15
Kabiye
(Gur, Grusi)

Sarah Rose

15.1 General

Kabiye is a Gur language spoken by some 800,000 people (Roberts 2002) primarily in Northern Togo, where it is a national language, but with small pockets in Benin and Ghana (Grimes 2002). Because of political events in recent years, many Kabiye speakers have relocated to the capital city Lome, a predominately Ewe-speaking community. Much intermarriage (between Kabiye men and Ewe women) has led to children of such couples being more fluent in Ewe; consequently, Kabiye is considered under threat. Sources for this chapter include Lébikaza (1999), Roberts (2002), Essizewa (2007) and Collins & Essizewa (2007).

Map source: Anonymous. Joshua project website

Kabiye has nine contrastive vowels (/i, i, e, ê, a, o, u, u/), vowel harmony which moves from left to right, and two tones: high (marked with an acute accent) and low (unmarked). There are six noun classes, marked at final, with agreement marked on (following) adjectives:

(1) a kelimi-ye kisemī-ye
   hen-Class3 (singular) red-Class3 (singular)
   ‘a red hen’

   b kelim-ẹ kisemī-ẹ
   hen-Class3 (plural) red-Class3 (plural)
   ‘red hens’
15.2 Word Order

The basic word order is S AUX V O X:

(2) e-kélesi-γ dqéési
    3s-rinse-IPFV pots
    ‘He is rinsing cooking pots.’ (Lébikaza 1999:332).

(3) hal-áa 3p1 hú-u lim
    woman-p PRG draw-INF water
    ‘The women are drawing water.’ (Lébikaza 1999:297)

(4) a ńé-hég ká-γ léb-úu lakó taá
    2s-sheep FUT-IPFV lose.self-INF bush in
    ‘Your sheep will get lost in the bush.’ (Lébikaza 1999:336)

b Somiyé yákt cecece kíììì
    Somiyé buy.IPFV bike new
    ‘Somiyé is buying a new bike.’ (Lébikaza 1999:356)

15.3 Verb Structure

15.3.1 Simple verb

The structure of a simple verb is as follows:

(5) (SM)-root-(TAM/EXT)-TAM/FV

SM: A subject marker is obligatory only with a pronominal subject (as in (2), above), but not necessarily with a nominal subject (as in (3) and (4)). Pronominal subjects include 1s ma-, 2s nj-, 3s e-, 1p qi-/é-, 2p i-, 3p pa-.

EXT: There are several possible extensions (a maximum of three may appear), some of which are illustrated below.

(6) Causative: -zi-/st-

Lébikaza (1999:281) notes that this derivational extension has no underlying tone. It assimilates in feature [+/-ATR] to the root vowel but dissimilates in tone: surface tones are the opposite tone of the radical or the base:

1 The progressive auxiliary (from verb qdm ‘to go, walk’) is discussed in §15.6.
2 Here “simple” indicates a one-word predication containing a single verb—by definition, the main verb. This type of verbal construction is what Welmers referred to as a “primary construction” (1973:344).
3 Except in the case of na, which behaves anomalously, showing a great deal of “functional polysemy” (Lébikaza 1999:284, 288, nt. 23).
a  e-pfil-in-zi-γ  pỳe
3s-roll-CAU-IPFV  stone
‘He rolls/is rolling a stone’ (Lébikaza 1999:281)

b  énì  pó-tó-í-sí-a
who  3p-fall-CAU-PFV
‘Whom did they knock over?’ (Lébikaza 1999:281)

Diminutive:  -d República (indicates lessening of intensity of action or state expressed by the verb).

(7)  kóm ‘cut’ > kó- dqo- [kó róq] ‘to cut easily’

Intensive:  -yú/-tí- (may express intensive, iterative, or abstract meaning. The example illustrates only the first meaning):

(8)  má ‘dance’ > ma-yí-ô ‘to dance with joy, rejoice’

Iterative:  -l-/kú- (added to verbs expressing punctual acts this suffix renders a durative meaning):

(9)  tá ‘seize’ > tá-ki-’ô > [táku] ‘to feel’ (Lébikaza 1999:284)

Lébikaza lists the Iterative as an extension, but given its form and function, it could certainly be analysed as a TAM marker, indicating either Iterative or Durative, both subsets of Imperfective aspect.

