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A grammar of Gaahmg, a Nilo-Saharan language of Sudan

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4 Clitics and word structure

In this chapter, we show that various clitics attach to several word categories (4.1), discuss word structure (4.2), and differentiate between the word categories nouns, adjectives, and verbs (4.3).

4.1 Clitics

There are eight grammatically distinct clitics which attach to more than one word category. In addition, there are other clitics which are combinations of clitics, where the morphemes from which they are formed are given in parentheses in table 6 and are explained in the sections to follow. Copular, definite, and relative clause definite clitics can have number distinction, sometimes depending on the word category to which they attach. Dative, accompaniment, locative copular, subordinate, and perfect clitics never have number distinction. The clitics in table 6 are those which attach to consonant-final words. Clitic allomorphs sometimes attach to other word-final segments, as will be discussed in relevant morphology sections. The difference between relative clauses marked and unmarked for definiteness will be discussed in 14.6.

Table 6: Clitics on consonant-final words

	SG	PL
Copular (COP)	$= \bar{A}_{N_2} = \bar{A}_{\text{PRON}_2 \text{ --- ADJ}}$	$= \bar{A}$
Definite (DEF)	$= \bar{A}$	$= \bar{A}_{N_2} = \bar{A}_{\text{ADJ}}$
Relative clause definite (RDM)	$= \bar{E}$	$= \bar{E}$
Dative (DAT)	$= \bar{A}n$	$= \bar{A}n$
Relative clause dative (RDTM)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E}n$ (from $= \bar{E} = \bar{A}n$)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E}n$ (from $= \bar{E} = \bar{A}n$)
Locative copular (LCM)	$= \bar{A}n$ (from $\bar{i}n/\bar{e}n$)	$= \bar{A}n$ (from $\bar{e}gg\bar{a}n$)
Relative clause locative copular (RLCM)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E}n$ (from $= \bar{E} \bar{i}n/\bar{e}n$)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E}n$ (from $= \bar{E} \bar{e}gg\bar{a}n$)
Accompaniment (ACM)	$= \bar{E}$	$= \bar{E}$
Relative clause accompaniment (RDM=ACM)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E} = n\bar{E}$ (from $= \bar{E} = n\bar{E}$)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E} = n\bar{E}$ (from $= \bar{E} = n\bar{E}$)
Subordinate (SBO)	$= \bar{E}$	$= \bar{E}$
Relative clause subordinate ‘when’ (RDM=SBO)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E} = n\bar{E}$ (from $= \bar{E} = n\bar{E}$)	$= \bar{E}\bar{E} = n\bar{E}$ (from $= \bar{E} = n\bar{E}$)
Perfect clitic (PF)	$= r$	$= r$

Each clitic is presented below, first in an example clause, and then attached to various word categories. The meaning of each clitic, as well as the section where its

morphology is presented, is also mentioned.

4.1.1 Copular clitic

In answer to questions such as *jīn néé* ‘What is this?’ and various other non-verbal clauses described in 14.6, copular clitics (COP) are attached to nouns, adjectives, or pronouns. Singular and plural copular clauses are shown in (1). See 7.2 and 8.3.1 for a presentation of copular clitic morphology.

- (1a) *féetfā* = **n** *àggáár* = **ā** (b) *ṭó-gg* *sèggār-g* = **à**
 Feetfa =DEF hunter =COP cow-PL strong-PL = COP
 ‘Feetfa is a hunter.’ ‘Cows are strong.’

The singular copula clitic is =*ā* with Mid tone on nouns, =*À* with Low tone on pronouns, and no marking on adjectives. The plural copula clitic is =*À* on all words.

(2) Copular clitic

	SG	PL	
Noun	<i>àggáár</i> = ā	<i>àggáār-g</i> = à	‘is a hunter’
ADJ	<i>jāā bāṇḍāl</i>	<i>jōgg bāṇḍāl-g</i> = à	‘is a weak person’
1sP	<i>áṇn</i> = ḁ	<i>ónègg</i> = ḁ	‘is mine’

4.1.2 Definite clitic

The definite clitic (DEF) indicates the speaker believes a word is active or known information in the mind of the hearer. See also 7.3 and 8.3.2.

