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7 Noun word

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter we present a morphological description of the noun word, including clitics for copular (COP), definite (DEF), locative copular (LCM), dative (DAT), accompaniment (ACM), relative clause definite (RDM), and clause-final subordinate (SBO) markers. In chapter 4, these clitics were shown to attach to two or more word categories.

Noun word morphology involves clitics attached to noun stems, rather than to noun roots. Whereas suffixes attached to noun roots attach to underlying segments, clitics attached to noun stems attach to surface segments. The accompaniment morpheme attaches a different clitic for vowel-final stems (= *nE*) as in (1a) than for consonant-final stems (= *E*) as in (d). Because the accompaniment clitic =*nE* attaches to a surface-final segment in (1a), it is also analyzed to attach to surface-final segments in (1b-c). Thus, the singular surface forms of (1b-c) are *káɔ̀=nē* 'hyena', *ɲūūì=nē* 'leopard' with stem-final surface vowels, whereas the root underlying forms are /*kaw*/ or /*kab*/, /*ɲuuy*/ or /*ɲuuɟ*/ [31].

(1) **Roots and stems compared**

	Underlying root	Surface root	Noun stem suffix	Noun word clitic	
	UR	N.SG	N-PL	N.SG=ACC	
(a)	/ʈɔ/	ʈɔ́ɔ́	ʈɔ́-gg	ʈɔ́ɔ́ = nē	'cow'
(b)	/kaw/	káɔ̀	kâw-g	káɔ̀ = nē	'hyena'
(c)	/ɲuuy/	ɲūūì	ɲūùy-g	ɲūūì = nē	'leopard'
(d)	/kaam/	kààm	kààm-g	kààm = ɛ̄	'cow type'

Suffixes are attached to the underlying-final segments of roots, whereas clitics are attached to the surface-final segments of stems. However, in the case of copular and definite clitics, the underlying-final stem segment can determine which clitic allomorph attaches.

Just as noun roots attach different suffixes depending on the root-final segment, noun stems attach different clitics depending on the stem-final segment. Each grammatical noun clitic has different segmental or tonal allomorphs, sometimes differing according to the following stem-final segments: underlying

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[31] As discussed in 2.3.6, although there is no way to distinguish whether the underlying-final segments are plosives or approximants, the definite clitic =*An* attaches to stems with underlying-final approximants and the definite clitic = *Vn* attaches to stems with underlying-final vowels.

approximants *ð, y* or *w* in monosyllabic stems, long surface vowels in monosyllabic stems, surface vowels in polysyllabic stems, surface consonants, and surface consonants of plural stems. Table 14 lists the various clitics on stem-final segments and (2) gives example nouns with the same order. Those that have not been attested are left blank.

Table 14: Noun word clitics and their allomorphs

Stem-final segment	COP	DEF	LCM/DAT	ACM	RDM	SBO
(Monosyllabic) underlying approximant *ð, w, y*	= Ān	= An	= Án	= nĒ		= nÉ
(Monosyllabic) long vowel	= V̄n	= Vn	= V́n	= nĒ		= nÉ
(Polysyllabic) vowel	= ̄n	= n	= ̄n	= nĒ	= É	= nÉ
Consonant	= Ā	= Á	= Án	= É	= É	= É
Consonant N PL	= À	= Á	= Án	= É	= È	= É

(2a) **Noun word clitic allomorphs on various stem-final nouns**

N	COP	DEF	LCM/DAT	
mɛ̄ɛ̄ð	mɛ̄ɛ̄ð = ān	mɛ̄ɛ̄ð = ān	mɛ̄ɛ̄ð = ân	'tree type'
sāɔ̄	sā.ɔ̄ = n/sāw = ān	sā.ɔ̄ = n/sāw = ān	sā.ɔ̄ = n/sāw = ân	'shoe'
rɛ̄ɛ̄	rɛ̄ɛ̄. = ɛ̄n	rɛ̄ɛ̄. = ɛ̄n	rɛ̄ɛ̄. = ɛ̂n	'cotton'
ābbɛ́ɛ́	ābbɛ́ɛ́ = n	ābbɛ́ɛ́ = n	ābbɛ́ɛ̄ = n	'uncle'
ḍɔ̄m	ḍɔ̄m = ɔ̄	ḍɔ̄m = ɔ́	ḍɔ̄m = ɔ̂n	'Arab'
ḍɔ̄m-g	ḍɔ̄m-g = ɔ̀	ḍɔ̄m-g = ɔ́	ḍɔ̄m-g = ɔ̂n	'Arabs'

(b) **Noun word clitic allomorphs on various stem-final nouns**

N	ACM	RDM	SBO	
mɛ̄ɛ̄ð	mɛ̄ɛ̄ð = nɛ̄		mɛ̄ɛ̄ð = nɛ́	'tree type'
sāɔ̄	sāɔ̄ = nɛ̄		sāɔ̄ = nɛ́	'shoe'
rɛ̄ɛ̄	rɛ̄ɛ̄ = nɛ̄		rɛ̄ɛ̄ = nɛ́	'cotton'
ābbɛ́ɛ́	ābbɛ́ɛ́ = nɛ̄	ābbɛ́ɛ́. = ɛ́	ābbɛ́ɛ́ = nɛ́	'uncle'
ḍɔ̄m	ḍɔ̄m = ɛ̄	ḍɔ̄m = ɛ́	ḍɔ̄m = ɛ́	'Arab'
ḍɔ̄m-g	ḍɔ̄m-g = ɛ̂	ḍɔ̄m-g = ɛ̀	ḍɔ̄m-g = ɛ́	'Arabs'

The tone lowering rule of {M9} in 3.4.3 states that suffix-initial High and Mid tone are lowered following stem-final Low tone. Most of the noun clitics are in accordance with this rule, but the following are not: the copular clitics *= Ān, = V̄n* and accompaniment clitic *= nĒ* attached to underlying approximants and long vowel-final stems. In all noun words, tone assignment takes the stem tone as its point of departure.

7.2   Copular clitic

7.2.1   Copular segmental morphology

In answer to questions such as *ɲ̃ n néɛ́* 'What is this?' and various other non-verbal clauses described in 14.6, a copular clitic can be attached to noun stems.

(3a) féɛ̄ʈfā = n   àggáár = **ā̄**   (b) ɟɔ̄gg = ɔ́   àggáàr-g = **à̀**
      Feetfa =DEF   hunter =COP   people = DEF   hunter-PL-COP
      'Feetfa is a hunter.'   'The people are hunters.'

The clitic =*Ān* is attached to monosyllabic stems with underlying final approximant, the clitic = *V̄n* is attached to monosyllabic stems with long vowel, the clitic = ⁻*n* is attached to polysyllabic vowel-final stems, and the clitic =*Ā* is attached to consonant-final singular stems. The clitic =*À* is attached to plural nouns, which are always consonant-final.

Table 15: Copular clitics

Stem-final segment	COP N SG	COP N PL
(Monosyllabic) underlying approximant	= Ān	
(Monosyllabic) long vowel	= V̄n	
(Polysyllabic) vowel	= ⁻n	
Consonant	= Ā	= À

Monosyllabic underlying approximant-final singular stems

In (4), the copular clitic =*Ān* is attached to singular nouns with stem-final dental approximant *ð*. The clitic vowel takes the [ATR] and [round] features of the stem {M3-4}.

(4)   **Copular clitic =*Ān* on singular nouns with stem-final *ð***
      N SG   COP N SG
      ɟááð   ɟááð = ān   'old clothes'
      mɔ̄ɔ̄ð   mɔ̄ɔ̄ð = ɔ̄n   'grandfather'
      mɛ̄ɛ̄ð   mɛ̄ɛ̄ð = ān   'tree type'
      kūūð   kūūð = ūn   'shadow'
      yààð   yààð = ān   'sister'

As shown in (5), monosyllabic stems with underlying final approximants *w, y* sometimes elide the vowel of the singular copular clitic = *Ān* and sometimes retain it, depending on the underlying-final segment and the speed of the utterance. When the underlying approximant surfaces as a vowel, it becomes the onset to a second syllable. When the copular clitic vowel is retained, the stem-final vowel surfaces as

an approximant.