Instrumental/Comitative/Transitivizer/Dative:  -na (function varies with position):

(10) Transitiviser:  pisí-ô  pisí-na-ô
     return-INF  return-EXT-INF
     ‘to return’ (intransitive) ‘to bring/lead back’ (transitive)

(11) Instrumental:  sidí-ô  sidí-na-ô
     mix-INF  mix-EXT-INF
     ‘to mix’ ‘to mix with’

(12) Dative:  e-wó-ki-ná  hádá-àa  lím
     3s-go-ITR-EXT farmer-p  water
     ‘He is bringing/brings water to the farmers’.

Note that when the extension -na is used in dative function, as in (12) it follows the Iterative marker to appear at final (Lébikaza 1999:285). In the following example, it appears between aspect markers:
(13)  e-wó-ki-na-ay hádá-áa lím ‘lé ma-na-í wokínay
3s-go-ITR-EXT-IPFV farmer-p water when 1s-see-PFV carrying
‘I saw him while he was carrying water to the farmers.’ (Lébikaza 1999:286)

TAM: The PFV/IPFV aspectual split in Kabiye is marked both morphologically and by tone patterns associated with each of these two aspects (discussed at greater length below. Here are mentioned only the main morphological markers which appear at final).

Tense and aspect markers are generally appended to the verbal stem and follow any extensions (except in the case of na, above). These binary aspectual markers are exemplified in the following table:

(14)  Aspect marked at final:       PFV  IPFV
       -á     -kv-

There is a third aspect, which Lébikaza calls “aorist” which is unmarked for either of the two major aspects (perfective or imperfective). It is discussed and exemplified below.

(15)  Examples of perfective aspect marked at final:

a  pe-kelém-á leb-á
   3p-chickens-3p get.lost-PFV
   ‘Their chickens are lost (have got themselves lost).’ (Lébikaza 1999: 272)

b  Kofi wób-á sukúli
   Kofi go-PFV school
   ‘Kofi went to school.’ (Essizewa 2007:31)

(16)  Examples of imperfective aspect marked at final:

a  píya leéyi-γ
    children play-IPFV
    ‘The children are playing.’

b  á lá-ki tómíye
    who work-IPFV work
    ‘Who is working?’

c  sí-st-ki
    3p-die-IPFV
    ‘They are dying.’ (Lébikaza 1999:271)

These examples could certainly fall under the designation of “factative”, as the same marker (final vowel á) is interpreted two different ways, depending on whether the verb is stative (example a) or active (example b). There are complications with this interpretation, however.

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With verbs of state, Lébikaza (1999:290) indicates that a perfective is understood to be “atemporelle” (17a) and is generally rendered as a present, whereas an imperfective has future reference (17b):

(17)  

a  **e-pyi-a**  
3s-black-PFV  
‗He is black.’

b  **e-pýí-y**  
3s-become black-IPFV  
‗He will become black.’

There are two other items which occur at final which are identical in shape, but differ in tone. These are the infinitive marker -ʊ with tone pattern HL, and the “descriptive” -ʊ with high tone in the IPFV aspect, and HL in the PFV (1999: 226, 227).

FV:  -ʊ /HL/ Infinitive marker.

The Infinitive marker interacts with the tonal qualities of the respective root (18a). In the case of roots that end with -m, only tone indicates the infinitive form (18b):

(18)  

a  **se /H/ + -ʊ /HL/>  sé-ʊ** ‘to run’

b  **dɔm /L/ ‘walk’ >  dɔm** ‘to walk’

The infinitive form plays an important role in the formation of Focus constructions, discussed below.

FV:  -ʊ /H/ The Descriptive (DES). Unlike Delord (1976:125) who considered the descriptive to be an aspect, Lebikaza considers it rather a mood (1999:341) which may appear in several aspects (IPFV, PFV, HAB). The descriptive marker (with associated tone pattern) is added to a stem already characterized for aspect (Lébikaza 1999:341ff).

