160. As in the continuous aspect, past time is divided into the categories of past time today, past time yester-

day and past time beyond yesterday. Completed past is, in addition, distinguished from completed anterior past. The three completed past tenses are illustrated in the following sentences:

w'a kú àshnamá si 'he bought yams' [today]
wò kûi àshnamá sii 'he bought yams' [yesterday]
wò bei kú àshnamá si 'he bought yams' [beyond yesterday]

Henceforth [yesterday] is abbreviated [Y.] and [beyond yesterday] is abbreviated [B.Y.].

161. Although the a of the today completed past tense occurs with lower-mid tone (the tone of the independent subject pronoun), the tone of this auxillary is high when the subject is a noun: ôsû á kú àshnamá si 'the chief bought yams [today]'.

162. When lá occurs in the today completed past tense, an automatic contraction of a + lá to á occurs: w'á mí gye wyé 'he saw me' [today], ôsû á mí gye wyé 'the chief saw me' [today].

163. In the yesterday completed past tense the ĩ suffix is required on the auxillary verb, though optionally present on the main verb: wò kûi ba gye(i) wyé 'he saw them' [Y.]. In focused sentences (see chapter 25) láĩ or kúĩ can be deleted when the ĩ suffix occurs on the main verb: wò gyei ba wyé nû 'it's that he saw them' [Y.].

164. In some dialects bei can appear in the yesterday completed past tense as well as in the beyond yesterday completed past tense: wò bei kûi ba gye(i) wyé 'he saw them' [Y.].

165. The bei of the beyond yesterday completed past tense can be optionally deleted, sometimes leaving a lower-

mid tone as a trace, sometimes leaving no trace at all: wò o kú àshnamá si 'he bought yams' [B.Y.]. However, since the resultant form differs from the present perfect only in the tone of the subject pronoun, bei cannot be deleted when the subject is a noun.

166. There is an occurrence of **an obligatory assimilated low tone** (see 26) exerting an effect on the main verb in all sentences with lá or kú. A high tone verb becomes a rise (e.g. bé 'to come'), while a mid tone verb becomes lower-mid (e.g. sī 'to buy'): wó kú bē 'he has come', wó kú àshnamá si 'he has bought yams'.

167. Direct object pronouns following lá and kú are characterized by high tone: wó kú bá gye wyé 'he has seen them'. Direct object pronouns after lái and kúi bear lower-mid tone: wò kúi ba gye wyé 'he saw them' [Y.].

168. The three corresponding anterior past completed tenses are formed by means of the past continuous marker béi (today) or bei (yesterday and beyond yesterday), suffixed by i and preposed to lá or kú:

wo béíí kú bá gye wyé 'he had seen them' [today]
wò beíí kúi ba gye(i) wyé 'he had seen them' [Y.]
wò beíí kú bá gye wyé 'he had seen them' [B.Y.]

As in the past continuous tenses, subject pronouns carry lower-mid tone in the today tense, low tone in the yesterday and beyond yesterday tenses.

169. There is no past perfect tense corresponding to the English sentence he had bought yams five times (in his life), where no mention of time is made. Instead, the anterior past tenses must belong to either today past time, yesterday past time, or beyond yesterday past time.

170. The forms for the three future tenses are seen in the following sentences:

wo bá si ōbwī 'he will buy groundnuts' [today]
wo béi sī ōbwī 'he will buy groundnuts' [Tom.]
wo béi sī ōbwī 'he will buy groundnuts' [B.T.]

The auxillary bá is used to form the today future tense, while the auxillary béi is used to form the tomorrow (abbreviated [Tom.]) and beyond tomorrow (abbreviated [B.T.]) future tenses. Both auxiliaries are ultimately related to the verb be 'to come' (see 173). Subject pronouns bear lower-mid tone.

171. The b of bá sometimes falls, thereby causing the vowel of the subject pronoun to be elided: w'a á si ōbwī 'he will buy groundnuts' [today]. This loss of b can occur only when the subject of the sentence is a pronoun.

172. There is an assimilated low tone following bá in the today future tense. However, while a mid tone verb becomes lower-mid, a high tone verb remains high: wo bá gye mi wyé 'he will see me' [today] (gyē + ōwyé 'to see'), wo bá bé 'he will come' [today]. This imaginary low tone also prevents a low tone verb (e.g. kpè 'to stop') from becoming a fall after bá: wo bá kpè 'he will stop' [today]. Compare the following beyond tomorrow forms: wo béi gyē mi wyé 'he will see me' [B.T.], wo béi kpê 'he will stop' [B.T.]. In the latter forms no imaginary tone is present.

173. There is an expanded form of the today future tense, from which the shorter form is historically derived: wo bé (lō) w'a gyē mī wyé 'he will see me' [today] (lit. he is coming to see me). (See chapter 21 for a discussion of the structure of this sentence.)

174. The anterior future tenses (future perfect) are used to refer to future actions anterior to other actions in the future. They are formed by inserting lá or kú after the regular future auxillary:

wo bá kú ōbwī si 'he will have bought groundnuts'
[today]

wo béi kúī ōbwī si(i) 'he will have bought groundnuts'
[Tom.]

wo béi kú ōbwī si 'he will have bought groundnuts'
[B.T.]

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Subjunctive and the Imperative

175. The mark of the subjunctive is a low tone subject pronoun. The subjunctive can occur in all persons and is used to express a wish or an order:

<u>mì lo!</u>	'I should go, I'm to go'
<u>hò lo!</u>	'you should go, go!'
<u>wò lo!</u>	'he/she should go, let him/her go!'
<u>kwò lo!</u>	'it should go, let it go!'
<u>yì lo!</u>	'let's go!, we should go'
<u>fyè lo!</u>	'you pl. should go, go!'
<u>bà lo!</u>	'they should go, let them go!'
<u>à lo!</u>	'they indef. (i.e. someone) should go'

176. When a noun occurs as subject of a subjunctive, the low tone subject pronoun must also be present: ēbí wò lo! 'the child should go, let the child go!', àvyì bà zhni tnútnú 'the thieves should work, let the thieves work!'.
tnútnú

177. The second person singular subjunctive pronoun hò can be deleted, thereby leaving an imperative construction: hò si ōbwī 'you buy groundnuts!', si ōbwī 'buy groundnuts!'.

178. The above subjunctive and imperative forms apply to either today or beyond tomorrow future time. When tomorrow time is intended, i is suffixed to the verb: bě 'come!' [today or beyond tomorrow], bēi 'come!' [Tom.], wò lo gnīkwó 'he should go to the market' [today or beyond tomorrow], wò loi gnīkwó 'he should go to the market' [Tom.].

179. The negative of the subjunctive and imperative is formed with tō...n̄. The whole intonation of the sentence is raised (see 392): bě! 'come', tō bé n̄ 'don't come!', wò si ōbwī 'he should buy groundnuts', wò tō sī ōbwī n̄

'he shouldn't buy groundnuts'.

180. Three verbs are used as subjunctive auxiliaries. The verb jé means 'to move aside': wó lá jé 'he has moved aside'. As an auxiliary it provides the meaning of urgency or necessity, as in the sentences jē m'ā lō 'I better go' and jē y'ā lō 'we better go'. While the subject of the second clause must be first person singular or plural, all persons occur as the subject of the first clause: wò jē m'ā lō 'he better let me go', bà jē y'ā sī ōbwī 'they better let us buy groundnuts'.

181. The verb wú 'to show' is possibly the source of the auxiliary wú used with a first person plural complement: wū y'ā lō 'let's go', wò wū y'ā lō 'let's go' (referring to him as part of 'us').

182. While wú is used for suggestions, the verb yé 'to agree' is used for 'let' in the sense of 'permit': yē w'ā lō 'let him go' (lit. agree for him to go).

183. Subjunctive conjunction is marked by ā in 180, 181 and 182 (see chapter 21).

184. Subjunctive constructions are used in a variety of situations. They are observed after certain conjunctions: mi lo gnīkwó kàfni mī gyī nyagyī 'I go to the market before I eat' (kàfni 'before'). They also occur after certain verbs: wó kú gnà mī mī si ōbwī 'he has told me to buy groundnuts', kwo dná bó n gé hò bà nyá 'it is difficult to read' (lit. it is difficult that you read). More frequently, however, subjunctive conjunction (see chapter 21) is required for complex sentences.

185. Imperatives and subjunctives can occur without any coordinate link between them: bmà, bē ò ce i 'break and bring it' (lit. break, come with it).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Verbs lá and kú

186. The Gwari language distinguishes two verbs meaning 'to take'. Lá generally requires a singular object (cf. Nupe lá 'to take'), while kú (cf. Nupe kū 'to gather') generally requires a plural object: wo lá shnamá lō 'he is taking a yam', wo kú àshnamá lō 'he is taking some yams'.

187. Subtle distinctions can be made, however, by using lá with plural objects and kú with singular objects. In the first instance, the plural object is conceived as a unit, such as in a container or as a single load. In the second instance, the singular object is conceived as a large quantity, i.e. a mass, or as a generic (e.g. the substance yams: wo lá àshnamá lō 'he is taking a load of yams', wo kú shnamá lō 'he is taking a mass of yams' or 'he is taking (the substance) yams'.

188. While shnamá 'yam' forms its plural by means of an a prefix, some nouns in Gwari in one way or another do not permit overt singular/plural distinctions. The nouns gōrò 'kola-nut(s)' and ōbwī 'groundnut(s)' do not permit an a plural prefix, and these forms are used invariantly with both singular and plural meaning. In such cases, the choice of lá or kú will be made according to the singular or plural nature of these invariant forms: wo lá gōrò lo 'he is taking a kola-nut', wo kú gōrò lo 'he is taking kola-nuts'; wo lá ōbwī lō 'he is taking a groundnut', wo kú ōbwī lō 'he is taking groundnuts'. Though ōbwī has a singular o prefix, the expected plural ābwī does not occur.

189. Similarly, the word ōmí 'oil' does not permit a plural form with an a prefix. It normally, then, occurs with lá: wo lá ōmí lō 'he is taking oil'. When kú is used with ōmí there are two possibilities. The sentence wo kú ōmí lō means either 'he is taking a mass (liquid) of oil' or 'he is taking some containers of oil'. When ōmí occurs with lá this generally means that the oil is not liquid (i.e. mass).

190. Liquids are, then, treated as plurals in Gwari, as seen in the case of wo kú ōmí lō 'he is taking some liquid oil' in 189. Many liquids have an independent plural form, such as āgyā 'blood', àmùsà 'sweat' and ākńí 'saliva'. Although the word núnwá 'water' does not have an a prefix, it too is regarded as plural: wo kú núnwá lō 'he is taking water'. When an inherently plural noun occurs with lá, it is considered as a specific quantity, as in a container or load: wo lá núnwá lō 'he is taking a container of water'.

191. To summarize, lá tends to view things as a unit, while kú tends to sub-divide things into parts, or view substances as mass or generic.

192. It should be noted that lá and kú are not the only verbs in Gwari differentiated in number. Several of the locative verbs share this property and are discussed in chapter 16).

193. Both lá and kú are used in the completed tenses (see 157) as auxiliaries. In transitive sentences, lá is used for singular direct objects, while kú is used for plural direct objects: wó lá shnamá si 'he has bought a yam', wó kú àshnamá si 'he has bought some yams'.

194. Once again, subtle distinctions are found when auxiliary lá is used with a plural object, and auxiliary kú is

used with a singular object. These distinctions are identical to those noted in 187: wó lá àshnamá si 'he has bought a load of yams', wó kú shnamá si 'he has bought a mass of yams' or 'he has bought the substance yams'.

195. The possibilities are many and often depend upon the individual verb. In the sentence wó kú shnamá gmányí gyí 'he has eaten one yam' (i.e. one yam's worth), it is clear that the single yam was made into a meal. It is therefore viewed as mass and can freely occur with kú. On the other hand, the sentence wó kú shnamá gmányí si 'he has bought one yam' (i.e. one yam's worth) is unacceptable, since yams are not bought in mass form. Of course, the normal sentence is wó lá shnamá gmányí gyí 'he has eaten one yam', which simply states that one unit was consumed. In this case shnamá gmányí is viewed as a unit, and not as mass quantity.

196. When the main verbs lá and kú are used in the completed tenses, they generally appear in conjunction with the corresponding identical auxiliary verb. That is, in the case of a singular object, both the auxiliary and the main verb are lá, while in the case of a plural object, both are kú: wó lá shnamá lá 'he has taken a yam', wó kú àshnamá kú 'he has taken some yams'.

197. In the case of invariant nouns such as gōrò (see 188), it should be noted that although the auxiliary and main verb tend to agree (wó lá gōrò lá 'he has taken a kola-nut' and wó kú gōrò kú 'he has taken some kola-nuts'), the auxiliary lá can occur with the main verb kú, though the auxiliary kú cannot occur with the main verb lá: wó lá gōrò kú 'he has taken a mass of kola-nuts'.

198. Six possibilities exist for nouns that form their plural by means of an a prefix:

<u>wó lá shnamá lǎ</u>	'he has taken a yam'
<u>wó kú àshnamá kǔ</u>	'he has taken some yams'
<u>wó lá àshnamá lǎ</u>	'he has taken a load of yams'
<u>wó kú shnamá kǔ</u>	'he has taken a mass of yams'
<u>wó lá shnamá kǔ</u>	'he has taken different loads of the substance yams'
<u>wó lá àshnamá kǔ</u>	'he has taken different loads of yams'

Once again, the auxillary kú cannot co-occur with the main verb lá.

199. While the choice of the auxillary or main verbs lá and kú has thus far depended on the number of the direct object, in inchoative sentences (see chapter 17), it is on the basis of the subject that the appropriate auxillary is chosen: sháknú lá bā ya 'the pot has broken', āsháknú kú bā ya 'the pots have broken'. Lá is used for singular subjects, while kú is used for plural subjects. Since inchoative sentences have a transitive counterpart (the causative, see 282), this should not be too surprising: wó lá sháknú bā ya 'he has broken the pot', wó kú āsháknú bā ya 'he has broken the pots'.

200. When an invariant noun such as gōrò 'kola-nut(s)' appears as the subject of an inchoative verb, the appropriate auxillary verb lá or kú is chosen according to the semantic number of the subject: gōrò lá bǐ 'the kola-nut has ripened', gōrò kú bǐ 'the kola-nuts have ripened'.

201. The indefinite subject pronoun a is grammatically plural (see 37). It therefore generally requires kú in inchoative sentences: á kú ce 'they (indef.) have become wise'. The corresponding sentence with lá is unacceptable. On the other hand, some verbs permit lá to co-occur with the

indefinite a subject: á kú bǐ 'they have ripened', as well as á lá bǐ 'a group of them has ripened'.

202. While the distribution of lá and kú appears very neat, there are some exceptions. Most non-inchoative intransitive verbs, for example, require kú for both singular and plural subjects: wó kú bǐ 'he has come', wó kú lo gníkó 'he has gone to market'.

203. There are also some verbs that permit free exchange of lá and kú, such as the verb gyē + ōwyé 'to see': wó lá/kú mí gye wyé 'he has seen me', wó lá/kú bā gye wyé 'he has seen them'.

204. There appears to be no verb that requires lá throughout.

204'. An identical low tone variant of lá is sometimes found: wó lá būsì bmà ya or wó là būsì bmà ya 'he has broken the stick', là ābā gù! or lā ābā gù! 'close the door!'.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Auxillary Verbs

205. The verbs lō 'to go', bé 'to come', lá and kú 'to take' and zhnī 'to do' have already been seen to figure into the tense-aspect system of Gwari. In addition to these tense-aspect auxiliaries, a number of verb-like auxiliaries can be used to modify the verbal action of the sentence. Some of these are clearly related to independent verbs, while others seem less verb-like in character. The more common auxillary verbs are dealt with below.

206. The verb gá is used as an independent verb to express temporal proximity: òsà lá gá w'ā sī gnīkwó 'the time has neared for him to reach the market'. While its independent meaning is 'to become near (temporally)', as an auxillary verb, its meaning has been slightly altered to 'to have nearly, to have almost': wó lá gá w'ā sī gnīkwó 'he has nearly reached the market'.

207. There appears to be more than one auxillary verb cé. As an independent verb cé means 'to support', as in the sentence wò bei lá kwó cē būsì 'he supported it with a stick'. The combination cé + ōbwá (lit. to support (with the) hand) means 'to help' and is used as an auxillary in the following ways:

wò bei cé mī bwá m'ā lō tnútnū 'he helped me work'
(lit. he helped me that I might work) [B.Y.]

wò bei cé mī bwá m'à lo tnútnū 'he helped me work'
(lit. he helped me and then I worked) [B.Y.]

wò bei cé mī bwá mī i lo tnútnū 'he helped me work'
(lit. he helped me as I was working) [B.Y.]

208. Perhaps a derivative of the verb 'to support' is the auxillary cé 'to continue': wò bei cé wò i lo tnútnū 'he continued working' [B.Y.].

209. When cé 'to continue' is used with gní (pl. zhī) 'to be standing' it acquires the meaning 'to remain': wo cé gní 'he remains' (while the others go). In this case gní cannot be simultaneously conjoined to cé as is lō + tnútnū in 208. A slightly different meaning is obtained, however, when gní is consecutively conjoined to cé: wo cé w'à gní 'he remains' (but shouldn't).

210. Although it is not at all clear whether the auxillary verb cé 'to settle down to' is related to the foregoing, it has the same phonetic form and differs only in construction: wo bá cé w'ā bā nyá 'he will settle down to read' [today]. Compare the corresponding imperative: wò cē w'ā lō 'let him go!' (since he wants to).

