

Verbal grammatical tone in Northern Toussian

Anthony Struthers-Young

August 9, 2024

University of California San Diego
WOCAL 11 at the University of Nairobi

Slides



Introduction

- Northern Toussian (Niger Congo, possibly Gur/Mabia; Burkina Faso) has grammatical tone which appears to mark intransitivity
 - Verbs surface with their lexical tones in transitive clauses (1a)
 - There is a tonal alternation with verbs in intransitive clauses (1b)
 - H verbs surface with a LH contour

(1) a. /já/ ‘watch’

ádámá bú já
Adama leopard watch

‘Adama watched the leopard’

b. /pwó/ ‘come’

ádámá **pwó**
Adama come

‘Adama came’

- When a transitive verb is passivized (2b), it exhibits the same alternation
 - Northern Toussian has zero-coded passives, where patients are promoted to the subject without overt morphology (Cobbinah & Lüpke 2009)

(2) a. ádá má búr tá
Adama bread eat
'Adama ate the bread'

b. búr tǎ
bread eat
'The bread was eaten'

- Based on the examples above, this looks like intransitive marking

- Based on the examples above, this looks like intransitive marking
- However, when the full distribution of the tonal alternation is considered, this analysis does not hold

Introduction

- Based on the examples above, this looks like intransitive marking
- However, when the full distribution of the tonal alternation is considered, this analysis does not hold
- Instead, it indicates that there is no non-subject argument immediately before the verb

- Phonologically, this is a floating L tone that has multiple effects, causing either a contour tone or downstep

- Phonologically, this is a floating L tone that has multiple effects, causing either a contour tone or downstep
- Its realization depends on multiple factors

- Phonologically, this is a floating L tone that has multiple effects, causing either a contour tone or downstep
- Its realization depends on multiple factors
 - The tone of the target verb

- Phonologically, this is a floating L tone that has multiple effects, causing either a contour tone or downstep
- Its realization depends on multiple factors
 - The tone of the target verb
 - The tense, aspect, mood, and polarity (TAMP) markers before the verb

- Phonologically, this is a floating L tone that has multiple effects, causing either a contour tone or downstep
- Its realization depends on multiple factors
 - The tone of the target verb
 - The tense, aspect, mood, and polarity (TAMP) markers before the verb
 - The lexical properties of the verb

- In this talk, I describe the morphosyntactic distribution of the grammatical tone and its phonological properties

- This marker has parallels with morphology sensitive to the position of arguments in other languages like Supyire (Carlson 1994), Yoruba (Déchaine 2001), and Hausa (Hayes 1990)

- This marker has parallels with morphology sensitive to the position of arguments in other languages like Supyire (Carlson 1994), Yoruba (Déchaine 2001), and Hausa (Hayes 1990)
- These data have implications on our theories of syntax-phonology interactions

- This marker has parallels with morphology sensitive to the position of arguments in other languages like Supyire (Carlson 1994), Yoruba (Déchaine 2001), and Hausa (Hayes 1990)
- These data have implications on our theories of syntax-phonology interactions
- However, due to time constraints, I leave discussion of this to later work

- These data were collected during fieldwork, primarily with Karim Traoré

Valency and transitivity

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

Northern Toussian verbal grammatical tone

 Morphosyntactic distribution

 Phonological properties

Conclusion

Valency and transitivity

- I follow Dixon & Aikhenvald's (2000) typology of valency and transitivity (See Creissels 2016 for a similar approach)
- Valency refers to the number of core arguments a verb governs
 - Core arguments must be expressed or understood for the utterance to be grammatical
 - Peripheral arguments (adjuncts) are optional

Valency and transitivity

- Transitivity relates to the type and function of core arguments in a clause
- Intransitive clauses have a single argument S (intransitive subject)
- Transitive clauses have two arguments, A (agent; transitive subject) and O (transitive object)
 - A performs some action on O

Valency and transitivity

- In some languages, intransitive and transitive clauses can be extended with an additional argument E (oblique argument)
 - Often a recipient or beneficiary of an action
 - It often behaves differently from other arguments

(a)	intransitive	S		
(b)	extended intransitive	S		E
(c)	transitive	A	O	
(d)	extended transitive	A	O	E

(Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: p. 3)

Valency and transitivity

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

Northern Toussian verbal grammatical tone

Morphosyntactic distribution

Phonological properties

Conclusion

- Northern Toussian has SAuxOVX word order
 - Aux: Auxiliary elements, including TAMP particles, discourse markers, auxiliary verbs
 - X: Adverbials, postpositional phrases
- This is an areal feature of the Macro-Sudan belt (Güldemann 2007)

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

- In Northern Toussian, **S**, **A**, and **O** arguments are unmarked morphologically, i.e., they are bare nouns

(3) a. **ádámá** jē
Adama sweep
'Adama swept'

b. **álimátā** **pàntó** wé
Alimata dog see
'Alimata saw the dog'

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

- **oblique** and **peripheral arguments** pattern together
 - Nominal arguments must be objects of postpositions (except when used as locatives)

(4) a. Extended transitive

álímátā ábíbatá wlē pàntó sē
Alimata Abibata show dog with
'Alimata showed Abibata the dog'

b. Transitive with peripheral argument

álímátā bár péj ádámá sē
Alimata work do Adama with
'Alimata worked with Adama'

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

- **Oblique arguments** can be distinguished from **peripheral arguments**:
 - Only **oblique arguments** can be preposed before the object.

(5) a. Extended transitive

álímátā pàntó sē ábíbatá wlē
Alimata dog with Abibata show
‘Alimata showed Abibata the dog’

b. Transitive with peripheral argument

*álímátā ádámá sē bár péj
Alimata Adama with work do
‘Alimata worked with Adama’

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

- **Oblique arguments** can be distinguished from **peripheral arguments**:
 - Sequences of peripheral arguments can occur in any order; an oblique argument precedes a peripheral argument in normal speech
- In (6), either order of peripheral arguments is possible

(6) Transitive with peripheral argument

- a. álímátā bār pėj **ádámá sē** ñtèně sōŋ
Alimata work do Adama with Monday under
'Alimata worked with Adama on Monday'
- b. álímátā bār pėj ñtèně sōŋ **ádámá sē**
Alimata work do Monday under Adama with
'Alimata worked with Adama on Monday'

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

- **Oblique arguments** can be distinguished from **peripheral arguments**:
 - Sequences of peripheral arguments can occur in any order; an oblique argument precedes a peripheral argument in normal speech
- (7b) is illicit at fast rates of speech
 - It can only be produced if there is a pause after the verb

- (7) a. álímátā ábíbatá wlē pàntó sē òtèně sōŋ
Alimata Abibata show dog with Monday under
'Alimata showed Abibata the dog on Monday'
- b. ?álímátā ábíbatá wlē òtèně sōŋ pàntó sē
Alimata Abibata show Monday under dog with
'Alimata showed Abibata the dog on Monday'

Valency and transitivity

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

Northern Toussian verbal grammatical tone

Morphosyntactic distribution

Phonological properties

Conclusion

- In this section, I show that the grammatical tone is not a marker of intransitivity
- Instead, it indicates that there is no preverbal non-subject argument
 - I gloss this as APVA (absent preverbal non-subject argument)

- Recall the alternation from earlier:

(8) a. /já/ ‘watch’

sú búr já
father bread watch

‘Father watched the bread’

b. /pwó/ ‘come’

sú **pwǒ**
father come.APVA

‘Father came’

- This does not reflect intransitive marking because:

- This does not reflect intransitive marking because:
 - There are constructions where intransitive verbs lack the marking

- This does not reflect intransitive marking because:
 - There are constructions where intransitive verbs lack the marking
 - Extended intransitive phrases when the oblique argument surfaces preverbally

- This does not reflect intransitive marking because:
 - There are constructions where intransitive verbs lack the marking
 - Extended intransitive phrases when the oblique argument surfaces preverbally
 - There are constructions where transitive verbs receive this marking

- This does not reflect intransitive marking because:
 - There are constructions where intransitive verbs lack the marking
 - Extended intransitive phrases when the oblique argument surfaces preverbally
 - There are constructions where transitive verbs receive this marking
 - Transitive phrases with elided objects

