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A grammar and lexicon of Kam (àŋwòm), a Niger-Congo language of central eastern Nigeria

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Jakob Lesage

Nyò nyíng wòm yō, là kúmé â à nyò à, rì ná nyó yō ā túb pêh rì nyò à, rì cì nyó yō â rì dúg nyó rì à, rì yì nyó ⁺ámō.

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Abbreviations and symbols

-	Morpheme boundary
***	Censored (in case of sensitive information in examples)
.	Gloss boundary (but not morpheme boundary)
:	Gloss boundary (morphemes are not segmented)
\	Tonal morphology
~	Partial reduplication
◊	Pause
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ADJ	Adjectivizer
ADVZ	Adverbializer
APPL	Applicative
C	Consonant
CAUS	Causative
COM	Comitative
COND	Conditional
DIST	Distal
EMPH	Emphasis
EXP	Experiencer
EXPA	Experiential
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future

FV	Final Vowel
H	High tone
ID	Independent
INSTR	Instrumental
INT	Intensive/Intensity
IPFV	Imperfective
IT	Iterative
L	Low tone
LOC	Locative
LOG	Logophoric
M	Mid tone
N	Noun
NEG	Negator
NFUT	Non-future
NMLZ	Nominalizer
O	Object
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRED	Predicative Adjective
PROX	Proximal
PRSTT	Presentative
PURP	Purposive
Q	Question marker
QUOT	Quotative
REL	Relativizer

S	Subject
SEQ	Sequential marker
SG	Singular
SIM	Similative
STAT	Stative
TEMP	Temporal
UNM	Unmotivated
V	Vowel/Verb
V ^{HIGH}	High Vowel
σ	Syllable

I Part one: Introduction

1 Introduction

1.1 *The language, its relatives and its neighbors*

Before this project started, Kam [ISO 639-3: kdx; Glottocode: kamm1249] had been provisionally classified as an Adamawa language, Adamawa languages being a subgroup of Niger-Congo (Greenberg 1963; Boyd 1989; Güldemann 2018b). This classification was based on about 100 words collected by Charles Meek (1931c) in the early twentieth century. Over the past years, the unity of Adamawa as a language family has been seriously questioned. Some authors argue that the sub-groups previously subsumed under Adamawa – including Kam, which forms a sub-group on its own – may well be high-level isolated language groups within Niger-Congo (Güldemann 2018b). Others argue that some of such languages may in fact be part of the large Benue-Congo family within Niger-Congo (Idiatov & Van de Velde 2019). How Kam fits in these possible alternative pictures is a question for further inquiry.²

What is clear from the current picture we have of Kam is that its Niger-Congo membership is uncontroversial, insofar Niger-Congo is an established language family (cf. Güldemann 2018b). The main indications for this come from first person and second person subject pronominals, lower numerals and some wide-spread Niger-Congo reflexes that reappear in Kam (cf. Lesage 2019, under review). What is also clear is that Kam belongs to the linguistic macro-area called the Macro-Sudan belt (cf. Güldemann 2008, 2010, 2018a: 479-488, 494-507), showing typological characteristics such as labial-velar consonants, logophoric pronominals, multi-verb constructions, clause-final negation, STAMP-morphs, a plural word, three tone levels and nasal vowels.³ Notable features of Macro-Sudan belt languages or sub-areas thereof

² Brief explorations have shown an interesting link between Kam, Mumuye [ISO 639-3: mzm; Glottocode: nucl1240], Nyesam [ISO 639-3: pbn; Glottocode: kpas1242] and Kugama/Wam [ISO 639-3: kow; Glottocode: kuga1239], all of which are spoken closely together and have previously been classified as Adamawa. All of these languages have a near-homonymous noun pair for the meanings *bird* and *eye* (cf. Lesage 2019, under review, Eveling Villa, p.c., Lora Litvinova, p.c.). In Kam, for example, they are translated as respectively *núŋ* and *à.núŋ*, in Proto-Mumuyic as **dza.nuy* and **nuy*, where **dza* is a diminutive {'child' if I remember it right) (Shimizu 1979; tones are unclear), and in Nyesam as *be.nue* and *nue* (Eveling Villa, p.c., transcription preliminary and tones uncertain). While this is a very minimal hint, it is nonetheless significant and provides the beginning of a comparative series that demonstrates regular sound correspondences.

³ Anderson 2011, 2012, 2015, 2016; Clements & Rialland 2008; Dimmendaal 2001: 382-387; Dryer 2009; Güldemann 2003, 2018a: 481, 2019: 11-12; Hajek 2013; Hyman et al. 2015; Idiatov 2010; Idiatov & Van de Velde 2015; Maddieson 2013b,c; Nikitina 2015; Rolle 2015; Segerer 2002-2007, 2015

that are absent in Kam include implosive consonants (Maddieson 2013c) and labial flaps (Olson & Hajek 2004).

While the precise genealogical links between Kam and other languages are uncertain, it is clear that there is and has been contact between Kam and languages spoken around it.

In the past, these languages included Central Jukunoid varieties [Glottocode: cent2241]. The Kam claim to descend from the Jukun ethnic group, and to be affiliated with the (possibly legendary) Jukun kingdom often referred to as Kororofa. Various sources include the Kam speaking area in the extent of this historical Jukun kingdom (e.g. Meek 1931a; Shimizu 1980: 8), and the political centre of the kingdom (and the homeland of the Jukunoid languages) may have been located to the south of the Kam speaking area (Shimizu 1980: 8; Dinslage & Leger 1996), possibly close to Wukari. A quarrel with a Jukun sub-group would have sent the Kam off to the Kamajim mountain. There, they allegedly encountered an unidentified ethnic group which they supplanted. Since then, they have continued to practice a traditional religion related to that of the Jukun, which is apparent from some religious terminology (cf. Meek 1931a, c). The Kam use the name *ní kwân* ‘kwân people’ to refer to the Jukun ethnic group and to speakers of Central Jukunoid varieties.

Languages currently spoken around Kam include Hausa [ISO 639-3: hau; Glottocode: haus1257], a variety of Eastern Fula/Fulfulde [Glottocode: fula1265], one or more varieties of Mumuye [Glottocode: mumu1250], Jirim [ISO 639-3: dir; Glottocode: diri1253], and more recently Glavda [ISO 639-3: glw; Glottocode: glav1244]. (Nigerian) English and Nigerian Pidgin [ISO 639-3: pcm; Glottocode: nige1257] are fairly recently introduced contact languages in the area.

Hausa is a Chadic (Afro-Asiatic) language. The Hausa form the largest ethnic group of the northern half of Nigeria, and Hausa is one of the most widely spoken languages in the country and West-Africa in general. It is spoken as a lingua franca in central-eastern Nigeria. Islam is the majority religion among Hausa speakers in Nigeria, and the Kam use one name, *màkpà*, for both ‘Muslim’ and ‘Hausa’. The etymology of this name is uncertain.

Fulfulde is a North Atlantic (Niger-Congo) language that is spread across the length of western and central Africa as a dialect continuum. It is spoken by the Fulani, who call themselves *Fulbe* and their language *Fulfulde*. The Fulani and their language are also known as *Fula*, but *Fulani*, which is a Hausa name, is the name that is most often used in Nigeria. The majority of the Fulani people are cattle rearers, and the name by which they are called in Kam is *ánīmsī*, which is an attributive adjectival form of the verb *nīmsí* ‘feed’, or a variant adjективization with *nīmsí* such as *nīmsī nág* (‘ADJ:feed cow’), *ní nág nīmsī* (‘person cow ADJ:feed’). The language does not have a specific name in Kam. The specific variety of

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Fulfulde that is spoken may be either Hausa States Fulfulde [ISO 639-3: fuv; Glottocode: nige1253] or Adamawa Fulfulde [ISO 639-3: fub; Glottocode: adam1253].

Mumuye is a Central Adamawa language group spoken by the Mumuye people, who are spread across Taraba State as one of the largest ethnic groups of the state. They have two names in Kam, *Kwàntṣy* and *àkómlâ*. In *kwàntṣy* the Kam noun for ‘mountain’, *ṇtṣy*, can be recognized, but its exact etymology is unclear. The etymology of *àkómlâ* is also difficult to establish.

The Jirim are called *Dirim* in Hausa and Fulfulde, but they themselves prefer the name *Jirim*. Jirim is a variety of Chamba Daka, a Dakoid (Benue-Congo) language or language group also mainly spoken in Taraba State. The Kam and nearby Jirim share a close cultural and political bond. A Jirim can be invited to celebrate festivals and ceremonies together with the Kam. They have similar religious ceremonies, which are related to Jukun religious traditions (cf. Meek 1931c: 538-550). They are the preferred trade partners. And they traditionally prefer intermarriage among each other over marriage with other ethnic groups. The Jirim are called *Dàw* in Kam. There are also Jirim that live further away from the Kam area, in Gashaka Local Government Area in the south of Taraba State, as stated by my main Jirim informant and in Meek (1931b: 397). This latter group is reportedly not culturally associated with the Kam.

Glavda is a Chadic (Afro-Asiatic) language that is mainly spoken in Gwoza Local Government Area, close to Maiduguri, in Borno State. According to Ethnologue, Glavda had some 31,000 speakers around the year 2000. After the Boko Haram insurgency in Gwoza in 2014, many people fled their homes and sought refuge elsewhere. Some fled to Cameroon, some fled to other places in Nigeria. Some refugees ended up in Taraba State. A number of them, mainly Glavda speakers, were provided a place to live in Kam villages. The Kam call all of these people *Gwoza*, after the place where they fled from, but all refugees I met were speakers of Glavda.⁴

⁴ There are other, not standardly used and less accepted terms that some people use to refer to the Glavda refugees. These terms are considered disrespectful by most of the Kam community and inappropriate in most social situations. My consultants asked me not to include them in my research. The terms are based on mispronounced words in Glavda.

1.2 *The language and its speakers*

1.2.1 Environment and context

1.2.1.1 Delimitation and population size

Kam is spoken in northeastern Nigeria, in Bali Local Government Area, approximately in the center of Taraba State. It is important to keep two definitions of Kam country separate. First, there is the place where the Kam traditionally lived, and where the Kam language is currently spoken. For now, I will refer to this as the Kam speaking area. Second, there's the place that is under political responsibility of the Kam political king (there are two Kam kings, one “political” and one “traditional”, which will be explained further below).⁵ I will refer to this political entity as the Kam district of Bali Local Government Area, which is how it is officially called. The Kam district is larger than the Kam speaking area, and its delineation has changed a bit over the last couple of decades. It includes villages and groups of people that are not ethnically Kam and that have nothing to do with the Kam people or language traditionally, including Hausa villages, Fulani villages, Mumuye villages, and possibly others). This section maps out the Kam speaking area, but not the Kam district. Although reference will be made to it when discussing the geographical and political background of the Kam people, a full treatment of the Kam district area falls outside of the scope of this book.

It is difficult to estimate both the general population numbers of this area and the population numbers by ethnic group. Population data for Nigeria generally show high error rates and census results are often disputed (cf. R.S. 2018).⁶ The latest projections of population and population density for Bali Local Government Area indicated a population density of 30.83/km² in March 2016, based largely on census data from 1991 and 2006 (Brinkhoff 2017). This would yield a 2016 population size of about 11,100 people in the Kam speaking area (about 360 km²). The same model indicates a population growth rate of 2.94% each year. Since Kam is the majority ethnic group in the immediate area, we could estimate that there are currently some 8,325 Kam living among people from other ethnic groups; 75% of the local population.

⁵ ‘King’ and ‘chief’ can in principle be used interchangeably, but the Kam people generally prefer ‘king’, which is why I use it here.

⁶ Africapolis, an alternative source for population data, has no specific information regarding the Kam speaking area (Moriconi-Ebrard et al. 2008).

In 1919, one source estimated that there were 583 Kam people (Temple 1919: 80). Brinkhoff's growth estimates would expect a population size of 9,690 Kam in 2016.⁷ My estimate of Kam population size at 8,325 people indicates a yearly population growth of 2.74% between 1922 and 2016,⁸ which is lower than Brinkhoff's 2.94%. Of course, these estimations cannot fully consider confounding factors influencing population size, such as migration and disease. They also do not consider varying distributions between Kam and other ethnic groups, and complex issues related to identity. Changing marriage patterns with neighboring ethnic groups or changing perceptions of different ethnicities could for example lead to more or fewer people identifying as Kam at a given point in time. It needs to be stressed, again, that the error margin for these numbers is probably fairly large. It should also be noted that not everyone who identifies as Kam is necessarily a speaker of the language (cf. § 1.2.4).

1.2.1.2 Climate, terrain and life

The Kam speaking area falls within the tropical savannah climate zone. It is relatively close, however, to the warm semi-arid climate zone further to the north. It has a short (three months) but pronounced wet season, usually from July to September, a five month dry season from November to March, and two transition periods, April-June and October, when a moderate amount of rain falls. The dry season is characterized by the Harmattan wind, an airmass blowing from the north-east that brings with it dust and warmth from the Sahara, causing a hot (20°C to 42°C) and dry (0 mm to 2 mm of precipitation) climate in the area. There are often water shortages during the dry season. During the wet season, moist southwestern winds from the South Atlantic Ocean are pulled into the continent by the retreating Harmattan airmass. These winds bring higher precipitation (between 45mm and 66mm) and a narrower, generally cooler range

⁷ Population after a given timeframe can be estimated using a standard formula for population growth (cf. de Boer 2018), where r is the growth rate, N_0 the starting population, N_t the population after timeframe t (current year – base year), and e a natural constant:

$$N_t = N_0 e^{(rt)}$$

⁸ The formula can be rearranged to determine r (where \ln stands for the natural logarithm of e):

$$r = \frac{\ln(\frac{N_t}{N_0})}{t}$$

Adding values, this gives us:

$$r = \frac{\ln(\frac{8325}{583})}{(2016 - 1919)} = 2.74\%$$

of temperatures (22°C to 31°C).⁹ During the wet season, the area exhibits particularly heavy winds and rainfall with frequent thunderstorms. This heavy weather causes frequent power outages and weather damage in nearby cities such as Jalingo.

The Harmattan's retreat is caused by the sun's northward shift from the southern to the northern hemisphere from February to June, when it also passes straight over the Kam speaking area. The Kam traditional religion views the sun (*àléyà*) as an ancestral deity that has to be cared for by means of daily rites. The sun, and by extension its caretakers or earthly mediators (in Kam culture the traditional king) are seen as bringing rainfall and securing harvest (Meek 1931c). The causal link between the behavior of the sun and the progression of seasons is an essential part of many traditional belief systems in the area.

The immediate area where the Kam live is drained by the river Kam (*màrè ywòm* in Kam, a literal translation of 'river (of) Kam'), a tributary of the Taraba River¹⁰. The Taraba River feeds into the left side of the Benue River. The Benue, in its turn, is a branch of the Niger River. The Benue River has always been a major transportation route in the area.

The landscape is characterized by plains, with a forested mountain or a hill here and there. There are floodplains and there are various lakes in the vicinity. These mountains, hills and lakes have historical significance to the Kam. Two notable places important to Kam culture and traditions are the Kamajim mountain that hosts a number of Kam villages (Figure 1 on p. 9), including the traditional chief's quarters, and Lake Ku, where the Kam claim to have beaten a host of jihadi invaders in the nineteenth century (see the fragment of oral tradition appended to this book).

⁹ Statistics are from Jalingo, taken from

https://www.meteoblue.com/en/weather/forecast/modelclimate/jalingo_nigeria_2336589. They are representative of the climate of the Kam speaking area as well.

¹⁰ I do not know if the Kam have an indigenous name for the Taraba River.



Figure 1 - Vegetation during the rainy season (Kamajim mountain, view from Sabongida Kamajim, May 20th, 2017)



Figure 2 - Vegetation in the dry season (picture taken in Sarkin Dawa, January 4th, 2016)

The area is part of a savanna ecosystem, with widely spaced woodlands and relatively short grass with some low forests. It is part of the Guinean forest-savanna mosaic. Vegetation is somewhat different in the dry season and in the rainy season, when the landscape is greener and grasses and weeds are more prominent (see p. 9). The Kam do not go out hunting in the rainy season because of the dense growth of plants, especially close to the mountains, which makes walking and exploring too dangerous. They are mostly concerned about the presence of snakes.

It is possible that vegetation today is quite different from what it was a few centuries ago. Some Kam have told me that a traditional way of hunting and clearing land for farming involved burning large packs of forests. Animals would run out as easy prey and the burned woodlands would make for fertile farming lands.¹¹

Large animals in the area include leopards, hippopotami and antelopes. These used to be more abundant than they are now and dwindled partly due to uncontrolled hunting and habitat loss to people. There are still reptiles such as tortoises, an abundance of lizards and snakes, crocodiles, different kinds of monkeys, and a large variety of birds. Notably, the Gashaka Gumpti National Park to the south-east of the Kam speaking area (where the river Kam also reaches) is reported to have a population of chimpanzees.

1.2.1.3 Human subsistence

Human subsistence in the area revolves around agriculture, both for personal consumption and for trade. The main crops produced in the immediate area are groundnut, maize, rice, sorghum, millet, cassava, yam, beans and sugar cane. Cattle, goats, sheep, pigs and chickens are also kept. Cattle is a common investment for local people. It may be kept in the village or cattle may be reared by herdsmen around the area. These herdsmen are usually hired Fulani. Domesticated goats, sheep, pigs and chickens roam around the village. The Kam also fish and hunt to supplement farm food. Producing pottery, weaving, dyeing, mat making, carving, embroidery, blacksmithing and carpentry are common traditional and modern occupations.

Geography has played a large role in the history of politics and conflicts in the area. The mountains are important natural strongholds for the minority ethnic groups that have settled there. The plains have been the scene of various conflicts over the centuries. The alleged Jukun kingdom of Kororofa is said to have conquered much of present-day Taraba state a few centuries in the past. In the 19th century the area

¹¹ My consultants sometimes challenged my perceptions of how a healthy landscape looks. When I arrived in Sarkin Dawa in November 2018, I was reading an issue of the Guardian that had a cover picture of a patch of rainforest devastated by wildfires in Brazil. When one of my consultants saw it out of context, he was delighted to see a wonderfully prepared piece of fertile farm land.

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was raided in a jihad organized by an alliance of Fulani and Chamba invaders. During this latter conflict, local peoples such as the Kam sought refuge in and around the mountains and at least once, according to Kam oral history, by building a platform on top of a lake. Presently, there are ongoing disagreements in the area between herdsmen and agriculturalists about the borders and rights of grazing land and farming land, which sometimes end in violence.

The main road in the area is the Bali road, which connects the state capital of Jalingo with the Bali Local Government Area capital, Bali town. There are various paths leading to different villages. Traditional transportation happens on foot. Currently, people most frequently travel between villages by motorcycle, and between towns by car. Bikes are rare, horses are rare.



Figure 3 - Rice farming near the banks of the Kam river (close to Fincon B, May 5th, 2017)



Figure 4 – Women fetching water at the borehole in Sarkin Dawa (December 2nd, 2016)

1.2.1.4 Recent environmental changes

The Kam themselves do not remember the landscape being significantly different in the past. One change that is mentioned in songs, however, is the ‘breaking’ of the Kamajim mountain in two. In one particular song, this is connected with the sale of land by a former political king to people of other ethnic groups (included in the text collection at the end of this dissertation). It is not clear to me what event this may refer to.

Global warming has caused changing weather patterns including increased temperature, lower humidity levels, less and later rainfall, unpredictable flooding and a generally shorter rainy season. For farmers, this has resulted in a delay of planting, a reduced crop yield and higher costs of commercial crops. Water resources have declined and fuel wood has become scarcer (Oruonye 2014).

In the last twenty years, farmers have begun using herbicides to increase their work’s efficiency. It is not clear to me where these herbicides are produced and whether they are controlled. They may or may not have short- or long-term effects on the soil and environment as well as on the health of those who use them. In any case, they have transformed traditional agriculture. Today, for those who can afford them, spraying herbicides is an integral part of day to day farm work. Before herbicides were introduced, substantially more time and effort were spent preparing the farm for planting and maintaining the land by weeding it. Nowadays, less frequent visits to the farm are necessary after the farm has been prepared and

crops have been planted. This has reduced stress for farmers and freed up leisure time as well as time to pursue other interests such as education and trading activities.

I have heard reports of individuals using poison (possibly herbicides) as a tool for catching fish in lakes. The method would involve throwing poison into an area of the lake, and then gathering the dead fish that come floating up. This practice is met with disapproval by local fishermen, and according to my consultants it is easy to spot a fish that has been caught by means of poison on the market. It will disintegrate soon after it has been taken out of the water. The method has reportedly depleted fish in some lakes.

As of around 2014, there has been a surge of Chinese business interest for rosewood in the area. This has resulted in uncontrolled and illegal exploitation of threatened barwood (*Pterocarpus erinaceus*) – *madrid* in Hausa, *àváyķàj* in Kam – in the area (Ahmed et al. 2016; EIA 2017). The tree is traditionally used for firewood, medicine (against fever), wood working, textile dying (the red sap of the tree) and retaining fertility of farmland. The business interest has led to quick but unsustainable profit for local farmers, unemployed youths and economically vulnerable groups. For many locals, the opportunity appeared especially attractive in times of economic crisis. When passing through Garba Chede, a town to the north of the Kam speaking area, one can see large piles of cut barwood prepared to be sold, often to Yoruba intermediaries. The trees are found on hilltops. They are cut there and rolled downhill, and then transported with trucks to the road. This logging has recently transformed the landscape, where, in many places, tree stumps are more numerous than actual trees. In Mayo Kam, at one point, over one thousand youths were employed in the logging business (Ahmed et al. 2016: 4). The long-term economic and ecological impact of this type of business is currently unclear. I am not aware of any reforestation initiatives.

1.2.2 Names of the language

In their own language, the Kam call themselves *ní ñwòm*. *ní* means ‘person’ or ‘people’ and *ñwòm* is a non-postpausal form of *àñwòm*, a noun that refers to anything associated with the Kam, as in *àlày ñwòm* ‘a Kam pot’. The Kam call their language variably *àñwòm*, *ñwé ñwòm*, literally ‘the Kam language’, and *ñwé ní ñwòm* ‘the language of the Kam people’. The name Kam is used by surrounding groups, by the government, by the Kam themselves when they are not speaking their language but any other language and has been used in previous research on the language and people. The name probably derives from the river Kam, which is the main river flowing through Kam country. The Kam themselves call this river *màrè ñwòm* ‘the river (of) Kam’. The term *Kam* does not carry any negative connotations to the speakers themselves, and according to oral history accounts, the name was even coined by one of their own (according to Saheedu, p.c. in session_284). I use the name *Kam* for the language because it is the most widely known name by which the people and their language are known, officially, informally, and in the academic literature. I do

not see a reason to introduce a new English term for the language (such as *àjywòm* or *ywòm*) if one already exists (cf. Haspelmath 2017).¹²

1.2.3 Current geographical and political background

To reach the Kam speaking area from Jalingo, the capital of Taraba State, one drives southwards, following the Bali-Jalingo Road for about 70 kilometers. The nearest well-known town to the north of the Kam speaking area (for people who are not from Bali Local Government Area) is Garba Chede, an important commercial center where many Kam go to sell and buy supplies at the market every Thursday. Garba Chede is a Jirim town, and the current (as of 2020) king of Garba Chede, Maigandi Kaigama, has Jirim and Kam ancestry. He identifies as Jirim ethnically, and he does not speak Kam, but he still regards Kam culture as part of his heritage. At a certain point in recent history, Garba Chede was allegedly also part of the Kam District area, but Kam was never spoken there as a dominant language. To the south of the Kam speaking area, a bit further away than Garba Chede, lies Bali, the capital of Bali Local Government Area, where the Emir of Bali lives, who is Fulani.

The Kam speaking area has two main natural landmarks: the Kamajim mountain, which lies at the eastern side of the area, and the river Kam (*màrè ywòm*), which runs north from the southeastern part of the mountain for 5 kilometers until it takes a sharp turn to the southwest, where after 13 kilometers it passes through Mayo Kam and then goes northwest again. For the most part, the Kam people live in the space between the river and the mountain. Just a few villages are located on the mountain. The map in Figure 5 shows the Kamajim mountain, the Kam river and all Kam villages. The yellow line in the middle represents the main road that goes from Bali to Jalingo. Some villages that serve as reference points in this thesis are printed in larger font. Other villages are printed in smaller font for reference. All villages are listed with some details in Table 1 on p. 23.

¹² Currently (April 2020), Wikipedia uses the name *Nyingwom*, a name which it takes from Kleinevillinghöfer (2015). It does this to distinguish Kam from a group of Tai-Kadai languages spoken in China by over 1.5 million people of the Dong ethnic group. This language group is variously called Kam, Gam, lix Gaeml, Dong, or Tung-Chia, and can be found under the Glottocode kami1255.

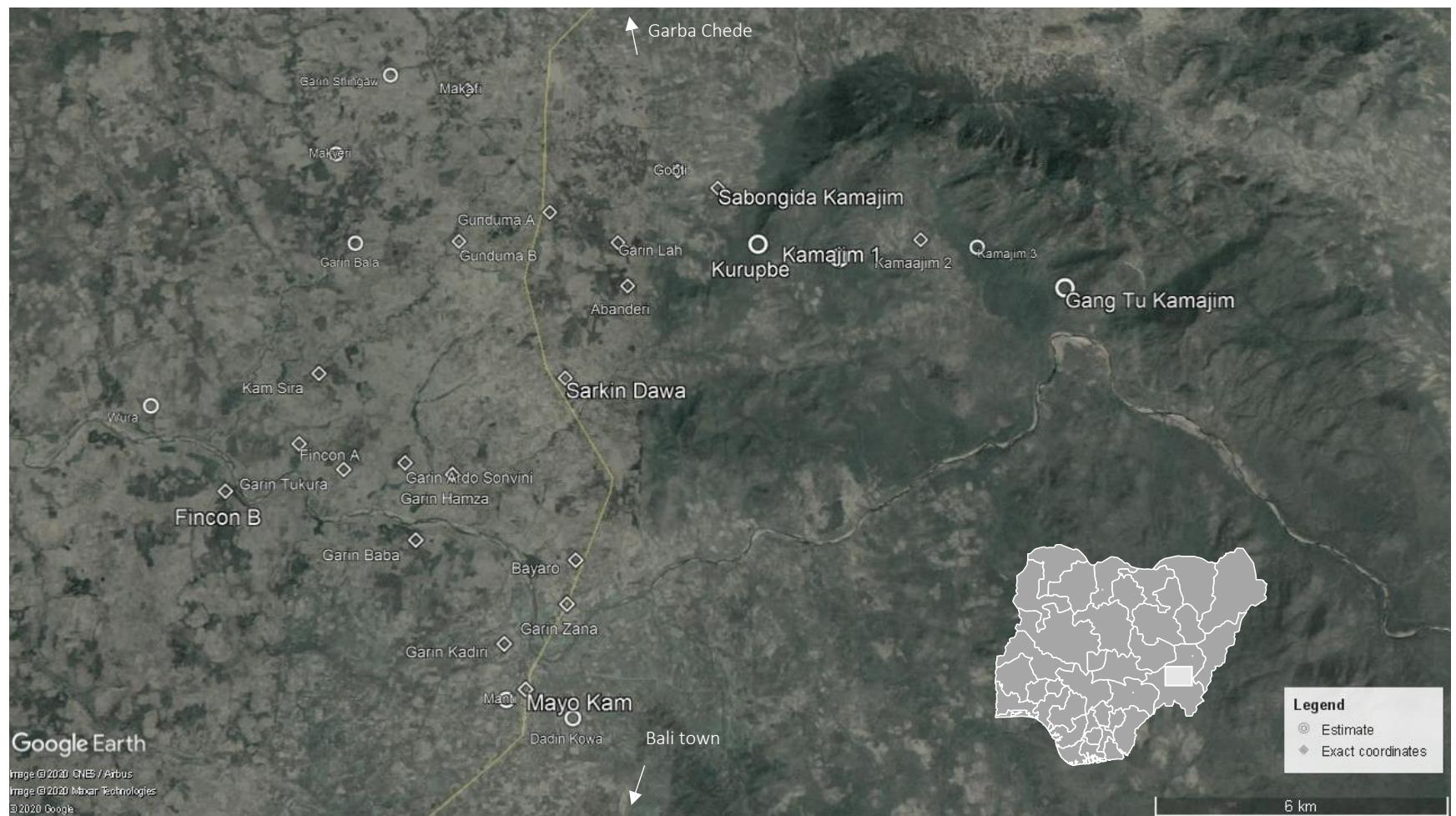


Figure 5 - Map of the Kam speaking area



Figure 6 - Banks of the Kam river, close to Fincon B (May 5th, 2017)



Figure 7 - The Kam river, close to Fincon B (May 5th, 2017)



Figure 8 - Plains across the Kam river from Kamajim, close to Fincon B (May 5th, 2017)

There is a rather clear dialectal, religious, and cultural distinction between the people living closer to the mountain (roughly the northeastern part, or the ‘highlands’, called *àwù* in Kam) and those living further away from the mountain (roughly the western part, or the ‘lowlands’, called *àdòy* in Kam). The northeastern people speak what will be referred to as highland varieties in this analysis. Most speakers of these highland varieties still practice the traditional Kam religion and have preserved more of the traditional culture, for example in terms of storytelling. The western part speak what will be called lowland varieties. The speakers of lowland varieties are for the most part Christian or Muslim and they do not often practice traditional culture anymore (no mythology is remembered and no folktales are told). The religious and cultural divisions are more easily made than the dialectal division. In the villages intermediate between the mountain and the river, both highland and lowland varieties are spoken, or an intermediate variety. The speech of some speakers from this intermediate area, including such villages as Sarkin Dawa and Mayo Kam, shows a mix of features of the two major dialect groups. The Kam spoken by most people in Mayo Kam, I have been told by my informants, is supposedly more influenced by Hausa and possibly Fulani. One of my main informants, Babangida Audu, was born in Kamajim and was raised in Highland Kam by his parents, although his family moved to Sarkin Dawa soon after he was born. Solomon Ahmadu, another main informant, was born in Sarkin Dawa and has features of both highland and Lowland Kam in his speech. Isa Sarkin Dawa, with whom I worked quite a bit as well, was born and raised in Fincon, and largely speaks

Lowland Kam. Speakers themselves recognize dialect differences, but do not have specific names for the different dialects.