211. A final auxillary cé means 'to do in addition to': wo kwó anyí w'à cē w'à tnā nyá 'he sings, and in addition, he paints'. Cé tends to treat the two clauses as separate, unrelated actions: wò bei kú lo gnīkwó, w'à si ōbwī 'he went to the market and (as a result) bought groundnuts' [B.Y.], but wò bei kú lo gnīkwó, w'à cē, w'à si ōbwī 'he went to the market and, in addition, bought groundnuts' [B.Y.].

212. An adverbial adjective ōcé 'also' is derived from the auxillary 'to do in addition to': òmwi dná lō ōcé ò mūsùwyī ī 'a dog is there and also a cat'.

213. The auxillary shní means 'to be used to': wo shní shnamásī 'he is used to yam-buying'. In the completed tenses the meaning is altered to 'to have done before': wó lá shnamá shnī sī 'he has sold a yam before'.

214. The use of the verbs jé 'to move aside', wú 'to show, to point out' and yé 'to agree' as imperative auxiliaries is discussed in 180, 181 and 182.

215. The verb znā 'to wander' has come to be used as an auxiliary meaning 'to go about': ba bá zna bà i nya nyâ 'they will go about dancing' [today].

216. The verb yé means 'to want, like, agree, intend': wo yé w'ā sī ōbwī 'he likes to buy groundnuts', wo yé lō w'ā sī ōbwī 'he wants to buy groundnuts'. The exact meaning of yé depends on *its* aspect: in the habitual aspect its meaning is 'to like', in the continuous aspect its meaning is 'to want' or 'to intend'. The second sentence above can even mean 'he will buy groundnuts'. Finally, in the completed aspect, where the literal meaning is 'he has agreed to buy groundnuts', the extended meaning 'to be about to' is seen: wó lá yě w'ā sī ōbwī 'he is about to buy yams'.

217. The auxiliary shná means 'to do again better' and often corresponds to the English verbal prefix re: mi bá shná kwó zhnī(zhnī) 'I shall do it again better, I shall re-do it' [today].

218. The auxiliary jé means 'to do again, to repeat' and does not have the idea of 'better'. It should therefore be carefully distinguished from shná: mi bá jé kwó zhnī 'I shall do it again, I shall repeat doing it' [today], wò bei kú ānyí jē kwō 'he sang again' [B.Y.].

219. When jé appears simultaneously conjoined to the main clause of the sentence, it acquires the meaning 'repeatedly': wò bei kwó ānyí wò i jé kwō 'he sang repeatedly' [B.Y.].

220. The variants jé, jéhnū and jésnū mean 'again' and are adverbs derived from the auxiliary verb jé: wò bei kú

ānyí kwō jé(hnū) 'he sang again' [B.Y.].

221. The auxiliary verb knú means 'to do together': ba knú gnīkwó lō lō 'they are going to go to the market together', mi knú gnīkwó lō lō ò wo i 'I am going to go to the market with him' (he and I are going to the market together).

222. The auxiliary verb kmi means 'to do first, to be first': wò bei kú àshnamá kmi sisi 'he first bought yams' [B.Y.] (either before doing something else or for the first time), wò nù bei kú àshnamá kmi si(si) 'he was the first to buy yams'.

223. The opposite of kmi is kmá 'to do last, to be last': wo kmá bé 'he comes last', wo nu kmá bé 'he's the last to come'.

224. The auxiliary nyí means 'to hurry, to hasten to': wo nyí lō w'ā lō gnīkwó 'he is hastening to the market'.

225. The auxiliary í (cf. Nupe yí) means 'still' and is used throughout the tense-aspect system of Gwari. It requires a low tone subject pronoun or a low tone following a subject noun: wò í si ōbwī lō 'he is still buying groundnuts', ēbí'í si ōbwī lō 'the child is still buying groundnuts'. An assimilated low tone follows í and exerts a lowering effect on the main verb: wo béi í knū ōbwī 'he was still selling groundnuts' [today] (knú 'to sell'). Where a tense-aspect auxiliary precedes í the low tone that would otherwise affect the preceding subject is often found on the auxiliary, as in the last sentence.

226. Sometimes 'still' acquires the meaning 'again': wo béi bé 'he will still come' or 'he will come again' [B.T.]. Cf. wo béi bé 'he will come' [B.T.].

227. The verb bé 'to come' can be used as an auxillary meaning 'to get to, to come to': mi bé lō m'ā kpé ēbí yē 'I am getting to know the child'. Compare the closely related sentence mi kú ēbí kpé yē lō 'I am getting the child known'.

228. The auxillary verbs là and yá mean 'to begin, to start': wó lá là b̄wici or wó lá b̄wici là 'he has begun crying'. Although the two verbs take the same structure in the sentences wó lá là wò i bé and wó lá yá wò i bé 'he has started to come', they differ in the shorter forms wó lá là ó bē (lit. he has started at coming) and wó lá yá bē 'he has started coming'.

229. The auxillary verb zō 'to finish' is unique in the language (compare the relevant sections in chapter 17): wó lá tnutnú zo zhni 'he has finished the work'. In inchoative sentences it acquires the more or less passive meaning 'to become finished': tnutnú lá zo zhni 'the work has been finished' (lit. the work has finished done).

230. The auxillary verb fwā means 'to cease': wó lá fwā tnutnúzhni bó 'he has ceased working' (lit. he has ceased the matter of work-doing). Fwā can also be used intransitively: tnutnúzhni bó lá fwā 'working has ceased' (lit. the matter of work-doing has ceased).

231. The adverbial element kpà serves as an auxillary meaning 'for the time being': wó lá fwā tnutnúzhni bó kpà 'he has ceased working for the time being'.

232. The verb dù 'to surpass' is commonly used in comparative constructions. As an independent verb it means 'to pass by', often in conjunction with the yā extension: wó lá dù yā 'he has passed by'. There are two comparative constructions formed with dù: wo du mi

ó shnamáknú (lit. he surpasses me at yam-selling) and woshnamáknú dū minyá (lit. his yam-selling surpasses mine). Both of these mean 'he sells more yams than I do'. Compare also wo du mi ó kpā (lit. he surpasses me at height), wokpā dū mikpā (lit. his height surpasses my height), wokpā dū minyá (lit. his height surpasses mine), all of which mean 'he is taller than I am'.

233. The adverbial adjective ōdū 'surpassing, more' is derived from the verb dù and can be used as a variant of the above comparative constructions: wo knú shnamá ōdū mi 'he sells more yams than I do' (lit. he sells yams surpassing me), wo mwa kpā ōdū mi 'he is taller than I am' (lit. he is tall surpassing me).

234. The meaning of dù sometimes overlaps with that of the verb gnā 'to surpass, to do something more, a lot or too much': wo gna mi tnutnúzhni = wo du mi ò tnutnúzhni i 'he works more than I do'. The second sentence literally means 'he surpasses me with working'.

235. Gnā has, however, some proper uses of its own: wo kú gna bōdā 'he talks too much', wo gna bōdā 'he talks the most', wó kú gna bé 'he comes too often', wo gna bé 'he comes the most often'.

236. An adverbial adjective ōgnā is derived from gnā. It differs structurally from ōdū, but also means 'surpassing, more': āzā yī lo ōdū mi ó cēce (lit. people are, surpassing me at becoming wise) = āzā yī lo ōgnā mī cē (lit. people are, surpassing me become wise) or āzā yī lo ōgnā mī cēcei (lit. people are, surpassing me wise). All of these mean 'there are people wiser than I am'.

237. The verbs sī and snū both mean 'to reach', though they differ in construction: wo si mi lo ó kpā 'he is as

'tall as I am' (lit. he reaches me at height) = wo snu lo
ngyē mī ó kpā (lit. he reaches like me at height). The
 primary difference between the two verbs is that snū requires
 the preposition ngyē 'like, as': wo snu kpā lō ngyē mī
 'he is as tall as I am' (lit. he reaches height like me),
wó lá snu ngyē mī ó kpā 'he has reached me in height'.

238. The adverbial adjective ōsnū is derived from the verb
snū and means 'reaching': āzā yī lo ōsnū ngyē wō ó kpā
 'there are people as tall as him' (lit. people are, reaching
 like him in height).

239. The verb ḡē means 'to add to'. As an auxillary it
 means to do something in which one adds to what one has done
 before: wó kú àshnamá si ḡē 'he has bought more yams',
wó kú ḡē ḡē 'he has come more times', wó kú tnútnū zhni ḡē
 'he has worked more'.

240. The verb zhnī (lit. to do) means 'to cause, make'
 when used as an auxillary: wo zhni mi lo m'ā zhnī tnútnū
 'he is making me work'.

240. The verb kpé means 'to know how': wo kpé nyākā 'he
 knows how to write (lit. he knows writing). The verbal
 complex kpé + ōyē, on the other hand, means 'to know' (lit.
 to know (by) name): wo kpé mī yē lō 'he knows me' (lit. he
 knows me (by) name).

241. The verb mī means 'to be able': wo mi ó nyākā 'he
 can write'. This should be compared to the expanded form
wo mī wò i ka nyá which places emphasis on the auxillary,
 as if his ability to write is doubted, i.e. he can write.

242. The forms for 'must' are built on the future tenses:

ho in báí si ōbwī 'you must buy groundnuts' [today]
ho in bēi sīi ōbwī 'you must buy groundnuts' [Tom.]
ho in bēi sī ōbwī 'you must buy groundnuts' [B.T.]

243. The verb gnā 'to surpass' apparently figures in a
 slightly expanded equivalent form: ho in báí gna ōbwī sīsi
 'you must buy groundnuts' [today], etc.

244. There is a third form for 'must' which is invariant
 for all tenses: sái h'ā sī ōbwī 'you must buy yams'. It
 differs from the literal interpretation 'until you buy
 groundnuts' in intonation. In the 'must' interpretation,
 the whole pitch of the sentence is raised.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Locative Verbs

245. Locative verbs are distinguished into those that describe a state of being and those that describe a means of motion.

246. Among the stative locative verbs in Gwari is the general verb yí 'to be'. This verb is used for identificational, existential and locative purposes: òbe nu yí 'it's a monkey', ēbí cēcéí yí lo 'there is a wise child', òsū yí lo ó zhīmì 'the chief is in the town'.

247. The meaning 'to have' is obtained when yí is used with the preposition ò...í 'with': òvyí yí lo ò jàaki i 'the thief is with the donkey' or 'the thief has a donkey', ēbí yí lo ò túkwó í 'the child is intelligent' (lit. the child has a head).

248. In addition to the neutral verb 'to be (located)' there are a number of locative verbs describing different situations of being. These verbs differ from other verbs in the language (cf. however lá and kú, chapter 14) in that they exhibit different forms for singular and plural subjects: gní sg., zhí pl. 'to be standing'; shí sg., zhí pl. 'to be on the ground'; tú sg., kpē pl. 'to be on'; dná sg., fyí pl. 'to be in':

òzā gní lō ó zòkwó 'the person is on the street'
(in an upright position)

āzā zhí lō ó zòkwó 'the people are on the street'

ēbí shí lo ókní 'the child is on the ground'

ābí zhí lō ókní 'the children are on the ground'

kwánū tú lō ó tēbùl 'the plate is on (top of) the table'

ākwánū kpē lō ó tēbùl 'the plates are on (top of) the table'

òzō dná lō ó sháknū 'the bean is in the pot'

āzō fyí lō ó sháknū 'the beans are in the pot'

249. Interesting nuances are observed when the number of the noun does not agree with the number of the verb (cf. lá and kú, chapter 14). When a plural noun subject occurs with a singular locative verb, the plural noun is considered to be one unit, as being one group, one load or in one container: āzō dná lō ó sháknū 'the container of beans is in the pot'.

250. When a singular noun subject is used with a plural locative verb, the subject is conceived as a mass or as a generic: òzō fyí lō ó sháknū 'beans are in the pot' (not kola-nuts).

251. When a noun is not differentiated in form into singular and plural, the choice of the locative verb is made according to the semantic number of the noun: gōrò dná lō ó sháknū 'the kola-nut is in the pot', gōrò fyí lō ó sháknū 'the kola-nuts are in the pot'. Although nouns such as āpyí 'house' and ābā 'door' have a plural form and require the plural pronoun bā 'they' for both singular and plural reference, singular and plural locative verbs occur with them: āpyí yē á bā gní nyí 'this house that is standing over here', āpyí yē á bā zhí nyí 'these houses that are standing over here'.

252. The noun ōmí 'oil' has a singular form, while the noun núnwá 'water' is treated as a plural (see 189, 190). They therefore normally occur with a singular and plural locative verb, respectively: ōmí dná lō ó sháknū 'the oil is in the pot', núnwá fyí lō ó sháknū 'the water is in the pot'. While the oil is necessarily in a thick lump in the above sentence (or else in a container which in

turn is inside the pot), when ōmí is used with a plural verb, it is considered as a mass liquid: ōmí fyí lō ó sháknú 'the liquid oil is in the pot'. When 'water' is used with a singular verb, it is necessarily in a separate container within the pot: núnwá dná lō ó sháknú 'the container of water is in the pot'.

253. The crucial factor that distinguishes stative locative verbs from other verbs (say, from inchoative verbs, see chapter 17) is that they cannot be reduplicated into a participle form. While the participle bíbíí 'ripened' is derived from the inchoative verb bí 'to become ripe', there is no form tútúí derived from the verb tú 'to be on'.

254. The verb yā 'to release, to leave' acquires the meaning 'to be placed' when used in conjunction with stative locative verbs. Sentences with yā differ from sentences lacking yā in that while the latter sentences are neutral with respect to how the object came into its position, yā sentences indicate that the object is not in its position as a result of its own free will. This is particularly clear in the case of animate subjects: mūsúwyí tú lō ó tēbùl 'the cat is on the table' (it probably hopped up there by itself), mūsúwyí yā tú lō ó tēbùl 'the cat is (placed) on the table' (someone put it up there); kwánū tú lō ó tēbùl 'the plate is on the table' (neutral), kwánū yā tú lō ó tēbùl 'the plate is (placed) on the table' (someone put it or left it there).

255. The noun ōwā 'snake', although a singular, generally requires a plural verb: ōwā zhí lō ókní 'the snake is on the ground', āwā zhí lō ókní 'the snakes are on the ground'. This is presumably because a snake is long and can coil up in several places. When ōwā occurs with a singular verb, this must mean that it is in a container

and therefore does not assume its normal shape: ōwā shí lo ókní 'the snake is in a container on the ground'. Since the snake is not there of its own free will, the sentence ōwā yā shí lo ókní 'the snake is (placed) in a container on the ground' is preferred.

256. The three locative verbs gní + àgní 'to stand (up)', sà + àsě 'to sit (down)' and yá 'to lie (down)' describe a state in the continuous tenses, while in the completed tenses they describe the corresponding action leading into the state:

<u>wo gní àgní tú lō ópê</u>	'he is standing on the hill'
<u>ba sa àsě kpē lō ó kútâ</u>	'he is sitting on the stone'
<u>ēbí yá tú lō ó dúdū</u>	'the child is lying on the bed'
<u>wó lá gní àgní tú ópê</u>	'he has stood up on the hill'
<u>bá kú sà àsě kpē ó kútâ</u>	'they have sat down on the stone'
<u>ēbí lá yā tú ó dúdū</u>	'the child has lain down on the bed'

257. The verbal complexes gní + àgní 'to stand (up)' and sà + àsě 'to sit (down)' are seen in the completed tenses to function as one unit, since àgní and àsě do not appear immediately after the lá or kú auxiliary as is the normal case for direct objects (see chapter 12). Gní + àgní tends to be realized as gnyá gní.

258. In contrast with other stative locative verbs, these verbs can be reduplicated: wo sa àsě sàsàí lō 'he is in a sitting position'. While the expected corresponding sentence with gní + àgní is wo gní àgní gnígní lō 'he is in a standing position', the corresponding plural subject construction ba zhi àgní zhizhí lō 'they are in a standing position' is archaic. Since gní + àgní has become reanalyzed as gnyá gní the more common construction is ba gní àgní

gnìgníí lō. Finally, the sentence wo yáyáí (tū) lō (for 'he is in a lying position') is to be avoided, since it is ambiguously construed as 'he is bent (on something)' (yá 'to become bent').

259. The verbal complex nwā + ōgyē 'to sleep' is sometimes used in the sense of 'to be lying' or 'to lie down': wo nwa gye tū lō ó dúdū 'he is lying (=sleeping) on the bed', wó lá nwa gye tū lō ó dúdū 'he has lain down (=has fallen asleep) on the bed'.

260. Intransitive locative verbs of state can all appear in corresponding transitive sentences with the meaning 'to cause to be': ōzā gní òmwi lo ó zòkwō 'the person is putting the dog in the street', òda shi ēbí lō ókní 'the father is putting the baby on the ground', kúkù tú kwánū lō ó tēbùl 'the cook is putting the plate on the table', ēbí dná ōzō lō ó sháknū 'the child is putting the bean into the pot'.

261. In this transitive construction, the locative verb agrees in number with the positioned object: ōzā zhí àmwi lo ó zòkwō 'the person is putting the dogs in the street', òda zhi ābí lō ókní 'the father is putting the children on the ground', kúkù kpē ākwánū lō ó tēbùl 'the cook is putting the plates on the table', ēbí fyí āzō lō ó sháknū 'the child is putting the beans into the pot'.

262. The three locative verbs in 256 can also be used transitively: ba sa ābí àsē kpē lō ó tēbùl 'they are sitting the children down on the table'. Similarly, nwā + ōgyē can be used transitively: òda nwa ēbí gye tū lō ó dúdū 'the father is laying the child down on the bed' (lit. the father is putting the child to sleep).

263. The verbs lá and kú 'to take' are used as auxiliaries with stative locative verbs. Their meaning is 'to lift' or 'to get something into its position': sháknū lá tū lō ó tēbùl 'the pot is being lifted onto the table', āzō kú fyi lo ó sháknū 'the beans are being lifted into the pot', wo lá sháknū tū lō ó tēbùl 'he is lifting the pot onto the table' (lit. he is getting the pot onto the table), wo kú āzō fyi lo ó sháknū 'he is lifting the beans into the pot' (lit. he is getting the beans into the pot).

