Tiefo grammar notes based on Winkelmann’s grammar

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Kerstin Winkelmann left us with a valuable grammar and brief lexicon of Tiefo (pronounced *cɛfɔ*). She worked primarily in **Daramandugu** (Dar), a village cluster whose component “quarters” have some dialectal differences. She also collected core lexicon and some grammatical information from **Numudara** (Num) and **Nyafogo** (Nya), the latter having variant spellings such as “Gnanfongo” (favored by Hantgan). It seems clear that Dar Tiefo and Num/Nya Tiefo are two distinct languages; even Num and Nya differ considerably.

For the benefit of readers unable to read the German original, I have distilled the following notes from the grammar, with page refs. in parentheses. Any comments of my own are signed “/JH”.

For typographic clarity I rewrite nasalized vowels as e.g. *eⁿ* rather than *ḛ*. For monotonal long vowels and upgliding diphthongs, I mark tones on both vowel symbols, as in *àà* rather than *àa*, and I put the nasalization superscript at the end, as in *úíⁿ* rather than *ṵ́i* (or *úⁿi*). Otherwise tonal markings follow Winkelmann’s practice, with high tone x́ and low tone x̀ as in IPA, mid-tone usually unmarked but occasionally marked as x̄ (contour tones x̂, x̌ occur occasionally in the non-Dar lexical comparisons). Vowel symbols in proto-forms include high *ɩ* and *ʋ* (not *ɪ* and *ʊ*). Schwa *ə* appears in some transcribed forms for Nya, and *ü* in transcriptions quoted from Prost. Note that the digraph “ny” means *ɲ*.

I have separately organized Winkelmann’s lexical data into an easily searchable Excel spreadsheet with multiple columns, adding French and English translations of her German glosses and adding some cross-references. For nouns and adjectives the format for the Tiefo forms is illustrated by

*trɔⁿ // -ni* n ‘blood’

tɔ́siciɛ // tɔ́sikirɛ n ‘ground squirrel’

*traⁿ, traⁿ, trɛⁿ* v intr ‘sit down’

where each noun (n) is followed by // and the relevant plural suffix (usually -rV with assimilating vowel, for some nouns -ni) or the entire plural form, and where most verbs (v) are given in three principal parts (base form, imperfective, and perfective). Except for putting // before plurals, using ~ instead of | to separate variant pronunciations, and spelling out all three verb principal parts (instead of using = like a ditto mark where the imperfective is identical to the base form), the formats in the spreadsheet respect Winkelmann’s arrangement, including her hyphenation (which is often only selective).

--JH

Reference:

Winkelmann, Kerstin. 1998. *Die Sprache der Cɛfɔ von Daramandugu (Burkina Faso)*. (Berichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs 268, Kulturentwicklung und Sprachgeschichte im Naturraum Westafricanische Savanne, 11.) Frankfurt: Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität. ISBN 3-9806129-0-2

Daramandugu dialect is not understood in Nyafogo or Numudara (5); little contact between Dar. and the two other villages; lexical sharing in Swadesh 100-word list: Dar/Nya 77%, Dar/Num 75%, Nya/Num 80% (6).

G. Manessy 1982, “Matériaux linguistiques pour servir à l’histoire des populations du sud-ouest de la Haute-Volta” concluded that Tiefo is Gur but does not belong to any known Gur subgroup (11). Manessy proposed NW Benin as the immediate source of spreading of Proto-Central Gur, and placed the original home farther east, probably Nigeria (11). T. Naden 1989, in Bender-Samuel (ed), *The Niger-Congo languages*, agreed that Tiefo was not clearly subgroupable (13).

W’s fieldwork 1990-1994 was mainly in Dar, secondarily in Num, and one visit to Nya; her informants were generally non-French speaking so most interviews were done via Jula interpreters (13).

oral vowels: +ATR {*i e o u*}, -ATR {*ɛ ɔ a*} (20).

