

A Grammatical Sketch of Saafi

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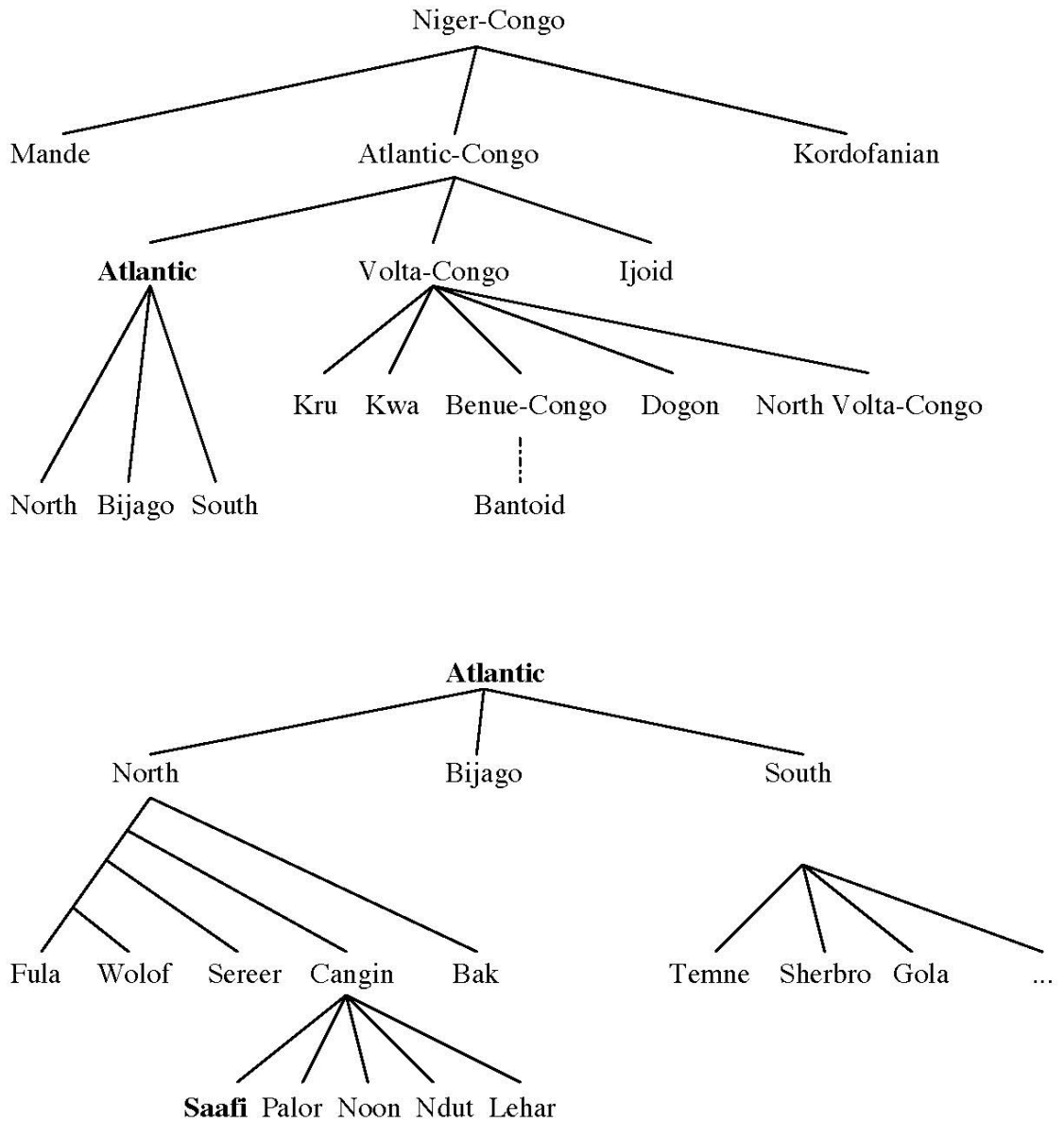
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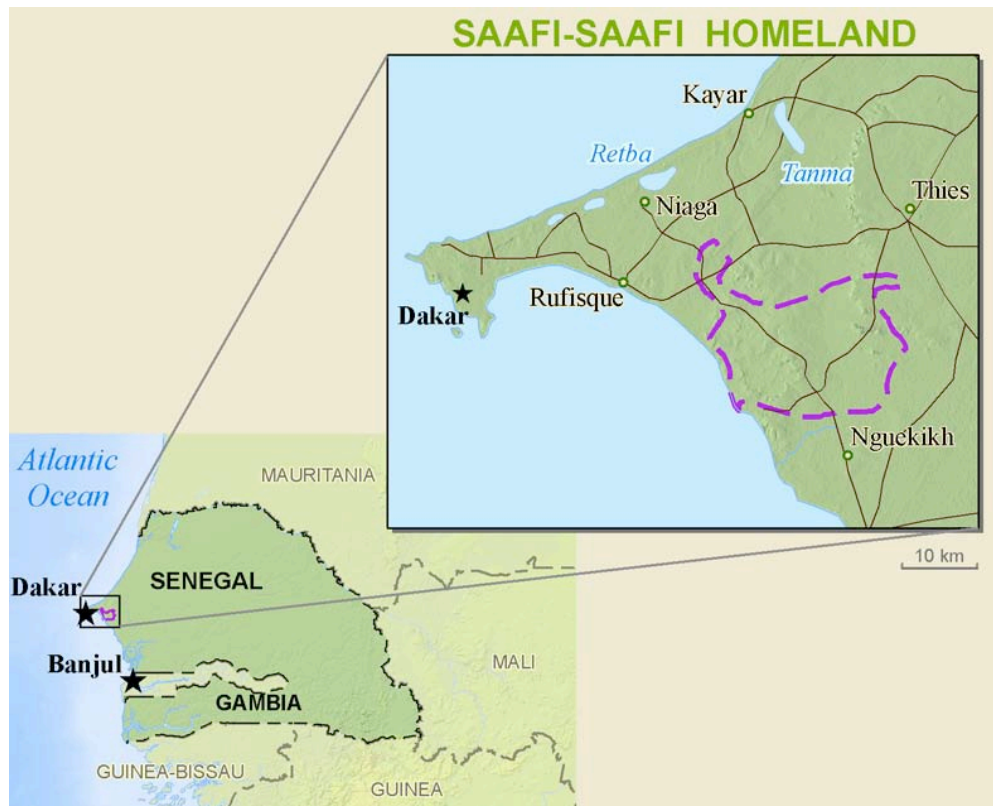
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Saafi in the Niger-Congo Phylum





0. Introduction

0.1 The Saafi Language

0.1.1 Basic demographic information

Saafi (also known as Saafi-Saafi, Safen, Sereer Saafen, among others) is an Atlantic language of the Niger-Congo family spoken in Senegal. According to Ethnologue, its speaker population was at 114,000 in 2007 and is currently increasing. It is very much a living language, spoken by all ages and in most domains. Saafi is one of the national languages of Senegal, and although there is currently not much written literature in Saafi, there is a standard orthography and a desire for more printed media (Lewis 2009).

Saafi is primarily spoken in the triangle southwest of and near Thiès. the language encapsulates five dialects: Boukhou, Sebikotane, Sindia, Hasab, and Diobass. All of these dialects are named after villages, except for Diobass, which is named after a geographical zone. Of the sixty villages where Saafi is spoken, 43 of these are over 80% Saafi, while only eight are under 50% (Lewis 2009).

0.1.2 Other relevant languages

Saafi's closest lexical relatives are Noon, Lehar, and Paloor, which are all Cangin languages spoken in and around the Thiès region. As Wolof is the national language of Senegal, and the Thiès region is fairly close to the country's capital, Dakar, Wolof exerts a fair amount of influence over Saafi. This can be seen in the many lexical borrowings that originate from Wolof.

As French is also a national language of Senegal, many Saafi speakers also speak French. In fact, for the Saafi language community, the literacy rate in French is around 40% (Lewis 2009). There are also many lexical borrowings from French, in domains such as food, education, and professional life. While these borrowings are commonplace for younger Saafi speakers who

spend time in Dakar and travel outside of the country, many older, more conservative speakers feel that “true Saafi” is Saafi with as few borrowings as is possible in everyday communication.

0.1.3 Brief linguistic description

Saafi is an SVO, non-tonal, agglutinative language. It has contrastive vowel length and a set of implosive as well as prenasalized consonants; the maximum syllable structure is CVC. It has a number of markers for tense and aspect, and exhibits some verbal reduplication. Saafi has double object constructions with a variable ordering of verbal noun phrases. Sociolinguistically, speakers of Saafi have a positive attitude towards their language and they use it in and outside of the home.

0.1.4 Prior literature

Saafi has been the focus of one prior doctoral thesis: *Recherches sur la phonologie et la morphologie de la langue saafi* (Mbodj 1983). Aside from this dissertation, the language is vastly underrepresented in the literature.

0.2 The consultant

Adrien Pouille, the primary consultant for this grammar, is a thirty-three year old Ph.D. candidate in Comparative Literature at Indiana University. He is originally from Tchis, Senegal, though he moved around within the region during the first part of his life.

Adrien’s native languages are Wolof and French; he began learning Saafi when he moved to live with his grandparents at six years of age. When he lived with them, it was a requirement for him to learn Saafi if he wanted to play with the neighbors. Adrien began learning Spanish and English in high school, but chose to continue English when he went to college because he considered it to be the more useful of the two. Adrien can also speak a little bit of Chinese, as well as some Noon.

Adrien's parents are from different towns, and this is reflected in their linguistic background. Adrien's father speaks Wolof, French, and Saafi, while his mother speaks Wolof, French, Saafi, and Noon. His mother was educated through primary school, while his father was educated through secondary school and works as an agricultural engineer. His family is Catholic, in contrast to the dominant Muslim population in the area.

After college, Adrien moved to Maryland where he taught French for two years. After living in Maryland, Adrien moved to Bloomington, Indiana to pursue a graduate degree at Indiana University. Adrien specializes in African literature and hopes to become a teacher when he is finished with his degree.

0.3 The present study

This grammatical sketch is the result of seven hours of one-on-one elicitation, as well as fifteen weeks of class sessions, all carried out at Indiana University. It has been produced to fulfill a course requirement for LING-L 431 (Field Methods) at the same university.

1. Phonology and Orthography

1.1 Consonant Inventory

1.1.1 Pulmonic consonant inventory

Saafi displays a wide variety of pulmonic consonants, with many different places and manners of articulation. A representation of the phonemic pulmonic consonants in Saafi is displayed in (1).

(1)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ		
Plosive	p b		t d	c ɟ	k g		ʔ
Prenasalized plosive	^m b		ⁿ d		^ŋ g		
Fricative		f	s			ħ	
Approx.	w			j			
Trill			r				
Lat. App.			l				

1.1.2 Some remarks on prenasalized obstruents

While the prenasalized obstruents might just seem to be two segments occurring right next to each other, the near-minimal triplet presented in (2) seems to defy this idea.

- (2) [maː.lo] [^mbaːl] [baːl]
 ‘rice’ ‘sheep’ ‘ball’

Because of the restriction on complex onsets (discussed further in section 1.3.1), it is unlikely that Saafi would allow a nasal+obstruent cluster. Therefore, it is necessary to think of these sounds as complex single-segment phonemes that are treated as separate categories in the phonemic inventory.

1.1.3 Voiceless stops and aspiration

Voiceless stops in Saafi are always aspirated, though the degree of aspiration seems to differ depending on the vowel that precedes the consonant. In general, voiceless stops seem to have less aspiration when they are followed by high vowels, e.g. /i/ or /u/. Several words showing this difference are shown in (3).

- (3)
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| [p ^{H1} ɑ ^m bi] | [p ^H ɛdɛm] |
| ‘chicken’ | ‘monkey’ |
| [k ^h is] | [k ^h ur] |
| ‘year’ | ‘village’ |

While it is possible that aspiration is contrastive in Saafi, at this point in time, no minimal pairs have been found and this distribution suggests a phonological explanation.

1.1.4 Implosive consonant inventory

In addition to a set of pulmonic consonants, Saafi also exhibits a set of implosive consonants. A representation of these phonemic implosive consonants is displayed in (4).

(4)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal
Implosive	ɓ	ɗ	ʄ
Prenasalized implosive	mɓ	ndɗ	

1.1.5 On prenasalized implosives

While the evidence for prenasalized implosives as a class of phonemes is not as strong as the evidence for prenasalized pulmonic consonants, the words presented in (5) seem to contain these sounds.

- (5)
- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| [^m ɓu] | [^m ɓu:.ru] |
| ‘dog’ | ‘bread’ |
| [nan] | [nan. ⁿ ɗis] |
| ‘to forget’ | ‘to remember’ |

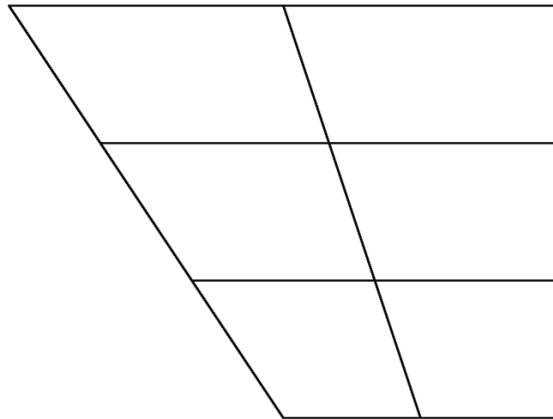
Obviously, determining whether or not these sounds are phonemes would require a much larger database and further analysis. In addition, the possible existence of a prenasalized palatal implosive has not yet been attested.

¹ Here, an ^H (in contrast to the normal aspiration ^h diacritic) indicates a higher degree of aspiration.

1.2 Vowels

1.2.1 Vowel inventory

A chart of the vowels attested in Saafi is displayed in (6).



(6)

Sounds thought to be potential allophones have been circled. This is a very preliminary analysis of the Saafi vowel inventory and would merit from much further investigation.

1.2.2 Phonemically contrastive vowel length

In Saafi, vowel length is contrastive. This distinction is extremely clear in the difference between the definite marker /i/ and the proximal locative marker /i:/. Several examples of this are displayed in (7).

- | | | |
|-----|------------|-------------|
| (7) | [mu:mani] | [mu:mani:] |
| | ‘the lion’ | ‘this lion’ |
| | [mɛremi] | [mɛremi:] |
| | ‘the sand’ | ‘this sand’ |

In addition, the distinction between the imperative morpheme and the imperative object marker is one of vowel length. Several forms demonstrating this distinction are shown in (8).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| (8) | [^m bɪnda] | [^m bɪnda:] |
| | ‘write (directed at one)’ | ‘write it (directed at one)’ |

[kana ɲam]
'don't eat (at one)'

[kana: ɲam]
'don't eat it (at one)'

While there have been no monomorphemic minimal pairs found up to the time of writing that demonstrate phonemically contrastive vowel length, the near-minimal pair shown in (9) is suggestive.

- (9) [ʔon] [ʔo:nʔo:n]
 'to give' 'valley'

The interaction between stress and vowel length is also of interest here, and will be discussed more in section 1.5.2.

1.3 Phonotactics

1.3.1 Syllable structure

In Saafi, the minimal syllable consists of a single V. (10) shows several examples of this type of syllable.

- (10) [i.ni:] [ɑ.toh]
 'this thing' 'stone'
- [i.nah] [ɑ.si]
 'to know' 'new'

In addition, CV syllables are also possible. Several of these syllables are displayed in (11).

- (11) [p^hɑ.^mbi] [bo]
 'chicken' 'person'
- [mi.si⁷] [cu.ru:n]
 'sauce' 'fish'

While not as numerous as the other syllable types, a couple examples of VC syllables are shown in (12).

- (12) [in] [ɛ:l]
 'something' 'cloud'

CVC is the maximum syllabic unit possible, and examples of this are shown in (13).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (12) | [ɲif]
'blood' | [cac]
'grandparent' |
| | [kub.ki]
'the child' | [ʔon]
'to give' |

There are no known Saafi words that contain either (segmentally) complex onsets or complex codas. Therefore, we can assume the existence of a high-ranked *COMPLEX constraint banning these structures.

1.3.2 Loanword adaptation

Several French loanwords confirm the hypothesis that *COMPLEX is active in Saafi. Several examples, with the standard French transcription followed by the Saafi adaptation, are shown in (13).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (13) | [frɑ̃.se]
'French' | [fɛ.ran.se]
'French' |
| | [lɛtʁ]
'letter' | [lɛtɛr]
'letter' |

The first of these examples exhibits a repair for a complex onset, while the second exhibits a repair for a complex coda.

1.4 Processes

1.4.1 Nasal epenthesis

Another probable high-ranked constraint in Saafi is NOHIATUS, which militates against a vowel-final syllable being preceded by one that is vowel-initial. This banned structure is repaired by the insertion of a nasal consonant in between the two vowels. This process is most obvious in

adjective agreement with singular nouns, where the nouns agree in specificity (/i/) but not number (class). Several examples with the epenthetic segments bolded are shown in (14).

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (14) | [p ^h ɑŋfi li:li ni]
'the green grass' | [ato ^h ⁿ dɛ ^ŋ gad ini]
'the wet frog' |
| | [mbu:rni nug ani]
'the warm bread' | [mɛremi ^m bo ^h an ani]
'the yellow sand' |

An apparent exception to this rule occurs when the first vowel is /o/ and is followed by /i/. In this case, the banned /oi/ segment coalesces into a glide, /w/. While there is not enough evidence to provide a further generalization of this phenomenon, an example is presented in (15).

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---|
| (15) | [mɛremi janwi]
'the white sand' | c.f. [mɛreci janoci]
'the white sands' |
|------|------------------------------------|---|

This n-epenthesis process has interesting consequences on the analysis of the supposed N noun class. A hypothesis based on this account is presented in section 2.1.4.

1.4.2 Word-final implosives

Generally speaking, word-final implosives do not sound like their morpheme-initial counterparts. While the exact nature of the process is unknown at this point in time, they become voiceless or unreleased, and are often difficult to distinguish from pulmonic egressive consonants. A useful litmus test to determine whether a word-final seemingly voiceless obstruent is an egressive or an implosive is to add a suffix to the end of the word and watch what happens to the consonant. Several examples of word-final implosives discovered using this method are shown in (16).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| (16) | [pad̥]
'broom' | [padoh]
'someone who cleans' |
| | [bit̥i̯]
'woman' | [bitbi]
'the woman' |
| | [ba:̥]
'father' | [ba:bi]
'the father' |

[mbɛ̃ʃ]
'to dance'

[mbɛ̃ʃi]
'I danced'

[mbɪnd̃]
'to write'

[mbɪnd̃oħa]
'writing instrument'

In addition, the verbal suffixes with the form of –id̃, discussed in further detail in section 5.2.4, often occur without any final consonant whatsoever. Whether this loss of final implosive consonants is a productive process or not, it has interesting consequences when it is followed by suffixes with an initial consonant that assimilate in place to the preceding consonant. These processes will be discussed more thoroughly in sections 5.3.4 and 2.2.6.

1.4.3 h/h allophony

While Saafi seems to evidence several different fricatives produced in the back of the throat, this analysis claims that there is only one phoneme, /h/, and that the place realization of this sound differs according to the following vowel. Several alternations providing evidence for this account are shown in (17).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| (17) | [atoħ]
'rock' | [atohi]
'the rock' |
| | [paɣoħ]
'healer' | [paɣohi]
'the healer' |
| | [paɣoħ]
'healer' | [paɣoħani]
'the hospital' |
| | [pad̃oħ]
'cleaner' | [pad̃oħa]
'broom' |

The first two example demonstrate that what was /h/ word-finally is [h] before /i/, but remains /h/ before /a/. The examples in (18), however, show that this pattern is not without exception.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (18) | [kalsukoħ]
'hunter' | [kalsukohi]
'the hunter' |
|------|------------------------|-----------------------------|

[ja:h]
'hand'

[ja:hi]
'the hand'

[ʃitsidoh]
'student'

[ʃitsidohani]
'the teacher'

Even with these exceptions to the pattern originally presented in (17), it is evident that there is some amount of variation between /h/ and its allophone [h], and that there is no reason to consider them separate phonemes at this point in time.