- (3a) *á* *jām* *àggáár* = **á** (b) *ṭó-gg* *sèggār-g* = **à** *nāām*
 1sN want hunter = DEF cow-PL strong-PL = DEF eating
 ‘I want the hunter.’ ‘The strong cows are eating.’

The singular definite clitic is =*Á* with High tone. The plural definite clitic is =*Á* with High tone on nouns and =*À* with Low tone on adjectives. It is =*n* on vowel-final nouns and adjectives.

(4) Definite clitic

	SG	PL	
Noun	<i>àggáár</i> = á	<i>àggáār-g</i> = á	‘the hunter’
ADJ	<i>jāā-n bāṇḍāl</i> = (á)	<i>jōgg-(ḡ) bāṇḍāl-g</i> = à	‘the weak person’
3SP	<i>mōsḁr īnī</i> = n	<i>mōsḁr-èègg īnīgī</i> = n	‘the his horse’

In singular noun phrases with a head noun and adjective modifier, the definite clitic

attaches to the adjective unless it is consonant-final and the noun is vowel-final.

(5) Definite clitic on singular nouns and adjectives

Noun-final	ADJ-final	Noun SG	ADJ DEF	
V = DEF	C = (DEF)	wéé = n	bér = (á)	‘the clean house’
C	V = DEF	kòlèèð	îi = ín	‘the heavy sword’
C	C = DEF	jēn	bándāl = á	‘the weak person’
V	V = DEF	bààð	fāā = n	‘the old father’

In plural noun phrases with a head noun and adjective modifier, the definite clitic attaches to the adjective and optionally to the head noun.

(6) Definite clitic on plural nouns and adjectives

Noun-final	ADJ-final	Noun SG	ADJ DEF	
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	wís-ǝg = (ǝ)	bér-g = à	‘the clean houses’
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	kòlèèð-g = (ǝ)	îi-g = ð	‘the heavy swords’
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	jǝgg = (ǝ)	bándāl-g = à	‘the weak persons’
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	bààw-āāð = (á)	fāng = à	‘the old fathers’

4.1.3 Relative clause definite clitic

Relative clauses are marked or unmarked for definiteness just as noun phrases. When the head of the relative clause is known information, the relative clause definite clitic (RDM) is attached to the clause-final word. See also 7.4, 8.3.3, and 14.7.

- (7) á nām jāā ná sèggār = **é**
 1sN want person REL strong = RDM
 ‘I want the person who is strong.’

The singular relative clause clitic is =**É** with High tone and the plural clitic is =**È** with Low tone.

(8) Definite relative clause clitic

	SG	PL	
Noun	ná àggáár = é	nà àggáàr-g = è	‘who is a hunter’
ADJ	ná bándāl = é	nà bándāl-g = è	‘who is weak’
Body part	ná àn wéé	nà àn wísð-g	‘who is
locative	ááp = é	ðǝng = ì	behind the house’
ADV	ná líj-jǝ òndǝgg = í	nà líj-jǝ òndǝgg = ì	‘who came with force’
Verb	ná ḡāp = é	nà ḡāp = è	‘who files’

4.1.4 Dative clitic

The dative (DAT) has the semantic roles of beneficiary and recipient. See also 7.5 and 8.3.4.

- (9) á gǎf jèèm càðr = **ǎn**
 1sN give something rabbit = DAT
 ‘I give something to a rabbit.’

Singular and plural dative clitics are =*ǎn*.

(10) Dative clitic

	SG	PL	
Noun	àggáár = ǎn	àggáār-g = ǎn	‘to a hunter’
ADJ	jāā bándāl = ǎn	jōgg bándāl-g = ǎn	‘to a weak person’

4.1.5 Relative clause dative clitic

When the head of the relative clause is an indirect object, the relative clause dative clitic (RDTM) is attached to the clause-final word. See also 8.3.5.

- (11) á gǎf jèèm jāā ná sèggār = **éēn**
 1sN give something person REL strong = RDTM
 ‘I give something to the strong person
 (lit. the person who is strong).’