ATR not reducible to simple closed/open opposition, since back/low -ATR vowels induce pharyngealization of consonants (19, cf. 62).

nasalized vowels: *ḭ ɛ̰ a̰ ɔ̰ ṵ* (20, 24) [I rewrite as *iⁿ ɛⁿ* etc. /JH]

vowel length occurs in Num and Nya (70)

Dar has some VV sequences due to loss of \*C2 in \*CvCv (30):

Num Dar gloss

*pɛ̀ne piɛⁿ* Fuß = foot

*bíwɔ̀ biɔ́ⁿ* Pavian = baboon

*pɔgɔ puɔ* Stock = stick, baton

*tɔ̀gɔ̀ cuɔ̀* brennen = burn

*sɔgɔrú cúʔó* ~ *cuó* Reuse = fish trap

vowel-harmony: no mixing of mid-height +ATR and -ATR within stems (32); suffixal vowels adopt ATR value of stem (34).

first-syllable {*i u*} have -ATR articulations [*ι υ*] (nonphonemic) before -ATR second syllable (33)

nasalized vowels are ATR-neutral and can combine with either +ATR or -ATR (33).

Proto-Central Gur may have had 10 vowels: +ATR *i e ʌ o u*, -ATR *ι ɛ ɔ a ʋ* (35n, ex Manessy). Traces of this are seen in Tiefo verb-stem ablaut. *Ca* verbs form imperfective stems variably as *Ce* (only ex. is *bà*, imperf *be* ‘kommen’ = ‘come’) or *Cɛ* (predominant) (35). Final *a* likewise becomes variably *e* (only ex. is *waʔá-tɔⁿ*, perf *wié-tɔⁿ* ‘schließen’ = ‘shut’) or *ɛ* (predominant) (36). The only example of *i* ablauting to *ɛ* is *flí*, perf *flɛ* ‘spinnen’ = ‘spin’. Nasalized vowels lack ATR contrasts, but plurals by denasalization from *ɔⁿ* and *ɛⁿ* are variably +ATR or -ATR (lexical choice), e.g. *bɔ́ⁿ* pl *bɔ* ‘Schaf’ = ‘sheep’, *dɔ̀ⁿ* pl *dòrò* ‘Sklave’ = ‘slave’ (37).

consonants (38):

*b d j g gb*

*p t c k kp ’* (glottal)

*f s*

*m n ny ŋm*

*l*

*r*

*w y (w)*

*c* in Dar corresponds to *s* in Num/Nya (69)

**affrication** before single high vowels. cf. also summary (59-60)

{*p b*} optionally → {*pf bv*} before *u* or *uV* (38-39)

{*t d*} optionally → {*ts dz*} before *i* or *iV* (40-41)

{*c j*} → {*cy dy*} before *i* or *iV* (42-43)

*k* optionally → *ky* before *i* or *iV* (43)

*g* does not occur before {*i e*} (44-46) except in some subdialects (69)

original \*gi (→ *gyi*) → *ji* in the main dialect studied (45-46)

*g* occurs intervocalically only after nasalized V (44-45)

original intervocalic \*g, preserved in Num, becomes *ʔ* in Dar. (45)

**palatalization** before downgliding diphthongs (42-43)

/tuV/ → *cuV* (42)

/duV/ → *juV* (43)

/kiV/ → *ciV* (42)

These palatalizations are absent in some Daramandugu quarters (69) and in Num and Nya (69)

glottal stop *ʔ* distinctive but unstable

deleted after diphthongization in perfective:

*ʔo* + *e* → *we* ‘trocknen’ = ‘dry[v]’ (48, 54)

*ʔi* + *e* → *ye* ‘laufen’ (48, 226) [‘gehen’ (55)] = ‘run’ (48, 55)

unstable intervocalically: *juʔu* ~ *ju* ‘Auge’ = ‘eye’ (48)

final suffix *-ʔ* is part of two-part negation including preverbal morpheme (48)

*ŋm* now uncommon in Dar. but better preserved in Nya (54)

initial clusters: *Cl…* and *Cr…*, including *ml*, *fl*, *gbl*, *kpl*

*w* pronounced as bilabial or labiovelar fricative before *iV* (60)

**pharyngealization**: affects {*t d k g kl gl*} before {*a ɔ*} (62)

**labialization**: {*gwV kwV*} due to imperfective/perfective ablaut → {*gbV kpV*} (62)

*l* and *Cl* cannot be followed by falling diphthongs, so /lie/ → *le* ‘rufen’ = ‘call’(perfective), /gluo/ → *glo* ‘hinausgehen’ = ‘exit’ (perfective) (64)

{*Vu Vi*} contract to {*u i*} (no VV sequences ending in high vowels) (64)

/aV/ contracts to *V*, as in plural /ka-ɔ/ → *kɔ* ‘Tier’ ‘animals’, /ba-i/ → *bi*