1.4.4 Word-final prenasalized obstruent neutralization

As was discussed in section 1.1.2, prenasalized obstruents are phonemically contrastive with obstruents and nasals. An exception, however, occurs when these prenasalized obstruents appear word-finally. While these phonemes do not violate any sort of *COMPLEXONSET constraint, it seems that either their status is different word-finally, or that the *COMPLEXCODA constraint bans complex segments (in addition to clusters) while the *COMPLEXONSET constraint, for some reason, does not. Whatever the explanation, the point is that these prenasalized obstruents are neutralized to nasals in word-final, but not syllable-initial, position. Evidence of this disparity (using affixation and subsequent resyllabification to determine the nature of the word-final consonant) is presented in (19).

- (19)
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| [um]
'to cover (a hole)' | [u. ^m bɪs]
'to uncover (a hole)' |
| [rɐŋ]
'to shut' | [rɐ. ^ŋ ɡɪs]
'to open' |
| [pon]
'to sell' | [ponɪs]
'I sold (narrative past)' |

The alternation in (20), however, demonstrates that this distinction is not always so clear-cut, and that there is a considerable amount of variation as to the speaker's treatment of word-final consonant clusters present in the input.

- (20) [nan] [na.ⁿdis]
 'to forget' 'to remember'
- [nanis]
 'to forget again'

Because the final consonant in the cluster is not pronounced when the morpheme stands on its own, it seems that speakers themselves are sometimes not sure if these final consonants exist or not. This apparent deletion process can result in a considerable amount of variation. Therefore, further investigation is needed to find a better, more reliable method of analyzing these potential prenasalized final consonants.

1.4.5 Post-tonic vowel deletion

When a syllable with primary stress is followed by an unstressed CV syllable, the V in this second syllable is realized as reduced or deleted. This process is restricted to words that are trisyllabic or longer, e.g. there must be a syllable after the unstressed syllable that undergoes vowel deletion. This process is entirely productive, in that it seems to apply with no morphological restrictions whatsoever. Several examples of this deletion are shown in (21).

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (21) ['ku.bu]
‘child’ | [kub.ki] (opt. ['ku.bu.ki])
‘the child’ |
| ['tu.fuk]
‘to stand up’ | ['tuf.kiḏ] (opt. ['tu.fu.kiḏ])
‘to make stand up’ |
| ['ḡitṭiḡ]
‘woman’ | ['ḡit.ḡi] (opt. ['ḡi.ti.ḡi])
‘the woman’ |

As this process most commonly occurs in words with an odd number of syllables, it remains to be seen if this process is in part motivated by the universal tendency for languages to parse syllables into feet and thereby reduce extrametricality.

1.5 Prosody

1.5.1 Lexical stress

Generally speaking, Saafi words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. While stress in Saafi is an area that merits much further investigation, there are two important principles of stress systems that seem to play a role in Saafi prosody. This first principle is defined in (22).

(22) STRESS-TO-WEIGHT: stressed syllables are heavy.

Generally speaking, Saafi words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. Therefore, when a monomoraic syllable is in penultimate position, the vowel will lengthen. When a bimoraic syllable is in penultimate position, however, no lengthening will occur. Some examples illustrating these assertions are presented in (23).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| (23) | ['ja:ndɛr]
'door' | [jan'dɛ:ri]
'the door' |
| | ['dɔ:pat]
'animal' | [dɔ.'pat.ci]
'the animal' |
| | ['mu:ma]
'lion' | [mu:.'ma:ni]
'the lion' |

This pattern, however, seems to be outranked by the principle presented in (24):

(24) WEIGHT-TO-STRESS: heavy syllables are stressed.

When heavy syllables are in word-final position, they tend to attract the stress away from the penultimate syllable. Several examples of this are shown in (25).

- (25)
- | |
|-----------------------------------|
| [ina.'taŋ]
'wild animal' |
| [^m bam.'huħ]
'pig' |
| [mu:.ma.'ni:]
'this lion' |

[mu:.ma.'cɛm]
'those lions'

A broad generalization of the Saafi stress system is that stressed syllables are either in penultimate or final position, and that the language chooses between these two positions based on syllable weight. This is not without exceptions, however (voiceless heavily aspirated word-initial consonants tend to attract stress), and any further analysis of the stress system is beyond the scope of this section.

1.5.2 Lengthened vowels: stress-related or phonemic?

Given this propensity for stressed vowels in CV syllables to be lengthened, it is often difficult to tell whether or not a stressed long vowel is phonemically long, or if it is long to fulfill some kind of requirement that stressed syllables are bimoraic. While this topic is beyond the scope of this grammatical sketch, any further analysis of either the phonemic status of long vowels or the stress system needs to take the other component into account. Vowel lengthening is one of the areas in Saafi in which the phonemic inventory and the prosodic tendencies interface most closely, and it is also one of the areas where any future phonological analysis needs to be the most careful.

1.5.3 Phrasal stress

In addition to lexical stress, Saafi seems to exhibit phrase-conditioned stress. Two examples of this different pattern are shown in (26).

(26) ['kibici 'kanakci 'damici]
'the two hot fires'

['kiaki 'ʔasi 'su:susi]
'the new black book'

As is evident from the examples in (26), something about these phrases causes the language to ignore its general preference for penultimate or final stressed syllables and to give the primary

stress to the first syllable. This tendency is, like all other aspects of the stress system, a feature of Saafi that has not been researched in any detail for this sketch.

1.6 Orthography used in the present study

The orthography used in this grammatical sketch is a variant on the IPA, with some characters adapted for ease of input. All standard Roman characters used in the IPA for Saafi's inventory will remain the same. Equivalents for the other consonants are listed in (27).

- (27)
- | | |
|-------|----|
| /mb/: | mb |
| /nd/: | nd |
| /ŋg/: | ng |
| /ʔ/: | X |
| /h/: | h |
| /ɲ/: | nj |
| /ŋ/: | ng |
| /ɟ/: | dj |
| /b/: | B |
| /d/: | D |
| /ʃ/: | J |
| /mb/: | mB |
| /nd/: | nD |

The orthography used for the vowels reflects the tentative phonemic categories for the vowel system proposed by this analysis. This simplification is presented in (28).

- (28)
- | | |
|---------|---|
| /ɑ, ɐ/: | a |
| /ɪ, i/: | i |
| /ɔ, o/: | o |
| /u/: | u |
| /ɛ, e/: | e |

2. Nominal Morphology

2.1 The noun class system

Like many other African languages, Saafi exhibits a system of noun classes. Unlike many other African languages, however, this system is in decline. Saafi exhibits three distinct noun classes: the M class, the K class, and the F class, but within each of these classes, there is a considerable amount of alternation between the historic class marker and the null class. Saafi seems to exhibit an N class, as well, but it is unclear whether this is a true noun class or just a subset of the null class (see section 2.1.4 for further discussion).

2.1.1 The M class

The M class in Saafi has a definite semantic concept associated with it; all of the members of this class are mass nouns. Examples of these nouns can be seen in (1).

(1)	misiB	‘sauce’	misiB-m-i	‘the sauce’
	phuD	‘dust’	phuD-m-i	‘the dust’
	meray	‘sand’	meray-m-i	‘the sand’
	musuB	‘water’	musuB-m-i	‘the water’
	miida	‘salt’	miida-m-i	‘the salt’
	njif	‘blood’	njif-m-i	‘the blood’

Within this class, there is some alternation between the M marker and the null marker, providing further evidence that the noun class system of Saafi is in decline. An example of this is shown in (2).

(2)	njif	‘the blood’	njif-m-i	‘the blood’
	njif	‘the blood’	njif-□-i	‘the blood’

2.1.2 The K class

The K class seems to have a semantic focus as well, although its category is not as clear as that of the M class. In general, nouns in the K class refer to items or relationships that are a part of society.

(3)	kubu	‘child’	kub-k-i	‘the child’
	kur	‘village’	kur-k-i	‘the village’
	kiat	‘book’	kiat-k-i	‘the book’
	kibi	‘fire’	kib-k-i	‘the fire’

Just like the M class, there is some alternation between the K marker and the null marker. An example of this is shown in (4).

(4)	kiat	‘book’	kiat-k-i	‘the book’
	kiat	‘book’	kiat-□-i	‘the book’

2.1.3 The F class

The F class seems to be composed of nouns that deal with living things. Words related to animals, as well as words related to plants, fall into this category. Representative examples are shown in (5).

(5)	peX	‘goat’	peX-f-i	‘the goat’
	mBu	‘dog’	mBu-f-i	‘the dog’
	fiin	‘hair’	fiin-f-i	‘the hair’
	pangi	‘grass’	pang-f-i	‘the grass’
	paani	‘monkey’	paan-f-i	‘the monkey’
	pambi	‘chicken’	pamb-f-i	‘the chicken’

In the F class, there is a considerable amount of alternation between the F marker and the N marker (a tentative explanation for why this pattern might occur is presented in section 2.1.4).

Two examples of this pattern are displayed in (6).

(6)	paangi	‘grass’	paang-f-i	‘the grass’
	paangi	‘grass’	paangi-n-i	‘the grass’
	paani	‘monkey’	paan-f-i	‘the monkey’
	paani	‘monkey’	paani-n-i	‘the monkey’

2.1.4 The N class

The N class is the only marked class in Saafi that does not have a definite semantic focus.

Examples of members of this class that illustrate its semantic diversity can be seen in (7).

(7)	mBuuru	‘bread’	mBuur-n-i	‘the bread’
	lama	‘chief’	lama-n-i	‘the chief’

muuma	‘lion’	muuma-n-i	‘the lion’
tonoha	‘store’	tonoha-n-i	‘the store’
tango	‘hill’	tango-n-i	‘the hill’
padjoha	‘hospital’	padjoha-n-i	‘the hospital’

Unlike the other classes, the N class does not display any alternations between the N marker and a null marker. Because of this discrepancy, because it has no semantic focus, and because all of the members of this class end with a vowel, it is possible that the N class is not a true noun class, after all: the existence of the n in the place of the class marker can be attributed to the nasal epenthesis process described in section 1.4.1. If this is true, it would explain the apparent alternation between the F and the N class for the examples shown in (6). Further investigation of Saafi’s lexicon would be needed to prove or disprove this theory, however, as its validity hinges on the possible existence of words in the N class with a final coda.

2.1.5 The null class

The null class is the largest noun class in Saafi, and it is just as semantically diverse as the N class. Examples of members of this class are shown in (8).

(8)	noh	‘sun’	noh-□-i	‘the sun’
	djupil	‘knife’	djupil-□-i	‘the knife’
	djumbur	‘rabbit’	djumbur-□-i	‘the rabbit’
	kedik	‘earth’	kedk-□-i	‘the earth’
	tuc	‘bedroom’	tuc-□-i	‘the bedroom’
	tangalang	‘eatable fruit’	tangalang-□-i	‘the eatable fruit’
	jah	‘hand’	jah-□-i	‘the hand’

It is worth noting here that all the members of the null class end in a consonant, which gives even more validity to the hypothesis proposed in 2.1.5.

2.1.6 Other classes

There is sporadic evidence for other classes in Saafi, such as the R class and the B class, but the data collected for this grammar did not display enough cases of these categories to postulate the existence of a true class. Further investigation would be needed to determine whether or not

these classes exist, or if the outlying examples, shown in (9), are in some way phonologically motivated.

- (9) toho ‘millet’ toh-r-i ‘the millet’
 mbo ‘frog’ mbo-b-i ‘the frog’

2.2 Affixes, Number, and Specificity

2.2.1 The root noun

In Saafi, a noun stem is nonspecific and undefined for number. Although it is generally perceived as plural nonspecific, as it lacks any affixes, the meaning of the root noun as it relates to number is defined by its context. Several examples of this, drawn from “KooDkiDing rehi” (in Appendix A) are shown in (10).

- (10) w-a raak-iD tango na oon-oon
 SG-NSPEC to_have-ASP hills and valley
 ‘It has hills and a valley.’

kac na atoh
 pebbles and rocks
 ‘...laterite pebbles and rocks.’

ndang gup yul na sarto
 machete hoe creusette and sickle
 ‘...a machete, a hoe, a creusette, and a sickle.’

As is evident from these examples, the root noun is always nonspecific, but its value for plurality depends on the context.

2.2.2 Singularity and classes

The addition of the class marker lends a sense of singularity to the noun. This generalization can be inferred from the forms presented in (1-10), but several of them are repeated here in (11) for convenience.

(11)	misiB	‘sauce’	misiB-m-i	‘the sauce’
	phuD	‘dust’	phuD-m-i	‘the dust’
	kiat	‘book’	kiat-k-i	‘the book’
	kibi	‘fire’	kib-k-i	‘the fire’
	mBu	‘dog’	mBu-f-i	‘the dog’
	fiin	‘hair’	fiin-f-i	‘the hair’
	muuma	‘lion’	muuma-n-i	‘the lion’
	tonoha	‘store’	tonoha-n-i	‘the store’
	tangalang	‘eatable fruit’	tangalang-□-i	‘the eatable fruit’
	jah	‘hand’	jah-□-i	‘the hand’

While Saafi has various noun class markers, they all serve the same purpose: to specify the number of the noun as singular. It is important to note here that the noun class marker, and not the following /i/, is what gives this sense of singularity. (The function of /i/ will be further discussed in section 2.2.4.)

2.2.3 The plural marker c

To mark the plural in Saafi, /c/ is appended to the end of the noun stem. C behaves much in the same way as a noun class marker, but its use is regular: every noun in the Saafi language takes the C to form a plural, regardless of current or historic class. Some examples of this, displaying the universal behavior of C, can be seen in (12).

(12)	misiB	‘sauce’	misiB-c-i	‘the sauces’
	phuD	‘dust’	phuD-c-i	‘the dusts’
	kiat	‘book’	kiat-c-i	‘the books’
	kibi	‘fire’	kib-c-i	‘the fires’
	mBu	‘dog’	mBu-c-i	‘the dogs’
	fiin	‘hair’	fiin-c-i	‘the hairs’
	muuma	‘lion’	muuma-c-i	‘the lions’
	tonoha	‘store’	tonoha-c-i	‘the stores’
	tangalang	‘eatable fruit’	tangalang-c-i	‘the eatable fruits’
	jah	‘hand’	jah-c-i	‘the hands’

Again, here it is the morpheme /c/ (and not the following /i/) that lends the noun this sense of plurality.

2.2.4 Specificity

2.2.4.1 Specific /i/

As has been demonstrated in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, the addition of the /i/ seems to come with the noun class and the plurality marker. /i/ serves to designate that the noun in question is specific. As this marker occurs on both singular and plural forms, it can be seen as a marker for specificity that is entirely distinct from the noun class or plurality markers. Evidence demonstrating its function in both of these contexts can be seen in (13).

(13)	misiB	‘sauce’	misiB-c-i	‘the sauces’
	phuD	‘dust’	phuD-m-i	‘the dust’
	kiat	‘book’	kiat-c-i	‘the books’
	kibi	‘fire’	kib-k-i	‘the fire’
	mBu	‘dog’	mBu-c-i	‘the dogs’
	fiin	‘hair’	fiin-f-i	‘the hair’
	muuma	‘lion’	muuma-c-i	‘the lions’
	tonoha	‘store’	tonoha-n-i	‘the store’
	tangalang	‘eatable fruit’	tangalang-c-i	‘the eatable fruits’
	jah	‘hand’	jah-□-i	‘the hand’

It is important to note that this marker is distinct from the locative marker /ii/, which will be discussed in section 2.2.5.1.

In addition, the specific marker can be also used to turn a verb into a noun. This usage is roughly equivalent to the English gerund. A couple examples of this process are displayed in (14).

(14)	guur	guur-□-i
	to_cultivate	to_cultivate-CL-SPEC
	‘to cultivate’	‘the cultivating’
	coh	coh-□-i
	to_meet	to_meet-CL-SPEC
	‘to meet’	‘the meeting’

2.2.4.2 Non-specific /a/

The marker *a* is used when a nominal object is defined for number but is nonspecific. The distinction between the nonspecific /a/ and the specific /i/ is best shown in contrast. Several examples of this distinction can be seen in (15).

- (15) *c-i*
PL-SPEC
'these' (used with a noun to indicate a specific plural entity)
- c-a*
PL-NSPEC
'those' (used apart from the noun to indicate a nonspecific plural entity)
- mBu-f-i*
dog-CL-SPEC
'the dog'
- mBu-f-a*
dog-CL-NSPEC
'the dog' (defined for singularity, but used when talking about a dog that is not present)
- muuma-c-i*
lion-PL-SPEC
'the lions'
- muuma-c-a*
lion-PL-NSPEC
'the lions' (defined for plurality, but used when talking about lions that are not present)

In addition, this nonspecific marker can be used to denote a nominal entity that is far away (i.e. nonspecific) from the speaker and the listeners. Two examples of this, drawn from 'Cohing Doopaatci' (included in Appendix A) is shown in (16).

- (16) *leern-a-ng* *nduuf-□-a*
middle-NSPEC-CON forest-CL-NSPEC
'The middle of the forest' (that is far away and unknown to the interlocutors)
- mbeh-□-a*
day-CL-NSPEC
'the day' (an unspecified day)

2.2.5 The prefix Bi-

Saafi exhibits one nominal prefix: the quantifier Bi-. This prefix attaches to the beginning of the noun stem and creates the meaning “some of X.” Examples of this prefix are shown in (17).

(17)	Bo	‘people’	BiBo	‘some people’
	kac	‘pebble’	Bikac	‘some pebbles’
	han	‘house’	Bihan	‘family’
	atoh	‘rock’	Biatoh	‘some rocks’
	Jaar	‘man’	biJaar	‘some men’

While this prefix seems to be an example of a nonspecific affix, the difference between this prefix and the nonspecific suffix –a is that the prefix Bi selects a specific, but undefined, set of items. So, it is specific in the sense that it selects a certain partition of a semantic idea, although the constituents of this partition are not explicitly specified.

2.2.6 Relational pronouns

Saafi has a set of relational pronouns used to connote a relationship between the item and someone possesses it. The set of nouns that can be used in this manner is restricted, and while the exact requirements to be a member of this class are unclear, it seems that the noun in question must be something that a human can be closely connected to. Several examples of nouns of this type can be seen in (18).

(18)	tuc	‘bedroom’
	kur	‘village’
	jaaj	‘mother’
	jun	‘field’
	kan	‘house’

To express a possessive relation with these nouns, a set of pronouns is suffixed directly to the root noun. These pronouns agree in number and person with the person in the relationship, and are shown in the paradigm presented in (19).

(19)	(C)o	‘(1P.S)’	Bo	‘(1P.P)’
	fu	‘(2P.S)’	Du	‘(2P.P)’
	ce	‘(3P.S)’	Ba	‘(3P.P)’

Several examples of these pronouns affixed onto the root noun, denoting a relationship, can be seen in (20).

(20)	tuc-co	‘my bedroom’
	kur-Ba	‘their village’
	kan-ce	‘his/her house’
	jun-Bo	‘our field’
	fan-Du	‘you all’s bodies’

In addition, Saafi has a suffix denoting a communal relationship. This suffix, as well as several examples of its application, is presented in (21).

(21)	(C)if ²	‘(COMM)’
	kan-Dif	‘our house’
	kur-Dif	‘our village’
	tuc-if	‘our bedroom’

While these forms might be semantically very similar to the 1P.P forms, they are slightly different semantically. The communal suffix is used to denote something that has a relationship with a plural group of people, but that goes outside that, as well: (A) a family might be in a relationship with a field, but (B) the entire community might be in a relationship with that field as well. If only (A) is true, then the 1P.P suffix is used; if both (A) and (B) are used, then the communal suffix is used.

Note, also, that this is not the only way to denote that two nouns are in a sort of possessive relationship. The function of linking two nouns together (which is close in translation to the English expression of possession) will be further discussed in section 3.2.1.

² The first consonant of the communal suffix, as well as the first person singular suffix, is unspecified for place and takes on the place and voicing specification of the preceding consonant. This process is identical to that of the narrative past suffix, and will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.4.

