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Stirtz, T.M.

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## 8 Adjectives

As discussed in 4.3, adjectives are analyzed as a distinct lexical category from either nouns or verbs since they are not used in some of the syntactic constructions of either nouns or verbs, and there are differences in the morphology from either category. Adjectives are generally not attested (NA) in use as subjects, objects, or objects of prepositions. As will be discussed in 8.3, there are three differences in the stem morphology of nouns and adjectives with final consonants. In verb paradigms, 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. These and other details specifying the difference between adjectives and nouns and verbs are found in 4.3.

Adjective types are discussed in 8.1, stem morphology of qualitative adjectives in 8.2, and word morphology of qualitative adjectives in 8.3.

### 8.1 Adjective types

Numerals (8.1.1), quantitative adjectives (8.1.2), demonstratives (8.1.3) and qualitative adjectives (8.1.4) immediately follow nouns in noun phrases and specify some property of the nouns they follow. Thus, all of these can be analyzed categorically as adjectives. Nevertheless, there are some differences.

Demonstratives and qualitative adjectives agree in number with the nouns they modify, whereas numerals and quantitative adjectives do not. Rather, numerals and quantitative adjectives have different lexemes depending on whether the nouns they modify are singular or plural. Only the morphology of qualitative adjectives is similar to that of nouns. For further discussion of adjectives in noun phrases, see 14.9.2.

#### 8.1.1 Numerals

The numeral *ṭāmán* ‘one’ is used with singular nouns. All other cardinal numbers are used with plural nouns.

(1a) *ār ú = bilī jōgg kāē wá, bēl jēn ṭāmán*  
 hey 2pN = hit people all not hit person one  
 ‘Don’t kill all the people; just kill the one man.’ (Fand29)

(b) *jāfārì = n é mánē jō ḍàḍ-sā càḍr-ēēgg = á yōōsá*  
 Jafari = DEF alone just killed rabbits-PL = DEF four  
 Jafari, by himself, killed four rabbits. (Jafr7)

Gaahmg numerals draw upon words for hands, feet, and eyes. Hands and feet are representative of the number of fingers and toes that they contain. The numeral *áás-áámán* ‘five (hand-one)’ is based on the five fingers of one hand. The numeral *ídíg-dáágg* ‘seven (eyes-two)’ is based on the two eyes—apparently in addition to the five fingers of one hand which are not included in the numeral. The numeral *ásēg-dí* ‘ten (hands-also)’ is based on the ten fingers of two hands. The numeral *ḡāā dū̀̀ ãēḡ* ‘twenty (person black body)’ is based on all the fingers and toes of a black person’s body. It is interesting that the word *dū̀̀* ‘black’ is included in the construction of the numeral, although having nothing to do with the numeral itself. The numerals ‘forty’, ‘sixty’, and higher multiples of twenty are ‘two bodies’, ‘three bodies’ etc.

(2) **Numerals (cardinal numbers)**

<i>ḡāmán</i>	1	
<i>ḡáágg</i>	2	
<i>óḡḡ</i>	3	
<i>yãḡsḡ</i>	4	
<i>áás-áámán</i>	5	(hand.1sPs-one)
<i>ḡólḡigg</i>	6	
<i>ídíg-dáágg</i>	7	(eye.3sPp-two)
<i>ídigg-óḡḡ</i>	8	(eye.3sPp-three)
<i>ídíg-yãḡsḡ</i>	9	(eye.3sPp-four)
<i>ásēg-dí</i>	10	(hand.3sPp-also)
<i>ásēgḡdí ì ná ḡāmán</i>	11	(ten with REL one)
<i>ásēgḡdí ì ná ḡáágg</i>	12	(ten with REL two)
<i>ḡāā dū̀̀ ãēḡ</i>	20	(person black body)
<i>ḡāā dū̀̀ ãēḡ ì ná ḡāmán</i>	21	(twenty with REL one)
<i>ḡāā dū̀̀ ãēḡ ì ná ḡáágg</i>	22	(twenty with REL two)
<i>ḡāā dū̀̀ ãēḡ ì ná ásēgḡdí</i>	30	(twenty with REL ten)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã ḡáágg</i>	40	(people black body.PL-DEF two)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã ḡáágg ì ná ásēgḡdí</i>	50	(forty with REL ten)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã óḡḡ</i>	60	(people black body.PL-DEF three)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã óḡḡ ì ná ásēgḡdí</i>	70	(sixty with REL ten)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã yãḡsḡ</i>	80	(people black body.PL-DEF four)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã yãḡsḡ ì ná ásēgḡdí</i>	90	(eighty with REL ten)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã áásáámán</i>	100	(people black body.PL-DEF five)
<i>ḡōg dū̀̀igg ìḡḡ-ã ásēgḡdí</i>	200	(people black body.PL-DEF ten)

Ordinal numbers are constructed with cardinal numbers in relative clauses used as modifiers of the head noun. However, the numerals *mãḡgg* and *yààn* are used for ‘first’ and ‘second’ instead of *ḡāmán* ‘one’ and *ḡáágg* ‘two’.

- (3a) ɖù-ɖ = ū      ná      mɔ̀ɔ̀gg = ē      wēɖán  
 year-SG = DEF    REL    first = REL    good.SG  
 ‘The first year is good.’
- (b) ɖù-gg = ū      nà      ɔ̀ɔ̀ = ē      wíɔ̀-gg = ɔ̀  
 year-PL = DEF    REL.PL    first = RDM    good-PL = COP  
 ‘The third year is good.’

(4) **Ordinal numbers**

mɔ̀ɔ̀gg-ē	‘first’
yààn-è	‘second’
ɔ̀ɔ̀-ē	‘third’
yɔ̀ɔ̀s-í	‘fourth’
āāsāāmân-ì	‘fifth’
táɖìg-ì	‘sixth’
íɖíggɖáàgg-è	‘seventh’
íɖíggɔ̀ɔ̀-è	‘eighth’
íɖígyɔ̀ɔ̀s-í	‘ninth’
ɔ̀sɔ̀gɔ̀-í	‘tenth’
ɔ̀sɔ̀gɖí ì ná ɖāmân-ē	‘eleventh’
ɔ̀sɔ̀gɖí ì ná ɖáàgg-è	‘twelfth’

## 8.1.2 Quantitative adjectives

Indefinite adjectives and quantitative adjectives can be grouped into the same semantic and syntactic category. There are different indefinite adjectives depending on whether the nouns they follow and modify are singular or plural.