**nasalization**: 1) oral V secondarily nasalized after nasal C, obligatory word-finally, otherwise optional (66-67); 2) phonemic nasalized V, but not a secondarily nasalized V, induces prenasalization of a following stop (67); nasalized vowel induces nasalization of a following suffixed vowel, as in perfectives (*siⁿ*, perfective *siɛⁿ* ‘weben’ = ‘weave’)

**denasalization**: nasalized V is optionally denasalized before a nasal consonant (e.g. before verbal noun suffix *-ni* ) (67) or another nasalized vowel (68); if the nasalized V induces prenasalization of a following stop, the vowel itself is then optionally denasalized (68); denasalization of a nasalized mid-height vowel may bring out underlying ATR value, e.g. *o* versus *ɔ* from denasalization of *ɔⁿ* (68).

tones: H M L (71). minimal pairs:

*dɛ́* ‘Körper’ = ‘body’, *dɛ* ‘Bruder’ = ‘brother’, *dɛ̀* ‘Feld’ = ‘field’ (71)

*só* ‘Eimer’ = ‘pail’, *so* ‘Schwein’ = ‘pig’, *sò* ‘Pferd’ = ‘horse’ (71)

*bió* ‘Frucht’ = ‘fruit’, *bio* ‘Pfeife’ = ‘pipe’ (71)

*flíkɔ́* ‘Termiten’ = ‘termites’, *flikɔ́* ‘Verrückter’ = ‘crazy person’ (72)

*dúʔú* ‘Wald’ = ‘forest’, *dùʔú* ‘Hügel’ = ‘hill’ (72)

*dɔ́* ‘austeilen’ = ‘distribute’, *dɔ* ‘schlafen’ = ‘sleep’, *dɔ̀* ‘kaufen’ = ‘buy’ (72)

*bá* ‘anbauen’ = ‘grow (crops)’, *bà* ‘kommen’ = ‘come’ (72)

*blo* ‘tragen’ = ‘carry’, *blò* ‘wahrsagen’ = ‘tell fortunes’ (72)

words: all nine possible combinations of H, M, and L syllables occur in bisyllabic stems; trisyllabics usually have at most one tone break, though MHM with two tone breaks is attested (75)

grammatical morphemes may be **atonal** (copying tone from the stem) or tonal (76).

atonal suffixes: *-ʔV* (singular, ‘thing’ class), *-rV* (plural), imperfective *-i* & perfective -E realized as *-e/-ɛ* (76-77)

atonal prefixes: *ka-* and *ʔa-* adjective prefixes

tonal suffixes: verbal noun *-ni*, locative *-̀ni*, also grammaticalized stems like future be (< *bà* ‘come’), -nì ‘female’ (< *ni* ‘mother’), *-ʔɛ̀* ‘Ding zu …’ = ‘thing of …’ (< *ʔɛ́ʔɛ́* ‘Ding, Sache’ = ‘thing, matter’), augmentative tú (< tùtúʔu ‘Größe’ = ‘size’) (76-77).

plural suffix -O realized as mid-tone after high or mid, as low-tone after low (77-78)

preverbal morphemes (tense, negation, infinitive) have tones but optionally move up or down one level to assimilate to the stem tone; H moves down to M only before L, L moves up to M only before H, while M moves to H before H and L before L (78). Affects the following:

L-toned preverbal *à* (present) and *kò* (infinitive) (78)

M-toned preverbal na (“Intentionalis”) (79)

H-toned preverbal *ká* (past imperfective), *má* (general negative), *á* (perfective negative) (79-80)

tonal patterns for verb ablaut (bare stem, imperfective, perfective)

type bare stem imperfective perfective gloss

L (LML) *mɛ̀ mɛ mɛ̀* ‘bauen’ = ‘build’

H (HHL) *lɛ́ⁿ lɛ́ⁿ lɛⁿ* ‘warten’ = ‘wait’

M (MML) *fɛ fɛ fɛ̀* ‘grüßen’ = ‘greet’ (80)

nominal compounds: floating L between components makes 2nd component L-toned: *poʔo* ‘Busch’ = ‘outback’ plus *ná* ‘Rind’ = ‘bovine’ → *ponà* ‘Büffel’ = ‘water buffalo’ (81). No tonal change in genitive relationships: *se ná* ‘father’s bovine’ (81).

at beginning of sentence, and in citation forms, initial M-tone, as in article *ʔe*, may be raised to H-level unless followed quickly by a true H-tone (81). In rapid speech, article *ʔe* may be elided but if so its M-tone is realized on the first syllable of the noun (81-82)