(5)   **Copular clitic = *Ān* on monosyllabic underlying approximant final stems**

	Stem-final	N SG	COP N SG		
(a)	aɔ /aw/	káɔ̀	ká.ɔ̀=n	ká.w=àn	'hyena'
(b)	aaɔ /aaw/	bààɔ̀	bàà.ɔ̄=n	bàà.w=ān	'father'
(c)	ɛɔ /ɛw/	bɛ̄ɔ̀	bɛ̄.ɔ̀=n	bɛ̄.w=àn	'tree type'
(d)	aɛ /ay/	t̪āɛ̀	t̪ā.ɛ̀=n	t̪ā.y=àn	'giraffe'
(e)	aaɛ /aay/	gááɛ̀	gáá.ɛ̀=n	gáá.y=àn	'tree type'
(f)	əəi /əəy/	mɔ̀ɔ̀ì	mɔ̀ɔ̀.ī=n	mɔ̀ɔ̀.y=ɔ̄n	'farm fence'
(g)	ui /uy/	mūī	mū.ī=n	mū.y=ɔ̄n	'wildebeest'
(h)	uui /uuy/	ɲūūì	ɲūū.ì=n	ɲūū.y=ə̀n	'leopard'

Most monosyllabic stems with underlying-final approximant *w* and *y* are
phonetically somewhere in-between the two utterances of (5). In stems with
underlying-final velar approximant *w* as in (a-c), the surface form is usually close to
having the velar approximant. In [-ATR] stems with underlying final palatal
approximant *y* as in (d-e), the surface form is usually half way between the
approximant *y* and vowel *ɛ*. In [+ATR] stems with underlying final *y* as in (f-h), the
surface form is usually close to the vowel *i*. Also, the faster the utterance, the closer
the surface form is to the shorter form with a stem-final vowel, regardless of the
underlying stem-final segment.

Monosyllabic long vowel-final singular stems

When the singular copular clitic =*V̄n* attaches to monosyllabic long vowel-final
stems, the clitic becomes a second syllable, in accordance with {M2} of 3.1. The
clitic vowel takes on all the features of the stem-final vowel to which it is
juxtaposed.

(6)   **Copular clitic = *V̄n* on monosyllabic long vowel final stems**

Stem-final	N SG	COP N SG	
ɛ	rɛ̄ɛ̄	rɛ̄ɛ̄.=ɛ̄n	'cotton'
a	máà	máá.=àn	'house'
ɔ	t̪ɔ́ɔ́	t̪ɔ́ɔ́.=ɔ̄n	'cow'
i	ɟīì	ɟīī.=ìn	'turkey'
ə	wɔ̄ɔ̄	wɔ̄ɔ̄.=ɔ̄n	'shade'
u	bùù	bùù.=ūn	'chicken coop roof'

Polysyllabic vowel-final singular stems

The copular clitic = ̄*n* is attached to polysyllabic singular nouns with various stem-
final long and short vowels in (7a-j). The clitic also attaches to nouns with
underlying-final vowel sequence such as *būə̀* 'tree type' in (k) and to nouns with

underlying-final velar plosives *g* such as *áŋé(g)* 'elephant' in (l). The language treats these singular nouns as vowel-final stems, attaching the vowel-final clitic $=\bar{n}$ instead of the consonant-final clitic $=\bar{A}$.

(7)   **Copular clitic $=\bar{n}$ on singular nouns with stem-final vowels**

	Stem-final	N SG	COP N SG	
(a)	ɛɛ	ābbɛ́ɛ́	ābbɛ́ɛ̄=n	'uncle'
(b)	ii	ūrīi	ūrīi=n	'ostrich'
(c)	aa	wááyáá	wááyáā=n	'bird type'
(d)	əə	gə̄ūld̠ə̀ə̀	gə̄ūld̠ə̀ə̄=n	'fish'
(e)	ɔɔ	mélɔ̄ɔ̄	mélɔ̄ɔ̄=n	'sugar cane'
(f)	uu	ə̄yúú	ə̄yúū=n	'tooth brush'
(g)	a	ṭááð̠à	ṭááð̠à=n	'grandmother'
(h)	ə	ə̄ŋə̀	ə̄ŋə̀=n	'little girl'
(i)	ɔ	ɔ̀nsɔ̀	ɔ̀nsɔ̀=n	'cooking plate'
(j)	u	kúúfú	kúúfū=n	'crushed beans'
(k)	uə	būə̀	bū.ə̀=n	'tree type'
(l)	(g)	áŋé(g)	áŋɛ̄=n	'elephant'

Consonant-final singular stems

In (8), the copular clitic $=\bar{A}$ is attached to singular nouns with various stem-final consonants.

(8)   **Copular clitic $=\bar{A}$ on singular nouns with stem-final consonants**

Stem-final	N SG	COP N SG	
bb	ɟílə̀bb	ɟílə̀bb=ə̀	'water spring'
d̠	māād̠	māād̠=ā	'snake type'
d	dɔ́d	dɔ́d=ɔ̄	'bird type'
ɟɟ	bìmìríɟɟ	bìmìríɟɟ=ɔ̄	'bird type'
gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg=ɔ̀	'woman'
s	márɔ̄ɔ̄s	márɔ̄ɔ̄s=ɔ̄	'spider'
m	d̠ə̄m	d̠ə̄m=ɔ̄	'Arab'
n	sɛ́ɛn	sɛ́ɛn=à	'ruler'
ɲ	ɲéɛŋ	ɲééŋ=à	'spear type'
ŋ	mɔ̄ɲ	mɔ̄ɲ=ɔ̄	'wild cat type'
r	púr	púr=ū	'flower'
l	d̠ɔ̀ŋɔ̀l	d̠ɔ̀ŋɔ̀l=ɔ̀	'millipede'

Plural stems

With plural nouns, the copular clitic is $=\grave{A}$. In (9), the singular nouns and singular copular forms are given for comparison.

(9) Copular clitic =À on plural nouns

Suffix	N SG	N PL	COP N SG	COP N PL	
-g̱g	wáár	wáár-g	wáár=ā	wáàr-g=à	'insect'
-gg	wááyáá	wááyáá-gg	wááyāā=n	wááyáá-gg=à	'bird'
-g̱g	kúúfú	kúúfú-gg	kúúfū̱=n	kúúfú-gg=ù	'beans'
-Āgg	célḏ	célḏ-āgg	célḏ=ā	célḏ-āgg=à	'broom'
-Ɇ̄Egg	púr	púr-íĩgg	púr=ū	púr-îgg=ə̀	'flower'
-AAgg	îl	íl-ə̀ə̀gg	íl=ə̀n	íl-ə̀ə̀gg=ə̀	'horn'
-AAḏ	kàmàlɔ̀gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg-ààḏ	kàmàlɔ̀gg=ɔ̀	kàmàlɔ̀gg-ààḏ=à	'woman'
-ḏ̱	ābbéɛ́	ābbéɛ̄-ḏ	ābbéɛ̄=n	ābbéɛ̀-ḏ-à	'uncle'
-ḏ/-gg	gə̀rmù-ḏ	gə̀rmù-gg	gə̀rmù=ḏ=ù	gə̀rmù-gg=ù	'insect'
-Eḏ/-gg	ɟíŋ-íḏ	ɟíŋ-g	ɟíŋ-íḏ=ɔ̄	ɟíŋ-g=ə̀	'louse'

7.2.2   Tonal morphology of the copular clitic

The singular copular clitics =Ān, =V̄n, =n̄, have underlying Mid tone and the plural copular clitic =À has underlying Low tone. The singular copular clitics =Ān, =V̄n attached to approximants and long vowel-final stems are an exception to the tone lowering rule of {M9} in 3.4.3 in that clitic Mid tone does not assimilate to stem-final Low tone.

Monosyllabic underlying approximant-final stems

In the noun yààð=ān 'sister=COP' of (10) with stem-final dental approximant ð, the Mid clitic tone does not assimilate to the preceding stem-final Low tone.

(10)   Copular clitic =Ān on stem-final ð nouns with three tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	COP N SG	COP N PL	
H	ɟááð	ɟááð-āāgg	ɟááð=ān	ɟááð-āāgg=à	'old clothes'
M	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð-ɔ́ɔ̄ḏ	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð=ɔ̄n	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð-ɔ́ɔ̄ḏ=ə̀	'grandfather'
L	yààð	yààð-āāḏ	yààð=ān	yààð-āāḏ=à	'sister'

Similarly, Mid tone of the copular clitic =Ān does not assimilate to preceding Low tone in monosyllabic stems with underlying-final approximants w and y. However, the Low tone of HL and ML stem tone melodies delinks and reassigns to the clitic syllable in ká.w=àn 'hyena=COP' and ɲūū.y=ə̀n 'leopard=COP', even though the clitic has underlying Mid tone, in contradiction of {M6}. In these forms, the reassigned Low tone replaces the clitic Mid tone. The same tone melodies surface on the noun words regardless of whether the underlying stem-final approximant surfaces as a vowel or approximant.