- (5) Mīī **mān**    nāmānē    é    ūlg-ì                    māj    wá.  
 goat    certain    beaten    GP    thirst.GEN-3sP    well    not  
 There was once a very thirsty goat. (Goat1)

Singular and plural referents can have differing or the same root forms. The cardinal number ‘one’ *ɖāmán* could be derived from *mān* ‘any, certain’.

(6) **Indefinite adjectives**

Singular		Plural	
mān	‘any, certain’	bíigg	‘certain’
dāàn, yāàn	‘different, another’	dāān-ààgg	‘others’

There are also different quantitative adjectives depending on whether the nouns they follow and modify are singular or plural.

- (7a) mōīd kūūḍ = ū ḍàḍ-sā jèèḿ **ḍéé** wá  
 old.man person.name = DEF kill-COMP thing any not  
 ‘The old man of Kuud didn’t kill anything.’ (Jafr8)
- (b) é gārā ḍḍḍ-s = ɿ īgg = ḍ = r **kāy** = é  
 GP when milk-COMP = SBO1 milk = DEF = PF all = SBO  
 ‘When all the milk was completely milked, . . .’ (Nyee25)
- (c) é ḍḍḍ-ɿ āāggá é mīḍ-ḍg **fḥḥ** wá bḍ = ɿ  
 3sN /ḍḍḍ/stone-INF 1pA GP stone-PL few not oh = SBO  
 ‘When it pelted us with a lot of stones, . . .’ (Thng20)
- (d) á bās-sā ḍgg **ḥālg**  
 1sN throw-COMP time many  
 ‘I threw many times.’

Singular and plural referents of quantitative adjectives have differing root forms. There is no attested singular counterpart of *fḥḥ* ‘few’.

(8) **Quantitative adjectives**

Singular		Plural
ḍéé	‘any’	kāē ‘all’
bum	‘much’	ḥālg ‘many’
-----		fḥḥ ‘few’

8.1.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives follow and agree in number with the nouns they modify. They are not used pronominally. High tone on the initial syllable marks agreement with a singular noun and Low tone marks agreement with a plural noun.

(9) **Demonstratives**

- (a) bī fīḡ-ḍḍ kōr ḍḍn **ní** mā māḡ  
 let hear word 1sPs this very carefully  
 ‘Listen carefully to what I am saying (lit. this my word)!’ (Womn3)
- (b) ágg fēssā ḍḍ-gg = ū **nèè** kāē  
 1pN grazed year-PL=DEF **these** all  
 ‘We grazed (cows) all these years.’
- (c) ú ḥḥḍḍn = ɿ ḥḥ-gg = ḍ gār-g = ā **nāḍḍi** kāē jīnḍ  
 2sN putting=them cow-PL=DEF place-PL=DEF **those** all why  
 ‘Why were you putting all those cows into a certain place?’

The three-way distinction is for near a speaker, near an addressee, and away from both speaker and addressee. The singular and plural demonstratives *náá(n)* ‘that’ *nàà(n)* ‘those’ optionally have a final segment *n*.

(10) **Demonstratives**

DEM SG		DEM PL		
níí, néé	‘this’	nèè	‘these’	near speaker
náá(n)	‘that’	nàà(n)	‘those’	near addressee
nááđī	‘that’	nààđī	‘those’	away from both

The same three-way distinction is present in demonstrative locative adverbs which can be in short or long form.

- (11) gəl Fónđī bəg-s = ən = ɪn líjɪ é kərɪtūm ɬɛ.  
 just Fandi catch-COMP = PAS = 3pD arrived GP Khartoum here  
 Fandi was captured by them (government officials),  
 and brought here to Khartoum. (Fand6)

(12) **Demonstrative locative adverbs**

Long	Short		
ɬɛɛðé	ɬɛ	‘here’	near speaker
ɬààdá	ɬà	‘there’	near addressee
ɬììđí	ɬì	‘there’	away from both

## 8.1.4 Qualitative adjectives

Qualitative adjectives, including adjectives of colour, also follow and agree in number with the noun they modify, as shown by the examples of (13).

- (13a) á nām jɛr bər (b) á nām jɛr-g bər-g  
 1sN want sorghum yellow 1sN want sorghum-PL yellow-PL  
 ‘I want yellow sorghum.’ ‘I want yellow types of sorghums.’

Gaahmg has five colour distinctions.

(14) **Colour adjectives**

ADJ SG		ADJ PL		
jāā	ɖùì	jōgg	ɖùì-gg	‘black person’
léél	nāār	léél-g	nāār-g	‘green grass’
níí-ɖ	póð	níí-gg	póð-g	‘white tooth’
áfá-ɖ	bèrà	áfá-āgg	bèrà-gg	‘red blood’
jɛr	bər	jɛr-g	bər-g	‘yellow sorghum’

The examples of (15) are representative of other qualitative adjectives.

(15) **Qualitative adjectives**

ADJ SG		ADJ PL		
gàar	cúú	gàar-èègg	cúú-gg	'sweet pork'
wéé	bér	wís-ǽg	bér-g	'clean house'
kòlèèð	î	kòlèèð-g	î-gg	'heavy sword'
jēn	bándāl	jōg	bándāl-g	'weak person'
kágðàr	áè	kágðàr-g	áy-g	'sour food'
ṭó	kóófàr	ṭó-g	kóófàr-g	'thin cow'
kàmàlògg	kāyáar	kàmàlògg-ààḍ	kāyáar-g	'beautiful girl'
ḍàl	lūsú	ḍàl-g	lūsú-gg	'hot cooking pot'
ḍēèl	gàal	ḍēèl-èègg	gàal-g	'distant lake'
ṭààð	kár	ṭààð-g	kár-g	'loose door'
sáá	ón	sá-gg	ón-g	'bad wine'
sáàð	yáá	sááw-èègg	yáá-gg	'new grass-cutter'
māàð	fūūi	māàw-èègg	fūūy-g	'male gazelle'
páré	sàmāār	páré-ēgg	sàmāār-g	'rough leather bag'
páré	bāal	páré-ēgg	bāal-g	'striped bag'
əṅə	ḍəmā	əṅ-g	ḍəmā-gg	'blind girl'
jēn	céé	jōgg	céē-gg	'unavailable person'
būúl	káé	būúl-g	kāy-g	'finished bread'
jāā	ḍúsú	jāālgé	ḍúsú-gg	'ignorant boy'
mḍsḍr	būr	mḍsḍr-èèg	būr-g	'remaining horse'
jāā	ḍəṅṅr	jōgg	ḍəṅṅr-g	'stuttering boy'

## 8.2 Qualitative adjective stem morphology

Word structure of qualitative adjectives can be ordered according to the schemes of (16). As in nouns, the adjective stem consists of the root and an optional plural suffix. The adjective word consists of the stem and optional slots for copula, definite, locative, dative, accompaniment, subordinate, and relative definite clause marker clitics.