**syllables**: *Cv*, *CLv*, and *Cv1v2*, but not #(*C)Lv1v2* (82-83). v1 is potentially pronounced as its own syllable but it can be pronounced as a semivowel (84). In *Cv1v2*, the second vowel carries tone and nasalization (84). ‘Thing’-class *Cv1ʔv1* and plural *Cv1rv1* likewise have tone and nasalization carried by the second vowel, but (unlike *Cv1v2*) they allow CL onsets (*kloʔo*, pl *kloro* ‘Strasse, Weg’ = ‘road, path’) (85) Most stems in the basic lexicon are monosyllabic; verbs have maximally two syllables; nouns can have up to 4 but 50% of them are monosyllabic and longer nouns are mostly loanwords and (former) compounds (85).

**Nouns**: old Gur noun-classes absent but have left traces (88). Noun stems with the shape *Cv1v2* may reflect \*Cv-Cv with a noun-class suffix (89). *Cv1ʔv1* nouns are mostly inanimate singular and can be segmented *Cv1-ʔv1* (90); Num cognates are *Cv1‑gv1*, becoming *Cv1‑ŋv1* after a nasalized vowel (90, 103). Young speakers tend to generalize *‑ʔv1* to all inanimates and to animals, and to keep it before plural *‑rv1* (91).

60% of names for humans and animals end in *o/ɔ* versus 34% for other nouns. Pronouns and color adjectives with human/animal reference also end in *o/ɔ* (91). Sometimes Num has a different vowel quality (92, 103). A reasonable inference is that *‑o/‑ɔ* was an original animate singular suffix (92). Example *fuɔ́* ‘Fisch’, pl *fɔ́rɔ́* (92). Reconstructions: \*o (Proto-Gurunsi) or \*ʋ (Proto-Oti-Volta), as pronoun or nominal suffix (Manessy) (107-108).

Cases with nasalization in Sg but not Pl may reflect either an original nasal Sg suffix (diminutive?), or original nasal in the stem that was lost by denasalization with the Pl suffix (92-6). cf. pronouns: 3Sg animate *ʔɔ̀ⁿ*, 3Pl *ʔò* (92)

‘Hund’ = ‘dog’ Dar. *buɔ*, variable pl *buo* ~ *bɔrɔ* ~ *burɔ* (93)

Num *bɔŋɔ* ~ *bɔⁿʔɔⁿ* (94, 222), Prost’s *boŋo* (94-95, 222), is arguably analysable as /boⁿ-go/ with *‑gV* suffix becoming *‑ŋV* after nasalized vowel, pointing to original stem nasalization (94); cf. Nya *bɔɔⁿ* (222). Manessy reconstructs Proto-Central Gur \*ɓa ‘dog’ without nasal, but nearby Gur languages divide into those with a nasal (e.g. Vierno *bɔ̀ɔ́ⁿdɔ*) and those without (94).

Similar problematic cases (nasal suffix or original stem nasal): ‘Fuß’ = ‘foot’: Dar *piɛ*, Num *pɛ̀ne* ~ *pɛ̀ⁿne* (95); ‘Sklave’ = ‘slave’ Dar *dɔ̀ⁿ*, Num *dónu* (95).

mass nouns like ‘water’ and ‘blood’ often have a nasalized vowel, possible trace of an old suffix (96)

**plurals**:

productive plural suffix *-rV* with vowel quality and tone copied from preceding (97); *Cv1v2* singulars treated variably in the plural (*bio* ‘Flöte’ = ‘flute’, pl *biro* ~ *bioro*) (97-98). Source: plural class markers \*se (Proto-Central Gur) or \*te/to (Proto-Oti-Volta and Proto-Gurunsi) (108)

Num apparent suffix *-rV* may have both plural and singular sources (104, 108).

suffix *-ni* (M-tone): “plural” of mass nouns, plural of a few loanwords (*lɛmúrú-ní* ‘lemons’, *nàsera-ni* ‘whites’), nominalizer of numeral ‘one’, verbal noun (98-99).   
 plural suffix -O realized as *-ɔ* ~ *-o*, for some animate nouns (100); related to 3Pl pronoun *ʔò*, possibly from Proto-Central Gur \*ba (108)

**nominal derivation** (111-119)

no sharp division between compounding and derivation (111)

**diminutive**: widespread Niger-Congo *\*bi* ‘child’, cf. Dar *bisiɔ̀ⁿ* ‘Kind’ = ‘child’, *bió* ‘Frucht’ = ‘fruit’, *nábí* ‘person’, *bibi* ‘small’ (114). As diminutive suffix:

*‑bì once* in *bɔ́ⁿbì* pl *bɔbiò* ‘Lamm’ = ‘lamb’

*‑bí once* in *wuobí* pl *wuobírí* ‘Waise’ = ‘orphan’, cf. *wuo* ‘sterben’ = ‘die’ (Pfv) (114).