(19)  

Verbs **lab /L/ ‘do’  sidi /LH/ ‘mix’**

a  Descriptive (Imperfective) (marked with ʊ with tone pattern H)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>IPFV base</th>
<th>Addition of Descriptive Marker</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lab</td>
<td>lab-kɪ &gt; laki</td>
<td>laki-ʊ́</td>
<td>lakiʊ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sidi</td>
<td>sidi-ʊ́</td>
<td>sidi-ʊ́-ʊ́</td>
<td>sidiʊ́ʊ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) Descriptive (Perfective) (marked ◦ with tone pattern HL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>PFV base</th>
<th>Addition of Descriptive Marker</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lab</td>
<td>lāb-</td>
<td>lab-◦</td>
<td>lab◦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sidi</td>
<td>sidi-</td>
<td>sidi-u</td>
<td>sidi-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.3.2. Complex verbs

The structure of a complex verb is as follows:

(20) a) SM-AUX-ASP V (INF)
     or b) SM AUX-ASP V (INF)
     or c) SM-AUX-V-TAM

Because such complex predicates include “auxiliary” or “semi-auxiliary” verbs, they are discussed at length in the section dealing with Auxiliaries (§15.6), where examples of each of these structures may be seen.

15.4 Aspect

Lébikaza describes a three way aspectual split, with the major differentiation between perfective (accompli) and imperfective (inaccompli) marked morphologically at final, and by associated tone patterns, with the aorist unmarked for either of these aspects. Subsets of imperfective (HAB, ITR, PRG) may be marked at extension or by the use of auxiliaries.

15.4.1 Perfective aspect

Perfective is marked by a high toned suffix -a which appears at final. It indicates that an action is in some sense complete, but does not specify time frame and may be interpreted either as a past (examples in (15)) or as a gnomic present:

(21) akpady-áa sool-á pinya
     old folk-p love-PFV children
     ‘Old folks love children.’

15.4.2 Imperfective aspect

The “fundamental characteristic” of a verb in the imperfective aspect is a floating high tone which precedes the root in combination with the (low-toned) suffix /kɪ~ɨ/ (where the latter is a semi-vowel/glottal glide (1999:330) and thus may bear tone) (1999:221). Examples:

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5 All these constructions contain an auxiliary verb (Welmers’ “auxiliary constructions” (1973:344). In c., a single word contains both the AUX and the main verb. In a. and b. an infinitival form of the main verb appears as a separate word.

6 See Lébikaza (1999:215,217) for factors that may affect surface tones, including the presence of a following complement or the operation of various dissimilation rules.
(22) Imperfective form of verb **lib** (‘to swallow’, with underlying L tone)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>lib-</th>
<th></th>
<th>libá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Hlki</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(compare PFV form **lib-á** > **libá**)

Imperfective form of verb **hólósi** (‘to sip’, with underlying LHL tone)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>hólósi-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>LHL</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Hhólósi</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two suffixes (-**k**í and -**y**) which mark IPFV are allomorphs: suffix -**k**í (with underlying low tone) appears with root shapes CVb-, CVm, CVy-, suffix -**y** (with an underlying low tone) appears after roots ending in a vowel.

Some monosyllabic verbs that end in –m are problematic and must be interpreted aspectually on a case-by-case basis and with care. For instance, the verb **sam** (with underlying low tone) ‘praise’ is subject to certain alterations after the addition of the IPFV suffix -**k**í:

(23) [sam-kí] > [sáŋgí] > [sáŋ] > [sáŋ]

The final form sáŋ is thus marked for imperfective aspect, albeit subtly. The same may presumably apply to the progressive auxiliary verb **dónj** (from verb **dóm** ‘go, walk’), as in example (31), and future auxiliary **kánj** (from verb **kán** ‘come’) as in example (33).

The time frame in imperfective is non-past (present or future). In the absence of any specific auxiliaries, adverbs or other lexical specificiers (as in example (4) where the future AUX **ká** sets the time frame), an imperfective is understood as a present, as in example (2).

Lébikaza (1999:226,338ff) discusses a tense form based on a stem characterized for imperfective aspect which he terms **l’imparfait** which is rendered as an imperfective past as in the following:

(24) men-**dëj** né ú-tál-**y** mbíyó

1s-leave-IPFV(Past) and 2s-arrive-IPFV so

‘I was leaving, and behold, you arrive!’ (1999:341)

The simple form of this tense involves the addition of the suffix -**a**y with tone pattern (LH) to an “Imperfective base” (that is, a root already marked for Imperfective aspect). Several examples appear below (underlying tones given in following brackets):

(25) Root shape: imperfective base: imperfect: surface:

CV **ma** /L/ ‘jump’ > **may**- > **may-a**y > **mawa**y

CVb- **leb** /L/ ‘lose self’ > **leki**- > **leki-a**y > **leka**y

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7 According to Delord (1976:451) these are diachronically related.
CVV  caɣ /LL/ ‘stay’  >  cakt  >  cakt-aɣ  >  cakaɣ
CVCV/CVCVCV  sidi /LH/ ‘mix’  >  sidi-aɣ  >  sidáaɣ

Imperfective aspect is also rendered using various auxiliary verbs, discussed below in §15.6.