- (16) Adjective stem = root + (PL marker)  
 Adjective word = [ADJ stem] + ({COP, DEF, LCM, DAT, ACM, SBO, RDM})

Plural formation of qualitative adjectives is similar to that of nouns in that adjective roots attach the segmental suffix -gg with more than one tonal allomorph.

## 8.2.1 Segmental plural formation of adjectives

Plural formation of adjectives nearly always involves attaching the suffix -gg in the plural form. As in nouns, the suffix attaches to root-final sonorants and vowels.

Table 21: Adjective Plural Formation

Suffix	Root-final segment	ADJ SG	ADJ PL		Number
-gg	sonorant	dómɔ̃l	dómɔ̃l-g	‘big’	20
	vowel	yáá	yáá-gg	‘new’	10

The plural suffix *-gg* is attested to attach to root-final *r*, *l*, *n*, and *y*.

(17) **Plural adjective suffix *-gg***

UR-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	
/r/	kár	kár-g	‘loose’
/l/	dómɔ̃l	dómɔ̃l-g	‘big’
/n/	ón	ón-g	‘bad’
/y/	áè	ây-g	‘sour’
/y/	fũ̀ù	fũ̀ù-y-g	‘male’

The plural suffix *-gg* is also attested to attach to root-final short and long vowels.

(18) **Plural adjective suffix *-gg***

UR-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	
/ə/	ḍəm̄ə	ḍəm̄ə-gg	‘blind’
/u/	lūsú	lūsú-gg	‘hot’
/i/	wílí	wílí-gg	‘reflective’
/a/	yáá	yáá-gg	‘new’
/ə/	bós	bós-gg	‘acidic’
/u/	cúú	cúú-gg	‘sweet’
/ɛ/	céé	céé-gg	‘unavailable’
/i/	î	î-gg	‘heavy’

Only the adjectives of (19) have been attested with other suffixes and are analyzed as having irregular plural formation.

(19) **Irregular plural adjective formation**

ADJ SG	ADJ PL	
pārrās	pārs-ígg	‘full plate’
dā̀n	dā̀n-à̀g	‘another chicken’
kàràább	kàràá-ògg	‘troublesome boy’
wḗdà	wí-gg	‘good, beautiful’
mū́ús	mū́ús-ós	‘even, equal’
ṅā̀n	ṅā̀lgéégg	‘small, young’
fā̀	fā̀ng	‘old’
mā̀dā	mā̀ng	‘big’



## 8.2.2 Tonal plural formation of adjectives

The following tone melodies have been attested in adjectives.

(20) **Tone melodies in adjectives**

Root tone	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	
H	báár	báár-g	‘weak’
M	lōwō	lōwō-gg	‘round, circular’
L	gààl	gààl-g	‘distant, far’
HL	bûr	bûr-g	‘remaining’
HM	ɲáār	ɲáār-g	‘green’
ML	bāàl	bāàl-g	‘striped, coloured’
MH	mūús	mūús-ós	‘even, equal’
LM	sèggār	sèggār-g	‘strong’
LH	kàráább	kàráá-ōgg	‘troublesome’
HMH	wílí	wílí-gg	‘reflective mirror’

As shown by the contrasts of (21), there are two tonal allomorphs of the segmental suffix *-gg*, one with no underlying tone and one with Mid tone.

(21) **Tone melodies in adjectives**

Suffix	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	
- <u>gg</u>	báár	báár-g	‘weak’
- gg	kāyáár	kāyáár-g	‘beautiful’
- <u>gg</u>	yáá	yáá-gg	‘new’
- gg	céé	céé-gg	‘unavailable’

## 8.3 Qualitative adjective clitic morphology

Most clitic allomorphs attaching to nouns with various stem-final segments and number have the same form when attaching to adjectives of the same stem-final segments and number. There are three exceptions attested: the copular clitic = $\bar{A}$  attaches to consonant-final singular nouns, whereas there is no copular marking on consonant-final singular adjectives; the definite clitic =  $Vn$  with no underlying tone attaches to monosyllabic long vowel-final nouns, whereas the definite clitic =  $\acute{V}n$  with High tone attaches to monosyllabic long vowel-final adjectives; the definite clitic =  $\acute{A}$  with High tone attaches to plural nouns, whereas the definite clitic =  $\grave{A}$  with Low tone attaches to plural adjectives.

Table 22 lists the various clitics on stem-final segments and (22) gives example adjectives with the same order. Three combinations of clitics are included: the relative clause dative (RDTM)/ relative clause locative copula (RDCM), the relative clause definite and accompaniment (RDM=ACM), and relative clause definite and subordinate (RDM=SBO). Clitics on adjectives with certain stem-final segments

which have not been attested are left blank.