2.2.7 Derived nouns

2.2.7.1 The agentive –oh

The suffix –oh can also be used to create a noun from a verb. The resulting noun denotes someone who performs the action indicated by the verb. Examples of the function of this suffix can be seen in (22).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| (22) | guur
to_cultivate
'cultivate' | guur-oh
to_cultivate-AGT
'farmer' |
| | paJ
to_heal
'to heal' | paJ-oh
to_heal-AGT
'healer' |
| | mbeJ
to_dance
'to dance' | mbeJ-oh
to_dance-AGT
'dancer' |
| | leber
to_wrestle
'to wrestle' | leber-oh
to_wrestle-AGT
'wrestler' |
| | rok
to_steal
'to steal' | rok-oh
to_steal-AGT
'thief' |

2.2.7.2 The instrumental –a

In many cases, the addition of the morpheme –a after the agentive suffix –oh changes the noun to represent an item or place that the agent uses to carry out the meaning of the verb. Several examples of the function of this suffix can be seen in (23).

- | | |
|------|---|
| (23) | paJ-oh-a
to_heal-AGT-LOC
'hospital' |
| | BitsiD-oh-a-n-a
to_learn-AGT-??-(EP)-LOC
'school' |

Jang-oh-a-n-a
to_study-AGT-??-(EP)-LOC
'place where (someone) studies'

ton-oh-a
to_sell-AGT-LOC
'store'

paD-oh-a
broom-AGT-LOC
'broom (tool used by someone who cleans)'

As seen in some of these examples, however, and in the example presented in (24), there seem to be two separate –a suffixes that can apply after the agentive suffix. The final –a in (23) seems to give these nouns a meaning related to a location or an instrument, while this first –a, shown in (24) seems to perform another function.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (24) | BitsiD-oh
to_learn-AGT
'student' | BitsiD-oh-a
to_learn-AGT-??
'teacher' |
|------|--|---|

At the present time, it is unclear what the meaning of this mystery –a is,³ and what the restrictions on its distribution and occurrence are. Further work is needed to determine if, in fact, there are two separate morphemes, and if there are, what the exact function of each is.

2.3 Other Nominal Morphemes

2.3.1 Deictics

Markers for location— =ii, =em, and =an, apply as the last constituent in the noun phrase. When the noun phrase consists solely of a single head noun, they apply after the singular (class) marker or plural marker. An analysis of how these markers interact with more complex noun phrases is presented in section 3.2.3. The meaning of each of these forms is discussed below.

³ One potential hypothesis is that this –a is the same morpheme as the instrumental –a, and that one could think of a teacher as the place where the student obtains their knowledge.

2.3.1.1 =ii

The marker *ii* is used to show that a nominal object is in close proximity to both the speaker and the listener. Several examples of this affix, used in both the singular and the plural, can be seen in (24).

- (24) pangi-n-ii
grass-CL-PROX
'this grass'

kijat-c-ii
book-PL-PROX
'these books'

muma-c-ii
lion-PL-PROX
'these lions'

meray-m-ii
sand-CL-PROX
'this sand'

2.3.1.2 =em

The marker *=em* is used to show that a nominal object is far from the speaker, but close to the listener. Several examples of this affix, used in both the singular and the plural, can be seen in (25).

- (25) pangi-n-em
grass-CL-DIST.N
'that grass (close to listener)'

kijat-c-em
book-PL-DIST.N
'those books (close to listener)'

muma-c-em
lion-PL-DIST.N
'those lions (close to listener)'

2.3.1.3 =an

The marker an is used to show that a nominal object is far from all interlocutors. Several examples of this affix, used in both the singular and the plural, can be seen in (26).

- (26) pangi-n-an
grass-CL-DIST.F
'that grass (far from all interlocutors)'
- kijat-c-an
book-PL-DIST.F
'those books (far from all interlocutors)'
- muma-c-an
lion-PL-DIST.F
'those lions (far from all interlocutors)'

An interesting observation involving the deictic markers is that, in all cases, they take the primary stress of the word. Whether this generalization stems from prosodic or morphological factors remains to be seen.

2.3.2 Adjectives

2.3.2.1 Adjective stems

Saafi has a class of adjectives that directly modify the noun. In their root form, just like nouns, adjectives are not specified for number or specificity.⁴ Examples of adjectives, along with several noun+adjective phrases, can be seen in (27).

- (27) jaano 'white'
 mere jaano 'white sand'
- muui 'wet'
 mBo mui 'wet frog'
- nugu 'warm'
 mBuuru nugu 'warm bread'

⁴ The difference between a true adjective, and an adjective-like part of speech that is derived from a verb (dam → damiD is a possible example of this) is an aspect of this language that needs much further investigation and explanation.

suusus	‘black’
kiat suusus	‘black book’

2.3.2.2 Numeric quantifiers

Saafi has a completely regular base five number system with an additional form for ‘ten.’ The numbers used in this system are presented in (25):

- | | | |
|------|---------|---------|
| (25) | jiino | ‘one’ |
| | kanak | ‘two’ |
| | kaahai | ‘three’ |
| | nikis | ‘four’ |
| | jatus | ‘five’ |
| | ndankeh | ‘ten’ |

Several examples of noun+number phrases are presented in (26).

- | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------|
| (26) | kanak jiino | mBo kanak |
| | ‘one child’ | ‘two frogs’ |
| | mbamhuh nikis | mBu jatus |
| | ‘four pigs’ | ‘five dogs’ |

Examples of more complex numbers, demonstrating how these constituents can join together, are presented in (27).

- | | | | |
|------|------------|------------|-----------|
| (27) | jatus | na-jiino | |
| | five | with-one | |
| | ‘six’ | | |
| | ndankeh | na-kaahai | |
| | ten | with-three | |
| | ‘thirteen’ | | |
| | ndankeh | jatus | na-nikis |
| | ten | five | with-four |
| | ‘nineteen’ | | |
| | ndankeh | kanak | |
| | ten | two | |
| | ‘twenty’ | | |

ndankeh	kanak	jatus	na-jiino
ten	two	five	and-one
'twenty-six'			

It is worth noting here that all of the numbers before na function as a single constituent. The evidence motivating this generalization and its role in agreement will be discussed further in section 2.4.

2.3.2.3 Non-numeric quantifiers

Saafi has a number of non-numeric quantifiers to denote a quantity of the noun being described.

Several examples of these words are shown in (28).

- (28)
- | | |
|-------|---------------|
| laai | 'many' |
| jusut | 'a few' |
| djen | 'all' |
| nuuni | 'each, every' |

2.4 Agreement in the Noun Phrase

2.4.1 Unmarked forms

When the head noun in a noun phrase is unmarked for plurality and specificity, the adjective is unmarked in these two domains as well. Examples of this zero-marking agreement can be seen in (29).

- (29)
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|---------|
| meray | jaano | |
| sand | white | |
| 'white sands' | | |
| | | |
| ndjeel | suras | ndankeh |
| rug | orange | ten |
| | | five |
| na-jiino | | |
| and-one | | |
| 'sixteen orange rugs' | | |
| | | |
| kiat | Xas | suusus |
| book | new | black |
| 'a new black book' | | |

2.4.2 Plurality

Constituents in the noun phrase agree in number marking, but not in singularity. In other words, adjectives and other nominal constituents are not marked for class, but they are marked with the plural morpheme C when the noun is marked with that same morpheme as well. Examples demonstrating non-agreement of adjectives with singular specific nouns are shown in (30).

- (30) paani-n-i jakuk-i
 monkey-CL-SPEC old-SPEC
 ‘the old monkey’
- kiat-k-i Xas-i suusus-i
 kiat-CL-SPEC new-SPEC black-SPEC
 ‘the new black book’
- mBu-f-i maanji-n-i sokola-n-i
 dog-CL-SPEC old-(EP)-SPEC brown-(EP)-SPEC
 ‘the old brown dog’

On the other hand, examples demonstrating agreement within the noun phrase for plurality can be seen in (31).

- (31) atoh-c-i dengadi-c-i laai-c-i
 rock-PL-SPEC smooth-PL-SPEC many-PL-SPEC
 ‘the many smooth rocks’
- djeel-c-i saras-c-i ndankeh jatus-c-i na-jiino
 rug-PL-SPEC orange-PL-SPEC ten five-PL-SPEC with-one
 ‘the sixteen orange rugs’
- mBu-c-i Xas-c-i
 dog-PL-SPEC new-PL-SPEC
 ‘the new dogs’

2.4.3 Specificity

Constituents in the noun phrase agree in specificity, whether the head noun is specific or nonspecific. Evidence demonstrating the agreement for the specific /i/ has already been shown in

(30) and (31), but is repeated in (32) for convenience. As is shown from these examples, agreement in specificity is a completely separate topic than agreement in number.

- (32)
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------|
| atoh-c-i | dengadi-c-i | laai-c-i | |
| rock-PL-SPEC | smooth-PL-SPEC | many-PL-SPEC | |
| 'the many smooth rocks' | | | |
| | | | |
| kiat-k-i | Xas-i | suusus-i | |
| kiat-CL-SPEC | new-SPEC | black-SPEC | |
| 'the new black book' | | | |
| | | | |
| djeel-c-i | saras-c-i | ndankeh jatus-c-i | na-jiino |
| rug-PL-SPEC | orange-PL-SPEC | ten five-PL-SPEC | with-one |
| 'the sixteen orange rugs' | | | |
| | | | |
| paani-n-i | jakuk-i | | |
| monkey-CL-SPEC | old-SPEC | | |
| 'the old monkey' | | | |

This process of adjective agreement can result in the creation of adjectives, as well. In the case of stative verbs, when the specific –i is suffixed onto the end of these verbs, the result is an adjective that embodies the quality expressed by that verb. A couple examples of this result of the specific morpheme –i are shown in (33).

- (33)
- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| dum | dum-i |
| to_be.hot | to_be.hot-SPEC |
| 'to be hot' | 'hot' |
| | |
| baah | baah-i |
| to_be.kind,good | to_be.kind,good-SPEC |
| 'to be kind, good' | 'kind, good' |

While there is not as much evidence for agreement with the nonspecific marker /a/, the example from 'Cohing Doopaatci' discussed in section 2.2.4.2 is repeated in (34) below.

- (34)
- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| leern-a-ng | nduuf-□-a |
| middle-NSPEC-CON | forest-CL-NSPEC |
| 'the middle of the forest' | |

3. The Noun Phrase

3.1 The Simple Noun Phrase

The basic noun phrase in Saafi consists of a single head noun that may or may not have any prefixes or affixes denoting relationship, specificity, or definiteness. It can be a pronoun or a noun. Section 3.2 discusses possible modifications to the noun phrase, and section 3.3 gives a preliminary ordering of constituents in the noun phrase.

3.2 Some Possible Modifications

3.2.1 Connecting two nouns

As was mentioned earlier in section 2.2.6, Saafi has a way of linking nouns together that denotes a relationship akin to possession. The morpheme /ng/ attaches after the specificity marker of the noun that is possessed in order to create this link. This noun is immediately followed by the noun that subsumes it; these two constituents always appear next to each other, without any intervening morphemes, in the noun phrase. Some examples of this type of connection are shown in (1).

- (1) Baab-□-i-ng Jileen
 father-CL-SPEC-CON Jileen
 ‘Jileen’s father’
- coh-□-i-ng Doopaat-c-i
 meeting-CL-SPEC-CON animal-PL-SPEC
 ‘the meeting of the animals’
- leern-a-ng nduuf-a
 middle-NSPEC-CON forest-NSPEC
 ‘the middle of the forest’

When the entity doing the possessing is referred to by a personal pronoun, this pronoun takes the place of the second noun in the construction. The personal pronouns used in this type of construction are shown in (2).

(2)	(C)o	'(1P.S)'	Buci	'(1P.P)'
	Da	'(2P.S)'	Du	'(2P.P)'
	De	'(3P.S)'	Ba	'(3P.P)'

Examples of constructions using these personal pronouns can be seen in (3).

- (3) fisar-□-i-ng-De
chest-CL-SPEC-CON-3P.S
'his chest'
- pambi-n-i-ng-o
chicken-CL-SPEC-CON-1P.S
'my chicken'
- sis-c-i-ng-Ba
tooth-PL-SPEC-CON-3P.P
'their teeth'

An important side note is that this connective morpheme can append itself to verbal elements as well as nominal. A few examples of this are illustrated in (3).

- (3) mbeh-□-i-ng guur-□-i
day-CL-SPEC-CON cultivate-CL-SPEC
'the day of the cultivating'
- kooDk-iD-i-ng reh-i
prepare-ASP-SPEC-CON rainy_season-□-i
'the preparation of the rainy season'

Whether this connective morpheme is capable of deriving nouns from verbs, or whether there is another process at work entirely, is an area that merits further investigation.

3.2.2 Adjectives and quantifiers

When adjectives and quantifiers are introduced into the noun phrase, they always follow the head noun. Examples of this are shown in (4).

- (4) Jaar-□-i bahid-i
man-CL-SPEC good-SPEC
'the nice man'

baal-□-i ruumin-i
 ball-CL-SPEC red-SPEC
 ‘the red ball’

komak-c-i kanak-c-i
 child-PL-SPEC two-PL-SPEC
 ‘the two children’

djel-c-i ndankex jatus-c-i najiino
 rug-PL-SPEC ten five-PL-SPEC with-one
 ‘the sixteen rugs’

When numerical quantifiers and adjectives occur within the same phrase, the position of these constituents with respect to each other seems to be variable. Several examples with different ordering of adjectives and numerical quantifiers can be seen in (5).

(5) ndiima-c-i ruumin-c-i Xas-c-i kanak-c-i
 pagne-PL-SPEC red-PL-SPEC new-PL-SPEC two-PL-SPEC
 ‘the two new red pagnes’

kibi-c-i jakuk-c-i kanak-c-i
 fire-PL-SPEC big-PL-SPEC two-PL-SPEC
 ‘the two big fires’

kibi-c-i kanak-c-i jakuk-c-i dumi-c-i
 fire-PL-SPEC two-PL-SPEC big-PL-SPEC hot-PL-SPEC
 ‘the two big hot fires’

kibi-c-i kanak-c-i dumi-c-i
 fire-PL-SPEC two-PL-SPEC hot-PL-SPEC
 ‘the two hot fires’

baal-c-i Biti-c-i kanak-c-i
 ball-PL-SPEC heavy-PL-SPEC two-PL-SPEC
 ‘the two heavy balls’

komak-c-i kanak-c-i jusut-c-i
 child-PL-SPEC two-PL-SPEC small-PL-SPEC
 ‘the two small children’

At this point it is unclear whether the position of the numerical quantifiers is variable, or if there are certain classes of adjectives that appear in certain places of the noun phrase. A lot of further investigation is needed to figure out the relative ordering of these constituents.

The non-numerical quantifiers also appear after the head noun. While they seem to follow the adjectives, there is not enough data to fully support this hypothesis. Several examples involving the ordering of non-numerical quantifiers can be seen in (6).

- (6) atohci ndengaadici laaici
 rock-PL-SPEC smooth-PL-SPEC many-PL-SPEC
 ‘the many smooth rocks’
- musuB jusuut
 water little
 ‘a little bit of water’
- atoh nuuni
 rock each/every
 ‘every rock’

In sum, adjectives, numeric quantifiers, and non-numeric quantifiers always follow the head noun, though the relative ordering of these constituents within the noun phrase is unclear.

3.2.3 Deictic clitics

In section 2.3.1, the deictic clitics =ii, =an, and =em were discussed and their placement relative to the head noun in the noun phrase was demonstrated. Some of the examples presented in that section are recapitulated in (7) for convenience.

- (7) pangi-n-ii
 grass-CL-PROX
 ‘this grass’
- kijat-c-em
 book-PL-DIST.N
 ‘those books (close to listener)’

muma-c-an
lion-PL-DIST.F
‘those lions (far from all interlocutors)’

When the noun phrase consists of more than just a head noun, however, the deictic attaches itself to the last constituent in the noun phrase. As the deictic marker and the specificity marker cannot co-occur, the specificity marker on the final word in the noun phrase is not realized. The deictic form can be thought of as a phrase-final, rather than word-final, morpheme. Examples of this are presented in (8).

- (8) kijat-□-i Xas-i suusus-an
book-CL-SPEC new-SPEC black-DIST.F
‘that new book’

meray-c-i jano-c-ii
sand-PL-SPEC white-PL-PROX
‘these white sands’

mBuu-f-i maanji-n-i sokola-n-em
dog-CL-SPEC old-(EP)-SPEC brown-(EP)-DIST.N
‘that old brown dog’

3.3 Order of Constituents

3.3.1 Head noun constituents

The following schemata shown in (9-11) are depictions of the possible structures of head nouns in Saafi. All of the evidence for these orderings is contained in the examples provided in section 2. Elements bound in parentheses are optional, and elements listed on the same vertical line cannot co-occur. As shown in (9), affixing Bi- onto a noun blocks the appearance of other morphemes.

- (9) (Bi-) NOUN

The relational pronouns have a similar effect, as shown in (10).

- (10) NOUN (POSS)

The ordering of the number and specificity morphemes is demonstrated in (11).

- (11) NOUN (SING) (SPEC)
 (PL) (NSPEC)

Taken together, these three schemata are options for the ordering of morphemes within the constituent HEAD NOUN (H.NOUN).

3.3.2 Noun phrase constituents

The following schema shown in (12) is a depiction of the constituent ordering in a noun phrase.

As with the illustration of the head noun morpheme ordering, optional elements are bounded by parentheses, and elements that are listed on the same vertical line cannot co-occur.

- (12) (NOUN SG SPEC CON) H.NOUN (ADJ, QUANT) DEICTIC
 PL NSPEC

In the noun phrase, ADJ can reoccur as many times as is necessary. QUANT and DEICTIC, due to their nature, can only occur once in a noun phrase. While it is conceivable that more than one noun with the connective marker could occur before the head noun, as sometimes showing a relationship of possession involves more than two nouns, this construction is not attestable from the data collected and should be left for further investigation.

4. Locatives and Adverbs

4.1 Locatives

4.1.1 Prepositions

Saafi has a set of monomorphemic prepositions used to talk about an entity's location. Examples of these are given in (1).

- | | | |
|-----|-------|---------------|
| (1) | fiki | 'in front of' |
| | fino | 'behind' |
| | djool | 'on top of' |
| | Do | 'inside' |
| | seero | 'near' |

These prepositions precede the noun without exception, as shown in (2).

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------|
| (2) | fiki | kaan-□-i |
| | in.front.of | house-CL-SPEC |
| | 'in front of the house' | |
| | djool | kaan-□-i |
| | on.top.of | house-CL-SPEC |
| | 'on top of the house' | |
| | duf | kaan-□-i |
| | way.above | house-CL-SPEC |
| | 'way above the house' | |
| | filndo | kaan-□-i |
| | below | house-CL-SPEC |
| | 'below the house' | |

Presumably, this [P N] structure can be extended to [P NP] as well, although at this point, there is no data supporting this hypothesis.

4.1.2 The nominal prefix ng-

In addition, Saafi has a marker ng-, roughly equivalent to the English 'in,' that is realized as a prefix on its modifier. Several examples of this morpheme are shown in (3).

- (3) ng-nee-h-c-i ha-ang
 in-day-PL-SPEC to_come-HAB
 ‘in the coming days’

ng-oon-oon-c-i
 in-valley-PL-SPEC
 ‘in the valleys...’

4.1.3 Complex Locatives

The prefix ng-, discussed in the previous section, can also combine with other morphemes to form a more complex locative. Sections 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.3.2 discuss two of these complex locatives; section 4.1.3.3 presents a similar case that may or may not be related.

4.1.3.1 nga

nga, a location marker roughly translating to the English ‘there,’ is used when talking about an unspecified place. As ng and a have already been shown elsewhere to be separate morphemes (‘in’ and NSPEC, respectively), it is possible to analyze this locative as ng+a. Several examples of this morpheme are shown in (4).

- (4) a marak forta-c-i nik ng-a djen
 3P.S to_look photo-PL-SPEC to_be LOC-NSPEC all
 ‘He looks at all the photos there’

ng-kuruk ng-a ngang peDeem-c-eem
 1P.S-to_stand.up LOC-NSPEC at word-PL-DIST N
 ‘I stood up there at those words’

ng-a États-Unis
 LOC-NSPEC United States
 ‘in the United States’

ng-a meriland
 LOC-NSPEC Maryland
 ‘(there) in Maryland’

4.1.2.2 ngan

ngan, a locative marker resembling nga, can be analyzed as ng+an ('in' and DIST.F, respectively). Several examples of this morpheme are displayed in (5).