15.4.3  Aorist

There is a third type of aspect which Lébikaza refers to by the difficult term “aorist”. By this he means a verbal form which is marked for neither of the other two types of aspect—perfective (an action which has been in some sense completed) and imperfective (an action which is ongoing). The unmarked aorist refers to the action itself. It appears in several negative forms (see §15.8), in subordinate clauses (examples in (27)), and perhaps in the imperative. Here are some illustrations of the formal differences between the three:

(26)  Verb lub /L/ ‘forge’  verb cósi /HB/ ‘answer’
    PFV  lub-á  cósi-a > cósaa
    IPFV  lú-ki  cósi-ɣ
    AOR  lú  cósi

The following examples show the use of the aorist in subordinate clauses. In (27b and c) it functions as a subjunctive:

(27)  a  piɣa ká-kɔɔ  lé  po-ʧoo  fɛm-á
      children  FUT-come.AOR  when  3p-mother wake.self-PFV
      ‘When the children (will) come, their mother will be awake.’ (Lébikaza 1999:329)

    b  qe-sé-ɣ  se  qe-piɣa  ʃi-ká-kɔɔ
       1p-believe-IPFV  that  1p-children  NEG-FUT-come.AOR
       ‘We believe that our children won’t come.’ (Lébikaza 1999:329)

    c  man-tʃi-wo-kí  nɛ  ɲ-kɔɔ
       1s-expectative-go-IPFV  and  2s-go.AOR
       ‘I left hoping that you might come.’ (Lébikaza 1999:334)

15.6  Auxiliaries

15.6.1  Grammaticalized auxiliaries

Several (grammaticalized) auxiliaries and (independent) “semi-auxiliaries” may combine with a main verb to form what Lébikaza calls “complex” predicates. It is these elements which carry tense, aspect, and mood marking and the SM. The main verb follows in the infinitive form:
(28) Future auxiliary *ká* 
\[ \text{pa-ká-} \mathbf{\gamma} \text{ lèb-} \text{u} \]
3p-FUT-IPFV lose.self-INF
‘They will get lost.’

(29) Near future auxiliary *wízi* 
\[ \text{pa-wízi } \text{ fèm} \]
3p-NFUT get.up-INF
‘They will soon get up.’

(30) Progressive aspect auxiliary *qàynä* + Main verb (Infinitive)

   \[ \text{pa-} \text{qàynä } \text{ hí}z-\text{ùu } \text{nándọ} \]
3p-PRG cut.up-INF meat
‘They are cutting up the meat.’ (1999:337)

(31) Progressive aspect auxiliary *qọn* ‘go/walk’ + main verb (Infinitive)

   \[ \text{pa-} \text{qọn } \text{ híz-ùu } \text{nándọ} \]
3p-PRG cut.up-INF meat
‘They are cutting up the meat.’ (1999:337)

(32) Habitual aspect *ff* (tone pattern HH) + imperfective main verb

   \[ \text{man-ff-} \text{wó-ki } \text{ me-egbénà } \text{ kujuká } \text{ wìye} \]
1s-HAB-go-IPFV 1s-house.maternal.uncle Sunday day
‘I usually go to find my maternal uncles on Sunday.’ (1999:337)

   \[ \text{man-ff-} \text{láki } \text{ tómýe } \text{ mon-kudúyìw } \text{ teè} \]
1s-HAB-do.IPFV work 1s-room under
‘I habitually work/am usually working in my room.’ (1999:232)