The singular relative clause dative clitic is =*éēn* (from the combination of the singular relative clause definite clitic and dative clitic =*é*=*ǎn* ‘=RDM.SG=DAT’) with HM tone and the plural is =*ēēn* (from =*ē*=*ǎn* ‘=RDM.PL=DAT’) with Low tone.

(12) Relative clause definite and dative clitic

	SG	PL	
Noun	ná àggáár = éēn	nà àggáār-g = ēēn	‘to the . . who is the hunter’
ADJ	ná bándāl = éēn	nà bándāl-g = ēēn	‘to the . . who is the weak’
Body part locative	ná àn wéé ááp = éēn	nà àn wísə-g ə̀ə̀p = ììn	‘to the . . who remains behind the house’
ADV	ná líj-jó ɔ̀ndógg = íìn	nà líj-jó ɔ̀ndógg = ììn	‘to the . . who came with force’

4.1.6 Locative copular clitic

In non-verbal locative clauses, the singular or plural locative copula *îin/eggàn* separates the subject from the predicate. However in fast speech, both singular and plural copulas attach to the subject noun phrase in the form of the clitic *=Ān* (LCM). The singular locative copula *îin/éēn* of (13a) is replaced by the clitic *=Ān* attached to the subject noun in (b). The plural locative copula *eggàn* of (c) is replaced by the same clitic in (d). See also 7.5, 8.3.4, and 14.6.4.

(13) **Locative copular clauses**

- (a) *jāā bāndāl îin wéé bènɲ*
 person weak LCM house beside
 ‘A weak person is beside a house.’
- (b) *jāā bāndāl = ān wéé bènɲ*
 person weak=LCM house beside
 ‘a weak person is beside a house.’
- (c) *jōgg bāndāl-g eggàn wéé bènɲ*
 people weak-PL LCM house beside
 ‘Weak people are beside a house.’
- (d) *jōgg bāndāl-g = ān wéé bènɲ*
 people weak-PL=LCM house beside
 ‘Weak people are beside a house.’

The locative copular clitic happens to have the same form as the dative clitic.

(14) **Locative copular clitic (rapid speech form of *îin/éēn*, *eggàn*)**

	SG	PL	
Noun	<i>àggáár = ān</i>	<i>àggáār-g = ān</i>	‘a hunter is’
ADJ	<i>jāā bāndāl = ān</i>	<i>jōgg bāndāl-g = ān</i>	‘a weak person is’

4.1.7 Relative clause locative copular clitics

As in (15a), when the head of a definite relative clause is the subject of a non-verbal locative clause, the relative clause definite clitic *=É* is attached to the final word of the relative clause before the locative copula *îin/éēn*. However, in fast speech as in (b), the singular relative clause locative copular clitic *=ÉĒn* (RLCM) replaces the relative clause definite clitic *=É* and the locative copula *îin/éēn*. Similarly, the plural relative clause locative copular clitic *=ÉĒn* of (d) replaces the relative clause definite clitic *=É* and the particle *eggàn* in (c). See also 8.3.5 and 14.7.

(15) **Relative clause locative copular clauses**

- (a) jāā ná bāṇḍāl = é **īn** wéé bēṇṇ
 person REL weak=RDM.SG LCM house beside
 ‘The weak person (lit. person who is weak) is beside a house.’
- (b) jāā ná bāṇḍāl = éēn wéé bēṇṇ
 person REL weak=RLCM house beside
 ‘The weak person is beside a house.’
- (c) jōgg nà bāṇḍāl-g = è **ēggàn** wéé bēṇṇ
 people REL weak-PL=RDM.PL LCM house beside
 ‘The weak people are beside a house.’
- (d) jōgg nà bāṇḍāl-g = èēn wéé bēṇṇ
 people REL weak-PL=RLCM house beside
 ‘the weak people are beside a house.’

The singular relative clause locative copular clitic is =ÉĒn (from =É īn/éēn) with HM tone and the plural is =ÈĒn (from =È ēggàn) with Low tone, which happen to be the same as the relative clause dative clitics.