Kamajim is the collective name of a number of villages located closest to and on the Kamajim mountain. It is the religious and traditional center of the Kam speaking area. It is in Kamajim where most traditional festivals are held, where religious rituals are carried out in shrines by the traditional king, and where the traditional king resides. The traditional king is considered to be able to control rainfall and is responsible for rituals in which he feeds the ancestors of the Kam (see Meek 1931b). If the ancestors are not fed, nature fails: the sun (which is considered to be one of the ancestors) cannot rise, rain cannot fall, and crops wither. In earlier times, Kamajim was strictly off-limits to outsiders, and nobody who was not Kam could meet the traditional chief. With the arrival of the British in the northern part of Nigeria, or perhaps earlier, with the establishment of the Fulani emirates in the region, the need arose for someone who could represent the chief towards outsiders and towards the ruling administration. Apart from the traditional, spiritual chief, who is responsible for the spiritual affairs of Kam land, a political representative was appointed to prevent strangers from entering strictly Kam territory. His task was to mediate between the Emir of Bali and the traditional king, and to represent the Kam people in official matters. His title is *Sarkin Dawa*, which is also the name of the village where he resides. *Sarkin Dawa* is a Hausa name and can be translated as ‘king of guinea corn’. According to Isa *Sarkin Dawa*, this is a reference to the king’s ability to control rainfall.¹³ More recently, this representative acquired an official status as the district head and has been appointed as the political king of Kam country by the Emir of Bali. In this role, he is a delegate of the Emir of Bali, under whom and according to whose regulations he rules the Kam district of Bali Local Government Area (i.e. Kam country). When the current *Sarkin Dawa* dies, a successor is elected by a council of Kam elders, but he is ultimately appointed by the Emir, who turbans him. While Kamajim is the cultural capital of the Kam speaking Area, *Sarkin Dawa* might be considered its political capital.

Table 1 lists all Kam villages I have been able to identify. For some villages I managed to collect geographical coordinates, others I could not visit because of time limits or because I was not allowed to go there for cultural reasons.¹⁴ In some villages, I managed to speak with the village head, from whom I collected the Kam name of the village, their estimated number of Kam speakers, the previous place where

¹³ The traditional chief, in any case, is believed to have power over rainfall. This statement seems to imply that the political king is also associated with special power over rainfall. It is not clear if this is the case.

¹⁴ Some places are only accessible to people who follow the Kam traditional religion because they are associated with sites (such as shrines), artefacts, or people (such as the traditional king) and secrets that ought to be hidden from the non-initiated. Some of my consultants are afraid to go there because they are excluded from the traditional religion.

the people came from that settled in the village, their estimated date of settlement, the religion of the people who live there, whether members of other ethnicities also live in the villages, and which dialect group people in the village identify with. Speaker numbers are meant to give a rough idea of the relative size of villages but are in many cases likely to be exaggerated estimates by the village heads. It is notable that when some villagers were asked for their own estimates, they tended to give a much lower number than village heads did.¹⁵ If all numbers are added up, the total amounts to about 30,000 speakers of Kam, which is an unrealistically high figure given the estimates outlined in § 1.2.1.1. When place names are given in brackets, this means that their pronunciation is uncertain. The consultants with whom I checked the traditional place names were not familiar with all the place names, because the “primary names” (as shown in the first column) are normally used and the Kam names are falling out of use. Question marks indicate uncertainty.

¹⁵ In some cases the village head’s estimate was three or four times higher than that of some villagers.



Figure 9 - Traditional artefacts, including *sábírág*, a spear, *díg*, the longer cilindrical drum to the left, *gí díg* (diminutive: child drum), the smaller drum in the middle, *gìygày*, the round drum to the right, and *ñifí*, the bow at the back. Exhibited before the start of the traditional *ñsúrý* dance (January 2nd 2017).



Figure 10 - Performing *ńsúrójy* - a traditional dance to celebrate the harvest, performed in September. Picture taken in Sabongida Kamajim (January 2nd, 2017).



Figure 11 - The king's palace in Sarkin Dawa (December 8th, 2016)



Figure 12 - Inside the political king's palace in Sarkin Dawa (left to right: Garba Abubakar Bako, the king's secretary; Isa Sarkin Dawa, the king; Muhammad Bose Yuguda, an older relative of the king) (January 4th 2017).

Table 1 - Kam-speaking villages

ID	Primary name	Kam name	Speakers ¹⁶	Dialect group	Other notes
1	Sarkin Dawa	No Kam name recorded	ca. 4500 (?)	Intermediate	No data collected. The king wants to wait to provide data until he talked with his elder brothers.
2	Mayo Kam	màrè ɲwòm ‘river Kam’	ca. 6,000	Intermediate	According to oral tradition provided by an elder living in Mayo Kam, Mayo Kam was founded around 1,000 A.D. This contradicts other accounts of oral history that say the Kam came from the south, north of Gashaka Local Government Area, a few centuries ago. Other ethnicities found in Mayo Kam include Wurkun, Mumuye, Yendang, Jukun, Wurbo, Jibu, Fulani, Tiv, Kuteb, Hausa. Religions practiced: mostly Christianity and Islam, but still about 1,000 people follow traditional Kam religion.

¹⁶ Speaker numbers are meant to give a rough idea of the relative size of villages, but are in many cases likely to be exaggerated estimates by the village heads (compare with § 1.2.1.1).

					Parents do not generally speak Kam to their children anymore in Mayo Kam.
3	Kamajim 1	àjwí bòg place? ¹⁷ foot? ¹⁸ 'foot place?'	ca. 150 (?) ¹⁹	Highlands	Not visited yet. Only traditional religion is practiced here.
4	Kamajim 2	àjwí lí'léb place? middle 'middle place'?	ca. 2,200 (?) ²⁰	Highlands	The village head could not speak to me. Only traditional religion is practiced here.
5	Kamajim 3	àjwí fénsòg place? ? '?'	ca. 1,700 (?) ²¹	Highlands	Not visited yet. Only traditional religion is practiced here.

¹⁷ àjwí is never found in isolation. It is only found in the place names mentioned here. Its meaning is not clear.

¹⁸ Leg is àbòg, so with a L tone on bòg, so this etymology may be wrong.

¹⁹ Estimate by my consultant Danladi Baleri.

²⁰ Estimate by my consultant Danladi Baleri because of absence of the village head

²¹ Estimate by my consultant Danladi Baleri.

6	Gangtu Kamajim	gàŋ-tú upside?-hill? ²² ‘?’	ca. 350 (?) ²³	Highlands	I was unable to come here for cultural reasons. This is the place where the traditional king and his caretakers live. Only traditional religion is practiced here. There are also Jirim living here.
7	Sabongida Kamajim	(amawan)? ²⁴ ‘checkpoint?’	ca. 2,500	Highlands	Founded ca. 1800 People came from a place called <i>màn nág</i> ‘cow fat’, an unidentified place that is now deserted. People mainly practice traditional religion.
8	Abanderi	àbén ndéří talk idiotic ‘curse’?	ca. 1,500	Highlands	Founded ca. 1900 People came from Sabongida Kamajim. People mainly practice traditional religion.

²² àgàŋ = upside, àtúkúrí = hill

²³ Estimate by my consultant Danladi Baleri.

²⁴ Tones are uncertain.

9	Garin Lah	bùntí 'to ride'	ca. 2,000	Highlands	Founded ca. 1850 People came from (<i>kajiga</i>) ²⁵ , an unlocated place that is now deserted. People mainly practice traditional religion.
10	Gunduma A	No Kam name	ca. 1,500	Highlands	Founded ca. 1850 People came from Kamajim, but they did not specify which part of Kamajim. Mumuye, originally from Jalingo, also live in the village, as well as Jirim. Jirim is often spoken here. People mainly practice traditional religion.
11	Gobti	gòp-tí ²⁶ unknown meaning	ca. 1,050	Highlands	Founded ca. 1850 People came from Kamajim, but they did not specify which part of Kamajim. People mainly practice traditional religion.

²⁵ Tones are uncertain.

²⁶ This is allegedly a Jirim name.

12	Kam Sira	àjwág bíní ‘House of Bini’	ca. 100	Lowlands	Founded ca. 1850 People came from (<i>bareki</i>) ²⁷ , an unidentified place that is now deserted. People mainly practice traditional religion. There are some Christians.
13	Bayaro	kpágárág ‘tilapia fish’	ca. 1,500	Lowlands	Founded ca. 1800 People came from <i>ntɔy sáni</i> , an unidentified place that is now deserted. Christianity and Islam are practiced here.
14	Fincon A	Kam name not recorded	ca. 350 ²⁸	Lowlands	I did not meet anyone in this village. Kuteb also live here.

²⁷ Tones are uncertain.

²⁸ Estimate by my consultant Blessing Amidu Samuel.

15	Garin Hamza	(àŋwóg Hámzà)? ‘House of Hamza’	ca. 2,000	Lowlands	Founded ca. 1800 People came from (<i>jaygran</i>) ²⁹ , an unlocated place that is now deserted. Other ethnicities found here are Mumuye, Yendang and Glavda. Around 1,500 people are christian. ca. 500 people practice traditional religion.
16	Garin Shingaw	Kam name not recorded	ca. 100 ³⁰	Lowlands	Not visited yet.
17	Garin Ardo Sonvini	(àŋwóg Ardo Sonvini) ‘House of A. S.’	ca. 200	Lowlands	Founded ca. 1850 People came from (<i>dɔŋgolɔŋ</i>) ³¹ , an unlocated place that is now deserted. Glavda refugees also live here. Most inhabitants are Christian, some practice traditional religion.

²⁹ Tones uncertain.

³⁰ Estimate by my consultant Blessing Amidu Samuel.

³¹ Tones uncertain.

18	Garin Kadiri	àjwóg kádírì 'House of K.'	ca. 200	Lowlands	Founded ca. 1900 People came from (<i>muruna</i>) ³² , an unlocated place that is now deserted. Mumuye also live here. Mostly Christian, some traditional religion.
19	Garin Tukura	Kam name not yet attested	?	?	I did not meet anyone at the village.
20	Fincon B	fè ntʃ̩ ? cocoyam 'coco yam'?	ca. 500	Lowlands	Founded around 1850 People came from Sabongida Kamajim. Most people practice traditional religion. Some are Christian.
21	Garin Zana	àjwɔnya (?) ³³ ?	ca. 500	Intermediate	Founded around 1990 People came from Bayaro. About 1,000 Hausa people live here as well. This village is strictly Muslim. It is sometimes counted as a part of Mayo Kam.

³² Tones uncertain.³³ This name may be incorrect or incorrectly transcribed.

22	Dadin Kowa	Kam name not recorded	?	Intermediate	Not visited yet. It is sometimes counted as a part of Mayo Kam.
23	Manti	Kam name not recorded	?	?	Not visited yet.
24	Garin Baba	(àŋwóg Daba) ³⁴ 'House of Daba'	ca. 200	Lowlands	Founded ca. 1950 People came from Garin Hamza. Most people are Christian, some practice traditional religion.
25	Makyeri	Kam name not yet attested	?	?	Not visited yet.
26	Wura	Kam name not recorded	?	?	Not visited yet. Kam and Jirim live here.
27	Makafi	Kam name not recorded	?	?	Not visited yet. Mumuye, Jirim, and Kam live here.
28	Garin Bala	àŋwí ſwă place? ſwă 'place of the river ſwa'?	?	?	Not visited yet.
29	Gunduma B	àŋwóg góp ⁺ tí 'house of Gobti'	?	?	Not visited yet.

³⁴ Tones uncertain.

1.2.4 Some sociolinguistic facts

At this moment, most people who identify themselves as Kam also speak Kam, usually as their first language. There are some Kam, who live in the villages closer to the road, who do not speak the language well. In commercially important places, like Mayo Kam and Sarkin Dawa, not all parents speak Kam to their children, raising their children in Hausa instead. In the more remote villages, all children still grow up speaking Kam with their parents. Everybody who speaks Kam also speaks Hausa, which is the main trade language in the area. Some Kam also speak Fulani, because they frequently have to deal with Fulani groups. Many also speak Jirim (cf. § 1.1). A minority of Kam speakers speak English. Kam is not taught or used at schools, where Hausa and English are taught and used instead. When Kam people gather, they will usually speak Kam, unless a non-Kam person is around, in which case they will switch to a common language with the non-Kam people present. For official purposes, Kam, Hausa, or English is used. In the past, Kam rulers and elders also spoke Jukun. This may still be true for some old people. There are no Kam radio or television programs but Kam youth occasionally talk in their language on WhatsApp and on Facebook. There is no standard orthography at this time.

There is no obvious variation between the speech of older and younger speakers, and between speakers of different genders.

Reportedly, there is a Kam sign language that is different from Hausa Sign Language (according to Wesam, p.c. in session_262). I have not been able to investigate how different it is, whether they may be related, or whether the Kam may have an entirely independent sign language. Probably, the language (or languages) in use is a home-based sign system rather than a language that has been passed down for different generations.

1.3 *A typological sketch of Kam*³⁵

1.3.1 Basic word order

Basic word order in Kam is Subject-Verb for intransitive clauses and Subject-Verb-Object for transitive sentences. Adpositions precede the noun they occur with, and all adnominal modifiers follow the noun they modify in the noun phrase. Relative clauses also follow the noun they modify. Complementizers introducing complement clauses follow verbs.

³⁵ I wrote this typological overview with the questions of the Grambank questionnaire in mind (Skirgård et. al. forthcoming).

1.3.2 Phonology

Kam has 24 consonants, including two labial-velar stops /kp/ and /gb/ and two rare phonemes, /h/ and /r/ that occur in a very limited set of lexemes. There are eight vowel phonemes, five of which are contrastive in all syllabic and prosodic positions (/i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /u/). Three vowels, /i/, /e/ and /o/, are contrastive in a more limited set of environments. There are four nasal vowels, /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /ã/. Vowel length is not synchronically contrastive and there is no vowel harmony in Kam.

Kam has three level tones – L, H and M – which can also be combined into contour tones. M tone is less frequent than L and H tones and may historically derive from simplified LH contours. There are also floating ^L tones, and (in only two morphemes) floating ^H tones. Kam has a fair amount of tonal morphology marking case on pronominals, marking tense, aspect and polarity on verbs, and playing an important role in nominalization and verbal derivation.³⁶ There are a number of phonological tonal rules, the most prominent of which are H-tone spread, L-tone shift and non-automatic downstep due to floating ^L tones.

Kam syllables can occur in prosodically strong positions and prosodically weak positions, equivalent to stressed and unstressed positions in other languages. Kam features stem-initial prominence and stem-final weakening. There are more consonant and vowel contrasts in stem-initial position than in stem-final or stem-medial position, and there are a number of phonological and phonetic rules that distinguish weak from strong positions. Fortis versus lenis variants of stop consonants are an example of this: bilabial stops in prosodically strong positions become approximants in weak positions, velar stops become glottal stops (or velar approximants), and alveolar stops become alveolar taps.

1.3.3 Nominal morphosyntax

There is little segmental nominal morphology. Such morphology is restricted to deverbal nominalization and possessive indexes. All other morphology is tonal, marking nominalization, but also case on some pronominals, and arguably tense, aspect and polarity (cf. § 13.2). There are different pronominals for 1SG and 2SG categories for different tense, aspect and polarity values which can be considered STAMP (portmanteau Subject-Tense-Aspect-Mood-Polarity) morphemes from a typological perspective³⁶. Many polysyllabic nouns in Kam have an initial prosodic prefix (*à-* or a homorganic nasal *N-*).³⁷ These prefixes may or may not be traces of an earlier noun class system, but they currently serve no morphosyntactic function. The optional plural marker *jō* that marks the entirety of the noun phrase may from a typological

³⁶ One could also argue that tense, aspect and polarity are marked on pronominals by means of tone (cf. § 13.2)

³⁷ My use of ‘prosodic prefix’ is inspired by Van de Velde’s (2008) description of Eton.

perspective be considered a plural word. There is no other number marking in non-pronominal noun phrases.

There is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession constructions in Kam.

There are no noun classes nor is there a system of nominal classification in most domains of Kam grammar. Humanness and some other semantic distinctions do play a role in some parts of the grammar of Kam.

- There are human third person pronominals, *àwú* ‘3SG’ and *àjí* ‘3PL’, but no pronominals for non-human third person referents.
- Content interrogatives make a distinction between humans (*bɛ^H* ... *bì* ‘who?’), places (*rè* ‘where?’), manners (*sìm* ‘how?’) and other non-human entities (*gɛ^H* ... *gì* ‘what?’). Quantities are inquired after with the manner interrogative *sìm*, without a distinction between count nouns and mass nouns.

Kam has a dedicated logophoric pronominal for third person singular human subjects, objects and possessors. This logophoric pronominal is used in reported discourse to indicate that a participant in the reported discourse is the same entity as the subject of the reporting verb, or in general the entity whose discourse is being reported (e.g. ‘He_i said that he_i (himself) would write it.’ as opposed to ‘He_i said that he_j (someone else) would write it.’)

There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction in the pronominal system of Kam, nor is there a gender distinction in third person pronominals. The only number distinction is between singular and plural. There are no third person non-human pronominals, only human arguments are regularly expressed pronominally. There is no politeness distinction in the pronominal system.

The deictic demonstrative system has a two-way distinction between near (*à* or *ba* ‘this’) and far (*ò* or *bô* ‘that’). There are three presentative demonstrative markers that have different uses in discourse but that do not distinguish distance. There is an existential quantifier *mt^L* ‘some, any, a certain’, which can often be translated as a definite or indefinite article into English. Relative clauses are formed with a postnominal marker *ā*, segmentally similar to the proximal demonstrative *à* and one of the presentative demonstratives *á*, and an optional relative clause final marker *à*.

Apart from the existential quantifier *mt^L* ‘some, any, a certain’, which behaves as a modifier in the noun phrase, quantifiers are not generally embedded in noun phrases but behave as ‘floating quantifiers’, occurring in different places in the clause. Syntactically, they are more similar to adverbial modifiers than to attributive adjectives or nouns.

There is a distinction between prepositions proper and prepositional nouns. Prepositions proper take independent pronominals as their complements. Prepositional nouns derive from nouns and behave as regular possessed nouns in a possessor construction. They take possessive pronominals as their complements. Prepositional nouns mostly express spatial meanings (*àlib* ‘on’, *àliléb* ‘in the middle of’, *àlím* ‘in front of’, *àgún* ‘behind’, etc.). Prepositions proper can express instrumental and temporal meanings (*ká* ‘with’, *sé* ‘until’, *hár* ‘until’), comitative (*rà* ‘with’, also a noun phrase coordinator ‘and’), similative (*àrí* ‘like’) and locative (*à* ‘at, in’, *dákā* ‘from’).

When two pronouns are coordinated with the comitative preposition *rà* ‘with/and’, they can form an inclusory construction, where the initial plural pronominal (*àjí* ‘they’ or *jùrù* ‘we’) refers to the group as a whole and the following noun or pronominal (a singular noun or pronominal) picks out one of the two referents (cf. Singer 2001). *jùrù rà jà* ‘we and you’, for example, is used to express the equivalent of ‘me and you’.

The numeral system is decimal (10-based) and vigesimal (20-based), with a possible trace of a quinary (5-based) system in number seven: *džùb jīrāg* can be compared to *džùb* ‘six’ and *jīrāg* ‘two’.

1.3.4 Verbal morphosyntax

Verbal morphology is mostly tonal, marking different polarity, aspect and tense values and also playing an important role in verbal derivation and deverbal nominalization. In addition to tonal morphology, there are different types of verbal reduplication, marking future tense, experiential aspect, and deriving predicative adjectives. There are some preverbal aspectual, temporal, polar and other grammatical markers. These occur following subject indexes and may derive from earlier verbs (e.g. *sì*, marking sequential clauses, *rɔ^L* marking negative future tense, and an optional non-future negator *màg*). There is a post-verbal perfective aspect marker *à* that occurs after the object of a transitive clause or after the verb if there is no object.

Kam has multi-verb constructions, a type of construction that may be of interest to researchers of serial verb constructions, auxiliaries, light verbs, complex predicates, verb compounding, coordination, adverbial modification, comparative constructions and valency change. Clauses with multi-verb constructions can be analyzed as consisting of two types of verbal components. The first type, which I call primary verbs, are marked for tense, aspect and polarity. The other type, secondary verbs, may precede a primary verb or follow a primary verb and its object if there is one. Secondary verbs are not inflected. A clause typically has one primary verb and may have one or more secondary verbs. The secondary verbs may express repetition, persistence, spontaneity, resultative or stative aspect, completive aspect, ventive direction, andative direction and experiential aspect. They may also be used to add arguments to a clause in benefactive constructions and comparative constructions.

Verbs may have a toneless final vowel *-i* that does not have a clear function but obligatorily occurs in a variety of constructions including (a) deverbal adnominal adjectives, (b) affirmative future tense constructions, (c) the negative future tense construction, (d) speech and thought reporting clauses. This final vowel element in Kam is reminiscent of the so-called final vowels in Bantu languages (e.g. Grégoire 1979).

There is also a final vowel *i* that occurs optionally in a number of verb stems in Kam but that does not have a morphosyntactic function. The inflectional/derivational final vowel *-i* and the optional final vowel *i* are synchronically different elements but may be historically related.

There are three verb extensions, causative *-tí* and *-sí* and iterative *-rí*. Verbs with these markers are often lexicalized, and the extensions cannot be applied to all verbs. They are only partially productive. They are prosodically strong and may derive from secondary verbs in earlier multi-verb constructions and/or from other reconstructible Niger-Congo verb extensions. There is no passive or antipassive construction and there are no reflexive or reciprocal derivations. Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are expressed peripherastically with the noun *kpò* ‘body’.

There are no conjugation classes in Kam, and there are only a few irregular verbs (see § 14.6.1). There is no suppletion in verbs. There are, however, different affirmative and negative copulas.

Evidentiality is not grammatically encoded in Kam. There are no interrogative verbs for content interrogatives in Kam.

1.3.5 Word classes and derivation

Kam only distinguishes nouns and verbs as open word classes. There are some adverbs or adverbial expressions, but these often appear (at least historically) morphologically complex. There is an adjective class that typically functions as nominal attributive modifiers. Predicative adjectives are derived from verbs by means of reduplication. They can also be analyzed as stative or resultative verb forms that are not inflected for tense or aspect. Attributive adjectives syntactically behave like possessor nouns in associative constructions. Most attributive adjectives are derived from verbs, but a few attributive adjectives only show a historical relationship to current verbs, and some attributive adjectives no longer have an equivalent verb stem. Synchronously, underived adjectives constitute only a small lexical set.

Adnominal adjectives are derived from verbs by means of a prefix *á^L-*, a replacive M-tone on the stem³⁸ and (only in the case of CVC-stems) the derivational final vowel *-i*.

³⁸ This M could be a downstepped H, cf. footnote 69 on p. 174.

There are different strategies of deverbal nominalization, deriving agent, patient and abstract nouns. All such nominalizations include prefixation and tonal marking. Some include a suffix *-rì* as well.

The noun (*à*)*yí* ‘child’ can be used as a diminutive marker. Larger male specimens of animals are often modified with *àná* ‘father’. I have no examples of *àná* as an augmentative marker for inanimate nouns.

Data on ideophones is scarce in the current corpus of Kam. They are not very frequent. Future research will include more data collection focusing on genres where they may be more likely to occur. In addition, I have abstained from analyzing certain lexemes as ideophones that may at first glance seem sound-symbolic. These do not behave differently from other elements in the morphosyntax or phonology of Kam, so the only reason for singling them out as marked sound-symbolic lexemes would be my intuition or the intuition of a handful of consultants. Sound-symbolism and ideophones in Kam are a matter for further research.

1.3.6 Clausal morphosyntax

Argument marking is done primarily by means of word order. Nominative arguments (in Kam: subjects) precede the verb. Accusative arguments (in Kam: objects) follow the verb. Pronominals are formally distinguished by means of tone. Nominative pronominals (or subject pronominals) feature L tones. Accusative pronominals (or object pronominals) have H tone. Possessive pronominals feature H^L tone, where the ^L stands for a right-attached floating L tone and could be analyzed as a possessive flag. Some pronominals also have segmentally different stems in different argument functions.

Various sensations and emotions (such as being sick, being angry, being sleepy) are expressed with a construction where the experiencer is coded as the object and the experience as a subject noun phrase (for example, *lù rà déy ém* ‘sleep is roasting me’, *féb tági m à* ‘anger affected me’). Others are encoded with a body part as the subject, the experience as the verb, and the experiencer as either the object of the verb or the possessor of the body part. Yet other sensations are encoded with other idiomatic expressions specific to individual sensations.

In most clauses, there is no distinction between accusative arguments (in Kam: objects) and non-core arguments such as recipients, beneficiaries, etc. Most extended transitive clauses, such as ditransitives, are expressed with multi-verb constructions, where non-core arguments are coded as the object of a second verb (e.g. ‘give him a house’ is *jág ìygwóg mó* ‘take house give:him’). Pronominal complements of prepositions proper, however, are expressed with independent pronominals and not with indexes.

Various grammatical categories are marked simultaneously in different slots in the clause. Tense, aspect and polarity, for example, are expressed by means of different pronominals (for 1SG and 2SG), tonal

marking on verbs, as well as with segmental markers. One category that is exemplary in this regard is negation. There are different negation constructions for different tense and aspect values.

Like many other languages in the Macro-Sudan belt, Kam features clause-final standard negation (with the phonologically peculiar negator *hṇ*).

Interrogation is partly expressed clause-finally as well, with a particle *jī*, or with a M tone at the end of a clause. Of special interest are the human and non-human content interrogatives, which are bipartite (*bè* ... *bì* ‘who?’ and *ge* ... *gi* ‘what?’ and enclose the clause within their scope (e.g. *gè sín gi?* ‘what happened?’; *bè i rà dʒērī bì jī?* ‘who are they looking for?’)).

There is a copula, *dá*, for existential and locational predication. Nominal predication features the presentative demonstrative *á* on the non-verbal predicate. There is no copula for adjectival predication, however, which is expressed with a reduplicated verb.

There are two ways of expressing predicative possession in Kam. One involves the copula *dá* followed by a comitative prepositional phrase (*ń dá rà +wó* ‘I am with a dog’). The other involves the have-verb *kàr* ‘to keep, to have’).

Comparative constructions are expressed with a multi-verb construction including the verb *kòr(i)* ‘to surpass’.

There are a number of focus, topic and emphasis constructions in Kam that are not yet currently fully understood. These include nominal topicalization with a post-nominal particle *dʒé*, discourse-cohesive uses of the prosodically weak presentative demonstrative *bē* and cleft constructions with the postnominal relativizer *ā*. These topics feature in a short chapter (17.6) but have not received much attention in the current dissertation, which focuses on basic phonology, morphology and syntax. They offer promising avenues for future research.

1.3.7 Morphology vs. syntax; fusional vs. analytic; bound forms vs. words,

If we adopt the terminology of traditional morphological typology, Kam could be characterized as both a fusional and an analytic language. It has some (phonologically bound) morphology – predominantly tonal – and different grammatical meanings are often combined in a single marker. A low tone first person subject index, for example, marks its argument function (subject), the polarity value of the clause, and (in case it has positive polarity) the aspect value of the clause. At the same time, segmentally invariable markers are also often found, for example marking aspectual values (e.g. *rà* ‘imperfective’), plural number on noun phrases (*jō*) and negation at the end of a clause (*hṇ*). Multi-verb constructions are also frequently used, for example to express direction (*pè* ‘to come’, *sáy* ‘to go’), and in transitive clauses repetition of the verb after

the object is used to mark future tense. In my view, the difference between ‘phonologically bound’ morphology and ‘phonologically free’ particles or auxiliaries is not particularly meaningful in the morphosyntax of Kam. Some markers that appear syntactically bound behave like prosodically strong stems, (notably the derivational verbal suffixes – some may analyze them as phonologically free particles – *-sí*, *-tí* and *-ri*), and it is not clear what can be gained, for example, from analyzing the syntactically free presentative demonstrative *bē* as a bound morpheme, although it is prosodically weak.