264. Although the use of lá and kú as 'to lift' originates from a completed aspect construction (e.g. he is getting the beans into the pot), combinations such as lá tū 'to lift onto' and lá dná 'to lift into' (having the plural forms kú kpe and kú fyi, respectively) have become reanalyzed as one unit. A second lá or kú co-occurs with these units in the past completed tenses: wó lá sháknū lá tū ó tēbùl 'he has lifted the pot onto the table', wó kú āzō kú fyi ó sháknū 'he has lifted the beans into the pot'.

265. The most common verbs of motion are: bé 'to come', lō 'to go', dù 'to have gone' (cf. dù 'to pass by'), zhí 'to come back', ló 'to enter', gmí 'to exit' (i.e. to come out or go out). These verbs have in common that they imply direction and can be used without a preposition or other supplementary structure: wó kú bē gníkwó 'he has come to the market', wó kú lo gníkwó 'he has gone to the market', wó kú zhí gníkwó 'he has come back from the market', wó lá lō gníkwó 'he has entered the market', wó lá gmí (lō) gníkwó 'he has exited (going) to the market'.

266. While these verbs imply direction generally towards a place, the verb zhí 'to come back' admits a complement indicating direction from. The verb lō 'to go' must be

present to indicate the location that one is coming back to: wó kú zhī lo gnīkwó 'he has come back to the market'.

267. The preposition ó..._ 'from' is required after gmì 'to exit' in order to indicate the place from which one has exited: wó lá gmì ó gnīkwó 'he has exited from the market'.

268. The verb lō is inherently continuous and best translated as 'to be going': wo lo gnīkwó 'he is going to the market', wo lo gnīkwó cīcī 'he is always going to the market'. While the above sentences show the present habitual tense of lō used with present continuous meaning, when lō is used in the present continuous tense, it acquires a future meaning: wo lo lo gnīkwó 'he is going to go to the market'. Since the verb lō is inherently continuous, we can better understand how it came to be used as the present continuous marker (see 149).

269. The verb dù 'to have gone' is, on the other hand, inherently completed in aspect. The sentence wo dù gnīkwó 'he has gone to the market' (in which dù appears to have a highly irregular tone) comes from the historical source wó kú dù gnīkwó (lit. he has passed by to the market), from which the completed auxiliary kú has been deleted. Dù should be treated as though there were an accompanying kú incorporated in it: wo bēlī dù gnīkwó 'he had gone to the market' [today] (cf. wo bēlī kú lo gnīkwó 'he had gone to the market' [today]).

270. The verbs ló 'to enter' and gmì 'to exit' differ from other directional verbs in that they have transitive counterparts: wó lá gōrò lō dnā ó sháknū 'he has pushed the kola-nut into the pot', wó lá gōrò gmì ó sháknū 'he has taken the kola-nut out of the pot'. Because of this

it is appropriate to consider these two verbs as inchoative (see chapter 17). This would account for their strict adherence to the lá and kú singular-plural distinction, while kú is generally preferred for other verbs of motion.

271. Many times two of these verbs of motion are used together in one sentence: wó lá gmì bē ó gnīkwó 'he has come out of the market', wó lá gmì zhī ó gnīkwó 'he has come back out of the market'.

272. The verb 'to return' is a verbal complex in Gwari: jé 'to repeat' + zè 'to turn': wó lá jē zè lo gnīkwó 'he has returned to the market', wo jē zè zhī lō 'he is returning back'.

273. While the foregoing verbs all imply direction within their meaning, there is another set of motion verbs which serve only to describe the kind of motion, but do not in themselves imply any direction to or from a place: dnā + ōznā 'to walk', sī + ōbwí 'to run', shé + àfnū 'to fly', gbī + núnwá 'to swim', kwó 'to crawl', tnā 'to creep', etc. These verbs must be complemented by one of the directional verbs presented in 265: āzā kú znā dnā bē yá 'the people have walked here' (lit. the people have walked come here), ēbī kú sī bwí lo gnīkwó 'the child has run to the market' (lit. the child has run go to the market), ōwā kú tnā lō āpyí 'the snake has crept into the house' (lit. the snake has crept enter house).

274. Two additional verbs of motion are sī 'to reach' and kpè 'to halt': wo si gnīkwó lō 'he is reaching the market', wo kpe lo ó gnīkwó 'he is stopping at the market'.

275. The meanings 'bring' and 'take (away)' are obtained by using the preposition ò...ī 'with' with the verbs bē 'to come' and lō 'to go': wó kú bē ò jàaki i 'he has brought

the donkey' (lit. he has come with the donkey), wó kú lo gn̄kwó ò gyìwyē ī 'he has taken the money to the market' (lit. he has gone to the market with the money). Also used are the longer forms wó lá jàaki lā bē ò ce i 'he has brought the donkey (lit. he has taken the donkey come with it) and wó lá gyìwyē lā lo gn̄kwó ò ce i 'he has taken the money to the market' (lit. he has taken the money go to the market with it).

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Inchoative Verbs

276. Inchoative verbs are those verbs that incorporate into the verb stem the idea of 'becoming' or 'coming to be'. For example, from the sentence wo ce lo 'he is becoming wise' we observe that the verb cē means 'to become wise'. Such verbs are numerous: bí 'to ripen' (i.e. to become ripe), fū 'to become cold', vnyí 'to boil' (i.e. to become boiled): kwo bí lō 'it is ripening', kwo fu lo 'it is becoming cold', kwo vnyí lō 'it is coming to boil'.

277. Inchoative verbs can be simultaneously conjoined to the verb lō 'to go' in an equivalent construction: wo lo wò i ce 'he is becoming wise' (lit. he is going becoming wise), kwo lo kwò i bí 'it is becoming ripe', kwo lo kwò i fu 'it is becoming cold', kwo lo kwò i vnyí 'it is coming to boil'.

278. These verbs most commonly occur in the present perfect tense: wó lá ce 'he has become wise' or 'he has wisened', kwó lá bí 'it has become ripe' or 'it has ripened', kwó lá fu 'it has become cold', kwó lá vnyí 'it has boiled'. The range of these sentences is somewhat greater than their equivalents in English, since they are readily given as the equivalents of 'he is wise', 'it is ripe', 'it is cold' and 'it is boiled'. One should recognize, however, that these Gwari sentences imply that the subject was formerly not in its present state, i.e. 'he is wise', but at one point he wasn't. The present perfect not only gives the present state, but emphasizes that the subject has recently arrived into that state.

279. A purely stative construction is obtained by redupli-

cating the inchoative verb into an adjective participle. The verb yì 'to be' is required in some dialects: ēbí (yī) cēcēí lō 'the child is wise', yàbà (yī) fífbíí lō 'the banana is ripe', nyagyí (yī) fūfufí lō 'the food is cold', núnwá (yī) vnyívnnyíí lō 'the water is boiled'. Here there is no mention of the actual coming into the indicated state.

280. In the completed tenses there is strict adherence to the singular-plural distinction maintained between lá and kú (see chapter 14). Singular subjects require lá, while plural subjects require kú: ēbí lá ce 'the child has become wise', ābí kú ce 'the children have become wise'.

281. Another set of inchoative verbs is illustrated in the sentences sháknú bá yā lō 'the pot is breaking' (i.e. it is becoming broken), būsì bma ya lo 'the stick is breaking' (i.e. becoming broken), shnínwá gyí ná lō 'the tree is burning' (i.e. becoming burnt), ābā gū lo 'the door is closing' (i.e. becoming closed). The corresponding present perfect and stative forms are illustrated in the sentences sháknú lá bā ya 'the pot has broken' and sháknú (yī) bábaí yā lō 'the pot is broken'.

282. This set of inchoative verbs differs from the first group in that they have, as in English, a transitive counterpart: wo bá sháknú yā lō 'he is breaking the pot', wo bma būsì ya lo 'he is breaking the stick', wo gyí shnínwá ná lō 'he is burning the tree', wo gu ābā lo 'he is closing the door'.

283. Since these sentences have been broken down into the units 'cause to break', 'cause to burn' and 'cause to close' we see that the difference between the transitive and intransitive use of these verbs is the presence of the element of causation in the transitive sentences. These latter sentences are therefore termed "causative".

284. The stative counterpart of these causative constructions is seen in the following sentences: wo (yī) o sháknú i bábaí yā lō 'he has the pot broken', wo (yī) o būsì i bma bmaí yā lō 'he has the stick broken', wo (yī) o shnínwá i gyígyíí ná lō 'he has the tree burnt', wo (yī) o ābā i gūgūí lō 'he has the door closed'. This construction is discussed at greater length below (see 295).

285. Causative constructions rigidly adhere to the singular-plural distinction between lá and kú in completed tenses. Lá is used with singular direct objects, while kú is used with plural direct objects: wó lá sháknú bā ya 'he has broken the pot', wó kú āsháknú bā ya 'he has broken the pots'.

286. In some cases the logical relationship between an inchoative and a causative construction is represented by two verbs: núnwá vnyí lō 'the water is boiling', wo tú núnwá ná lō 'he is boiling the water' (lit. he is putting the water to the fire). Compare also the sentences ōwā lá fyi 'the snake has died' and wó lá ōwā wu 'he has killed the snake'. The verb fyí 'to die' is inchoative (i.e. to become dead), while the corresponding causative verb is wū 'to kill' (i.e. to cause to become dead).

287. The verb bé 'to become tired' is inchoative but is peculiar in that the only subject that can appear before it is a 'they (indef.)'. The person who is becoming tired appears as the object of the verb: a bé mī lō 'I am becoming tired' (lit. they (indef.) are tiring me), á lá mī bē 'I have become tired' (lit. they (indef.) have tired me). Lá is used with singular objects, kú with plural objects, cf. á kú bá bē 'they have become tired' (lit. they (indef.) have tired them). The corresponding stative structure is a (yī) o mi i bēbēí lō 'I am tired' (lit. they (indef.) have

me tired'.

288. In order to indicate the cause of one's becoming tired, the preposition ò...ĩ 'with' is used: á lá mí bě o tnútnú i 'I've become tired of work', á lá mí bě ò wo i 'I've become tired of him'.

289. While all of the above sentences with bě 'to become tired' are causative in construction, the one possible corresponding inchoative sentence is obtained by the absence of any direct object: á kú bě 'they (indef.) have become tired'. However, since this sentence ambiguously means 'they (indef.) have come' it tends to be avoided. This ambiguity with the identical verb bě 'to come' may account for the strange restriction of an a subject with 'to become tired'. The requirement of a as subject forces bě 'to become tired' to become a transitive verb, and since bě 'to come' is always intransitive, this limits the chance of ambiguity to the one sentence á kú bě.

290. The verb zō 'to become finished, to finish' has both an inchoative and a causative use: tnútnú lá zo 'the work has become finished', wó lá tnútnú zo 'he has finished the work'. It is most commonly used as an auxiliary with another verb: tnútnú lá zo zhni 'the work has finished being done', wó lá tnútnú zo zhni 'he has finished doing the work'.

291. In the sentence tnútnú lá zo zhni 'the work has finished being done' it is noted that zō in its intransitive use transforms the main verb into a passive. In such constructions it is therefore possible to indicate the passive agent by means of an indirect object: tnútnú lá, wó zo zhni 'the work has finished being done by (= to) him'.

292. Note however that normal inchoative verbs do not permit the expression of the agent noun. Instead, an indirect object represents the possessor of the subject noun: būsì lá mí bmà ya 'my stick (i.e. the stick to me) has broken'. That an indirect object with zō represents the agent of the sentence is seen in the example mitnútnú lá wó zo zhni 'my work has finished being done by (= to) him'.

293. In non-stative inchoative constructions an indirect object can therefore appear. It represents in all cases except in the context of zō 'to become finished' the possessor of the subject noun: būsì bma wo ya lo (= wobúsi bma ya lo) 'his stick is breaking', but tákáàda zo wo ba lo 'the book is finishing being read by him'.

294. In stative constructions, however, the preposition 'with' is required with the indirect object, which in this case appears immediately after the subject: būsì ò wo i bmabmāi yā lō (= wobúsi bmabmāi yā lō) 'his stick is broken', tákáàda ò wo i zo babāi lō 'the book is finished being read by him'. These sentences come from the historical forms 'the stick is with him broken' and 'the book is with him finished read', which are no longer used.

295. The causative sentences wo bma wobúsi ya lo 'he is breaking his stick' and wo zo tákáàda ba lo 'he is finishing reading the book' have the following stative counterparts: wo ò wobúsi i bmabmāi yā lō 'he has his stick broken', wo o tákáàda i zo babāi lō 'he has the book finished read'. The source of these sentences is seen in the longer forms wo yi lo ò wobúsi i bmabmāi yā and wo yi lo o tákáàda i zo babāi. In all of these forms būsì and tákáàda are in the possession of the subject.

296. The ultimate source of these transitive stative

constructions is from a relative clause: wo yi lo ò būsì i ñ kwō bmābmāī yā lō nyī 'he has the stick which is broken', wo yi lo o tákáàda i ñ kwō zō bābāī lō nyī 'he has the book which is finished read'.

297. Continuous tense inchoative sentences can become stativized using a 'with' object instead of an indirect object: būsì ò wo i bma ya lo 'his stick is in the state of having broken' (cf. būsì bma wo ya lo 'his stick is breaking'), tákáàda ò wo i zo ba lo 'the book is in the state of having finished being read by him' (cf. tákáàda zo wo ba lo 'the book is finishing being read by him').

298. Continuous tense causative sentences can become stativized in a similar fashion: wo ò wobúsì i bma ya lo 'he has his stick in the state of having been broken' (cf. wo bma wobúsì ya lo 'he is breaking his stick'), wo o tákáàda i zo ba lo 'he has the book in the state of having finished being read' (cf. wo zo tákáàda ba lo 'he is finishing reading the book').

299. The verbs là and yā 'to begin, to start' have certain properties in common with zō. An indirect object expresses the agent noun: mitnútnú lá wó là 'my work has been begun by him' (lit. my work has begun to him), mitnútnú lá wó yā.

300. These two verbs cannot, however, be integrated into the verb phrase as can the verb zō. Instead, a gerund is frequently required as their complement: wó lá là tnutnúzhni or wó lá tnutnúzhni là = wó lá yā tnutnúzhni or wó lá tnutnúzhni yā 'he has begun working'.

301. Finally, there is another verb sharing many properties with zō. The verb yā 'to be left, to leave; to be placed, to place' functions as an inchoative verb, although its

basic meaning is stative, not inchoative: kwánū yā tū lō ó tēbùl 'the plate is left on the table'. Although its meaning is already stative, it reduplicates into the adjective participle on which stative constructions are normally based: kwánū (yī) yāyāī tū lō ó tēbùl 'the plate is abandoned on the table'. While in the non-reduplicated form the agent might still be standing with the plate, in the second sentence he has definitely abandoned it. Other than exhibiting this idiosyncrasy, yā shares all properties with other inchoative verbs: mi o kwánū ī yā tū lō ó tēbùl 'I have a plate left on the table'.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Object Complements

302. We have already seen that the subject of a Gwari sentence appears before the verb, while the direct object occurs after it. In completed tenses, however, the direct object immediately follows the lá or kú auxiliary, while the verb follows the direct object. This proves to be a good test for determining what is and what is not a direct object. For example, in the sentence wó kú gníkwó gye wyé 'he has seen the market', gníkwó 'market' is the direct object. In the sentence wó kú lo gníkwó 'he has gone to the market', gníkwó is not the direct object, since it does not immediately follow kú, but instead is a locative object. Finally, in the above sentence 'he has seen the market', ōwyé is an adverbial object that must occur in the verbal complex gye + ōwyé 'to see' (lit. to see (with) eye).

303. In addition to direct, locative and adverbial objects, a number of other types of objects serve as verb complements. Some of these correspond to indirect objects in English or to dative objects in case languages. They have various functions.

304. Indirect objects immediately follow the verb (i.e. they precede the direct object). The term 'indirect object' is reserved for those verbs that optionally take two complements: wo ga mi àkyàuta 'he gives me presents', wo da mi b́ó lo lō 'he is saying something to me'. In both sentences mi 'to me' is the indirect object.

305. In the completed tenses, the direct object remains immediately after the lá or kú auxiliary; and the indirect object follows the main verb: wó kú àkyàuta gá mi 'he has

given me gifts'.

306. Possessive objects are identical in construction to indirect objects. They appear immediately after the verb: wo bma mi b́sì ya lo 'he is breaking the stick (belonging) to me', wo wyí mí àshnamá 'he steals the yams (belonging) to me'. In these sentences the pronoun mi is a sort of dative object of possession: the stick to me, the yams to me. The corresponding possessive pronouns can substitute for the above possessive object pronouns: wo bma mib́sì ya lo 'he is breaking my stick', wo wyí m'ashnamá 'he steals my yams'.

307. In the completed tenses, the possessive object can appear either immediately following the main verb (as a true indirect object, see 305), or immediately following the lá or kú auxiliary. In the latter case, the direct object follows the main verb: wó lá b́sì bma mi ya or wó lá mí bma b́sì ya 'he has broken the stick (belonging) to me', wó kú àshnamá wyí mí or wó kú mí wyí àshnamá 'he has stolen the yams (belonging) to me'. These have the equivalents wó lá mib́sì bma ya 'he has broken my stick' and wó kú m'ashnamá wyí 'he has stolen my yams'.

308. As seen in the above sentences, whenever the main verb is transitive, the possessive object possesses the direct object of the verb. When the main verb is intransitive, however, the possessive object possesses the subject noun: b́sì bma mi ya lo 'the stick (belonging) to me is breaking'. This sentence is identical in meaning to the sentence mib́sì ya ya lo 'my stick is breaking'.