Table 22: Adjective word clitic allophones

Stem-final segment	COP	DEF	RDM	DAT/LCM	RDTM/RLCM
(Monosyllabic)vowel/approx.		= <b>V̄n</b>	= <b>É</b>		
(polysyllabic) vowel	= <b>n̄</b>	= <b>n</b>	= <b>É</b>	= <b>n̄</b>	= <b>ÉĒn</b>
Consonant	---	= <b>Á</b>	= <b>É</b>	= <b>Án</b>	= <b>ÉĒn</b>
Consonant Noun PL	= <b>À</b>	= <b>Ā</b>	= <b>È</b>	= <b>Ān</b>	= <b>ÈĒn</b>

Stem-final segment	ACM	RDM=ACM	SBO	RDM=SBO
(polysyllabic) vowel	= <b>nĒ</b>	<b>ÉÉ</b> = <b>nĒ</b>	= <b>nĒ</b>	<b>ÉÉ</b> = <b>nĒ</b>
Consonant	= <b>Ē</b>	<b>ÉÉ</b> = <b>nĒ</b>	= <b>É</b>	<b>ÉÉ</b> = <b>nĒ</b>
Consonant Noun PL	= <b>Ē̄</b>	<b>ÈÈ</b> = <b>nĒ</b>	= <b>É</b>	<b>ÈÈ</b> = <b>nĒ</b>

(22a) **Adjective word clitic allomorphs on various stem-final adjectives**

ADJ	COP	DEF	RDM	
î		î. = ín	î. = î	‘heavy’
ḍəmḍ	ḍəmḍ = n	ḍəmḍ = n	ḍəmḍ. = í	‘blind’
kāyáár	kāyáár	kāyáár = á	kāyáár = é	‘beautiful’
kāyáár-g	kāyáár-g = à	kāyáár-g = à	kāyáár-g = è	‘beautiful-PL’

(b) **Adjective word clitic allomorphs on various stem-final adjectives**

ADJ	DAT/LCM	RDTM/RLCM	ACM	
ḍəmḍ	ḍəmḍ = n	ḍəmḍ. = ín	ḍəmḍ = nĒ	‘blind’
kāyáár	kāyáár = ān	kāyáár = éĒn	kāyáár = Ē	‘beautiful’
kāyáár-g	kāyáár-g = ān	kāyáár-g = èĒn	kāyáár-g = Ē̄	‘beautiful-PL’

(c) **Adjective word clitic allomorphs on various stem-final adjectives**

ADJ	RDM=ACM	SBO	RDM=SBO	
ḍəmḍ	ḍəmḍ. = í = nĒ	ḍəmḍ = ní	ḍəmḍ. = íí = ní	‘blind’
kāyáár	kāyáár = éé = nĒ	kāyáár = é	kāyáár = éé = né	‘beautiful’
kāyáár-g	kāyáár-g = éè = nĒ	kāyáár-g = é	kāyáár-g = éè = né	‘beautiful-PL’

Not enough adjective data was collected to make sure that the copula = **n̄** and accompaniment = **nĒ** clitics attached to stem-final vowels do not follow the tone lowering rule of {M9} in 3.4.3 as in nouns, but presumably this is the case.

### 8.3.1 Copular clitic

Copular clitics attach to adjectives. In the adjective non-verbal clauses of (23), the copular markers agree in number with the adjective to which they attach.

- (23a) ʔóó sèggār (b) ʔó-gg sèggār-g = à̂  
 cow strong cow-PL strong-PL = COP  
 ‘A cow is strong.’ ‘Cows are strong.’
- (c) ʔóó = n d̄əm̄ = n  
 cow = DEF blind = COP  
 ‘The cow is blind.’

The clitic =  $\bar{n}$  attaches to polysyllabic vowel-final singular adjectives as in (23c), and the clitic =  $\bar{A}$  attaches to plural adjectives as in (b), the same as in nouns with these stem-final segments. However unlike consonant-final singular nouns which attach the copular clitic =  $\bar{A}$ , consonant-final singular adjectives are unmarked by any copular clitic, as shown in (a).

Table 23: Copular clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	COP ADJ SG	COP ADJ PL
(Polysyllabic) vowel	= $\bar{n}$	
Consonant	---	= $\bar{A}$

The copular clitic =  $n$  attaches to vowel-final singular adjectives and consonant-final singular adjectives are unmarked by any copular clitic.

- (24) **Copular clitics on singular adjectives**
- | Stem-final | ADJ SG | COP ADJ SG |         |
|------------|--------|------------|---------|
| Vowel      | d̄əm̄  | d̄əm̄ = n  | ‘blind’ |
| Consonant  | ɲāán   | ɲāán       | ‘young’ |

Stem-final HM tone becomes HL when followed by a copular clitic with Low tone {M7}.

- (25) **Copular clitic =  $\bar{A}$  on adjectives with various stem tone melodies**
- | Stem-final | ADJ SG | ADJ PL   | COP ADJ SG | COP ADJ PL    |             |
|------------|--------|----------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| H          | bér    | bér-g    | bér        | bér-g = à̂    | ‘clean’     |
| M          | bánḍāl | bánḍāl-g | bánḍāl     | bánḍāl-g = à̂ | ‘weak’      |
| L          | kóófār | kóófār-g | kóófār     | kóófār-g = à̂ | ‘thin’      |
| H/HM       | kāyáár | kāyáár-g | kāyáár     | kāyáár-g = à̂ | ‘beautiful’ |

### 8.3.2 Definite clitic

The definite clitic attaches to adjectives and agrees in number with the noun phrase head.

- (26a) ʦóó ɖəm̄ = n nāām (b) ʦó-gg sèggār-g = à nāām  
 cow weak = DEF eating cow-PL weak-PL = DEF eating  
 ‘The blind cow is eating.’ ‘The weak cows are eating.’

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.

(27) **Definite clitic on singular nouns and adjectives**

N-final	ADJ-final	DEF SG NP		
V = DEF	C = (DEF)	wéé = n	bér = (á)	‘the clean house’
C	V = DEF	kòlèèð	î = íñ	‘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.

(28) **Definite clitic on plural nouns and adjectives**

N-final	ADJ-final	DEF PL NP		
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	wís-ḡg = (ḡ)	bér-g = à	‘the clean houses’
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	kòlèèð-g = (ḡ)	î-g = ð	‘the heavy swords’
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	jḡgg = (ḡ)	bándāl-g = à	‘the weak persons’
C-PL = (DEF)	C-PL = DEF	bààw-āāḡ = (á)	fāng = à	‘the old fathers’

As with definite clitics on nouns, definite clitics on adjectives differ depending on the stem-final segment. Polysyllabic vowel-final adjectives attach the definite clitic = n with no underlying tone and consonant final singular adjectives attach the definite clitic = Á with High tone, the same as in nouns with these types of final segments. However, two of the definite clitics attaching to adjectives differ from the clitics attaching to nouns with the same final segments. Monosyllabic vowel-final nouns attach the definite clitic = Vn with no underlying tone, but monosyllabic vowel-final adjectives attach the definite clitic = Vñ with High tone. Plural nouns attach the definite clitic = Á with High tone, but plural adjectives attach the definite clitic = À with Low tone.