Related to this, there are no clear generally accepted definitions of *word* that work well from a cross-linguistic perspective (see Bickel et al. 2009; Haspelmath 2011; Bickel & Zúñiga 2017; Lesage & Neshcheret 2017). Bloomfield defined *word* as a “minimum free form” (Bloomfield 1933: 160, 178), or, as rephrased by Haspelmath (2011: 39), an “utterance segment that can occur on [its] own”. This definition is still representative of how the concept *word* is conceived by a substantial part of the linguistic community. The opposite of a *word*, for Bloomfield, is a ‘bound form’. Many items that have been analyzed across languages as ‘particles’ cannot occur as separate utterances but are simply phonologically invariable grammatical markers. The term *particle*, like *word*, is currently not uniformly defined in the typological literature. I avoid claiming explicitly that something is a word in this description of Kam, since I do not believe this is necessary or helpful to understand the language. Where it seems useful from a typological perspective to make this distinction, I provide all the information a typologist might need to make their own choice of whether a marker in question adheres to their comparative concept of *word*. Orthographic choices in this grammar do not reflect analyses of wordhood (cf. § 2.6)

1.4 Previous work on Kam

1.4.1 Before the current project

Before this project started, a limited amount of data and analyses had been published on the Kam language and on its speakers. Table 2 lists all documents produced before 2016 that give some information on Kam and that I have been able to identify. The contents of each document are briefly described, and the documents are classified into types: (1) word lists, (2) Classification, (3) Ethnographic notes and (4) Bibliography. A brief note on the context in which it was produced is also given.

The most notable documents for linguistics are the two basic word lists that have been produced. The first word list was produced by Charles Meek (1931b) in a survey of ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria. The word list consists of about 100 entries and was for a very long time the only linguistic data published on the language. In 2011, Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer collected about 200 words from two consultants in Garba Chede.

Other linguistic documents include a number of classifications in which Kam was considered part of the Adamawa language family. These did not add any linguistic data but provided hypotheses on the basis of the data published by Meek. Meek (1931c: 547-550) himself already identified that Kam is not a Jukunoid language, although it has some links to Wapan (his “Wukari Jukun”)³⁹ in noun structure (specifically the prosodic *a*-prefix, see § 4.2.9). He further says Kam’s vocabulary resembles Bendic⁴⁰ (cf. Blench 2001) and Delta Cross⁴¹ (cf. Villa et al. 2015) languages. He also saw lexical links to Tula-Waja⁴² (Adamawa) languages and even Chadic languages such as Pero⁴³ and Kushi⁴⁴ (cf. Kraft 1981; Batic 2017).

Most subsequent classifications follow Greenberg’s (1963) proposal where Kam is seen as an isolated group within Adamawa. Exceptionally, Blench (n.d.) groups Kam together with Tula-Waja, without presenting explicit arguments for this change.

Broadly, contexts in which documents were produced are the following.

- Colonial Nigeria. These documents focused on providing basic ethnographic and geographic documentation, providing an overview of who lived in certain part of Nigeria at the time of British rule. Authors worked for the government. Charles Meek, for example was a Government Anthropologist whose main interest was studying the Jukun. His report on Kam in Meek (1931c) remains the most informative material published on Kam ethnography to date.
- Overview of Nigerian ethnic groups and languages. These documents are indexes of ethnic groups or languages in Nigeria, compiled over the years. These documents were compiled after the colonial era by researchers interested in Nigerian languages from an academic perspective. Some are focused on ethnic groups; others are focused on languages.
- Greenberg era linguistic classification. These documents sought to elaborate Greenberg’s proposals concerning Adamawa language classification. They do not provide extra data but are mainly speculation where the classification of Kam is concerned. They are valuable as overviews of the languages they treat and of the state of affairs of language classification at the time when they were published. They also contain useful bibliographical references.

³⁹ ISO 639-3: juk; Glottocode: wapa1235

⁴⁰ Glottocode: bend1256

⁴¹ Glottocode: delt1251

⁴² Glottocode: tula1250

⁴³ ISO 639-3: pip; Glottocode: pero1241

⁴⁴ ISO 639-3: kuh; Glottocode: kush1236

- Local interest. These documents are locally produced collections or manuscripts that give some information about the Kam and their language. The people who produced them are interested in their own language or in the languages of their country or region. None of these have been officially published or distributed in large numbers. One document is a dictionary that was in preparation some years before I arrived. The author is unknown to me, and the existence of the project is only known to me through hearsay. Unfortunately, the project was abandoned after the author reportedly died of a snake bite. The location of the manuscript is unknown. Another document is a fragmentary summary of oral history, along with some administrative notes on the Kam, by a man called Bala Iliyasu, in the 1980s. The original manuscript, of which I took pictures, is in possession of the political king of Kam.
- Global linguistic classification effort. These documents are syntheses of the worldwide linguistic classification literature. They have been compiled as reference websites. Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2019) contains information about the context of languages, as well as speaker numbers (which are not always equally reliable), and provides a language classification. For Kam, the classification still follows Greenberg's (1963) proposal. Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2019) provides a more up to date classification of languages along with a continually updated bibliography for each of the languages it covers.
- Re-examination of Adamawa languages. The documents under this context type are produced in the light of a recent academic effort to describe, document and analyze Adamawa languages.

Table 2 - Previous work on Kam

Reference	Summary of contents	Type of document	Context
Temple (1919: 80-81)	Provides speaker numbers (583) of Kam and a very basic (less than one page) summary of their activities.	Ethnographic notes	Colonial Nigeria
Meek (1931b: 4, 398, 436, 449)	Passing notes comparing Kam culture with other ethnic groups.	Ethnographic notes	Colonial Nigeria
Meek (1931c: 538-550)	Notes on the duties of the traditional chief of Kam, Kam traditional religion, death and election of a new chief, names of officials, social organization and traditional marriage. A vocabulary with 98 entries is included.	Ethnographic notes + Word list	Colonial Nigeria
Meek (1931a: 16, 35, 121, 124)	An ethnographic description of Jukunoid ethnic groups. Kam is mentioned in passing for its links with Jukun culture and for comparison.	Ethnographic notes	Colonial Nigeria
Greenberg (1963)	A classification of Kam as an isolated language ('group 8') within the Adamawa family, based on mass-comparison. Some words are provided, presumably from Meek (1931b).	Classification	Greenberg era linguistic classification
Hansford et al. (1976)	An early non-colonial index of Nigerian languages. I did not consult this work, but its contents are mentioned in Wente-Lukas (1985).	Classification	Overview of Nigerian ethnic groups and languages
Iliyasu (ca. 1985)	A fragmentary summary of oral history of Kam, with some notes on practices and administration.	Ethnographic notes	Local interest

Wente-Lukas (1985)	Index of ethnic groups in Nigeria. Summarizes Temple's (1919), Meek's (1931b,c), Hansford et al.'s (1976) notes on Kam.	Ethnographic notes	Overview of Nigerian ethnic groups and languages
Boyd (1988)	Classification proposal of Adamawa languages. Kam is suggested to be more closely related to Mbumic languages and Kim/Masa than to Chamba Leko, Mumuye, Yendang, and Nimbari. Based on 17 of the words collected by Meek.	Classification	Greenberg era linguistic classification
Boyd (1989)	An overview chapter on Adamawa and Ubangi languages. It restates Greenberg's (1963) classification.	Classification	Greenberg era linguistic classification
Williamson & Blench (2000)	An overview chapter on the classification of Niger-Congo languages, restating Greenberg's (1963) classification for Kam.	Classification	Greenberg era linguistic classification
Blench (n.d.)	A proposal for restructuring Niger-Congo that classifies Kam together with the Tula-Waja languages.	Classification	Greenberg era linguistic classification
Unidentified (n.d.)	An unpublished unfinished dictionary by an unidentified Kam author. Its whereabouts are unclear.	Word list	Local interest

Blench (2012)	Overview of Nigerian languages with alternative names, villages where languages are spoken, estimated speaker numbers, classification, and sources. For Kam, the Greenberg classification is followed. A new version of the Atlas has been published (2019), but the Kam data remains to be updated.	Classification	Overview of Nigerian ethnic groups and languages
Kleinewillinghöfer (2015)	Minimal grammatical and classificatory notes on Kam, along with a 200-item word list.	Word list	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (Grundlagenforschung in den Adamawasprachen, Mainz, Germany)
Eberhard et al. (2019) (pre-2016 editions)	Reference source that restates Greenberg's (1963) classification. Other minimal contextual information (population, location, endangerment status) is also available.	Classification	Global linguistic classification effort
Hammarström et al. (2019) (pre-2016 editions)	Reference source with continually updated classification and bibliography. It classified Kam as an isolated language within the Adamawa family.	Classification + Bibliography	Global linguistic classification and bibliography effort

1.4.2 During the current project

Table 3 summarizes the documents that have appeared over the course of this project. Most documents listed here are part of the current project and involve presentations on a specific topic of Kam phonology and morphosyntax. One reference (Idiatov et al. 2017) is concerned with the collection of a preliminary word list and grammatical questionnaire by Tope Olagunju and Bitrus Andrew. The elicitation of these materials was a pilot study to prepare for the current project and was funded by the AdaGram research project. Two sources (Güldemann 2018a, Hammarström 2019) are general references treating the classification of African languages in general, but taking into account recent research on Adamawa languages. I identified two locally produced documents dealing directly with Kam. One is a term paper by a local student addressing language shift from Kam to Hausa in Sarkin Dawa. I could not reach the student in question but heard about his project from others. The other is a summary of ethnographic and linguistic materials earlier published in Meek (1931c), along with some supplemented information the author (Anthony John Ante) gathered from Isa Sarkin Dawa, Garba Abubakar Bako and Muhammad Bose Yuguda.

Table 3 - Studies that appeared over the course of this project

Reference	Summary of contents	Type of document	Context
Unidentified (n.d.)	Term paper by a local student addressing language shift from Kam to Hausa. I could not reach the student in question.	Specific topic	Local interest
Ante (2016)	Collection of materials on the history of Kam, mostly taken over from Meek (1931c), with some supplementary information gathered from interviews.	Ethnographic notes	Local interest
Idiatov et al. (2017)	Report of a survey of Adamawa languages, including the collection of 638 item word lists and 143 item grammatical questionnaires.	Word list	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project, Paris, France)
Hammarström et al. (2020) (post-2016 editions)	Reference source with continually updated classification and bibliography. The current classification of Kam in Glottolog considers it to be an isolated language in the North Volta-Congo sub-family of Niger-Congo languages.	Classification + Bibliography	Global linguistic classification and bibliography effort
Güldemann (2018a: 202, 204, 212)	An evaluation of the current state of affairs of African language classification. It considers the possibility that ‘Adamawa’ groups may be small high-level Niger-Congo groups, and do not form a genealogical Adamawa unity.	Classification	Re-examination of African language classification
Pozdniakov (2018)	An attempt to reconstruct Proto-Niger-Congo numerals, where the data from Kleinewillinghöfer (2015) is used for Kam.	Specific topic	Re-examination of African language classification

Lesage (2018a)	Overview of negation; the information in the current dissertation supersedes that of the presentation.	Specific topic	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
Lesage (2018b)	Overview of tense, aspect and modality; the information in Lesage (2019d) and in the current dissertation supersedes that of the presentation.	Specific topic	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
Lesage (2019a)	A preliminary lexicon of Kam, containing 1,701 entries. The information in the current dissertation supersedes that of this preliminary lexicon.	Word list	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
Lesage (2019b)	A sample of Kam text and elicitation with audio.	Data sample	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
Lesage (2019c)	Some preliminary data on logophoric pronominals in Kam. The information in the current dissertation supersedes that of the preliminary data.	Specific topic	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
Lesage (2019d)	Overview of tense, aspect and modality; the information in the current dissertation supersedes that of the presentation.	Specific topic	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
Lesage (2019e)	Presentation about the difficulties to classify Kam within Niger-Congo.	Classification	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
Lesage (2019f)	Overview of adjectives; the information in the current dissertation supersedes that of the presentation, especially where tones are concerned.	Specific topic	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)

Lesage & Litvinova (2019)	Presentation on tone in Kam. The information in the current dissertation supersedes that of the presentation.	Specific topic	Re-examination of Adamawa languages (AdaGram project)
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1.5 Materials, field work, and presentation of examples

1.5.1 Practical considerations

This description of Kam is the first analysis and is not comprehensive. The limited timeframe of my PhD project has imposed inevitable constraints on the breadth of the description and on the depth of the analysis. I have pointed out unanswered questions where appropriate, sometimes with an indication of how these questions could be answered in the future. While I have taken care to review all examples and analyses provided, I acknowledge that some inconsistencies may remain intact. As always, I will continue to revise my work beyond the scope of this document.

In the coming years, I am planning to continue my work on a comprehensive description of Kam. That description will be based on a more representative collection of data, collected for a coming two-year post-doctoral documentation project on Kam.

To encourage transparency and collaboration and/or independent projects, I am keeping an in-progress to-do list of incomplete analysis and open questions for every chapter. Upon request, I am happy to provide this list and further analytical considerations, which includes notes on those insightful comments that I was unable to fully process before handing in this document.⁴⁵

1.5.2 General literature consulted

When establishing contact with the community, finding my way in the field, collecting data, analyzing those data and writing up the analysis, I consulted a number of field guides as well as questionnaires and textbooks that I would like to mention here.

- The fieldwork textbooks that I relied on most heavily are Bowern (2008) and Chelliah & de Reuse (2011).
- Textbooks and basic articles on phonology and tone that I found particularly helpful are Gussenhoven (1998, 2004), Hall (2013), Hayes (2009), Hyman (2014), Johnson (2012), Ladefoged & Johnson (2014); Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996), Odden (2013), Smalley (1968), Snider (2018) and Yip (2002).

⁴⁵ Currently, this list is publicly accessible via Google Drive:

<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1fUDMB6LS3DZ6OS-l7eQAkNtk0hRGSRK5?usp=sharing>

- General reference works and textbooks on morphosyntax that I consulted are Aikhenvald (2015), Creissels (2006), Dixon (2010a,b, 2012), Payne (1997) and Shopen (2007). Cristofaro (2005) was helpful as a general reference on subordination.
- The general analytical questionnaires I used were Comrie & Smith (1977) and the questions at the end of chapters in Dixon (2010a,b, 2012).
- Translation questionnaires used to collect the lexicon are the AdaGram survey (Idiatov et al. 2017), the SIL comparative word list (Snider & Roberts 2006) and the main questionnaire in Bouquiaux & Thomas (1976). Analytical and translation questionnaires I used for data collection on specific grammatical topics are Goddard & Wierzbicka's (2014) 150 canonical sentences, Pepper's (2020) questionnaire on binominal compounds, Dahl's (1985) tense, aspect and modality questionnaire, Kramer's (2017) questionnaire on phasal polarity and Miestamo & Veselinova's (2019) negation questionnaire. I also used Mayer's (1969) *Frog, where are you?* to elicit semi-spontaneous narrative.

Grammatical descriptions that I often consulted for inspiration and that served as models for the current analysis are Elders' (2000) grammar of Mundang, Anonby's (2008) analysis of Mambay, Van de Velde's (2008) grammar of Eton, and Huddleston & Pullum (2002) or Haeseryn (1997) when the only preliminary analysis I could come up with was the translation of a marker into English or Dutch. I was also inspired by Littig's (2017) concise and accessible description of Kolbila. Jaggar (2001) and Newman (2000) were my reference works for Hausa; De Wolf (1995) was my main reference for Fulfulde.

1.5.3 Description of field work

The data that form the basis of this analysis were collected in a number of different places in Nigeria under a number of different circumstances which I will briefly describe here.

I made five field trips to Nigeria in total, each trip one to two months in length. All trips were made from 2016 to 2018. I made two visits during the dry season, between October and December. I made three visits during the transition period between the dry season and the rainy season, between April and June. I spent a total of 174 days working with Kam speakers.

Part of the time during those trips was spent living in a Kam speaking community, in the central village Sarkin Dawa. I was there for a total of 85 days. In this village I met my main language consultants and I learned to speak some Kam. The political king of Kam, Isa Sarkin Dawa, is based in Sarkin Dawa and has been one of my main consultants throughout my field work. From Sarkin Dawa, I occasionally visited Sabon Gida Kamajim, a village that is not as close to the road and is less “urbanized”. Many people in Sabon Gida Kamajim are followers of the traditional Kam religion, and they have cultural knowledge

that is difficult to find in Sarkin Dawa. There I recorded the bulk of the conversation and narratives making up my corpus, and there I fragmentarily documented a traditional dance, *nsúrój*, that was performed in my presence. I visited a number of other Kam villages to collect some sociolinguistic data, such as estimations of the number of speakers and geographical coordinates, as well as some songs. During my first trip in Sarkin Dawa, I was generously hosted by Jauro Babangida Tukura and Isa Sarkin Dawa, who provided me with a generator to charge my equipment at night, with a place to sleep, work and store my belongings, with food, security and warm hospitality. During subsequent trips, I was hosted by one of my main consultants, Babangida Audu, whose family also provided everything I needed to be comfortable and productive in the village. To ensure a steady supply of electricity, Babangida and I locally acquired a solar panel and an accompanying battery.

For security reasons, I spent 85 days of my time in Nigeria in Jalingo, the capital of Taraba State, where I invited speakers of Kam to come and work with me. The data I collected there consist mostly of elicitation, respeaking, and translation of texts that I gathered in the Kam speaking area. I stayed in different places, notably CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria) Secretariat, the Pastoral Centre of the Catholic Diocese of Jalingo, and Alhaji Maigandi Kaigama's house, the current chief of Garba Chede. From those places, I travelled frequently to Sarkin Dawa. When space allowed it, I invited as many consultants as possible, which worked stimulating for everyone and which allowed me to gather more data.

Part of the data was the result of a preliminary survey in 2016 by Tope Olagunju and Bitrus Andrew, who established contact with the community and collected 500 lexical items and 140 phrases (Idiatov et al. 2017). Tope and Bitrus are part of the AdaGram team. Tope is a linguistics student who graduated at Kwara State University and did field work and linguistic analysis on Fam, a small, endangered language spoken in southern Taraba state not far from Kam. Bitrus is a native speaker of Bena and the main language consultant of Dmitry Idiatov and Mark van de Velde. They collected the data in the span of five days, when they stayed in Mayo Kam, the biggest, most urbanized village in the Kam speaking area. They worked with two consultants: the secretary of the king, Garba Abubakar Bako (on grammatical constructions), and Saheed Bala Kam (on the lexicon).

The third part of the data was collected in Ilorin, the capital of Kwara State, in the western part of Nigeria, during a brief stay there of a couple of weeks with Dmitry Idiatov and Mark van de Velde. Before travelling to the Kam speaking area, we invited Mr. Garba Abubakar Bako to come to Ilorin, so that I would have a preliminary way into the community. I worked with Abubakar for four days on various topics, which was my first real exposure to linguistic field work. A couple of days after that he drove back to Mayo Kam, I followed by airplane, and he came to pick me up at the airport in Jalingo.

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Table 4 gives some more details of the field trips that form the basis of the data collection for this grammar, as well as a summary of what happened where and when.

Table 4 - Overview of field work in Nigeria

Dates	Locations	Phase	Summary	Concrete data
5 days 05-08-2016 to 09-08-2016	Mayo Kam	Preliminary survey by Tope Olagunju and Bitrus Andrew	Lexical and grammatical elicitation with Garba Abubakar Bako and Saheed Bala Kam, using the AdaGram questionnaire	500 words 140 phrases
4 days 20-11-2016 to 23-11-2016	Ilorin	Field trip 1, Ilorin	Preliminary elicitation work with Garba Abubakar Bako, using the AdaGram questionnaire	13 sessions on basic vocabulary, basic expressions, and basic morphosyntax, 12 of which are recorded (4.5 hours); 2 small texts (3 minutes)
36 days 01-12-2016 to 05-01-2017	Sarkin Dawa (Jauro Babangida Tukura's compound), Sabon Gida Kamajim (on occasion)	Field trip 1, Sarkin Dawa	First stay in Sarkin Dawa: establishing contact with people, learning some basic Kam, finding consultants, lexical and grammatical elicitation, struggles with tonal analysis, collection of texts, documentation of <i>ñsúróy</i> dance.	48 sessions on basic vocabulary, basic morphosyntax, 22 of which are recorded (16 hours); 20 texts (1 hour)

48 days 04-05-2017 to 17-06-2017	Jalingo (CAN secretariat) and Sarkin Dawa (Babangida's house), various Kam villages (small trips)	Field trip 2	Stay in Jalingo for security reasons, with weekly trips to Sarkin Dawa. Mostly elicitation for tonal analysis, paradigm elicitation, and checks of initial analyses; collection of metadata about villages; notable: recording of king's narrative of Kam oral history by Babangida Audu	59 sessions on tonal analysis, paradigms and basic sentences, 14 of which are recorded (8.5 hours); 11 texts and songs (45 minutes)
22 days 06-10-2017 to 28-10-2017	Jalingo (Maigandi Kaigama's house) and Sarkin Dawa (Babangida's house), Sabon Gida Kamajim (on occasion)	Field trip 3	Stay in Jalingo with frequent trips to Sarkin Dawa, eliciting words with a vocabulary game, respeaking and translation of previously collected texts, interviews on traditional life with people in Sabon Gida Kamajim, recording of spontaneous conversation in Sabon Gida Kamajim, recording of texts in Sabon Gida Kamajim	67 interview segments and texts (6 hours); respeaking and translating of earlier collected texts; 29 sessions on elicitation and vocabulary checking, 4 of which were recorded (40 minutes); spontaneous unrecorded checks of dictionary
43 days 26-04-2018 to 07-06-2018	Jalingo (Maigandi Kaigama's house) and Sarkin Dawa (Babangida's house)	Field trip 4	Stay in Jalingo with frequent trips to Sarkin Dawa, invited 6 Kam speakers visiting Jalingo; respeaking, translating, and checking previous data; analyzing texts; elicitation with focus on negation and tense, aspect and modality	Respeaking and translating of earlier recorded texts and conversations; 38 elicitation sessions, including checks, 3 of which were recorded (9 minutes); 1 text (1 minute)

15 days 31-10-2018 to 14-11-2018	Sarkin Dawa (Babangida's house)	Field trip 5, Sarkin Dawa	Filling gaps in the analysis, elicitation on questions, adjectives, numerals, the noun phrase, complex sentences; recording missing words; recording a traditional prayer	Respeaking, translating and analysis of texts; 18 elicitation sessions, 5 of which were recorded (3.5 hours); 1 text (1 minute)
10 days 17-11-2018 to 27-11-2018	Jalingo (Pastoral Center)	Field trip 5, Jalingo	Filling gaps in the analysis, respeaking, translating and analyzing earlier collected texts; elicitation on verb classes; elicitation on negation	Respeaking, translating and analysis of texts; 13 elicitation sessions, 1 of which was recorded (1 hour); 1 text (1 minute)



Figure 13 - Elicitation session in Sarkin Dawa. From left to right, bottom to top: Audu, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, Awunu Yakubu, the author, Isa Sarkin Dawa in the chair, and five unidentified participants.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Picture taken by Babangida Audu.

1.5.4 Presentation of examples

Examples in this grammar are presented as follows.

- The first line of an example presents the Kam text.
- The second line provides word-for-word translations and/or glosses for grammatical categories. Grammatical glossing and segmentation of morphologically complex lexemes have only been applied where this helps the interpretation of the example in its relevant context in the grammar.
- When appropriate for the analysis, a line is inserted between the first and second line that shows the lexical form of each item (including tone and morphologically analyzed morphemes). This presentation is useful to make transparent tone rules and other phonological or morphological processes that are applied. Grammatical tones and their glosses are indicated here with a backslash \.

(1)	àní	vān	ā	táb	ə ⁺ né	ké	⁺ táb	â
	àní	ávān	ā	táb\H	ànjé	ké	àtábé	à
	person	male	REL	touch\PFV	hand	INSTR	fish	REL,
‘The man who touched the fish’								
(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)								

- The following line shows a free translation.
- The final line of an example displays an ID referring to the recording session the example is taken from, mentions the speaker who provided the data or who produced the text, and gives a broad idea of the genre the example is taken from.

II Part two: Phonology

2 Phoneme inventory

The current chapter discusses the phonemes and tones of Kam. In this chapter, phonological rules are only treated when relevant. Chapters 3 to 6 provide a more detailed description of the phonological rules. § 2.1 provides a terminological introduction. § 2.2 treats the consonant phonemes and their distribution in different syllable shapes and prosodic positions. § 2.3 does the same for vowels. 2.4 and § 2.5 provide evidence for the phonological status of the phonemes introduced in § 2.2 and § 2.3. Finally, I discuss some orthography decisions I made for the remainder of this thesis in § 2.6. I describe the tonal system of Kam in Chapter 3.

2.1 *Introduction: phonemes, allophones, and intermediate relationships*

In any language, two sounds are in a phonemic opposition if the choice between them is completely unpredictable on the basis of the phonological environment alone but is encoded in the lexicon. They share an allophonic relationship if the choice between them is completely predictable from a given phonological context. In Kam, in between two low vowels *a* (a context that can be formalized as /*a_a*), either a voiceless labial-velar stop *kp* could occur, or its voiced counterpart *gb*. Which one occurs in a given environment completely depends on the lexeme that is being pronounced. Therefore, *kp* and *gb* are in a contrastive distribution and their relationship is phonemic. An alveolar stop in prepausal position (/ _ ⓘ) will always be unreleased in Kam ([t]). It will never be a released voiced stop *d* or a released voiceless stop *t* that we find in other positions. That is, [t] is in complementary distribution with both *d* and *t* and is in an allophonic relationship with either of them. If the choice between two sounds is completely unpredictable both from the lexicon and from the phonological environment, they are allophones in free variation. In Kam, this is usually the case for *r*, [t̪] and *l* in prepausal position: the verb meaning ‘farm’ can be pronounced either as *bàl*, *bàr*, or as *bàt̪*.

Allophonic and phonemic relationships are usually taken as the two basic relationships between the sounds of a language. There are, however, a number of intermediate phonological relationships that should be taken into account when describing a language (cf. Hall 2013). Firstly, *phonological environment* is a broad term: it includes (supra)segmentally defined environments (e.g. intervocalic position, prepausal position), but also positions within the syllable (onset, rhyme, coda), and prosodically defined environments (stressed vs. unstressed syllables). For some sound pairs, one could say that the occurrence of one sound or another is not predictable on the basis of the segmental environment alone, but if the syllable structure or the prosodic structure are taken into account, it becomes predictable. In Kam, for example, velars in prosodically weak positions (*àygwóg* ‘house’) are realized as a voiced velar stop in intervocalic position,

or as a lenited variant of a voiced velar stop, see § 4.2.5. A voiceless velar stop can never occur here. In prosodically strong positions, /k/ and /g/ do contrast (/àná kòm/ ‘father of the place’ vs. /àná gòm hñ/ ‘father did not pay’). Such a relationship is intermediate between phonological contrast (the choice is unpredictable if we do not take into account the prosodic structure) and allophony (the choice is predictable in prosodically weak positions). Secondly, the choice between two sounds can be predictable in most parts of the lexicon but not in a specific layer of the lexicon. For example, ideophones and recent borrowings may contain sounds that do not occur elsewhere, or they may be subject to phonological rules that do not apply elsewhere. Such marginal phonological contrasts and rules need to be acknowledged explicitly in the phonological analysis of a language.

In each section of this chapter, a summary is provided of the syllabic and prosodic contexts where each sound is contrastive or more predictable. Phonological properties of different prosodic positions are discussed in chapter 3. Syllable structure is treated in chapter 5. The phonological rules that operate within syllables and prosodic units are also given more treatment in those chapters than in this first overview chapter. In chapter 6, I provide an overview of the phonological changes that may take place when certain segments happen to be adjacent to each other, such as hiatus resolution and nasalization. Chapter 6 also discusses free variation and allowed consonant clusters.

Sounds that only occur in interjections are excluded from this overview, but can be found in the discussion of interjections in Chapter 1.

2.2 *Consonants and their distributions*

2.2.1 Consonant inventory

For consonants, seven manners of articulation are recognized. All non-sonorant consonants have a voicing contrast, except for the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the glottal fricative /h/ which do not have voiced counterparts. Eight places of articulation are contrastive, although the glottal /h/ has a low functional load in the lexicon. Table 5 presents all consonants found in Kam.

Table 5 - Consonant phonemes in Kam

	bi-labial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	labial-velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p		t			k	kp	
voiced stop	b		d			g	gb	
voiceless affricate				ʈʂ				
voiced affricate				ɖʐ				
nasal	m		n		ɳ	ɳ		
tap			r					
voiceless fricative	f	s	ʃ					h
voiced fricative	v	z						
approximant			l		j		w	

Kam has 24 consonants that contrast in some phonological environment. The phonemes /r/ and /h/ have a peculiar distribution in the lexicon. In most lexemes, [r] is in complementary distribution with /l/ or /d/ (see § 4.2.6). Where /r/ is not in complementary distribution with /l/ or /d/ it occurs in (mostly)⁴⁷ strong prosodic positions in proper names, borrowings, some high-frequency markers, bound morphemes and just a few items from the general lexicon.

⁴⁷ r in nɔ̄r ‘spear’ and hár ‘(not) until’ are exceptions. It is possible that these items have a trill instead of a tap as a final sound, but this needs to be checked again. Note that hár is a borrowing, likely from Hausa (*har*) or Adamawa Fulfulde (*har*). I do not know if nɔ̄r is a borrowing or what language it may be borrowed from.