(16) **Relative clause locative copular clitic**

(rapid speech form of =É īn/éēn, =È ēggàn)

	SG	PL	
Noun	ná àggáár = éēn	nà àggáār-g = èēn	‘the . . who is the hunter is’
ADJ	ná bāṇḍāl = éēn	nà bāṇḍāl-g = èēn	‘the . . who is weak is’
Body part locative	ná àn wéé áāṇ = éēn	nà àn wísō-g óàṇg = īn	‘the . . who remains behind the house is’
ADV	ná líj-ṣó ñṇḍógg = īn	nà líj-ṣó ñṇḍógg = īn	‘the . . who came with force is’

4.1.8 Accompaniment clitic

The accompaniment clitic (ACM) is used on noun phrases in adjuncts introduced by the animate preposition é ‘with’ if the noun has the semantic role of accompaniment. See also 7.6 and 8.3.6.

- (17) bāārg-á áō-ā`n è àggáár = ē
 Baggara-DEF coming with hunter = ACM
 ‘The Baggara tribe was coming with a hunter.’

Singular and plural accompaniment clitics are =E.

(18) **Accompaniment clitic**

	SG	PL	
Noun	è àggáár = ē	è àggáār-g = ē	‘with a hunter’
ADJ	è jāā bāṇḍāl = ē	è jōgg bāṇḍāl-g = ē	‘with a weak person’
Body part	è jāā ná nā	è jōgg nā nā	‘with a person who
locative	wéé ááṇ = ē	wísō-g óòṅg = ī	remains behind a house’
ADV	è jāā ná líj-jō ōṇḍógg = ī	è jōgg nā líj-jō ōṇḍógg = ī	‘with a person who came with force’

4.1.9 Relative clause definite and accompaniment clitic

When the head of the relative clause has an accompaniment role and is introduced by the animate preposition *é* ‘with’, the relative clause definite and accompaniment clitics (RDM=ACM) are attached to the clause-final word. See also 8.3.7.

- (19) bāārg-á áð-ǎ n è jāā ná sèggār = **éé = nē**
 Baggara-DEF coming with person REL strong = RDM = ACM
 ‘The Baggara were coming with the strong person
 (lit. the person who is strong).’

The singular relative clause definite and accompaniment clitic is =*ÉÉ* = *nĒ* (from =*É* = *nĒ* ‘=RDM.SG=ACM’) and the plural is =*ÈÈ* = *nĒ* (from =*È* = *nĒ* ‘=RDM.PL=ACM’), where the relative clause definite clitic vowel is lengthened.

(20) **Relative clause definite and accompaniment clitics**

	SG	PL	
Noun	ná àggáár = éé = nē	nà àggáār-g = èè = nē	‘with the . . who is the hunter’
ADJ	ná bāṇḍāl = éé = nē	nà bāṇḍāl-g = èè = nē	‘with the . . who is weak’
Body part	ná àn wéé ááṇ =	nà àn wísō-g óòṅg = ìì = nī	‘with the . . who
locative	éé = nē		remains behind the house’
ADV	ná líj-jō ōṇḍógg = íí = nī	nà líj-jō ōṇḍógg = ìì = nī	‘with the . . who came with force’

4.1.10 Subordinate clause-final clitic

In subordinate clauses, such as those beginning with the subordinate conjunction *é* *gārǎ* ‘when’, the clitic =*É* (SBO) attaches to the clause-final word. The subordinate

	SG	PL	
Noun	ná àgggáár = éé = né	nà àgggàar-g = èè = nē	‘When . . . the . . . who is the hunter’
ADJ	ná bándāl = éé = né	nà bándāl-g = èè = nē	‘When . . . the . . . who is weak’

Body part	ná àn wéé	nà àn wísō-g	‘When . . the . .
locative	ááŋ = éé = né	óòŋg = ìì = nī	who remains
			behind the house’
ADV	ná líj-jó	nà líj-jō	‘When . . the . . who
	ōndógg = íí = ní	ōndógg = ìì = nī	came with force’

4.1.12 Perfect clitic

The perfect clitic (PF) indicates that a past or present action remains or results in the present or future. See also 10.8.

- (25) ē lā gōf-i wá, ē gòù-s-î = **r**.
 3sN UNC /gàf/give.INCP-3sAM not 3sN /gàf/give-COMP-IPF = PF
 ‘He would not give it (money), (since) he had already given.’ (Fand3)

The perfect clitic =*r* optionally attaches to the verb object or verb of the clause.