(11)   **Copular clitic $= \bar{A}n$**
        on monosyllabic approximant final stems with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL		COP N SG	COP N PL	
H	ááέ	ááy-g	áá.ɛ̄=n	áá.y=ân	ááy-g=à	'honey'
M	mūī	mūy-g	mū.ī=n	mū.y=ɔ̄n	mūy-g=ə̀	'wildebeest'
L	bààɔ̀	bààw-āāḍ	bàà.ɔ̄=n	bàà.w=ān	bààw-āāḍ=à	'father'
HL	káɔ̀	kâw-g	ká.ɔ̀=n	ká.w=àn	kâw-g=à	'hyena'
ML	ɲūūì	ɲūùy-g	ɲūū.ì=n	ɲūū.y=ə̀n	ɲūùy-g=ə̀	'leopard'

Monosyllabic long vowel final stems

In monosyllabic long vowel-final stems, Mid tone of the copular clitic $= \bar{V}n$ also does not assimilate to preceding Low stem tone. Stem-final High tone spreads onto the copular clitic, juxtaposed to the stem. The final Low tone of HL and ML melodies is delinked from the stem and reassigns to the clitic, replacing the Mid clitic tone, in contradiction of {M6}.

(12)   **Copular clitic $= \bar{V}n$**
        on monosyllabic long vowel final stems with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	COP N SG	COP N PL	
H	cáá	cáá-gg	cáá.=ân	cáá-gg=à	'wild cat'
M	mīī	mīī-gg	mīī.=īn	mīī-gg=ə̀	'goat'
L	ḍìì	ḍìì-gg	ḍìì.=īn	ḍìì-gg=ə̀	'rat'
HL	máà	máá-gg	máá.=àn	máà-gg=à	'house'
ML	ɟìì	ɟìì-gg	ɟīī.=ìn	ɟìì-gg=ə̀	'turkey'
MH	mǐí	mǐí-gg	mīī.=în	mǐí-gg=ə̀	'chicken'

Polysyllabic vowel final stems

In (13), the copular clitic $= \bar{}n$ is attached to singular polysyllabic nouns with various tone melodies and stem-final vowels. The Mid clitic tone is assigned to stems with

(13)   **Copular clitic $= \bar{}n$**
        on vowel-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	COP N SG	COP N PL	
H	wááyáá	wááyáá-gg	wááyáā=n	wááyáá-gg=à	bird type'
M	ūrīī	ūrīī-gg	ūrīī=n	ūrīī-gg=ə̀	'ostrich'
L	ɔ̀nsɔ̀	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg	ɔ̀nsɔ̀=n	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg=ɔ̀	'cooking plate'
HL	ɔ́rḍàà	ɔ́rḍàà-gg	ɔ́rḍàà=n	ɔ́rḍàà-gg=à	'army'
HM	sáárfāā	sáárfāā-gg	sáárfāā=n	sáárfāā-gg=à	'rat'
ML	gɔ̄ūlḍɔ̀ɔ̀	gɔ̄ūlḍɔ̀ɔ̀-gg	gɔ̄ūlḍɔ̀ɔ̀=n	gɔ̄ūlḍɔ̀ɔ̀-gg=ə̀	'fish'
LM	mɔ̀rāā	mɔ̀rāā-gg	mɔ̀rāā=n	mɔ̀rāā-gg=à	'governor'
MH	pēēḍáá	pēēḍáā-gg	pēēḍáā=n	pēēḍáà-gg=à	'crack'

final High tone, but is not assigned to stems with final Low tone in accordance with {M9}.

Consonant-final stems

In (14), the copular clitic =*Ā* attaches to nouns with stem-final consonants and various tone melodies. The Mid tone of the clitic =*Ā* assimilates to stem-final Low tone in accordance with {M9}.

(14)   **Copular clitic =*Ā***
       on consonant-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	COP N SG	COP N PL	
H	wáár	wáār-g	wáár=ā	wáàr-g=à	'insect type'
M	ḓ̄ōm	ḓ̄ōm-g	ḓ̄ōm=ɔ̄	ḓ̄ōm-g=ɔ̀	'Arab'
L	kààm	kààm-g	kààm=à	kààm-g=à	'cow type'
HL	séèn	séèn-g	séèn=à	séèn-g=à	'ruler'
HM	ɟórgāāl	ɟórgāāl-g	ɟórgāāl=ā	ɟórgāāl-g=à	'bird type'
ML	kɔ̄ðèl	kɔ̄ðèl-g	kɔ̄ðèl=à	kɔ̄ðèl-g=à	'baboon'
LH	àggáár	àggáār-g	àggáár=ā	àggáàr-g=à	'hunter, rider'
LM	gɔ̀ɛ̄n	gɔ̀ɛ̄n-g	gɔ̀ɛ̄n=ā	gɔ̀ɛ̄n-g=à	'metal worker'
MH	bāár	bāár-g	bāár=ā	bāár-g=à	'tribe member'

In stems such as *wāār-g* 'insect type' with High-Mid tone assigned to the same stem-final syllable, the Mid tone assimilates to the clitic-final Low tone (*wáàr-g=à*). This is in accordance with the stem Mid tone lowering rule of {M7} in 3.4.2.

(15)   **Stem Mid tone assimilating to clitic Low**

Plural formation suffix	N PL	COP N PL	
-¯g	wáár-g	wáàr-g=à	'insect type'
-¯g	àggáār-g	àggáàr-g=à	'hunter, rider'
-¯gg	pēēḓáá-gg	pēēḓáà-gg=à	'crack'
-Āgg	ŋārná-āgg	ŋārná-àgg=à	'leach'
-ÉĒgg	púr-íígg	púr-îgg=ɔ̀	'flower'
-ÉĒgg	rāāy-ɛ́ɛ̄gg	rāāy-ɛ́ɛ̀gg=à	'quarrel'
-¯ḓ	ābbɛ́ɛ̄-ḓ	ābbɛ́ɛ̀-ḓ=à	'uncle'
-ḓ/-ÁĀḓ	mɔ̄y-ɔ́ɔ̄ḓ	mɔ̄y-ɔ́ɔ̀ḓ=ɔ̀	'ancestor'
-ḓ/-¯g	káān-g	káàn-g=à	'fly'
-ḓ/-¯gg	lɔ̄ggɔ́ɔ̄-gg	lɔ̄ggɔ́ɔ̀-gg=ɔ̀	'locust'

7.3   Definite clitic

The definite clitic indicates the speaker believes a word is active or known information in the mind of the hearer, as illustrated in (16a) and (b). In narratives, the first mention of a participant can be with the definite clitic if the participant is

already know in the mind of the hearers. In (17a), the participant Minjib is unknown
to hearers and introduced without the definite clitic, whereas in (b) the Baggara
people group are notorious in Gaahmg culture and introduced with the definite clitic.

(16a) wáár=**á**   wɛ̂ḍá=n   (b)   wáār-g=**á**   wîə̀-gg=ə̀
       insect=DEF   good=COP   insect-PL=DEF   good-PL=COP
       'The insect is good.'   'The insects are good.'

(17a) ɟɛ̄n   fāā   mân   bélắn   mīɲɟìbb.   ə̀   ɛ̄   mūn   náán
       man   old   certain   named   Minjib   and   with   time   that
       'There was an old man named Minjib. At that time

  (b)   bāárg=á   ŋáɔ́-ǎ`n   ɲā-lg   nà   ə̄n-g=ì,
        Baggara=DEF   search.for   girl-PL   REL   young-PL=RDM
                           /ŋáw/-CONT.P
        the Baggara (people group) were kidnapping young girls.' (Minj1-2)

The same definite clitic =A is attached to (non-approximant) consonant-final stems.
This includes many singular nouns and all plural nouns. The definite clitic =An is
attached to monosyllabic underlying approximant-final stems, the clitic =Vn is
attached to monosyllabic long vowel-final stems, the clitic =n is attached to
polysyllabic vowel-final stems.