(Num dialect has several cases of frozen -bi : *kiaⁿbi* ‘Vogel’ = ‘bird’, *jugubi* ‘Auge’ = ‘eye’ [Prost *dyugubi*] , *núrúbi* ‘Zunge’ = ‘tongue’, *tobi(re)* ‘Ohr’ = ‘ear’; cf. also Prost *kɛbi* ‘Bohne’ = ‘bean’) (115)

*‑bɛ̀ⁿ* pl *‑buò* in all other terms for young animals: *lɔⁿbɛ̀ⁿ* ‘Küken’ = ‘chick’, *nabɛ̀ⁿ* ‘Kalb’ = ‘calf’, *wɔbɛ̀ⁿ* ‘Zicklein’ = ‘goat kid’ (114).

*-bùⁿ* pl *-bùⁿrùⁿ* twice: *kitɛ̀bùⁿ* pl *kitɛ̀bùⁿrùⁿ* ‘Finger’ = ‘finger’ < *kitɛ̀* ‘Hand’ = ‘hand’, and *nabùⁿ* ‘oberer Mahlstein’ = ‘upper grindstone’ < *nɛʔɛ* ‘Mahlstein’ = ‘grindstone’ (115)

*-sìⁿ* only in *sɔ́sìⁿ* pl *sɔ́sìⁿrìⁿ* ‘Stößel’ = ‘pestle’ < *sɔ́* ‘Mörser’ = ‘mortar’ (‘pestle’ elsewhere Num *sɔ́bi*, Prost *syenbi*); cf. also 2nd syllable of *bisiɔ̀ⁿ* ‘child’ and verb *sì* ‘gebären’ = ‘give birth’; Lobi has *biⁿšaⁿ* ‘child’ (115-116)

**augmentative** *-tú* pl *-túrú*, cf. *tùtùʔù* ‘Größe’ = ‘size, bigness’: basíⁿtú ‘großes Messer’ = ‘big knife’ (*basíⁿʔíⁿ* ‘Messer’), *fiétú* ‘große Hacke’ = ‘big hoe’ (fié ‘Hacke’), *klotú* ‘Straße’ = ‘street’ (*kloʔo* ‘Weg’ = ‘path’), *letú* ‘Dorfviertel’ = ‘village quarter’ (*le* ‘Gehöft’ = ‘home’) (116).

**sex of animals**

male: *-pɔⁿ* pl (denasalized) *-po* ~ *-poro* (116-117): *lɔⁿpɔⁿ* ‘Hahn’ = ‘rooster’, *bɔ́ⁿpɔⁿ* ‘Schafbock’ = ‘ram’, *wɔpɔⁿ* [emended from “*wɔpɔ̀ⁿ*” based on lexicon], ‘Ziegenbock’ = ‘billygoat’ (117), with initial tone-dropped napɔⁿ ‘Stier’ = ‘bull’ < *ná* ‘Rind’ = ‘bovine’ (117)

*-pɛ̀ⁿ* [ ~ *-pɛ̀ⁿʔɛ̀ⁿ* in lexicon] only in *sopɛ̀ⁿ* [~ *sopɛ̀ⁿʔɛ̀*] ‘Eber’ = ‘hog’ (117)

(similar forms in Supyire, Carlson 1994, p. 118)

female: *-nì* pl *-niò*, cf. M-toned noun *ni* ‘Mutter’ = ‘mother’ pl *niri* (less often *nio*) (117); so-ni ‘Sau’ = ‘sow’ (“pig-mother”) is a recent innovation (pigs not traditionally raised in Daramandugu) (117-118)

for female cpds with -nì (but not male animals), both initial and final are pluralized: nánì ‘Kuh’ = ‘cow’, pl nɔniò (nɔ + niò) (117)

(human sex: usually cpds with *yo* ‘woman’ or *dɔ* ‘man’, p. 120-1)

**‘owner of’**

*-wi* (M-toned) pl *-yuo* or after L-tone *-yuò* (cf. noun *yuó* ‘people’)