(26) Perfect clitics

- Noun á kóm-ḡá jōg = **ó = r** ‘in order to completely cut the people’
 Verb á kóm-ḡá = **r** jōg = **ó** ‘in order to completely cut the people’

4.2 Word structure

Before beginning morphology discussion on various word categories, it is important to define how a word boundary is determined and how the terms ‘root’, ‘stem’ and ‘word’ are used in this thesis. The morphemes attached to roots and stems have different functions, different morphophonological alternations, or in other ways are treated as different kinds of morphemes in the language.

Word boundaries are determined by [+ATR] spreading. A word involves all bound morphemes to which [+ATR] quality spreads; with the exception of a few compounds (see footnote 8 in section 2.2.2.2), all vowels of a word have the same [ATR] quality, all being either [+ATR] or all being [-ATR].

A root is the smallest lexical morpheme of a word and can be the entire word. A stem is a root plus an optional suffix and can also be the entire word. A word includes the stem and any optional clitics.

- (27) Stem = root + (suffix)
 Word = stem + (clitic) + (clitic)

All suffixes of the language are a part of the stem and all clitics in the language are outside of the stem, but inside the word. More than one clitic in the same word is possible, but only one suffix is possible in a stem.

Nearly all stems are inflectional, having aspect (COMP, CONT, PF) or mood (IMP, SBJV). On the other hand, clitics are derivational (VN), indicate valency (PAS, PAS.A) or have clausal functions indicating how the word relates to another constituent of the clause (DAT, ACM) or indicates its place in the clause (COP, RDM, SBO).

There are five criteria which can be used to determine whether a bound morpheme is a clitic. The criteria are not all valid for any one clitic. However, none of these criteria are valid for any of the suffixes. Thus, they each individually support the claim that clitics can be grouped differently than suffixes, and how to distinguish the two.

(28) Criteria for determining bound morphemes are clitics

- (a) Attaches to more than one word category
- (b) Attaches to inflectional morphemes
- (c) Attaches to surface-final segments
- (d) Stem tone assignment is the point of departure
- (e) One or more of the morphophonological rules {M1-11} is not applied.

In the previous section of this chapter, it is shown that many of the clitics are attested to attach to more than one word category. In the introduction to noun morphology in 6.1 and the introduction to verb morphology in 9.1, as well as in relevant sections for each morpheme, the other criteria are shown to be valid for at least some clitics. Although several inflectional suffixes cannot be combined with other inflectional suffixes, all clitics can attach to inflectional suffixes. Although suffixes always attach to underlying-final segments of roots, clitics attach to surface-final segments of stems. In noun morphology, it is shown that root tone assignment is the point of departure for stem tone assignment, whereas stem tone assignment is the point of departure for word tone assignment. In verb morphology, although the morphophonological rules {M1-11} always apply to suffixes, it is common for one or more of the rules to not be applied to clitics.

4.3 Comparison of adjectives with nouns and verbs

Nouns and verbs are the two largest word categories in Gaahmg, both of which have significant amounts of morphology. Adjectives (also called qualitative adjectives in this thesis), though less productive, also have a significant amount of morphology. Before discussing the morphology of each, it is important to verify that each is a lexical category in its own right.

Although adjectives commonly function as modifiers, they can also be used nominally or verbally. However, they are not used in some of the syntactic constructions of either nouns or verbs, and there are some differences in the morphology when used as either category. Thus, they can be analyzed as a distinct lexical category from either nouns or verbs.

Adjectives such as *kāyáár* ‘beautiful’ agree in number with the head noun of the noun phrase, often marking plural number with the same suffix *-gg* as in nouns.

- (29a) á nām ɔ̃ɖ kāyáár
 1sN want wife beautiful
 ‘I want a beautiful wife.’
- (b) á nām ɔ̃ɖ-**gg** kāyáár-**g**
 1sN want wives-PL beautiful-PL
 ‘I want beautiful wives.’