Table 16: Definite clitics

Stem-final segment	DEF
(Monosyllabic) underlying approximant	=An
(Monosyllabic) long vowel	=Vn
(Polysyllabic) vowel	=n
Consonant	=Á

Definite clitics are the same segmentally as copular clitics. Therefore, the segmental
behaviour of the definite clitic will not be illustrated further, and the focus of the
presentation will be on its tone. The definite clitics =An, =Vn, =n have no
underlying tone and the definite clitic =Á attached to stem-final consonants has
underlying High tone.

Monosyllabic underlying approximant-final stems

In (18), the definite clitic =An is attached to nouns with the stem-final dental
approximant ð and three tone melodies. The clitic vowel takes the stem-final tone
{M5}.

(18)   **Definite clitic =*An* on stem-final *ð* nouns with three tone melodies**

Tone	N SG	N PL	DEF N SG	DEF N PL	
H	ɟááð	ɟááð-āāgg	ɟááð = án	ɟááð-āāgg = á	'old clothes'
M	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð-ɔ́ɔ̄ḍ	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð = ɔ̄n	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð-ɔ́ɔ̄ḍ = ɔ́	'grandfather'
L	yààð	yààð-āāḍ	yààð = àn	yààð-āāḍ = á	'sister'

The definite clitic =*An* is also attached to monosyllabic approximant-final stems in
which the final underlying approximant *w* or *y* can surface as a vowel or as an
approximant. In either, the noun word tone melody is the same. When the clitic
vowel is not elided, it takes the stem-final tone {M5-6}.

(19)   **Definite clitic =*An***
        on monosyllabic approximant final stems with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	DEF N SG		DEF N PL	
H	ááɛ́	ááy-g	áá.ɛ́ = n	áá.y = án	ááy-g = á	'honey'
M	mūī	mūy-g	mū.ī = n	mū.y = ɔ̄n	mūy-g = ɔ́	'wildebeest'
L	bààɔ̀	bààw-āāḍ	bàà.ɔ̀ = n	bàà.w = àn	bààw-āāḍ = á	'father'
HL	káɔ̀	kâw-g	ká.ɔ̀ = n	ká.w = àn	kâw-g = ā	'hyena'
ML	ɲūūì	ɲùùy-g	ɲūū.ì = n	ɲūū.y = ɔ̀n	ɲùùy-g = ɔ̄	'leopard'

Monosyllabic long vowel-final stems

Similarly, the definite clitic = *Vn* is juxtaposed to monosyllabic long vowel final
stems {M2} and takes the stem-final tone {M5-6}.

(20)   **Definite clitic = *Vn***
        on monosyllabic long vowel final stems with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	DEF N SG	DEF N PL	
H	cáá	cáá-gg	cáá. = án	cáá-gg = á	'wild cat'
M	mīī	mīī-gg	mīī. = īn	mīī-gg = ɔ́	'goat'
L	ḍìì	ḍìì-gg	ḍìì. = ìn	ḍìì-gg = ɔ̄	'rat'
HL	máà	máà-gg	máá. = àn	máà-gg = ā	'house'
ML	ɟìì	ɟìì-gg	ɟīī. = ìn	ɟìì-gg = ɔ̄	'turkey'
MH	mĭí	mĭí-gg	mīī. = ín	mĭí-gg = ɔ́	'chicken'

Polysyllabic vowel-final stems

In (21), the definite clitic =*n* with no underlying tone is attached to nouns with
stem-final vowels and various tone melodies, and does not affect the stem tone.

(21) **Definite clitic = _n_**
      on vowel-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	DEF N SG	DEF N PL	
H	wááyáá	wááyáá-gg	wááyáá = n	wááyáá-gg = á	bird type'
M	ūrīī	ūrīī-gg	ūrīī = n	ūrīī-gg = ɔ́	'ostrich'
L	ɔ̀nsɔ̀	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg	ɔ̀nsɔ̀ = n	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg = ɔ̄	'cooking plate'
HL	ɔ́rd�àà	ɔ́rd�àà-gg	ɔ́rd�àà = n	ɔ́rd�àà-gg = ā	'army'
HM	sáárfāā	sáárfāā-gg	sáárfāā = n	sáárfāā-gg = á	'rat'
ML	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀-gg	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀ = n	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀-gg = ɔ̄	'fish'
LM	mɔ̀rāā	mɔ̀rāā-gg	mɔ̀rāā = n	mɔ̀rāā-gg = á	'governor'
MH	pēēd̠áá	pēēd̠áá-gg	pēēd̠áá = n	pēēd̠áá-gg = á	'crack'

Consonant-final stems

In (22), the definite clitic = _Á_ with underlying High tone is attached to nouns with stem-final consonants and various stem tone melodies. Clitic High tone becomes Mid when the clitic is attached to stem-final Low tone, in accordance with {M9}.

(22) **Definite clitic = _Á_**
      on consonant-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	DEF N SG	DEF N PL	
H	wáár	wáār-g	wáár = á	wáār-g = á	'insect type'
M	d̠ōm	d̠ōm-g	d̠ōm = ɔ́	d̠ōm-g = ɔ́	'Arab'
L	kààm	kààm-g	kààm = ā	kààm-g = ā	'cow type'
HL	séèn	séèn-g	séèn = ā	séèn-g = ā	'ruler'
HM	ɟɔ́rgāāl	ɟɔ́rgāāl-g	ɟɔ́rgāāl = á	ɟɔ́rgāāl-g = á	'bird type'
ML	kɔ̄ðèl	kɔ̄ðèl-g	kɔ̄ðèl = ā	kɔ̄ðèl-g = ā	'baboon'
LH	àggáár	àggáār-g	àggáár = á	àggáār-g = á	'hunter, rider'
LM	gɔ̀ēn	gɔ̀ēn-g	gɔ̀ēn = á	gɔ̀ēn-g = á	'metal worker'
MH	bāár	bāár-g	bāár = á	bāár-g = á	'tribe member'

7.4   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 = _É/=È_ attaches to the clause-final word. Relative clause definite clitics agree in number with the noun modified. In (a), the singular clitic with High tone on _fáá-gg = ɛ́_ 'lines' agrees with the singular noun _kɔ́sɔ́n-gí_ 'friendship'. In (b), the plural clitic with Low tone on _léél-éègg = è_ 'grasses' agrees with the plural noun _ɟēgg_ 'things'.

(23a) kɔ́sɔ́ngí   ná   àɔ̀   ná   ɛ́   fáá-gg   ɛ́   fáá-gg = ɛ́
       friendship   REL.SG   sits   REL.SG   in   line-PL   by   line-PL = RDM
       'The friendship which sits in lines by lines.' (Tifa11)

(b) ɟȇgg   έ   lɛ̄ɛ̄l-ɛ̄ɛ̄gg=à   bíígg   nà   àn   léél-έὲgg=**ὲ**
     thing.PL. of   grass.GEN-   some   REL.PL stay grass-
     GEN   PL-COP   PL=RDM
     ' . . some wild forest animals (lit. some things of grass
     which were staying in grass).' (Nyee1-2)

The relative clause definite clitic =*É* with High tone agrees with singular nouns
modified by the relative clause, and the clitic =*È* with Low tone agrees with plural
nouns.

Table 17: Relative clause definite clitics

Stem-final segment	RDM N SG	RDM N PL
(Polysyllabic) vowel	=É	
Consonant	=É	=È

The singular clitic =*É* attaches to nouns with stem-final consonants or vowels.
When attaching to vowels, it becomes an added syllable, juxtaposed to the stem
{M2}.

(24) **Relative clause definite clitic =*É* on singular nouns**
      Stem-final   N SG   RDM N SG
      Vowel   kāsá   kāsá.=έ   'boy'
      Consonant   mɔ̄īḍ   mɔ̄īḍ=í   'elder'

Singular clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}. Stem-
final HM tone becomes HL tone as in *àggáàr-g=ὲ* 'hunter' when followed by the
plural clitic Low tone {M7}.

(25) **Relative clause definite clitics =*É/=È* on singular and plural nouns**
      Stem-final N SG   N PL   RDM N SG   RDM N PL
      H/HM   àggáár   àggáār-g   àggáár=έ   àggáàr-g=ὲ   'hunter'
      M   kààḍēl   kààḍēl-éégg   kààḍēl=έ   kààḍēl-éég=ὲ 'leader'
      L   sîìnḍ   sììnḍ-ɘ̀gg   sîìnḍ=ī   sììnḍ-ɘ̀gg=ì   'guest'

7.5   Locative copular and dative clitics

The locative copula clitic and dative clitic are analyzed as two different morphemes
that happen to have the same form or the same morpheme with two senses. The
later is possible since the two clitics never occur together. The morphology of both
clitics is presented together in this section.