Table 24: Definite clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	DEF ADJ SG	DEF ADJ PL
(Monosyllabic) long vowel or underlying approximant	= Vñ	
(Polysyllabic) vowel	= n	
Consonant	= Á	= À

Monosyllabic long vowel and underlying approximant-final adjectives attach the definite clitic =  $\check{V}n$  with High tone. In  $\check{d}\check{u}$ . =  $\check{i}n$  ‘black’, High suffix tone lowers to Mid following Low root tone {M9}. In  $\check{i}$ . =  $\check{i}n$  ‘heavy’ and  $\acute{a}$ . =  $\acute{\epsilon}n$  ‘sour’, the underlying HLH tone results as HMM tone in accordance with rule {M10}, although in verbs, the rule only applies when the three tones are assigned to the same syllable.

(29) **Definite clitic =  $\check{V}n$  on monosyllabic singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	DEF ADJ SG	
/a/	yáá	yáá. = á $\check{n}$	‘new’
/ə/	báá	báá. = á $\check{n}$	‘acidic’
/u/	cúú	cúú. = ú $\check{n}$	‘sweet’
/ɛ/	céé	céé. = é $\check{n}$	‘unavailable’
/i/	î	î. = í $\check{n}$	‘heavy’
/y/	áê	á. = é $\check{n}$	‘sour’
/y/	qù	qù. = ì $\check{n}$	‘black’

Polysyllabic vowel-final adjectives attach the definite clitic =  $n$  with no underlying tone.

(30) **Definite clitic =  $n$  on polysyllabic vowel final singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	DEF ADJ SG	
/a/	mā $\check{d}\check{a}$	mā $\check{d}\check{a}$ = n	‘big’
/ə/	q̄ $\check{m}\check{m}\check{a}$	q̄ $\check{m}\check{m}\check{a}$ = n	‘blind’
/u/	lūsú	lūsú = n	‘hot’
/i/	wílí	wílí = n	‘reflective’

Consonant-final singular adjectives attach the definite clitic =  $\acute{A}$ .

(31) **Definite clitic =  $\acute{A}$  on consonant final singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	DEF ADJ SG	
/r/	kár	kár = á	‘loose’
/l/	dómōl	dómōl = ó	‘big’
/n/	ón	ón = ó	‘bad’

Consonant-final adjectives attach the definite clitic =  $\acute{A}$  with High tone and plural adjectives attach the definite clitic =  $\acute{A}$  with Low tone. Clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9} and the Mid of stem-final HM tone

(32) **Definite clitic =  $\acute{A}$  on singular adjectives and =  $\grave{A}$  on plural adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	DEF ADJ SG	DEF ADJ PL	
H	bér	bér-g	bér = á	bér-g = à	‘clean’
M	bánqāl	bánqāl-g	bánqāl = á	bánqāl-g = à	‘weak’
L	kóófār	kóófār-g	kóófār = ā	kóófār-g = à	‘thin’
H/HM	kāyáár	kāyáār-g	kāyáár = á	kāyáār-g = à	‘beautiful’

assimilates to clitic Low tone {M7}.

### 8.3.3 Relative clause definite clitic

Relative clause definite clitics attach to relative clause-final adjectives in agreement with the noun modified by the clause. In (33a), the singular clitic on  $\acute{o}n = \acute{f}$  ‘bad=RDM’ is in agreement with the singular noun  $k\bar{o}r$  ‘word’ and in (b), the plural clitic on  $\bar{o}n-g = \grave{i}$  ‘young-PL=RDM’ is in agreement with the plural noun  $j\bar{n}alg$  ‘girls’.

- (33a)  $k\acute{o}r \acute{a}$                        $k\bar{o}r$                        $n\acute{a}$                        $\acute{o}n = \acute{f}$   
 speaks 1sA                      word                      REL.SG                      bad = RDM  
 ‘She speaks to me rudely (lit. word which is bad).’ (Assa6)
- (b)  $b\bar{a}\bar{a}rg = \acute{a}$                        $\eta\acute{a}\acute{o} - \acute{a} \grave{n}$                        $j\bar{n}alg$                        $n\grave{a}$                        $\bar{o}n-g = \grave{i}$   
 Baggara = DEF                      search.for-CONT.P                      girls                      REL                      young-PL = RDM  
 ‘The Baggara were kidnapping girls which were young.’ (Minj2)

The relative clause definite clitics  $= \acute{E} / = \grave{E}$  on singular and plural adjectives are the same as on nouns.

Table 25: Relative clause definite clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	RDM ADJ SG	RDM ADJ PL
(Monosyllabic) long vowel or underlying approximant	$= \acute{E}$	
(Polysyllabic) vowel	$= \acute{E}$	
Consonant	$= \acute{E}$	$= \grave{E}$

Monosyllabic long vowel and underlying approximant-final adjectives attach the relative clause definite clitic  $= \acute{E}$  with High tone.

#### (34) Relative clause definite clitic $= \acute{E}$ on monosyllabic singular adjectives

Stem-final	ADJ SG	RDM ADJ SG	
/a/	yáá	yáá. = $\acute{e}$	‘new’
/ə/	bóó	bóó. = $\acute{e}$	‘acidic’
/u/	cúú	cúú. = $\acute{e}$	‘sweet’
/ε/	céé	céé. = $\acute{e}$	‘unavailable’
/i/	î	î. = $\acute{e}$	‘heavy’
/y/	âè	â. = $\acute{e}$	‘sour’
/y/	ḍù	ḍù. = $\acute{e}$	‘black’

Polysyllabic vowel-final adjectives also attach the clitic  $= \acute{E}$ . In fast speech, the stem-final vowel can be elided such as in  $l\bar{u}s = \acute{f}$  ‘hot’.

(35) **Relative clause definite clitic =É on polysyllabic vowel final singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	RDM ADJ SG	
/a/	mādā	mādā. = é	‘big’
/ə/	ḍəmḍ	ḍəmḍ. = í	‘blind’
/u/	lūsú	lūsú. = í	‘hot’
/i/	wílí	wílí. = í	‘reflective’

Consonant-final singular adjectives attach the relative clause definite clitic =É.