309. In the completed tenses, intransitive sentences require the possessive object to follow the lá or kú auxiliary: b́sì lá mí bma ya 'the stick (belonging) to me has

broken', cf. mibúsi lá bmà ya 'my stick has broken'.

310. Note that instead of translating possessive object constructions as '(belonging) to someone', we can alternatively translate them as '(intended) for someone'. The sentence wó kú àshnamá gyĩ hō means either 'he has eaten the yams (belonging) to you' or 'he has eaten the yams (intended) for you'. The corresponding possessive pronoun provides the same ambiguity: wó kú h'ashnamá gyĩ 'he has eaten your yams' (either the yams that belonged to you or the yams that were intended for you).

311. When the noun modified by a possessive object already has a possessor (in the form of a possessive pronoun or a noun), the possessive object indicates in whose possession the item (or items) is: wó kú h'ashnamá wyĩ mĩ or wó kú mĩ wyĩ h'ashnamá 'he has stolen your yams in my possession' (= he has stolen your yams from me). Two possessive pronouns are observed in the corresponding sentence wó kú mih'ashnamá wyĩ 'he has stolen my yams of yours' (i.e. the yams I had of yours in my possession).

312. A benefactive object appears immediately after locative verbs. Its meaning is 'for the benefit of' or 'intended for': wó kú àshnamá kũ bē wō ò ce i 'he has brought the yams for him' (to eat), kwánū yā tū hō lō ó tēbùl or kwánū yā hō tū lō ó tēbùl 'the plate is placed on the table for you' (to come and get it).

313. In other situations ó... bō (lit. at the reason of) must be used for the meaning 'for the benefit of' or 'for the sake of': mi da bō ó hōbō nù 'I'm speaking for you' (to hear me), ka nyá ó mi bō 'write something for me' (so I can read it).

314. Ó... bō also has the meaning 'because of'. The

sentence wó kú lo gnĩkwó ó mi bō can mean either 'he has gone to the market for me' (i.e. 'for my sake', so that he might buy me something) or 'he has gone to the market because of me' (which is ambiguously 'because I needed something' or 'because I told him to go').

315. The verb-like particle gà (related to the verb gà 'to give') means both 'on the behalf of' and 'intended for'. The sentence wó kú àshnamá wyĩ gà mi (lit. he take yams steal give me) can either mean 'he has stolen the yams for me' (i.e. to give them to me) or 'he has stolen the yams for me' (i.e. because I was afraid to do it myself).

316. Although gà objects are ambiguous in this way, whenever a verb can take an indirect object, the presence of gà is always with the meaning 'on the behalf of, instead of': wo da bō gà mi 'he is speaking on my behalf', ka nyá gà mi 'write something on my behalf'.

317. A possible ambiguity does arise, however, when both the indirect and gà object occur: wo ka ho tákáàda lo gà mi 'he is writing you a letter on my behalf' or 'he is writing me a letter for your benefit'. Generally, however, if other non-direct objects are present, gà will mean 'on the behalf of': wó kú hosháknū zhnā mĩ gà wo 'he has washed me your pot for her' (i.e. so I can use it; on her behalf) or 'he washed my pot of yours for her' (i.e. the pot I have of yours in my possession; on her behalf). In this sentence mi is a possessive object and the two interpretations are due to the ambiguity of possessive objects discussed in 310.

318. An agentive (passive) object can occur in intransitive sentences with zō 'to become finished': hotákáàda kú mĩ zo bâ 'your book has finished being read by (= to) me'. Cf. mĩ lá hotákáàda zo bâ 'I have finished reading your

book'. (See 292-293 for further discussion of zō.)

319. The two general prepositions of Gwari are ó...̣ 'at' and ò...̣ 'with'. The first is often used locatively and can mean 'in', 'on', 'from', etc., depending on its object and on the verb: wo tú lō ó dúdū 'he is on the bed', wo dná lō ápyí 'he is in the house'. When a noun begins with a vowel (as in the case of āpyí 'house') the ó is lost, although the high tone is transferred to the vowel of the noun.

320. Ó...̣ is also used for non-locative purposes: wo mí ó nyākā 'he can write' (lit. he is able at writing), wó lá là ó bē 'he has started coming' (lit. he has started at coming), wo gna mi lo mi zhni tnútnū ó kālā 'he is forcing me to work' (lit. he is telling me to work at force). The benefactive construction ó...̣ bō literally means 'at the reason/matter of'.

321. The preposition ò...̣ 'with' is used both for accompaniment and for instrumental purposes: wó kú lo gnīkwó ò Dakó í 'he has gone to the market with Dako', wó lá ābū sa ò kwo i 'he has cut meat with it'.

322. Other uses of ò...̣ are seen in the following sentences: wo bá zhni w'à bē ò lābmí i 'he will always come in the morning' (lit. with the morning), mi da bō ò ho i 'I speak with you', wo du mi ò tnutnúzhni i 'he does more work than I do' (lit. he surpasses me with work-doing).

323. In addition, in stativized constructions (see chapter 17) the preposition 'with' is used to express the agent or, depending on the verb, the possessor: āshnamá ò wo i sīsií lō 'the yams are bought by him', tákáàda ò wo i zo kakáí lō 'the book is completely written (lit. finished written) by him', būsì ò wo i bmabmāí yā lō 'his stick is broken'.

324. The low tone ò of the preposition ò...̣ becomes a lower-mid tone before a high tone noun: o sháknú i 'with the pot'.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Simultaneous Conjunction

325. Simultaneous conjunction is used when two actions taking place during the same period of time are conjoined: wo kwó ānyí lō wò i nya (nyâ) 'he is singing and dancing'.

Its mark is a low tone subject pronoun and a lower-mid i (=with) immediately following it. Some speakers use i in the place of i, while after noun subjects the low tone variant must be used: wo kwó ānyí lō ēbí i nya nyâ 'he is singing as the child is dancing'.

326. A simultaneously conjoined clause is inherently continuous: wò bei kú lo gnīkwó wò i kwó ānyí 'he went to the market singing' [B.Y.], m'a kú wó gye wyé wò i nya nyâ 'I saw him (as he was) dancing' [today]. This second sentence can be simplified to the equivalent construction m'a kú gye wò i nya nyâ 'I saw as he was dancing' [today] (meaning that I saw him). Both of these should be distinguished from the sentence m'a kú gye ge wo nya nya lə 'I saw that he was dancing'.

327. The above sentences should not be confused with related gerundive phrases: m'a kú wonyanya gye wyé 'I saw his dancing'. While the sentences of 326 mean 'I saw him dancing', this last sentence means that I observed the way that he was dancing, i.e. his style of dancing.

328. The same form is used in all instances for simultaneous conjunction, although the tense is clear from the main clause, and the aspect is always continuous: wo bé lō wò i cí bwi 'he is coming crying', wo béí bé wò i cí bwi 'he was coming crying' [today], w'a kú bē wò i cí bwi 'he came crying' [today], wò bei zhni wò i bé wò i cí bwi 'he used to come

crying'.

329. In the present continuous tense, the lō marker can alternatively occur after the second clause. In such a case it modifies the whole sentence: wo bé lō wò i cí bwi or wo bé wò i cí bwi lō 'he is coming crying'. Only one lō can occur in any given sentence.

330. A gerund can often be used with the preposition ò...ī 'with' as a paraphrase of simultaneous conjunction: wo lo gnīkwó wò i kwó ānyí 'he is going to the market singing' or wo lo gnīkwó ànyīkwó ī (lit. he is going to the market with singing).

331. The completed aspect auxiliaries lá and kú can appear in the simultaneously conjoined clause. In this case the action of the second clause, although anterior to the action of the first clause, is given in relation to the tense of the first clause verb: wò bei kú lo gnīkwó, wò i kú nyagyí gyí 'he went to the market, having (already) eaten' [B.Y.], wo béí kwó ānyí, wò i kú nya 'he was singing, having (already) danced' [today].

332. Simultaneous conjunction is regularly used in certain situations. For instance, it is used within the auxiliary of the habitual tenses, in conjunction with zhni 'to do': wo zhni wò i knú ōbwī 'he sells groundnuts' (lit. he does, selling groundnuts). Since simultaneous conjunction is inherently continuous in aspect, this sentence should be seen as 'he is (habitually) selling groundnuts'. The corresponding non-continuous habitual is obtained **through consecutive** conjunction (see chapter 20): wo zhni w'à knū ōbwī 'he sells groundnuts' (lit. he does, then sells groundnuts).

333. Inchoative verbs can be simultaneously conjoined to the verb lō 'to go' thereby creating a paraphrase of the

regular continuous constructions: wo ce lo 'he is becoming wise' or wo lo wò i ce (lit. he is going becoming wise). When non-inchoative verbs are substituted, the resulting forms are not paraphrases of the simpler continuous constructions (see 151, 277).

334. The verb bé 'to come' is sometimes used in a similar fashion to lō 'to go', as in the sentence wo bé wò i ce 'he is growing wise' (usually said by elders).

335. Certain auxillary verbs require or at least regularly take a simultaneously conjoined clause complement: wò bei cé wò i zhni tnútnû 'he continued working' [B.Y.], wò bei cé gnǐ wò i zhni tnútnû 'he remained working' [B.Y.]. The verbal complex cé + ōbwá 'to help' also permits this construction: wò bei zhni wò i cé mī bwá mī i zhni tnútnû 'he always helped me (as I was) working'. All three of these auxillaries alternatively take consecutively or subjunctively conjoined clause complements: wò bei cé gnǐ w'à zhni tnútnû 'he remained and worked' [B.Y.], wò bei cé gnǐ w'à zhni tnútnû 'he remained to work' [B.Y.].

CHAPTER TWENTY

Consecutive Conjunction

336. Consecutive conjunction is required when two actions are combined, the **second** of which is subsequent in time to the first. Such constructions are best translated 'and then' or simply 'and'.

337. The exact form of the consecutive construction in a given instance will depend on the tense and aspect of both the first and second clause. For example, habitual aspect consecutives are obtained by means of the marker à: wo gye ābê, w'à sa ābû ò ce i 'he sharpens knives and cuts meat with them', wò bei zhni w'à gye ābê, w'à sa ābû ò ce i 'he used to sharpen knives and cut meat with them', wo bá zhni w'à gye ābê, w'à sa ābû ò ce i 'he will (habitually) sharpen knives and cut meat with them'.

338. Simultaneous conjunction (see chapter 19) can be used in habitual constructions with the added nuance of 'being in the process of': wo gye ābê, wò i sa ābû ò ce i 'he sharpens knives and is (habitually) cutting meat with them', wò bei zhni wò i gye ābê, wò i sa ābû ò ce i 'he used to be (habitually) sharpening knives and cutting meat with them', wo bá zhni wò i gye ābê, wò i sa ābû ò ce i 'he will be (habitually) sharpening knives and cutting meat with them'.

339. When two continuous clauses are conjoined, simultaneous conjunction is used. In such cases the temporal relationship between the two clauses is ambiguously simultaneous or consecutive: wo gye ābê lo, wò i sa ābû ò ce i 'he is sharpening knives and cutting meat with them', wò bei gye ābê, wò i sa ābû ò ce i 'he was sharpening knives and cutting meat with them' [B.Y.].

340. When the first continuous clause is in the beyond yesterday tense and the second continuous clause is in the yesterday past tense, the yesterday marker ī is suffixed to the verb of the second clause: wò bei gye ābê, wò i sai ābû ò ce i 'he was sharpening knives [B.Y.] and cutting meat with them [Y.]'. In all other cases of tense disagreement, the appropriate time word must be used, e.g. wò bei gye ābê, wò i sa ābû ò ce i ónáyê 'he was sharpening knives [B.Y.] and cutting meat with them today'. Without the word ónáyê 'today' in this last sentence, the meat-cutting would be understood to have taken place beyond yesterday.

341. Great variety and complexity is found in the completed aspect consecutive constructions: wo kú ābê gyè lo, w'à kû ābû sa ò ce i 'he is getting knives sharpened and getting meat cut with them'. Compare also the two equivalent forms for each of the following completed tenses:

- wó kú bě wó ín kú mí gye wyé 'he has come and seen me'
 = wó kú bě wó kú mí gye wyé
w'a kú bě wó ín kú mí gye wyé 'he came and saw me' [today]
 = w'a kú bě wā à kû mí gye wyé
wò kûi bēi w'ā kûi mi gyei wyé 'he came and saw me' [Y.]
 = wò kûi bēi w'á i mi gyei wyé
wò bei kú bě w'à kû mí gye wyé 'he came and saw me' [B.Y.]

342. The same markers are used for the respective anterior past tenses, e.g. wo bēií kú bě wó ín kú mí gye wyé or wo bēií kú bě wā à kû mí gye wyé 'he had come and seen me' [today]. In addition, another form can be used which is identical to the second construction given for the present perfect tense above: wo bēií kú bě wó kú mí gye wyé 'he had come and seen me' [today], wò beií kûi bēi wó kú mí gye

wyé 'he had come and seen me' [Y.], wò beií kú bě wó kú mí gye wyé 'he had come and seen me' [B.Y.].

343. When the tenses of the two clauses differ, it is the tense of the verb in the second clause that determines the form of the conjunction:

- wò bei kú bě wó ín kú mí gye wyé 'he came [B.Y.] and
 = wò bei kú bě wā à kû mí gye wyé saw me [today]'
wò bei kú bě w'ā kûi mi gyei wyé 'he came [B.Y.] and
 = wò bei kú bě w'á i mi gyei wyé saw me [Y.]'
wò kûi bēi wó ín kú mí gye wyé 'he came [Y.] and
 = wò kûi bēi wā à kû mí gye wyé saw me [today]'

The same forms are obtained when corresponding past anterior tenses differ in time in the two clauses.

344. Subjunctive conjunction (see chapter 21) must be used for future conjunction since the action can not have been completed, but is instead projected and unachieved. When the future tense of the first clause agrees with that of the second, the marker is ā: wo bá bé w'ā gyē mī wyé 'he will come and (=to) see me' [today], wo bēi bēi w'ā gyē mī wyé 'he will come and (=to) see me' [Tom.], wo bēi bé w'ā gyē mī wyé 'he will come and (=to) see me' [B.T.].

345. When the future time in the second clause differs from that in the first clause, a more complete form of the appropriate future tense appears in the second clause. This form differs from the independent form only in that the tone of the subject pronoun is mid instead of lower-mid: wo bá bé wō bēi gyēi mi wyé 'he will come [today] and see me [Tom.]', wo bá bé wō bēi gyē mī wyé 'he will come [today] and see me [B.T.]', wo bēi bēi wō bēi gyē mī wyé 'he will come [Tom.] and see me [B.T.]'.

346. In future perfect consecutive conjunction, the completed marker is introduced into both clauses: wo bá kú bē w'ā kú mí gye wyé 'he will have come and seen me' [today], wo bēi kúí bēi w'ā kú mí gyei wyé 'he will have come and seen me' [Tom.], wo bēi kú bē w'ā kú mí gye wyé 'he will have come and seen me' [B.T.].

347. More complete forms are found in the second clause, when its future time does not agree with that of the first clause: wo bá kú bē wō bēi kúí mi gyei wyé 'he will have come [today] and seen me [Tom.]', wo bá kú bē wō bēi kú mí gye wyé 'he will have come [today] and seen me [B.T.]', wo bēi kúí bēi wō bēi kú mí gye wyé 'he will have come [Tom.] and seen me [B.T.]'. Once again, the second clause differs from the independent future anterior forms only in that the pronoun is mid and not lower-mid.

348. Turning to greater tense disagreements, when a past tense occurs in the first clause and a present tense in the second, the marker is in: w'a kú ābē gyè wó in sa ābū lo ò ce i 'he sharpened knives [today] and is cutting meat with them', wò kúí ābē gyè, wó in sa ābū lo ò ce i 'he sharpened knives [Y.] and is cutting meat with them', wò bēi kú ābē gyè wó in sa ābū lo ò ce i 'he sharpened knives [B.Y.] and is cutting meat with them'.

349. When a non-future tense in the first clause is consecutively conjoined to a future tense in the second clause, the following forms are obtained: w'a kú bē w'ā gyē mī wyé 'he came [today] and will see me [today]', w'a kú bē wō bēi gyēi mi wyé 'he came [today] and will see me [Tom.]', w'a kú bē wō bēi gyē mī wyé 'he came [today] and will see me [B.T.]'. While ā is always used for [today], the bēi of the [Tom.] and [B.T.] clauses can be deleted, leaving only

a high tone in its place: w'a kú bē wō ó gyēi mi wyé 'he came [today] and will see me [Tom.]', w'a kú bē wō ó gyē mī wyé 'he came [today] and will see me [B.T.]'.

350. A non-continuous clause can be consecutively conjoined to a continuous clause by means of the forms illustrated in 341. The presence or absence of a completed aspect auxiliary accounts for a slight change of meaning: wo bēi gye ābē, wó in kú ābū sa ò ce i or wo bēi gye ābē, wā à kú ābū sa ò ce i 'he was sharpening knives and got meat cut with them' [today], wo bēi gye ābē, wā à sa ābū ò ce i 'he was sharpening knives and cut meat with them' [today], etc.

351. In certain situations, the action of the second clause can precede the action of the first clause. In such cases, in is the conjunctive marker: wo gye ābē lo, wó in bēi gyei ābē ósu 'he is sharpening knives and was sharpening knives yesterday', wò bēi gyei ābē ósu, wó in bēi gye ābē ò wyígyékwó i 'he was sharpening knives [Y.] and was sharpening knives the day before yesterday'.