- (5) iinj c-i DasDusuk-ang ng-an atoh c-i
 snake PL-SPEC to_hide-HAB LOC-DIST.N rock PL-SPEC
 'the snakes hiding in the rocks...'

 walla ng-an DooJ nung c-i
 or LOC-DIST.N inside hole PL-SPEC
 'or inside the holes.'

As is evident from this second example, ngan functions more as a general locative that can be modified by other, more specific locative words. In this sense, it is roughly equivalent to the English 'over there,' as it provides a sense of distance, but is general enough to sometimes need further specification.

4.1.2.3 ndi

ndi, meaning 'here,' seems to be a member of this same class of locative, in that it means 'here' and seems to contain the specific marker -i. As it begins with nd, however, and not ng, it may not be able to be analyzed the same way. Further investigation is needed to see if the alternation between ng and nd is motivated by phonological constraints, or if ndi is indeed monomorphemic. (6) shows an example of this morpheme.

- (6) khis kaahai ndi ng-a Indiana University
 year three here LOC-NSPEC Indiana University
 '... for three years here at Indiana University.'

The existence of nga in this phrase raises some questions about exactly what nga means, and whether or not it is being capable of being modified by other locatives (such as ndi) just like ngan. Obviously, a further and better analysis of these potentially complex locatives would need to draw from a lot more data.

4.2 Adverbs

4.2.1 The time-specific Dah

Dah is an adverb-like morpheme in Saafi that is used to point the listener's attention to a specific point in time. It can be used to denote a specific time in the past or in the future, as shown by the examples in (9).

- (9) C-a Jut Dah
PL-NSPEC to_finish SPEC.TIME
'when they finished...'
- maas-a reh Dah
group.work-NSPEC to_arrive when
'when the group fieldwork comes...'

4.2.2 Other adverbs

While the data on adverbs are extremely limited at this point in time, (10) contains several examples of adverbs used to mark time.

- (10) wing nik komaak-□-i
when to_be child-CL-SPEC
'When I was a child...'
- wiir-wiir mi-BitsiD-oh
now 1P.S-to_learn-AGT
'Now I am a student.'
- wois mi-djang-iD Saafi
this.year 1P.S-to_study-CAUS Saafi
'This year, I am teaching Saafi.'

5. Verbal Morphology

5.1 The Verb Root

The verb root in Saafi is a usually monomorphemic and monosyllabic entity expressing the concept behind an action. It is roughly equivalent to the English infinitive. These roots usually have a CVC structure, but VC is also possible. Some examples of Saafi verb roots are shown in (1).

- | | | |
|-----|-------|------------------------|
| (1) | njaam | ‘to eat’ |
| | DoB | ‘to bite’ |
| | mbinD | ‘to write’ |
| | wees | ‘to toss (to someone)’ |
| | jay | ‘to push’ |
| | nup | ‘to run’ |
| | am | ‘to hold’ |

5.2 Derivational Affixes

5.2.1 –oh and related constructions

5.2.1.1 The instrumental –oh

The suffix –oh can be used to demonstrate that a specific action is performed with an object, and that there is a constituent in the verb phrase with the semantic role of ‘instrument.’ Several examples of this suffix are shown in (2).

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------------|
| (2) | njaam-oh | na-djapil |
| | to_eat-INST | with-knife |
| | ‘eat with a knife’ | |
| | guur-oh | na-gup |
| | to_cultivate-INST | with-hoe |
| | ‘cultivate with a hoe’ | |
| | njaam-iD-oh | na-kobang |
| | to_eat-CAUS-INST | with-spoon |
| | ‘feed with a spoon’ | |

5.2.1.2 The reciprocal –oh

The suffix –oh can also be used to denote an action that is reciprocal, or is carried out by one person on many others. While this usage is somewhat rare, compared to the other usages of this suffix, a couple examples can be seen in (3).

- | | | |
|-----|----------|----------------------|
| (3) | hot | hot-oh |
| | to_see | to_see-RECIP |
| | ‘to see’ | ‘see each other’ |
| | lab | lab-oh |
| | to_hit | to_hit-RECIP |
| | ‘to hit’ | ‘hit several people’ |

5.2.2 –is

5.2.2.1 The reversive –is

In some cases, the morpheme –is can apply to the end of a verb to denote an action that has been reversed. Several pairs of verbs to illustrate this relationship are shown in (4).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (4) | umb | umb-is |
| | to_cover | to_cover-REV |
| | ‘to cover’ | ‘to uncover’ |
| | rang | rang-is |
| | to_shut | to_shut-REV |
| | ‘to shut’ | ‘to open’ |
| | ul | ul-is |
| | to_cover | to_cover-REV |
| | ‘to cover with a blanket’ | ‘to uncover’ |
| | but | but-is |
| | to_shut,lock,close | to_shut,lock,close-REV |
| | ‘to shut’ | ‘to open’ |
| | tok | tok-is |
| | to_tie | to_tie-REV |
| | ‘to tie’ | ‘to untie’ |

5.2.2.2 The repetitive –is

In other cases, however, the morpheme –is can apply to the end of a verb to denote an action that is occurring again. This morpheme is separate from the reversive –is that has already been mentioned; proof for the validity of this analysis can be seen in section 5.2.7. Examples of the application of this morpheme can be seen in (5).

- (5)
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| guur
to_cultivate
'cultivate' | guur-is
to_cultivate-REP
'cultivate again' |
| haj
to_come
'come' | haj-is
to_come-REP
'come back (come again)' |
| marak
to_look.at
'look at' | marak-is
to_look.at-REP
'look at again' |

5.2.3 The pluractional –soh

The suffix –soh is a pluractional suffix, denoting either that many people are performing the action or that the action is performed many times. Several examples of this suffix can be seen in

(6).

- (6)
- | |
|--|
| raak-soh
to_be.present-PLUR
'to have many' |
| djop-soh
to_cut-PLUR
'to cut into pieces' |

5.2.4 –iD

5.2.4.1 The causative –iD

In some cases, the suffix –iD has a causative function. When applied to a root verb, it has the effect of causing another person to perform the action. Several examples of the function of this suffix can be seen in (7).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|
| (7) | njaam
to_eat
'to eat' | njaam-iD
to_eat-CAUS
'to feed' |
| | djung
to_study
'to study' | djung-iD
to_study-CAUS
'to teach' |
| | tufuk
to_stand.up
'to stand up' | tufk-iD
to_stand.up-CAUS
'to make stand up (to create)' |
| | rang
to_open
'to open' | rangs-iD
to_open-CAUS
'to cause (something) to open' |

5.2.4.2 The benefactive –iD

Another function of the suffix –iD is to indicate that an action is being performed for the benefit of others. This usage is separate from the usage of –iD as a causative morpheme; the argumentation for this separation can be found in section 5.2.7. While this morpheme's meaning is not especially clear in isolation, as there is a lack of distinction between it and the causative, a couple examples of this morpheme can be seen in (8).

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|
| (8) | rum
to_buy
'to buy' | rum-iD
to_buy-BEN
'to buy for someone' |
| | njaam-iD
to_eat
'to eat' | njaam-iD
to_eat-BEN
'to feed someone' |

5.2.5 –uk

5.2.5.1 The reflexive –uk

The morpheme –uk often lends a reflexive meaning to a verb: it directs the action being performed by the verb onto the agent of the sentence. Several examples of this shift in focus can be seen in (9).

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (9) | Book
to_shower
'to shower someone' | Book-uk
to_shower-RFLX
'to take a shower' |
| | huc
to_clean.the.teeth
'to clean the teeth' | huc-uk
to_clean.the.teeth-RFLX
'to clean one's own teeth' |
| | ul
to_cover
'to cover with a blanket' | ul-uk
to_cover-RFLX
'to cover oneself' |
| | rang
to_close
'to close' | rang-uk
to_close-RFLX
'to close itself' |

5.2.5.2 The diminutive –uk

-uk also has a second, semantically distinct meaning: it functions as a sort of diminutive for verbs. When this morpheme is applied to the end of a verb, it serves to lessen the intent and the seriousness of the verb. Representative examples are shown in (10).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|
| (10) | kal
to_hunt
'to hunt' | kal-s-uk
kal-??-V.DIM
'to play hunt' |
| | leber
to_wrestle
'to wrestle' | leber-uk
to_wrestle-V.DIM
'to play wrestle' |

The s that appears in 'kalsuk' is a mystery, and further investigation would be needed to determine if it is an anomaly or another suffix. It is interesting, though, that the word for

‘hunter,’ ‘kalsukoh,’ is derived from the diminutive form of the verb ‘to hunt.’ Although it bears the diminutive suffix, it carries no connotations of ‘play hunting,’ and it does not imply the inability to hunt properly.

5.3 Tense, Aspect, and Negation

5.3.1 The habitual –ang

-ang is used when the action being described is performed by the agent on a normal basis. This suffix is not restricted temporally, and can be used to describe any event that has occurred, or is occurring, at any point in time. Several examples of its usage can be seen in (11).

- (11) mi-tik-ang-e-tik
1S.S-to_cook-HAB-P.IMP-to_cook
‘I always cooked’
- a-tik-ang-tik
3S.S-to_cook-HAB-tok_cook
‘He always cooks’
- a-h-ang-fuD-e
3S.S-FUT.AUX-HAB-to_cry-FUT
‘he is going to cry (because he always cries)’
- a-mbeJ-ang-mbeJ
3S.S-to_dance-HAB-to_dance
‘she always dances’

5.3.2 The aspectual –iD

The suffix –iD is used when talking about events that have a basis in the past, but are still going on, or still have relevance, in the present. As this marker is much more of an aspectual marker than a tense marker, any English translation of a verb with this suffix is necessarily loose. The closest approximation to its meaning is an action that has already begun happening in the past, and still has relevance to the current action. Several examples of verbs with this suffix can be seen in (12).

- (12) a-kan-iD
 3S.S-to_die-ASP
 ‘he is dead (as a result of something that has already happened)’
- a-Boof-iD
 3S.S-to_sit.down-ASP
 ‘he is seated (as a result of already having sat down)’
- Baab-□-i-ng Jileen jii kooDk-iD reh-□-i
 father-CL-SPEC-CON Jileen AFFIRM to_prepare-ASP rainy.season-CL-SPEC
 ‘Jileen’s father is preparing for the rainy season (and was doing so before)’
- mi-tiin-iD
 1S.S-to_walk-ASP
 ‘I already walked to the store’
- tik-id
 to_cook-ASP
 ‘I have already cooked’

In a sense, this suffix conveys a sense that an action has been carried out in the recent past, in the sense that the action being done has already been completed, rather than was completed. This is a distinction that is hard to articulate in English, but that is omnipresent in Saafi.

5.3.3 The remote past –en

The past suffix –en is used when talking about events that have occurred in the past and no longer have any relevance. In other words, if something that happened in the past is not true anymore, then the suffix –en is used to denote this relationship. Several examples of this marker can be seen in (13).

- (13) mi-waaD-en avoka⁵
 1P.S-to_want-REM.PAST lawyer
 ‘I wanted to be a lawyer (but I don’t anymore)’
- a-kan-en
 3P.S-to_die-REM.PAST
 ‘he died (but now he’s not dead anymore)’

⁵ This word is a direct borrowing from the French *avocat*, also meaning ‘lawyer.’ The sound [v] does not otherwise appear in Saafi’s consonant inventory.

tik-en
to _cook-REM.PAST
'I did cook (but I don't anymore)'

5.3.4 The narrative past –Ca

When telling a narrative, the past marker –Ca is used to denote events in the past that have happened as part of a progression. This marker only occurs during speech acts where storytelling is involved. The allomorphy of this suffix can be explained through assimilation: the first consonant of the suffix is unspecified for place, and therefore takes on the place specification of the preceding consonant. When the verb ends in a vowel, the consonant /s/ is used. Examples of this phonological process, as well as the functioning of this suffix, can be seen in (14).

- (14) coh-ha
to _meet-N.PAST
'met'
- woo-sa
to _tell-N.PAST
'told'
- teem-mba
to _attend-N.PAST
'attended'
- haad-da
to _go.home-N.PAST
'went home'
- faanuk-ka
to _lie.down-N.PAST
'laid down (went to sleep)'
- muc-ca
to _disappear-N.PAST
'disappeared'
- heeJ-ca
to _dream-N.PAST
'dreamt'

fung-nga
to_become.scared-N.PAST
'became scared'

corkiD-ta
to_give.thanks-N.PAST
'gave thanks'

When the final consonant in the verb is an implosive consonant, as seen in the forms 'corkiDta' and 'heeJca,' the consonant in the suffix assimilates in place and is voiceless. This, together with the use of /s/ as the segment when the suffix does not follow a consonant, provides evidence that the suffix's consonant is specified as a voiceless, but when it is suffixed onto a verb, it agrees with the preceding consonant (if there is one) in voice, manner, and place. Implosives would seem to be the exception to this, but seeing as they become voiceless when followed by another consonant (as was discussed in section 1.4.2), this apparent anomaly is hardly surprising.

In addition, this pattern of assimilation provides evidence for the analysis presented in section 1.4.4 on the place restrictions of prenasalized obstruents.

5.3.5 The past imperfective marker –e

The past imperfective marker –e is often used in conjunction with the narrative past to provide commentary on a past event, or to describe a state of mine (rather than an action) that occurred in the past. Examples of this usage of the past imperfective marker are shown in (15).

- (15) waD-e kiinik avoka
to_want-P.IMP PROG-to_be lawyer
'I wanted to be a lawyer (description of a recurring state)'

c-a raak-e BeDk-oh
PL-NSPEC to_have-P.IMP call-CAUS
'They had an invitation (describing the state of having an invitation)'

c-a raak-soh-e maas
PL-NSPEC to_have-PLUR-P.IMP group.work
'they were having a group fieldwork (in the past, without respect to exact time)'

While this marker mostly turns up in narrative texts, to comment on the background behind a progression of events that is unfolding with the use of the –Ca narrative past marker, as seen in the phrase ‘waaDe kiinik avoka’ above, it can also be used as a marker in the description of a state that occurred in the past for a long time. In both of these senses, it is close to what is described as a traditional imperfective marker.

5.3.6 The future marker –e

The future marker –ay is suffixed onto the end of a verb stem to denote an activity that will happen at some point in the future.

- (16) a-hang-fuD-e
 3P.S-F.H.AUX-to_cry-FUT
 ‘he is going to cry (because he always cries)’

lib-ne hai-ki mirDoh-e
 to_think-REL F.AUX-PROG to_end.up-FUT
 ‘I think that I will end up...’

Ba-hai-nup-e
 3P.P-F.AUX-to_run-FUT
 ‘they will run’

As is shown here, the use of an auxiliary is imperative with this future marker; these auxiliaries will be discussed in greater depth in section 6.2.1.

5.3.7 The present progressive

5.3.7.1 The progressive ki-

The prefix ki- conveys a sense of the present progressive, and is generally used when the speaker wishes to focus on the activity that is being performed, rather than the process of doing something. Several examples of this usage can be seen in (17).

- (17) waD-e kii-nik avoka
 to_want-P.IMP PROG-to_be lawyer
 ‘I wanted to be a lawyer (focus on becoming a lawyer)’

a-ki-njam
3S.S-PROG-to_eat
'He is eating (focus on the activity of eating)'

haj ki c-a on-ee musuB
F.AUX PROG PL-NSPEC to_give-FUT water
'...will serve them water'

As shown in this final example, ki- can also co-occur with the future auxiliaries, and when this happens it is dissociated from the main verb. More discussion of future auxiliaries is presented in section 6.2.1.

5.3.7.2 The affirmative ji-

The morpheme ji- is limited to the present progressive, and its meaning is centered on a process rather than an activity. In this sense, it takes on a totally different function than the other regularly used progressive marker, ki-. Several examples of this morpheme are shown in (18).

(18) fu-ji-Jah
2P.S-AFFIRM-to_go
'you are going'

mi-ji-njam
1P.S-AFFIRM-to_eat
'I am (in the process of) eating.'

In context, this morpheme can serve an affirmative function as well. It is often used when responding to a question about whether or not an action is being performed. This alternate usage is shown in (19).

(19) a-ji-njam
3P.S-AFFIRM-to_eat
'(Yes,) he is eating'

mi-ji-tik
1P.S-AFFIRM-to_cook
'(Yes,) I am cooking'

This suffix exhibits allomorphy depending on the number and person performing the action. A verbal paradigm illustrating this allomorphy is shown in (20).

(20)	mi-ji-Jah	‘I am going’	Buci-Bi-Jah	‘We are going’
	fu-ji-Jah	‘You are going’	Du-Bi-Jah	‘You all are going’
	a-ji-Jah	‘He/she is going’	Ba-Di-Jah	‘They are going’
	wa-Di-Jah	‘it is going’	ca-Di-Jah	‘they (impers.) are going’

5.3.7.3 The goal-oriented –ang

While –ang is usually seen as a habitual marker, it can also function as a present progressive suffix when the focus is on what is being done rather than the process that is being completed.

(21) shows an example of how the morpheme –ang differs from the progressive morpheme ji-.

(21)	a-ji-tik-a	
	3P.S-PR.PROG-to_cook-NSPEC	
	‘She is cooking it (focus on the action of cooking)’	
	a-tik-ang-a	tik
	3P.S-to_cook-PR.GOAL-NSPEC	to_cook
	‘She is cooking it (focus on what is being cooked)’	

5.3.8 Imperative markers

5.3.8.1 The general imperative marker –a

The imperative in Saafi is formed by adding the morpheme –a onto the end of a stem verb. (22) demonstrates the basic construction of imperatives in Saafi.

(22)	Juf	Juf-a
	to_throw	to_throw-IMPER
	‘to throw’	‘throw (imperative)’
	mbet	mbet-a
	to_throw.to	to_throw.to-IMPER
	‘to throw (to someone)’	‘throw (to someone) (imperative)’
	mbinD	mbinD-a
	to_write	to_write-IMPER
	‘to write’	‘write (imperative)’

Xon
to_give
'to give'

Xon-a
to_give-IMPER
'give (imperative)'

5.3.8.2 The plural imperative marker –t

When the imperative is directed at a group of people, however, instead of just one person, a –t is appended onto the end of the imperative marker. Alternations demonstrating the addition of this morpheme are shown in (23).

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (23) | <p>Juf-a
to_throw-IMPER
'to throw (imperative)'</p> <p>mbet-a
to_throw.to-IMPER
'to throw (to someone) (imperative)'</p> <p>mbinD-a
to_write-IMPER
'to write (imperative)'</p> <p>Xon-a
to_give-IMPER
'to give (imperative)'</p> | <p>Juf-a-t
to_throw-IMPER-IMP.PL
'throw (plural imperative)'</p> <p>mbet-a-t
to_throw.to-IMPER-IMP.PL
'throw (to someone) (plural imperative)'</p> <p>mbinD-a-t
to_write-IMPER-IMP.PL
'write (plural imperative)'</p> <p>Xon-a-t
to_give-IMPER-IMP.PL
'give (plural imperative)'</p> |
|------|--|--|

5.3.8.3 The imperative object –aa

When an imperative statement directed towards one person has a direct object, the suffix –aa is added onto the verb stem. Several examples of this, contrasted with the bare imperative form, are shown in (24).

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (24) | <p>njam-a
to_eat-IMPER
'eat (imperative)'</p> <p>mbinD-a
to_write-IMPER
'write'</p> | <p>njam-aa
to_eat-IMP.OBJ
'eat it'</p> <p>mbinD-aa
to_write-IMP.OBJ
'write it'</p> |
|------|---|--|

Juf-a
to_throw-IMPER
'throw'

Juf-aa
to_throw-IMP.OBJ
'throw it'

The imperative object marker also appears in commands issued to a group, as shown in (25).