Adjectives are attested to fill the same slot in a clause as a noun when they are predicates of non-verbal clauses (with either a separate or bound copula) or follow a relativizer. However, they are generally not attested (NA) as subjects, objects, or objects of prepositions, although adjectives can modify the head noun of a noun phrase in each of these constructions.

(30) Noun ‘hunter’ and adjective ‘beautiful’ syntactic comparison

	N	ADJ	ADJ of noun phrase
Predicate separate copula	jēn tã àggáár ‘The person is a hunter.’	jēn tã kāyáár ‘... is beautiful.’	jēn tã kàmàlògg kāyáár ‘... is a beautiful girl.’
Predicate bound copula	jēn àggáár = ā ‘The person is a hunter.’	jēn kāyáár ‘... is beautiful.’	jēn kàmàlògg kāyáár ‘... is a beautiful girl.’
Following REL	á nām jēn ná àggáár = é ‘I want the person who is a hunter.’	á nām jēn ná kāyáár = é ‘... is beautiful.’	á nām jēn ná kàmàlògg kāyáár = é ‘... is a beautiful girl.’
Subject	àgáár wēḍán ‘The hunter is good.’	(NA) ‘The beauty is ...’	kàmàlògg kāyáár wēḍán ‘beautiful girl is ...’
Object	á nām àggáará ‘I want the hunter.’	(NA) ‘... the beauty.’	á nām kàmàlògg kāyáár = á ‘... beautiful girl.’
Object of PP	ē léén è àggáár = ē ‘She comes with a hunter.’	(NA) ‘... with the beauty.’	ē léén è kàmàlògg kāyáár = ē ‘... with a beautiful girl.’

A few adjectives such as *wēḍán* ‘good’ have a different form (*wāḗḍá* ‘goodness, joy’) when used as a subject, object or object of a preposition. The word used in these constructions is analyzed categorically as a noun, having different syntactic functions than adjectives.

(31) Noun *wáēdǎ* ‘goodness, joy’ and adjective *wēdǎn* ‘good’ syntactic comparison

Predicate	tǝṣṣ = n wēdǎn ‘The cow is good.’	Object	á nām wáēdǎ ‘I want joy.’
Subject	wáēdǎ wēdǎn ‘Joy is good.’	Object of PP	ē áḍ ē wáēdǎ ‘He became with joy.’ (is pleased)’

There are three differences in the stem morphology of nouns and adjectives with final consonants. As shown in (32), singular nouns attach the copular clitic =*ǎ*, whereas singular adjectives do not attach any clitic. Plural nouns attach the definite clitic =*ǎ* with High tone, whereas plural adjectives attach the definite clitic =*ǎ* with Low tone.

(32) Noun ‘hunter’ and adjective ‘beautiful’ morphology comparison

	N.SG	N.PL		ADJ.SG	ADJ.PL	
	àggáár	àggáār-g		kāyáár	kāyáār-g	
COP	= ǎ / = ǎ	àggáár = ǎ	àggáār-g = ǎ	--/ = ǎ	kāyáár	kāyáār-g = ǎ
DEF	= ǎ / = ǎ	àggáár = ǎ	àggáār-g = ǎ	= ǎ / = ǎ	kāyáár = ǎ	kāyáār-g = ǎ
LCM/	= ǎ n/	àggáár	àggáār-g	= ǎ n/	kāyáár	kāyáār-g
DAT	= ǎ n	= ǎ n	= ǎ n	= ǎ n	= ǎ n	= ǎ n
ACM	= ǎ / = ǎ	àggáár = ǎ	àggáār-g = ǎ	= ǎ / = ǎ	kāyáár = ǎ	kāyáār-g = ǎ
RDM	= ǎ / = ǎ	àggáár = ǎ	àggáār-g = ǎ	= ǎ / = ǎ	kāyáár = ǎ	kāyáār-g = ǎ
SBO	= ǎ / = ǎ	àggáár = ǎ	àggáār-g = ǎ	= ǎ / = ǎ	kāyáár = ǎ	kāyáār-g = ǎ

In addition, the definite clitic = *Vn* with no underlying tone attaches to monosyllabic vowel-final nouns (*mǎǎ*, *mǎǎ*. = *ǎ*n ‘house=DEF’), whereas the definite clitic = *ǎ*n with High tone attaches to monosyllabic vowel-final adjectives (*ǎ*n, *ǎ*n. = *ǎ*n ‘heavy=DEF’). The differences in syntactic function and the differences in morphology, support the claim of there being both categorical nouns and adjectives.