- This does not reflect intransitive marking because:
 - There are constructions where intransitive verbs lack the marking
 - Extended intransitive phrases when the oblique argument surfaces preverbally
 - There are constructions where transitive verbs receive this marking
 - Transitive phrases with elided objects
 - Transitive phrases with auxiliary verbs

Intransitive phrases without the marking

- First, let us consider intransitive contexts which lack the grammatical tone

- When the **oblique argument** of extended intransitive clauses follows the verb, the verb is targeted by the APVA grammatical tone (9)

(9) ádámá pěj sù sē
Adama become.APVA father with
'Adama became a father'

Extended intransitive phrases

- Recall that the **oblique argument** can be preposed before the verb
 - When this happens, the verb surfaces with its lexical tone
 - It is not targeted by the APVA grammatical tone

(10) ádámá sù sē péj
Adama father with become
'Adama became a father'

Transitive phrases with the marking

- Now, I turn to transitive phrases where the verb is targeted by the grammatical tone

Elided objects in transitive phrases

- When salient in the discourse, the object of a transitive verb can be elided (object drop)

(12) Context: the interlocutor asks ‘did you watch the match?’

ň mǎ jǎ

yes 1SG watch.APVO

‘yes, I watched (it)’

Elided objects in transitive phrases

- This is elision, and not a transitive/intransitive alternation based on two criteria
 - Transitive verbs like *já* ‘watch’ are not interpretable without a discourse antecedent

(13) Context: the interlocutor asks ‘what did you do?’

**mé já*

1SG watch.APVA

Intended: ‘I watched’

Elided objects in transitive phrases

- This is elision, and not a transitive/intransitive alternation based on two criteria
 - Transitive verbs like *já* ‘watch’ are not interpretable without a discourse antecedent
 - Only third person discourse antecedents can be elided

(14) a. Context: the interlocutor asks ‘Did Adama watch you?’

**ǎ ádá má já*

yes Adama watch.APVA

Intended: ‘yes, Adama watched (me)’

b. Context: the interlocutor asks ‘Did Adama watch you?’

ǎ ádá má í = já

yes Adama 1SG = watch

Intended: ‘yes, Adama watched me’

Elided objects in transitive phrases

- (15) is therefore an example of a transitive verb targeted by the grammatical tone

(15) Context: the interlocutor asks ‘did you watch the match?’

ň mǎ jǎ

yes 1SG watch.APVO

‘yes, I watched (it)’

Auxiliary verb constructions

- There is a class of auxiliary verbs which surface before the VP
- These verbs are targeted by the AVPA marker

(16) /kwó/ ‘be able to’

émîl kwó jō mó
Emile could.APVA xylophone put

‘Emile could play the xylophone’

- There are multiple instances where verbs in transitive clauses are targeted by this grammatical tone
 - Transitive verbs with elided objects
 - Transitive phrases with auxiliary verbs

- The grammatical tone, then, does not mark intransitivity
- Instead, it appears to indicate that there is no non-subject argument immediately before the verb

- In this section, I detail the phonological properties of the grammatical tone

- The APVA grammatical tone is a floating L tone
- However, its realization is dependent on multiple factors, including
 - The tone of the target verb
 - The TAMP marker before the verb
 - The lexical properties of the verb
- It is, therefore, a type of construct tune (Rolle 2018)

Phonological distribution

- Thus far, I have only shown how the APVA marker behaves with H verbs
- (17) shows its effects with verbs of different tonal melodies
 - With H and HM tones, its effects are compositional
 - With a HL tone, it becomes L
 - M and L are unaffected

(17)	H	→	LH		/sú [Ⓛ] já/	→	sú jǎ	‘father watched’
	HM	→	LHM		/sú [Ⓛ] kô/	→	sú kǒ̃	‘father walked’
	HL	→	L		/sú [Ⓛ] jâ/	→	sú jà	‘father searched’
	M	→	M		/sú [Ⓛ] jē/	→	sú jē	‘father swept’
	L	→	L		/sú [Ⓛ] fàn/	→	sú fàn	‘father mixed’

Behavior with auxiliary elements

- Its realization also varies depending on the presence of certain TAMP particles
- With *á* PST, *sá* IRR, and *wú* EVID, it surfaces as just seen