- (2) -rí ‘iterative derivation suffix’
 -rà ‘nominalizing suffix’
 rì ‘comitative preposition’ and ‘imperfective marker’
 rì ‘postverbal negative future marker’
 rìL ‘preverbal negative future marker’
 rìg ‘emphatic marker’ and ‘negative possessive marker’
 sìrì ‘negative copula’
 hár ‘(not) until’, a borrowing, likely from Hausa (*har*) or Adamawa Fulfulde (*har*)

kìŋkìndzírí ‘person name’

wàrkû ‘person name’

kùrìkî ‘God’

àrí ‘type, like’

àkprà ‘plate’

míprím ‘okra’

múrò ‘maize’

jírág ‘two’

wūrī ‘to answer, to like’

/h/ occurs in only three items in the currently collected lexicon of Kam, which has approximately 1,550 Kam entries (see the lexicon at the end of this grammar).

at the end of this grammatical description):

- (3) hì ‘negator’
 hár ‘(not) until’, a borrowing, likely from Hausa (*har*) or Adamawa Fulfulde (*har*)
 hwář ‘to think’

Depending on whether such rare phonemes are taken into account and the definition of phoneme used, Kam has an average-sized (minimally 22) to moderately large (maximally 26) consonant inventory as compared to other languages of the world (cf. Maddieson 2013d).

2.2.2 Distributions of consonants in syllables and prosodic positions

The positions of each sound in syllables and prosodic positions are summarized in Table 6. The sounds are ordered from least predictable (occurring in many environments without restrictions) to most predictable

(occurring in fewer environments, sometimes in complementary distribution with other sounds). A white cell with a ‘+’ indicates that the sound occurs in that position and thus contrasts with other sounds that occur there. A grey cell with an empty-set symbol ‘ø’ means that the sound in question does not occur in that position and thus does not contrast with any other sound occurring there. In the table, stops with a neutralized voice feature are written with capitals, e.g. as P, T and K.⁴⁸

Most contrasts are only relevant in prosodically strong syllable onsets. Only ten consonants appear in prosodically weak positions:

- bilabial, alveolar and velar stops (without voice distinction, i.e. P, T and K),
- all nasals (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*) except for the palatal nasal,
- the approximants *j*, *w* and *l*, and
- the tap *r*

By way of exception, in partial reduplication constructions, all consonants can occur in the copy, which is considered prosodically weaker than the base in a number of ways (cf. § 4.3.2).

The conclusions one can draw on the basis of this table and the consonant inventory presented in Table 5 are the following.

- All of these sounds are contrastive in Kam when segmental environments alone are considered.
- In prosodically weak positions, all contrasts are neutralized except: (a) places of articulation for bilabial, alveolar and velar stops, nasals and approximants and their contrasts with the palatal approximant *j*; (b) manners of articulation for bilabial, alveolar and velar consonants and approximants.
- Coda position is a kind of weak position in Kam and behaves similarly to onset positions in prosodically weak syllables.

⁴⁸ The capital symbols do not represent archiphonemes or any deep level of abstraction. They merely symbolize that voice distinctions are neutralized in the relevant positions and that choosing to represent each consonant with a voiced or voiceless phoneme would be an arbitrary choice.

Table 6 - Distributions of consonants

	Strong syllable onset	Weak positions (including syllable codas)
m	+	+
ŋ	+	+
j	+	+
r	+ (but rare)	+ (but rare)
f	+	∅
s	+	∅
ʃ	+	∅
tʃ	+	∅
kp	+	∅
p	+	∅
t	+	∅
k	+	∅

	Strong syllable onset	Weak positions (including syllable codas)
n	+	+
w	+	+
l	+	+
ɲ	+	∅
v	+	∅
z	+	∅
h	+ (but rare)	∅
dʒ	+	∅
gb	+	∅
b	+	∅
d	+	∅
g	+	∅

P (no voice contrast)	∅	+
K (no voice contrast)	∅	+

T (no voice contrast)	∅	+
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2.3 Vowels and their distributions

2.3.1 Vowel inventory

2.3.1.1 Oral monophthongs

Kam contrasts eight vowel qualities, with four heights and three degrees of backness: /i, e, ε, ɪ, a, u, o, ɔ/. The functional load of some of the oppositions, viz. between *i* and *ɪ*, *e* and *ε*, and *o* and *ɔ*, is very low and we find only a very limited number of (near-)minimal pairs for these oppositions.⁴⁹ The choice between *i*

⁴⁹ None for *i* vs. *ɪ*; only one minimal pair and two near-minimal pairs for *e* vs. *ε*, and only one near-minimal pair for *o* vs. *ɔ*, see § 742.5 below.

and *i*, *e* and *ɛ*, and *o* and *ɔ* is often but not always predictable once we take into account syllable structure and prosodic strength (cf. § 2.3.2 below). By and large, the two degrees of backness (front and back) are really important, and for most of the lexicon, only three heights have to be distinguished (low, mid and high). As compared to other languages around the world, Kam has an average (minimally five) to large (maximally eight) vowel inventory (cf. Maddieson 2013a). There is no vowel harmony. As in most languages without a roundedness contrast, front vowels and low back vowels are unrounded, while low-mid and higher back vowels are rounded. The following figure gives an idea of the language's vowel space. It is based on data from just one male speaker, Solomon Ahmadu, who is 26 years old and lives in Sarkin Dawa.⁵⁰

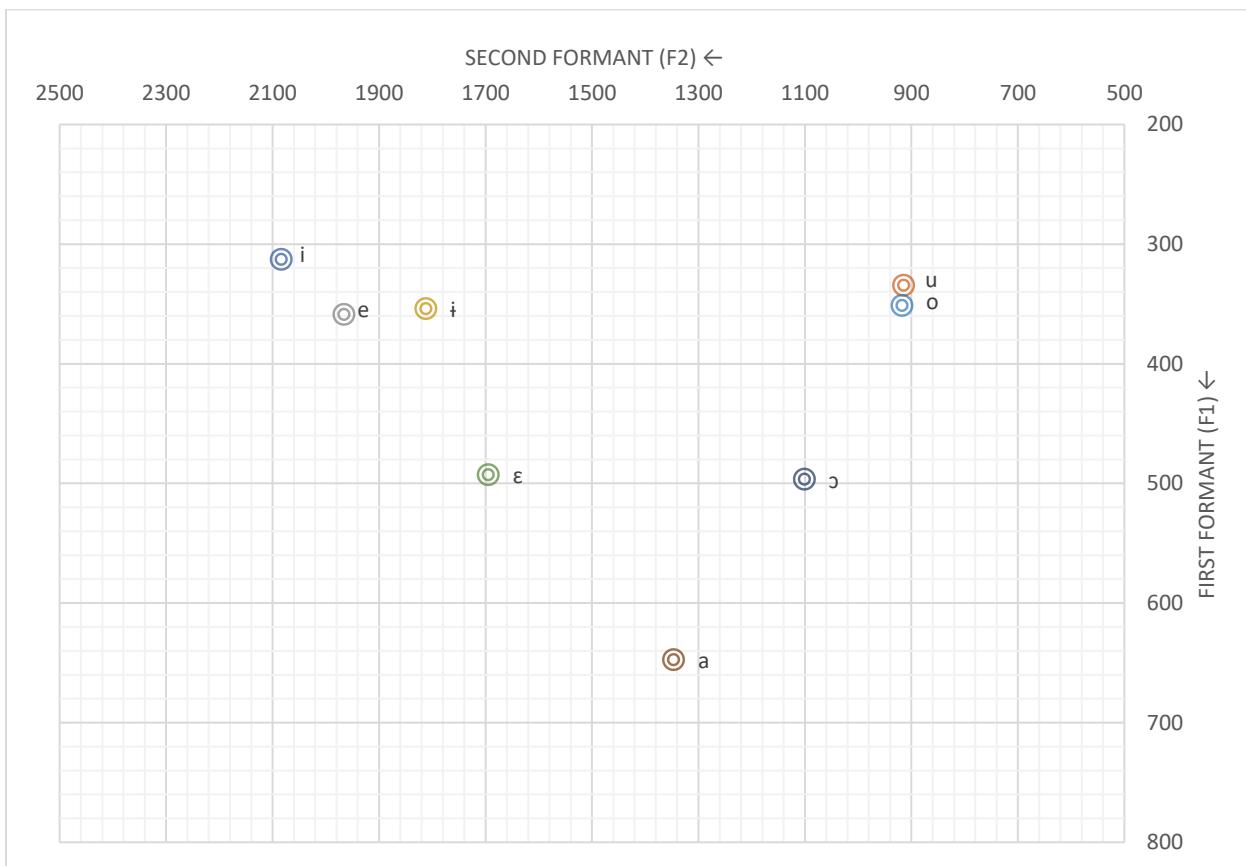


Figure 14 – Preliminary vowel space of Kam

⁵⁰ 46 tokens were used in total. 8 for *ɛ*, 8 for *i*, 7 for *u*, 6 for *o*, 5 for *e*, 4 for *i*, 4 for *a*, 4 for *ɔ*

2.3.1.2 Nasal monophthongs

There are four phonologically nasal vowels: *ĩ*, *ẽ*, *õ* and *ã*. They are rare in the lexicon, as evidenced by the counts in Table 7. Because the nasal vowels can be considered nasal equivalents of both vowels in the *i-i*, *e-e*, and *o-o* pairs, Table 7 counts the paired vowels together in the relative frequency counts⁵¹.

Table 7 – Counts of oral and nasal vowels in stems

Vowel quality	N of oral attestations	N of nasal attestations	Total
i & ī	248 (97%)	7 (3%)	255
e & ē	130 (92%)	12 (8%)	142
o & õ	137 (95%)	7 (5%)	144
a	423 (97%)	14 (3%)	437
Total	938 (96%)	40 (4%)	978

As is cross-linguistically common, the quality of high nasal vowels is often perceived lower and that of low nasal vowels as higher than their non-nasal counterparts (Beddor 1993: 187, 188). As a result of this, the contrast between *ĩ* and *ẽ* is usually blurred in phonological contexts where the *ẽ* is raised because of surrounding consonants (cf. § 6.3.1). [ẽ] and [ĩ] appear in free variation in such cases. In my data there is, however, still a minimal pair contrasting *ĩ* and *ẽ* in such a position: [n̩ʃé] ‘tendon’ vs. [n̩ʃí] ‘bow’. This serves as an example of how phonological relationships may exist somewhere in between phonemic and allophonic and how a segment can be marginally distinctive in a language.

⁵¹ After a nasal consonant, all vowels are sometimes nasal. This may be a phonotactic restriction or a phonological rule. I have observed different realizations of such vowels, both nasal(ized) and non-nasal(ized). This has not been a focus of my research and I do not take them into account in the current analysis. I plan to check nasal vowels and possible instances of nasalization in future work on Kam. New observations and their implications for other parts of this grammar will be taken into account in subsequent versions of this grammar.

I do not provide a vowel space for nasal vowels as I have done for oral vowels in Figure 14. Formant values obtained for nasal vowels are not comparable to those for oral vowels due to interactions with other acoustic factors. Instead, Figure 15 gives the approximate position of nasal vowels on a vowel diagram.

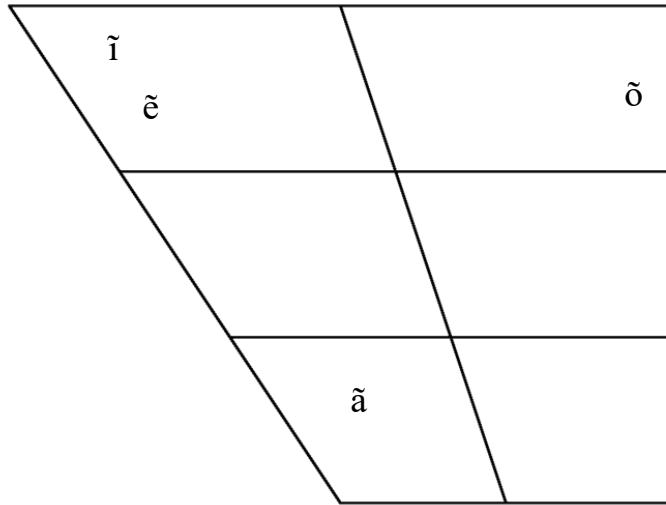


Figure 15 - Nasal vowels

2.3.1.3 Vowel length

All native lexical items in Kam derive their vowel length from the combination of two short vowels.

When two same-quality vowels meet, the result is typically one long vowel. Such vowels are, however, in free variation with short vowels. Where the result is a long vowel, this can lead to contrasts and near-minimal pairs.

- (4) àfí ‘child’ + ígbàn ‘female’ → /àfíígbàn/ or /àfíígbàn/ ‘daughter, girl, girlfriend’
vs. àfí ‘child’ + àgbàn ‘wife’ → /àfígbàn/ ‘wife’s daughter’
- (5) ní ‘thing’ + íjò ‘hot’ → /nííjò/ ‘living being’
vs. njíří ‘snake’
- (6) zá ‘side’ + ágbàn ‘female’ → /záágbàn/ ‘left side’

This is the only regular situation in which vowel length is contrastive. A possible exception, where vowel length is lexically specified, is the long vowel *i*: in *àlámí:s* ‘Thursday’, a borrowing, likely from Hausa (‘Alhamis – originally from Arabic *yoom al-khamiis* ‘Thursday’).

2.3.1.4 Diphthongs

Most diphthongs in Kam result from an optional diphthongization of *e*, *ɛ*, *i*, *ɔ* and *ə* in prosodically strong positions (cf. § 4.2.8, § 6.2.2.1). A few special cases need to be mentioned here, however.

The occurrence of [iɛ] is generally predictable as an allophone of /ɛ/ (cf. § 6.2.2.1). In one noun, however, it does not alternate with either [ɛ] or [i]. *àlîè* ‘armband’ is always pronounced [àlîɛ], and as such forms a minimal pair with the noun *àlè* ‘cave’, which can be pronounced either [àlîɛ] or [àlè]. In *àlîè*, /iɛ/ may thus be considered a phonological diphthong. It is possible that the /lîɛ/ sequence here is the result of a recent merger of two CV syllables (i.e. *lì* + *jè*).

Kam allows three types of Vj-sequences within one syllable: /ɔj/, /ɛj/ and /ãj/.

My decision to analyze these as Vj sequences and not as diphthongs is an analytical decision to keep the phoneme inventory as simple as possible. Alternatively, an analysis where they are regarded as diphthongs is currently also possible. More research is needed to establish whether they can in fact be analyzed as true diphthongs or not, e.g. by testing whether the second vowel can be realized as an approximant.

In the currently collected lexicon of approximately 1,550 entries, there is only one stem with /ɔj/, there are thirteen stems with /ɛj/, and there are six stems with /ãj/ in the data.

- (7) **sɔj** ‘iron’
 vs. -sí ‘causative suffix’
 vs. sɛ ‘(not) until’
 vs. sá ‘monkey’
 vs. sù ‘section of an ethnic group’
 vs. tàsò ‘dish’

- (8) **ʈʂj** ‘jerboa’
 vs. **àʈʃí** ‘child’
 vs. **ká⁺ʈʃírí** ‘hedgehog’ (alternative pronunciation: /ká⁺ʈʃírí/)
 vs. **ɳʈʃí** ‘bow’
 vs. **ʈʃè** ‘guinea corn’
 vs. **àʈʃé** ‘war’
 vs. **ʈʃù** ‘maternal uncle’
 vs. **ɳʈʃò** ‘coco yam’
 vs. **ábēʈʃà** ‘blue’
 vs. **ɳʈʃà** ‘star’

jí mfó⁺ **séj** ‘clan, sp.’
 vs. **sé** ‘(not) until’
 vs. **àsé** ‘tail’
 vs. lá?ásó^L ‘alligator’

- (9) **káj** ‘falcon’
 vs. **kùrikâ** ‘God’
 vs. **kí** ‘instrumental preposition’
 vs. **kú** ‘magic’
 vs. **ko**⁵² ‘to clap’
 vs. **àtáké** ‘person name’
 vs. **kô** ‘that (far) place’
 vs. **kã** ‘this (near) place’
 vs. **kà** ‘to break (something long)’

ʈʃintãj ‘twin’
 vs. **ɳmgbètè** ‘pouched rat’
 vs. **ɳkòngòró** ‘person name’

⁵² Tone is uncertain.

In a similar fashion, Kam allows /aw/ sequences (pronounced as [əw], cf. § 6.3.4). These can, at this point, in principle be analyzed as diphthongs, but since they are so rare, I did not include them in the phoneme inventory. They are considered VC sequences here.

- (10) /gàw/ ‘ribs’
- vs. gè ‘what?’
- vs. gó ‘guest’
- vs. gá ‘trap’

2.3.2 Distributions of vowels in syllables and prosodic positions

The following table illustrates the syllabic and prosodic positions in which each vowel phoneme occurs. All vowel phonemes occur in prosodically strong open syllables, where they are maximally contrastive. Only six vowels are contrastive in prosodically weak CV-syllables. Of those, o only contrasts with ɔ in a specific pair that is illustrated in § 2.5.1.4. In prosodically weak positions the opposition between [ɛ] and [e] is neutralized after some consonants and [i] occurs in free variation with [ɪ], which is not the case in prosodically strong positions (cf. § 4.2.7). These are but two examples of many contrasts that are neutralized in prosodically weak positions. In closed syllables, even in strong position, many contrasts are similarly neutralized, including the distinction between [o] and [ɔ] – only [ɔ] occurs here. Notably, /ã/ occurs as the only nasal vowel in closed syllables, but only before /j/, where it is realized as [ẽ] (cf. example (9) above). /i/, /u/ and /a/ are maximally contrastive and have the highest functional load of all vowel phonemes, occurring in all possible environments, including V-syllables and VN-syllables.

Table 8 - Syllabic and prosodic positions of vowels

	Strong CV syllables	Weak CV syllables	CVC syllables	V/VN syllables
u	+	+	+	+
a	+	+	+	+
i	+	+	+ (except after <i>l, j, y, dʒ, f, v, t, n</i> where <i>i</i> dominates with some free variation with <i>i</i>)	+
e	+	+ (except after <i>P, K, m, n, r, l, j</i> where <i>e</i> dominates with some free variation with <i>e</i>)	+	∅
ɔ	+	+	+	∅
o	+	+	∅	∅
ã	+	∅	+	∅
e	+	only following <i>P, K, m, n, r, l, j</i>	∅	∅
i	+	free variation with <i>i</i>	only following <i>l, j, y, dʒ, f, v, t, n</i>	free variation with <i>i</i>
iē	+	∅	∅	∅
ē	+	∅	∅	∅
ī	+	∅	∅	∅
ō	+	∅	∅	∅

2.4 Evidence for contrasts: consonants

In the following survey of evidence for consonantal contrasts, minimal pairs, near-minimal pairs, and similar contexts are provided to illustrate the phonological status of each phoneme. Near-minimal pairs where the only confounding factor is a different tonal pattern are taken as near-equivalent to minimal pairs. These are provided without any comment. In other cases, where no minimal pairs are available, this is noted.

2.4.1 Manner of articulation contrasts

2.4.1.1 Voiceless stops and affricates p, kp, k, t, tʃ

Minimal pairs with /kp/ are sometimes difficult to find due to the relative infrequency of this phoneme. For the /p/ vs. /tʃ/ contrast no (near-)minimal pairs were found.

Table 9 - Contrasts: voiceless stops and affricates

	p	kp	k	t
kp	p̩ej 'axe' kp̩ejm̩i 'twenty'			
k	ápú 'bag' ákú 'cobra'	kpá́t 'to rain' ká́t 'to accompany'		
t	pà́k 'kitchen' ták 'to lay'	ákpá́t 'near' átáßí 'fish'	àkà́t 'ear' àtát 'stone'	
tʃ	àpà? àbàŋ 'beer kitchen' àtʃág'bàn 'younger sister'	kpá́p 'to mix' tʃá́p 'to knead'	kú 'snake, sp.' tʃú 'maternal uncle'	ńtóŋ 'mountain' ńtʃóŋ 'pig'

2.4.1.2 Voiced stops and affricates b, gb, g, d, dʒ

Table 10 - Contrasts: Voiced stops and affricates

	b	gb	g	d
gb	àbák 'knife' àgbák 'stool'			
g	àbák 'knife' àgák 'branch'	àgbák 'stool' àgák 'branch'		
d	àbè́t 'egg' àdè́t 'belly'	àgbé́t 'neck' àdè́t 'belly'	àgòm 'forehead' àdóm 'beard'	
dʒ	àbòk 'leg' àdʒòk 'ant, sp.'	gbèrí 'to scratch' dʒèrí 'to look'	gúp 'to chase' dʒùp 'six'	àdóm 'beard' àdʒón 'saliva'

2.4.1.3 Nasals m, ñ, n, n̄

No minimal pairs were found for the contrast between /ŋ/ and /n̄/.

Table 11 - Contrasts: Nasals

	m	ŋ	n̄
ŋ	ñfóm ‘hoe’ ñfóŋ ‘pig’		
n̄	àmí ‘dew’ àní ‘arm’	àŋámtí ‘yawn’ àŋá ‘person:REL’	
n̄	àwám ‘evil person’ àwàn ‘king’	àgbáŋ ‘chin’ àgbàn ‘wife’	àŋá ‘person:REL’ àná ‘day’

2.4.1.4 Voiceless fricatives f, s, ſ, h

No minimal pairs for the opposition between /f/ and /h/ were found.

Table 12 - Contrasts: Voiceless fricatives

	f	s	ſ
s	fét ‘to clean’ sét ‘room’		
ſ	àfíp ‘calf’ àſíp ‘shit’	sák ‘basket’ ſák ‘to laugh’	
h	fát ‘to wrap’ hár ‘(not) until’	sát ‘to comb’ hár ‘(not) until’	ſák ‘laugh, n.’ hár ‘(not) until’

2.4.1.5 Voiced fricatives v and z

vél ‘to twist’ vs. zél ‘to take from fire’

2.4.1.6 Approximants w, j, lateral approximant l, and tap r

No (near-)minimal pairs were found for the opposition between /w/ and /r/ because of the rarity of /r/ (cf. § 2.2.1). No minimal pairs were found for the distinction between /l/ and /r/, but a near-minimal pair was found.

Table 13 - Contrasts: Approximants and the tap

	w	j	l
j	àwáří ‘noise’ àjáří ‘width’		
l	wùbíří ‘to pour’ lùbíří ‘to remove’	ják ‘to carry’ lák ‘to lick’	
f	n/a	jí ‘question marker’ -ří ‘iterative suffix’	àlříb á ‘this head’ àří bá ‘like this’

2.4.2 Place of articulation and voicing contrasts

2.4.2.1 Labials p, b, kp, gb, m and w

No minimal pairs were found for the opposition between /p/ and /m/ and for the contrast between /kp/ and /m/.

Table 14 - Contrasts: Labials

	p	b	kp	gb	m
b	ápú ‘bag’ àbù ‘tree, sp.’				
kp	péj ‘axe’ kpějmí ‘twenty’	bò ‘ten’ kpò ‘body’			
gb	popsí ‘to press together’ gbòrù ‘stream’	àbák ‘branch’ àgbák ‘stool’	àkpèp ‘shoulder’ àgbèt ‘neck’		
m	pè ‘to come’ mènsí ‘to scatter’	àbì ‘soil’ àmí ‘dew’	kpètí ‘to tire’ mènsí ‘to scatter’	gbèt ‘to remove’ mèt ‘to swallow’	
w	ápú ‘bag’ àwù ‘seed’	àbù ‘tree, sp.’ àwù ‘seed’	kpò ‘body’ wō ‘dog’	àgbàn ‘wife’ àwàn ‘king’	màri ‘river’ wàri ‘to dream’

2.4.2.2 Labiodentals f and v

- (11) àfàm ‘meat’
àvàm ‘clay’

2.4.2.3 Palatals p̪ and j̪

- (12) p̪ép̪ ‘go’
j̪ép̪ ‘fry’

2.4.2.4 Alveolars t, d, n, r̪, s, z, l̪

Only near-minimal pairs were found for the distinction between /z/ and /r̪/.

Table 15 - Contrasts: Alveolars

	t	d	n	r̪	s	z
d	tép̪ ‘to press’					
	dèp̪ ‘to buy’					
n	túk ‘mortar’	dúk ‘to follow’				
	nùk ‘to have sex’	nùk ‘to have sex’				
r̪	séti ‘to tear’	dík ‘to hiccup’	mán̪ ‘fish, sp.’			
	dʒér̪ ‘to look’	r̪ik ‘emphasis’	márf̪ ‘river’			
s	ntòk ‘penis’	dín ‘to meet’	náp̪ ‘to cut’	kàr̪í ‘to keep’		
	nsòk ‘salt’	sín ‘to do’	sàp̪ ‘to grab’	kàsí ‘to branch’		
z	tùp̪ ‘to press’	dúk ‘to follow’	nùk ‘to have sex’	múrō ‘maize’	sáŋ ‘to go’	
	zùp̪ ‘to steal’	zùk ‘grass’	zùk ‘grass’	zùzó + rí ‘bitter’	zàŋ ‘to wrestle’	
l̪	ték ‘to run’	dók ‘to see’	ním ‘to eat’	àrí bā ‘like this’	sá ‘monkey’	zàŋ ‘to wrestle’
	lèk ‘to hear’	lòk ‘to deliver’	lím ‘to dive’	àlób â ‘this head’	là ‘skin’	láŋ ‘to cook’

2.4.2.5 Postalveolars **tʃ, dʒ, ʃ**

Table 16 - Contrasts: Postalveolars

	ʃ	dʒ
tʃ		
dʒ	tʃöt̄ ‘to throw a spear’ dʒöt̄ ‘to descend’	
ʃ	tʃök̄ ‘earthworm’ ʃök̄ ‘monitor lizard’	dʒak̄ ‘to whisper’ ʃak̄ ‘laugh, n.’

2.4.2.6 Velars k, g, kp, gb, ŋ

No minimal pairs were found for the opposition between /h/ and other consonants, because of its rarity.

Table 17 - Contrasts: Velars and glottal consonants

	k	g	kp	gb	ŋ
g	ŋkùròk̄ ‘throat’ ŋgúròk̄ ‘beetle, sp.’				
kp	kát̄ ‘have’ kpát̄ ‘to rain’	gá ‘trap, n.’ kpá ‘grazing ground’			
gb	àkírák̄ ‘fence’ àgbírák̄ ‘bird, sp.’	àgák̄ ‘branch’ àgbák̄ ‘stool’	kpá ‘wrapper’ gbá ‘flute, sp.’		
ŋ	àdžíkírí ‘armpit’ àdžíŋíří ‘foolish’	àgùm ‘hole’ àwù ‘seed’	kpá ‘wrapper’ ŋjatí ‘to open’	gbàm ‘to sew’ ŋjatí ‘to open’	
h	kát̄ ‘to have’ hár ‘(not) until’	gá ‘trap, n.’ hár ‘(not) until’	kpát̄ ‘to rain’ hár ‘(not) until’	gbàm ‘to sew’ hár ‘(not) until’	ŋjatí ‘to open’ hár ‘(not) until’

2.5 Evidence for contrasts: vowels

In the following survey of evidence for vowel contrasts, minimal pairs, near-minimal pairs, and similar contexts are provided to illustrate the phonological status of each phoneme. Near-minimal pairs where the only confounding factor is a different tonal pattern are taken as near-equivalent to minimal pairs. These are provided without any comment. In other cases, where no minimal pairs are available, this is noted.

2.5.1 Height contrasts

2.5.1.1 High (i, ì, u) vs. low (a)

Table 18 - Contrasts: High and low vowels

i vs. a	ì vs. a	u vs. a
dʒì 'bat'	nìm 'to eat'	būk 'to pinch'
dʒá 'seed'	nám 'buffalo'	bàk 'to stab'

2.5.1.2 High (i, ì, u) vs. high-mid (e, o)

Table 19 - Contrasts: High and high-mid vowels

i vs. e	ì vs. e	u vs. e
àjì 'world'	dí rî 'to be with'	àdʒú 'yam'
àjè 'intestines'	dèrì 'to draw'	àdʒé 'moon'
i vs. o	ì vs. o	u vs. o
jì 'thing'	dí 'to be'	zúrì 'to ululate'
jò 'you (plural)'	dó 'to insult'	zórî 'fish, sp.'

2.5.1.3 High (i, ì, u) vs. low-mid (ɛ, ɔ)

Table 20 - Contrasts: High and low-mid vowels

i vs. ε	ì vs. ε	u vs. ε
àlìp 'head'	kpít 'to brew'	bùntí 'drive'
àlép 'evening'	kpet̚ ⁵³ 'to shiver'	bèntí 'pants'
i vs. ɔ	ì vs. ɔ	u vs. ɔ
àsib 'shit'	bít 'to blow'	àgùm 'hole'
àʃòb 'wind'	bòt 'to go up'	àgòm 'forehead'

2.5.1.4 High-mid (e, o) vs. low-mid (ɛ, ɔ)

These oppositions are fairly feeble, and only surface in some prosodic and syllabic contexts (cf. § 2.2.2). No minimal pairs are found for the opposition between *o* vs. *ɔ*, *e* vs. *ɔ* and *o* vs. *ɛ*.

⁵³ The tone of this verb is uncertain.