352. Although Gwari provides simultaneous, consecutive and subjunctive conjunction, it is relatively difficult to obtain a conjunction in which no time relationship is implied between the two actions. The sentence wo kwó ānyí m'à tnā nyá 'he sings and (then) I paint' usually has a consecutive meaning, though the interpretation 'he sings and (on the other hand) I paint' is possible. Similarly, although the sentence wo kwó ānyí mī i tnā nyá normally means 'he sings as I am painting', it is not inconceivable that it should be interpreted as 'he sings and I paint'.

353. One can obtain semi-autonomy of the two clauses by introducing cé 'to do in addition to' (see also 211): wo

kwó anyí mǐ i cé mǐ i tná nyá 'he sings and, in addition, I paint'. But here too there is possible ambiguity. In order, however, to observe how cé tends to disassociate the two clauses, compare the sentences wò bei kú lo gnǐkwó w'à si ōbwī 'he went to the market and bought groundnuts' [B.Y.] (when he was at the market) and wò bei kú lo gnǐkwó w'à cě w'à si ōbwī 'he went to the market and, in addition, bought groundnuts' [B.Y.] (not necessarily as a result of his going to market).

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Subjunctive Conjunction

354. Subjunctive conjunction is used to conjoin two clauses, the second of which represents an action that has not been completed, but rather is projected to some point in time subsequent to the tense of the verb in the first clause. It is most frequently used to express a desire, an order, a purpose or goal. The mark of this construction is mid tone ā. Pronouns occurring before ā are automatically contracted and lose their tone: wo yé lō w'ā gyí shnamá 'he wants to eat yams', wo yi lo o tnútnú i w'ā zhni 'he has work to do', ōwā bei kú kpè zhi, kw'ā gyí nyagyí 'the snake stopped to eat' [B.Y.], wó lá sháknú mi, w'ā fyī ōbwī ó kwo 'he has made a pot in order to put groundnuts in it'.

355. The structure of the subjunctive clause is invariable, despite the tense or aspect of the head clause: wo gye ābē, w'ā sā ābū ò ce i 'he sharpens knives to cut meat with them', wò bei zhni wò i gye ābē, w'ā sā ābū ò ce i 'he used to sharpen knives to cut meat with them'.

356. When the subject of the subjunctive clause is not identical to the subject of the head clause, the non-identical noun or pronoun occurs in the same construction, immediately preceding ā: wo bá gyè ābē, h'ā sā ābū ò ce i 'he will sharpen the knives [today] in order for you to cut the meat with them', wó lá gyiwyě wyī, Dakó ā sī shnamá ò ce i 'he has stolen the money in order for Dako to buy yams with it'.

357. In the future, it should be noted, all non-simultaneous conjoined clauses must be subjunctive, since the future necessarily represents an action projected to some

point in time subsequent to the tense of the verb in the first clause. In Gwari, the future tenses always carry some element of "intention". Note, for example, that the verb yé 'to want' is often used to denote an intention or future action: mi yé lō m'ā lō gnīkwó 'I want to go to the market', 'I intend to go to the market' or 'I shall go to the market'. For more discussion of future conjunction see 344 and 349.

358. When the tense of the head clause is one of the beyond yesterday tenses and the time of the subjunctive clause is yesterday, the yesterday marker i is suffixed to the verb in the second clause: wò bei lá ōbē gyè, w'ā sāl ābū ò ce i 'he sharpened the knife [B.Y.] in order to cut the meat with it [Y.]'. In all other cases of tense discrepancy in past time the appropriate time adverbial must be present in the subjunctive clause: wò bei lá ōbē gyè, w'ā sāl ābū ò ce i ónýê 'he sharpened the knife [B.Y.] in order to cut the meat with it today'. Without the adverbial element ónýê 'today' this sentence would imply that both the sharpening and the cutting were to have taken place beyond yesterday.

359. The completed tense markers lá and kú can appear in subjunctive clauses, though they are not required and are generally omitted even when the first clause contains a verb in the completed aspect. Their presence creates a slight difference in meaning, however: wo bá kú lo gnīkwó, w'ā sī shnamá 'he will have gone to the market to buy yams' [today], wo bá kú lo gnīkwó, w'ā kú shnamá si 'he will have gone to the market to get yams bought'.

360. There is an alternate form of subjunctive conjunction which can be used to imply motion away from the action in the first clause. The mark of this construction is a low

tone i. When preceded by a pronoun this i is lost, leaving a low tone prolongation of the pronoun vowel in its place: wo mi sháknú lo, Dakó i knū 'he is making a pot in order for Dako to go sell it', wo mi sháknú lo, wō ò knū 'he is making a pot in order to go sell it', cf. wo mi sháknú lo, w'ā knú 'he is making a pot in order to sell it'. In the first two sentences the pot-selling will take place away from the place where the pots were made. In the last sentence there is no indication of motion away from the action in the first clause.

361. Subjunctive conjunction is found in several auxiliary constructions. There are two possibilities with the verb yé 'to want, intend': wo yé lō w'ā gyí shnamá 'he wants to eat yams', wo yé shnamá i w'ā gyí 'he wants yams to eat'.

362. Note the use of subjunctive conjunction in the following sentences: wo bé w'ā dnā znā 'he will walk' [today] (lit. he comes to walk), cē mī ōwá m'ā lō tnútnū 'help me work!', wó lá gā w'ā sī shnamá 'he has nearly bought yams' (lit. he has neared to buy yams), wū y'ā lō 'let's go!', jē m'ā lō 'I better go!'

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Conditions, Before- and After-Clauses

362. Conditions are formed by means of the conjunction ńgyē which, in Gwari, means both 'if' and 'when': ńgyē hō sī shnamá, hò kù gyĩ 'if you buy yams, eat them up' or 'when you buy yams, eat them up'.

363. The conjunction ńgyē can optionally be shortened to ń: ń hō sī shnamá, hò kù gyĩ 'if/when you buy yams, eat them up!'. In addition, ó can substitute for ńgyē and ń: ó hō sī shnamá, hò kù gyĩ. When ó precedes a noun beginning with a vowel prefix, it is absorbed, although its high tone is transferred to the vowel prefix of the noun: ébí sī shnamá, wò kù gyĩ 'if the child buys yams, he should eat them up', óví á ló gníkwó, wò nyà wýí shnamá 'if the thief goes to the market, he will steal yams' [today].

364. All tense-aspect combinations can occur in conditions: ńgyē wó lá shnamá si, wò bēi ò ce i 'if he has bought yams, let him bring them', ńgyē hō zhnī h'à si shnamá fyégyĩ 'if you buy yams every day, buy some for me today'.

365. There are two forms for a today future tense conditional: ń hō bá si shnamá, yĩ nyà gyĩ or ń h'à si shnamá, yĩ nyà gyĩ 'if you (will) buy yams [today], we shall eat them'. Tomorrow and beyond tomorrow future tense conditionals require low-tone subject pronouns: ń hò bēi sī shnamá 'if you (will) buy yams [Tom.]', ń hò bēi sī shnamá 'if you (will) buy yams [B.T.]'.

366. When the conditional clause contains one of the three future tenses, the second clause contains a future particle à or nyà: m'á si shnamá, ábí à gyĩ or m'á si

shnamá, ábí nyà gyĩ 'if I (shall) buy yams [today], the children will eat them'.

367. When the future tense of the second clause differs from that of the conditional clause, its full form is written. However, even if no subject pronoun is present, there is still a low tone effect on the auxiliary that lowers bēi to bēi: ńgyē hō bá si shnamá, ébí bēi gyĩ 'if you (will) buy yams [today], the child will eat them [Tom.]', ńgyē hò bēi sī shnamá, ébí bēi gyĩ 'if you (will) buy yams [Tom.], the child will eat them [B.T.]'.

368. The verb gnà 'to say' is used to obtain "contrary to fact" conditions: wó bēi gná w'a kú lo gníkwó, wò bēi bá shnamá si 'if he had gone to the market, [today], he would have bought yams', wò gnāi w'a kú loi gníkwó, wò bēi bá shnamá sii 'if he had gone to the market [Y.], he would have bought yams', wò bēi gna w'a kú lo gníkwó, wò bēi bá shnamá si 'if he had gone to the market [B.Y.], he would have bought yams'. Literally these sentences would be 'he said he went to the market, he will have bought yams', with the meaning 'suppose he said'.

369. All of the preceding conditional sentences should be carefully distinguished from indirect question 'whether'-clauses which also begin with ńgyē: mì tā kpé ńgyē hō bá si shnamá n̄ 'I don't know whether you will buy yams [today]'. Compare the following forms to those in 365: ń hō bá si shnamá, hò da 'whether you will buy yams [today], say!', ń hō bēi sī shnamá, hò da 'whether you will buy yams [Tom.], say!', ń hō bēi sī shnamá, hò da 'whether you will buy yams [B.T.], say!'.

370. The conjunction kàfni 'before' (from Hausa kafin) requires the subjunctive after it: mì lo gníkwó kàfni mì gyĩ nyagyĩ 'I go to the market before I eat', kàfni hò zhĩ,

mì í lá shnamá si 'before you come back, I shall have bought yams'. The following synonymous sentence can substitute for kàfni: ho bá snu (sà) n hō zhí, mì í lá shnamá si (lit. he will reach (the time) [today] that you come back, I shall have bought yams).

371. Although there is no conjunction meaning 'after', the following construction can be used with such meaning: mi béi gyē hō wyé, mì í lá shnamá si 'I shall see you [B.T.] after I have bought yams' (lit. I shall see you, when I shall have bought yams).

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Interrogation

372. Interrogation is marked by a sentence-final question marker. In yes-no questions, the last vowel of the sentence is lengthened and on it is placed a tone slightly lower in pitch than the final tone of the sentence, in accordance with the following:

<u>Final Tone</u>	<u>Interrogative Tone</u>
High, Rising	Mid
Mid	Lower-Mid
Lower-Mid, Low, Falling	Low

Low tone interrogative markers are slightly raised in pitch, though not to the level of lower-mid:

<u>wo si shnamá ā?</u>	'does he buy yams?'
<u>wo si òjē ē?</u>	'does he buy cloth?' (òjē 'cloth')
<u>wo si shnamá lō o?</u>	'is he buying yams?'
<u>wó kú shnamá si ì?</u>	'has he bought yams?'
<u>wó lá kpè è?</u>	'has he stopped?'
<u>wo si shnamá nú ù?</u>	'is it that he buys yams?' (nú)

These questions are answered ōò 'yes' or m̄m̄ 'no'.

373. Questions requiring a word or phrase for an answer (corresponding to wh-words in English: who, what, etc.) are characterized by a mid tone ā question marker, which is placed at the end of the sentence. In some cases, the vowel immediately preceding this ā is elided.

374. The word for 'who' is nká: nká nú kú bē ā? 'who has come?'. The same word is used for 'whom', though two equivalent constructions are found: ho gye nká nú wyé ā? or nká nú (yī) n hō gyē wyé ā? 'whom do you see?'. Nká is

in addition used in two equivalent constructions meaning 'whose'. The sentences nká tákáàda nu (yí) n hō bā lo a? and nká nú (yí) n hō bā wotákáàda lo a? (lit. who is it that you are reading his book) both mean 'whose book are you reading?'.

375. The interrogative kíí 'what' is used in both subject and object position: kíí nú tú lō ó tēbùl a? 'what is on the table?', wo si kíí lō ā? 'what is he buying?', kíí nū yí n wō sī lō ā? 'what is it that he's buying?'. The same word is used with the meaning 'which'. In such cases the noun in question is placed between kí and í: kíkwánūí nú tú lō ó tēbùl a? 'which plate is on the table?', wo yé ò kítákáàdaí í ā ā? 'which book does he want?'.

376. The interrogative word for 'where' is ónā: wó kú lo óna a? 'where has he gone?', óna nú n wò bei lo a? 'where is it that he went?' [B.Y.].

377. There is no general way to ask 'when'. Instead, the unit of time must be specified, i.e. 'what day', 'what part of the day', 'what hour', etc.: wo bei bé ò kíwyíí í ā? 'on what day will he come?', wo bei bé ò kīsáí í ā? 'at what time of day will he come?' (e.g. in the morning), wo bei bé ò (gá) ná í ā? 'at what time will he come?' (lit. with how many hours).

378. Two kinds of 'why' must be distinguished in Gwari. If one asks 'why did he come?' one might mean 'what caused him to come?', to which the answer might be 'loneliness'. One might, on the other hand, mean 'what did he come for?', to which the answer could be 'to eat dinner'. kíí nú bei zhni w'à bē ā? 'why did he come?' [B.Y.] (lit. what caused), wò bei bé ò kíbóí nù à? 'why did he come?' [B.Y.] (lit. for the sake of what).

379. The interrogative ná used by itself generally means 'how much': ho yé ò ce i òsnū ná nú a? 'how much do you want of it?' (lit. you want with it reaching how much), kwo snu gyíwyē ná nú a? 'how much does it cost?' (lit. it reaches how much money). Ná can also be used for 'how many', optionally with the noun ōgnú 'unit': wó kú àshnamá si gnú ná ā? 'how many yams has he bought?', ākwánū gnú ná ā kpē lō ó tēbùl a? 'how many plates are on the table?'. Finally, ná used with the verb wú 'to appear' asks 'what color': kwánū wú lō ná nú a? 'what color is the plate?' (lit. the plate appears how).

380. The compound interrogative ōwúná (from ōwú 'way, manner' and ná 'how (much)') is used for 'how' in the sense of 'in what way': a mi sháknū ōwúná nú a? 'how do they (indef.) make a pot?', ōwúná nū (yí) n ā mī sháknú a? 'how is it that they (indef.) make a pot?'.

381. It should be noted that in all of the above questions the focus marker nū is required (see also chapter 25). In addition, a relative clause is required when the interrogative phrase is transposed to the beginning of the sentence: ò kíwyíí í nū yí n wò bei bé ā? 'on what day is it that he will come?'.

382. The plural prefix a- can be added to most of the interrogative words illustrated above: ānká nú kú bē ā? 'who pl. have come?', a mi sháknū āwúná nú a? 'in what ways do they (indef.) make a pot?' (A plural form ána for 'where' does not exist.)

383. The corresponding indirect questions are formed quite differently. Yes-no indirect questions begin with the conjunction ngyē 'whether': mī tā kpé ngyē wò bá bé n 'I don't know whether he will come [today]'. All other indirect

questions involve a limited set of pronoun-like nouns modified by a relative clause.

384. The noun ōzâ 'person' is used in indirect questions corresponding to the direct questions 'who?' and 'whom?': mì tā kpé zā yē lō n w'á bē n 'I don't know who has come' (lit. I don't know the person who has come), mì tā kpé zā yē lō n hō gyē wyé lō n 'I don't know whom you see' (lit. I don't know the person whom you see). ōzâ appears in two equivalent constructions meaning 'I don't know whose book you are reading': mì tā kpé zā tákáàda ye lo n hō bā lo n (lit. I don't know the person's book that you are reading), mì tā kpé zā yē lō n hō bā wotákáàda lo n (lit. I don't know the person that you are reading his book).

385. The noun ōnyá 'thing' is used in indirect questions corresponding to the direct question 'what?': mì tā kpé nyá yē lō n wō sī lō n 'I don't know what he's buying' (lit. I don't know the thing that he's buying), mì tā kpé nyá n kwō tú lō ó tēbùl n 'I don't know what's on the table' (lit. I don't know the thing that's on the table). In indirect questions corresponding to the direct question 'which?', the questioned noun stands alone: mì tā kpé tákáàda ye lo n kwō tú lō ó tēbùl n 'I don't know which book is on the table' (lit. I don't know the book that is on the table).

386. The noun aba 'place' is used in indirect questions corresponding to the direct question 'where?': mì tā kpé bā yē lō n w'á lo n 'I don't know where (the place) he has gone'.

387. The nouns ēwyī 'day', òsà 'time' and snūknà 'hour' are used in indirect questions corresponding to the direct question 'when?' (see 377): mì tā kpé wyī yē lō n wō bēi bē n 'I don't know the day that he will come', mì tā kpé sà ye lo n wō bēi bē n 'I don't know the time (of day) that

he will come', mì tā kpé snūknà yē lo n wō bēi bē n 'I don't know the hour that he will come'.

388. The noun ōbó 'matter, reason' is used in indirect questions corresponding to the two forms of the direct question 'why?' (see 378): mì tā kpé bó yē lō n cè bei zhni w'á bē n 'I don't know why he has come' [B.Y.] (lit. I don't know the reason that caused him to come), mì tā kpé bó yē lō n w'á bē ó ce n 'I don't know why he has come' (lit. I don't know the reason that he came).

389. The conjunction shé 'how' substitutes for ná and ōwúná in indirect questions: mì tā kpé lō shé ā mī sháknú n 'I don't know how they (indef.) make a pot', mì tā kpé lō shé hō yé ò ce i ōsnū n 'I don't know how much of it you want' (lit. I don't know how you want of it reaching), mì tā kpé shé kwō ò gyīwyē i snū n 'I don't know how much it costs' (lit. I don't know how it reaches with money), mì tā kpé shé kwánū wú lō n 'I don't know the color of the plate' (lit. I don't know how the plate appears), mì tā kpé shé ākwánū kpē ó tēbùl n 'I don't know how many plates are on the table' (lit. I don't know how many the plates are on the table).

390. An a prefix on the appropriate noun in an indirect question indicates plural: mì tā kpé āzā yē lō n b'á bē n 'I don't know who have come' (lit. I don't know the persons who have come), mì tā kpé ābó yē lō n bā bei zhni w'á bē n 'I don't know what reasons caused him to come'. Since shé 'how' is a conjunction, it cannot take an a plural prefix.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

Negation

391. A sentence is negated by placing tō immediately after the subject and n̄ at the end of the negated clause, generally the sentence. The marker tā is used in the place of tō in the present habitual and present continuous tenses, as well as in the today future tense, since tō á (from tō bá) elides into tā á.