7.5.1   Locative and dative segmental morphology

Locative copula clitic

In non-verbal locative clauses, the singular or plural locative copula *íín/ēḡgàn* 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 *=An*. The singular locative copula *íín/één* of (26a) is replaced by the clitic *=An* attached to the subject noun in (b). The plural locative copula *ēggàn* of (c) is replaced by the same clitic in (d).

(26)   **Locative copular clauses**
(a)   àggáár   **íín**   wéé   bèɲɟ   (b)   àggáár = **ân**   wéé   bèɲɟ
       hunter   LCM   house   beside   hunter=LCM   house   beside
       'A hunter is beside a house.'

(c)   àggáār-g   **ēggàn**   wéé   bèɲɟ   (d)   àggáār-g = **ân**   wéé   bèɲɟ
       hunter-PL   LCM   house   beside   hunter-PL=LCM   house   beside
       'Hunters are beside a house.'

Dative clitic

The dative has the semantic roles of beneficiary and recipient as seen in the examples of (27). In general, dative constructions are not used with inanimate nouns.

(27)   **Dative nouns in clauses**
(a)   ɛ̄   bɛ̄ɛ̄   càɔr = **ân**
       he   says   rabbit-DAT
       'He said to the rabbit . . .'

(b)   á   gàf   ɟèèm   càɔr-ɛ̄ɛ̄gg = **ân**
       I   give   something   rabbit-PL=DAT
       'I give something to the rabbits.'

(c)   tíssɔ̀   ṭīnēgg   bīīgg   sāfāḍḍín = **ân**
       asked   questions   some.PL   Sayfadin-DAT
       'They asked Sayfadin some questions.'

The locative copular and dative clitic *=An* is attached to monosyllabic underlying approximant-final stems, the clitic *=Vn* is attached to monosyllabic long vowel-final stems, the clitic *=ˉn* is attached to polysyllabic vowel-final stems, and the clitic *=An* is attached to consonant-final stems. In stems with final approximants and stems with final vowels, the locative, dative, definite, and copular forms of nouns

are segmentally identical, differing sometimes only by tone. In stems with final consonant, locative and dative forms of nouns differ from definite and copular forms by a word-final *n*.

Table 18: Locative copular and dative clitics

Stem-final segment	LCM/DAT
(Monosyllabic) underlying approximant	= Ấn
(Monosyllabic) long vowel	= V̂n
(Polysyllabic) vowel	= ̄n
Consonant	= Ấn

Monosyllabic underlying approximant-final singular stems

In (28), the locative and dative clitic = Ấ*n* is attached to singular nouns with stem-final dental approximant *ð*. The clitic vowel takes the [ATR] and [round] features of the root {M3-4}.

(28)   **Locative and dative clitic = Ấ*n* on singular nouns with stem-final *ð***
        N SG   LCM/DAT N SG
        ɟááð   ɟááð = ấn   'old clothes'
        mɔ̄ɔ̄ð   mɔ̄ɔ̄ð = ɔ̂n   'grandfather'
        mɛ̄ɛ̄ð   mɛ̄ɛ̄ð = ấn   'tree type'
        kūūð   kūūð = ûn   'shadow'
        yààð   yààð = ān   'sister'

Most monosyllabic stems with underlying-final approximants *w, y* are phonetically somewhere inbetween the two utterances of (29).

(29)   **Locative/Dative clitic = Ấ*n***
        on monosyllabic underlying approximant final stems
        Stem-final   N SG   LCM/DAT N SG

(a)	aɔ /aw/	káɔ̂	ká.ɔ̂ = n	ká.w = àn	'hyena'
(b)	aaɔ /aaw/	bààɔ̀	bàà.ɔ̄ = n	bàà.w = ān	'father'
(c)	ɛɔ /ɛw/	bɛ̄ɔ̀	bɛ̄.ɔ̀ = n	bɛ̄.w = àn	'tree type'
(d)	aɛ /ay/	ṭāɛ̀	ṭā.ɛ̀ = n	ṭā.y = àn	'giraffe'
(e)	aaɛ /aay/	gááɛ̀	gáá.ɛ̀ = n	gáá.y = àn	'tree type'
(f)	əəi /əəy/	mà̀ə̀ì	mà̀ə̀.ī = n	mà̀ə̀.y = ɔ̄n	'farm fence'
(g)	ui /uy/	mūī	mū.î = n	mū.y = ɔ̂n	'wildebeest'
(h)	uui /uuy/	ɲūūì	ɲūū.ì = n	ɲūū.y = ə̀n	'leopard'

Monosyllabic long vowel-final singular stems

As in copular and definite forms, when locative copula and dative clitics = V̂*n* attach to monosyllabic long vowel-final stems, the clitic becomes a second syllable

{M2}. The clitic vowel takes on all the features of the stem-final vowel to which it is juxtaposed.

(30) **Locative/Dative clitic = V̂n on monosyllabic long vowel final stems**

Stem-final	N SG	LCM/DAT N SG	
ɛ	rɛ̄ɛ̄	rɛ̄ɛ̄.=ɛ̂n	'cotton'
a	máà	máá.=àn	'house'
ɔ	t̪ɔ́ɔ́	t̪ɔ́ɔ́.=ɔ̂n	'cow'
i	ɟìì	ɟīī.=ìn	'turkey'
ə	wə̄ə̄	wə̄ə̄.=ə̂n	'shade'
u	bùù	bùù.=ūn	'chicken coop roof'

Polysyllabic vowel-final singular stems

In (31), the locative copular and dative clitic =⁻n is attached to singular nouns with various stem-final long and short vowels.

(31) **Locative/Dative clitic = ⁻n on singular nouns with stem-final vowels**

	Stem-final	N SG	LCM/DAT N SG	
(a)	ɛɛ	ābbéɛ́	ābbéɛ̄=n	'uncle'
(b)	ii	ūrīī	ūrīī=n	'ostrich'
(c)	aa	wááyáá	wááyáā=n	'bird type'
(d)	əə	gə̄ūld̪ə̀ə̀	gə̄ūld̪ə̀ə̀=n	'fish'
(e)	ɔɔ	mélɔ̄ɔ̄	mélɔ̄ɔ̄=n	'sugar cane'
(f)	uu	ə̄yúú	ə̄yúū=n	'tooth brush'
(g)	a	t̪ááð̪à	t̪ááð̪à=n	'grandmother'
(h)	ə	ə̄ŋə̀	ə̄ŋə̀=n	'little girl'
(i)	ɔ	ɔ̀nsɔ̀	ɔ̀nsɔ̀=n	'cooking plate'
(j)	u	kúfú	kúfū=n	'crushed beans'
(k)	uə	būə̀	būə̀=n	'tree type'
(l)	(g)	áŋé(g)	áŋɛ̂=n	'elephant'

Consonant-final singular stems

In (32), the locative copular and dative clitic =Ấn is attached to singular nouns with various stem-final consonants.

(32) **Locative and dative clitic =Ấn**
on singular nouns with stem-final consonants

Stem-final	N SG	LCM/DAT N SG	
bb	ɟílə̀bb	ɟílə̀bb=ə̄n	'water spring'
d̪	māād̪	māād̪=ấn	'snake type'
d	dɔ́d	dɔ́d=ɔ̄n	'bird type'

Stem-final	N SG	LCM/DAT N SG	
ʄʄ	bìmìríʄʄ	bìmìríʄʄ = ɔ̄n	'bird type'
gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg = ɔ̄n	'woman'
s	márɔ̄ɔ̄s	márɔ̄ɔ̄s = ɔ̄n	'spider'
m	ḏɔ̄m	ḏɔ̄m = ɔ̄n	'Arab'
n	séèn	séèn = ān	'ruler'
ɲ	ɲéèŋ	ɲéèŋ = ān	'spear type'
ŋ	mɔ̄ɲ	mɔ̄ɲ = ɔ̄n	'wild cat type'
r	púr	púr = ūn	'flower'
l	ḏɔ̀ŋɔ̀l	ḏɔ̀ŋɔ̀l = ɔ̄n	'millipede'

Plural stems

In (33), the locative copular and dative clitic is attached to plural nouns with various plural suffixes.