A few adjectives may be derived from nouns with the suffix *-i* as seen from the data of (33) taken from the *Gaahmg-English Dictionary* by Madal (2004). The derivation from one category to the other also supports the claim of both categories.

(33) Adjectives derived from nouns (Madal, 2004)

N		ADJ	
ǎǎr ¹⁷	‘anger’	ǎǎr-i	‘sorrowful, angry’
ḍùḍ	‘year’	ḍuḍ-i	‘annual’
kùsùr	‘authority’	kusuur-i	‘forceful’

Adjectives can also be used as verbs, often with the same syntax and morphology as

¹⁷ No tone marking was included with the data from the mentioned source.

verbs. Adjectives are attested to fill the same slot in a clause as verbs in the constructions of (34). Many adjectives such as *kāyáár* ‘beautiful’ have the same morphology as verbs for completive and continuous suffixes.

(34) **Verb ‘chop’ and adjective ‘beautiful’ syntax comparison**

	V	ADJ
INF	jēn ɖɔ̀ðs-s ē kóm ‘The person begins to chop.’	jēn ɖɔ̀ðs-s ē kāyáár ‘... to be beautiful.’
INCP	jēn kóm ‘The person chops.’	jēn kāyáár ‘... is beautiful.’
COMP	jēn kóm- sɔ́ ‘The person chopped.’	jēn kāyáár- sá ‘... was beautiful.’
CONT.N	jēn kóm- án ‘The person was chopping.’	jēn kāyáár- án ‘... was beautiful.’
Following	á nām jēn ná kóm = é	á nām jēn ná kāyáár = é
REL	‘I want the person who chops.’	‘... is beautiful.’

However, in verb paradigms such as the incomplete forms of (35), the long forms of subject pronouns precede the adjectival verb instead of short subject pronouns as in true verbs. The plural adjective suffix *-gg* and copular clitic *=A* attach to adjectival verbs of plural persons, whereas these bound morphemes are not attached to any true verb forms.

(35) **Incomplete paradigms of active verb and adjectival verb compared**

(a) ‘___ chop, cut’	(b) ‘___ am/are/is beautiful’
á kóm 1sN	āān kāyáār 1sN
ó, ú = kúm 2sN	ōōn kǎyáār 2sN
ē kóm 3sN	ēēn kāyáár 3sN
āgg kóm 1pN	āggá kāyáár-g = ā 1pN
ōgg, ūg = kúm 2pN	ōggó kǎyáár-g = ō 2pN
ēggà kóm 3pN	ēggà kāyáár-g = à 3pN

The adjectival verb *kāyáār* of (35) has subject tone inflection (final Mid for second person, final High for third singular, and final Low for third plural) and [+ATR] second person forms, as do true verbs. However, in some adjectives used as verbs, person inflection is not as regular as the adjectival verb paradigm in (35). Second plural forms of some adjectival verbs have Low final tone instead of Mid (*kúúfār*, *kúúfār-g* = ð ‘thin.INCP-2pN=COP’) and second person forms of some adjectival verbs have [-ATR] quality instead of [+ATR] (*bándāl*, *bándāl-g* = ā ‘weak.INCP-2pN=COP’). These features mark adjectives as being different than true verbs.

Since adjectives have some differences in syntax and morphology compared to both nouns and verbs, they are analyzed as a separate category. Adjective clitic morphology similar to that of noun morphology is presented in 8.3, whereas

adjective morphology similar to verb morphology is presented in 10.11.

In the following chapters, word categories are discussed one-by-one. For each, we first discuss the function followed by the forms of morphemes attached to roots or stems. Because possessive pronouns are important for the discussion on nouns and verbs, pronouns in general are discussed first, followed by nouns, adjectives, verbs, prepositions, locatives, and adverbs. Each of these is a lexical category, as are conjunctions discussed in 15.2.