Table 21 - Contrasts: High-mid and low-mid vowels

e vs. ε	e vs. ɔ	o vs. ε	o vs. ɔ
dèrí ‘to draw’	ʃèrí ‘to chop’	jórfú ‘flood’	àbò?ò ‘night’
dərī ‘to snore’	ʃɔt ‘to throw a spear’	jèrí ‘to suffice’	abɔ? ú ‘his leg’

2.5.1.5 Low (a) vs. high-mid (e, o)**Table 22 - Contrasts: Low and high-mid vowels**

a vs. e	a vs. o
mā ‘to give you’	kpá ‘wrapper’
mē ‘to give them’	kpò ‘body’

2.5.1.6 Low (a) vs. low-mid (ε, ɔ)**Table 23 - Contrasts: Low and low-mid vowels**

a vs. ε	a vs. ɔ
àbák ‘knife’	ʃàt ‘three’
àbèk ‘jealousy’	ʃɔt ‘to throw a spear’

2.5.2 Backness contrasts

2.5.2.1 Front (i, e, ε) vs. back (u, o, ɔ, a)

Table 24 - Contrasts: Front and back vowels

i vs. u	e vs. u	ε vs. u
àbì ‘soil’ àbù ‘mahogany tree’	àdʒé ‘moon’ àdʒú ‘yam’	bèntí ‘pants’ bùntí ‘to drive’
i vs. o	e vs. o	ε vs. o
jì ‘thing’ jò ‘2PL’	mē ‘to give them’ mō ‘to give him’	jórú ‘flood’ jèrí ‘to suffice’
i vs. ɔ	e vs. ɔ	ε vs. ɔ
àʃíp ‘shit’ àʃɔp ‘wind’	ʃèrí ‘to chop’ ʃɔr ‘to throw a spear’	àʃé́t ‘fear, n.’ àʃɔ́t ‘bee’
i vs. a	e vs. a	ε vs. a
àpjí ‘person’ àpná ‘person:REL’	mē ‘to give them’ mā ‘to give you’	àbék ‘jealousy’ àbák ‘knife’

2.5.2.2 Front (i, e, ε) vs. central (ɨ)

The distinction between *i* and *ɨ* is difficult to illustrate. In many cases, they are in free variation (cf. chapters 3, 5 and 6), but in some prosodically strong positions, such as the base of a reduplication, *i* cannot alternate with *ɨ*. In such positions, *i* contrasts with other instances where free variation between *i* and *ɨ* is possible in similar segmental contexts.

Table 25 - Contrasts: Front and central vowels

i vs. ɨ	e vs. ɨ	ε vs. ɨ
pìpírī ‘astringent’ mìpírī ‘goat’	dèrī ‘to draw’ dí rí ‘to be with’	àdég ‘disease’ àdíg ‘hiccup, n.’

2.5.2.3 Back (u, o, ɔ, a) vs. central (i)

Table 26 - Contrasts: Back and central vowels

u vs. i	o vs. i	ɔ vs. i	a vs. i
kú ‘magic, sp.’	dó ‘insult, v.’	bòt ‘to go up’	nám ‘buffalo’
kí ‘INSTR’	dí ‘be, exist’	bít ‘to blow’	ním ‘to eat’

2.5.3 Diphthong iɛ̃

The following examples illustrate contrasts with iɛ̃.

- (13) àlīɛ̃ ‘armband’
vs. i: àmálí ‘flower’
vs. u: lù ‘to sleep’
vs. e: àlè ‘fire’
vs. ē: àlē ‘cave’
vs. o: kpòólò ‘bath, noun’
vs. ò: álò ‘sling, noun’
vs. a: là ‘skin’

Because iɛ̃ has only been attested in one noun, contrasts with ɪ, i, ε, ɔ and ə cannot be illustrated.

2.5.4 Nasality contrasts

Nasal vowels are very rare in the lexicon (see § 2.3.1.2).

Due to positional constraints with nasal vowels, only minimal pairs with high vowels, high-mid vowels, and the low vowel a are fairly easy to come by. For the /o/ vs. /ɔ/ contrast, however, only a near-minimal pair was found. For contrasts between nasal vowels and low-central vowels, only near-minimal pairs and similar environments could be found.

Table 27 - Contrasts: Nasal vowels

i vs. ï àŷí ‘child’ nŷí ‘bow’	e vs. ē àdžé ‘trousers’ àdžé ‘shea tree’	o vs. ò bò ‘ten’ àbò ‘day after tomorrow’	a vs. ă sá ‘monkey’ să ‘to roof’
i vs. ï sébí ‘thorn’ bí ‘one’	e vs. ē dʒē ‘FOC’ àdžé ‘shea tree’	ɔ vs. ò ŋmkpó ^t kírog ‘tree, sp.’ àkpó kpéjmí ‘four hundred’	

2.6 Orthography decisions

In the remainder of this thesis, I have only distinguished fully contrastive sounds, unless where phonological analyses required more detail, especially in the chapters on phonology. In all cases, I used IPA symbols.

I write alveolar taps /ɾ/ as <r> in the non-phonological parts of this grammar.

I write prepausal and pre-vocalic stops that neutralize the feature voice (previously indicated as *P*, *T* and *K*) as their voiced stop (or tap) counterparts *b*, *r* and *g*. Thus, ‘to count’ pronounced as [tēp̚] before a pause is written as <tēb>, ‘the outside of the belly’ pronounced as [àdèt̚] before a pause is written as <àdèr>, and ‘disease’ pronounced as [àdék̚] before a pause is written as <àdég>. When such stops occur before a consonant, their voice value depends on this following consonant. In such cases, I write the stop how it is realized (hence I write *bòb* ‘to come out’, but *bòpsí* ‘to take out’).

Bilabial approximants [β] and glottal stops [?], which are predictable from prosodic information, are written with the symbol of their voiced stop counterparts *b* and *g* respectively. The presentative demonstrative [βɛ] is written as <bē>, [àtáβʃ] ‘fish’ as <àtábí>, and [kpá?árák̚] ‘tilapia’ as <kpágárág>.

The labial-velar nasal [ŋm̚] only occurs before labial-velar stops. It can be considered as an allophone of any other nasal. It is represented in the orthography as <m> in the remainder of this grammar (cf. § 6.1.2).

In chapters on phonology, I represent /i/ with its IPA symbol <i>. In other chapters, I replace it with the schwa symbol <ə>.

Where [ē] and [í] are in free variation, they are represented as <ē> (or as <e> when the nasality is predictable). Where only [í] occurs, and there is no free variation, it is written as <í>.

I write H tones with an acute accent, as in <á>, L tones with a grave accent <à> and M tones with a macron <ā>. I represent HL tones with a circumflex <â>, LH tones with a caron <ă>, HM tones with an acute-macron accent <â> and ML tones with a macron-grave accent <ā>. Tones are written as realized after the application of the tone rules. Where helpful, I provide the lexical tones on a second tier of examples, as illustrated in § 3.1 below.

Since I do not apply a concept of *word* in this description, the orthography does not reflect any analysis of wordhood of particular elements. Morphemes are usually written as separate orthographic words, even if they are considered morphosyntactically or phonologically bound. Derivational markers that cannot occur by themselves, however, I write together with the stem they attach to, since they are part of the lexeme they help form. When two markers have merged in the course of history, I write them together. The parts of compounds, which can occur as separate utterances, I write as separate orthographic words.

In the future, I have plans to develop a practical orthography that is more accessible to Kam speakers and caters better for their needs and wishes. That orthography will abandon some IPA conventions in favor of Africanist conventions, such as representing [j] as <y> and [ʃ] as <c>. Other decisions, such as the representation of nasal vowels, how to write tones, and which phonological distinctions to preserve in the orthography, and how, will be discussed with speakers of the language.

3 Tones and tone rules

3.1 Contrasts: L, M, H, LH, HL and HM

Kam is a tonal language where the tone-bearing unit is the syllable. Each syllable in a stretch of discourse gets assigned a pitch (or a combination of pitches) relative to other syllables. There are three contrastive tone levels in Kam: a low, mid and high referred to as L, M and H respectively in the remainder of this text. These can be combined into different combinations of tones in the same syllable, called contour tones. The four contour tones found in Kam utterances are LH, HL, HM and ML. Of these four, ML is always predictable from the surrounding phonological context as a prepausal L tone affected by M tone spread. Only LH, HL and HM are thus contrastive, in that their occurrence is not wholly predictable from the surrounding tones. In Kam, contour tones can appear on heavy syllables (CVC) as well as light syllables (CV), hence why syllables and not morae are the tone-bearing unit.

- (14) kpɔ̊ŋ ‘illiterate person’
- fâg ‘African pike (fish, sp.)’
- kûb ‘reedfish’
- jî⁺zá ‘nine’
- kwî ‘walking stick’
- zâ ‘frog’
- bâ ‘this one, PROX’

In the lexicon, each syllable of a morpheme is specified as carrying a L, M, H, LH, HL or HM tone, except for the final vowel *-i* (cf. § 12.2). *-i* is toneless and always takes the same tone as the preceding syllable. In context, a number of tone rules may apply to these lexical tone patterns, which I describe in § 3.2 below. Furthermore, some constructions have specialized tonal schemes that overwrite the lexical tones of morphemes. I discuss such grammatical tonal marking in the morphosyntax chapters of this grammar. The following example shows the occurrence of each tone in an utterance. The first line represents the surface realization of each morpheme in the utterance. The second line shows the lexical tones and a replacive grammatical tone (indicated with a backslash \). ⁺ marks downstep, ^L indicates a floating low tone.

(15)	rí rí ^L	*kábírí kàbírf\H	rí rì	hì
	NEG.FUT	break\NEG.FUT	NEG.FUT	NEG
‘(Whatever you put in this bag,) (it) will not break.’				
(session_290, David Mark, elicitation)				

Table 28 provides examples contrasting L, M, H level tones as well as LH and HL contour tones. Since a lexical HM tone is only found in the proximal demonstrative *ba*, it is not included in this table. For level tones, it is possible to provide minimal pairs. For contour tones, this is more difficult. This is due in part to their low frequency. LH contours are attested in only three stems (see example (38)). On the surface, HL contours are widely attested but, similar to HM contours, these are often the cause of prepausal H tone spread over an L-tone carrying syllable (cf. § 3.2.1). To illustrate contrasts, I discarded these cases since they are predictable and thus not contrastive. Where they cannot be explained by means of tone spread, HL contours occur in only nine nouns (see example (39)). That it is difficult to find minimal pairs contrasting contour tones with level tones show that these contrasts have a lower functional load. LH and HL are complex combinations of tones rather than units in themselves (see below).

Table 28 - Evidence for tonal contrasts

	L	M	H	LH
M	m̄p̄m ‘rain, n.’ m̄p̄m ‘wing’			
H	wò ‘blood’ wó ‘dog’	àná ‘today’ àná ‘father’		
LH	jnàj ‘crybaby’ kp̄ɔŋ ‘illiterate person’	kpāb ‘to mix’ kp̄ɔŋ ‘illiterate person’	kpáj ‘usually’ kp̄ɔŋ ‘illiterate person’	
HL	kùb ‘become weak’ kûb ‘reedfish’	kpāb ‘mix’ kûb ‘reedfish’	fɔg ‘farm, n.’ kûb ‘reedfish’	kp̄ɔŋ ‘illiterate person’ kûb ‘reedfish’

Kam also features floating low tones, indicated with a superscript ^L and more rarely a floating high tone, written as ^H. A floating tone is a tone that does not belong to any syllable in the lexicon but that follows a syllable without attaching to it. It is only realized when that syllable is not prepausal, where its effects on syllables following the syllable in question can be observed. In example (15) above a floating ^L tone following the negative future morpheme *ri^L* causes downstep of following H tones, a process that lowers the register of these tones by one step – H tones are pronounced lower than preceding H tones and M tones are pronounced lower than preceding M tones. Floating ^H tones occur in only two morphemes, the interrogatives *be^H ... bi* ‘who’ and *ge^H ... gi* ‘what’.

Cross-linguistically, a floating tone is often the remnant of a lost syllable that carried this tone (cf. Lionnet & Hyman 2018: 615-616, 622, 645). While this syllable has been lost, its tone has remained. In the absence of diachronic evidence, such an explanation is also assumed for floating tones in Kam.

Table 29 provides an overview of the positions in which different kinds of level and contour tones can occur. Level tones are not restricted to certain syllable shapes or to prosodically weak or strong positions. M tones occur fairly infrequently as a whole, and appear to be less frequent in weak syllables.

Lexical HL and HM tones only occur in prosodically strong syllables. Where they occur in prosodically weak positions, they are the result of H tone spread on a L or M tone before a pause. The same can be said for the occurrence of all ML contours, which are always the result of a M tone spreading on a prepausal L tone.

Table 29 - Distribution of tones

	Strong syllables	Weak syllables
L	+	+
H	+	+
M	+	+ (rare)
LH	+ (rare)	∅
HL	+	following H tones (due to H-spread on L)
HM	+ (one case)	following H tones (due to H-spread on M)

ML	following M tones (due to M-spread on L)
-----------	---

3.2 Tone rules

3.2.1 H tone spread

A H tone usually spreads onto a following syllable. This happens anywhere, within stems and across all morphemes. H tone spread is in principle optional but occurs almost always. When it occurs, it delinks any following L and M tones, which may cause downstep (§ 3.2.3) or L-tone shift (§ 3.2.4). Occasionally, H tones spread one syllable further.

(16)	sírá	á ⁺ líb
	sírá	àlíb
	hair	head
'head hair'		

(17)	jí	jó	á	bā
	jí	jō	á	bā
	people	PL	PRSTT	PROX:ID
'These are people.'				

Tone spread is blocked by floating L tones, which occur, for example, on possessive indexes and on the existential quantifier *m^L*.

(18)	àfí	bú	á	jō
	àfí	bú-L		jō
	child	3SG-POSS		PL
'his children'				

(19)	jí	mí	sírí	kā,
	jí	mí-L	sírí	kā
	thing	some	be.NEG	COND
'If there is nothing ...'				

If H tone spreads onto a syllable before a pause, the result is a HL or HM contour.

(20)	àléŋ	dág	â
	àléŋ	dág	à
	sun	cool:PFV	PFV
'The sun has cooled down.'			

- (21) àkpó **bí**
 àkpó **bí**
 twenty one
 ‘Twenty’

3.2.2 M tone spread

M tones also spread over following L tone syllables (but not over H tone syllables). Like H tone spread, M tone spread delinks any following non-final L tones. In (23), the M tone spreads beyond the first following syllable, spreading one syllable further, and, since the final syllable is prepausal, the result is a ML contour tone. I occasionally observed such spreading beyond the following syllable, both of H tones and of M tones.

- (22) n̄fá ítár
 n̄fá átár
 star stone
 ‘star of the stone’

- (23) t̄ú ítár
 t̄ú átár
 uncle stone
 ‘uncle of the stone’

3.2.3 Downstep due to delinked L and M tones and floating ^L tones

When H tone spread or M tone spread delinks a L or M tone, the latter are typically pushed rightwards and cause downstep.

- (24) lùbrí i⁺dží fō!
 lùbrí àdží á-fō
 uproot yam ADJ-dry:ADJ
 ‘Uproot (the) cassava!'

- (25) t̄ánj á ⁺jí
 t̄ánj à jí
 finish:PFV PFV stand
 ‘It is finished’

Figure 16 shows a downstepped M tone on *jō* that is pronounced lower than a L tone at the beginning of the utterance. M is downstepped because of a delinked L tone (from *nùj* ‘eye’) due to H tone spread.

- (26) àmí núj ⁺*jō*
 àmí nùj *jō*
 dew eye PL
 ‘teardrops’

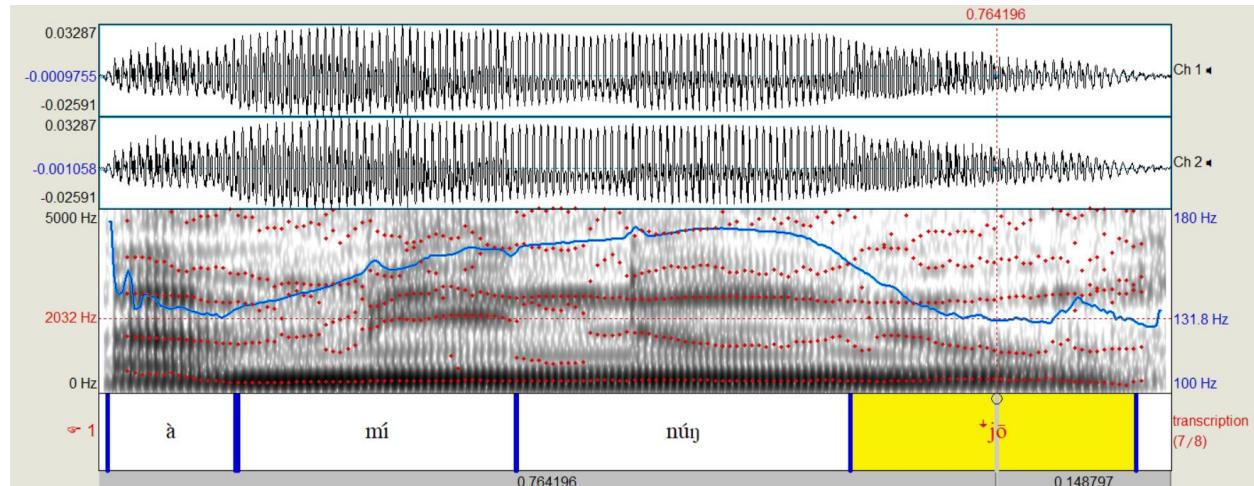


Figure 16 - Downstepped M tone

Floating ^L tones following segmental material (such as possessive pronominals and the existential quantifier *mi^L*) also cause downstep of following tones.

- (27) àŋwà ŋgwóg ím ⁺á
 àŋwà əŋgwóg m^L á
 friend house my COP
 ‘It is my neighbor.’

- (28) àwàn í ⁺dí míŋkìm
 àwàn í^L dí míŋ^Lkìm
 king 3PL-POSS be different
 ‘Their king was different.’
 (session_021, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

(29)	jì	mí	ʳdí	bé	kā
	jì	mí^L	dí	bē	kā
	thing	some	be	PRSTT COND	
				'If there is anything(, tell us.)'	

3.2.4 L-tone and M-tone shift due to H tone spread

Sometimes, a delinked L or M tone does not cause downstep but simply shifts to the next syllable.

In (30), for example, a L tone is delinked from the perfective aspect marker *à* because of a H tone spreading from *wúri* ‘answer’. Because of this delinked L tone, one would expect the following H tone in *iji^L* to be realized as a downstepped ^{ʳH} tone. Instead, the L tone shifts fully to the right, and the first syllable of *iji^L* is realized as L (*iji*) instead of a downstepped ^{ʳH} (^{ʳiji}). It is not clear whether the initial lexical H tone of *iji^L* is deleted.

(30)	àní	mí	ʳwúr	á	iji
	àní	mí^L	wúr	à	iji^L
	person	some	answer:PFV	PFV	QUOT:LOG.SG
				'Someone ⁱ answered that he ⁱ (is the one who opened the window).'	

In (31), the 2SG.S.PFV STAMP-morph *á* is expected to be realized as a downstepped H tone because of the M tone that is delinked from *ba*. Instead, the M tone fully shifts to *á* and is realized with a M tone as *ā*. Again, it is not clear whether the initial lexical H tone of the STAMP-morph *á* is deleted.

(31)	dʒá	bá	á	sín	â
	dʒá	bā	á	sín	à
	reason	REL	2SG.S.PFV	do:PFV	REL
				'The reason why you did it ...'	

I have not investigated what dictates the choice between downstep and tone shift. It may, for example, have something to do with the pitch of the utterance, with the number of downsteps that have already occurred in the intonational phrase, or with personal preference.

3.2.5 Downdrift after L

H tones after L tones are pronounced on a lower pitch than previous H tones. Example (32) is illustrated in Figure 17.

- (32) jìm àwàn jí ñwòm á
 jìm àwàn jí àñwòm á
 1SG.ID king people Kam PRSTT
 'I am the king of Kam.'

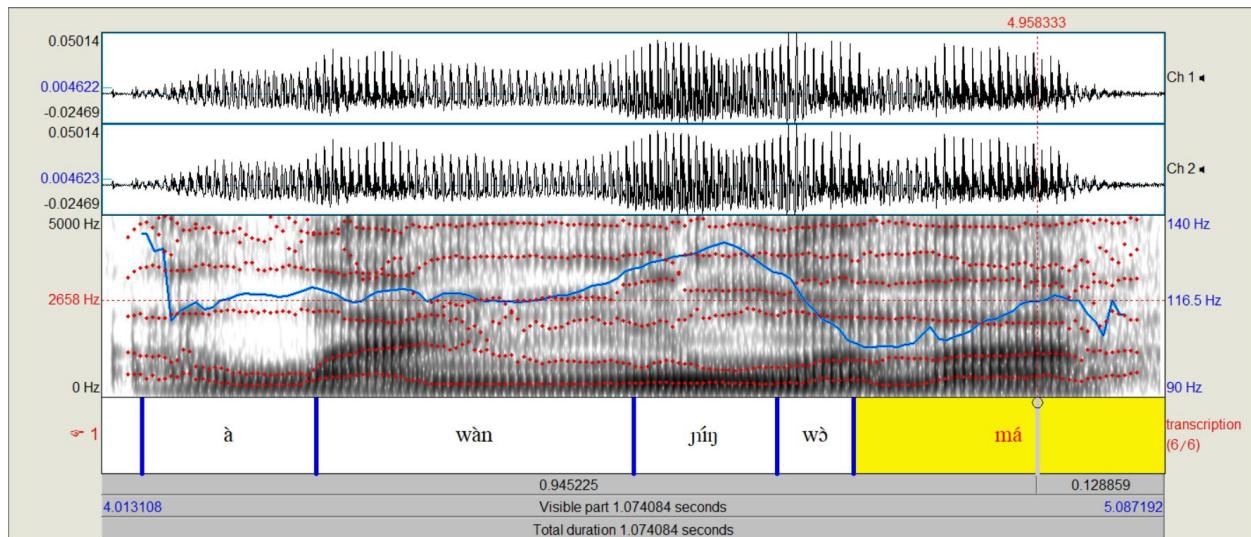


Figure 17 - Downdrift

3.2.6 Phonetic lowering after a succession of L-L

After a succession of two or more L tones, a following L can be phonetically lowered. In (33), I indicate such phonetic lowering with extra low symbols (ä). The final example in (33) is illustrated in Figure 18. I only have controlled examples of this where the lowered tone is also prepausal. As such, this lowering may also be an effect of a boundary L tone.

- (33) [lämìkär] 'earwax'
 [bèr ìʃöb] 'haunted tree'
 [àʃág ñürög] 'horn of elephant'
 [ànùŋ ìbög] 'ankle'

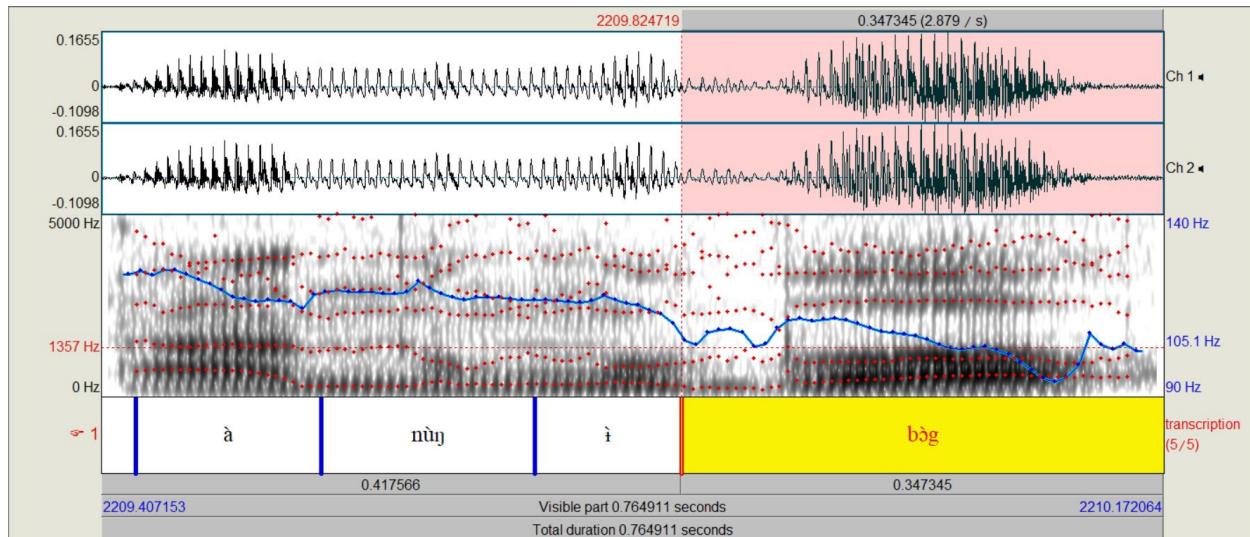


Figure 18 - Phonetic lowering after L-L

3.2.7 M → L/M_#

The following phonological rule is currently unexplained. When two M tones meet before a pause, the second M tone is realized as L. This does not occur everywhere. I have only observed this in two examples from a single elicitation session. Future elicitation should verify this rule and clarify why it operates in some cases and not in others.

- (34) mē ʃū (cf. mē ʃū á bá ‘This is the mother of an uncle.’)
 mē ʃū
 mother uncle
 ‘mother of the uncle.’

- (35) ʃū mè
 ʃū mē
 uncle mother
 ‘uncle of the mother’

3.3 Some internal reconstruction

3.3.1 Two reconstructed tones: L and H

It is useful to take a step back and consider whether one of the three contrasting levels can be historically derived from (combinations of) the other two. And whether contours can be seen as sequences of level tones. Such diachronic hypotheses can help us to understand rules that are seemingly inexplicable on the surface. For Kam, the working assumption is that at an earlier stage of the language, there were only two tones, L and H. M tones as well as contour tones can be derived from just these two tones.

3.3.2 Contour tones as sequences of level tones

Two basic contrastive contour tones are observed: HL and LH.⁵⁴ They consist of two tones and are not units in themselves. They are usually explainable as the result of resyllabification where two syllables merge into a single syllable. Note that H + L sequences can also result in the formation of HL contours by means of prepausal tone spread (cf. § 3.2.1). Resyllabification leading to contour tones is illustrated for LH contours in the following examples. No synchronic examples resulting in HL tones have been observed in the data.

(36)	zùg	+ á ^L -já → [zú ⁺ já]
	grass	ADJ-fresh ‘fresh grass’

(37)	jì	+ á-gbàñ → [niígbàñ]
	person	ADJ-female ‘woman’

There are a few contour tones in my data that are not explainable in this way, since it is not possible to find out whether a syllable has been lost. All of these examples could be lexicalized constructions and contour tones may be historically explainable by means of a similar process of historical resyllabification (cf. also § 6.2.2.2).

(38) Unexplained LH patterns

kpɔ̊ŋ ‘illiterate person’

jí⁺zá ‘nine’

mă ‘to know’

⁵⁴ I do not take into account the sole HM contour tone observed in just one form, the proximal demonstrative/relativizer *ba-*.

(39) **Unexplained HL patterns**

gbê ‘squirrel, sp.’

kûb ‘reedfish’

kùrìkî ‘God’

kwêj ‘mudfish’

kwî ‘walking stick’

pêj ‘axe’

sênsêñ ‘pointed’

fâg ‘african pike (fish)

zâ ‘frog’

bô ‘that, DIST’

3.3.3 M tones derive from LH sequences

In Kam, there are a few reasons to think that the three-tone L-M-H distinction goes back to a L vs. H distinction, and then specifically that M level tones derive from earlier LH contour tones.

One such indication is that M-tones are overall less frequent than L and H tones and are unevenly distributed across different word classes. Table 30 gives a count for M tones in different word classes in Kam. Note that it is only very late in the analysis of Kam (during my final fieldtrip) that I realized that M tones are distinctive. I did not have the opportunity to recheck all the items in my lexical database for the presence of a M tone. I included those stems that have not yet been checked for a possible M tone in the frequency counts. Some of those stems will turn out to have a M tone, some will turn out to have a H or L tone. Adjectives are not taken into account, since they are always morphologically complex, either synchronically or historically (cf. § 7.5).

Table 30 – Counts of stems with M tones vs. other tones

	M	Possible M	L	H	Total
Nominal stems	27 (4%)	25 (4%)	336 (55%)	224 (37%)	612
Verbal stems	4 (3%)	40 (28%)	76 (54%)	21 (15%)	141
Other	15 (9%)	58 (34%)	56 (32%)	44 (25%)	173
Total	46 (5%)	123 (13%)	468 (51%)	289 (31%)	926

M tones seem to appear very rarely in nouns. Possibly (given the ‘possible M’ counts) they occur more in verbs. They occur significantly more in ‘other’ elements, such as grammatical markers and adverbs. A possible explanation for the potentially skewed distribution with verbs is that verbal stems have historically

incorporated suffixes into current verb stems that used to be verb extensions. The original stems, then, would have had a L tone, and the extensions would have featured a H tone (as is usually the case with synchronic suffixes). When the suffixes were incorporated in and merged with the stem, the resulting L-H contour was simplified to a M tone. A similar explanation can be given for the skewed distribution in grammatical markers – which are often the target of shortening in historical processes – and in adverbs, which often appear historically complex, but cannot be synchronically segmented into parts in Kam.

Another reason to believe that LH contours and M tones are historically related is that in the surface realizations there is a big disparity between the frequencies of HL contours, which are fairly frequent, and LH contours, which are very rare. They occur in just three lexemes (38) and elsewhere, where they are the result of hiatus involving a L and a H syllable, they are often simplified (cf. (4)).