(33) Locative and dative clitics on plural nouns

Suffix	N SG	N PL	LCM/DAT N SG	LCM/DAT N PL	
-ˉgg	wáár	wáār-g	wáár = ân	wáār-g = ân	'insect'
-ˉgg	wááyáá	wááyáá-gg	wááyáā = n	wááyáá-gg = ân	'bird'
-ˉgg	kúúfú	kúúfú-gg	kúúfū = n	kúúfú-gg = ūn	'beans'
-Āgg	célḏ	célḏ-āgg	célḏ = ân	célḏ-āgg = ân	'broom'
-ɛ́Ɛ̄gg	púr	púr-íígg	púr = ûn	púr-íígg = ɔ̄n	'flower'
-ĀĀgg	îl	íl-ɔ̀ɔ̀gg	îl = ɔ̄n	íl-ɔ̀ɔ̀gg = ɔ̄n	'horn'
-ĀĀḏ	kàmàlɔ̀gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg-àaḏ	kàmàlɔ̀gg = ɔ̄n	kàmàlɔ̀gg-àaḏ = ān	'woman'
-ˉḏ	ābbéɛ́	ābbéɛ̄-ḏ	ābbéɛ̄ = n	ābbéɛ̄-ḏ = ân	'uncle'
-ḏ/-gg	gɜ̀rmù-ḏ	gɜ̀rmù-gg	gɜ̀rmù = ḏ = ūn	gɜ̀rmù-gg = ūn	'insect'
-Eḏ/-gg	ʄíŋ-íḏ	ʄíŋ-g	ʄíŋ-íḏ = ɔ̄n	ʄíŋ-g = ɔ̄n	'louse'

7.5.2   Locative copular and dative tonal morphology

The locative copular and dative clitics = *Ân,* = *V̂n* have underlying High-Mid tone, and the clitic = *ˉn* on vowel-final stems has underlying Mid tone.

Monosyllabic underlying approximant-final stems

In (34), locative copular and dative clitics are attached to nouns with the stem-final dental approximant *ð* and three tone melodies. Clitic High tone becomes Mid when attached to stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(34)   **Locative/Dative clitic =Án**
        on stem-final ∂ nouns with three tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	LCM/DAT N SG	LCM/DAT N PL	
H	ɟááð	ɟááð-āāgg	ɟááð=ân	ɟááð-āāgg=ân	'old clothes'
M	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð-ɔ́ɔ̄ḍ	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð=ɔ̂n	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð-ɔ́ɔ̄ḍ=ɔ̂n	'grandfather'
L	yààð	yààð-āāḍ	yààð=ān	yààð-āāḍ=ân	'sister'

In (35), the locative copula and dative clitic =Án is attached to monosyllabic approximant-final stems in which the final approximant can surface as a vowel or as an approximant. In either, the noun word tone melody is the same. High clitic tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone in *bàà.w=ān* 'father=LCM'. As in the copular and definite forms of such nouns with HL and ML stem tone melodies, the Low tone delinks and reassigns to the clitic, replacing the clitic tone, in contradiction of {M6}.

(35)   **Locative/Dative clitic =Án**
        on monosyllabic approximant final stems with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	LCM/DAT N SG		LCM/DAT N PL	
H	ááɛ́	ááy-g	áá.ɛ=n	áá.y=ân	ááy-g=á	'honey'
M	mūī	mūy-g	mū.î=n	mū.y=ɔ̂n	mūy-g=ɔ́	'wildebeest'
L	bààɔ̀	bààw-āāḍ	bàà.ɔ=n	bàà.w=ān	bààw-āāḍ=á	'father'
HL	káɔ̀	kâw-g	ká.ɔ=n	ká.w=àn	kâw-g=ā	'hyena'
ML	ɲūūì	ɲūùy-g	ɲūū.ì=n	ɲūū.y=ɔ̀n	ɲūùy-g=ɔ̄	'leopard'

Monosyllabic long vowel-final stems

In (36), the locative copular and dative clitic = V̄n is juxtaposed to monosyllabic long vowel-final stems. Clitic High tone again becomes Mid when attached to Low stem melodies {M9}. In HL and ML stem melodies, the final Low tone delinks and reassigns to the clitic, replacing the clitic tone, in contradiction of {M6}.

(36)   Locative/Dative clitic = V̄n
        on monosyllabic long vowel final stems with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	LCM/DAT N SG	LCM/DAT N PL	
H	cáá	cáá-gg	cáá.=ân	cáá-gg=ân	'wild cat'
M	mīī	mīī-gg	mīī.=în	mīī-gg=ɔ̂n	'goat'
L	ḍìì	ḍìì-gg	ḍìì.=īn	ḍìì-gg=ɔ̄n	'rat'
HL	máà	máà-gg	máá.=àn	máà-gg=ān	'house'
ML	ɟīì	ɟīì-gg	ɟīī.=ìn	ɟīì-gg=ɔ̀n	'turkey'
MH	mīí	mīí-gg	mīī.=în	mīí-gg=ɔ̂n	'chicken'

Polysyllabic vowel final stems

In (37), the locative copula and dative clitic = ⁻n is attached to nouns with various

tone melodies and stem-final vowels. Clitic Mid tone assimilates to stem-final Low
tone {M9}.

(37)   **Locative/Dative clitic = ̄n**
        on vowel-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	LCM/DAT N SG	LCM/DAT N PL	
H	wááyáá	wááyáā-gg	wááyáā = n	wááyáā-gg = ân	bird type'
M	ūrīī	ūrīī-gg	ūrīī = n	ūrīī-gg = ɔ̄n	'ostrich'
L	ɔ̀nsɔ̀	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg	ɔ̀nsɔ̀ = n	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg = ɔ̄n	'cooking plate'
HL	ɔ́rd̠àà	ɔ́rd̠àà-gg	ɔ́rd̠àà = n	ɔ́rd̠àà-gg = ān	'army'
HM	sáárfāā	sáárfāā-gg	sáárfāā = n	sáárfāā-gg = ân	'rat'
ML	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀-gg	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀ = n	gɔ̄ūld̠ɔ̀ɔ̀-gg = ɔ̄n	'fish'
LM	mɔ̀rāā	mɔ̀rāā-gg	mɔ̀rāā = n	mɔ̀rāā-gg = ân	'governor'
MH	pēēd̠áá	pēēd̠áā-gg	pēēd̠áā = n	pēēd̠áá-gg = ân	'crack'

Consonant-final stems

In (38), the locative copular and dative clitic = *Ân* is attached to nouns with various
tone melodies and stem-final consonants. Clitic High tone becomes Mid when the
clitic follows stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(38)   **Locative/Dative clitic = *Ân***
        on consonant-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	LCM/DAT N SG	LCM/DAT N PL	
H	wáár	wáār-g	wáár = ân	wáār-g = ân	'insect type'
M	d̠ɔ̄m	d̠ɔ̄m-g	d̠ɔ̄m = ɔ̄n	d̠ɔ̄m-g = ɔ̄n	'Arab'
L	kààm	kààm-g	kààm = ān	kààm-g = ān	'cow type'
HL	séèn	séèn-g	séèn = ān	séèn-g = ān	'ruler'
HM	ɟɔ́rgāāl	ɟɔ́rgāāl-g	ɟɔ́rgāāl = ân	ɟɔ́rgāāl-g = ân	'bird type'
ML	kɔ̄ðèl	kɔ̄ðèl-g	kɔ̄ðèl = ān	kɔ̄ðèl-g = ān	'baboon'
LH	àggáár	àggáār-g	àggáár = ân	àggáār-g = ân	'hunter, rider'
LM	gɔ̀ēn	gɔ̀ēn-g	gɔ̀ēn = ân	gɔ̀ēn-g = ân	'metal worker'
MH	bāár	bāár-g	bāár = ân	bāár-g = ân	'tribe member'

7.6   Accompaniment

7.6.1   Accompaniment segmental morphology

As will be discussed in 11.1, the accompaniment clitic is used on nouns in adjuncts
introduced by the preposition *ὲ* 'with' if the noun has the semantic role of
accompaniment.

(39) bāárg＝á   áðǎ̀n   ànân   ὲ   ɟɔ̄gg   gɔ̄ɔr＝ɛ̂
      Baggara＝DEF   coming   staying   with   people   Goor＝ACM
      'The Baggara were coming with the people of Goor.' (Minj4)

The accompaniment clitic ＝*nĒ* is attached to stems with underlying-final
approximant or final vowel. The clitic ＝*Ê* is attached to consonant-final stems.