(36) **Relative clause definite clitic =É on consonant final singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	RDM ADJ SG	
/r/	kár	kár = é	‘loose’
/l/	dómōl	dómōl = é	‘big’
/n/	ón	ón = í	‘bad’

Consonant-final adjectives attach the clitic =É with High tone and plural adjectives attach the clitic =É with Low tone. Clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9} and the Mid of stem-final HM tone assimilates to clitic Low tone {M7}.

(37) **Relative clause definite clitic =É/=È on singular and plural adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	RDM ADJ SG	RDM ADJ PL	
H	bér	bér-g	bér = é	bér-g = è	‘clean’
M	bánḍāl	bánḍāl-g	bánḍāl = é	bánḍāl-g = è	‘weak’
L	kóófār	kóófār-g	kóófār = ē	kóófār-g = è	‘thin’
H/HM	kāyáár	kāyáár-g	kāyáár = é	kāyáár-g = è	‘beautiful’

## 8.3.4 Dative and locative copular clitics

As in nouns, dative and locative copular clitics have the same morphology in adjectives and are both discussed in this section. The dative clitic attaches to noun phrase-final adjectives to indicate recipient or beneficiary roles.

- (38) bəsərəniiiggə    jōgg    nālg = ān  
 were.lying    people    young=DAT  
 ‘They were lying to the young people.’

The singular locative copula *īn/ēēn* of (39a) is replaced by the clitic =An attached to the adjective in (b). The plural locative copula *ēggàn* of (c) is replaced by the same clitic in (d).

(39) **Locative copular clauses**

- (a)  $\text{j\ddot{a}a}$   $\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l}$   $\text{f\ddot{i}n}$   $\text{w\acute{e}\acute{e}}$   $\text{b\grave{e}n\eta}$   
 person weak LCM house beside  
 ‘A weak person is beside a house.’
- (b)  $\text{j\ddot{a}a}$   $\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l} = \text{f\ddot{a}n}$   $\text{w\acute{e}\acute{e}}$   $\text{b\grave{e}n\eta}$   
 person weak=LCM house beside  
 ‘A weak person is beside a house.’
- (c)  $\text{j\ddot{o}gg}$   $\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l-g}$   $\text{f\ddot{e}gg\grave{a}n}$   $\text{w\acute{e}\acute{e}}$   $\text{b\grave{e}n\eta}$   
 people weak-PL LCM house beside  
 ‘Weak people are beside a house.’
- (d)  $\text{j\ddot{o}gg}$   $\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l-g} = \text{f\ddot{a}n}$   $\text{w\acute{e}\acute{e}}$   $\text{b\grave{e}n\eta}$   
 people weak-PL=LCM house beside  
 ‘Weak people are beside a house.’

Polysyllabic vowel-final adjectives attach the dative and locative copular clitic =  $\bar{n}$ , and consonant-final singular and plural adjectives attach the clitic =  $\bar{A}n$  with HM tone, the same as in nouns with these types of final segments.

Table 26: Dative and locative copular clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	DAT/LCM ADJ SG	DAT/LCM ADJ PL
(Polysyllabic) vowel	= $\bar{n}$	
Consonant	= $\bar{A}n$	= $\bar{A}n$

The dative and locative copula clitic =  $\bar{n}$  attaches to vowel-final adjectives and the clitic =  $\bar{A}n$  attaches to consonant-final adjectives.

(40) **Dative and locative copular clitic on singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	DAT/LCM ADJ SG	
Vowel	$\text{d\grave{e}m\bar{o}}$	$\text{d\grave{e}m\bar{o} = n}$	‘blind’
Consonant	$\text{j\ddot{a}a\bar{n}}$	$\text{j\ddot{a}a\bar{n} = \bar{a}n}$	‘young’

The clitic =  $\bar{A}n$  attaches to both singular and plural adjectives. Clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(41) **Dative and locative copular clitic =  $\bar{A}n$  on adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	DAT/LCM ADJ SG	DAT/LCM ADJ PL	
H	$\text{b\acute{e}r}$	$\text{b\acute{e}r-g}$	$\text{b\acute{e}r} = \bar{a}n$	$\text{b\acute{e}r-g} = \bar{a}n$	‘clean’
M	$\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l}$	$\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l-g}$	$\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l} = \bar{a}n$	$\text{b\ddot{a}n\ddot{d}\ddot{a}l-g} = \bar{a}n$	‘weak’
L	$\text{k\acute{o}f\bar{a}r}$	$\text{k\acute{o}f\bar{a}r-g}$	$\text{k\acute{o}f\bar{a}r} = \bar{a}n$	$\text{k\acute{o}f\bar{a}r-g} = \bar{a}n$	‘thin’
H/HM	$\text{k\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}a\bar{r}}$	$\text{k\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}a\bar{r-g}$	$\text{k\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}a\bar{r}} = \bar{a}n$	$\text{k\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}a\bar{r-g}} = \bar{a}n$	‘beautiful’



## 8.3.5 Relative clause dative/locative copular clitics

The relative clause dative and locative copular clitics have the same morphology and are both discussed in this section. Dative relative clauses are always marked with the clitic =*ÉĒn*/=*ÈĒn* which agrees in number with the head noun of the relative clause.

(42a) á gáf jèèm jāā ná sèggār = **éĒn**  
 1sN give something person REL strong = RDTM  
 ‘I give something to the strong person.’

(b) á gáf jèèm jōgg nà sèggār-g = **èĒn**  
 1sN give something person REL strong = RDTM  
 ‘I give something to the strong people’

The relative clause clitic =*É* and locative copula *īn/éĒn* of (42a) is replaced by the singular clitic =*ÉĒn* in (b). The relative clause clitic =*È* and locative copula *ēggàn* of (c) is replaced by the plural clitic =*ÈĒn* in (d). Unlike locative copular clitics, relative clause copular clitics only attach to definite noun phrases and not phrases unmarked for definiteness; relative clauses unmarked for definiteness only use locative copulas *īn/éĒn* and *ēggàn*.

## (43) Relative clause locative copular clauses

(a) jāā ná bāṅḍāl = **é** **īn** wéé bèṅṅ  
 person REL weak=RDM LCM house beside  
 ‘The weak person is beside a house.’

(b) jāā ná bāṅḍāl = **éĒn** wéé bèṅṅ  
 person REL weak=RDM.LCM house beside  
 ‘The weak person is beside a house.’