*ʔɛ́wi* pl *ʔɛ́yuo* ‘Besitzer’ = ‘owner’ < ʔɛ́ʔɛ́ ‘Sache, Ding’ = ‘thing’

*búwi* ‘Reicher’ = ‘rich person’ < *bú* ‘Kauri, Geld’ = ‘cowry, money’

*dráⁿwi* ‘Dorfchef’ = ‘village chief’ < *dráⁿ* ‘Dorfviertel’ = ‘village quarter’

*lewi* pl *leyuo* ‘Familienchef’ = ‘head of family’ < *le* ‘Gehöft’ = ‘home’

*tɔwi* ‘Erdherr’ ‘earth-owner (ritual leader)’ < *tɔʔɔ* ‘Boden, Erde’ = ‘ground, earth’

*niɔⁿwi* ‘Lügner’ = ‘liar’ < *niɔⁿ* ‘Lüge’ = ‘lie’

*sòwi* pl *sòyuò* ‘Reiter’ = ‘horseman’ < *sò* ‘Pferd’ = ‘horse’

*-kɛ̀ⁿ* suffix < *kɛⁿ* ‘Mann, Freund, Ehemann’ (Sg only) = ‘man, friend, husband’ instead of cpd final *-dɔ* ‘man’ in two cases: *nyánɔ́kɛ̀ⁿ* ‘Freund’ = ‘(male) friend’ (versus *nyánɔ́-yo* ‘Freundin’ = ‘female friend’); *siókɛ̀ⁿ* ‘Wahrsager’ = ‘fortune-teller’ (118-119)

frozen prefixes (or cpd initials): *ba-* only in *baśiⁿʔíⁿ* ‘Messer’ = ‘knife’ and *bácuɔ̀ⁿ* ‘Bogen’, ‘ground’ (Num *tɔ́ŋɔ́*); *ka-* only in *kawù* ‘Knochen’ = ‘bone’ (Num *wugu*); *na-* in several body-part terms (119)

**compounds** (119-122)

lexicalized genitive constructions (no linking morpheme) (120)

humans: *-dɔ* ‘man’ or *-yo* ‘woman’ (120-121), plural *-yuó* ‘people’ (121)

tones in cpd final drop in older cpds with *po-* ‘bush-, wild’, *blá-* ‘domestic’ or ‘riverine’ (*blaʔa* ‘river’), but not new ones with *po-* or with *le-* ‘house’ (122). Exx of tone-dropping:

*blákà* pl *blákɔ̀* ‘Haustier’ = ‘domestic animal’ < *ka* pl *kɔ* ‘Tier’ = ‘animal’

*ponà* pl *ponɔ̀* ‘Büffel’ = ‘water buffalo’ < *ná* ‘Rind’ = ‘bovine’ (122)

**deverbal derivations** (122-131)

Konversion = zero-derivation, noun or adj < verb (123)

*-ni* verbal noun (124)

*-nɔ̀* pl *-yuò* agentive (124-5), originally ‘person’ (Oti-Volta, Gurunsi \*ni, \*nu, \*non) with vowel ɔ perhaps due to frozen noun-class suffix (125)

*-kàʔà* pl *-kɔ̀* mostly adjectival (animate), less often nominal (human) (125-127)

*-ʔɛ̀* pl *-rɛ̀* deverbal instrumental nominals, also adjectival (inanimate) (127-128)

*ná-* in human nouns, e.g. *náfɔ́ⁿ* ‘Fremder, Gast’ = ‘guest, stranger’ < *fɔ́ⁿʔɔ́ⁿ* ‘neu sein’ = ‘be new’, etymologically related to suffix *-nɔ̀* (128)

*ka-* animate adj (copies tones from following verb stem) (128-129)

*ʔa-* inanimate adj (copies tones); in one ex, *ʔayua* ‘black’, there is also a concord suffix *(ʔa-yu-a*) (129)

*ʔúⁿ-* (obscure sense and origin) only in combination with verb *fɛ* ‘stehlen’ = ‘steal’: *ʔúⁿfuɔ* ‘Dieb’ = ‘thief’, *ʔúⁿfrɛ* ‘Diebstahl’ = ‘theft’ (129)

deverbal compounds (130-131)

**article** *ʔe* (M-tone) obligatory before nouns (sg or pl) unless otherwise determined (demonstrative, possessor), can be translated as definite or indefinite; not used with personal names (132)

Article can take the form *ʔa* before terms for plant parts (133)

Typological parallels (and possible cognates) for Tiefo articles in scattered Gur languages (Koromfe, Tem, Dagara) and other W African languages (Seme = Siamou, Kwa) (135-137).