Table 19: Accompaniment clitics

Stem-final segment	ACM
(Monosyllabic) underlying approximant	＝nĒ
(Monosyllabic) long vowel	＝nĒ
(Polysyllabic) vowel	＝nĒ
Consonant	＝Ế

Monosyllabic underlying approximant final singular stems

In (40), the accompaniment clitic ＝*nĒ* is attached to singular nouns with stem-final
dental approximant *ð* in (a-e) and to stems with underlying-final approximants *w* or
y in (f-g). The clitic vowel takes the [ATR] quality of the root {M3}.

(40) **Accompaniment clitic ＝*nĒ* on singular nouns with stem-final *ð***

	Stem-final	N SG	ACM N SG	
(a)	ð	ɟááð	ɟááð＝nɛ̄	'old clothes'
(b)		mɔ̄ɔ̄ð	mɔ̄ɔ̄ð＝nī	'grandfather'
(c)		mɛ̄ɛ̄ð	mɛ̄ɛ̄ð＝nɛ̄	'tree type'
(d)		kūūð	kūūð＝nī	'shadow'
(e)		yààð	yààð＝nɛ̄	'sister'
(f)	ɔ /w/	bààɔ̀	bààɔ̀＝nɛ̄	'father'
(g)	ɛ /y/	rāāɛ̄	rāāɛ̄＝nɛ̄	'quarrel'

Vowel-final singular stems

In (41), the accompaniment clitic ＝*nĒ* is attached to singular nouns with various
stem-final long and short vowels as in (a-ɟ). The clitic also attaches to monosyllabic
long vowel stems (k) and stems with underlying-final velar plosive *g* (m).

(41) **Accompaniment clitic ＝*nĒ* on singular nouns with stem-final vowels**

	Stem-final	N SG	ACM N SG	
(a)	εε	ābbéɛ́	ābbéɛ́＝nɛ̄	'uncle'
(b)	ii	ūrīī	ūrīī＝nī	'ostrich'
(c)	aa	wááyáá	wááyáá＝nɛ̄	'bird type'
(d)	əə	gɔ̄ūlḍə̀ə̀	gɔ̄ūlḍə̀ə̀＝nī	'fish'
(e)	ɔɔ	mélɔ̄ɔ̄	mélɔ̄ɔ̄＝nɛ̄	'sugar cane'

	Stem-final	N SG	ACM N SG	
(f)	uu	ɔ̄yúú	ɔ̄yúú = nī	'tooth brush'
(g)	a	ṭááðà	ṭááðà = nɛ̄	'grandmother'
(h)	ə	ɔ̄ŋɔ̀	ɔ̄ŋɔ̀ = nī	'little girl'
(i)	ɔ	ɔ̀nsɔ̀	ɔ̀nsɔ̀ = nɛ̄	'cooking plate'
(j)	u	kúfú	kúfú = nī	'crushed beans'
(k)	aa	cáá	cáá = nɛ̄	'wild cat'
(l)	uə	būɔ̀	būɔ̀ = nī	'tree type'
(m)	(g)	áŋέ(g)	áŋέ = nɛ̄	'elephant'

Consonant-final singular stems

In (42), the accompaniment clitic $=\tilde{E}$ is attached to singular nouns with various stem-final consonants.

(42)   **Accompaniment clitic $=\bar{E}$ on singular nouns with stem-final consonants**

Stem-final	N SG	ACM N SG	
bb	ɉílə̀bb	ɉílə̀bb = ī	'water spring'
ḍ	māāḍ	māāḍ = ɛ̂	'snake type'
d	dɔ̆d	dɔ̆d = ɛ̂	'bird type'
ɟɟ	bìmìríɟɟ	bìmìríɟɟ = î	'bird type'
gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg = ɛ̄	'woman'
s	márɔ̄ɔ̄s	márɔ̄ɔ̄s = ɛ̂	'spider'
m	ḍɔ̄m	ḍɔ̄m = î	'Arab'
n	séèn	séèn = ɛ̄	'ruler'
ɲ	ɲéèŋ	ɲéèŋ = ɛ̄	'spear type'
ŋ	mɔ̄ɲ	mɔ̄ɲ = î	'wild cat type'
r	púr	púr = î	'flower'
l	ḍɔ̀ŋɔ̀l	ḍɔ̀ŋɔ̀l = ɛ̄	'millipede'

Plural stems

In (43), the accompaniment clitic $=\tilde{E}$ is attached to plural nouns with various plural suffixes. The singular nouns and singular accompaniment forms are given for comparison.

(43) **Accompaniment clitic $=\bar{E}$ on plural nouns**

Suffix	N SG	N PL	ACM N SG	ACM N PL	
-‿gg	wáár	wáār-g	wáár = ɛ̂	wáār-g = ɛ̂	'insect'
-‿gg	wááyáá	wááyáá-gg	wááyáá = nɛ̄	wááyáá-gg = ɛ̂	'bird'
-‿gg	kúúfú	kúúfú-gg	kúúfú = nī	kúúfú-gg = î	'beans'
-Āgg	célḍ	célḍ-āgg	célḍ = ɛ̂	célḍ-āgg = ɛ̂	'broom'
-ÉÉgg	púr	púr-íígg	púr = î	púr-íígg = î	'flower'

Suffix	N SG	N PL	ACM N SG	ACM N PL	
-<u>AA</u>gg	îl	íl-ə̀ə̀gg	îl = ī	íl-ə̀ə̀gg = ī	'horn'
-<u>AA</u>ḓ	kàmàlɔ̀gg	kàmàlɔ̀gg-ààḏ	kàmàlɔ̀gg = ɛ̄	kàmàlɔ̀gg-ààḏ = ɛ̄	'woman'
- ̱ ḓ	ābbéɛ́	ābbéɛ̄-ḓ	ābbéɛ́ = nɛ̄	ābbéɛ̄-ḓ = ɛ̂	'uncle'
-ḓ/-gg	gə̀rmù-ḓ	gə̀rmù-gg	gə̀rmù-ḓ = ī	gə̀rmù-gg = ī	'insect'
-Eḓ/-gg	ɟíŋ-íḓ	ɟíŋ-g	ɟíŋ-íḓ = î	ɟíŋ-g = î	'louse'

7.6.2 Accompaniment tonal morphology

The accompaniment clitic $=n\bar{E}$ on approximant-final stems and vowel-final stems has underlying Mid tone. However, this clitic is an exception to the tone lowering rule {M9} of 3.4.3. The clitic $=\bar{E}$ on consonant-final stems has underlying HM tone and is in accordance with {M9}.

Dental approximant ð final stems

In (44), Mid tone of the clitic $=n\bar{E}$ is not lowered following stem-final Low tone and thus {M9} is not applied to this suffix.

(44)   **Accompaniment clitic $=n\bar{E}$**
        on stem-final ð nouns with three tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	ACM N SG	ACM N PL	
H	ɟááð	ɟááð-āāgg	ɟááð = nɛ̄	ɟááð-āāgg = ɛ̄	'old clothes'
M	mə̄ə̄ð	mə̄ə̄ð-ɔ́ə̄ḓ	mə̄ə̄ð = nī	mə̄ə̄ð-ɔ́ə̄ḓ = î	'grandfather'
L	yààð	yààð-āāḏ	yààð = nɛ̄	yààð-āāḏ = ɛ̂	'sister'

Vowel-final stems

In (45), the accompaniment clitic $=n\bar{E}$ is attached to nouns with stem-final vowels and various tone melodies. As in approximant-final stems, Mid tone of the clitic $=n\bar{E}$ is not lowered following stem-final Low tone.