15.6.2. Semi-auxiliaries

Semi-auxiliaries are full verbs (with such meanings as ‘begin’, ‘end’, ‘finish’, etc) which are employed as auxiliaries. As such, their meanings are somewhat bleached: for instance, full verb *tem* means ‘finish’; when it is employed as an auxiliary element, it means ‘already’. They are usually self-standing elements. They carry the TA information and are followed by the main verb in the infinitive. The example below shows the auxiliary *kom* ‘come’ which functions as a future (see above for the explanation of the aspectual marking on the AUX):
15.6.3 ‘be’ verbs

Perhaps the most common (‘default’?) copula is \( \text{we} \) ‘be’ (34a). The negative of this is the invariable copula \( \text{fē yī} \) ‘be.not’ (34b). (Collocational) copula \( \text{ke} \) ‘be’ appears in complementary distribution with \( \text{we} \) ‘be’ and in combination with a noun or an adjective to express identity (as in ‘My friend is a doctor’ (35) or a state (36):

(a) \( \text{e-hāy we kimlēndu} \)

3s-dog be stupid
‘His dog is stupid.’ (1999:300)

(b) \( \text{e-hāy fēyī kimlēndu} \)

3s-dog be.not stupid
‘His dog is not stupid.’ (1999:301)

(35) \( \text{me-egbaadō ke ṣékẹ ṣẹ} \)

1s-friend be doctor
‘My friend is a doctor.’ (1999:301)

(36) \( \text{me-kpela'y ke kẹkpēda'y} \)

1s-chair be black
‘My chair is (a) black (one).’ (1999:301)

Combined form \( \text{wenā} \) = ‘have’ (= ‘be with’) is exemplified below:

(37) \( \text{hādāa wenā sűn sakiyé} \)

peasants have guinea. fowl many
‘The peasants have many guinea fowl.’ (1999:295)

15.7 Other Categories

15.7.1 Focus

Verb focus is accomplished by copying the verb in the infinitive form which must appear at the end of the verb phrase:

(a) \( \text{esō yá-kị kẹkẹ-ṣị kị yáb-ụ} \)

Esso buy-IPFV bean.cakes FOC buy-INF
‘Esso is just buying bean cakes.’ (Collins & Essizewa 2007:192)
Verb focus may appear with the imperative. Clause internal object focus is exemplified in (40a), verb focus in (40b):

(40)  

a  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{\textbf{ya  \textbf{kk\text{-s}}}  \text{\textbf{d\text{-\textbf{k}}}  \text{\textbf{na}}}} \\
\text{buy  bean.cakes  only  FOC}
\end{array}
\]

‘Buy only bean cakes!’  (Collins & Essizewa 2007:199)

b  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{\textbf{ya  \textbf{kk\text{-s}}}  \text{\textbf{k}  \text{\textbf{y\text{-b}}}  \text{\textbf{-s}}} } \\
\text{buy  bean.cakes  FOC  buy-INF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Buy bean cakes.’  (as opposed to stealing them)

15.7.2  Mood

Kabiya has an imperative (used only with second person) for direct commands and a jussive (used with first and third persons) for injunctions and wishes. Imperatives may be either perfective (using the aorist form), or imperfective (by adding the IPFV suffix -k\text{I} to the radical):

(41)  

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Imperative} & \textbf{verb lab- /L/ 'do'} \\
Perfective & Imperfective
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l}
la ‘Do (it)!’  \textbf{la-ki} ‘Continue doing it!’
\end{tabular}

(42)  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{\textbf{ya  \textbf{kel\text{-m\text{\text{-}}}  \textbf{ng}  \textbf{s\text{-\text{-}}}}}} \\
\text{buy.IMP  chickens  and  guinea  fowl}
\end{array}
\]

‘Buy chicks and guinea fowl!’  (1999:349)

Imperatives seem generally to be built on what L\text{bikaza} calls the verbal radical, which looks suspiciously like the aorist, in that it is minimally marked (except in the case of the imperfective imperative). Note that in CVC verbs in the Imperative, the final –C is deleted (lab > la), as in example (26)\textsuperscript{8}.

Marking of the imperative also varies with the structure of the root. For instance, in monosyllabic verbs with inherent L tone, the Imperative is signalled by vowel lengthening: paa ‘dance!’ from verb pa /L/ ‘dance’. See L\text{bikaza} 1999:347ff for a full array of possibilities.