**pronouns** (140 [table])

*no* 1Sg *ʔeyuò* 1Pl

*mo* 2Sg *buò* 2Pl

*ʔɔ̀ⁿ* 3SgAn *ʔò* 3Pl

*ʔà* 3SgInan (suffix *-rè* or *-ni* as object, not used as possessor)

*bò* Anaph (distant demonstrative, logophoric, discourse-anaphoric) (138)

*lo* discourse-definite inanimate, no number distinction (141)

Except as indicated for 3SgInan, pronouns are used in independent, subject, object, and possessor functions. Subject pronouns may contract with following particle *à* (Present) or *á* (Negative), e.g. 1Sg + Present *náà* (140)

**demonstratives** (140-141)

*yà* ~ *ʔà*, pl *yiri* animate or inanimate

*kàⁿ*, pl *kɔyuo* animate only

*káⁿ*  animate or inanimate as object

**numerals** (145-148)

12345 then 5+1234, then 10, then 10+123456789, then 20, etc. (145-146)

numerals ‘20’ and up are nouns and take the article if not postnominal (146)

noun takes singular form (not *-rV* plural) before a numeral

**verbal inflection** (149-)

**Grundstamm** (basic stem) in imperative, aorist, Intentionalis, infinitive (149)

**Imperfektstamm** distinguised from Grundstamm for about 20% of verbs by…

Abton (tone-change)

some L-toned verbs shift to M-tone in imperfective (151)

*mɛ̀* (basic and perfective) vs. *mɛ* ‘bauen’ = ‘build’ (151)

Abton plus vocalic suffix or ablaut (152)

*bà* (basic), *bà* (perf), *be* (imperf) ‘kommen’ = ‘come’ (152)

vocalic suffix or ablaut (152)

any V to *i* (common): *bá* (basic), *bɛ* (perf), *bí* (imperf) ‘anbauen’ = ‘grow (crops)’ (152)

phonology: *diè* → *di* ‘eintreten’ = ‘enter’, *ku* → *kpi* ‘töten’ = ‘kill’ (153)

*Cà* to *Ce/Cɛ* (3 verbs), see ‘come’ above (153)

*Cɔ* to *Cɛ* (1 verb, ‘sleep’) (154)

*Co/ɔ* to *Cu*, *Cɔⁿ* to *Cuⁿ* : *bó*, *buo* (perf), *bú* (imperf) ‘finden’ = ‘find’ (154)

infixation of a liquid (original \*-lV suffix) (155)

*gbɛ*, *gbli* (imperf) ‘nehmen’ = ‘take’ (155)

**Perfektivstamm**

distinct from Grundstamm, except for some *Cɛ̀/Cè* verbs (155)

Abton: perf. often one step lower than lexical tone (156)

Ablaut/vowel suffix:

a) addition of mid-height vowel (harmonizing in other features) (158)

b) fronting of back vowel (including *Ca* → *Cɛ*) (160)

phonology: *kò* → *kpè* ‘schützen’ = ‘protect’

c) irregular *Cu* → *Ce* (161)

d) *kɔ/gɔ* → *Cba, e.g. gɔ̀* → *gbà* ‘schlagen’ = ‘hit’ (163)

infixation of a liquid (original \*-lV suffix) (163)

*bé* → *blè* ‘fertig werden’ = ‘become ready’ (163)

*dɔ̀* → *drɔ̀* ‘kaufen’ = ‘buy’ (163, with *r* instead of *l* after alveolar stop)

some stative verbs (Zustandsverben) have generalized perfective as basic stem (165)

‘verkaufen’ = ‘sell’ *juo*, *juo*, but (Pfv) *de* (230)

table p. 128:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | subject | TAM | Neg | TAM | stem | object | Neg | |
| imperative | (none) |  |  |  | V | (O) |  | |
| aorist | S |  |  |  |
| Intentionalis | *na* |  |  |
| present | *à* |  |  | V-Impf |
| past imperf | *ká* |  |  | V(-Impf) |
| perfective |  |  |  | V-Pfv |
| future |  |  | *be* |
| infinitive/consec | (S) | *kò* |  |  | V |
| NEGATIVE |  | | | | | | |
| present | S |  | *má* |  | V-Impf | (O) | *ʔ* | |
| past imperf | *ká* |
| future |  | V-Pfv |
| aorist/perfective | *á* | V |

table p. 128:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| PROGRESSIVE | subject | TAM | Neg | ‘be’ | object | stem | locative | Neg |
| present | S |  |  | ko | (O) | V | *-̀ni* |  |
| present neg | *má* | *ʔ* |
| past | *ká* |  |  |
| past neg | *má* | *ʔ* |