(45)   **Accompaniment clitic $=n\bar{E}$**
        on vowel-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	ACM N SG	ACM N PL	
H	wááyáá	wááyáá-gg	wááyáá = nɛ̄	wááyáá-gg = ɛ̂	'bird type'
M	ūrīī	ūrīī-gg	ūrīī = nī	ūrīī-gg = î	'ostrich'
L	ɔ̀nsɔ̀	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg	ɔ̀nsɔ̀ = nɛ̄	ɔ̀nsɔ̀-gg = ɛ̄	'cooking plate'
HL	ɔ́rḓàà	ɔ́rḓàà-gg	ɔ́rḓàà = nɛ̄	ɔ́rḓàà-gg = ɛ̄	'army'
HM	sáárfāā	sáárfāā-gg	sáárfāā = nɛ̄	sáárfāā-gg = ɛ̄	'rat'
ML	gə̄ūlḓə̀ə̀	gə̄ūlḓə̀ə̀-gg	gə̄ūlḓə̀ə̀ = nī	gə̄ūlḓə̀ə̀-gg = ī	'fish'
LM	mɔ̀rāā	mɔ̀rāā-gg	mɔ̀rāā = nɛ̄	mɔ̀rāā-gg = ɛ̄	'governor'
MH	pɛ̄ɛ̄ḓáá	pɛ̄ɛ̄ḓáá-gg	pɛ̄ɛ̄ḓáá = nɛ̄	pɛ̄ɛ̄ḓáá-gg = ɛ̄	'crack'

Consonant-final stems

In (46), the accompaniment clitic $=\hat{E}$ is attached to nouns with stem-final
consonants and various tone melodies. High tone in the clitic becomes Mid when
the clitic is attached to stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(46)   **Accompaniment clitic $=\hat{E}$**
       on consonant-final singular nouns with various tone melodies

Tone	N SG	N PL	ACM N SG	ACM N PL	
H	wáár	wáār-g	wáár=ɛ̂	wáār-g=ɛ̂	'insect type'
M	ḓɔ̄m	ḓɔ̄m-g	ḓɔ̄m= î	ḓɔ̄m-g=î	'Arab'
L	kààm	kààm-g	kààm=ɛ̄	kààm-g=ɛ̄	'cow type'
HL	séèn	séèn-g	séèn=ɛ̄	séèn-g=ɛ̄	'ruler'
HM	ɟɔ́rgāāl	ɟɔ́rgāāl-g	ɟɔ́rgāāl=ɛ̂	ɟɔ́rgāāl-g=ɛ̂	'bird type'
ML	kɔ̄ðèl	kɔ̄ðèl-g	kɔ̄ðèl=ɛ̄	kɔ̄ðèl-g=ɛ̄	'baboon'
LH	àggáár	àggáār-g	àggáár=ɛ̂	àggáār-g=ɛ̂	'hunter, rider'
LM	gɔ̀ēn	gɔ̀ēn-g	gɔ̀ēn=ɛ̂	gɔ̀ēn-g=ɛ̂	'metal worker'
MH	bāár	bāár-g	bāár=ɛ̂	bāár-g=ɛ̂	'tribe member'

As discussed in section 2.4, no more than one tone is assigned on short, open
syllables in roots. Although the short, open syllable clitic $=\hat{E}$ allows two tones to
be assigned, there is commonly some alternation.

When the accompaniment clitic is attached to stems with final Mid tone, the High of
the High-Mid clitic $=\hat{E}$ is lowered to a pitch half-way between High and Mid tone
before falling to Mid tone. The quick 'half' High-Mid falling tone sounds like a
strong Mid tone syllable, and is different to speakers and hearers than the regular
Mid tone.

When the accompaniment clitic $=\hat{E}$ is attached to stems with final High tone, the
High of the High-Mid clitic is sometimes unassigned so that the surface tone of the
clitic vowel is only Mid tone. At other times, the Mid of the High-Mid clitic is
unassigned so that the surface tone of the clitic vowel is only High tone. Still, at
other times, both tones surface on the clitic vowel. These alternations differ for the
same nouns for the same speakers, depending on the quickness of speech, rather than
because of phonological features of the stem segments. The slower the noun form is
spoken, the more likely that both tones will be uttered.

7.7   Subordinate clause-final clitic

In subordinate clauses such as those beginning with the subordinate conjunction *é
gārá* 'when', the clitic $=\acute{E}$ attaches to the clause-final word. The marker $=\acute{E}$
attaches to the subordinate clause of (47a), beginning with the conjunction *é gārá*

'when', and to the subordinate clause *ɔ̀ gàɔ̀-sā gùrūs = í* 'and when a person gave money,' of (b), having the same function but without the subordinate conjunction.

(47a) ɛ́ gārá   kɔ́s-s = ɪ̀   ūfú-n = **í**,   ɛ̄   dɔ́ɔ̀s
       GP when   struck-COMP = SBO1   tree-DEF = SBO   3sN   start
       'When she struck the tree, she began . . .' (Nyee14)

(b)   bɛ̄ɛ̀l   mân   ṭā-án   ṭù   ɔ̀   gàɔ̀-sā   gùrūs = **í**
      metal   certain   was   there   and   give-COMP   money = SBO (Ar)
      'There was a certain metal token, and when (a person) gave money,

      ɛ̄   gɔ̀f = ûn = ì   ḍ-ɔ́ɔ̀s.
      3sN   give = 2sD = 3sAM   in-hand.2sPs
      he gave it to you as certificate of payment (lit. in your hand)' (Fand8-9)

The subordinate clause-final clitic = *É* (SBO) should not be confused with the subordinate verb-final clitics (SBO1, SBO2) of 10.7. In (47a), the clitic = *ɪ̀* (SBO1) attaches to the verb *kɔ́s-s = ɪ̀* 'struck=COMP =SBO1' in addition to the clause-final clitic = *É* (SBO) and is a different morpheme.

Subordinate clauses are further discussed in section 15.2 on conjunctions. In 15.3 it will be shown that the subordinate clause-final clitic attaches to interrogative clauses in which the interrogative pronoun is pre-verbal. As shown in (23) of 4.1.11, subordinate clauses can contain relative clauses. In 14.7 the difference between subordinate clauses and relative clauses is discussed.

The subordinate clause clitic = *É* attaches to singular and plural nouns with stem-final consonants and the clitic = *nÉ* attaches to stem-final vowels.

Table 20: Subordinate clause clitic

Stem-final segment	SBO N SG	SBO N PL
Vowel	= nÉ	
Consonant	= É	= É

In (48), the clitic = *nÉ* attaches to vowel-final noun stems with various root tone melodies. Subordinate clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(48) **Subordinate clause clitic = *nÉ* attached to vowel-final noun stems**

Tone	N SG	N PL	SBO N SG	SBO N PL	
H	ṭɔ́ɔ́	ṭɔ́-gg	ṭɔ́ɔ́ = nɛ́	ṭɔ́-gg = ɛ́	'cow'
M	mīī	mīī-gg	mīī = ní	mīī-gg = í	'goat'
L	ḍìì	ḍìì-gg	ḍìì = nī	ḍìì-gg = ī	'rat'
HL	wírì	wírìì-gg	wírì = nī	wírìì-gg = ī	'bird'

HM	cééɔ̄	cééɔ̄-gg	cééɔ́=nɛ́	cééɔ́-gg=ɛ́	'cripple'
ML	ɲūūì	ɲūūì-gg	ɲūūì=nī	ɲūūì-gg=ī	'leopard'
LM	mòrāā	mòrāā-gg	mòrāā=nɛ́	mòrāā-gg=ɛ́	'governor'
MH	kāsá	kāsā-gg	kāsá=nɛ́	kāsā-gg=ɛ́	'boy'

In (49), the clitic =É attaches to consonant-final noun stems with various root tone melodies. Subordinate clitic High tone again lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(49)   **Subordinate clause clitic =É attached to consonant-final noun stems**

Tone	N SG	N PL	SBO N SG	SBO N PL	
H	kɔ́líḍ	kɔ́lí-īgg	kɔ́líḍ=í	kɔ́lí-īgg=í	'bird'
M	ṭēḍēl	ṭēḍēl-g	ṭēḍēl=ɛ́	ṭēḍēl-g=ɛ́	'bird'
L	dòìḍ	dòìḍ-ògg	dòìḍ=ī	dòìḍ-ògg=ī	'scorpion'
HL	ɔ́sòr	ɔ́sòr-g	ɔ́sòr=ī	ɔ́sòr-g=ī	'army'
HM	márɔ̄ɔ̄s	márɔ̄ɔ̄s-ɔ̄gg	márɔ̄ɔ̄s=ɛ́	márɔ̄ɔ̄s-ɔ̄gg=ɛ́	'spider'
ML	gɔ̄mūùr	gɔ̄mūùr-ììgg	gɔ̄mūùr=ī	gɔ̄mūùr-ììgg=ī	'dove'
LH	àggáár	àggáár-g	àggáár=ɛ́	àggáár-g=ɛ́	'hunter'
LM	gòŋīī-ḍ	gòŋīī-g	gòŋīī-ḍ=í	gòŋīī-g=í	'bird'
MH	tēnḍás	tēnḍás-āgg	tēnḍás=ɛ́	tēnḍás-āgg=ɛ́	'bird'