392. In negative sentences the whole level of the tonal contour is raised, such that lower-mid becomes mid, mid becomes high and high becomes super-high tone. In the sentence wò tā bé n̄ 'he doesn't come', although tā is mid (with respect to the other elements of the sentence), the interval between wò and tā is equivalent to the low-high interval in the word nàwí 'small'. Appropriately, bé is even higher in pitch than a normal high tone, though its relationship to the raised mid tone of tā remains constant.

393. The habitual aspect is negated by means of tā in the present habitual, to (with phonetically mid tone) in the past habitual, and tā á in the future habitual: wò tā gyē mī wyé n̄ or wò tā zhni w'à gyē mī wyé n̄ 'he doesn't (habitually) see me', wò to bei zhni w'à gye mi wyé n̄ 'he didn't use to see me', wò tā á zhni w'à gye mi wyé n̄ 'he won't (habitually) see me'.

394. The present continuous tense is negated with tā, while the past continuous tenses are negated with to: wò tā gyē mī wyé lō n̄ 'he doesn't see me' (i.e. he isn't seeing me), wò to béi gyē mī wyé n̄ [today], wò to bei gyei mi wyé n̄ [Y.], wò to bei gye mi wyé n̄ [B.Y.] 'he didn't see me' (i.e. he wasn't seeing me).

395. Lá and kú do not appear in the negated forms of the past completed tenses. In the present perfect, í is suffixed to the negative marker tō: wò tōí gyē mī wyé n̄ 'he hasn't seen me'. Bēi optionally occurs in the today past tense, while no aspect marker is found in the negative of the yesterday and beyond yesterday past tenses: wò tō gyē mī wyé n̄ or wò tō bēi gyē mī wyé n̄ [today], wò tō gyei mī wyé n̄ [Y.], wò to o gye mi wyé n̄ [B.Y.] 'he didn't see me'.

396. The three future tenses are negated by means of tā (in the today tense) and tō (in the tomorrow and beyond tomorrow tenses): wò tā á gyē mī wyé n̄ [today], wò tō béi gyēi mī wyé n̄ [Tom.], wò tō béi gyē mī wyé n̄ [B.T.] 'he won't see me'.

397. There are two negative forms for the anterior past tenses. Either béíí or bēíí are used, or the final part of these anterior past markers is transferred to the negative marker tō:

wò tō béíí gyē mī wyé n̄ 'he hadn't seen me' [today]
 = wò tōííí gyē mī wyé n̄
wò tō bēíí gyēi mī wyé n̄ 'he hadn't seen me' [Y.]
 = wò tōíí gyēi mī wyé n̄
wò tō bēíí gyē mī wyé n̄ 'he hadn't seen me' [B.Y.]
 = wò tōíí gyē mī wyé n̄

398. The future anterior tenses are negated by adding lá or kú to the negated future forms in 396: wò tā á kú mī gye wyé n̄ [today], wò tō béi kúí mī gyei wyé n̄ [Tom.], wò tō béi kú mī gye wyé n̄ [B.T.] 'he will have seen me'.

399. Negative imperatives and subjunctives take tō: (hò) tō bé n̄! 'don't (you) come!', wò tō bé n̄! 'let him not come!'.

400. When a relative clause is negated, the tō or tā comes within it, immediately following the subject noun or pronoun,

while the final n̄ comes at the end of the clause (following nyĩ): ēbí n̄ wò tā bé lō nyĩ n̄ dná lō ápyĩ 'the child who isn't coming is in the house', m̄i kpé ēbí yē lō n̄ wò tā bé lō nyĩ n̄ 'I know which child isn't coming' (lit. I know the child who isn't coming).

401. When the main clause is negated, the negative n̄ falls at the end of the entire sentence: m̄i tā kpé ēbí yē lō n̄ wò bé lō nyĩ n̄ 'I don't know which child is coming' (lit. I don't know the child who is coming).

402. When both the main clause and the relative clause are negated, each requires the appropriate tō or tā marker. When the relative clause is sentence final, only one n̄ appears. When it is not in sentence final position, two n̄ markers are found: m̄i tā kpé ēbí yē lō n̄ wò tā bé lō nyĩ n̄ 'I don't know which child isn't coming' (lit. I don't know the child who isn't coming), ēbí n̄ wò tā bé lō nyĩ n̄ ta dná lō ápyĩ n̄ 'the child who isn't coming isn't in the house'.

403. Only one set of negative markers is required to negate conjoined sentences: wò tā kwó ānyĩ lō wò i nya nya n̄ 'he isn't singing and dancing', wò to o bé w'ā gyē m̄i wyé n̄ 'he didn't come to see me' [B.Y.]. In such cases the negation applies to both clauses: in the second sentence, for example, he neither came, nor saw me.

404. A conjoined clause can be negated by placing tō before it and n̄ at the end of it: wo kwó ānyĩ lō tō wò i nya nya n̄ 'he's singing without dancing' (lit. he's singing not and (=with) dancing), wò bei kú bě tō w'ā gyē m̄i wyé n̄ 'he came in order not to see me' [B.Y.].

405. Where a contrast is intended, the additional marker gé 'that' is used in the combination tō gé ... n̄ 'it is not'.

The focus marker nù is often placed after the affirmative clause: wo kwó ānyĩ nú tō gé wò i nya n̄ 'he is singing, not dancing', wò bei kú bě tō gé w'ā gyē m̄i wyé n̄ 'he came, (but) not to see me' [B.Y.] (cf. wò to o bé, w'ā gyē m̄i wyé nú n̄ 'it's not to see me that he came' [B.Y.]).

406. The combination tō gé ... n̄ generally has the meaning 'but' associated with it: wó lá mitákáàda bà, tō gé honyá n̄ 'he read my book, not yours'.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

Focus

407. Different elements of a neutral sentence can be highlighted in such as fashion as to bring them into focus. The function of this focus can be merely to indicate what the topic of discussion is, or it can be for the purpose of emphasis or contrast. The focus marker is nù, and it can be used after any noun: ēbí sī shnamá lō 'the child is buying yams' (neutral), ēbí nú sī shnamá lō 'the child is buying yams' (not I), ēbí sī shnamá nú lo 'the child is buying yams' (not rice).

408. When the verb is itself brought into focus, the reduplicated participle noun (see 62) is required: ēbí sī shnamá sīsī nu lo 'the child is buying yams' (not selling). An assimilated low tone precedes the participle noun.

409. The simple verbal noun is used to focus intransitive verbs: ēbí bé lō 'the child is coming' (neutral), ēbí bēbē nú lo 'the child is coming'. The focused verb may mean that the child is coming (and not going), or that the child is only coming (and not going to stay). Compare also the sentence wo ce lo 'he is becoming wise' and wo cece nu lo 'he is becoming wiser and wiser'.

410. The completed tenses have shortened forms that are preferred in the presence of nù in the sentence. Generally, lá and kú are not used, and the normal word order subject - verb - object is restored:

<u>ēbí kú shnamá si</u>	'the child has bought yams' [neutral]
<u>ēbí á si shnamá nú</u>	'the child has bought <u>yams</u> '
<u>ēbí á kú shnamá si</u>	'the child bought yams' [today]
<u>ēbí bēi sī shnamá nú</u>	'the child bought <u>yams</u> '

ēbí kú shnamá sii 'the child bought yams' [Y.]
ēbí sī shnamá nú 'the child bought yams'

ēbí bēi kú shnamá si 'the child bought yams' [B.Y.]
ēbí bēi si shnamá nú 'the child bought yams'

Since lá and kú are not preferred in the presence of nù, it is possible that they are in fact focus markers on the completed aspect of the verb, providing the difference between 'he bought yams' (neutral) and 'he got yams bought' (focus on completion of the action). Since only one element can be focused at one time in a given sentence, this would explain why lá and kú do not readily co-occur with nù. This situation appears, however, to be breaking down, since some speakers accept the sentence ēbí kú shnamá nú si 'the child has bought yams'.

411. When the focused element is transposed to the head of the sentence, a relative clause is required. The verb yì 'to be' optionally occurs: shnamá nú yì á ēbí sī lō 'it's yams that the child is buying' or shnamá nú á ēbí sī lō (lit. yams that the child is buying).

412. The difference between transposing and not transposing the focused element is seen in the sentences ēbí sī shnamá lō ó gnīkwó nú 'the child is buying yams at the market' and ó gnīkwó nú á ēbí sī shnamá lō nyí 'it's at the market that the child is buying yams'.

413. There is an idiomatic way of expanding sentences such as kútá nú yí 'it's a stone' by means of focusing the noun: kútá nú yí ó kwo i 'it's a stone that it is' (lit. it's a stone with it(self)).

414. The frame 'it is a' always requires a focus marker: núnwá nú yí 'it is water', òmi nu yí 'it is I', òbmya nu yí

'it is a fish'.

415. The reflexive marker in (pronounced as a nasalized i) can be used for emphatic or contrastive purposes: wo in kú shnamá si 'he himself has bought yams' (or 'he too'), wó kú shnamá si ó wo in 'he has bought yams of his own', wo yi lo ò shnamá ī ò wo in ī 'he has yams of his own', wó kú shnamá si ò wo in ī 'he has bought yams by himself'.

416. In order to emphasize the possessor of a noun, the noun ōnyá 'thing' is used: mitákáàda 'my book', tákáàda minyá 'the book of mine' (lit. the book my thing), tákáàda minyá, tō gé honyá n̄ 'my book, not yours' (=mitákáàda, tō gé honyá n̄).

APPENDIX I

Some Common Gwari Greetings

I. General. The general word for 'greetings' is hànũ = sànũ (from Hausa sannu). The answer is either a repeated hànũ or sànũ, or an intensified hànũ mwā = sànũ mwā 'much greetings'. The general greeting for 'how are you?' is a wó hō ná ā (pl. a wó fyē ná ā) (lit. how are you feeling). The answer is laáfiyā 'fine' (=health, from Hausa lafiya).

II. Times of the day.

a) Morning: h'ā gyī fyé ē? (lit. have you passed to the dawn?)

pl. fy'ā gyī fyé ē?

ans.: laáfiyā 'fine'

h'á a gmi ì? (lit. are you out?, i.e. of bed, sleeping)

pl. fy'á a gmi ì?

b) Mid-day: hànũ ò mpyékwó ī (lit. greetings with the sun)

ans.: hànũ or hànũ mwā

If one has not seen the person that morning, one mid-day greeting might be the past form of the morning greeting given above: ho bei la gyi ì? or ho bei la gyi fyé ē? (lit. did you pass to the dawn? [today]).

c) Late afternoon, evening:

hànũ mwā ò wyizo i (lit. greetings with the day's end)

ans.: hànũ mwā

hó kú zo (wyi) ì? (lit. have you finished the day?)

ans.: repeat, or laáfiyā 'fine'

III. Situations.

a) Visiting: hànǔ ò fye i 'greetings to you pl.'

or

hànǔ (mwā) yá` 'greetings here'

[said by visitor]

ans.: hànǔ ò bē ī 'welcome' (lit. greetings

or

with coming)

hó kú bē ē? 'have you come?'

ans.: ōò! 'yes'

or

laáfiyā 'fine'

b) Working: hànǔ ò tnútnú i 'greetings with work'

ans.: hànǔ mwā kwō 'greetings in return'

or

mhm̄ = ōò 'yes'

a wó hō ná ā o tnútnú i a? 'how is work?'

(lit. you feel how with work)

ans.: m'a gwódē ò Shèkwō ī 'I thank God'

tnútnú a wó hō ná ā? 'how was work?'

(lit. work you feel how)

ans.: laáfiyā or 'fine'

m'a gwódē or 'I thank'

a gwódē 'they [indef.] thank'

c) Resting: hànǔ ò bēbē ī 'greetings with rest'

ans.: hànǔ mwā 'much greetings'

a wó hō ná ā ò bēbē ī ā? 'how is rest?'

(lit. you feel how with rest)

ans.: laáfiyā 'fine'

d) Rain: hànǔ ògma i 'greetings with rain'

ans.: hànǔ mwā 'much greetings'

IV. Upon parting.

a) Day: mì lo m'ā zhí 'I'm coming back'

(lit. let me go that I might come back)

ans.: h'á bē ē! 'until you come back'

or

hò á lō o! 'may you enter!' (i.e. your house safely)

ans.: mì á lō o! 'may I enter!'

or

sái m'a zhí! 'until I come back!'

sái ò sàho i! 'till another time!'

ans.: same

òsà imwa! 'with a lot of time' (i.e. there's enough time for us to see each other)

ans.: same

sái su! 'until tomorrow!'

b) Night: sái ò lābmì i! 'until morning!'

sái su! 'until tomorrow!'

à kū ya gà ósu! 'let one leave for tomorrow! (i.e. for what tomorrow may bring)

Shèkwō (wò) si ò yi i 'God keep us!'

ans.: àmí (lit. may God reach with us)

V. Further greetings.

āpyí yī lo ò laáfiyā ī i? 'how's the family?' (lit. the compound is with health?)

or
āpyí (dā) mǎ 'as for the family?'
 ans.: laáfiyā 'fine'
làbārī mǎ à? 'what's the news?'
 ans.: sái laáfiyā 'all fine' (lit. only health)

APPENDIX II

English-Gwari Wordlist

A

to be ABLE: <u>mì</u>	ANYHOW: <u>wúhowúho</u> (in whatever way)
ABODE: - <u>ayí</u> , <u>m'ayí</u> 'my place'	ANYONE: <u>zāhozaho</u>
to ACCOMPANY: <u>knú</u>	ANYTHING: <u>nyáhonyáho</u>
to be ACCUSTOMED to: <u>shní</u>	ANYTIME: <u>sāhosāho</u>
to ACHE: <u>snà</u>	ANYWHERE: <u>bāhobaho</u>
to ADD to: <u>bē</u>	ANUS: <u>nyíbwǒ</u>
to do in ADDITION to: <u>cé</u>	to APPEAR: <u>wú</u>
AFRICAN WEAVER BIRD: <u>ōgná</u>	an ARAB: <u>Balárébē</u> [H.], pl. <u>Àlarabawai</u> [H.]
AFTERNOON: <u>mpyékwó</u> [=sun]	ARM: <u>ōbwá</u>
AGAIN: <u>jéhnū</u> , <u>jésnū</u>	ARROW: <u>knāwyí</u>
to do AGAIN better: <u>shná</u>	AS, prep.: <u>ngyē</u>
to AGREE: <u>yé...ī</u>	to ASCEND: <u>gnú</u>
AIR: <u>ōsē</u>	ASHES (wood): <u>ōtnú</u>
ALGAE: <u>ògyi</u>	ASHES (after bush fire): <u>òvnu</u>
ALL: <u>vnyānyā</u>	to ASK (a question): <u>nyá + ōbó</u>
ALSO: <u>cè</u>	AT: <u>ó...'</u>
ALWAYS: <u>cíci</u>	ATTEMPT, n.: <u>kùkari</u> = <u>kùkogyi</u> [H.]
to be ANGRY: <u>gù + ōwó</u>	AUNT (father's sister): <u>dnanwú</u>
ANIMAL: <u>nàfwànyǎ</u> , <u>òna</u> [=goat]	AUNT (mother's sister): <u>yàbǎi</u> , <u>yàyǎ</u>
ANOTHER: <u>dò</u>	to AVOID: <u>bmá</u>
to ANSWER: <u>yé</u>	to be AWAY: <u>bwí</u>
ANT: <u>pàpala</u>	AXE (heavy, of women): <u>gbāknù</u>
ANT (flying): <u>ònyí</u>	AXE (light, of men): <u>àze</u>
ANT (white): <u>ōká</u> , <u>ōdnā</u>	
ANTELOPE (type of): <u>òdnù</u>	
ANY: <u>dōhodoho</u>	

BACHELOR: núgbánù
 BACK: bwòknù
 BAD (evil): núkwói
 BAG: gūmā, zhika [H.]
 BALL: kwōlō
 BANANA: yàbà [H.?
 BARBER: tukwónwūí
 BAT: vnyinyǎ
 to BE: yí
 to BE in: dná, pl. fyí
 to BE on: tú, pl. kpē
 to BE (on the ground): shí,
 pl. zhí
 to BE (standing): gní, pl.
zhí
 BEAD (type of): fùkwō
 BEAN: ōzō
 to BEAR (fruit): gyí
 BEARD: ēzē
 to be BEAUTIFUL: bmyá
 BED: dúdū, gōdō [H.]
 BEE: ōsū
 BEER (guinea-corn): ōjē
 BEFORE: kàfnì
 to BEG: bà, tná + ōbwá
 to BEGET: mā
 to BEGIN: là, yá
 BEHIND: àvnù
 BELL: òshnǎ
 BELLY: núbwō
 to BEND: yá
 BETWEEN: àtāntāsni

BICYCLE: kyekyé = cecé [H.],
snīdōkwō [=metal horse]
 BIG: dnāgmái, ōmwā
 BIRD: ōlú
 BLACK: zhií
 BLOOD: āgyā, āmí [=dew]
 to BLOW (from mouth): pyí + āsē
 to BLOW on (from mouth): pyā + ōsē
 to BLOW (an instrument): byí
 to BLOW (air on a fire): byā
 to BLOW (nose): mí
 BLUFF, n.: yànga [H.]
 BOAR (wild): ègyí
 BOAT: ōyā núnwá nyá
 BODY: nāyí
 to BOIL, intr.: vnyí
 to BOIL (smth. in smth.): tò
 BONE: súknû
 BOOK: tákáàda [H.]
 to BORROW: bà
 BOUNDARY: ògnǎ
 BOW: táyí
 BOWL: kwánū [H., Yor., N.]
 BOW STRING: ōmyá
 BOX: àkwàtì [H., Yor.]
 BOY: bínúgbáí
 to BREAK (by pulling, as a rope):
znú + yā, cē + yā
 to BREAK (by shattering): bá + yā,
là + yā
 to BREAK (by snapping): bmà + yā
 BREAST: bébé

BREATH: ōsnū
 to BREATHE: snú + ōsnū [to
 swell breath]
 to be BRIGHT: gyí
 BROOM: ōfní
 BROTHER (older): dnágmá
 BROTHER (younger): màdò(í)
 BROTHER-IN-LAW (husband's
 older brother): gmūnūkwō
 BROTHER-IN-LAW (husband's
 younger brother): bānǎí
 BROTHER-IN-LAW (wife's
 brother): daí, dàí
 BUCKET: gwògǎ [H.]
 BUDGIE: òtna
 to BUILD: mí
 to BURN: gyí + ōná [to eat
 fire]
 to BURY: byí
 BUSH: zhàbwí
 BUSH COW: òya
 BUT: àmǎ [H.]
 BUTCHER: páwázá
 BUTTOCK: àgwòlògma, àvnù
 to BUY: sí
C
 CACTUS: gáyí
 CALABASH: ōbwé
 CALABASH (for corn beer):
ōbá
 CALF (of leg): àshishí

to CALL: yí
 CAMEL: lákumi [H.]
 CAMWOOD: òzà
 CANOE: ōyā
 CAP: fùla [H.]
 CAREFULLY: pēcèyè
 CARPENTER: nyajíí
 to CARVE: jí
 CASSAVA: rógō [H.], gmāgmí
 to CAST the eyes about: bmyá +
āwyé [to shine with eyes]
 CAT: mūsùwyí
 CATARRH: gūmá
 to CATCH: nwā
 CATTLEFOLD: garícē [H.]
 CAVE: ōbmí
 CHALK: ālíyí [H.]
 CHARACTER (disposition): ālí [H.]
 CHARCOAL: nákná
 CHEST (body part): àgwù
 CHICKEN: pisé
 CHIEF: ōsū
 CHILD: ēbí
 to CHOOSE: kní
 CHRISTIAN: Nàsara [H.]
 CLAY: òshè
 to CLEAN: pmyá
 to be CLEAN, CLEAR: gyí
 CLEVERNESS: ōgbá
 to CLIMB: gnú
 to CLOSE: gù

CLOTH(ING): òjě

CLOUD: ònyi, ànyi

COBRA: shakní

COCOA: kwòkwo [H., E.]