Thirdly, some instances of L + H syllables merging into one syllable with an M tone can be observed. The L-tone verb *mà* ‘give’, for example, has forms where different (H-tone) object indexes are phonologically fused to the verb. As the L syllables merge with the H syllables, the merged tones result in a M tone rather than a LH contour.

(40)	<i>mà</i>	+	<i>mí</i>	→	<i>mām</i>
	give		1SG.O		give:1SG.O
‘give it to me!’					

(41)	<i>mà</i>	+	<i>á</i>	→	<i>mā</i>
	give		2SG.O		give:2SG.O
‘give it to you!’					

(42)	<i>mà</i>	+	<i>ú</i>	→	<i>mō</i>
	give		3SG		give:3SG
‘give it to him!’					

(43)	<i>mà</i>	+	<i>í</i>	→	<i>mē</i>
	give		3PL		give:3PL
‘give it to them!’					

4 Prosodic prominence

Syllables in a stretch of discourse in Kam can be prosodically prominent or prosodically weak. Such prominence is comparable to stress in many other languages. It goes together with a number of phonetic and phonological characteristics and understanding the prosodic structure of stems is essential to understanding the segmental phonology of Kam.

In § 4.1, the notions of prosodic prominence and prosodic stems are introduced. § 4.2 describes the phonetic and phonological characteristics of prosodically strong and prosodically weak syllables. A summary of where strong and weak syllables are found in the lexicon is also provided. Partial reduplication is analyzed as a special case of a construction where prominence asymmetries are realized in other ways than elsewhere in the language. In § 4.3.3, I give an overview of lexemes that are comprised of just one morphological stem but more than one prosodic stem.

4.1 Introduction: Prosodic prominence and stem structure in Kam

4.1.1 Prosodic prominence and ‘stress’

Kam utterances are made up of sequences of syllables pronounced with higher and lower prosodic prominence. Prosodic prominence indicates the amount of energy with which a syllable is pronounced. One could say that syllables with higher vs. lower prosodic prominence in Kam are the equivalent of stressed vs. unstressed syllables in a language such as English. Prosodic prominence in Kam does not indicate exactly the same idea stress does in English, however. Whereas in English, stress may be characterized by a rise in pitch (Ladefoged and Johnson 2014: 250), this is not usually the case for prosodic prominence in Kam, simply because pitch is already controlled by the tonal structure of Kam utterances. Other phonetic and phonological features do correlate with various degrees of prosodic prominence in Kam, however, such as the following. These characteristics and others are discussed and exemplified more elaborately in § 4.2 below.

- a longer duration of (onset) stops, vowels and syllables in general,
- prosodically strong syllables are impressionistically louder than prosodically weak syllables,
- lenis variants of certain consonants only occur in prosodically weak positions; longer or stronger variants of certain vowels only occur in prosodically strong positions (e.g. in the form of optional diphthongization),

- in general, prosodically strong syllables can feature a wider variety of contrasts: some sounds, such as labial-velars and voiceless stops may only occur in prosodically strong syllables,
- when two consonants happen to become adjacent, a consonant in weak position assimilates to a consonant in prosodically strong position,
- free variation between certain sounds in prosodically weak positions that are contrastive in prosodically strong positions,
- underspecification or prespecification of some features in prosodically weaker positions, such as neutralization of the voice feature of stops and height of vowels in the copy part of reduplicated verbs,
- in some cases, prosodically weak syllables can be dropped.

The first two statements are based on impressions and await further measuring. Some are phonetic, such as duration of sounds, loudness, and occurrence of lenis variants of certain consonants. Others are phonological, such as assimilation, free variation of otherwise contrastive sounds and neutralization.

4.1.2 Morphological vs. prosodic stems

The **morphological stem** of a noun, verb, adjective or adverb in Kam is its form stripped of all other synchronically identifiable morphological operations. This also means that a stem features no tonal morphology and comes with its lexical tones. By way of example, the stem of the verb *jísí* ‘to put straight’ is *jí* ‘to stand up’: *jí* is stripped off the replaceive L tone and the *-sí* suffix that turned it into a causative verb (see §12.4).

Sometimes, stems cannot occur by themselves as a separate utterance. *fò*, for example, is not a verb in itself, but is the stem of the attributive adjective *áfò* ‘dry’, which carries the prefix *a^L-* that elsewhere turns verbs into adjectives (§ 7.5).

Morphological structure is not discussed in this chapter, which targets issues related to phonology and does not go deeper into many morphosyntactic issues. Chapters 7 and 12 deal with the morphological makeup of different word classes in their respective sections.

A term related to, but not identical to morphological stem is **prosodic stem**. A prosodic stem consists of a strong syllable and all the prosodically weak syllables that follow it. In other words, a prosodic stem is a unit that runs from the beginning of one prosodically strong syllable to the beginning of the next one. There is a conceptual parallel between prosodic stems and morphological stems in the sense that in both cases the stem is a basic unit to which weaker or dependent items (such as affixes) attach. A prosodic stem typically coincides with the morphological stem of a lexeme, for example in many imperative

utterances, where a verb's morphological stem is typically used. Thus, *núŋ* 'drink!' is both a prosodic stem and a morphological stem. At the same time, there are also many cases where morphological stems do not coincide with prosodic stems. Many nouns, for example, feature an initial *à*-segment that is not morphologically segmentable from its stem. In prosodic terms, however, this *à* should be considered a prefix, for reasons that are outlined in § 4.2.9 below. Another notable example is the presentative demonstrative *bē*, which has a prosodically weak variant of [b], namely [β], as its initial segment, but which can occur in many different slots in a sentence and in that sense is morphologically free (cf. § 18.3). The causative derivational suffix *-tí* is an example of a suffix that always needs a verbal host and is not a morphological stem. In prosodic terms, however, it is a strong syllable, since [t] only occurs in prosodically strong positions in Kam. Since the coincidence of prosodic stems with morphological stems is the canonical situation, we could hypothesize that cases deviating from this pattern such as *-tí* are the result of recent or ongoing language change. In this instance, *tí* was probably historically a separate morphological stem as well as a separate prosodic stem. Causative verbs such as */ʃp-tí* 'to make hot, to boil' are probably the result of historical multi-verb constructions with a now defunct verb (or with the current verb *tí* 'to hit').

Prosodic strength is specified in the lexicon for every syllable, in a similar fashion that stress can be specified for every stem in some languages, and in a similar way that tonal patterns are also encoded for stems in Kam.

4.1.3 Stem-initial prominence and stem-final weakening

Prosodic prominence is partly predictable from morphological structure. The first syllable with an onset is usually prosodically prominent in morphological stems, and most morphological stems feature just one prosodic stem. So, the prosodic stem of *ñpírī* 'goat' is *pírī*, the prosodic stem of *àlib* 'head' is *lib*, and the prosodic stem of *kár* 'to accompany' is simply *kár*. This system is in accordance with what has been found for many other languages in the Macro-Sudan belt (cf. § 1.1), where stem-initial prominence is identified as a salient areal phenomenon (Idiatov & Van de Velde 2015; Lionnet & Hyman 2018: 652-655). This initial prominence is also apparent in the fact that in all monosyllabic morphological CVC stems, the onset is prosodically stronger than the coda. This is most clearly shown by (a) the neutralization of voicing contrasts for stops in coda position and by (b) the general positional constraints on consonants and vowels in CVC-syllables. (a) and (b) have been treated to some extent in chapter II. They are treated in more detail and exemplified in § 5.2 below.

Prosodic prominence is not always predictable from the morphological structure of the lexeme alone, since there are many exceptions to the rule that (only) the first CV syllable of a morphological stem is prominent. Some exceptions have already been discussed in the previous paragraph, including the

morphosyntactically independent presentative demonstrative *bɛ̄* that only consists of a prosodically weak syllable and is not a prosodic stem in itself. All other exceptions concern one morphological stem consisting of more than one prosodic peak. It is likely that such instances go back to historically complex morphemes, where the morphological-prosodic stem relationship was more regular. These exceptions are treated in § 4.3.3, following a discussion of the specific characteristics of prosodically prominent and prosodically weak syllables in § 4.2.

Finally, it should be mentioned that partial reduplication constructions behave exceptionally where prosodic prominence and stem structure are concerned. Such constructions are treated separately in § 4.3.2.

4.2 Characteristics of prosodically strong and weak positions

4.2.1 Overview

Prosodically weak positions are characterized by a number of features that set them apart from prosodically strong positions. Table 31 provides an overview of these characteristics and the following paragraphs further discuss each characteristic individually.

Table 31 - Characteristics of prosodically weak and strong syllables

		Prosodically weak positions	Prosodically strong positions
Acoustic	Length (duration)	Shorter (syllables, consonants, vowels)	Longer (syllables, consonants, vowels)
	Loudness (intensity)	Less loud	Louder
Consonants	Direction of assimilation in consonant clusters	Target of assimilation	Trigger of assimilation
	Lenition of stops	Stops are lenited or in free variation with a lenis variant	Stops are not lenited
	Free variation between [l] and [r]	Yes	No
Vowels	Centralization of /i/ and /e/, leading to loss of the contrast between [i], [e] and [ɪ]	Free variation between centralized and non-centralized variants	Usually no centralization. No neutralization.
	Diphthongization	No	Optional
	Dropping or centralization of /a/	Yes	No
Sound inventory	Phoneme inventory	Smaller	Larger
	Complex onsets	No	Yes
	Lexical contour tones	No	Yes

4.2.2 Length (duration)

Prosodically weak syllables are impressionistically shorter. Consonants and vowels in prosodically weak syllables tend to be shorter than those in prosodically strong syllables. Measurements have yet to be provided in future investigations of this property.

Onsetless prosodic prefixes (§ 4.2.9) are a notable exception. When pronounced in isolation in citation speech, these are sometimes lengthened by informants (for example in session_018).

4.2.3 Loudness (intensity)

Prosodically weak syllables generally have lower intensity than the prosodically strong syllables within the same prosodic domain. This feature likewise requires instrumental confirmation.

4.2.4 Direction of assimilation in consonant clusters

Consonants in prosodically weak positions are usually the target of assimilation. Consonants in prosodically strong positions usually trigger assimilation.

Nasals in prosodic prefixes are always homorganic with the following consonant. The same goes for first person singular subject indexes (See § 8.2). This is not always the case for nasal codas, which are not necessarily homorganic. Only a stem-final *n* assimilates to any following consonant. Before labial-velar stops, similarly, *m* becomes a labial-velar nasal. Other stem-final nasals do not assimilate (see also § 6.1.2 and Table 33 on p. 127).

(44) **Homorganic nasals in prosodic prefixes**

m.páŋírí ‘monkey, sp.’

ñ.tén ‘spear, sp.’

ŋ.kóŋ ‘louse’

ŋm.gbètè ‘pouched rat’

án.twàb ‘young’

àŋ.gwóg ‘house’

(45) ***n* assimilates to following consonants**

bén ‘say’ + mām ‘give me’ → [bén̩mám] ‘tell me’

mín ‘thus’ + kā ‘conditional’ → [mín̩kā] ‘if (it) is like that ...’

tán ‘stay’ + pè ‘come’ → [tám̩pè] ‘(they then) stood here’

(46) **Assimilation before labial-velar onsets**

nínnám ‘flesh’ + kpò ‘body’ → [nínnáŋ̩mkpô] ‘flesh of the body’

màn ‘fat’ + gbó?ó ‘shin’ → [máŋ̩mgbó?ó] ‘bone marrow’

(47) **Non-homorganic nasals in nasal codas**

fám.kòn 'sparrow' (unanalyzable noun)

fám-lí 'to feed someone' (cf. *àfám* ‘meat’, possibly with a historical causative suffix)

kòm-sí 'to engage' (kóm ‘to tie’ + -sí ‘causative’ + LH replacive tone)

ŋkám sù 'bladder' (ŋkám ‘under’ + sù ‘navel’)

ìmpúŋ dʒóŋ 'ritual calabash' (ìmpúŋ ‘calabash’ + dʒóŋ ‘magic, sp.’)

jɔŋ.tí 'remove' (cf. -tí suffix)

4.2.5 Lenition of stops

The onset of prosodically weak syllables features lenis variants of bilabial, velar and alveolar stops (see also Table 6 in Chapter 2).

Voicing contrasts are neutralized in this position. The bilabial allophone in this position is the bilabial approximant [β]. The velar stop shows up lenited as the velar approximant [w] or the glottal stop [?]. In the case of the glottal stop, we can speak of debuccalization (cf. Harris 2009). The alveolar stop shows up lenited either as the tap [ɾ] or the lateral approximant [l]. These allophones are generally in free variation, but some speakers prefer [ɾ] in one item and [l] in other items. Different speakers have different preferences. Possibly, there is dialectal variation as well, although this needs to be confirmed.

- (48) séβí ‘thorn, fin’, with alternative pronunciation [sébí]
- átáβí ‘fish’, with alternative pronunciation [átábí]
- báʔí ‘to lower your forehead’, with alternative pronunciations [bāwí] and [bāgí]
- táʔí ‘to happen’, with alternative pronunciations [tāwí] and [tágí]
- míràsà ‘python’, with alternative pronunciation [mìlásà]
- àsfáří ‘wisdom’, with alternative pronunciation [àsfálí]

When [b, g, d] are pronounced instead of the lenis variants, these are also produced with less energy than their prosodically strong counterparts. The following figures give an example of a prosodically strong syllable *ba* in *àrí ba* ‘like this’ and a prosodically weak syllable *bà* in *ní ywàb à* ‘all the people’ from the same elicitation session with the same speaker (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation) in very similar environments. The prosodically strong *b* is almost twice the length (100ms) of the prosodically weak *b* (51ms).

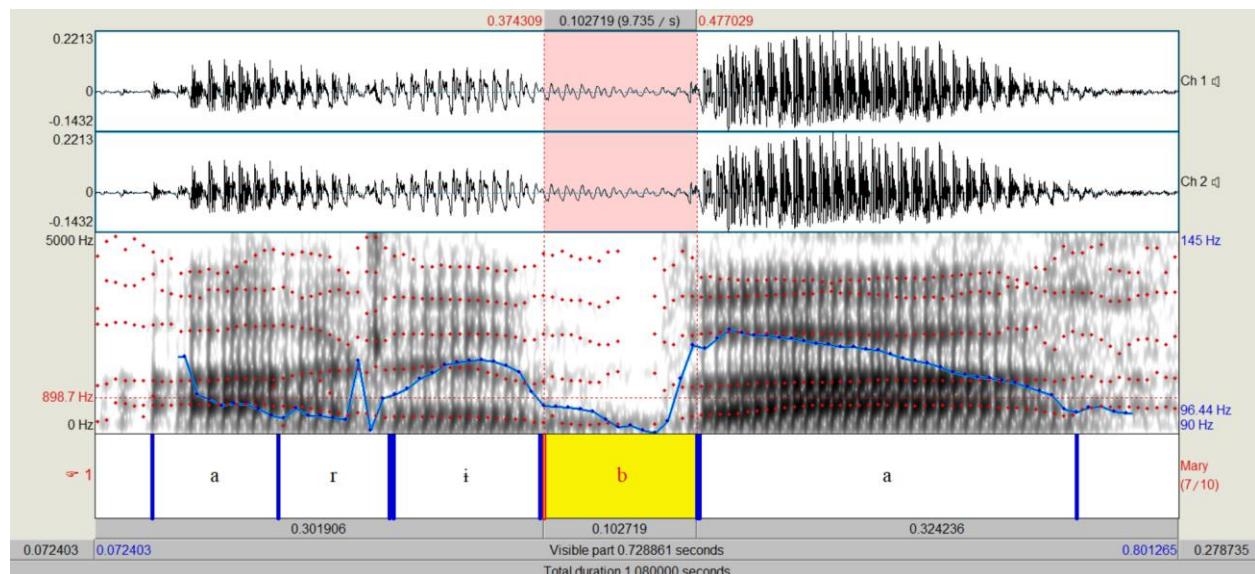


Figure 19 - prosodically strong syllable bá - /b/ takes 100 milliseconds

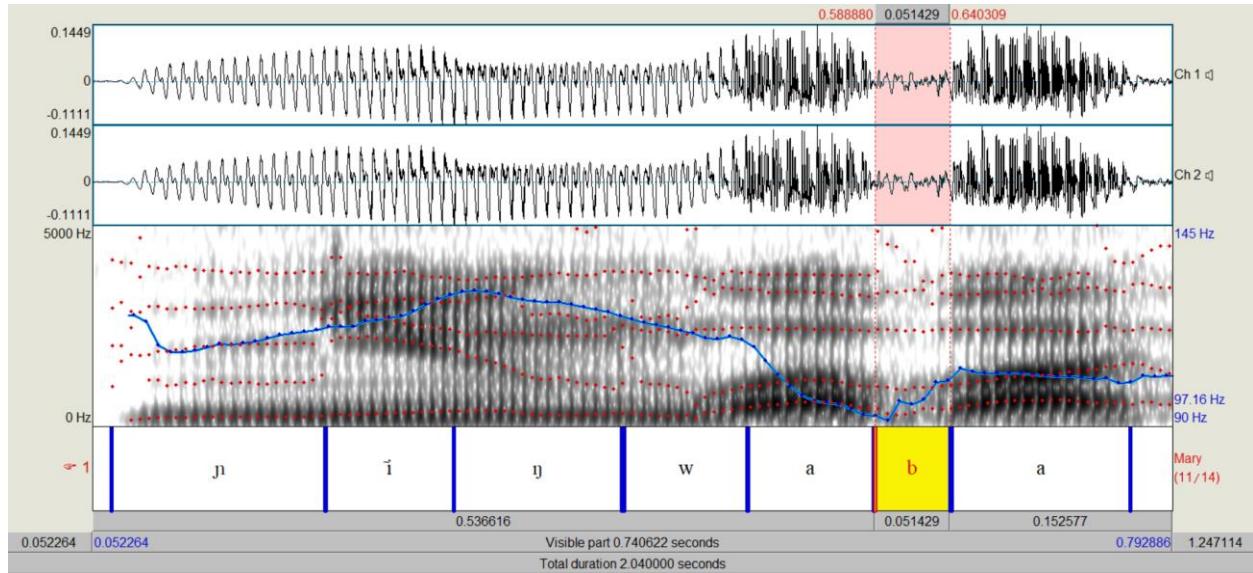


Figure 20 - Prosodically weak syllable bà: /b/ takes 51 milliseconds

4.2.6 Free variation between [r] and [l] in prosodically weak positions

The free variation between [r] and [l] that can be observed in the last two examples of (48) is a characteristic of prosodically weak syllables. It does not occur in prosodically strong positions.

(49) **/r/ and /l/ are not in free variation in prosodically strong positions**

- rí ‘imperative marker’ cannot be pronounced [lí]
- jírák ‘two’ cannot be pronounced [jílák]
- tfè-rí ‘to chop’ cannot be pronounced [tfèlí] (*rí* is a prosodically strong derivational suffix)
- là ‘skin’ cannot be pronounced [rà]
- àlíp ‘head’ cannot be pronounced [àríp]
- àlúlù ‘kneecap’ cannot be pronounced [àlúrù]

In a few lexemes, [r] does not alternate with [l] in prosodically weak positions. In other lexemes, [l] does not alternate with [r]. These exceptions are treated as lexical exceptions. Those cases are listed in § 2.2.1.

4.2.7 Centralization of /i/ and /e/ in prosodically weak positions

The distinctions between /i/ vs. /ɪ/ and /e/ vs. /ɪ/ are lost in prosodically weak syllables. This can be seen as an effect of centralization of /e/ and /i/ in prosodically weak syllables. /i/ is often realized more centrally as [ə] in this position.

(50) **Prosodically weak syllables with [i]**

- séβí ‘thorn, fin’ (alternative pronunciations: séβé, séβí)
- àtáβí ‘fish’ (alternative pronunciations: àtáβé, àtáβí)
- bāʔí ‘to lower your head’ (alternative pronunciations: bāʔé, bāʔí)
- tàʔí ‘to happen’ (alternative pronunciations: tàʔé, tàʔí)
- wòʔí ‘to hide’ (alternative pronunciations: wòʔé, wòʔí)
- kùrìkí ‘God’ (alternative pronunciations: kùrìkí, kùrèkí)

(51) **Prosodically strong syllables with /i/ and /e/**

- àbí ‘song’
- àbè ‘draw soup, sp.’
- tí ‘to hit’
- fé ‘to break (something long)’
- kùptí ‘to kneel down’
- ŋmgbètè ‘pouched rat’
- kùrìkí ‘God’
- ádʒírìkí ‘epilepsy’

This effect is somewhat counteracted in certain environments. The alveolar tap *r* can, for example, progressively or regressively centralize /i/ and /e/, an effect observed in the last two examples of (51). [i] also does not occur in CVC syllables (see § 5.2.2 below).

4.2.8 Optional diphthongization in prosodically strong positions

In a number of environments, specified in § 6.2.2.1, vowels are optionally diphthongized. This only happens in prosodically strong positions.

(52) sisé or [sísíé] ‘adder’

- àlè or [àl̩é] ‘cave’
- m̩pòm or [m̩puòm] ‘rain, n.’
- gó, or [guó] ‘guest, stranger’

4.2.9 Elision or centralization of /a/ in prosodically weak positions

In peripheral prosodically weak positions, that is, syllables at the boundary of prosodic stems, an /a/ can be dropped or centralized to [i]. /a/ is never dropped in prosodically strong positions.

This is most apparent in prosodic *a*-prefixes on nouns. These are centralized to *i* or simply dropped when such nouns do not occur utterance-initially. (53)–(57) exemplify this process. The lexical form of each noun with the *a*-prefix is provided written on the second line of each example. In (53), (54) and (55), *a*- is dropped. In the other examples, *a*- is centralized to *i*. When *a*- has a L tone, this L tone is preserved when *a*- is dropped and causes downstep of the following tones (54) or blocks tone spread if the following tone is L (53).

- (53) mí pé kàptì
 N pè|H àkàptì¹
 1SG.S.PFV come|PFV morning
 ‘I came in the morning.’
 (session_034, Samuel A. Adams, conversation)

- (54) sírá *lìb
 sírá àlìb
 hair head
 ‘head hair’

- (55) àŋgwóg wàn
 àŋgwóg àwàn
 house king
 ‘house of the king’

- (56) ñkùm ìbòg
 ñkùm àbòg
 back foot
 ‘back of the foot’

- (57) àwàn jág i*ŋgwó? á
 àwàn jàg|H àŋgwóg à
 king carry|PFV house PFV

mà	ŋí	bú
mà	àŋí	bú-L
give	son	3SG-POSS

'The king has given the house to his son.'

(Tope_Bitrus_05, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

4.2.10 Larger phoneme inventory in prosodically strong positions

Prosodically strong positions host a higher diversity of phonemes. Onsets of prosodically strong syllables may feature more different consonant phonemes than those of prosodically weak syllables. Prosodically strong syllables similarly feature more different vowel phonemes than prosodically weak syllables. Many contrasts are neutralized in prosodically weak positions, including prosodically weak onsets, the nucleus of prosodically weak syllables and codas in general, which are always prosodically weak (see § 5.2.1 below).

Table 6 in § 2.2.2 shows all twenty-four different consonants that can occur in the onset of prosodically strong syllables. These are exemplified in (58). Note that there are no examples of /h/ occurring in CV-syllables. This is likely due to the very low frequency of this phoneme (§ 2.2.1)

(58) **Consonants in the onset of prosodically strong CV and CVC syllables**

pè ‘to come’	pén ‘to jump’
bō ‘ten’	bèt ‘tree’
tí ‘to hit’	ték ‘to run’
dó ‘to insult’	dèp ‘to buy’
kà ‘to harvest maize’	kím ‘to bite’
gó ‘stranger’	gìn ‘to drum’
mē ‘mother’	mèt ‘to swallow’
nì.gí ‘to stamp’	náp ‘to cut’
pí ‘person’	pàt ‘to drip’
ŋà.tí ‘to open (one’s mouth)’	ŋàn.sí ‘to bend’
rì ‘comitative preposition’	rík ‘emphatic particle’
fà ‘to raise chickens’	fák ‘to close’
và ‘to mix’	vék ‘to die’
sà ‘to roof a building’	sát ‘to comb’
zâ ‘frog’	zàŋ ‘to wrestle’
à.jâ ‘floodplain’	ják ‘to laugh’
/h/: no example	hwát ‘to think’
là ‘skin’	lák ‘to lick’
gé ‘to enter’	jép ‘to fry’
wó ‘dog’	wáp ‘to tie’
tjè ‘guinea corn’	tjém ‘to burn’
àdʒè ‘moon’	dʒip ‘to fence a place’
kpò ‘body’	kpát ‘to rain’
gbá ‘flute, sp.’	gbép ‘to beat’

Only nine different consonants are attested in the onset of prosodically weak syllables (cf. in Table 6 in § 2.2.2):

- (59) ñtímá ‘sheep’
 dʒāŋē ‘to crawl’
 tʃinè ‘teeth gums’
 mìràsà ‘python’
 àfil ú ‘his needle’
 kāj ú ‘his falcon’
 gāw ú ‘his ribs’
 atábí [àtápí] ‘fish’
 bāgī [bāŋí] ‘to lower one’s head’

In prosodically strong open syllables, all eight vowel qualities are attested (cf. Table 8 in § 2.3.2), as well as the four nasal vowels.

- (60) à.bì ‘song’
 kí ‘instrumental preposition’
 sí.sé ‘adder’
 pè ‘to come’
 kpò ‘body’
 gbó.?ó ‘shin’
 tʃū ‘maternal uncle’
 kpà ‘wrapper’
 vĩ ‘pot, sp.’
 ñ.tié ‘war’
 dʒò ‘fly’
 gbá ‘flute, sp.’

The diphthong iɛ is also found in (just) one prosodically strong syllable (à.liɛ ‘armband’, see § 2.3.1.4).

In prosodically weak positions, only six contrasting vowels are attested (cf. Table 8 in § 2.3.2).

- (61) séβí ‘thorn, fin’
 káj ú ‘his falcon’
 mìràsà ‘python’
 àmìrēg ‘nose’
 ìmpírōg ‘rat’
 á⁺bó?órí ‘black’

4.2.11 Complex onsets only occur in prosodically strong positions

Complex onsets are only found in prosodically strong syllables. Examples of this can be found in § 5.5. In § 6.2.2.2, it is argued that wV sequences in syllables with complex onsets could go back to sequences of two vowels that were merged into one syllable. The alternative possibility that wV-syllables should be analyzed as diphthongs is also briefly discussed there. In § 5.5.1, all possible Cw-sequences are given, and in § 6.2.2.2 all possible wV-sequences are given.

4.2.12 Lexical contour tones only occur in prosodically strong positions

Lexical contour tones (i.e. those that are not caused by H tone spread) can only occur in prosodically strong syllables. This is discussed and exemplified in Table 29 in chapter II.

4.3 *Prosodically strong and weak syllables in their morphological contexts*

4.3.1 Overview

Table 32 gives an overview of different types of syllables which can be prosodically strong or prosodically weak, and an indication in which morphological contexts they are found. Examples can be found in the sections referenced in the table.

The morphemes including prosodically strong syllables are all made up of at least one prosodic stem. These include:

- nominal and verbal stems, but also
- the verbal derivational suffixes *-ri'*, *-si'* and *-ti'*,
- all subject indexes except for the first person singular indexes, which are always made up of a homorganic nasal *N*
- prepositions proper such as *kí* ‘INSTR’ and *rì* ‘COM’,
- preverbal tense and aspect markers such as *ri* ‘IPFV’ and *si* ‘SEQ’
- clause-final markers such as *kā* ‘COND’, *rig* ‘NEG.POSS’, *hn* ‘NEG’.

It is likely that some of the grammatical markers in this list have recently grammaticalized from nouns (e.g. through grammaticalization of possessive constructions) or verbs (e.g. through grammaticalization of multi-verb constructions) but have retained the prosodically strong status of their lexical precedents.

The morphemes that do not contain prosodically weak syllables mostly occur following a lexical stem when they are used in utterances. They can be morphologically analyzed as suffixes (when they always occur after items of the same word class, e.g. the verbal extensions) or clitics (when they can occur following items of different word classes, e.g. the conditional *kā*, the negative possessive *rig* and the negator *hn*).

Table 32 - Types of prosodically strong and weak syllables

(Morphemes with) prosodically strong syllables	(Morphemes with) prosodically weak syllables
The first syllable with an onset of morphological stems of nouns ⁵⁵ , verbs, adjectives and adverbs (§ 4.1.3).	Stem-initial vowels, syllabic nasals, and VN-sequences ('prosodic prefixes' on nouns and adjectives, nominal derivation prefixes, subject indexes) (§ 4.2.9)
Non-initial syllables with (obligatory) non-lenited consonants as the onset in (hypothetically) historically complex lexemes, including proper names, compounds and apparent reduplications (§ 4.3.3). Non-initial syllables with an onset, in borrowed lexemes (§ 4.3.3)	Non-initial syllables with (optionally or obligatory) lenited consonants as the onset in many morphological noun, verb, adjective and adverb stems (§ 4.1.3).
Verbal derivational suffixes <i>-ri</i> , <i>-si</i> and <i>-ti</i> (§ 12.4)	CV-syllables including a vocalic grammatical marker such as <i>à</i> 'PFV' (§ 13.5), the inflectional/derivational final vowel <i>-i</i> (§ 12.3.2), <i>i^L</i> '3SG:POSS', <i>i^L</i> '3PL:POSS' (§ 8.4), <i>à</i> 'PROX'. <i>ò</i> 'DIST' (§ 9.2).
Most subject indexes (§ 8.2)	The first person subject indexes <i>N̄</i> and <i>N̄̄</i> (§ 8.2)
Prepositions proper such as <i>kí</i> 'instrumental', <i>rí</i> 'comitative' (§ 11.2.2) Preverbal tense and aspect markers such as <i>rì</i> 'imperfective', <i>si</i> 'sequential' (§ 13.3.1, § 17.4.2) Clause-final particles such as <i>kā</i> 'conditional' (§ 17.4), <i>rīg</i> 'negative possessive' (§ 13.6.2), <i>hn̄</i> 'negator' (§ 13.6.2) The nominal topicalizer <i>dʒē</i> (§ 18.2)	The presentative demonstrative <i>bē</i> (§ 9.2.2, § 18.3), the quotative marker <i>ibl^L/ijl^L</i> (§ 17.6).