(c) jōgg nà bāṅḍāl-g = **è** **ēggàn** wéé bèṅṅ  
 people REL weak-PL=RDM LCM house beside  
 ‘The weak people are beside a house.’

(d) jōgg nà bāṅḍāl-g = **èĒn** wéé bèṅṅ  
 people REL weak-PL=RDM.LCM house beside  
 ‘The weak people are beside a house.’

Singular relative clauses with final adjectives attach the dative and locative copular clitic =*ÉĒn*, and plural relative clauses attach the clitic =*ÈĒn*.

Table 27: Relative clause dative/locative copular clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	RDTM/RLCM ADJ SG	RDTM/RLCM ADJ PL
(Polysyllabic) vowel	=ÉĒn	
Consonant	=ÉĒn	=ÈĒn

The relative clause dative and locative copular clitic =ÉĒn attaches to both vowel-final and consonant-final adjectives.

(44) **Relative clause dative/locative copular clitics =ÉĒn on singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	RDTM/RLCM ADJ SG	
Vowel	ɖəm̄	ɖəm̄. = ín	‘blind’
Consonant	ɲáán	ɲáán = éēn	‘young’

Singular adjectives attach the clitic =ÉĒn with HM tone and plural adjectives attach the clitic =ÈĒn with Low tone. Clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}. Stem-final HM tone becomes HL tone before clitic Low tone {M7}.

(45) **Relative clause dative/locative copular clitics =ÉĒn/=ÈĒn on singular and plural adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	RDTM/RLCM ADJ SG	RDTM/RLCM ADJ PL	
H	bér	bér-g	bér = éēn	bér-g = èèn	‘clean’
M	bánḍāl	bánḍāl-g	bánḍāl = éēn	bánḍāl-g = èèn	‘weak’
L	kóófār	kóófār-g	kóófār = ēēn	kóófār-g = èèn	‘thin’
H/HM	kāyáár	kāyáár-g	kāyáár = éēn	kāyáár-g = èèn	‘beautiful’

### 8.3.6 Accompaniment clitic

Accompaniment clitics attach to noun phrase-final adjectives.

- (46) báárg = á      áḏá`n    è    jāā    ná    sèggār = ē  
 Baggara = DEF    coming    with    person    REL    strong = ACM  
 ‘The Baggara were coming with a strong person.’

Polysyllabic vowel-final adjectives attach the accompaniment clitic =nĒ with Mid tone, and consonant-final singular and plural adjectives attach the clitic =Ē with HM tone, the same as in nouns with these types of final segments.

Table 28: Accompaniment clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	ACM ADJ SG	ACM ADJ PL
(Polysyllabic) vowel	=nĒ	
Consonant	=Ē	=Ē

The accompaniment clitic = $n\bar{E}$  attaches to vowel-final adjectives and the clitic = $\bar{E}$  attaches to consonant-final adjectives.

(47) **Accompaniment clitics on singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ACM ADJ SG	
Vowel	ḡəmḡ	ḡəmḡ = $n\bar{E}$	‘blind’
Consonant	ḡāán	ḡāán = $\bar{E}$	‘young’

The clitic = $\bar{E}$  attaches to both singular and plural adjectives. Clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(48) **Accompaniment clitic = $\bar{E}$  on singular and plural adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	ACM ADJ SG	ACM ADJ PL	
H	bér	bér-g	bér = $\bar{E}$	bér-g = $\bar{E}$	‘clean’
M	bánḡāl	bánḡāl-g	bánḡāl = $\bar{E}$	bánḡāl-g = $\bar{E}$	‘weak’
L	kóófār	kóófār-g	kóófār = $\bar{E}$	kóófār-g = $\bar{E}$	‘thin’
H/HM	kāyáár	kāyáár-g	kāyáár = $\bar{E}$	kāyáár-g = $\bar{E}$	‘beautiful’

### 8.3.7 Relative clause definite and accompaniment clitics

Accompaniment relative clauses can be marked or unmarked for definiteness. When unmarked, the accompaniment clitic attaches relative clause-finally, as in (49).

When marked, the accompaniment clitic attaches after the relative clause definite clitic, as in (50). The relative clause definite and accompaniment clitics = $\acute{E}\acute{E} = n\bar{E}$  / = $\grave{E}\grave{E} = n\bar{E}$  agree in number with the head noun of the relative clause.

- (49) bāárg = á      áḡá`n    è      ḡāā      ná      sèggār =  $\bar{E}$   
 Baggara = DEF    coming with person REL    strong = ACM  
 ‘The Baggara were coming with a strong person.’

- (50) bāárg = á      áḡá`n    è      ḡāā      ná      sèggār =  $\acute{E}\acute{E} = n\bar{E}$   
 Baggara = DEF    coming with person REL    strong = RDM = ACM  
 ‘The Baggara were coming with the strong person.’

Singular adjectives attach the relative clause definite and accompaniment clitic = $\acute{E}\acute{E} = n\bar{E}$ , and plural adjectives attach the clitic = $\grave{E}\grave{E} = n\bar{E}$ .

Table 29: Relative clause definite and accompaniment clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	RDM=ACM ADJ SG	RDM=ACM ADJ PL
(Polysyllabic) vowel	= $\acute{E}\acute{E} = n\bar{E}$	
Consonant	= $\acute{E}\acute{E} = n\bar{E}$	= $\grave{E}\grave{E} = n\bar{E}$

The relative clause definite and accompaniment clitic = $\acute{E}\acute{E} = n\bar{E}$  attaches to both vowel-final and consonant-final adjectives.

(51) **Relative clause definite and accompaniment =ÉÉ=nĒ**  
**on singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	RDM=ACM ADJ SG	
Vowel	ɖəm̩	ɖəm̩. = íí = nī	‘blind’
Consonant	ɲāán	ɲāán = éé = nē	‘young’

Singular adjectives attach the clitic =ÉÉ=nĒ with H=M tone and plural adjectives attach the clitic =ÈÈ=nĒ with Low=Mid tone. Relative clause clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}. Stem-final HM tone becomes HL tone before relative clause clitic Low tone {M7}.