COLD, adj.: fūí

to become COLD: fū

to COME: bé

to COME BACK: zhí

COMPOUND: āpyí

to CONTINUE: cé

CONVERSATION: àzà

to COOK: tú + oná [to put on fire]

to COOK (starch): dū

to COOK (by stirring): lù

to COUGH: kpá + shí

to COUNT: bà

to COVER: kpē

COW: nakwó

COWRY: gyiwyě

CRAB: kapwí

to CRAWL: kwó

to CREEP: tná

CRICKET: òshni

CRIME: àbwi

CROCODILE: òwyi

CROSS, n.: znūdù

to CRY: cí + òbwí

to CUT (a piece): sá

to CUT (into pieces): sā,
cē

D

DANCE, n.: ōnyā

to DANCE: nyā + ōnyā

DASH, n.: kyàuta = càuta [H.]

DATE (fruit): dàbiínō [H.]

DAUGHTER: nyígnù

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW: tnāi

DAWN, n.: ōfyé, fyēgyí

to DAWN: ōfyé + gyí

DAY: ēwyí, mpyékwo [=sun]

DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY, DAY AFTER

TOMORROW: wyígyékwo

DEATH: ōfyí

to DECAY: bwò

to DEFECATE: nyā + āmí

to DESCEND: shnì

to DESTROY: zhnā + ōbó

DETERMINATION: ànīyā [H.]

to DEVIATE: bmá

DEW: āmí

to DIE: fyí

to be DIFFICULT: dná + ōbó

DIFFICULTY: shnàwō

DISEASE: nyasná [=paining]

DISTANCE: òkpá

to DO: zhnī

DOG: òmwi

DONKEY: jàaki [H.]

DOOR: ābā, àboknumi

to DRAW: kā + āsā

to DRESS: kpē + òjě [to cover with cloth]

to DRINK: sní

to DRIVE AWAY, tr.: nyá

DROUGHT (in rainy season):

kawú

to DROWN: bwí + núnwá

DRUM, n.: gārūwā

to become DRY: wō

DUMB (mute): takpébōdā
[not knowing speech]

E

EACH OTHER: ājē

EAR: tnūbwā

to EAT: gyí

to EAT (by hand, as soup):

pyé

EDGE: gnāgnai

EDUCATION: nyabá [reading],

tákáàdagye [book-seeing],

kàràtu [H.]

EGG: ōzhí

EIGHT: nyimwányimwá

EIGHTEEN: shílbà tōn mbà

EIGHTY: shíinyimwányimwá

ELEPHANT: dagbá

ELEVEN: nwō cēi gmān

to ESCORT: dà + àye

EVENING: wyeshé

EVERY: dōhodo, vnyānyā

[=all]

EVIL, adj.: núkwói

EVIL, n.: bó núkwói, mùgùnta [H.]

EVIL SPIRIT: gwùzhènyi

to EXCEED: dù, gnā

to EXIT: gmí

to EXPECT: ōwyé + shí [the eye looks]

EYE: ōwyé

F

FACE: āwyébā

FAECES: āmí

to FALL (down): ká + yā

FALSEHOOD: āfū

FARM: ōfwā

to FARM: nū + ōfwā, znā + fwàzna

FAST, n.: ázúmí [H.]

FAST, adv.: ōpyé, wólówóló

to be FAST: pyé

FATHER: òda

FATHER-IN-LAW (husband's father):

gmūnūkwō

FATHER-IN-LAW (wife's father):

yēzhi

FEAR, n.: òdnā

to FEEL: wó

FEELING: ōwó

FEMALE: nyíkwó

FENCE: kātākā

FEW: fyéwyí

FIELD: fīlī

FIFTEEN: ñwō cēi àtnǔ
 FIFTY: shīitnǔ
 FIGHT, n.: ōgwū
 to FIGHT: snū + ōgwū
 FILE (tool), n.: zoñtō
 FINGER: ḡwānyì
 FINGERNAIL: bmīnyì
 to FINISH: zō
 FIRE: ōná
 to be FIRST: kmi
 FISH: òbmya
 FIST: òknǔ
 FIVE: ñtnǔ
 to FLOG: lú
 to FLOW: zhè
 FLOWER: āná, ānyāná, fùre
 [H.]
 FLY, n.: būzhikwó
 to FLY: shé + àfnù
 FLYING: àfnù
 to FOLD: kmí
 to FOLLOW: knú
 FOOT: pūtābwàdà
 FORCE: kālá
 FOREHEAD: nyīkumi
 FOREVER: ānyálo, nyālo-
nyālo [forever and ever]
 FORGIVENESS: gafálā [H.]
 FORMER: kwókwói
 FORTY: shīinyi
 FOUR: ñnyi
 FOURTEEN: ñwō cēi ànyi

FOWL: pisé
 FRESH: pútúlií
 FRIDAY: (à)zhiúmā [H.]
 FRIEND (close): nūgnùdò
 FRIEND (acquaintance): núkwó
 FROM: ó...
 in FRONT of: àbyè
 to FRY: knā
 FUFU: sòkòra
 FULANI: ògwó
 to be FULL: nú
 FUNNEL: būtītī

G

GARDEN EGG: kùnyà
 GARMENT: jēkpē
 GATE: ābā, gwópā [in mud wall]
 to GATHER: yé
 GENUINE: shníshníi
 to GET (obtain): ḡwā
 to GET off: shní
 GIRL: bīnkwói
 to GIVE: gà
 to GO: lō
 GOAT: òna
 GOD: Shèkwó
 a GOD: ōshnā
 to have GONE: dù
 GOOD: mánái
 to be GOOD: bmyá
 GRANDCHILD: yāwyí
 GRANDFATHER: nubwóí

GRANDMOTHER: yakwóí
 GRASS: gbēgbē
 GRAVY: nyāgmā
 to be GREEDY: gyí + ōwyé
 [to eat with the eye]
 GREEN: ògyi [=algae]
 GREETINGS!: hànǔ, sàñǔ
 Note: Gwaris who speak
 dialects differing from
 the one described in this
 grammar say ñkwā for
 'greetings!'.

to GRIND: gwō
 GROUND: òknǐ
 GROUNDNUT: ōbwí
 to GROW, intr.: mwā
 GUEST: zhíbeí
 GUINEA-CORN: ōwyí
 GUN: bidígā [H.]
 GWARI: Gbāgyí

H

HAIR: ōyí
 HAIR (of head): túkwóyí
 to HALT: kpè
 HAND: ōbwá
 HANDLE; n.: ōpwí
 to HANG (on one's shoulder):
pmá
 to be HAPPY: dá
 HARE: zhiwyí
 HAUSA: Jēi
 to HAVE: yí + ò... í [to be

with]
 to HAVE ON (garment): shí
 HE: (ò)wo
 HEAD: túkwó
 HEALTH: laáfiyā [H.]
 to HEAR: wō
 HEART: ōdú
 HEAVINESS: shnàwó
 HEIR: māgàjǐ [H.]
 HELL: ākūná
 to HELP: cé + ōbwá [to support
 with the hand]
 to be HELPLESS: gbí
 HER: wo
 HERBALIST: beyí
 HERE: óyá
 HERS: wonyá
 HILL: ōpé
 HIM: wo
 HIS: wó, wonyá
 HOE: zúkwó
 HOE (type of): dùgbà
 to HOE: fwā
 to HOLD: shí
 HOLE (in ground): ōḡwó
 HOLE (in tree): ōbmi
 HOLIDAY: fūtū [H.]
 HONEY: òsǔ
 to HOOK on: pmá
 HOT: (nā)pyéí
 to be HOT: pyé + ōná
 HOUR: snūknà [=metal], kárfē

kólúfyē [H.]
 HOUSE: nyaknú, āpyí
 HOW (in what way): ōwúná,
shé (used in indirect
 questions)
 HOW MUCH: ná
 HUNDRED: tàgyi [H.]
 HUNGER: mīknú
 to HUNT: znā + fwàzna
 HUNTING: fwàzna
 to HURRY: nyí
 to be in a HURRY: āwyé + yā
 HUSBAND: ōbá

I

I: (ò)mi
 IDEA: bōdā, ōbó
 IF: ngyē, h, ó
 IN: ó..._
 to be IN: dná, pl. fyí
 INDEED: mànà [H.]
 INGENUITY: ōgbá
 INSIDE, prep.: ó...mí
 INTERIOR, n.: òmi
 INTESTINES: āgmí
 IRON: ōsní, snūknà
 IT: (ò)kwó, (ò)ce [abstract]

J

JEALOUSY (woman's): ōshē
 JINGLES (of dancers): àzhà
 JOURNEY: ōznà

JUDGE: àlikali [H.]
 JUICE: ōgmā
 K
 KEY: mākūlī [H.]
 to KICK: cé + pūtā, shé
 to KILL: wū
 KIND, n.: -pyá, kwopyá 'its
 kind'
 KNEE: nyikútukwó
 KNIFE: ōbē
 to KNOW: kpé + ōyē [to know by
 name]
 to KNOW HOW: kpé
 KOLANUT: gōrò [H.]

L

LACK, n.: ōsnā
 LADDER: ābwā
 LAME: zāgmāzhī
 LAMP: fitīlā [H.]
 LARGE: dnāgmái
 to be LAST: kmá
 to LAUGH: má + ōsnā
 LAUGHTER: ōsnā
 LEAD, n.: ōbwā
 LEAF: ntóló
 to LEARN: tú + mwí
 to LEAVE (behind): yā
 LEG: pūtā, ògbà
 LEG (lower): kūrcí
 LEMON: lòmwí [H., E.]

to LEND: mwá, gà + nyabá
 LENGTH: òkpā
 LIE (falsehood): āfū
 to LIE (down): yá
 LIFE (nature): ōsnū [=
 breath]
 LIFE (one's): wyéwyéi
 LIGHTENING: gmabmyá
 LIKE, prep.: ngyē
 to LIKE: yé
 LIMIT, n.: ògnā
 LIMP, n.: ògbà
 to LIMP: shí + ògbà
 LIP: gbépàtà [cover of
 mouth]
 LIQUID: ōgmā
 to LISTEN: knā + tnūbwā
 a LIT-UP PLACE: vnwā
 LIVER: āyé
 LIZARD: òwye
 LOAD: kāyā [H.]
 LOAN, n.: nyabá
 LOCUST-BEAN: ōló
 LOCUST-BEAN TREE: lói
 to LOOK at: shí + āwyé
 to LOOSEN: lò + yā
 LOUDLY: bwōyē, ōmwā
 LOUSE: kwōròkwōta [H.]

M

MAIZE: yāwyl
 to MAKE: mí

MALE: núgbáí
 MAN: zāngbāí
 MANY: bēgyē, bwōyē
 MARKET: gnīkwó
 MARRIAGE: mūlā
 to MARRY: pā + mūlā [to tie the
 marriage]
 MATTER: ōbó
 to MATURE: gnù, cē
 ME: mí
 to MEASURE: mwí
 a unit MEASURE: mūdū [H.]
 MEAT: ābū
 MEDICINE: shīgbē
 METAL: ōsní, snūknà
 to MILK: pí
 MILLET: māwyl
 MILLIPEDE: ngangana
 MINE: minyā
 to MIX: gmí + ājē
 MOHAMMEDANISM: músúlúncí [H.]
 MONDAY: àtēnī [H.]
 MONEY: gyiwyē
 MONKEY (black): òknā
 MONKEY (red): òbe
 MONTH; MOON: ōpyá
 MORE: ōdū [surpassing]
 MOUNTAIN: ōpé
 MORNING (early): nyākná
 MORNING (late): lābmi
 a MUSLIM: Mūsūlmi [H.]
 MOTHER: òyá

MOTHER-IN-LAW (husband's mother): vyānyikwō

MOTHER-IN-LAW (wife's mother): yēzhì

to MOULD: mī

MOUTH: ōgbē

to MOVE ASIDE: jé, pé

MUCH: bwōyē

MUD: ōnwú

MY: mi

N

to be NEAR (temporally),

to have NEARLY: gá

NAME: ōyē

NAVEL: kopwí

NECK: bègyè

to NEED: yé...ī

NEEDLE: àcī

NEST: àmà

NET: ōsá

NEW: wōí

NEWS: àzà

NIGHT: súkwó

NINE: ciwágmányí

NINEPENCE: nāi [Yor.]

NINETEEN: shíibà tōn nā

NOT ("less"): tōn

NINETY: shíicíwágmányí

NO: m'm

NOSE: òbwà

NOW: òsà yē [this time]

NUPE: Nūfēí [H.], pl. Ànufawáí [H.]

O

to OBTAIN: bwā

ODOR: āsñí, āsnú

OFFENSE: àbwi

OIL: ōmí

OKRA: òkmi

OLD: kwói [human], kwókwói

OLD (not new): kwókwói

to become OLD: kwó

OLD MAN: núzākwói, zākwói

OLD WOMAN: nyígbākwóyí, ígbā-

kwóyí

ON: ó...ī

to be ON: tú, pl. kpē

ON TOP OF: òshè [=sky], òsní

ONE: nnū, gmányí

ONE (indefinite pronoun): (ò)wo

[=he], pl. a

ONION: lúpūsā [H.], àlùbaásā [H.]

ONLY: kògmányí

to OPEN: gú + yā

ORANGE, n.: lòmwi [H., E.]

OTHER: dò

OUR: yi

OURS: yinyá

OUTSIDE (in open air): òbmyi

OUTSIDE (not inside): òkmà

OWNER: òda [=father]

P

to PACK AWAY: kmá

PAIN: snàsnà

to PAINT: tná

PALM FRUIT: ōznū

PALM OIL (red): mí byéí, znū mī

PALM OIL (black, from kernel): àlēèdī [H.], èdní [Nupe]

PAPER: òpà

PARADISE: ākū

PARDON: gafálā [H.]

PARROT: (jī)jīm wākwò

to PASS (by): dù + yā

PENIS: kpākpā, āpīgī

PENNY: kóbò [Yor.]

PEPPER: yàngbà, zhàgbà

PERFUME: tùràre [H.]

PERSON: ōzā

PILLAR: gwòfwa [H.]

PLACE: ābā

to PLACE: yā

to PLANT: byè

PLATE: kwánū [H., Yor.]

to PLEASE: dá

to be PLENTIFUL: mwā + bēgyē

POISON: nyatú

POISON (on arrow): ōmwí

to be POOR: gbí

POST (tying post for horses): knùyí

POT: sháknū

to POUND: bwá

POWER: yíkwō [H.]

PRAYER: àdūwà [H.]

to PREFER: gnā + yé [to surpass + to want]

PREGNANCY: núbwō [=belly]

PRESENT, n.: kyàuta = càuta [H.]

PROFIT: gyibā [H.]

PROMISE, n.: àlùkāwòli [H.]