4.3.2 Prosodic proclitics: the special case of partial reduplication

Partial reduplication is a productive morphological process in Kam for forming future, experiential perfect and resultative forms of verbs. There are also cases of apparently non-motivated reduplication: some lexemes in the language only exist in a reduplicated form or are found in a reduplicated form most of the time. An overview of the functions of partial reduplication constructions can be found in § 12.5. Partial reduplication is important for this chapter in that it shows a prominence asymmetry between the morphological stem that is used as the base and the copy of that stem. They contrast with other morphemes discussed in this chapter, however, in a few important ways.

⁵⁵ Nominal prepositions are included under nouns here.

Partial reduplications are phonologically exceptional in the following ways:

- a) The most prominent syllable is not the initial but the second syllable of the construction.
- b) The prosodically weaker syllable is characterized by a vowel prespecified for height: it is always a high vowel, either /i/ or /u/. Such dramatic neutralization and marking of prosodic weakness are not featured anywhere else in Kam.
- c) The prosodically weaker syllable in reduplications can feature any onset consonant that elsewhere occurs in prosodically strong syllables.
- d) The coda consonant of the copy of the reduplication assimilates more easily to the onset of the base than is generally the case at other morpheme boundaries. The result of such assimilation is usually a geminated consonant.

Resultative forms of verbs show the following additional characteristics that do not occur in other partial reduplication constructions.

- e) The prosodically more prominent syllable is marked by a higher pitch than usual if the base has a L-H tonal pattern. Such raising is local: following H tones go back to the base level. Measurements have yet to be provided. Higher pitch is used nowhere else to mark prosodically strong syllables.
- f) High vowels in the stronger syllable have more peripheral vowel formants. Their height is slightly more exaggerated. Measurements have yet to be provided. This is used nowhere else to mark prosodically strong syllables.

Characteristics a)-f) show that there clearly is a prominence asymmetry. However, this prominence asymmetry cannot be captured simply in terms of an opposition between prominent and weak syllables as elsewhere in the language. Prosodically weaker syllables in partial reduplications are in some ways stronger than generally prosodically weak syllables (they can feature any consonant in onset position), although they are weaker in other senses (they only feature high vowels and their coda is more prone to assimilation). Extending the ‘morphology is phonology’ metaphor that allows us to speak of ‘prosodic stems’ as opposed to ‘morphological stems’, we could say that the reduplicant in partial reduplications are in between ‘independent’ stems and ‘dependent’ affixes, thus qualifying as prosodic proclitics. It is possible that the phonologically exceptional character of such constructions is partly due to the expressiveness or even sound-symbolic potential of such forms (for example in resultative reduplications, which refer to property concepts, which may become the target of sound-symbolism).

The following examples illustrate some of the characteristics mentioned in a)-f) above. In all of these examples, characteristics (a) and (c) are apparent. They also illustrate the prespecification of vowels in the copy. An *e*, *ɛ*, or *a* becomes an *i*, an *o* or *ɔ* becomes an *u*. Already high vowels remain identical. A few of

the examples show coda assimilation patterns that are not found in other morphemes, such as /m/ assimilating to *l*, *d* assimilating to a *b*, a bilabial stop assimilating to a *g*, and *r* assimilating to *z*. Characteristics (e) and (f) have yet to be confirmed instrumentally. The example with *bùbbòd* ‘to be many’ (resultative) shows that some differences between prosodically strong and prosodically weak syllables are also apparent between the reduplicant (which is weaker) and the base (which is stronger): only the base features optional diphthongization of *ɔ*.

(62)	kpèsí ‘to be smooth’	→ kpìkpé ⁺ sí ‘to be smooth, resultative’
	bòd ‘to increase’	→ bùbbòd or [bùbbwòd] ‘to be many, resultative’
	lèm ‘to be good’	→ lìllèm ‘to be good, resultative’
	gàb ‘to share’	→ gìggàb ‘to be cut, resultative’
	kág ‘to crunch’	→ kíkkág ‘to be crunched, resultative’
	zòrí ‘to be bitter’	→ zùzzóří ‘to be bitter, resultative’
	tùb ‘push’	→ tùttùb ‘to have holes, resultative’

The reduced contrasts in copied syllables is a feature that is found in various other West African languages, such as Nupe (Hyman 1970) and Akan (Wilbur 1974, Marantz 1982) (cf. Lionnet & Hyman 2018: 650; see also Ibirahim 2015).

4.3.3 Lexemes with one morphological stem but multiple prosodic stems

What follows is a list of examples where one morphological stem is made up of different prosodic stems. Only the lists in (63), (64), (65), (70) are exhaustive. Many more examples could be added to the lists in (66), (67), (68), (69).

- Two hypothetically historically complex stems ending in *-kiri*

(63)	àdjíkíří ‘armpit’
	àdíkíří ‘sweat’
	àbén ízükíří ‘proverb’ (àbén means ‘talk’)

- Three hypothetically historically complex stems ending in *-tiri*.

(64) ñṣàtìrì ‘stock’

 ŋkwàtìrì ‘joint’

 àlítírì ‘hawk’

- Two hypothetically historically complex stems ending in *-kwàb*.

(65) àvìràkwàb ‘mud’

 kùrùkwàb ‘bird, sp.’

- Names for fauna and flora and related items, hypothetically historically complex (also in previous examples).

(66) ká⁺tfírì ‘hedgehog’

 pákpagípí ‘giant water bug’

 àbitfè ‘tree, sp.’

 džátfínúŋ ‘fish, sp.’

 kàtfírì ‘weaver ant’

 dùpsā ‘snake, sp.’

 sùrùpáj ‘vulture’

 ŋmgbètè ‘pouched rat’

 là?àtàr ‘fish, sp.’

 àdžírìkì ‘ground beetle, sp.’, also ‘epilepsy’

- Proper names, some historically complex, some borrowed.

(67)	màkpà ‘muslim’
	àkpákánè ‘person name’
	àtáké ‘person name’
	džúrkákí ‘person name’
	kùrìkí ‘God’ (cf. kú ‘magic, sp.’)
	džùrùkí ‘place name’
	kávén ‘person name’
	sòvírí ‘person name’
	dùwásám ‘person name’
	ʃíwántʃà ‘person name’ (cf. àʃì ‘child’ and diminutive marker)

- Official titles and some kinship terminology, some historically complex, some of which may be borrowed from a Central Jukunoid language (cf. § 1.1).

(68)	ʃáŋwádʒè ‘elder daughter of the traditional king’
	ʃóngádʒím ‘junior daughter of the traditional king’
	ʃíkú ‘priest, sp.’ (cf. kú ‘magic, sp.’)
	jákú ‘grandparent or grandchild’, ‘ancestor’ (cf. kú ‘magic, sp.’, ‘cobra’)
	jí ſíríkú ‘clan responsible for magic’ (cf. kú ‘magic, sp.’, ‘cobra’)
	kùkú ‘grandparent or grandchild’, ‘ancestor’ (cf. kú ‘magic, sp.’, ‘cobra’)
	ṁfɔ́kú ‘paternal relative’ (cf. kú ‘magic, sp.’ and ṁfɔ́ ‘forest’, ‘cobra’)
	àbēní ‘traditional king’
	àlásírá ‘white person’ (cf. lá ‘skin’ and sírá ‘hair’ or sìrí ‘negative existential’)

- Other hypothetically historically complex stems with various different prosodically strong endings.

- (69) àfíkpífrág ‘spoon’ (cf. àfí ‘child’, and diminutive morpheme, see § 7.2.1.2)
 kúkwéj ‘stick used for communication across villages’ (cf. kwí ‘walking stick’)
 tídžónj ‘magic, sp.’
 tókpár ‘near, adposition’
 àbétí ‘malice’
 tì?ìtì ‘ice’
 tēptān ‘to stay’
 báptíjónj ‘a person that left’
 kàpírù ‘flint’
 kàpèj ‘cutlass’

- Other borrowings

- (70) tálátà ‘Tuesday’, from Hausa (*talata*) – originally from Arabic *at-talaata* 'Tuesday'
 tálátín ‘thirty’, from Hausa (*talatin*) – originally from Arabic *talaatiin* 'thirty'
 súkò ‘hello’, from a Jukunoid language (cp. Kuteb *súko*, Koops 2007: 301)
 tàsò ‘dish’, from local Hausa (*taso*) – probably originally from Arabic *taasa* ‘bowl’

5 Syllable structure

5.1 *Introduction*

Kam has four main syllable shapes. The most basic ones are open syllables (CV) and closed syllables (CVC). Two minor syllable shapes are (a) monosegmental syllables, which may consist of either a syllabic nasal (N) or a vowel (V) as the sole nucleus, and (b) VN-syllables, consisting of only a vowel and a nasal coda. CV syllables and CVC syllables both have a minor subtype with a complex Cw onset (§ 5.5.1). Just a few examples of complex Cr and NC onset are attested in Kam (§ 5.5.2, § 5.5.3).

In chapter II, overviews are given of the positions each segment can occupy in each syllable shape in both prosodically weak and prosodically strong positions. I revisit these positional constraints here. The possibilities are also illustrated in the current section.

Prosodically strong CV-syllables show no significant constraints on segments. The possibilities are illustrated in § 4.2.10 above. The following issues are treated in the remainder of this chapter:

§ 5.2.1 discusses the constraints on consonants in closed syllables as well as neutralization of voicing contrasts. These are viewed as cases of stem-final weakening.

§ 5.2.2 treats neutralization of some vowel contrasts in closed syllables.

§ 5.3 gives an overview of constraints on segments occurring in monosegmental syllables.

§ 5.4 does the same for VN-syllables.

§ 5.5 considers the few types of complex onsets that have been found in Kam.

5.2 *Constraints on segments in CVC syllables*

5.2.1 Possible codas and neutralization of voicing contrasts

Almost all consonants are attested as the onset of CVC-syllables (cf. § 4.2.10). In coda-position, however, the consonant inventory is reduced to ten consonants. These include three nasals – *m*, *n* and *ŋ* –, three approximants – *j*, *l* and *w* –, the tap *r*, and three stops – *P*, *T* and *K*. Voicing contrasts are neutralized for stops occurring in coda-position. The limited inventory in coda position and reduction of voicing contrasts can be seen as instances of stem-final weakening.

- (71) **fɛm** ‘to burn’
bén ‘to speak’
à.léŋ ‘sun’
ʈʂj ‘jerboa’
àzél ‘granary’
gàw ‘ribs’
hár ‘(not) until’
àlɪb ‘head’
fàd ‘to suck’
àbèg ‘jealousy’

The voicing value of stops in coda position is completely determined by what comes next. The following possibilities are attested. The different combinations are exemplified in Table 33. They are treated in more detail in § 6.1.3.

- If a pause follows, stops are unreleased.
- When a voiced consonant follows, stops may be voiced or may undergo assimilation, depending on the following consonant.
- If the following consonant is voiceless, the coda stop is also voiceless.
- Before palatal consonants (/j, p/), voicing of velar consonants is optional: [g] and [k] are in free variation.
- The velar stop may debuccalize before /m/ and /n/.
- Alveolar taps [ɾ] are preferred to alveolar stops in most positions, except before /m/, /n/, /j/, /v/, /kp/ and /gb/.

The following are just a few examples of what happens. More can be found in § 6.1.3.

- (72) fóg ‘farm’ + ◊ → [fɔ́k̚] ‘farm’
jéP ‘to go’ + fóg ‘farm’ → [jéffɔ́k̚] ‘to go to the farm’
tùP ‘push’ + -sí (applicative) → [tùpsí] ‘to prick, to pierce’

When a lexeme with an initial vowel follows, stops in coda position are resyllabified as the onset of the next syllable. In the same contexts, taps and nasals may be analyzed as ambisyllabic (and are often represented as such by consultants when tapping the rhythm of a lexeme while saying it): they are simultaneously the coda of one syllable and the onset of another. In (73), I indicate ambisyllabic nasals by underlining them.

- (73) à.ʃàg ‘tooth’ + à.dú ‘angle’ → [à.ʃà.?*dú*] ‘molar’
 à.fàm ‘animal’ + àŋ.gwóg ‘house’ → [à.fàmìŋ.gwók]
 à.fàr ‘lung’ + à.fàm ‘animal’ → [à.fàrì.fàm]

Exceptionally, in one noun, *s* is found as a coda consonant: à.là.mî:s ‘Thursday’. This is a borrowing, likely from Hausa (‘*Alhamis* – originally from Arabic *yoom al-khamiis* ‘Thursday’).

5.2.2 Possible vowels in nucleus position

The nucleus of a closed syllable (CVC) can only consist of the vowels /i/, /u/, /a/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/. /ã/ is the only nasal vowel that occurs in closed syllables (cf. § 2.3.2). Contrasts between /i/ and /i/, /ɛ/ and /e/, and /o/ and /ɔ/ are neutralized.

- (74) rîk ‘emphatic particle’
 zùp ‘to steal’
 nàp ‘to cut’
 tèk ‘to run’
 ʃɔk ‘earthworm’
 sùrùpáj ‘vulture’
 pjáw ‘proper name (village within Sarkin Dawa)’

There are apparent exceptions to the rule that /i/ cannot occur in closed syllables. However, all but one of these cases are captured by independent phonological rules, explained in § 6.3.

The remaining case where [i] occurs in a closed syllable is a borrowing, likely from Hausa: à.là.mî:s ‘Thursday’ (‘*Alhamis* originally from Arabic *yoom al-khamiis* ‘Thursday’). Note that /i/ is long here, which is also exceptional in Kam lexemes (cf. § 2.3.1.3).

5.3 Constraints on segments in monosegmental syllables: V-prefixes and syllabic nasals

The only vowels that can occur as monosegmental syllables are *a*, *i*, and *u*.

Syllabic nasals are attested in many nouns, but also as the first person singular subject indexes *N̄* and *Ṅ*. In all cases, the nasals are homorganic with the following consonant. If the following consonant is labial-velar, the nasal is a labial-velar [ŋm]. Nasal syllables are never prosodically strong.

(75) **Homorganic nasals in prosodic prefixes**

m.páŋírí ‘monkey, sp.’

n.tén ‘spear, sp.’

ŋ.kóŋ ‘louse’

(76) First person singular subject index \acute{N}

m **pírâ**

1SG.S.PFV come.PFV

‘I have come.’

The most common V syllable is one that consists of *a*. Many nouns are found with an *a*- prosodic prefix, and a morpheme *á^L* is used to derive attributive adjectives from verbs (cf. § 7.5). Some subject indexes are also made up by a simple vowel, e.g. *á* ‘2SG.S.PFV’, *ú* ‘3SG’ (a variant of *àwú*), *i* ‘1PL’ (a variant of *jùrù*) and *i* ‘3PL’ (a variant of *àjí*) (cf. § 8.2). *a*-prefixes on nouns and adjectives are prosodically weak (cf. § 4.2.9), the (non-first person) subject indexes are prosodically strong.

(77) **a-prefixes in nouns and adjectives**

àfí ‘child’

àdʒé ‘shea tree’

àkpèp ‘shoulder’

átwàp ‘young’

á⁺bó?óri ‘black’

ámō ‘good’

(78) **Subject indexes á ‘2SG.S.PFV’, ú ‘3SG’, i ‘1PL’, i ‘3PL’**

á **dʒót** **á** **jí**

2SG.S.PFV wake.up:PFV PFV Q

‘Did you wake up?’

ú **rí** **ᶠéd** **jí**

3SG IPFV wash thing

‘She was doing her laundry.’

i **jéb** **bínúwè**

1PL go:PFV Benue

‘We went to Benue State’

í	gbán	wé	fò	mí ⁵⁶
3PL	arrive:PFV	mouth	forest	some
'They arrived at the entrance of a certain forest.'				
(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)				

5.4 VN syllables

Two adjectives and three nouns in the currently collected lexicon of Kam (1,550 entries) show an initial VN-syllable. In all cases it is made up of an *a* followed by a nasal that is homorganic with the following consonant. These syllables may be the result of a derivational process with an *a*-prefix applied to lexemes starting with syllabic nasals. That they were historically complex is also suggested by the presence of downstep in some of these examples.

- (79) **án.**[†]*té* ‘small’
 án.[†]*dérfí* ‘idiotic’

- (80) **án.**[†]*térí* ‘truth’
 àŋ.*gwár* ‘thirst’
 àŋ.*gwóg* ‘house’

5.5 Complex onsets

5.5.1 Cw-onsets, CwV and CwVC syllables

Kam features Cw-clusters as the onset of prosodically strong syllables. This arguably motivates the incorporation of two additional syllable structures for Kam. Alternatively, Cw sequences can be considered labialized consonants, or wV-sequences can be considered diphthongs. The first option inflates the number of consonants found in the phoneme inventory of Kam. The second option would require the addition of a number of diphthongs to the vowel inventory. In the current analysis, I choose to analyze them as complex Cw onsets, and I recognize that CwV and CwVC syllables are minor subtypes of typical CV and CVC

⁵⁶ Exceptionally, a nasal prosodic prefix seems to be dropped in *fò*, the lexical form of which is *mfò*. This may also simply be an alternative rapid pronunciation of *mfò*, since such dropping of nasal prosodic prefixes has not been observed elsewhere so far.

syllables. Cw clusters may go back to a process of hiatus resolution where an /u/ is reduced to a semivowel /w/ to avoid a sequence of two vowels (cf. § 6.2.2.2).

The following Cw onsets are attested:

- **ŋw**

ŋwāb ‘all’	ŋwám ‘junior in-law’	ŋwàntí ‘to straighten’
ŋwàrí ‘to be sad’	ŋwári ‘to mix’	ŋwànjá ‘you’re welcome’
ŋwìŋkí ‘person name’	ŋwóri ‘to tie a knot’	

- **kw**

kwí ‘walking stick’	kwéj ‘mudfish’	kwàntírí ‘to fold’
kwàntój ‘Mumuye people’	kwàr ‘hip, loins, waist’	kwár ‘to make a rope’
kwásí ‘to pluck’	ŋkwàtìrì ‘joint’	àkwān ‘bean’
ákwòk ‘big one’	àkwók ‘mushroom’	kùrùkwáp ‘bird, sp.’
kúkwéj ‘stick, sp.’		

- **gw**

gwéj ‘elsewhere’	gwàj ‘chest’	gwó ‘to be light’
àŋgwář ‘thirst’	àŋgwók ‘house’	àgwóp ‘plant, sp.’

- **tʃw**

tʃwē ‘newborn child’	ntʃwé ‘rainy season’
ntʃwâk ‘striped grass mouse’	ntʃwàŋ ‘bird, sp.’

- **sw**

swàptí ‘to increase’	swàp ‘to sing’
swář ‘to live’	swò ‘baboon’

- **pw**

m̥pwář ‘duck’	pùpwàp ‘liver’
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- **dʒw**

àdʒwàň ‘snake, sp.’	àdʒwář ‘cheek’
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- tw

ántwāp̩ ‘young’

- hw

hwár ‘to think’

- lw

lwàm ‘hippopotamus’

5.5.2 Complex onsets due to i- or u-deletion

i or *u* can be dropped in the C_r(V) environment. In such cases, syllables can appear with complex onsets with an *r* as the second consonant (CrV).

(81) **Syllables with complex onsets because of a deleted *i***

- m̩pīr̩ or [m̩pr̩] ‘goat’
 kpīr̩e or [kp̩r̩e] ‘to cough’
 k̩r̩ib̩k̩ or [kr̩ib̩k̩] ‘scorpion’
 pír̩â or [pr̩â] ‘come.PFV’
 m̩r̩i or [mr̩i] ‘again’
 b̩r̩i or [br̩i] ‘day, time’
 wàt̩r̩i or [wàtr̩i] ‘to dream’

(82) **Syllables with complex onsets due to the deletion of *u***

- pàtúrú or [pàtrú] ‘cat’
 sùrùp̩j̩ or [sr̩up̩j̩] ‘vulture’

These possibilities are not unexpected. Cross-linguistically, rhotics often behave in special ways in syllables (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 216).

5.5.3 Marginal types of complex onsets: NC and Cr clusters

The lexicon of Kam contains two types of consonant clusters that are limited to just a few items. Of these, I first discuss NC-onsets, which feature a non-syllabic nasal followed by a stop. The second type of cluster, Cr-onsets, has been attested in just two lexemes so far.

In two lexemes, NC onsets are optional and freely alternate with the respective nasal as the onset. In another two lexemes, NC onsets are obligatory. I consider these clusters lexical irregularities. *ndžámdí*

‘iron’ is a borrowing from Fulfulde (*njamndi*). The cluster in $\widehat{\eta mgbàb}$ ‘to shoot’ may reflect earlier phonotactic possibilities in the language. The cluster may be preserved in this verb because of its sound-symbolic effect.

(83) **Optional NC clusters**

ndák or **nák** ‘cow’

ndàk or **nàk** ‘to throw, to give a name, to lay eggs’

(84) **Obligatory NC clusters**

ndʒámdí ‘iron’ (borrowing from Fulfulde, where ‘iron’ is *njamndi*)

ŋ̪mgbàb ‘to shoot’

There are two nouns in the currently collected lexicon where a complex Cr onset is lexicalized and where it is no longer possible to insert a vowel (see the previous section). These nouns are consistently judged as disyllabic by my informants:

(85) **ímprím** ‘okra’

ákprà ‘plate’

6 Segmental phonological rules

This chapter describes the interaction between segments. It takes stock of the possible consonant sequences (§ 6.1.1) and the possible vowel sequences (§ 6.2.1) in Kam. Rules that determine the realization of such clusters are laid out. § 6.1 focuses on rules and constraints that operate when consonants meet. § 6.2 focuses on vowel clusters. § 6.3 describes the possible interaction between consonants and vowels.

6.1 *Consonants*

6.1.1 Consonant clusters and gemination

Consonant clusters occur at different levels of analysis. Some occur as complex onsets within prosodically strong syllables. Other clusters occur at the boundary between prosodically strong syllables, or at the boundary between a prosodic stem and a prosodic affix. Such combinations are more numerous. They also reveal various phonological rules in the language. An overview of such possible clusters is given in § 6.1.1.2. Finally, consonant clusters can occur in partly reduplicated verbs. Geminated consonants are also often found at the juncture between the copy and stem. As addressed in the previous chapter, reduplicated verbs are phonologically unusual in the language in various respects, including the consonant clusters. Some clusters that are possible at stem and affix-boundaries are not possible in reduplicated verbs. Consonant clusters in partial reduplication constructions are discussed separately in § 6.1.1.3.

6.1.1.1 Complex onsets in prosodically strong syllables

Complex onsets are exceptional in Kam. They include Cw-onsets, Cr-onsets and a few instances of NC-clusters. All of these have been discussed and illustrated before in § 5.5.

There are no consonant clusters in the weak portion of a prosodic stem.

6.1.1.2 Consonant clusters at prosodic stem boundaries

Table 33 provides an overview of all possible consonant clusters that can occur at the boundary between prosodic stems and at the boundary between prosodic stem and suffix. The rows list all stem-final consonants. The capitals P, T, K indicate stem-final stops. Capitals are used instead of lower-case letters to indicate that the voice feature is unspecified stem-finally. The columns list all stem- and suffix-initial consonants. When a cell is white and marked with an +, this indicates that the combination is possible without observed restrictions or notable phonological rules. When it is marked with a question mark, I have

not observed the combination because not all necessary examples to verify their absence or presence have been recorded. When it is colored grey, this means that there is an interaction affecting the first of the two consonants. The phonetic realization of that rule is written in square brackets within the relevant cells. Phonological representations are written with slashes. When only one sound is written in a cell, this means that the other sound is elided. Brackets indicate optional realizations.

The following generalizations can be made on the basis of the table:

- Nasals in NC clusters are often homorganic in that their place of articulation assimilates to that of the following sound. As discussed in § 4.2.4, this is particularly true for prosodic prefixes. At other types of boundaries, such assimilation is much less pervasive, especially affecting /n/. Not all consonants trigger this assimilation in stems: only stops and other nasals are concerned. Assimilation to labial-velar stops has no exceptions. Such assimilation is further discussed and exemplified in § 6.1.2.
- The voicing value of a stem-final consonant, which is always in coda-position, depends on the sound to its right. When there is a pause, it is unreleased. When it is followed by a consonant, the coda stop can be released into the next consonant: stops are often released nasally before nasals, an alveolar stop can be released into a labial-velar consonant, and any stop can be released glottally when they occur before a *h*. In other cases, it may be released as a voiced or as a voiceless stop. The place of articulation of the final consonant can assimilate to that of the following initial consonant. Final consonants can also be omitted in some circumstances. These rules are discussed in more detail in § 6.1.3.
- Specifically in the case of stem-final alveolar T, taps are preferred to stops in many contexts. They are often the only attested choice.
- When /r/ or /y/ occur as the second sound of a consonant cluster, an epenthetic *i* is often inserted. Whereas synchronically, this vowel can be analyzed as epenthetic, it may historically be a retention.

Table 33 - Consonant clusters at prosodic stem boundaries

		Second consonant (stem-initial)																							
		m	n	ŋ	w	j	l	r	p	b	t	d	k	g	ɲ	f	v	s	z	f	h	ɸ	dʒ	kp	gb
First consonant (stem-final)	m	+	+	/ŋŋ/	[m̩w]	+	+	(/mb'r/)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[ŋm̩kp]	[ŋ̩mg̩b]	
	n	/mm/	+	/ŋŋ/	+	+	+	(/nir/)	/mp/	/mb/	+	+	/ŋk/	/ŋg/	/ɲ/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[ŋ̩mkp]	[ŋ̩mg̩b]	
	ŋ	+	+	+	+	+	+	(/ŋic/)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	w	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	j	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	l	+	+	/lin/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	r	+	+	/riŋ/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	P	[b ^m m]	[b ⁿ n]	/biŋ/	/bw/	/bj/	/bl/	/bf/ /bic/	/pp/	/bb/	/pt/	/bd/	/pk/	/bg/	/bŋ/	/ff/	/vv/	/ps/	/bz/	/pʃ/	[p ^h h]	/pɸ/	/bdʒ/	[p̩kp]	?
	T	[d ^m m] /m/	[d ⁿ n] /m/	/riŋ/	/rw/	/dj/	/fl/	/f/	/rp/	/db/ /rb/	/rt/	/rd/	/rk/	/rg/	/ŋ/ /dŋ/ /tŋ/	/rf/	/dv/	/ts/	?	/tʃ/	[t ^h h] /rh/	/tɸ/	/rdʒ/	[t̩kp] [t̩kp]	[d̩gb]
	K	[?m] /m/	[?n] /gn/	/ŋ/	/w/	/gi/ /kj/	/gl/ /l/	/gr/ /git/	/kp/	/gb/	/kt/	/gd/	/kk/	/gg/ [?ŋ]	/kp/ /gŋ/ [?ŋ]	/kf/ /ff/	?	/ks/	/gz/	/kʃ/	[k ^h h]	/kɸ/	/gdʒ/	/kp/	?

6.1.1.3 Consonant clusters and gemination in partial reduplications

As stated in § 4.3.2, consonant clusters are more restricted in partial reduplication constructions than across stem boundaries.

When the final consonant of the reduplicant is nasal, it is homorganic with the first consonant of the stem.

- (86) búmbóm ‘long’ (resultative)
 dìndàm ‘clean’ (resultative)
 fímfám ‘light’ (resultative)
 sùnsóŋ⁺é ‘sweet’ (resultative)
 tíntám ‘big’ (resultative)
 wùmwòm ‘hollow’ (resultative)

When the final consonant of the reduplicant is non-nasal, it completely assimilates to that of the following sound, creating geminates. /fp/-clusters become /pp/, /rb/ clusters become /bb/, /bd/ becomes /dd/, /gd/ becomes /dd/, etc. The result is usually a geminate consonant, except where affricates and labial-velar consonants are concerned.