The jussive is marked tonally: a H tone is located before the radical. The H tone which precedes the base form of the verb (PFV or IPFV) is realized either on the subject pronoun (43a) or, if there is none, on an epenthetic vowel (43b):

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\textsuperscript{8} \text{This final –C appears to be linked to the perfective aspect as in L\text{bikaza} 1999:343, where the full CVC structure is termed the perfective base to which the descriptive morpheme -\text{\text{-\text{-}}} may be added (see example (19)).}
(43)  **Jussive**

a.  qí-sa  ṃsó (verb ˌsam- ‘praise’)
   1p.JUSS-praise God
   ‘(Let us) praise God!’ (1999:347)

b.  píya  i-koo (verb ˌkóm-/L/ ‘come’)
   children  JUSS.come
   ‘May the children come!’ (1999:306)

The following examples show the formal differences between the imperative and the jussive:

(44)  verb ˌtib-/L/ ‘descend’

a.  tìi  i-loko  taá
   descend.IMP  mine shaft  in
   ‘Go down into the mineshaft!’ (1999:348)

b.  pé-tìi  pòw  taá
   3p.JUSS-descend  hole  in
   ‘Would that they would go down into the hole!’

As above, mood may also be conveyed by the use of auxiliary modal verbs. The following examples show such constructions using the AUX ˌpízi /LL/ ‘be able’ (45a), indicating possibility, AUX ˌweña ‘must’/‘have to’ (45b), indicating necessity, and AUX ˌca-/L/ ‘want’ (45c), indicating wishes or desires:

(45)  a.  sóqja-náa  ˌpízi-ɣ  só-u
   soldiers-3p  be able-IPFV  run-INF
   ‘The soldiers can run.’ (1999:293)

b.  ɲ-weña  wób-úu  péeqe
   2s-must.PFV  go-INF  there
   ‘You have to go there.’ (1999:295)

c.  pa-cá-ɣ  hil-úu  qózi
   3p-want-IPFV  prepare-INF  sauce
   ‘They want to prepare the sauce.’ (1999:294)

15.8  **Negatives**

The primary negative appears in the perfective aspect (with what Lébikaza calls the “aorist” form of the verb (see above)). It consists of ˌta- (with a low tone) which is located after the SM, if there is one, and before the verbal base:
(46)  

a  

ε-ta-sé  
3s-NEG-run.AOR  
‘He has not run.’ (Lébikaza 1999:309)  

b  

pël-áa  ta-leyë  
girl-p  NEG.play.AOR  
‘The girls haven’t played.’ (Lébikaza 1999:328)  

Default prohibitions are expressed by taa /LL/ and the use of the aorist form of the verb both in the imperative (47a) and the jussive (47b), both from Lébikaza (1999:354):

(47)  

a  

taa-kízi  kóyë  
PRH-refuse.AOR  medicine  
‘Don’t refuse the medicine!’  

b  

pá-taa-kízi  kóyë  
3p.JUSS-PRH-refuse.AOR  medicine  
‘They must not refuse the medicine!’  

There is as well a continuative prohibitive:

(48)  

taa-la-kí  mábó  
PRH-do-IPFV  that  
‘Don’t do that!’ (Lébikaza 1999:355)  

Negation in imperfective aspect is marked tonally by two low tones, realized either on the SM (49 a,c), or, if there is none, on an epenthetic vowel /i/ (49b) which assimilates in [+/-ATR] to the verb root:

(49)  

a  

djiisé-γ  
1p.NEG-run-IPFV  
‘We aren’t running.’ (Lébikaza 1999:309)  

b  

hal-áa  ii-sé-γ  
woman-p  NEG.run-IPFV  
‘The women aren’t running.’ (Lébikaza 1999:309)  

c  

maa-wo-ki  peéqë  
1s.NEG-go-IPFV  there  
‘I’m not going there.’ (Lébikaza 1999:334)  

15.9  Relatives

Dependent relative clauses may be delineated by a clause-initial particle mbá (which includes class-based anaphoric reference) and a deictic element yó which appears at the end of the clause:
Relative (subordinate) clauses may also be signalled by focus, where the main clause is preposed and focussed, and the relative postposed:

(51) **pìya caan-àa ke sukulí ñó w-tó níi-r-y**  
children father-p FOC school principal look.for-IPFV  
‘These are the children’s parents whom the principal is seeking.’ (Lébikaza 1999:279)

References