(52) **Relative clause definite and accompaniment =ÉÉ=nĒ / =ÈÈ=nĒ**  
**on singular and plural adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	RDM=ACM ADJ SG	RDM=ACM ADJ PL	
H	bér	bér-g	bér = éé = nē	bér-g = èè = nē	‘clean’
M	báŋdāl	báŋdāl-g	báŋdāl = éé = nē	báŋdāl-g = èè = nē	‘weak’
L	kóófār	kóófār-g	kóófār = ēē = nē	kóófār-g = èè = nē	‘thin’
H/HM	kāyáár	kāyáár-g	kāyáár = éé = nē	kāyáár-g = èè = nē	‘beautiful’

## 8.3.8 Subordinate clause-final clitic

The clitic =É attaches clause-final adjectives of subordinate clauses such as with the conjunction é gārā ‘when’.

- (53) é gārā    bə̀rd̩ = ə    túr-s = ɿ    jāā    ná    sèggār = é  
 GP when    lion = DEF    see-COMP = SBO1    person    REL    strong = SBO  
 ‘When the lion saw a strong person, . . .’

The subordinate clause clitic =É attaches to singular and plural adjectives with stem-final consonants and the clitic =nĒ attaches to stem-final vowels, the same as in nouns with these types of final segments.

Table 30: Subordinate clause clitic

Stem-final segment	SBO ADJ SG	SBO ADJ PL
Vowel	= nĒ	
Consonant	= É	= É

Monosyllabic long vowel and underlying approximant-final adjectives attach the subordinate clause clitic =nĒ. Occasionally, the clitic can be attached without *n* as in *ŋ̄*. = ɿ ‘heavy = SBO’.

(54) **Subordinate clause clitic =*nÉ* on monosyllabic singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	SBO ADJ SG	
/a/	yáá	yáá = né	'new'
/ə/	bóó	bóó = ní	'acidic'
/u/	cúú	cúú = ní	'sweet'
/ɛ/	céé	céé = né	'unavailable'
/i/	îî	îî = nî	'heavy'
/y/	âê	âê = nê	'sour'
/y/	ḍùì	ḍùì = nî	'black'

Polysyllabic vowel-final adjectives also attach the subordinate clitic =*nÉ*, and Occasionally the clitic can be attached without *n* as in *lūsú. = í* 'hot = SBO'.

(55) **Subordinate clause clitic =*nÉ* on polysyllabic vowel-final singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	SBO ADJ SG	
/a/	mādā	mādā = né	mādā = é 'big'
/ə/	ḍəmḍ	ḍəmḍ = ní	ḍəmḍ = í 'blind'
/u/	lūsú	lūsú = ní	lūsú = í 'hot'
/i/	wílí	wílí = ní	wílí = í 'reflective'

Consonant-final singular adjectives attach the subordinate clitic =*É*.

(56) **Subordinate clause clitic =*É* on consonant-final singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	SBO ADJ SG	
/r/	kár	kár = é	'loose'
/l/	dómḍl	dómḍl = é	'big'
/n/	ón	ón = í	'bad'

Consonant-final singular and plural adjectives attach the subordinate clause clitic =*É* with High tone which lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}.

(57) **Subordinate clause clitic =*É* on singular and plural adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	SBO ADJ SG	SBO ADJ PL	
H	bér	bér-g	bér = é	bér-g = é	'clean'
M	báḍḍāl	báḍḍāl-g	báḍḍāl = é	báḍḍāl-g = é	'weak'
L	kóófār	kóófār-g	kóófār = ē	kóófār-g = ē	'thin'
H/HM	kāyáár	kāyáár-g	kāyáár = é	kāyáár-g = é	'beautiful'

### 8.3.9 Relative clause definite and subordinate clause clitics

Relative clauses in subordinate clauses can be marked or unmarked for definiteness. When unmarked, the subordinate clitic attaches relative clause-final, as in (a). When

marked, the subordinate clitic attaches after the relative clause definite clitic, as in (b). The relative clause definite and subordinate clitic =ÉÉ=nÉ/=ÈÈ=nĒ agrees in number with the head of the relative clause.

- (58a) é gārā bərdə́ túr-s=ɿ jāā ná sèggār = é  
 GP when lion.DEF see-COMP = SBO1 boy REL strong = SBO  
 ‘When the lion saw a strong person, . . .’
- (b) é gārā bərdə́ túr-s=ɿ jāā ná sèggār = **éé = né**  
 GP when lion.DEF see-COMP = SBO1 boy REL strong = RDM = SBO  
 ‘When the lion saw the strong person, . . .’

Singular adjectives attach the relative clause definite and subordinate clitic =ÉÉ=nÉ, and plural adjectives attach the clitic =ÈÈ=nĒ.

Table 31: Relative clause definite and subordinate clause clitics on adjectives

Stem-final segment	RDM=SBO ADJ SG	RDM=SBO ADJ PL
(Polysyllabic) vowel	=ÉÉ=nÉ	
Consonant	=ÉÉ=nÉ	=ÈÈ=nĒ

The relative clause definite and subordinate clitic =ÉÉ=nÉ attaches to both vowel-final and consonant-final adjectives.

(59) **Relative clause definite and subordinate clitic =ÉÉ=nÉ on singular adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	RDM=SBO ADJ SG	
Vowel	ɖəmɔ́	ɖəmɔ́ = í = ní	‘blind’
Consonant	nāán	nāán = éé = né	‘young’

Singular adjectives attach the clitic =ÉÉ=nÉ with H tone and plural adjectives attach the clitic =ÈÈ=nĒ with Low=Mid tone, where the subordinate clitic =nĒ High tone lowers to Mid following relative clause clitic =ÈÈ Low tone {M9}. Relative clause clitic High tone lowers to Mid following stem-final Low tone {M9}. Stem-final HM tone becomes HL tone before relative clause clitic Low tone {M7}.

(60) **Relative clause definite and subordinate clitics =ÉÉ=nÉ/=ÈÈ=nĒ on singular and plural adjectives**

Stem-final	ADJ SG	ADJ PL	RDM=SBO ADJ SG	RDM=SBO ADJ PL	
H	bér	bér-g	bér = éé = né	bér-g = èè = nĒ	‘clean’
M	bándāl	bándāl-g	bándāl = éé = né	bándāl-g = èè = nĒ	‘weak’
L	kóófār	kóófār-g	kóófār = ēē = né	kóófār-g = èè = nĒ	‘thin’
H/HM	kāyáár	kāyáár-g	kāyáár = éé = né	kāyáár-g = èè = nĒ	‘beautiful’