(18) a. *sú* *á* *pwǒ*
 sú *á* [Ⓛ]*pwó*
 father PST come.APVA
 ‘Father had come’

b. *sú* *sá* *kǒ̃*
 sú *sá* [Ⓛ]*kó*
 father IRR walk.APVA
 ‘Apparently, father walked’

Behavior with auxiliary elements

- With all other auxiliaries, H toned verbs are downstepped (19)

(19) a. *sú ká ʔpwó*
sú ká ①pwó
father NEG come.APVA
'Father did not come'

b. *sú rí kėj*
sú rí ①kėj
father SBJV go.APVA
'Let father go'

Behavior with auxiliary elements

- Verbs of other tones are unaffected

(20) a. *sú* *kó* *jà*
 sú *kó* [Ⓛ]*jà*
 father NEG search
 ‘Father did not search’

b. *sú* *rí* *ǰē*
 sú *rí* [Ⓛ]*ǰē*
 father SBJV sweep.APVA
 ‘Let father sweep’

Lexically-conditioned realization

- With the vast majority of verbs, the grammatical tone acts as just described
 - It docks onto the verb in some TAMP contexts, and causes downstep in others

Lexically-conditioned realization

- With the vast majority of verbs, the grammatical tone acts as just described
 - It docks onto the verb in some TAMP contexts, and causes downstep in others
- The locative copula *pé* and progressive auxiliary verb *pá* are always downstepped
 - The tone cannot dock onto them

Lexically-conditioned realization

- With the vast majority of verbs, the grammatical tone acts as just described
 - It docks onto the verb in some TAMP contexts, and causes downstep in others
- The locative copula *pé* and progressive auxiliary verb *pá* are always downstepped
 - The tone cannot dock onto them
 - The realization of the tone is lexically-conditioned

Lexically-conditioned realization

- In (21), the copula *pé* and progressive auxiliary verb *pá* are downstepped
- In parallel constructions in (22), other verbs are not downstepped, and instead surface with LH tones

(21) a. *ádámá* 'pé
ádámá [Ⓛ]pé
Adama COP.APVA
'Adama is there'

b. *ábíbátá* 'pá *ɲkō*
ábíbátá [Ⓛ]pá n = kō
Abibata PROG.APVA IPFV = walk
'Abibata is walking'

(22) a. *ádámá* pwǒ
ádámá [Ⓛ]pwó
Adama come.APVA
'Adama came'

b. *ábíbátá* kwǒ *kō*
ábíbátá [Ⓛ]kwó kō
Abibata could.APVA walk
'Abibata could'

- The grammatical tone docks onto the verb, forming a contour
 - When there is no auxiliary element present
 - With *á* PST, *sá* IRR, and *wú* EVID

Realization summary

- The grammatical tone docks onto the verb, forming a contour
 - When there is no auxiliary element present
 - With *á* PST, *sá* IRR, and *wú* EVID
- The grammatical tone causes a H toned verb to be downstepped
 - When the verb follows all other auxiliaries
 - In all contexts with the copula *pé* or the progressive auxiliary verb *pá*

Valency and transitivity

Argument structure in Northern Toussian

Northern Toussian verbal grammatical tone

 Morphosyntactic distribution

 Phonological properties

Conclusion

- Verbs in Northern Toussian are targeted by a floating L tone when there is no non-subject argument immediately before the verb

Conclusion

- Verbs in Northern Toussian are targeted by a floating L tone when there is no non-subject argument immediately before the verb
- It is a construct tone whose realization depends on the lexical and phonological properties of the verb as well as the morphosyntactic properties of the clause
- This distribution has parallels in other languages, as well as theoretical implications—I leave a discussion of this for future work

- Carlson, Robert. 1994. *A Grammar of Supyire*: Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110883053>.
- Cobbinah, Alexander & Friederike Lüpke. 2009. Not cut to fit – zero coded passives in African languages.
- Creissels, Denis. 2016. Transitivity, valency, and voice.
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2005a. An inflectional approach to Hausa final vowel shortening. In Geert Booij & Jaap Van Marle (eds.). Red. by Geert Booij et al., *Yearbook of Morphology 2004*, 73–112. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-2900-4_4.
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2005b. Hausa Final Vowel Shortening: Phrasal Allomorphy or Inflectional Category? In G. Booij et al. (eds.), *On-line Proceedings of the Fourth Mediterranean Morphology Meeting (MMM4)*.