- (25) njam-aa-t
to_eat-IMP.OBJ-IMP.PL
'eat it (directed at a group)'

It is entirely possible that the imperative object –aa is actually the result of the imperative marker being directly followed by the nonspecific marker, -a. Pursuing this analysis, however, would force us to come up with a reason why this morpheme does not have its usual number marker. At the current moment, therefore, the analysis is that the imperative marker –a and the object marker –aa are separate morphemes that cannot co-occur.

5.3.9 Verbal reduplication

In Saafi, some verbs are reduplicated. The subset of verbs that undergo this process is not predicable from the data gathered thus far, and necessitates further research, but some examples displaying this reduplication (in a number of different tenses) are shown in (26).

- (26) Jaar-□-i soos soos
man-CL-SPEC to_be.cold to_be.cold
'The man is cold.'

Ba-sumk-e sumuk
3P.P-to_be.happy-P.IMP to_be.happy
'They were happy.'

mi-tik-ang-e tik
1P.S-to_cook-HAB-P.IMP to_cook
'I used to cook.'

te-w-a suusus suusus itam
and-SG-NSPEC to_be.black to_be.black also
'...and it is black, too.'

mi bah bah
 1P.S to_be.kind to_be.kind
 'I am kind.'

5.3.10 The negation marker –Di

Generally speaking, verbs are negated using the suffix –Di, though there is some degree of allomorphy with this suffix. (27) displays several examples of negation in Saafi.

(27) mi-nup-Di
 1S.S-to_run-NEG
 'I am not running'

te Ba-haB-Du in
 and 3S.P-to_do-NEG anything
 '...and they didn't do anything.'

mi-njam-Di
 1S.S-to_eat-NEG
 'I am not eating.'

a-waD-Di njam
 3S.S-to_like-NEG food,eating
 'He doesn't like food/eating.'

a-waD-Di wo
 3S.S-to_like-NEG to_speak
 'He doesn't like to speak.'

In some cases, as seen in several of these examples, addition of the negation marker to a verb can indicate a refusal. Additionally, as is demonstrated in the second example, there is a degree of allomorphy in the negation marker. The reason behind this allomorphy and the distribution of the allomorphs is not clear, however, and more data needs to be collected to better understand it.

5.4 Ordering and Co-occurrence

5.4.1 Derivational suffix ordering

In Saafi, all of the derivational affixes presented thus far in section 5.2 have a designated place within the verbal morphology. While the location of some of these morphemes is not specified

directly, this is due more to a lack of data and general incompatibility of certain forms than anything else. Section 5.4.1.1 contains a preliminary ordering for the derivational suffixes on any verb, while section 5.4.1.2 contain forms exemplifying these placements.

5.4.1.1 Preliminary Representation

The following in (28) is a preliminary schema for morpheme placement within the root verb.

Descriptions of suffixes that are followed by question marks in parentheses indicate that, while the suffix occurs somewhere near where it is placed, there is not sufficient data to prove that it is in that exact position. Elements that are entirely in parentheses denote suffixes that only occur when the verb has become a noun.

- (28) ROOT -is¹ -uk, -uk² -iD¹ -oh -iD² -is² -soh
 REV RFLX CAUS(??) INST BEN REP PLUR(???)
 DIM(??) RECIP

5.4.1.2 Arguments for placement

The following forms displayed in (29) provide evidence for the ordering of the derivational affixes that was presented in (28).

- | | | | |
|------|--|--|------------|
| (29) | -is ¹ before -uk ¹ | ul-is-uk
to_cover.with.blanket-REV-RFLX
'to uncover oneself' | |
| | -is ¹ before -iD ¹ | rang-is-iD
to_close-REV-CAUS
'to cause something to open' | |
| | -uk ¹ before -oh | ul-is-uk-oh
to_cover-REV-RFLX-INST
'to uncover oneself with' | na
with |
| | -oh before -is ² | rang-is-oh-is
to_close-REV-INST-REP
'to open again with' | na
with |

-iD ² before -is ²	a-rum-iD-is-iD	so
	3P.S-to_buy-BEN-REP-ASP	me
	'he bought something for me again'	

At the present time, there is no data dealing with the interaction between the pluractional suffix and any other suffixes, so for now it stays on the far right side in this morpheme ordering.

Further elicitation is needed to see if this morpheme is actually where it really belongs.

In addition, while there is no evidence demonstrating the relationship between the reflexive -uk and the causative -iD, the following form in (30) is worth noting. Because sum and sumuk do not mean different things, it is not a definitive piece of evidence for the relative ordering of these two suffixes, but as the speaker is aware that 'sum' can exist apart from 'sumuk,' it is interesting nonetheless.

(30)	sum, sum-uk	sum-uk-iD
	to_be.happy, to_be.happy-RFLX	to_be.happy-RFLX-CAUS
	'to be happy'	'to make (someone) happy'

5.4.2 Tense, Aspect, Negation ordering

While the relative ordering of each and every tense, aspect, and negation marker is not entirely clear at this point in time, there are several generalizations that can be made given the data obtained thus far. Generally speaking, affixes of this type have many more co-occurrence restrictions than do the derivational suffixes. As it is impossible for an action to occur both in the future and in the remote past, these restrictions are understandable and necessary. (31) contains some preliminary generalization. As the prefixes ji- and ki- are the only two affixes known to occur in front of the verb, and they cannot conceivably co-occur, the generalizations listed here deal solely with suffixes.

(31)	habitual before aspect/tense	a-tik-ang-en
		3S.S-to_cook-HAB-REM.PAST
		'I used to cook (but not anymore)'

tense/aspect before negation

mi-nup-e(n)-Di
1S.S-to_run-REM.PAST-NEG
'you did not run'

fu-Xon-e(n)-Di taambili
2S.S-to_give-REM.PAST-NEG gift
'you did not give the gift'

5.4.3 Derivation and aspect marker interactions

All tense, aspect, and negation markers appear on the outside of the derivational markers; that is to say, as shown in (32), the derivational affixes are always closer to the verb stem. All generalizations made earlier about ordering within the two different sets of affixes remain true when they interact.

- (32) wiir-wiir djang-iD-iD
 now to_study-CAUS-ASP
 'Now I have already taught...'

djang-iD-ta
to_study-CAUS-N.PAST
'Then, I taught...'

sut-c-i djir-id-e
couscous-PL-SPEC to_be.sick-CAUSE-P.IMP
'cous cous made him sick'

5.5 Voice

5.5.1 Default (active) voice

All of the suffixes discussed this far can be used with the active voice. The active voice is the unmarked voice in Saafi, in that it does not require a morpheme to be perceived as "active," and it is also the more common of the two voices.

5.5.2 The neuter passive –u

The neuter passive, a sort of passive that includes the object being acted upon but not what is acting on it, is marked in Saafi with the morpheme –u. Several alternations demonstrating this morpheme’s usage are shown in (33).

(33)	rang to _close ‘to close’	rang-u to _close-N.PASS ‘to be closed’
	sos to _accuse ‘to accuse’	sos-u to _accuse-N.PASS ‘to be accused’
	Xon to _give ‘to give’	Xon-u to _give-N.PASS ‘to be given’
	njaam to _eat ‘to eat’	njamm-u to _eat-N.PASS ‘to be eaten’

5.6 Pronominal Affixes

In Saafi, pronouns behave as clitics. Depending on their place in the sentence, they attach to different sides of the word. The following sections contain a discussion of these pronouns.

5.6.1 Subject pronouns

The subject pronouns in Saafi are shown in (34).

(34)	mi	‘(1S.S)’	Buci	‘(1S.P)’
	fu	‘(2S.S)’	Du	‘(2S.P)’
	a	‘(3S.S)’	Ba	‘(3S.P)’
	wa	‘it (nonhuman)’	ca	‘they (nonhuman)’ ⁶

⁶ The distinction between which entities take the human pronoun and which do not is not clear (there is some wiggle room with animals, for example), but it is the closest approximation that I found useful in dividing the two classes of referents for these pronouns.

While these morphemes are semantically distinct from the verbs, prosodically, they are realized as prefixes on the verb. They precede any sort of tense or aspectual marking that the verb might have. Several examples of the subject pronouns realized on the main verb are shown in (35).

- (35) mi-Bof-iD-De
 1S.S-to_sit-ASP-3O.S
 ‘I made him sit’
- a-ji-mbeJ
 3S.S-AFFIRM-to_dance
 ‘she is dancing’
- Ba-hai-nup-e
 3S.P-F.AUX-to_run-FUT
 ‘they will run’

In addition, this particular speaker tends to drop the subject pronoun for the first person singular, meaning that verbal constructions referring to actions the agent performs are often unmarked for person and number. It remains to be seen whether or not this behavior is representative of the speech community.

5.6.3 Oblique pronouns

The oblique pronouns in Saafi are generally realized as suffixes on the main verb. These pronouns, alluded to in section 3.2.1 during the discussion of possessive-like noun construction and shown again in (36), seem to be appropriate when talking about an action that is performed on somebody or something, or when the referent is the recipient of that action.

- | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------------|------|-------------------|
| (36) | (C)o | ‘(1O.S)’ | Buci | ‘(1O.P)’ |
| | Da | ‘(2O.S)’ | Du | ‘(2O.P)’ |
| | De | ‘(3O.S)’ | Ba | ‘(3O.P)’ |
| | wi | ‘it (nonhuman)’ | ci | ‘they (nonhuman)’ |

Several examples of the use of these pronouns can be seen in (37). Much like the subject pronouns, while they are certainly distinct morphemes from the head verb, they behave prosodically as suffixes.

(37) mbet-aa-Ba-w-a
to_throw-IMP-3O.P-SG-NSPEC
'throw it (the ball) to them (the children)'

mbet-aa-c-a-Ba
to_throw-IMP-PL-NSPEC-3O.P
'throw them (the balls) to them (the children)'

Xon-aa-De Dopat-□-i
to_give-IMP-3O.S animal-CL-SPEC
'give the man the animal'

Xon-en-De
to_give-REM.PAST-3O.S
'I gave him'

Dopat-□-i wi-naaw-iD faan-ce
animal-CL-SPEC SG-SPEC-to_wash-ASP body-3O.S
'The animal washes itself'

6. The Verb Phrase

6.1 Two-verb constructions

The data concerning two-verb constructions in a single verb phrase are limited, but a couple of examples are presented in (1). One clear generalization is that, in these constructions, the two verbs that are in the verb phrase must appear side-by-side. Much further investigation is needed, however, to determine the restrictions and rules regarding affix placement in this type of construction.

- (1) wad-e kii nik avoka
 to_want-P.IMP PROG to_be lawyer
 ‘I wanted to be a lawyer.’
- hai-ki mirDoh-e nik BitsiD-oh-a
 F.AUX-PROG to_end.up to_be student-AGT-??
 ‘I will end up being a teacher’

6.2 Auxiliaries and imperative negation

6.2.1 Future auxiliaries

Saafi has two auxiliaries that are used in conjunction with the future –ay marker: hai and hang.

The use of these is obligatory when speaking of actions that will occur in the future.

6.2.1.1 The situational hai-

The auxiliary hai- (which behaves prosodically as a prefix) imparts the meaning that an occurrence will take place because of a situation that the speaker is in. For future verbs using this auxiliary, it is necessary that the action occur because of something. Some examples of the use of hai- coupled with the future suffix –ay are shown in (2).

- (2) mi-hai-nup-e
 1S.S-F.AUX-to_run-FUT
 ‘I will run (as a result of something)’

a-hai-fuD-e
 3S.S-F.AUX-to_cry-FUT
 ‘He will cry (because of something that has happened to him)’

In addition, this auxiliary can combine with the progressive ki- to form a single prosodic unit.

While it’s not clear at this time exactly how this construction works, an example of this phenomenon is shown in (3).

- (3) lib-ne hai-ki mirDoh-e nik BitsiDoha
 to_think-that F.AUX-?? to_end.up-FUT to_be teacher
 ‘I think that I will end up being a teacher.’

It’s interesting to note that, in other contexts, ‘hai’ is a verb meaning ‘to come.’ It’s likely that this auxiliary, then, was not always an auxiliary, but is rather the result of grammaticalization.

6.2.1.2. The habitual hang-

Saafi has another future auxiliary, hang-, which is identical in placement and prosodic treatment to hai-, but has a slightly different meaning. Hang- is the auxiliary used for the present future, meaning that it denotes events occurring habitually in the present that can be expected to occur in the past, as well. In this sense, it imparts more of a non-past meaning. Several examples of this are presented in (4).

- (4) a-hang-fuD-ay
 3P.S-FUT.H.AUX-to_cry-FUT
 ‘He will cry (because he always cries)’

 mi-hang-njam-ay
 1P.S-FUT.H.AUX-to_eat-FUT
 ‘I will eat (because it’s something I do habitually)’

In addition, this marker can be used in expressions about events that will certainly occur in the future, such as the example shown in (5).

- (5) mbeh-c-i hang
 day-PL-SPEC FUT.H.AUX
 ‘the days to come’

The auxiliary hang- obviously resembles the suffix –ang, which is used to denote habitual action. It is possible to deconstruct this morpheme into h-ang, but this would necessitate the deconstruction of the other future auxiliary into h-ai. Because there is no overt evidence that either of these morphemes actually needs to be split up, at this point the analysis is that each of these auxiliaries is monomorphemic, and that they potentially are the result of the verb hai having been grammaticalized in two different ways.

6.2.2 Negation and the imperative

When a negative command is issued (e.g. ‘don’t eat’), the negation marker, kan, seems to take on all of the functions of the main verb. This could potentially be the result of an older verb kan, formerly meaning something like ‘to refuse’ (as seen in some Bantu languages) having been grammaticalized as the negative imperative marker. Several examples of this, demonstrating the negation marker’s propensity to account for number as well as attract objects, just as the main verb does in the imperative, are shown in (6).

- (6)
- | | | | |
|--|---------------|-------------|----------------|
| kan-a-t | Ba | njam | |
| NEG-IMPER-IMP.PL | 3O.P | to_eat | |
| ‘don’t eat them (directed at a group)’ | | | |
| | | | |
| kan-a | Xon | Jaar-□-i | Dopat-□-i |
| NEG-IMPER | to_give | man-CL-SPEC | animal-CL-SPEC |
| ‘don’t give the man the animal’ | | | |
| | | | |
| kan-aa ⁷ | De-w-a | Xon | |
| NEG-IMPER | 3O.S-SG-NSPEC | to_give | |
| ‘don’t give it to him’ | | | |

With the use of the plural negative marker kanat, the progressive morpheme ki- can optionally appear as a prefix on the action verb. While further investigation is needed to determine if this

⁷ The interaction of vowel length and stress can make it difficult to tell the difference between a phonemically long vowel and one that has been lengthened due to stress placement. Thus, there is some confusions between the imperative marker and the object marker that can only be resolved through further investigation.

morpheme is in fact the progressive affix, or if it is something completely different, a couple of examples are included in (7).

- (7) kan-a-t ki Boof
 NEG-IMPER-PL.IMP PROG(??) to_sit.down
 ‘Don’t sit down (directed at a group)’
- kan-a-t ki njam
 NEG-IMPER-PL.IMPER PROG(??) to_eat
 ‘Don’t eat (directed at a group)’

6.2.3 Other possible auxiliaries

Saafi has an auxiliary-type form, Jut, which seems to function as a sort of completive marker. An example of this morpheme is shown in (8). While the functioning of this morpheme is not exactly clear, it is notable in that it is the first verb in the verb phrase, yet it does not take any of the affixes that the main verb normally would.

- (8) a Jut konjar-ID Dah
 3O.S to_finish to_clean-ASP SPEC.TIME
 ‘when he is done cleaning...’

As shown in (9), the auxiliary Jut is also capable of working together with the specific time marker, Dah, to convey a completive meaning on its own.

- (9) c-a Jut Dah
 PL-NSPEC to_finish SPEC.TIME
 ‘when they finished...’

It’s worth noting here that, in many ways, Jut parallels the future auxiliary marker, hai-. It can stand as a verb on its own and has a definite semantic meaning; if it is truly an auxiliary, it has been grammaticalized. In addition, it seems to be capable of joining up with other function words to create a new meaning.

6.3 Passive Reduplication

In Saafi, passive statements that express a kind of habitual meaning result in verbal reduplication. Several examples of this are shown in (10).

- (10) Ba-laB-sang laB-u
3S.P-to_beat-P.HAB to_beat-N.PASS
'they are beaten (regularly)'

Ba-rum-sang rum-u
3S.P-to_buy-P.HAB to_buy-N.PASS
'they are bought (regularly)'

rang-sang rang-u
to_shut-P.HAB to_shut-N.PASS
'to be shut away (jailed) (regularly)'

At the present time, it is impossible to determine the distribution of this reduplication. While some suffixes seem to cause the verb to reduplicate, others do not. As shown in (11), this distribution does not seem to deal with any sort of distinction in time.

- (11) Ba-Di-rum-u
3S.P-AFFIRM-to_buy-N.PASS
'they are being bought'

Ba-rum-u-sa
3S.P-to_buy-N.PASS-N.PAST
'they were bought'

Ba-rum-se rum-u
3S.P-to_buy-P.P.IMPER to_buy-N.PASS
'they were bought'

The addition of the 's' before the passive morphemes in the first verb of the construction (e.g. the passive past imperfective 'se' in contrast to the active 'e,' the passive 'sang' in contrast to the indicative 'ang') is a problem outside the scope of this section and merits further investigation.

6.4 Argument structure

In most cases, subjects precede the verb and all direct and indirect objects follow it.⁸ When a verb is followed by both a direct object and an indirect object, both objects are unmarked. In the indicative, the ordering of two nouns seems to be variable, as demonstrated in (12). (At this point, there is not sufficient data concerning indicative sentences with two pronoun arguments to analyze their ordering.)

- (12) Buci-Xon-iD ul-□-i-ng-o as-i Bitf-□-i
 1S.P-to_give-ASP blanket-CL-SPEC-CON-1O.S new-SPEC old.woman-CL-SPEC
 ‘we gave my new blanket to the old woman’
- Buci-Xon-iD Bitf-□-i ul-□-i-ng-o as-i
 1S.P-to_give-ASP old.woman-CL-SPEC blanket-CL-SPEC-CON-1O.S new-SPEC
 ‘we gave my new blanket to the old woman’

This pattern seems to hold true for imperatives taking two nouns as arguments as well, as shown in (13). In addition, (13) demonstrates that the ordering of pronouns in an imperative sentence is variable as well.

- (13) Xon-a-t Dopat-□-i Jaar-□-i
 to_give-IMPER-PL.IMP animal-CL-SPEC man-CL-SPEC
 ‘Give the man the animal (directed at a group)’
- Xon-a-t Jaar-□-i Dopat-□-i
 to_give-IMPER-PL.IMP man-CL-SPEC animal-CL-SPEC
 ‘Give the man the animal (directed at a group)’
- mbet-aa Ba w-a
 to_throw-IMPER 3O.P SG-NSPEC
 ‘throw it (the ball) to them (the children)’
- mbet-aa c-a Ba
 to_throw-IMPER PL-NSPEC 3O.P
 ‘throw them (the balls) to them (the children)’

⁸ A counterexample can be found in (6), where the object follows the negation marker rather than the head noun.

When one argument is a pronoun and the other is a noun, the ordering of constituents is always predictable, as the pronoun will always be realized as an affix on the verb. An example of this is shown in (14).

- (14) a-Xon-iD-De taambil-□-i
 3S.S-to_give-ASP-3O.S gift-CL-SPEC
 ‘he gave the gift to her’
- a-Xon-iD-a cufn-□-i-ng-De
 3S.S-to_give-ASP-NSPEC girl-CL-SPEC-CON-3O.S
 ‘he gave it to his girlfriend.’

In sum, the relative ordering of constituents when both are pronouns and both are nouns seems to be variable, though further data would be needed to support this claim. Any restrictions on ordering that occur seem to be due more to the status of oblique pronouns as clitic-like suffixes than it is to any sort of syntactic restriction.

6.5 Other verb things

6.5.1 The exhortative

When the first person plural pronoun, Buci, is attached to any stem verb, the result is an exhortative. A couple examples of this are shown in (15).

- (15) Buci-njam
 1S.P-to_eat
 ‘Let’s eat!’
- Buci-tik
 1S.P-to_cook
 ‘Let’s cook!’