**verb serialization**

a) more or less **lexicalized combinations** treated syntactically as one verb (argument structure, TAM marking, nominalizations), denoting simultaneous or sequential co-events (‘fall’ + ‘enter’ = ‘fall into’, ‘take’ + ‘come’ = ‘bring’) (189)’

*suɔ* ‘give’ as VERB2 may have no obvious syntactic or semantic difference (‘greet’, ‘throw’, ‘call’) (190, but see below)

intransitive verbs may form part of transitive compounds (‘pull’ + ‘exit’ = ‘pull out’) (190).

Usually only VERB1 gets aspect marking and is preceded by TAM markers (191).

In some constructions, including those with VERB2 = *pú* ‘können’ = ‘can’, both verbs get aspect marking, and if VERB1 is preceded by TAM marker(s) *à*, *má*, or *ká má*, VERB2 is preceded by invariant *à* :

present *à* VERB1-Impf *à* VERB2-Impf

present negative *má* VERB1-Impf *à* VERB2-Impf

past imperfective negative *ká má* VERB1-Impf *à* VERB2-Impf

(not clear if *à* occurs with past imperfective positive *ká* ) (191-192)

frozen verb combinations with neither element attested in isolation (192)

b) **looser combinations** with VERB2 preceded by infinitival *kò* and sometimes separated from VERB1 by a NP (if the two verbs have different subjects or objects): purpose clauses, addition of an indirect object (VERB2 = *suo* ‘give’), or causative (VERB1 = *ja* ‘lassen’ = ‘cause/let’).

**structure of NP** (order of postnominal modifiers not given)

1) possessor (in its regular form)

article *ʔe* if no possessor or demonstrative is present (195-196)

2) noun

3a) demonstrative (agrees in animacy & number) (196)

*jì* ‘any’ (197)

*jìgɔ́* ‘another’ (197)

3b) “adjective,” really an abstract noun or deverbal adjective, but agrees in number (197)

*ʔe ná tùtù-ʔù* ‘großes Rind’ = ‘big bovine’, w. noun *tùtùʔù* ‘size, bigness’ (197)

*ʔe nɔ tùtù-rù* ‘große Rinder’ = ‘big bovines’ (197)

some deverbal adjectives add animacy/number suffixes:

animate: *-kàʔà* pl *-kɔ̀*

inanimate: *-ʔɛ̀* pl *-ʔrɛ̀* (198)

3c) quantifiers

*krɛ̀ⁿ* ‘many’ (invariant), deverbal (*kɛ̀ⁿ* ‘be many’) (199)

*bibi* ‘few’ (invariant), also ‘small’ in singular NPs (199)

*biɛ́* ‘all’ (199)

**relative clauses**

noun + relative pronoun (Sg *jìrɔⁿ*, AnPl *jìro*, InanPl *jìre* ) + clause

clause has resumptive 3Sg/3Pl subject pronoun in subject relatives (200)

3SgAn *ʔɔ̀ⁿ* and 3PlAn *ʔò* are absorbed by (=fuse with) the final V of *jìrɔⁿ* and *jìro* but not that of *jìre* (200)

Clause has a gap for the coindexed NP in nonsubject relatives (200-201)

**clause structure**: linear order SVO (208)

Ergänzungen (arguments) vs. freie Angaben (adjuncts) (201).

arguments: recipient/benefactive requires *suɔ* ‘give’ as serial verb (203).

identificational ‘it is X’ expressed as *X yà* (with demonstrative *yà*) (205)

copula ‘X is Y’ (Y usually a noun, occasionally a deverbal adjective) expressed as *X ko Y* (206)

positive ‘X has Y’ = ‘X (be) with Y’ expressed as *X ka Y* (cf. *ka* ‘with’)

past time equivalent: *X ká ka Y* (207)

‘X get Y’ expressed with verb *bó* (perf *buo*) (207)

‘X not have Y’ expressed as ‘X not get Y’

yes/no questions: add clause-final *ʔaʔ* (208-9)