- Déchaine, Rose-Marie. 2001. On the left edge of Yorùbá complements. *Lingua* 111(2). 81–130.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841\(01\)80001-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841(01)80001-2).
- Dixon, Robert M. W. & A. Y. Aikhenvald (eds.). 2000. *Changing valency: case studies in transitivity*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press. 413 pp.
- Dombrowsky-Hahn, Klaudia. 2015. *A grammar of Syer (Western Karaboro, Senufo): phonology, morphology, argument realization*. (Gur Monographs = Monographies Voltaïques volume 12). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. 582 pp.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2007. The Macro-Sudan belt: towards identifying a linguistic area in northern sub-Saharan Africa. In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.), *A Linguistic Geography of Africa*, 151–185. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511486272.006>.

- Hayes, Bruce. 1990. Precompiled Phrasal Phonology. In *The phonology-syntax connection*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lionnet, Florian. 2015. Mid-tone lowering in Laal: The phonology-syntax interface in question. In *Proceedings of the 49th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lionnet, Florian. 2022. The features and geometry of tone in Laal. *Phonology* 39(2). 251–292.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0952675723000040>.
- Rolle, Nicholas Revett. 2018. *Grammatical tone: Typology and theory*. UC Berkeley dissertation.
- Wichser, Magdalena. 1994. *Description grammaticale du Kar: langue senoufo du Burkina Faso*.

Roadmap

APVA alternation with extended transitives

Similarities with other languages

The imperfective marker

Extended transitive phrases

- Objects of extended transitive verbs can be dropped
 - Note the tone change on the verb in (23b)

- (23) a. álímátā ábíbátá kó kò sē
Alimata Abibata give.APVA meat with
'Alimata gave Abibata meat'
- b. álímátá kǒ kò sē
Alimata give.APVA meat with
'Alimata gave meat'

Extended transitive phrases

- The oblique argument can be preposed when the object is dropped, leading to the alternation in (24)

(24) a. *álímátā kǒ kò sē* b. *álímátā kò sē kó*
Alimata give.APVA meat with Alimata meat with give
'Alimata gave meat' 'Alimata gave meat'

Roadmap

APVA alternation with extended transitives

Similarities with other languages

The imperfective marker

Similarities with other languages

- Verbal marking sensitive to the presence or absence of arguments in certain positions is attested elsewhere

Similarities with other languages

- Verbal marking sensitive to the presence or absence of arguments in certain positions is attested elsewhere
 - The Senoufo ‘intransitive prefix’

Similarities with other languages

- Verbal marking sensitive to the presence or absence of arguments in certain positions is attested elsewhere
 - The Senoufo ‘intransitive prefix’
 - Languages which indicate a transitive verb has an object in a particular position

Similarities with other languages

- Verbal marking sensitive to the presence or absence of arguments in certain positions is attested elsewhere
 - The Senoufo ‘intransitive prefix’
 - Languages which indicate a transitive verb has an object in a particular position
- These cases inform the types of syntax-phonology interactions attested cross-linguistically

- Senoufo languages have a nasal morpheme called the ‘intransitive prefix’ (IP)
 - Supyire (Carlson 1994: p. 126)
 - Syer (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2015: p. 201)
 - Kar (Wichser 1994: p. 41, called the *indice objectal*)

(25) fyàablíí na η-kúú-lí
fish.DEF PROG IP-tap-IPFV

‘The fish are nibbling (lit. tapping)’ (Carlson 1994: p. 312)

- In Supyire, if the object is fronted due to focus, the intransitive prefix is present even though it is a transitive phrase

(26) a. Mìì ná ìpà ta
I PAST sheep get

‘I got a sheep’

b. Mpà mìì ná ñ-tá
sheep I PAST IP-get

‘It was a sheep I got’ (Carlson 1994: p. 127)