In order to convey the sense that the action is carried out in the present, then, it is necessary to use the affirmative marker Bi-, which, as shown in section 5.3.7.2, is an allomorph of the affirmative ji-. (16) demonstrates the addition of this morpheme, and its effects on the sentence’s meaning, on the verbs presented in (15).

- (16) Buci-Bi-njam
 1S.P-AFFIRM-to_eat
 ‘We eat/we are eating’

Buc-Bi-tik
 1S.P-AFFIRM-to_cook
 ‘We cook/we are cooking’

In this sense, in Saafi, there is no morphological distinction between the English present and present progressive tenses in the first person plural. This blurry line seems to extend to other person and number combinations as well, as seen in (17).

- (17) mi-Jah
 1S.S-to_go
 ‘I go/I am going’

6.5.2 The copula ‘nik’

The verb ‘nik’ translates roughly to the English ‘to be,’ and like a lot of other copula verbs in the world’s languages, behaves irregularly. The following sections provide a short summary of some of these irregularities.

6.5.2.1 Present tense

In some cases, the copula verb seems to be null. This is evidenced by a couple of representative constructions in (18).

- (18) wiir-wiir mi BitsiD-oh
 now 1S.S to_learn-AGT
 ‘Now I am a student’

mi-waad-en avoka
 1S.S-to_want-REM.PAST lawyer
 ‘I wanted to be a lawyer’

While it is not clear at the present moment exactly why the copula is dropped in these cases, it is interesting to note that, in both sentences, the object of the verb describes a profession performed

by the subject. The behavior of the copula verb in these kinds of circumstances is a direction needing further investigation.

6.5.2.2 The past

It is interesting to note that copula verbs in the past tense cannot take the aspectual suffix –iD. Instead, to denote a meaning that is neither remote past nor present, they take the past imperfective marker –e. Examples of this are displayed in (19).

- (19)
- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| mi-nik-e | *mi-nik-iD |
| 1S.S-to_be-P.IMP | |
| ‘I was’ | |
|
Buci-nik-e |
*Buci-nik-iD |
| 1S.P-to_be-P.IMP | |
| ‘We were’ | |
|
fu-nik-e |
*fu-nik-iD |
| 2S.S-to_be-P.IMP | |
| ‘You were’ | |

As many verbs in Saafi seem to be capable of taking the same aspectual and tense markers, regardless of verb class, this is an important exception to note.

7. Conjunctions

From the data collected up to this point, Saafi has two clear constituents that are capable of linking together phrases or lexical items: *na* and *te*. While both of these morphemes can translate into the English ‘and,’ there are subtle differences in their meaning. Section 7.1 discusses the morpheme *na*, while section 7.2 discusses the morpheme *te*.

7.1 *na*

Na is the morpheme more commonly used when talking about a relationship between two items. This is clearly seen in the counting system, where smaller numbers are joined together with *na*. Several examples of this are in (1).

- (1) *jatus* *na-jino*
 five and-one
 ‘six’
- ndankeh* *na-jatus*
 ten and-five
 ‘fifteen’
- ndankeh* *jatus* *na-nikis*
 ten five and-four
 ‘nineteen’

In addition, *na* can also be used to denote that one component is with another component. This applies to physical proximity as it applies to humans as well as objects. Some of these usages can be seen in (2).

- (2) *ngdangal-c-i* *na* *iin-c-i*
 scorpion-PL-SPEC and snake-PL-SPEC
 ‘...the scorpions and (together with) snakes.’
- Buci-Bi-njam* *maalo* *na* *pumbiteer* *na* *karat*
 1S.P-AFFIRM-to_eat rice and potato and carrot
 ‘...we eat rice and (with) potato and (with) carrot’

mi-nik-e na-Da
 1S.S-to_be-P.IMP with-2O.S
 ‘I was with you.’

Given the data presented in this section, it is probably more accurate to think of na as a rough equivalent to the English ‘with,’ even though it frequently glosses to ‘and’ and seems to function as a link connecting two nouns.

7.2 te

Te is a conjunction in Saafi that can be used to link together phrases. A few examples of this function are displayed in (3).

- (3) kia-k-i-ng-De as-i te w-a suusus suusus itam
 book-CL-SPEC-CON-3O.S new-SPEC and SG-NSPEC to_be.black to_be black also
 ‘His book is new and it is black also.’

raak-iD Boo-b-i rang-sang rung-u
 to_be.present-ASP people-CL-SPEC to_shut-P.HAB to_shut-N.PASS

te Ba-haB-iD-u in
 and 3S.P-to_do-ASP-NEG(??) something
 ‘There are people who are jailed and they have not done anything.’

8. Basic Syntax

8.1 Basic Sentence Structure

Saafi is an SVO (Subject Verb Object) language. Up to this point, this generalization seems to be exceptionless. Several examples of sentences demonstrating this order are displayed in (1).

- (1)

kia-k-i-ng-De	as-i	te	w-a	suusus	suusus	itam
book-CL-SPEC-CON-3P.S	new-SPEC	and	SG-NSPEC	to_be.black	to_be black	also
S	V	C	S	V		ADV

‘His book is new and it is black also.’
- | | | |
|-----------|--------|---------------|
| kan-a | njam | mbaal-□-i |
| NEG-IMPER | to_eat | sheep-CL-SPEC |
| V | | O |

‘don’t eat the sheep’
- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| a-waad-en | faan-ce |
| 3S.S-to_love-REM.PAST | body-3P.S |
| S V | O |

‘he loved himself’
- | | |
|-----------------------|----------|
| a-Xon-iD-De | w-a |
| 3S.S-to_give-ASP-3O.S | SG-NSPEC |
| S V IO | DO |
- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Buci-Xon-iD | ul-i-ng-o | as-i | Bitf-□-i |
| 1S.P-to_give-ASP | blanket-SPEC-CON-1O.S | new_SPEC | old.woman-CL-SPEC |
| S V | DO | | IO |

8.2 Complements

8.2.1 ne(h)⁹

In addition, Saafi has a complementizer, *ne*, that serves to link two sentences together and is roughly equivalent to the English “that.” Several examples of the function of this morpheme are shown in (2).

- (2)

A	woo-sa	c-a	neh	c-a	raak-soh-e
3S.S	to_tell-N.PAST	PL-NSPEC	COMP	PL-NSPEC	to_have-PLUR-P.IMP
S	V	O	C	S	V

‘He told them that they were having...’

⁹ In ‘Cohing Doopaatci,’ but not in the elicited data, this morpheme has a final *h*.

lib-ne	hai-ki	mirDoh-e
to_think-COMP	F.AUX-PROG(??)	to_end.up-FUT
(S) V C	(S) V	

‘I think that I will end up...’

8.2 tah

In addition, the word ‘tah’ (roughly equivalent to the English ‘why’) can also perform the function of linking a subordinate clause to a main clause. (3) shows several examples of this morpheme’s use as a complementizer.

(3)

Meew-□-i	woo-sa	c-a	in-□-i
king-CL-SPEC	to_tell-N.PAST	PL-NSPEC	thing-CL-SPEC
S	V	O	

tah	c-a	teem-mba
reason	PL-NSPEC	to_attend N.PAST
C	N	V

‘the king told them the reason they attended.’

in-□-i	w-a-De-tah	po	mi-waaD-en	avoka
thing-CL-SPEC	SG-NSPEC-3O.S-reason	why	1S.S-to_want-REM.PAST	lawyer
S	(V) C		S V	O

‘this is the reason I want to be a lawyer.’

As seen in this last example, ‘tah’ can also be accompanied by the word ‘po.’ This interaction of morphemes is something that needs to be studied in more depth, but the important point here is that tah is what introduces the complement clause.

Appendix A: Texts

A1. Koodkidin̄ rehi

Koodkid-i-ŋ reh-ø-i
to_prepare-SPEC-CON rainy.season-CL-SPEC
‘The preparation of the rainy season’

Dis-k-i kur-k-i nik, w-a raak-id̄ tango na oon-oon.
place-CL-SPEC village-CL-SPEC to_be.located SG-NSPEC to_have-ASP hill and valley
‘The place the town is located, there are hills and a valley.’

Tangoo-c-i c-a raak-id̄ kac na atoh.
hill-PL-SPEC PL-NSPEC to_have-ASP pebble and stone
‘The hills, they have laterite pebbles and rocks.’

ŋ-oon-oon c-i, mereh-m-i-ŋ, keh-c-i w-a baah-id̄.
LOC-hill PL-SPEC sand-CL-SPEC-CON earth-PL-SPEC SG-NSPEC to_be.good-ASP
‘The sand in the valleys is good earth.’

W-a beeñ. Baab-ø-i-ŋ Jileen yii koodk-id̄ reh-ø-i.
SG-NSPEC to_be.sandy father-CL-SPEC-CON Jileen P.PROG to_prepare-ASP rainy.season-CL-SPEC
‘It is sandy. Jileen’s father is preparing for the rainy season.’

A bay-id̄ ndang, gup, yul na sarto haḡ-id̄-oh-a yoohon c-a.
3P.S to_take-ASP machete hoe creusette and sickle to_make-CAUS-INST-NSPEC fields PL-NSPEC
‘He takes a machete, a hoe, a creusette, and a sickle to the fields to prepare (lit. make) them.’

A konar-id̄-ee-dāh, a jok-id̄ penduk ndangal c-i na iññ c-i
3P.S to_clean-ASP-P.IMP-SPEC.TIME 3P.S to_need-ASP to_be.mindful scorpion PL-SPEC and snake PL-SPEC
‘When he is cleaning the fields, he needs to be mindful of the scorpions and the snakes’

dāsduŋ-uk-aŋg ŋgaŋ atoh c-i walla ŋgaŋ dōoȳ nung c-i.
to_hide-RFLX-HAB LOC rock-PL-SPEC or LOC inside hole-PL-SPEC
‘hiding themselves among the rocks or inside the holes.’

A yūt konar-id̄ dāh, a koodk-id̄ tisoḡ c-i.
3P.S to_finish to_clean-ASP SPEC.TIME 3P.S to_prepare-ASP seed PL-SPEC
‘When he is done cleaning, he prepares the seeds’

A waad-id̄ sok tooho, basi, aareen, pamyā na iraak.
3P.S to_want-ASP to_sow millet sorghum peanut maize and bean
‘He wants to sow millet, sorghum, peanuts, maize, and beans.’

Haat, a marak-ka ndeer-ndeer-ø-i andi
now 3P.S to_look-N.PAST sky-CL-SPEC if
‘Now, he looks at the sky to see if’

w-a raak-id eel c-a min hay-toh tob.
 SG-NSPEC to_have-ASP cloud PL-NSPEC to_be.able.to to_come-PLUR(?) rain
 ‘there are clouds able to bring rain.’

W-a nik-di mo-daa-di.
 SG-NSPEC to_be-NEG beautiful-N.PAST(?) -NEG
 ‘There is a high chance of rain (lit. it is not beautiful).’

A suum-mba. a am-mba ngan fisar-ø-i-ŋ de yaah kanak,
 3P.S to_be.happy-N.PAST 3P.S to_hold-N.PAST LOC chest-CL-SPEC-CON 3P.S hand two
 ‘He is happy. He holds his two hands to his chest,’

a cork-id-ta Kooh.
 3P.S to_give.thanks-ASP-N.PAST God
 ‘he gives thanks to God.’

A2. Wiŋ nik komaaki

wiŋ nik komaak-ø-i wad-ee kii nik (avocat)
 when to_be child-CL-SPEC want-P.IMP P.PROG to_be (lawyer)
 ‘When I was a child I wanted to be a lawyer’

lam mi-lib-ne cumda raak-idʼ 6oo-b-i
 because 1P.S-to_think-that sometimes,often to_have-ASP people-CL-SPEC
 ‘because sometimes I think that there are people’

rang-saŋ rang-u te 6a hap-dʉ in
 to shut-P.HAB to shut-N.PAS and 3P.P to_do-NEG(??) something
 ‘who are jailed (lit. shut away) and they didn’t do anything’

6a sos-id-u-saŋ sos-u
 3P.P to_wrongfully.accuse-ASP-??-P.HABIT to_wrongfully.accuse-N.PASS 3PP
 ‘they are wrongfully accused’

te 6o am-doh-uu-6a
 and people to_help-??-NEG-3P.P
 ‘and nobody helps them.’

in-i w-a de tah po mi-waad-en nik avocat
 something-SPEC SG-NSPEC 3P.S reason ?? 1P.S-to_want-REM.PAST to_be lawyer
 ‘That’s the reason I wanted to be a lawyer.’

wiir-wiir mi-bitsid-oh ɟaŋg-id-idʼ khis jatus na-jiino
 now 1P.S-to_learn-AGT to_study-CAUS-ASP year five and-one
 ‘Now I’m a student. I’ve already taught for six years.’

lib -ne hai-ki mbir-doh-e nik bitsid-oh-a
 to_think-that F.SIT-P.PROG to_end.up-??-FUT to_be to_learn-AGT-??
 ‘I think that I am going to end up being a teacher.’

wiir-wiir ɟaŋg-id-idʼ khis jatus na-jiino ŋ-a États-Unis
 now to_study-CAUS-ASP year five and-one LOC-NSPEC USA
 ‘Now I’ve already taught for six years in the United States.’

ɟaŋg-id-idʼ faranse khis kanak ŋ-a meriland
 to_study-CAUS-ASP French year two LOC-NSPEC Maryland
 ‘I taught French for two years in Maryland.’

ɟaŋg-id-ta bitsid-oh-c-i African literature
 to_study-CAUS-N.PAST to_learn-AGT-PL-SPEC African literature
 ‘Then, I taught the students African literature’

khis kaahai ndi η-a Indiana University
year three here LOC-NSPEC Indiana University
'for three years here at Indiana University.'

wois mi-jang-id saafi
this.year 1P.S-to_study-CAUS Saafi
'This year, I am teaching Saafi.'

A3. Cohiŋ dōopatci

Coh-i-ŋ dōopaat-c-i
meeting-Ø-SPN-CON animal-PL-SPN
'The meeting of the animals'

Doopaat-c-i jen c-a raake bedk-oh ŋgaŋ leern-a-ŋ nduuf-Ø-a.
animal-PL-SPN all PL-SPD have-PST call-CAUS in middle-SPD-CO forest-CL-SPD
'All animals had an invitation (to a meeting) in the heart of the forest.'

Meew-i-ŋ nduuf-Ø-i, muuma, a-yi adgoh-e w-a.
king-CL-SPD-CON forest-CL-SPN lion 3S-be direct-PST 3S-SPD
'The king of the forest, Lion was to direct it.'

Sel-c-i, caafu-c-i, ñiiñoh-c-i, bi-ŋgaay, bi-ŋgumu, bi-dēemb, paani-c-i,
bird-PL-SPN fly-PL-SPN ant-PL-SPN some-antelope some-hyen some-bat monkey-PL-SPN
'Birds, flies, ants, antelopes, hyenas, bats, monkeys,'

ngud-c-i, mboɓ-c-i, bi-ndol, bi-kokareet, bi-cingaañ na yíiñ-c-i
lizard-PL-SPN frog-PL-SPN some-hare some-'wild.chicken' some-mouse and guinea_fowl-PL-SPN
'lizards, frogs, hare, "wild chickens", mice and guinea fowls'

ali inaataaŋg tas-ee-dí, c-a jen c-a hay-aa.
none wild_animal stay-PST.IMPV-NEG PL-SPD all PL-SPD come-PST
'none of them stayed (away); they all came.'

Wi mbeh-Ø-a re-e, c-a jen c-a coh-ha.
when day-CL-SPD arrive-PST PL-SPD all PL-SPD meet-PST
'When the day came, they all met.'

Meew-Ø-i woo-sa c-a in-Ø-i tah c-a teem-mba.
king-CL-SPD tell-PST PL-SPD thing-CL-SPN reason PL-SPD attend-PST
'The king told them the reason they attended.'

A woo-sa c-a neh c-a raak-soh-e maas¹⁰ ŋ-neeh-c-i ha-aŋg.
3S tell-PST PL-SPD that PL-SPD have-PLUR-PST group_work in-day-PL-SPN come-IMPV
'He told them that they were having a group fieldwork in the coming days.'

A woo-sa c-a neh: maas-a reh dah, c-i yakak-c-i hay ki guur-ee,
3S tell-PST PL-SPD that group_work-SPD arrive when PL-SPN big-PL-SPN come FUT cultivate-FUT
'He told them that, "when the group fieldwork comes, the big ones will cultivate,"'

¹⁰ Group work which consists in weeding out one or several farm(s) and that is generally performed by individuals of the same age.

c-i ʃin-c-i hay ki c-a on-ee masuʃ.
 PL-SPN small-PL-SPN come FUT PL-SPD give-FUT water
 ‘the small ones will serve them water.’”

C-a ʃut ɗah, c-a kadʃ ñama inoh-f-i wi c-a on-u,
 PL-SPD finish when PL-SPD go eat cow-CL-SPN that PL-SPD give-PASS
 ‘When they finished, they would go eat the cow that they were offered.’

Wi c-a saʃs-uk-oh ɗah yaa nu nik haad-da kahan-ce.
 ?? PL-SPD separate-??-?? when each ?? be go_home-PST house-3S.POSS
 ‘When they separated, each of them would go home to his/her house.’

Ŋgumu ree-sa kaahan-ce, a faanuk-ka.
 hyena arrive-PST house-3S-POSS 3S lie_down-PST
 ‘When hyena arrived at his house, he lay down (= went to bed).’

A heef-ca haat findi a ha-aŋg ñam-oh-e inoh-f-i.
 3S dream-PST now the_way_in_which 3S come-IMPV eat-INST-FUT cow-CL-SPN
 ‘He dreamt about how he would eat the cow.’

Mbadna mbeh-Ø-i-ŋ guuri re-e ŋgumu bay-ya kufuc
 when day-CL-SPN-CON cultivate-Ø-SPN arrive-PST hyena bring-PST needle
 ‘When the day of the cultivating came, hyena brought a needle’

and wedɗi a ha-aŋg guur-oh-e.
 say that_is_what 3S come-IMPV cultivate-INST-FUT
 ‘and said that was what he was going to cultivate with.’

C-a hoobuk-ka guur po noh-Ø-i muc-ca, c-a reehid-ta
 PL-SPD spend_the_day-PST cultivate until sun-CL-SPN disappear-PST PL-SPD finish-PST
 ‘They spent the day cultivating until the sun set; they finished’

yoh-n-i.
 farm-CL-SPN
 ‘the entire farm.’

Muuma woo-sa c-a neh: in-aa nu ʃoʔ guur-oh-ee-ɗah, wedʃ fu
 lion tell-PST PL-SPD that thing-SPD ?? 3P cultivate-INST-PST-?? that 2S
 ‘Lion told them that, "whatever they had cultivated with, that you’

ha-aŋg ñamohe. Ŋgumu fuŋ-ŋga.
 come-IMPV eat-INST-FUT hyena become_scared-PST
 ‘will eat with."Hyena got scared.’

A woo-sa neh: Mbaa c-i ʃin-c-i c-a hay-ɗi ñam-e laam
 3S tell-PSt that then PL-SPN small-PL-SPN PL-PST come-NEG eat-FUT because
 ‘He said that, "then the small ones are not going to eat because’

c-a guur-dí.
PL-SPD cultivate-NEG
‘they did not cultivate.’”

Meew-Ø-i tum-mba neh: In-Ø-i ŋ-woo wed ha-aŋg raak-e.
king-CL-SPD do-PST that thing-CL-SPN 1S-say that come-IMPV happen-FUT
‘The king reacted, saying that, “what I said that (is what) is going to happen.”’

Ŋ-kuruk ŋga ŋgaŋ pedēem-c-eem.
1S-stand_up there at word-PL-DET
I stood up there at those words. (= departed from that place when those words were uttered.)