PROVERB: Gbāgyishé

PUFF-ADDER: ōgmā

to PULL: gní

to PULL OUT: wā

PUNISHMENT: àzhnī

to PURIFY: pmýá

PUS: ōgmí

to PUSH IN: ló

to PUT (smth. in smth.): dná,
pl. fyí

to PUT (smth. on smth.): tú,
pl. kpē

PYTHON: wakwó

R

RAIN, n.: ògma

to RAIN: zhí

RAT (small bush variety):
gwofyí

RAW: mimí, pùtúlií

RAZOR: āpmí

to REACH: sī, snū
 to READ: bà
 REASON: ōbó
 to RECEIVE: gwò
 RED: byeí
 to become RED: bmyí
 REED (bamboo): ōkú
 to RELEASE: yā
 to REMAIN: cé + gní, pl. cé
 + zhí
 to REPEAT: jé
 to RESEMBLE: gbè(dò)
 to REST: snú
 to RETURN: jé + zè [to re-
 peat + to turn]
 RIB: bmābārā
 RICE: shèwyí
 RING-WORM: bùbusa
 to RIPEN: bí
 RIVER: òlà
 ROAD: zòkwò
 ROOM: ōgbé
 ROPE: ōnwú
 to RUB (smth. on smth.):
 tná
 to RUB (together): gwò [=
 to grind]
 to RUN: bwí + ōsí
 RUNNING: ōsí

S

SACRIFICE: snū + ōshnā

SALIVA: ākní
 SALT: nūwyí, snàmpēgyé
 SAME: gmányígmányí [one-one]
 SATURDAY: sātí [H.], àsíbí [H.]
 to SAVE: gní + yā
 to SAY: dā, gnà
 to SCATTER: gā + yā
 SCHOOL: mākārāntā [H.]
 SCORPION: nāpísí
 to SCRAMBLE FOR: gní
 SECRET, n.: àsírí = àsígyí [H.]
 SECRETLY: ōwyíwyí [stealingly]
 to SEE: gyē + ōwyé
 SEED: pyēgyé, nyābyé
 SEEDLING: ōbyé
 SEED YAM: shnamá túkwó
 to SEEM: wú
 to SEIZE: nwā
 to SELECT: kní
 to SELL: knú
 SEMEN: àtígyí
 SENSE (good): ánkáli [H.]
 to SETTLE DOWN to: cé
 SEVEN: tnāàbà
 SEVENTEEN: ñwō cēi tnāàbà
 SEVENTY: shīitnāàbà
 to SEW: gnú
 to have SEXUAL INTERCOURSE: shnī
 to SHAKE: shnā + shnā
 SHARK: bmyā buí [white fish]
 to SHARPEN: gyé
 to SHATTER: ǎá + yā, là + yā

to SHAVE: nwū
 SHE: (ò) wo
 SHEATH: āpwí
 SHEEP: òkni
 SHILLING: sūlè = sílè [H.,
 E.]
 to SHINE: bmyā + ōná
 to SHOOT (arrow): shé
 to be SHORT: gbà
 SHOUT, n.: nyākū, wyíbó
 to SHOW: wú
 SIDE: gnāgnáí [=edge]
 SIGHT: wyébà
 SILVER: āzùrùfwa [H.]
 SIN: àbwi, lāipí [H.]
 to SING: kwó + ānyí
 SISTER: mapwí, māpwíi
 SISTER-IN-LAW (wife's sis-
 ter): yēzhí
 SISTER-IN-LAW (wife's youn-
 ger sister): nyikwónàí
 to SIT (down): sà + àsě
 SIX: tnāi
 SIXPENCE: sísí [Y. or H.,
 E.]
 SIXTEEN: ñwō cēi tnāi
 SIXTY: shīitnāi
 SKIN: òpà, pàtà
 SKY: òshè
 SLAVE: fyēnú
 SLAVERY: bàuta [H.]
 SLEEP, n.: ēgyē

to SLEEP: nwā + ēgyē
 SLOWLY: pēcèyè
 SMALL: nàwyí, bíi
 SMELL, n.: āsni, āsnu, ōwó
 to SMELL: wō
 SMOKE: āwú
 SNAKE: ōwā
 to SNEEZE: mí + ōshní
 SNOT: ōshní
 SOAP: ōkwò
 SOB, n.: ōbwi
 SOFTLY (in voice): sányásányá
 SOME: gmányí [=one]
 SOMEHOW: wúho [in some way]
 SOMEONE: zāho
 SOMETHING: nyāho
 SOMETIME: sāho
 SOMEWHERE: bāho
 SON: núgnū
 SONG: ānyí
 SORE, n.: ōcī
 SOUL: zāhnu
 to SOUND (a drum): jé
 SOUP: ōnyí, ānyí
 SOURNESS: āyaká
 to SOW: byé
 to SPEAK: dā + ōbó
 SPIDER: bumbúgyí, m̄bumbugyi
 SPINACH (wild, with thorns):
 òfwa, àlèèfo [H.]
 to SPOIL: zhnā + ōbó
 SPONGE: sòso [H.]

SPOON: knāngye, cōkàli =
shēkàli [H.]
 SPRING (of water): núnwáci
 SQUIRREL: gbògnu
 to STAND (up): gní + àgní
 to be STANDING: gní, pl.
zhí
 STAR: kpàsi
 to STARTLE: vnyí + vnyí
 to STEAL: wyí
 STICK: būsi
 STINGINESS: shnàwō
 to STIR: bwí
 STOMACH: bwùgbà
 STONE: kútá
 STOOL: shníkpēgyē
 to STOP (cease): fwá
 to STOP (halt): kpè
 STORY: làbārí = nàbāgyí [H.]
 STORY-TELLING: òsni
 STREAM: ōdnā
 STRENGTH: kālā
 to STRETCH: gní
 STRING: ōnwū
 to STRIP off: pmí + yā
 STRONG: kālādā [possessing
 strength]
 to SUFFICE: knú
 SUN: moyékwó
 SUNDAY: lāàdì [H.]
 to SUPPORT: cé
 to SURPASS: dù, gnā

SURPRISE, n.: bō wówō
 to SURPRISE: wó
 to SWALLOW: mí
 SWEAT, n.: àmùsà
 to be SWEET: dá
 to SWELL: snú
 to SWIM: gbí + núnwá

T
 TABLE: tēbùl [H., E.]
 TAILOR: jegnúi
 to TAKE: lá, pl. kú
 to TAKE out: gmí
 TALL: kpādā(lā)í
 to be TALL: mwā + òkpā
 TALLNESS: òkpā
 TASTE, n.: ōwó
 to TASTE: wō
 TEAR, n.: wyéní
 to TEAR (a piece): sá + yā
 to TEAR (into pieces): sā + yā
 to TEASE: jé
 to TELL: dā
 to TEMPT: jé
 TEMPTATION: zhalábā [H.]
 TEN: ñwō
 TENDON: jíkwō
 TERMITE: kákwó
 TESTICLE: ápígyí byēgyē
 to THANK: gwódē [H.]
 THANKFULNESS: gwodíyá [H.]
 THATCHING GRASS: ōbyá

THEIR: ba
 THEIRS: banyá
 THEM: ba
 THERE: óbwá yí [at that
 hand]
 THEY: ba
 THEY [indef.]: a
 THIEF: òvyí
 THIGH: būgyíkwō, būshíkwō
 THING (concrete): ōnyá
 THING (abstract): ōbó
 to THINK: a + wó
 THIRST: pwawō
 THIRTEEN: ñwō cēi àtā
 THIRTY: shíltā
 THIS: yè
 THOUGHT: ōbó
 THOUSAND: dūbū [H.]
 THREE: ntā
 THROAT: bēgyē, òshā
 to THROW: shé + yā
 to THROW AWAY: yā
 THRUPPENCE: tóró, tóló
 [Yor., E.]
 THUNDER: ògmawyi(je)
 THURSDAY: àlāmí [H.]
 THUS (like this): nlái
 to TIE up: pā
 TIME: òsà
 TIME (one time, two times,
 etc.): óbwá, znù
 to become TIRED: a + bé

TODAY: ónáyē
 TOE: bwònyí(wyí)
 TOGETHER: bòdò
 TOMORROW: òsu
 TONGUE: ntālā
 TOOTH: nyíknā
 on TOP of: òshè, òsni
 to TOUCH: tō + óbwá
 TOWN: ōzhí, zhímí
 TRADE: àbwāzē [turning the
 hands]
 TRAIN: ōyā
 TRAP: tárikwō [H.]
 TREE: shnínwā
 TROUSERS: wàndo = wàido [H.]
 TRUE: shníshní
 TRUTH: gàiciya [H.], bó shní-
shní
 to TRY: zhní + kùkari [H.]
 TSE-TSE FLY: ōfyē
 TUESDAY: àtālaátā [H.]
 to TURN: zè
 to TURN BACK: jé + zè
 TUWO: ōzhē
 TWELVE: ñwō cēi àbà
 TWENTY: shíibà
 TWIN: àpwò
 to TWIST: pmýí
 TWO: mbà

U
 UGLINESS: àlàbmyā

UGLY: àlàbmyāi
 to be UGLY: zhè + àlàbmyā
 UMBRELLA: nyīpa, lēmā [H.]
 UNCLE (father's younger brother): dògnū
 UNCLE (father's older brother): ḁakó
 UNCLE (mother's brother): yākwō
 UNDER: sitá
 UNDERNEATH: ōbmī
 to UNDERSTAND: wō
 to UNDRESS: kmā
 UNIT: ōgnú
 UNPLEASANT: àlàḁāi
 to be UNPLEASANT: zhè + àlàḁā
 UNPLEASANTNESS: àlàḁā
 UNTIL: sái [H.], hár [H.]
 UP: òsnī
 to URINATE: shé + ōpá
 URINE: ōpá
 US: yi
 USE, n.: àmpàni [H.]
 to be USED to: shní

V

VAGINA: gwòlò
 VEHICLE: ōyā
 VEIN: ōjī
 VERY: sòséi [H.]
 VULTURE: gùlū [H.]

W

to WAIT for: pmī
 to WALK: dnà + ōznā
 to WANDER: znā
 to WANT: yé ... ī
 WAR: ōknú
 to WASH: zhná + yā
 to WASH (hands): nā
 WASP: ōkmī
 WASP (giant): kmūkwo
 WATCH, n.: āgwōgwō
 WE: (ò)yi
 WHERE: óna
 WHETHER: ngyē
 WHICH: kī ... ī
 WHITE: buī
 WHITE ANT: ōká, ōdnā
 WHITE MAN: Bātuúrē [H.], pl. Tùràwa [H.]
 WHO: nká
 WIDOW(ER): nyīgbāi
 WIDTH: pàtà
 WIFE: nyīkwó
 WIND: ōsē
 WINE: ōjē
 to become WISE: cē
 WITCH: gwùzhènyida [possessor of evil spirits]
 WITH: ò ... ī
 WITHOUT: òtnā
 to become WITHERED: ḁwá

WITNESS, n.: sèidādā [H.]
 WIZARD: nyāgyēi [=seer]
 WOMAN: nyīkwózā
 WORK, n.: tnútnū
 to WORK: lō + tnútnū, zhni + tnútnū
 WORLD: anyi [=clouds], nyizè
 WORM: òvnyi
 to become WRINKLED: ḁwá
 to WRITE: kā

Y

YAM: shnamá
 to YAWN: yé + āyé
 YEAR: ōyé
 next, last YEAR: ótina
 this YEAR: óyéló
 YELLOW: ōló [=locust bean]
 YES: ōò
 YESTERDAY: ósu
 YOUNG: kāsāi
 YOU: (ò)ho, pl. (ò)fye
 YOUR: ho, pl. fye
 YOURS: honyá, pl. fyenýá

Abbreviations:

adj. = adjective	intr. = intransitive
adv. = adverb	tr. = transitive
n. = noun	prep. = preposition
[E.] = English	
[H.] = Hausa	e.g. <u>kwánū</u> 'bowl' [H., Y., E.] =
[Yor.] = Yoruba	from <u>English</u> through Yoruba
	then Hausa (cf. English <u>pan</u>)

ADDENDA TO WORDLIST:

to ENTER: ló
 FOOD: nyagyí(gyí)
 MOSQUITO: ḁmwi
 to POUR: fyi
 WATER: núnwá

INDEX

- Adjectives: 69-96
- Adverbial object: 302
- Adverbs: 84-89, 94, 212, 220, 225, 231, 233, 236, 238, 266
- 'After': 371
- Agent nouns: 67
- Assimilated low tone: 26, 56, 65, 75, 166, 172, 225
- Assimilation: 8
- Associative constructions: 38-53
- Associative tone: 42-53
- Attributive suffix i: 65, 67, 69, 75
- Auxillary verbs (other than tense-aspect): 180-182, 205-244, 263
- bá [future marker]: 146, 171, 172
- bēgyē 'many': 112
- bé 'to come': 227, 334
- bēi [today past auxillary]: 395, 410
- béi, bēi [past tense auxiliaries]: 152, 153, 160, 164, 165, 168
- béi [future marker]: 170, 172
- Benefactive object: 312
- Borrowings: 7, 9, 17
- bwōyē 'much, many': 111
- Causative verbs: 281-286, 295, 296 (see also 240)
- ce [anaphoric pronoun]: 35
- cé [auxillary]: 207-211, 353
- cé + ōbwá 'to help': 207
- Coarticulated consonants: 11
- Comparatives: 232, 234, 235, 237
- Completed aspect: 156-174
- Conditions: 362-368
- Consecutive conjunction: 336-353
- Consonant clusters: 11-14
- Consonants: 9
- Continuous aspect: 148-155, 326
- Derived nouns: 54-68
- Determiners: 97-122
- Dialect variation: 5
- Direct object: 302, 305
- dò 'another, other': 102
- dòho 'a certain [indef.]': 103-107
- dù 'to have gone': 269
- dù 'to surpass': 232

Falling tone: 16, 20, 23
 Focus: 131, 381, 407-416
 Future anterior: 174, 346, 347, 398
 Future tense: 146, 154, 155, 170, 344, 345, 357, 396
fwá 'to cease': 230
fyéwyí 'little, few': 113

gà-object: 315-317
gá 'to have nearly': 206
 Gerunds: 38, 40, 55-59, 61, 327
gmányí 'one, some': 109, 115
gnà 'to say' [used in contrary to fact]: 368
gnā 'to surpass': 234, 235
 Greetings: Appendix I

Habitual aspect: 142-147, 332
hò 'the one in question': 101, 108
ho (see dòho)
 'How': 380, 389
 'How much/many': 379, 389

í [attributive suffix]: 65, 69, 75
í 'still': 225, 226
 Imperatives: 147, 177-185
in [reflexive marker]: 415
 Inchoative verbs: 276-301

Indefinite pronouns: 37
 Indirect object: 304, 305
 Indirect questions: 129, 369, 383-390
 Infinitival gerund: 55
 Instrumental nouns: 68
 Interrogation: 372-390

jé [subjunctive auxiliary]: 180
jé 'to do again': 218, 219

kàfni 'before': 184, 370
kīí 'what, which': 375
kmá 'to do last': 223
kmi 'to do first': 222
knú 'to do together': 221
kpé 'to know how': 240
kú (see lá)

lá and kú [completed auxiliaries]: 157, 162, 166, 167, 193-204, 280, 285, 331, 359, 395
lá and kú 'to take': 186-192, 196-198, 263
là, yá 'to begin': 228, 299, 300
lō [continuous auxiliary]: 149, 151, 155, 277, 329, 333
lō 'to go': 268
 Locative object: 302
 Locative verbs: 245-275

Lower-mid tone: 15, 18, 19, 24, 25

mí 'to be able': 241
 'Must': 242-244

ń 'if' (see ńgyē)
ń [relative clause marker]: 123
ná 'how much': 379
 Nasal consonant clusters: 11
 Negation: 179, 391-406
ńgyē 'if, whether': 362, 369, 383
ńgyē 'like, as': 91, 135
ńká 'who, whose': 374
 Noun structure: 29
nù [focus marker]: 381, 407-416
nú, nǔ [deictics]: 100
 Numbers: 114-121
nyí, nyǐ [deictics]: 100, 124
nyí 'to hasten to': 224

ó 'if' (see ńgyē)
ó [relative clause marker]: (see ń)
ó... ́ 'at': 267, 319, 320
ó... ́ó 'for the sake of': 313, 314
ò... í 'with': 83, 247, 275, 288, 294, 297, 298, 321-324, 330

òda 'possessor of': 95
ògnú 'unit': 119
óna 'where': 376
òwúná 'how': 380

Participle adjective: 65, 66, 75, 76, 253, 258, 279
 Participle noun: 62-64
 Passive: 291, 318
 Past tense (see completed, continuous, habitual aspects)
 Personal pronouns: 31-37
 Plural formation: 30
 Possessive object: 306-311
 Possessive pronouns: 31, 50, 53
 Prepositional nouns: 41
 Prepositions: 41, 319-324
 Present perfect: 159
 Present tense (see continuous aspect)

Quantifiers: 109-121

Reduplication (of adjectives): 78
 Reduplication (of verbs): 54, 60, 62, 75, 253, 258, 279
 Reflexive pronouns: 415
 Relative clauses: 100, 123-135, 383-390, 400-402
 Rising tone: 15, 22

shé 'how': 389
sī, snū 'to reach': 237
shní 'to be used to': 213
 Simultaneous conjunction:
 325-335, 338, 339
snū 'to reach' (see sī)
 Subjunctive: 147, 175-185
 Subjunctive conjunction:
 344, 354-362
 Syllable structure: 10, 11

tā...n̄ (see tō...n̄)
 Tense-aspect system: 141
tō...n̄ [negative marker]:
 179, 391-406
tō gé...n̄: 405, 406
 Tones: 14'-28

 Verbal complexes: 137-140
 Verbal noun: 54, 60
 Verbs of motion: 265-275
 Verb structure: 136
vnyānyā 'entire, all': 110
 Vowels: 8

'What': 375, 385
 'When': 377, 387
 'Where': 376, 386
 'Which': 375, 385
 'Who, whose': 374, 384
 'Why': 378, 388
wú [subjunctive auxiliary]:

181
yā 'to place, be placed': 254,
 301
yā [verbal extension]: 77, 137
yá 'to begin' (see là)
yè 'this': 98
yé 'to want, etc.': 150, 182,
 216
yì 'to be': 246, 247, 279
yì 'that': 98
yì+ò...ī 'to have': 247

zhnī [habitual auxiliary]:
 143-147
zhnī 'to cause': 240
zō 'to finish': 229, 290-293,
 318