- In Supyire, if the object is fronted due to focus, the intransitive prefix is present even though it is a transitive phrase

(27) a. Mìì ná ìpà ta
I PAST sheep get

‘I got a sheep’

b. Mpà mìì ná ñ-tá
sheep I PAST IP-get

‘It was a sheep I got’ (Carlson 1994: p. 127)

- Like Northern Toussian, this marker appears to reflect whether there is a preverbal argument, rather than intransitivity

Similarities with other languages

- Conversely, there are languages which mark that an argument is present, rather than absent
 - Yoruba: $L \rightarrow M$ when a transitive object is present (Déchaine 2001)
 - Hausa: the final vowel of a verb is shortened when a transitive object is present (Hayes 1990, Crysmann 2005b,a),
 - Laal: $M \rightarrow L$ when a transitive object is present (Lionnet 2015, 2022)

Similarities with other languages

- There is debate about the cause of these processes

Similarities with other languages

- There is debate about the cause of these processes
 - Syntax-phonology interactions where the realization is dependent on the adjacency of the verb and object (Hayes 1990, Déchaine 2001)

Similarities with other languages

- There is debate about the cause of these processes
 - Syntax-phonology interactions where the realization is dependent on the adjacency of the verb and object (Hayes 1990, Déchaine 2001)
 - Inflectional morphology reflecting whether the object has been extracted from where it was generated (Crysmann 2005a,b, Lionnet 2015)

Similarities with other languages

- There is debate about the cause of these processes
 - Syntax-phonology interactions where the realization is dependent on the adjacency of the verb and object (Hayes 1990, Déchaine 2001)
 - Inflectional morphology reflecting whether the object has been extracted from where it was generated (Crysmann 2005a,b, Lionnet 2015)
- Lionnet (2015) questions whether all instances of this can be explained in terms of extraction

Similarities with other languages

- Extraction does not explain the Northern Toussian and Senoufo cases
 - Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be targeted by the APVA marker
 - Intransitive verbs do not have an object to extract
- They can only be explained in terms of syntax-phonology interactions

Roadmap

APVA alternation with extended transitives

Similarities with other languages

The imperfective marker

The imperfective marker

- The imperfective marker has two allomorphs
 - n = when the verb lacks a preverbal argument
 - \grave{n} = when there is a preverbal argument
- The toneless allomorph is realized with the tone of the preceding syllable

- (28) a. $s\acute{u}$ $\grave{n} = b\acute{u}r$ $j\acute{a}$
father IPFV = bread watch
'Father is going to watch the bread'
- b. $s\acute{u}$ $\acute{n}j\acute{a}$
 $s\acute{u}$ $n = \textcircled{\text{D}}j\acute{a}$
father IPFV.APVA = watch.APVA
'Father is going to watch'

The imperfective marker

- The APVA form of the prefix in instances where the grammatical tone conditions downstep
 - I.e., with particles like *ká* NEG

- (29) a. *sú* *ká* *nʼjá*
 sú *kə* *n = ①já*
 father NEG IPFV.APVA = watch
 ‘Father is not going to watch’
- b. *sú* *ká* *ʼjá*
 sú *kə* ①*já*
 father search.APVA
 ‘Father is going to search’

The imperfective marker

- It is also found in instances where the APVA grammatical tone is unrealized,
 - e.g., when a verb with a tone other than H follows a P2–6 auxiliary

- (30) a. *sú ká nʔá*
sú ká n = ①já
father NEG IPFV.APVA = watch
‘Father is not going to watch’
- b. *sú ká ʔá*
sú ká ①já
father NEG search.APVA
‘Father did not search’

The imperfective marker

- It also shares the same pattern as the grammatical tone with ‘give’ constructions
 - When a postpositional argument occurs before the verb, it surfaces as $\grave{n} =$
 - When there is no non-subject argument before the verb, it surfaces as $n =$

- (31) a. ádámá $\grave{n} = k\grave{o}$ $s\bar{e}$ $k\acute{o}$
Adama IPFV = meat with give
‘Adama is going to give meat’
- b. ádámá $n = k\acute{o}$ $k\grave{o}$ $s\bar{e}$
Adama IPFV.APVA = give meat with
‘Adama is going to give meat’