(Analyzed by Robert Botne)

Abbreviations specific to this text:

SPN = specific near
SPD = specific distal
INST = instrumental
CON = connector
DET = determiner
IMPV = imperfective

Appendix B: Abbreviations

ADJ	adjective
AFFIRM	affirmative marker
AGT	agentive suffix
ASP	aspectual marker
BEN	benefactive suffix
CAUS	causative suffix
CL	class marker
COMM	communal pronoun
COMP	complementizer
CON	connector
DIST.F	distal deictic (far from all)
DIST.N	distal deictic (close to listener)
F.AUX	situational future auxiliary
F.H.AUX	habitual future auxiliary
FUT	future tense
HAB	habitual
IMP.OBJ	imperative object marker
IMP.PL	plural imperative marker
IMPER	imperative marker
INST	instrumental suffix
LOC	locative
N.PASS	neuter passive marker
N.PAST	narrative past NEG
	negation marker
NSPEC	nonspecific marker
P.HAB	passive habitual marker
P.IMP	past imperfective suffix
P.P.IMPER	passive past imperfect
PL	plural
PLUR	pluractional suffix
PR.GOAL	goal-oriented progressive
PROG	progressive marker
PROX	proximal deictic
QUANT	quantifier
RECIP	reciprocal suffix
REM.PAST	remote past
REP	repetitive suffix
REV	reversive suffix
RFLX	reflexive suffix

SG	singular
SPEC	specific marker
SPEC.TIME	specific time marker
V.DIM	verbal diminutive suffix
1O.P	first person plural oblique pronoun
1O.S	first person singular oblique pronoun
1P.P	first person plural possessive pronoun
1P.S	first person singular possessive pronoun
1S.P	first person plural subject pronoun
1S.S	first person singular subject pronoun
2O.P	second person plural oblique pronoun
2O.S	second person singular oblique pronoun
2P.P	second person plural possessive pronoun
2P.S	second person singular possessive pronoun
2S.P	second person plural subject pronoun
2S.S	second person singular subject pronoun
3O.P	third person plural oblique pronoun
3O.S	third person singular oblique pronoun
3P.P	third person plural possessive pronoun
3P.S	third person singular possessive pronoun
3S.P	third person plural subject pronoun
3S.S	third person singular subject pronoun
(EP)	epenthesized segment

Appendix C: Lexicons

C1: Saafi-English Lexicon

(C)o (<i>obl. pro.</i>) me	bat (<i>v.</i>) to shut, lock, close
(C)o (<i>poss. pro.</i>) my	bed (<i>v.</i>) to call
a (<i>sub. pro.</i>) he/she	bi (<i>quant.</i>) some
aaren (<i>n.</i> ¹¹) peanut	bikan (<i>n.</i>) family
adgoh (<i>v.</i>) to direct	bit (<i>adj.</i>) heavy
ali (<i>prep.</i>) none	bitib (<i>n.</i>) woman
am (<i>v.</i>) to hold, to help	bitif (<i>n.</i>) old woman
amsoh (<i>v.</i>) to introduce	bitsid (<i>v.</i>) to learn
andi (<i>comp.</i>) if	bitsidoh (<i>n.</i>) student
atoh (<i>n.</i>) rock	bitsidoha (<i>n.</i>) teacher
baah (<i>adj.</i>) good	bitsidohana (<i>n.; N</i>) school
baal (<i>n.</i>) ball	bo (<i>n.</i>) people, somebody
baɓ (<i>n.</i>) father	bo (<i>poss. pro.</i>) our
bah bah (<i>v.</i>) to be kind, good	bok (<i>v.</i>) to get a shower
bajin (<i>n.</i>) paternal aunt	bokuk (<i>v.</i>) to take a shower
batis (<i>v.</i>) to open	boof (<i>v.</i>) to sit down
beeñ (<i>v.</i>) to be sandy	buci (<i>obl. pro.</i>) us
bunta (<i>n.; N</i>) door	buci (<i>sub. pro.</i>) we
ba (<i>obl. pro.</i>) them (animate)	ca (<i>sub. pro.</i>) they (inanimate)
ba (<i>poss. pro.</i>) their (animate)	caafu (<i>n.</i>) fly (insect)
ba (<i>sub. pro.</i>) they (animate)	caar (<i>n.</i>) antelope
baɓ (<i>n.</i>) morning, early	cabin (<i>n.</i>) moon
bai (<i>v.</i>) to have (possess), to bring, to take	cac (<i>n.</i>) grandparent
ɓap (<i>v.</i>) to nurse at the breast	cafning(da) (<i>n.</i>) (your) girlfriend
ɓapid (<i>v.</i>) to nurse	ce (<i>poss. pro.</i>) his/her
ɓasi (<i>n.; N</i>) sorghum	cewoor (<i>n.</i>) south
	ci (<i>obl. pro.</i>) them (inanimate)
	cingaṅ (<i>n.</i>) mouse

¹¹ All nouns belong to the null class unless otherwise specified.

coh (*n.*) elephant
coh (*n.*) meeting
coruk (*v.*) to thank someone
cot (*v.*) to go
cumda (*adv.*) often, sometimes
curuun (*n.*) fish
daf (*prep.*) way on top of
dam (*v.*) to be hot
damid (*adj.*) hot
disik (*n.*) place
dulin (*n.*) oil
da (*obl. pro.*) you
dah (*adv.*) a specific time
dasfus (*v.*) to hide
de (*obl. pro.*) him/her
deem (*n.*) bat
do (*prep.*) inside of
dob (*v.*) to bite
doopat (*n.*) animal
du (*obl. pro.*) you all
du (*poss. pro.*) you all's
du (*sub. pro.*) you all
edef (*adj.*) light
ed (*v.*) to give
eel (*n.*) cloud
faan (*n.*) body
faanuk (*v.*) to lie down, go to bed
faj (*v.*) to be puzzled
faranse (*n.*) French
fiin (*n.; F*) hair
fiiring(da) (*n.*) (your) boyfriend

fiki (*prep.*) in front of
filndo (*prep.*) below
fino (*prep.*) behind
fisar (*n.*) chest
forta (*n.; N*) photo
fu (*poss. pro.*) your
fu (*sub. pro.*) you
fud (*v.*) to cry
fung (*v.*) to become scared
galah (*n.*) traditional drink
gup (*n.*) hoe
guur (*v.*) to cultivate
haad (*v.*) to go home
haat (*adv.*) now
habit (*v.*) to create
hab (*v.*) to make, do
haf (*n.*) head
hai (*v.*) to come
hawur (*n.*) griot
heef (*v.*) to dream
hooob (*v.*) to spend time
hot (*v.*) to see
huc (*n.*) neem wood stick
huc (*v.*) to clean the teeth
hus (*n.*) eye
iiñ (*n.*) snake
in (*n.*) something **inah**
 (*v.*) to know **inatangg** (*n.*)
 wild animal **inoh** (*n.; F*,
null) cow **iraak** (*n.*) bean

jaaj (*n.*) mother
jaano (*adj.*) white
jaɓ (*v.*) to be tired
jah (*n.*) hand
jak (*adj.*) old
jakak (*adj.*) older
jan (*n.*) field
jander (*n.*) door
jatus (*quant.*) five
jiĩñ (*n.*) guinea fowl
jiino (*quant.*) one
joh (*n.*) field
jok (*v.*) to need
joohon (*n.*) field
jop (*v.*) to cut
jul (*n.*) creusette (digging stick)
jun (*v.*) to wake someone up
jusut (*adj.*) small
jusut (*quant.*) a few
juur (*n.*) hole
jaal (*prep.*) above, on top
jambar (*n.*) rabbit
janɲgid (*v.*) to teach
jaɲg (*v.*) to study
jaɲgohana (*n.; N*) study place
japil (*n.*) knife
jasit (*n.*) crocodile
jeel (*n.*) little rug
jen (*quant.*) all
jir (*v.*) to be sick
jok (*n.; M*) ocean

jool (*prep.*) on top of
jot (*v.*) to go
jaar (*n.*) man
ɟaf (*v.*) to throw
ɟah (*v.*) to go
jeek (*v.*) to sing
ɟin (*adj.*) small, younger
ɟoh (*n.*) bone
ɟut (*v.*) to be done
kaahai (*quant.*) three
kac (*n.*) pebble
kal (*v.*) to hunt
kalsuk (*v.*) to play hunt
kalsukoh (*n.*) hunter
kan (*n.*) a kind of tree
kan (*n.*) house, home
kan (*v.*) to die
kanak (*quant.*) two
kañi (*adj.*) brave
kanja (*n.; N*) okra
karat (*n.*) carrot
katloh (*v.*) to send
kedik (*n.*) earth
ken (*n.*) heart
khis (*n.*) year
kiat (*n.; K*) book
kibi (*n.; K*) fire
kidik (*n.*) tree
kobaɲg (*n.*) spoon
kohoobi (*n.*) night
kokareet (*n.*) wild chicken

komak (*n.*) child
koñar (*v.*) to clean
kooduk (*v.*) to prepare
kooh (*n.*) God
kooi (*n.*) infant, baby
kot (*n.*) leg
koʔ (*v.*) to go
kubu (*n.*; *K*) one's child
kufuc (*n.*) needle **kur**
(n.; *K*) village **kuruk**
(v.) to stand up **laai**
(quant.) many **laaidi**
(quant.) a few **laʔ** (*v.*)
to hit
lam (*comp.*) because
lama (*n.*; *N*) chief
leber (*v.*) to wrestle
leberuk (*v.*) to play wrestle
leer (*n.*) dinnertime
leerin (*n.*) middle
letar (*n.*) letter
lewet (*adj.*) smooth, tender, gentle
lib (*v.*) to think
lili (*adj.*) green
maalo (*n.*; *N*) rice
maañid (*adj.*) old
maas (*n.*) group work
mag (*v.*) to smoke
marak (*v.*) to look
masoh (*v.*) to attend
masuʔ (*n.*; *M*) water

mbaa (*adv.*) then
mbaal (*n.*) sheep
mbadna (*adv.*) when
mbamhuh (*n.*) pig
mbeh (*n.*) day
mbef (*v.*) to dance
mbefoh (*n.*) dancer
mbet (*v.*) to throw
mbind (*v.*) to write
mbindfoha (*n.*; *N*) writing instrument
mboha (*adj.*) yellow
mboha (*n.*; *N*) corn
mbo (*n.*; *B*) frog
mbu (*n.*; *F*) dog
mbuuru (*n.*) bread
meew (*n.*) king
mere (*n.*; *M*) sand
mi (*sub. pro.*) I
mida (*n.*; *M*) salt
miis (*n.*) milk
min (*v.*) to be able to
mirdoh (*v.*) to end up
misiʔ (*n.*) sauce
mo (*adj.*) beautiful
muj (*v.*) to disappear
muuid (*adj.*) wet
muuma (*n.*; *N*) lion
na (*conj.*) and
naaw (*v.*) to wash
ñakit (*n.*) lunchtime
ñam (*n.*) food

ñam (v.) to eat
ñamduhad (n.) dinnertime (infrequent)
ñamid (v.) to feed
nan (v.) to forget
nanis (v.) to remember
nawe (n.) turnip
ndankeh (quant.) ten
ndanɔŋ (n.) machete
ndanɔŋal (n.) scorpion
ndawal (n.) meat
ndeer ndeer (n.) sky
ndengaadi (adj.) smooth (object)
ndi (loc.) here
ndol (n.) hare
nduuf (n.) forest
ne (comp.) that (used to link clauses)
neh (v.) to sleep
nen (v.) to shave
nep (v.) to be angry
ngud (v.) to cut
ñif (n.; M, null) blood
nii (n.; N) evening
ñiinjoh (n.) ant
nik (v.) to be, to be located
nikis (quant.) four
noh (n.) sun
noh mujoha (n.; N) west
noh pulooha (n.; N) east
now (v.) to clean the teeth
nuga (adj.) warm
nung (n.) hole

nup (v.) to run
nuuni (quant.) each, every
ɲga (loc.) there
ɲgaaj (n.) antelope
ɲgan (loc.) over there
ɲgud (n.) lizard
ɲgudoh (n.) bandit
ɲgumu (n.) hyena
paani (n.; F, null) monkey
paanid (v.) to sleep
padis (n.) horse
pad (n.) broom
padoh (n.) someone who cleans
padoha (n.; N) broom
paj (v.) to heal
pajoha (n.; N) hospital
pambi (n.; F, null) chicken
pamca (n.; N) maize
paŋgi (n.; F, null) grass
paŋguk (v.) to work
pedeem (n.) word
pedem (n.) tongue
penuk (v.) to be mindful
pe? (n.; F) goat
po (adv.) until
pok (v.) to break
pon (v.) to fold
ponis (v.) to unfold
pud (n.; M) dust
pul (v.) to come out
puloh (v.) to come out of

pumbiteer (*n.*) potato
raak (*v.*) to be present, to have (existential)
raanuk (*v.*) to carry on head
rang (*v.*) to shut
rangis (*v.*) to open
reehid (*v.*) to finish
reh (*n.*) rainy season
reh (*v.*) to arrive
rohof (*adj.*) short
rok (*v.*) to steal
ruumini (*adj.*) red
saac (*n.*) millet couscous
sab (*v.*) to separate
salaat (*n.*) salad
sang (*n.*) hate
sang (*v.*) to hate
saras (*adj.*) orange
sarto (*n.*; *N*) sickle
sat (*n.*) grandchild
seero (*prep.*) near
sel (*n.*) bird
sepet (*n.*) sauce
sifaaduk (*v.*) to be thirsty
siis (*n.*) tooth
sok (*n.*) urine
sok (*v.*) to sow
sokola (*adj.*) brown
soos soos (*v.*) to be cold
sople (*n.*) onion
sos (*adj.*) cold
sos (*v.*) to wrongfully accuse

sujid (*v.*) to dry oneself
sum (*v.*) to be happy
sumuk (*v.*) to be happy
supame (*n.*; *N*) cauliflower
suusus (*adj.*) black
suusus suusus (*v.*) to be black
taambil (*n.*) gift
tabah (*n.*) building
tah (*v.*) to be the reason
tamaandi (*n.*; *N*) north
tamdoh (*n.*) sibling
tangalang (*n.*) eatable fruit
tango (*n.*; *N*) hill
tapi (*n.*; *N*) big rug
tas (*v.*) to stay
te (*conj.*) and
teem (*v.*) to attend
tiin (*v.*) to walk
tik (*v.*) to cook
tisoh (*n.*) seed
tofb (*n.*) rain
toho (*n.*; *R*) millet
tok (*v.*) to tie **tokis**
 (*v.*) to untie **tomate**
 (*n.*) tomato **ton** (*v.*)
 to sell **tonoha** (*n.*;
N) store **tuc** (*n.*)
 bedroom
tufuk (*v.*) to stand up
umb (*v.*) to cover (a hole)
umbis (*v.*) to uncover (a hole)

us (*v.*) to be far away
usi (*prep.*) far away from
wa (*sub. pro.*) it (inanimate)
waa (*v.*) to like
waad (*v.*) to love
waad (*v.*) to want
walla (*conj.*) or
wed (*pro.*) that (deictic)
wees (*v.*) to toss (to someone)
wek (*n.*) night
werta (*adj.*) green
wi (*obl. pro.*) it (inanimate)
wiir-wiir (*adv.*) now

wing (*adv.*) when
wo (*v.*) to speak
wois (*adv.*) this year
woo (*v.*) to tell
?an (*v.*) to drink
?ap (*v.*) to kill
?as (*adj.*) new
?on (*v.*) to give
?oon-?oon (*n.*) hill
?ul (*n.*) blanket
?ul (*v.*) to cover (with a blanket)
?ulis (*v.*) to uncover (with a blanket)

C2: English to Saafi Lexicon

(your) boyfriend (*n.*) fiiring(dā)

(your) girlfriend (*n.*) cafning(dā)

able, to be (*v.*) min

above, on top (*prep.*) jaal

all (*quant.*) jen **and**

(*conj.*) na, te **angry,**

to be (*v.*) nep **animal**

(*n.*) doopat **ant** (*n.*)

ñiinjoh

antelope (*n.*) caar, ngaaj

arrive, to (*v.*) reh

attend, to (*v.*) masoh, teem

baby (*n.*) kooi **ball**

(*n.*) baal **bandit**

(*n.*) ngudoh **bat**

(*n.*) deem

be present, to (*v.*) raak

be, to (*v.*) nik **bean**

(*n.*) iraaak **beautiful**

(*adj.*) mo **because**

(*comp.*) lam

bed, to go to (*v.*) faanuk

bedroom (*n.*) tuc

behind (*prep.*) fino

below (*prep.*) filndo

big rug (*n.*) tapi (N)

bird (*n.*) sel

bite, to (*v.*) do6

black (*adj.*) suusus

black, to be (*v.*) suusus suusus

blanket (*n.*) ?ul

blood (*n.*; *M, null*) ñif

body (*n.*) faan

bone (*n.*) joh

book (*n.*) kiat (K)

brave (*adj.*) kañi

bread (*n.*) mfuuru

break, to (*v.*) pok

bring, to (*v.*) bai

broom (*n.*) pad, padoha (N)

brown (*adj.*) sokola

building (*n.*) tabah

call, to (*v.*) bed

carrot (*n.*) karat

carry on head, to (*v.*) raanuk

cauliflower (*n.*) supame (N)

chest (*n.*) fisar

chicken (*n.*) pambi (F, null)

chicken, wild (*n.*) kokareet

chief (*n.*) lama (N)

child (*n.*) komak

child, one's own (*n.*) kubu (K)

clean the teeth, to (*v.*) huc

clean, to (*v.*) koñar, now

cleaner, a (*n.*) padoh

close, to (*v.*) bat

cloud (*n.*) eel

cold (*adj.*) sos

cold, to be (*v.*) soos soos

come out of, to (*v.*) puloh

come out, to (v.) pul
come, to (v.) hai
cook, to (v.) tik
corn (n.) mboha (N)
cover (a hole), to (v.) um6
cover (with a blanket), to (v.) ?ul
cow (n.) inoh (F, null)
create, to (v.) habit
creusette (digging stick) (n.) jul
crocodile (n.) jasit
cry, to (v.) fud
cultivate, to (v.) guur
cut, to (v.) jop, ngud
dance, to (v.) mbef
dancer (n.) mbefoh
day (n.) mbeh
die, to (v.) kan
dinnertime (n.) leer, ñamduhad (infreq.)
direct, to (v.) adgoh
disappear, to (v.) muj
do, to (v.) ha6
dog (n.) m6u (F)
done, to be (v.) fut
door (n.) jander, bunta (N)
dream, to (v.) heef
drink, to (v.) ?an
dry oneself, to (v.) sujid
dust (n.) pud (M)
each (quant.) nuuni
early (n.) 6a6
earth (n.) kedik

east (n.) noh puloooha (N)
eat, to (v.) ñam
eatable fruit (n.) tangalang
elephant (n.) coh
end up, to (v.) mirdoh
evening (n.) nii (N)
every (quant.) nuuni
eye (n.) hus
family (n.) bikan
far away from (prep.) usi
far away, to be (v.) us
father (n.) ba6
feed, to (v.) ñamid
few, a (quant.) jusut, laaidi
field (n.) jan, joh, joohon
finish, to (v.) reehid
fire (n.) kibi (K)
fish (n.) curuun
five (quant.) jatus
fly (insect) (n.) caafu
fold, to (v.) pon
food (n.) ñam
forest (n.) nduuf
forget, to (v.) nan
four (quant.) nikis
French (n.) faranse
frog (n.) m6o (B)
gentle (adj.) lewet
get a shower, to (v.) 6ok
gift (n.) taambil
give, to (v.) ?on, ed

go, to (v.) corut, jot, jah, ko?
goat (n.) pe? (F)
God (n.) kooh
good (adj.) baah
grandchild (n.) sat
grandparent (n.) cac
grass (n.) paŋgi (F, null)
green (adj.) liili, werta
griot (n.) hawur
group work (n.) maas
guinea fowl (n.) jiiñ
hair (n.) fiin (F)
hand (n.) jah
happy, to be (v.) sum, sumuk
hare (n.) ndol
hate (n.) saŋg
hate, to (v.) saŋg
have (possess), to (v.) bai
have, to (existential) (v.) raak
he, she (sub. pro.) a
head (n.) haf
heal, to (v.) paŋ
heart (n.) ken
heavy (adj.) bit
here (loc.) ndi
hide, to (v.) dasdus
hill (n.) ?oon-?oon, tango (N)
him, her (obl. pro.) de
his, her (poss. pro.) ce
hit, to (v.) laŋ
hoe (n.) gup

hold, to (v.) am
hole (n.) juur, nuŋg
home (n.) kan
home, to go (v.) haad
horse (n.) padis
hospital (n.) paŋoha (N)
hot (adj.) damid
hot, to be (v.) dam
house (n.) kan
hunt, to (v.) kal
hunter (n.) kalsukoh
hyena (n.) ŋgumu
I (sub. pro.) mi
if (comp.) andi
in front of (prep.) fiki
infant (n.) kooi **inside of**
 (prep.) do **introduce, to**
 (v.) amsoh
it (inanimate) (obl. pro.) wi
it (inanimate) (sub. pro.) wa
kill, to (v.) ?ap
kind, good, to be (v.) bah bah
king (n.) meew
knife (n.) japil
know, to (v.) inah
learn, to (v.) bitsid
leg (n.) kot
letter (n.) letar
lie down, to (v.) faanuk
light (adj.) edef
like, to (v.) waa

lion (*n.*) muuma (N)
little rug (*n.*) jeel
lizard (*n.*) ŋgudʼ
located, to be (*v.*) nik
lock, to (*v.*) bat
look, to (*v.*) marak
love, to (*v.*) waad
lunchtime (*n.*) ñakit
machete (*n.*) ndang
maize (*n.*) pamca (N)
make, to (*v.*) haɓ
man (*n.*) faar
many (*quant.*) laai
me (*obl. pro.*) (C)o
meat (*n.*) ndawal
meeting (*n.*) coh
middle (*n.*) leerin
milk (*n.*) miis
millet (*n.*) toho (R)
millet couscous (*n.*) saac
mindful, to be (*v.*) penuk
monkey (*n.*) paani (F, null)
moon (*n.*) caɓin
morning (*n.*) ɓaɓ
mother (*n.*) jaaj
mouse (*n.*) ciŋgañ
my (*poss. pro.*) (C)o
near (*prep.*) seero
need, to (*v.*) jok
needle (*n.*) kufuc
neem wood stick (*n.*) huc

new (*adj.*) ʔas
night (*n.*) kohoobi, wek
none (*prep.*) ali
north (*n.*) tamaandi (N)
now (*adv.*) haat, wiir-wiir
nurse (at the breast), to (*v.*) ɓap
nurse, to (*v.*) ɓapidʼ
ocean (*n.*) ʒok (M)
often (*adv.*) cumda
oil (*n.*) dulin
okra (*n.*) kanja (N)
old (*adj.*) maañidʼ, jak
old woman (*n.*) bitif
older (*adj.*) jakak
on top of (*prep.*) ʒool
one (*quant.*) jiino
onion (*n.*) sople
open, to (*v.*) ranʒis, batis
or (*conj.*) walla
orange (*adj.*) saras
our (*poss. pro.*) ɓo
over there (*loc.*) ŋgan
paternal aunt (*n.*) ɓajin
peanut (*n.*) aaren
pebble (*n.*) kac
people (*n.*) ɓo
photo (*n.*) forɗa (N)
pig (*n.*) mbamhuh
place (*n.*) disik
play hunt, to (*v.*) kalsuk
play wrestle, to (*v.*) leberuk

potato (*n.*) pumbiteer
prepare, to (*v.*) kooduk
puzzled, to be (*v.*) faj
rabbit (*n.*) jambar
rain (*n.*) toḥ
rainy season (*n.*) reh
reason, to be the (*v.*) tah
red (*adj.*) ruumini
remember, to (*v.*) nanis
rice (*n.*) maalo (N)
rock (*n.*) atoh **run,**
to (*v.*) nup **salad**
(*n.*) salaat **salt** (*n.*)
mida (M) **sand** (*n.*)
mere (M)
sandy, to be (*v.*) beeñ **sauce**
(*n.*) misib, sepet **scared, to**
become (*v.*) fung **school** (*n.*)
bitsidohana (N) **scorpion**
(*n.*) ndangal
see, to (*v.*) hot
seed (*n.*) tisoh
sell, to (*v.*) ton
send, to (*v.*) katloh
separate, to (*v.*) saḥ
shave, to (*v.*) nen
sheep (*n.*) mbaal
short (*adj.*) rohof
shower, to take a (*v.*) bokuk
shut, to (*v.*) bat, rang
sibling (*n.*) tamdoh

sick, to be (*v.*) jir
sickle (*n.*) sarto (N)
sing, to (*v.*) feek
sit down, to (*v.*) boof
sky (*n.*) ndeer ndeer
sleep, to (*v.*) paanid, neh
small (*adj.*) fin, jusut
smoke, to (*v.*) mag
smooth (*adj.*) ndengaadi
snake (*n.*) iin
some (*quant.*) bi
somebody (*n.*) bo
something (*n.*) in
sometimes (*adv.*) cumḍa
sorghum (*n.*) basi (N)
south (*n.*) cewoor
sow, to (*v.*) sok
speak, to (*v.*) wo
specific time, a (*adv.*) dah
spend time, to (*v.*) hooḥ
spoon (*n.*) kobang
stand up, to (*v.*) kuruk, tufuk
stay, to (*v.*) tas **steal,**
to (*v.*) rok **store** (*n.*)
tonoha (N) **student**
(*n.*) bitsidoh
study place (*n.*) jangohana (N)
study, to (*v.*) jang
sun (*n.*) noh **take, to**
(*v.*) bai **teach, to** (*v.*)
janggid

teacher (*n.*) bitsidoha
tell, to (*v.*) woo
ten (*quant.*) ndankeh
tender (*adj.*) lewet
thanks someone, to (*v.*) coruk
that (deictic) (*pro.*) wed
that (used to link clauses) (*comp.*) te
their (animate) (*poss. pro.*) ba
them (inanimate) (*obl. pro.*) ci
them (*obl. pro.*) ba
then (*adv.*) mbaa
there (*loc.*) nga
they (animate) (*sub. pro.*) ba
they (inanimate) (*sub. pro.*) ca
think, so (*v.*) lib
thirsty, to be (*v.*) sifaaduk
this year (*adv.*) wois
three (*quant.*) kaahai
throw, to (*v.*) jaf, mbet
tie, to (*v.*) tok
tired, to be (*v.*) jaß
tomato (*n.*) tomate
tongue (*n.*) pedem
tooth (*n.*) siis
toss (to someone), to (*v.*) wees
traditional drink (*n.*) galah
tree (*n.*) kidik
tree, specific kind of (*n.*) kan
turnip (*n.*) nawe
two (*quant.*) kanak
uncover (a hole), to (*v.*) umðis

uncover (with a blanket), to (*v.*) ?ulis
unfold, to (*v.*) ponis
untie, to (*v.*) tokis
until (*adv.*) po
urine (*n.*) sok
us (*obl. pro.*) buci
village (*n.*) kur (K)
wake someone up, to (*v.*) jun
walk, to (*v.*) tiin
want, to (*v.*) waad
warm (*adj.*) nuga
wash, to (*v.*) naaw
water (*n.*) masuð (M)
way on top of (*prep.*) daf
we (*sub. pro.*) buci
west (*n.*) noh mujoha (N)
wet (*adj.*) muuid
when (*adv.*) mbadna, wing
white (*adj.*) jaano
wild animal (*n.*) inatang
woman (*n.*) bitið
word (*n.*) pedem
work, to (*v.*) panguk
wrestle, to (*v.*) leber
write, to (*v.*) mbind
writing instrument (*n.*) mbindoha (N)
wrongfully accuse, to (*v.*) sos
year (*n.*) khis
yellow (*adj.*) mboha
you (*obl. pro.*) ða
you (*sub. pro.*) fu

you all (*obl. pro.*) dū

you all (*sub. pro.*) dū

you all's (*poss. pro.*) dū

younger (*adj.*) fīn

your (*poss. pro.*) fū

Appendix D: Words in Depth

D1. Nouns

kohoobi (*n.*) night

Notes: This word is used to refer to the dark part of night, as opposed to the evening (which is described using the word *niini*). A more literal translation is ‘God darkens,’ and can be decomposed into koh-

ngudoh (*n.*) bandit

Notes: This noun comes from the verb *ngud*, ‘to cut.’ An *ngudoh* is someone who hides out in the bushes on the side of the road and waits for people to come by. Then, he leaps out and steals from people, or kidnaps children.

noh pulooha (*n.*) east

Notes: While this word is used to mean ‘east,’ literally, it means ‘sun coming out of there.’ It can be deconstructed into noh puloh-a (sun to_come.out.of-NSPEC). The word for ‘west,’ *noh muyoha*, behaves similarly.

D2. Verbs

fut (*v.*) to be done

Notes: while the closest English translation for this verb is ‘to be done,’ it carries a sense of finality rather than a sense of completion. This verb can be used whenever the speaker is finished doing something, whether the task is completed or not.

wees (*v.*) to toss, to throw

Notes: This verb conveys the same meaning as the verbs *mbet* and *faf* (both also meaning ‘to throw’), but implies that there is a recipient to the action being performed. It differs

from the other verbs in that it has a different argument structure; the verb *wees* requires two objects while the other verbs meaning ‘to throw’ only require two.

umb (v.) to cover (a hole)

Notes: While the verb *umb* translates to the English ‘to cover,’ it has a more specific meaning: *umb* can only be used when the object is inanimate, i.e. when the speaker is talking about covering something like a hole. This is in direct contrast to the verb *ʔul*, which always takes an animate argument (e.g. to cover someone with a blanket)

Appendix E: Database

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe...	Class	Notes	Pages Located
a	a	nonspecific	LOC			
a	a	3P S	PERS PRO			25
a	ʌ	IMPER MARKER	AFFIX,			27
a	a	LOCALITY	AFFIX,			52
a	a	???	AFFIX,		possibly a role	52
aaren	aaren	peanut	NOUN			2, TEXT A
adgoh		to direct	VERB			TEXT C
ali		none	DETERMINE			TEXT C
am	am	to hold, help	VERB			TEXT A
amsoh	amsoh	to introduce	VERB			12/7 class session
an	an	specific distal (far)	LOC			
an	?an	to drink	VERB			16, 26
andi	andi	if	CLAUSAL			TEXT A
ang	aŋ	HABIT MARKER	AFFIX,			37
ap	?ap	to kill	VERB			53
as	?as	new	ADJ			14, 15, 18, 35
atoh	atoh	rock	NOUN	null		23, 24, TEXT A
ay	e	IMPERF PAST	AFFIX,			38, 39
Ba	ba	3P P	POSS PRO			3
Ba	ba	3P P SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Ba	ba	3P P	PERS PRO			25
Ba	ba	3P P	PERS OBL			28
Ba	ba	3P P	PERS DIR			29
Ba	ba	3P P	NEG IMPER			33
baah	baaḥ	good	ADJ			14
baal	baal	ball	NOUN	null		27
baB	baḅ	father	NOUN	null		7, 21
BaB	baḅ	morning, early	ADV			20
badjin	badʒɪn	paternal aunt	NOUN	null		7
bah	baḥ	kind	ADJ			38
bah	baḥ baḥ	to be kind, good	VERB		REDUP	38, TEXT A
Bai	baɪ	to have (possess),	VERB			41, TEXT A
Bap	bap	to nurse at the breast	VERB			56
BapiD	bapɪd	to nurse	VERB			56
Basi	basi	sorghum	NOUN			TEXT A
Bay	be	to take	VERB			48
BeD		to call	VERB			TEXT C
beenj	been	to be sandy	VERB			TEXT A
Bi	bi	some	QUANT			6

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe...	Class	Notes	Pages Located
Bi	bi	1P P PRES PROG	AFFIX,			29
Bikan	bikan	family	NOUN	null		43
Bit	bit	heavy	ADJ			27,28
BitiB	bi!lb	woman	NOUN	null		1' 9
Bitif	bi!f	old woman	NOUN	null		9,35
BitsiD	bitsid	to learn	VERB			TEXT B
BitsiDoh	bitsidoli	student	NOUN	null		58
BitsiDohana	bitsidoliana	school	NOUN	N		52
Bo	bo7	person, anybody,	NOUN		specificity/meaning	1, 10, TEXT B
Bo	bo	1P P SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Bok	bok	to get a shower	VERB			32, 50
Bokuk	bokuk	to take a shower	VERB			32,50
Boof	boof	to sit down	VERB			31,44,45
Buci	buci	1P P	POSS PRO			3
Buci	buci	1P P	PERS PRO			25
Buci	buci	1P P	PERS DIR			29
bunta	bunta	door	NOUN	N		33
but	bAt	to shut	VERB			31
But	bAt	to shut, lock, close	VERB			30
butis	bA!IS	to open	VERB			31
c	c	PLURAL/DEF	AFFIX,			
ca	ca	3P P	IMPERS DIR			28
caafu		fly (insect)	NOUN			TEXTC
caar	caar	antelope	NOUN	null		11' 13
cac	cac	grandparent	NOUN	null		7,23
ce	C£	3P S SPEC	POSS PRO			23
cewoor	C£W00r	south	NOUN, DIR	null		24
cinganj	cir)gaJl	mouse	NOUN	null		11
coh	coli	elephant	NOUN	null		11
Coh	Coli	PLURACTIONAL	AFFIX,			TEXT A
coh	coli	meeting	NOUN	null		TEXTC
coruk	coruk	to thank someone	VERB			TEXT A
cota	cota	go (IMPER)	VERB-ISH		AUX?	36
cuBin	CABin	moon	NOUN	null		6,7
cufningDa	cufnir)+PRO	girlfriend	NOUN-ISH			35
cumDa	cumda	sometimes, often	ADV			TEXT B
curuun	curuun	fish	NOUN			2
Da	da	2PS	POSS PRO			3
Dah	dah	TEMP MARKER	ADV			TEXT A

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe...	Class	Notes	Pages Located
Das	d̪as	to hide	VERB			TEXT A
De	d̪e	3P S	POSS PRO			3
De	d̪e	3P S	PERS DIR			26, 29
De	d̪e	3P S	PERS OBL		can also be used for	26, 31
De	d̪e	3P P	NEG IMPER			33
De	d̪e	3P S	NEG IMPER			33
Deem	d̪eɛm	bat	NOUN	null		10
dhum	d̪hʌm	hot	ADJ			19, 38
Di	d̪i	3P P PRES PROG	AFFIX,			29
Di	d̪i	NEG MARKER	AFFIX,			
disik	d̪isik	place	NOUN	null		TEXT A
djaal	d̪aʌl	above, on top	LOC			16
djangohana	d̪aŋgoɦana	study place	NOUN	N		52
djasit	d̪asit	crocodile	NOUN	null		11
djeel	d̪eɛl	little rug	NOUN	null		19
djen	d̪ɛn	all	QUANT			23, TEXT C
djir	d̪ir	to be sick	VERB			44
djok	d̪ok	ocean	NOUN	M		8
djool	d̪ool	on top of	LOC			24
djot	d̪ot	to go	VERB			28
djumbur	d̪ʌmbʌr	rabbit	NOUN	null		11
djung	d̪ʌŋ	to study	VERB			48, 50
djungiD	d̪ʌŋgid̪	to teach	VERB			50
djupil	d̪ʌpɪl	knife	NOUN	null		9, 36
Do	d̪o	1P S SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Do	d̪o	inside of	LOC			24
Do	d̪o	1P S	PERS OBL			26
DoB	d̪ob̪	to bite	VERB			9
DooJ	d̪ooʃ	inside	LOC			TEXT A
Doopat	d̪ooʃat	animal	NOUN	null		1, 6, 11, 33
Du	d̪u	2P P	POSS PRO			3
Du	d̪u	2P P SPEC	POSS PRO			23
Du	d̪u	2P P	PERS PRO			25
Du	d̪u	2P P	PERS DIR			29
Du	d̪u	NEGATION MARKER	AFFIX,			TEXT B
duf	d̪ʌf	way on top of	LOC			24
dulin	d̪ulɪn	oil	NOUN			2
dum	d̪ʌm	to be hot	VERB			38
e	ɛ	FUT MARKER	AFFIX,			TEXT A

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe...	Class	Notes	Pages Located
eD	ed	to give	VERB			54
edef	ɛdɛf	light	ADJ			28
eel	ɛɛl	cloud	NOUN	null		8, 13
em	ɛm	specific distal (near)	LOC			
en	ɛn	PAST MARKER, NOT	AFFIX,			28, 47
faan	faan	body	NOUN	null		29, 32
faanuk		to lie down, go to bed	VERB			TEXT C
faj	faj	to be puzzled	VERB			12/5 class session
faransay	faranse	French	NOUN			TEXT B
fiin	fiin	hair	NOUN	F		6, 9
fiiringDa	fiiriŋ+PRO	boyfriend	NOUN-ISH			35
fiki	fiki	in front of	LOC			24
filndo	filndo	below	LOC			24
findi		the way in which	LINK			TEXT C
fino	fino	behind	LOC			24
fisar	fisar	chest	NOUN	null		TEXT A
forta	forta	photo	NOUN	N		12/5 class session
fu	fu	2P S SPEC	POSS PRO			23
fu	fu	2P S	PERS PRO			24
fu	fu	2P S	PERS DIR			29
fuD	fud	to cry	VERB			43
funj		to become scared	VERB			TEXT C
galah	galah	traditional drink	NOUN	null		16
gup	gup	hoe	NOUN			TEXT A, 52
guur	guur	to cultivate	VERB			50
guuroh	guuroh	farmer	NOUN	null		50
haad		to go home	VERB			TEXT C
haat	haat	TEMP MARKER	ADV			TEXT A
haB	hab	to make, do	VERB			TEXT A, TEXT B
hai	hai	to come	VERB			TEXT A, TEXT B
hai	hai	FUT MARKER	AFFIX,			42
hang	hanj	FUT HABIT MARKER	AFFIX,			42
hawur	hawar	griot	NOUN	null		10
heeJ		to dream	VERB			TEXT C
hia	hia	come (IMPER)	VERB-ISH		AUX?	36
hooB		to spend time	VERB			TEXT C
hot	hot	to see	VERB			30, 52
huc	huc	to clean the teeth	VERB			55
huc	huc	neem wood stick	NOUN	null		55

Orthography	IPA	Gloss	Part of Spe...	Class	Notes	Pages Located
huf	hʌf	head	NOUN	null		1, 8
hus	hʌs	eye	NOUN			1
i	i	specific proximal	LOC			
iD	id	ASP MARKER,	AFFIX,			28, 47
iD	id	CAUSATIVE	AFFIX,			TEXT A, 52
iD	id	BENEFACTIVE	AFFIX,			56
if	ɪf	1P P SPEC COLL	POSS PRO			23
iinj	iɪn	snake	NOUN	null		TEXT A
in	in	something	NOUN		+ LOC MARKER	26, TEXT B
inah	inah	to know	VERB			12/7 class session
inatang	inataŋ	wild animal	NOUN	null		11
inoh	inoɦ	cow	NOUN	F, null		1, 8, TEXT C
irak	irak	bean	NOUN			2, TEXT A
is	ɪs	REVERSIVE	AFFIX,			31
is	ɪs	REPETITIVE	AFFIX,			52
jaaj	jaaj	mother	NOUN	null	SPEC	7
jaano	jaano	white	ADJ			13, 18
Jaar	faar	man	NOUN	null		1, 33
jaB	jab	to be tired	VERB			44, 45
Jah	faɦ	to go	VERB			28, 36, 38
jah	jaɦ	hand	NOUN	null		36
jak	jak	old	ADJ			17
jander	jander	door	NOUN	null		33, 36
jatus	jatus	five	NUMBER			4
jay	je	to push	VERB			31
Jeek	feek	to sing	VERB			50
Jeekoh	feekoɦ	singer	NOUN	null		50
ji	ji	1-3P S PRES PROG	AFFIX,			29, 43
JiD	fid	younger	ADJ			11
jiino	jiino	one	NUMBER			4
Jin	fin	small	ADJ			TEXT C
Joh	foɦ	bone	NOUN	null		54
joh		field	NOUN			TEXT C
jok	jok	to need	VERB			TEXT A
joohon	joohon	field	NOUN	null		TEXT A
jop	jop	to cut	VERB			53
Juf	fʌf	to throw	VERB			27
jukuk	ɲʌkʌk	older	ADJ			7, 10
jul	jul	creusette (digging)	NOUN			TEXT A, 55

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