- (87) ~pár → píppár
 STAT~be.tight STAT~be.tight
 ‘to be tight’

- (88) ~dáb → díddáb
 STAT~be.far STAT~be.far
 ‘to be far’

- (89) ~dèg → díddèg
 STAT~be.painful STAT~be.painful
 ‘to be painful’

- (90) ~nár → nínnár
 STAT~be.thick STAT~be.thick
 ‘to be thick’

- (91) ~lòg → lillòg
 STAT~give.birth STAT~give.birth
 ‘to be fertile’

- (92) ~dʒɔ́r → dʒú[†]dʒóř-i
 FUT~descend FUT~descend-i
 'will descend'

6.1.2 Homorganic nasals and non-homorganic nasals

In the lexicon of Kam, nasals are overwhelmingly homorganic with the consonant to their right. This is most clearly the case with prosodic prefixes, which have been discussed in § 4.2.4:

- (93) m.páŋjíří 'monkey, sp.'
 n.tén 'spear, sp.'
 n.tʃwàŋ 'bird, sp.'
 ŋ.kóŋ 'louse'
 ŋm.kpóné 'thigh'
 ŋm.gbète 'pouched rat'

- (94) ántwàb 'young'
 áń[†]té 'small (size)'
 áń[†]térí 'truth'
 àŋgwár 'thirst'
 àŋgwóg 'house'
 áń[†]dérí 'idiotic'

Across stem boundaries, this rule applies to a lesser degree. Only *n* undergoes such assimilation consistently. Other nasals retain their original places of articulation, except before labial-velar stops, where *m* also assimilates. There are no examples in the data where *ŋ* is followed by a labial-velar stop.

- (95) ***n* assimilating to following consonants**
 bén 'say' + mām 'give me' → [bénmám] 'tell me'
 míń 'thus' + kā 'conditional' → [míŋkā] 'if (it) is like that ...'
 tán 'stay' + pè 'come' → [támپè] '(they then) came and stood'

(96) **Non-homorganic nasals**

- ʈfám.kòñ ‘sparrow’ (unanalyzable noun)
 fàm-lí ‘to feed someone’ (cf. àfàm ‘meat’, probably with a historical causative suffix)
 kòm-sí ‘to engage’ (kóm ‘to tie’ + -sí ‘causative’)
 ñjkám sù ‘bladder’ (ñjkám ‘under’ + sù ‘navel’)
 ñìpúñ ðzóñ ‘ritual calabash’ (ñìpúñ ‘calabash’ + ðzóñ ‘magic, sp.’)
 ñɔñ.tí ‘remove’ (cf. -tí suffix)

(97) **Assimilation before labial-velar stops**

- nínnám ‘flesh’ + kpò ‘body’ → [nínnáñ^ñ**m**kpô] ‘flesh of the body’
 màn ‘fat’ + gbó?ó ‘shin’ → [màn^ñ**mg**bó?ó] ‘bone marrow’

6.1.3 Realization of stops in coda position⁵⁷

In § 6.1.1, I mentioned that voicing contrasts are neutralized in coda position, and that the realization of bilabial, alveolar and velar stops in that position completely depends on the following sound. The realization of each stem-final stop before each possible consonant is summarized in Table 33 above. The current section synthesizes the possible realizations. I found the following possibilities.

- Non-release, specifically before a pause, and sometimes before labial-velar stops.
- Voicing agreement: a stop in coda position receives the voicing value of the following stop.
- Release as a stop, with free variation regarding the voicing value.
- Assimilation to the following sound, with a geminate consonant as the result.
- For alveolar consonants specifically, realization as an alveolar tap [ɾ] or lateral approximant [l].
- Nasal release before nasals.
- Labial-velar release before labial-velars.
- Glottal release before *h*.
- Debuccalization to a glottal stop.
- Elision of the consonant. The result is simply the initial consonant of the following syllable, or a pause if there is no following sound.

⁵⁷ The capital symbols P, T and K do not represent archiphonemes or any deep level of abstraction. They merely symbolize that voice distinctions are neutralized in the relevant positions and that choosing to represent each consonant with a voiced or voiceless phoneme would be an arbitrary choice.

6.1.3.1 Unreleased stops before a pause

Before a pause, velar consonants are realized as an unreleased velar stop [k̚], bilabial consonants as unreleased bilabial stops [p̚], and alveolar consonants as unreleased alveolar stops [t̚]. Alveolars can also be realized as [l] or [f]. In many cases, there is free variation or variation across speakers. Speakers identify the use of [l] vs. [f] as dialectal differences between Highland Kam and Lowlands Kam, but this was not confirmed by a small scale investigation of relevant data.

- (98) Prepausal [p̚]

àkpèP [àkpèp̚] ‘shoulder’
dʒiP [dʒip̚] ‘to fence an area’
ántwàP [ántwàp̚] ‘young’

- (99) Prepausal [k̚]

véK [vék̚] ‘to die’
àgbáK [àgbák̚] ‘stool’
jīrāK [jīrāk̚] ‘two’

- (100) Prepausal [t̚], [f] or [l]

tfàT [tfàr̚], [tfât̚] or [tfâl̚] ‘three’
àtʃóT [àtʃór̚], [àtʃót̚] or [àtʃól̚] ‘bee’
bàr̚ [bàt̚], [bàr̚] or [bàl̚] ‘to farm’

Very rarely, during elicitation sessions, these stops were released, with some delay, to make the contrast between the different places of articulation more obvious to me. In those cases, they always came out as voiceless stops [p], [t] and [k].

6.1.3.2 Voicing agreement (and non-release before labial-velar stops)

Bilabial consonants followed by a voiced consonant are often released as the voiced bilabial stop [b]. Alveolar consonants, when they are not realized as an alveolar tap [ɾ] (§ 6.1.3.5), are realized as [d]. Velar consonants are realized as [g]. When a voiceless consonant follows, bilabial consonants are realized as [p] and velar consonants as [k]. Alveolar consonants in coda position are always realized as [ɾ] before a voiceless stop (§ 6.1.3.5), except before /kp/, where an alveolar stop can be realized as [f] or can be an (unreleased) voiceless stop released into the labial-velar stop. More generally, before labial-velar stops, coda stops can be released into the labial-velar stop.

(101) **Voiced**

- àlíP ‘head’ + wó ‘dog’ → [àlíbwó] ‘head of dog’
 àbèT ‘egg’ + jō ‘plural’ → [àbèdjō] ‘eggs’
 fóK ‘farm’ + zú⁺zórē ‘to be sour, resultative’ → [fógzú⁺zórē] ‘The farm is sour.’

(102) **Voiceless**

- àlíP ‘head’ + ʃì ‘diminutive’ + rì ‘comitative’ + àpé ‘hand’ → [àlípʃírìpé] ‘fingernail’
 lék ‘to feel’ + tànʃɔŋ ‘always’ → [léktaŋʃɔŋ] ‘(I) always feel (like this)’
 àtàT ‘stone’ + kpējmī ‘twenty’ → [àtātpkējmī ~ àtārkpējmī] ‘twenty stones’

(103) **Stops released into labial-velar stops**

- àʃòP ‘wind’ + kpò ‘body’ + ú ‘his’ → [àʃòpkpòwú] ‘The wind, his body (was weak)’
 àtàT ‘stone’ + kpējmī ‘twenty’ → [àtātpkējmī ~ àtārkpējmī] ‘twenty stones’
 gúrɔK ‘lion’ + gbígí ‘shaked’ → [gúróg⁺gbígí] ‘The lion shaked.’

The stem-final bilabial stop fully assimilates to a following labio-dental fricative (/f/, /v/). Preceding /h/, it is released glottally (§ 6.1.3.4).

Like P, K is not released as a stop before labio-dental fricatives and /h/. Before /w/ and /l/ it is usually elided (§ 6.1.3.7). Before /j/, it is a stop with variable voicing values. Before /n/, it alternates between a released stop with free voicing value (§ 6.1.3.3) and a glottal stop (§ 6.1.3.6).

T can only be realized as a stop before /j/, /b/, /n/, /v/ and labial-velar stops. Before /b/ and /n/ such a realization is optional, the alternative being an alveolar tap (§ 6.1.3.5). Before /j/ and /v/, only the realization as [d] is attested in my data.

6.1.3.3 Free variation between /k/ and /g/ before palatal consonants

When followed by a palatal consonant /j/ or /n/, velar consonants in coda position are realized as stops. The voicing value of these stops is free, so either [k] or [g] is a possible realization. Before /n/, velar consonants can also be realized as a glottal stop (§ 6.1.3.6).

- (104) m̄pīrɔK ‘rat’ + jō ‘plural’ → [m̄pīrɔkjō ~ m̄pīrɔgjō]
 àmìrèK ‘nose’ + jō ‘plural’ → [àmìrèkjō ~ àmìrègjō]
 ʃùK ‘do’ + nípnájé ‘fast’ → [ʃùkpípnájé ~ ʃùgnípnájé]
 fóK ‘farm’ + nípní ‘some’ → [fókpípní ~ fógpípní]

6.1.3.4 Assimilation

When a bilabial or velar consonant in coda position is followed by a labiodental fricative (/v/ or /f/), it assimilates to the following fricative. The result is a geminated consonant.

(105) **Assimilation with labial dental fricatives**

- kùP ‘to wear’ + àfú ‘shirt’ → [kùffú] ‘wear a shirt’
- gbèP ‘to beat’ + vā ‘to flog’ → [gbèvvā] ‘to beat someone’
- tfùK ‘to catch’ + àfù ‘pregnancy’ → [tfùffù] ‘to become pregnant’
- No examples with K + v are attested.

6.1.3.5 T realized as [r] or [l]

The most commonly attested realization of an alveolar consonant in coda position is an alveolar tap [ɾ]. In front of most consonants, such a realization is obligatory. Before /b/, /p/, /h/, /kp/ and /gb/, it is optional. Before /b/, and /gb/ it is in free variation with a voiced (unreleased) stop realization. Before /kp/, it is in free variation with a voiceless (unreleased) stop realization. Before /h/, it is in free variation with glottal release. Before /p/, all three possibilities (/t/, /ɾ/ and /d/) are attested. Before /j/ and /v/, the only attested realization is a voiced stop [d].

- (106)
- tòT ‘to fall’ + mísi ‘again’ → [tòrmísí] ‘fall again’
 - bìT ‘to slaughter’ + níʃóŋ ‘pig’ → [bìrńńíʃóŋ] ‘slaughter a pig’
 - àtàT ‘stone’ + lìllèm ‘beautiful, resultative’ → [àtàrlìllèm] ‘the stone is beautiful’
 - àtàT ‘stone’ + wūwū ‘ripe, resultative’ → [àtàrwūwū] ‘the stone is ripe’
 - tòT ‘to fall’ + pè ‘to come’ → [tòrpè] ‘fall (down)’
 - àtàT ‘stone’ + búbboře ‘big, resultative’ → [àtàrbúbbōře] ‘the stone is big’
 - àtàT ‘stone’ + tíntám ‘big, resultative’ → [àtàrtíntám] ‘the stone is big’
 - àtàT ‘stone’ + dùddùb ‘tall, resultative’ → [àtàrdùddùb] ‘the stone is tall’
 - tòT ‘to fall’ + ká ‘here’ → [tòrká] ‘fall here’
 - àtàT ‘stone’ + jíʃób ‘hot, resultative’ → [àtàrjíʃóþ] ‘the stone is hot’
 - náT ‘thick’ + hñ ‘NEG’ → [náčhñ] ‘thin, not thick’
 - àtàT ‘stone’ + kpó ‘twenty’ + bñ ‘one’ → [àtàrkpóþí ~ àtàtkpóþí] ‘twenty stones’
 - káT ‘to have’ + àgbàn ‘wife’ → [kádgbàn] ‘(He) had (three) wives.’

In all of these environments, T can also be realized as a lateral approximant [l].

6.1.3.6 Glottal release before /h/ and glottalization of K before /p/

Before /h/, all coda consonants can be released glottally. Velar consonants can be released nasally before the palatal nasal /ɲ/.

(107) **Glottal release before /h/**

- dùP ‘tall’ + hñ ‘NEG’ → [dùp^hhñ] ‘not tall’
 lèb ‘inside’ + há ‘Q’ → [... lèp^hhá] ‘(He will repeat what is) inside, eh?’
 náT ‘thick’ + hñ ‘NEG’ → [ná^thñ] ‘not thick’
 àngwóK ‘house’ + hñ ‘NEG’ → [... íngwók^hhñ] ‘(He did) not (build) a house.’

(108) **Glottalization before /p/**

- zùK ‘to put’ + ɲéb ‘to go’ → [zùp^hɲéb] ‘to dip something in a fluid’

6.1.3.7 Nasal release before /n/ and /m/

Before /n/ and /m/, bilabial and alveolar consonants are formed as stops [p] and [t]. They are not released orally, however. Instead, there is a nasal release.

(109) gúP ‘to chase’ + níʃóŋ ‘pig’ → [gúpⁿníʃóŋ] ‘(The animal) chased a pig.’
 tùP ‘to push’ + mísi ‘again’ → [tùp^mmísi] ‘push again’
 bèT ‘tree’ + mán ‘?’ → [bèt^mmán] ‘bamboo’
 àtāT + nád ‘thick’ + hñ ‘NEG’ → [àtātⁿád^hhñ] ‘The stone is not thick.’

6.1.3.8 Elision

A number of consonants in coda position can be elided before a following consonant. Alveolar consonants are often elided in front of a tap /ɾ/ and in front of palatal nasals /ɲ/. The vowel in the nucleus can be lengthened to compensate for the loss of the coda.

(110) tʃàT ‘three’ + ríK ‘NEG.POSS’ → [tʃá:rík] ‘(He does) not (have) three (children).’
 gbèT ‘to scratch’ + jì ‘thing’ → [gbèjì] ‘to scratch something’

Velar stops are elided before the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the labiovelar approximant /w/. They are optionally elided before the lateral approximant /l/ and the bilabial nasal /m/.

- (111) fóK ‘farm’ + àŋwāb ‘all’ → [fóŋwāp] ‘all farms’
dóK ‘to see’ + wó ‘dog’ → [dówó] ‘to see a dog’
àŋgwóK ‘house’ + àwàn ‘king’ → [àŋgwówàn] ‘house of the king’
jàK ‘take’ + mísi ‘again’ → [jàmísí ~ já?mísí] ‘take again’
líg bûK ‘to dance a dance’ + lígí ‘to dance, future’ → [lígbùlí?í ~ lígbùglí] ‘(He) will dance a dance.’

A coda alveolar consonant is also elided before the causative/iterative suffix *-tí*, (cf. § 12.4).

- (112) dʒɔT-tí go.down-CAUS → dʒɔtí ‘to bring down’
kpɛT-tí shiver-*ti* → kpètí ‘to be tired’⁵⁸

Occasionally, bilabial and velar consonants are elided prepausally. Such elision is not frequent.

(113) **Optional prepausal stops**

- màn ɨlíP → [mànɨlí] ‘brain (i.e. ‘fat of the head’)’
jéP → [jé] ‘go’
dʒázúK → [dʒázú] ‘rice’

In the emphatic particle, *rīK*, the final velar stop is optional in prepausal position. Some speakers only accept the form without the velar stop. There may be dialectal variation, but I did not attempt a dialectological study of these phenomena.

6.2 Vowels

6.2.1 Hiatus and hiatus resolution

When two vowels from different syllables collide, they become adjacent. Such situations are generally known as hiatus. When hiatus arises in Kam, three outcomes are possible. (a) Nothing happens: hiatus is maintained. Alternatively, (b) hiatus may be resolved by inserting an extra consonant in between the vowel segments. Thirdly, (c) hiatus may be resolved by elision of one of the vowels. Note that all vowel sequences

⁵⁸ It is not clear what the derivative function of *-tí* is in this example. It does not appear to be iterative ('to be tired' is not 'to shiver repeatedly') or causative ('to be tired' is not 'to cause to shiver').

across stem boundaries feature an /a/, /u/ or /i/ as the second vowel, since those are the only vowels that can occur stem- or affix-initially in Kam.

The consonants used to resolve hiatus are the approximants *j*, *w*, or the glottal stop *?*. The central vowel *i* is the only vowel that is regularly elided. All cases of hiatus can be resolved, but not all of them are obligatorily resolved.

One of the most common cases of hiatus resolution happens when a prosodic *a*-prefix is preceded by another vowel. In those cases, *à* is always dropped (see § 4.2.9).

(114)	à <small>ʃ</small> i	kù <small>r</small>
	à <small>ʃ</small> i	àkù <small>r</small>
	child	tortoise
‘child of the tortoise’		

(115)	àdʒé	ʃi
	àdʒé	à <small>ʃ</small> i
	trousers	child
‘trousers of the child’		

(116)	mí	pé	kàptì
	Ń	pè\H	àkàptì
	1SG.S.PFV	come\PFV	morning
‘I came in the morning.’			

(session_034, Samuel A. Adams, conversation)

(117)	dí	†líb	ú
	be	head	3SG:POSS
‘It’s on his head.’			

(118)	sírá	†líb
	sírá	àlíb
	hair	head
‘head hair’		

- (119) àkpò làŋ
 àkpò àlàŋ
 food pot
 ‘the food of the pot’

- (120) gbógó zúb
 gbógó àzúb
 shin thief
 ‘the shin of the thief’

- (121) ȝū wàn
 ȝū àwàn
 uncle king
 ‘uncle of the king’

The following cases of hiatus are attested without obligatory resolution: /e + u/, /a + u/, /o + u/, /e + a/, /o + a/, /u + a/. They all end with either /u/ or /a/, and none start with /i/.

- (122) e + u
 mē ú
 mother 3SG:POSS
 ‘his mother’
 (session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (123) a + u
 àná ú
 father 3SG:POSS
 ‘his father’
 (session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (124) o + u
 wó ú
 dog 3SG:POSS
 ‘his dog’
 (session_047, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

(125) u + a

sùnù á bā
 darter PRSTT PROX.ID
 'This is a darter.'

(session_214, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(126) e + a

àdʒè á bā
 moon PRSTT PROX.ID
 'This is (the) moon.'

(session_037, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

(127) o + a

wò á bā
 blood PRSTT PROX.ID
 'This is blood.'

(session_037, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

Sequences starting with /i/ or /ɪ/ are always resolved, either by elision or by inserting /j/ before /a/. Elision happens when /i/ belongs to a prosodically weak syllable, or when it occurs in a (otherwise prosodically strong) suffix. Glide-insertion happens when /i/ is part of a prosodically strong syllable of a morphological stem.

(128) **Glide-insertion**

àbì á bā → [àbijábā]
 soil PRSTT PROX.ID
 'This is soil.'

(session_068, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

(129) **Elision of /i/ or /ɪ/**

fámlí + ú → [fàmlú]
 feed:PFV 3SG:POSS
 '(the lion) fed him'
 (session_252, anonymous, narrative)

sámrfí + á [†]jí → [sámrá[†]jí]
 bad:PFV PFV stand
 '(It is) spoiled'
 (session_341, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

All other sequences are resolved by means of [j] before /i/ or /í/, [w] before /u/, and [j], [w] or [?] before /a/:

(130) t̩ú + á bá → [t̩ú?ábá]
 uncle PRSTT PROX.ID
 'This is (an) uncle.'
 (session_128, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

àjí 'third person plural pronoun', postpausal variant of i
 àwú 'third person singular pronoun', postpausal variant of ú

6.2.2 Diphthongization, CwV-clusters and more hiatus resolution

6.2.2.1 Phonetic diphthongs

Various diphthongs occur in free variation with corresponding monophthongs in prosodically strong positions. Such optional diphthongization occurs only after certain consonants.

- [ie] and [e], following coronals, *gb*, or *m*

(131) sisé, [sisé] or [sisié] 'adder'
 mìnté, [mìnté] or [mìntié] 'small (quantity)'
 àlè, [àlè] or [àliè] 'fire'
 gbê, [gbê] or [gbié] 'squirrel, sp.'

- [iẽ] and [ẽ], after coronals

(132) àjé, [àjé] or [àjíé] 'bush'
 àlè, [àlè] or [àlíè] 'cave'

- [iẽ] and [í], following *v*

(133) ñvìnvì, [ñvìnvì] or [ñvìnvíé] 'wasp'
 àví, [àví] or [àvíé] 'breast'

- [ɔ] and [uɔ], following bilabial stops *p* and *b*

(134)	pòpsí, [pòpsí] or [puɔ̄psí] ‘to press together’
	ìmpòm, [ìmpòm] or [ìmpuɔ̄m] ‘rain, n.’
	bòb, [bòb] or [buɔ̄b] ‘to come out’
	būbbōrē, [būbbōrē] or [būbbuɔ̄rē] ‘big (quantity)’

There are four ways of accounting for the allophony between diphthongs and monophthongs:

- (1) There is optional diphthongization in the specified contexts.
- (2) There is optional synaeresis of underlying diphthongs, where a complex vowel sound is simplified into a simple vowel sound in the specified environments.
- (3) It is possible that most of the instances of monophthongs being realized instead of diphthongs are the result of hiatus resolution: when two vowels occur in sequence, one of the two vowels has to be dropped.
- (4) These diphthongs are sequences with a semivowel /w/ or /j/ (CwV or CjV) that are optionally simplified to CV.

Although different cases may be explained by any of the proposals in (1), (2), (3) or (4), I choose to analyze these cases as optional diphthongization. Such optional diphthongization may go back to historical long vowels, which synchronically either undergo diphthongization or shortening.

6.2.2.2 CwV sequences and hiatus resolution

A number of CwV sequences are attested in prosodically strong syllables in Kam. These are exhaustively inventorized and illustrated in § 5.5. All of these examples can be alternatively analyzed as diphthongs with *u* as the onglide. If this analysis is adopted, the following diphthongs are added to the inventory of Kam (examples are exhaustive):

- [uə] (28 examples)

ñʃwàŋ ‘water bird, sp.’	ńʃwâg ‘striped grass mouse’	kwàsí ‘to pluck’
àŋgwár ‘thirst’	ìmpwár ‘duck’	swár ‘to live’
hwár ‘to think’	kwàr ‘hip, loins, waist’	kwár ‘to make a rope’
kwàntóŋ ‘Mumuye people’	kwàntíři ‘to fold’	àkwán ‘bean’
àdʒwàn ‘snake, sp.’	ŋkwàtìři ‘joint’	lwàm ‘hippopotamus’
kùrùkwàb ‘bird, sp.’	pùpwàb ‘liver’	ántwàb ‘young’
swàb ‘sing’	swàptí ‘to increase’	ŋwàb ‘all’

ŋwám ‘junior in-law’	ŋwàntí ‘to straighten’	ŋwàrí ‘to be sad’
ŋwári ‘to mix’	ŋwànjá ‘you’re welcome’	àŋwà ‘friend’
àŋwán ‘senior in-law’		

- [uɔ] (6 examples)

àŋgwóg ‘house’	ákwòg ‘big one’	ŋwófí ‘to tie a knot’
ákwòg ‘mushroom’	àgwo̚b ‘plant, sp.’	àŋwòm ‘Kam’

- [ui] (5 examples)

kwî ‘walking stick’	ŋwìŋkí ‘person name’	àŋwí ‘place’
áŋwí ‘new’	àŋwí ‘story’	

- [uɛ] (3 examples)

kúkŵéj ‘stick, sp.’	kwéj ‘mudfish’	gwéj ‘elsewhere’
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- [uē] (2 examples)

ʃwé ‘newborn child’	gwàj ‘chest’
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- [ue]

ńʃwé ‘rainy season’

- [uo]

gwó ‘to be light’

- [uɔ̄]

swò ‘baboon’

- [uã̄]

àdʒwá ‘cheek’

Since these diphthongs are fairly rare, it is more convenient to analyze the examples as CwV clusters. Such CwV clusters can, however, be treated as the result of hiatus resolution: an underlying /u/, when combined with another vowel, is reduced to a semivowel to avoid vowel sequences. A sequence of /u/ and /o/, for example, is reduced to /wo/, and a sequence of /u/ and /i/ to /wi/.

Sometimes (but not always) a complex HL tone is found on a CwV(C) syllable. Such complex tones may represent a H-L sequence of two erstwhile syllabic vowels: Cu carried H tone, and the second vowel was part of a syllable carrying L tone:

- (135) kú + ì → kwî ‘walking stick’
 kú + èj → kwêj ‘mudfish’

CwV(C) syllables can also feature a M tone, which possibly goes back to a LH contour (see § 3.3.3). These syllables may go back to sequences of a *Cu*-syllable and a following syllable with H tone:

- (136) tŷù + é → tŷwé ‘newborn child’ (cf. tŷ or àtŷi ‘child’)
 àdžù + á → àdžwá ‘cheek’

6.3 Consonant-vowel interactions

6.3.1 Fronted /i/ after coronals, l, j, n, f and v

[i] freely alternates with [i] after coronals (*s, tʃ, dʒ, f, l, j, n, f* and *v*). In these positions, [i] can be seen as an optional fronted allophone of /i/.

- (137) /i/ → /i/ /{s, tʃ, dʒ, f, l, j, n, f, v}_
 àlîlē vs. àlîlē ‘yesterday’
 jîrâk̄ vs. jîrâk̄ ‘two’
 áfîfârì vs. áfîfârì ‘first (one)’
 nîsîfî vs. nîsîfî ‘money’
 sîrá vs. sîrá ‘hair’
 mùsí vs. mùsí ‘to fill something’
 vîrî vs. vîrî ‘dirty’
 fîrî vs. fîrî ‘to fly’
 àlîp tîrì nê vs. àlîp tîrì nê ‘finger’
 àdžîrîkì vs. àdžîrîkì ‘epilepsy’

This rule neutralizes the distinction between /i/ and /i/ in some open syllables in strong prosodic positions. In closed syllables and in weak prosodic positions, and after nasal consonants, this opposition is already neutralized (cf. § 5.2.2, § 4.2.7). Note that /n/ is both a nasal consonant that can centralize /i/ and a consonant that can cause fronting of /i/. It is my impression that after /n/, vowels are realized as [i] more often than as [i].

This rule is applied more consistently before a pause than between consonants. Prepausally, one very rarely finds an [i], except after /s/ (e.g. *mûsí* ‘fill’ in (137)).

- (138) fàmlí ‘to feed someone’ (not attested in isolation: [fàmlí])
 àmálî ‘flower’ (not attested in isolation: [àmálî])
 jí ‘to stand’ (not attested in isolation: [jí])
 àjì ‘world’ (not attested in isolation: [àjì])
 gùfí ‘ground nut’ (not attested in isolation: [gùfí])
 àffí ‘mat’ (not attested in isolation: [àffí])
 àfí ‘child’ (not attested in isolation: [àfí])
 dʒí ‘bat’ (not attested in isolation: [dʒí])

There are no clear examples of fronting after /z/.

Historically, it is possible that there was a sound change where *i* centralized to *ɪ* in most environments. After coronals, palatals and labiodentals, *i* was preserved. That the rule is applied more consistently before a pause than between consonants suggests that this was a process of utterance-internal vowel reduction.⁵⁹

6.3.2 Fronted /u/ → [y] after coronals, palatals and /l/

/u/ can be fronted to [y] after coronals, palatals and /l/.

- (139) /u/ → [y] /{s, tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, l, j, n, z}_
 [dʒùti] vs. [dʒyti] ‘to gift something’
 [zúzúrák] vs. [zýzýrák] ‘shadow’
 [tʃútán] vs. [ʃytán] ‘to stop’
 [súβí] vs. [sýβí] ‘spear grass’
 [ʃúròk] vs. [ʃyरòk] ‘elephant’
 [àlúlù] vs. [àlýlù] ‘kneecap’
 [jùrù] vs. [jýrù] ‘first person plural pronoun’

⁵⁹ I wish to thank Dmitry Idiatov for this suggestion.

6.3.3 Free variation between /ẽ/ vs. /ĩ/ following post-alveolars and l

Following post-alveolars (*yf*, *f*) and the lateral approximant (*l*), /ẽ/ often freely alternates with /ĩ/. So, the distinction between /ẽ/ and /ĩ/ is blurred in these contexts:

- | | | | |
|-------|------|------------------|----------|
| (140) | àſé | /àſé/ or /àſí/ | 'bush' |
| | n̪ſé | /n̪ſé/ or /n̪ſí/ | 'tendon' |
| | àlè | /àlè/ or /àlĩ/ | 'cave' |

While /ẽ/ in this position can be realized as [i], /ĩ/ can never be realized as [ẽ]: *n̪ſi* 'bow' can never be pronounced as [n̪ſé].

Interestingly, /ẽ/ also freely alternates with /ĩ/ following *yw*. Elsewhere (§ 5.5.1 and § 6.2.2), I analyzed *yw* as a consonant cluster and *w* as a phoneme. Since *yw* as a whole triggers palatalization or fronting of /ẽ/, it may also be analyzed as a labialized consonant instead of a cluster.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----|----------------|-----------------|
| (141) | ŷwé | /ŷwé/ or /ŷwi/ | 'newborn child' |
|-------|-----|----------------|-----------------|

6.3.4 Raising of /a/ before /w/ (a / _w → ʌ) within stems

When a is followed by /w/ in a stem, it is raised and backed to [ʌ]. The same happens to the nasal counterpart of a. /aw/ sequences do not occur often in Kam, and only two stems are affected by this rule in the lexicon:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------------|
| (142) | /gàw/ → [gʌw] | 'ribs' |
| | /pjáw/ → [pjʌw] | 'place name' |

6.3.5 Optional dropping of i and u in C_rV position

In between most consonants and the alveolar tap *r*, the central vowel *i* and high back vowel *u* can be dropped. The consonants where this does not happen are, *w*, *j*, *f*, *yf*, *dʒ*: glottal stops, approximants, and postalveolars. The following are some examples in position where *i* and *u* can be dropped. Note that they are not dropped in monosyllabic stems. *n*, *r*, *l*, *h* never occur as the cluster-initial consonant in these examples due to their phonotactic constraints.

- (143) àgbìràg vs. àgbràg ‘francolin’
 àkpíré vs. àkpré ‘cough, n.’
 ìmpíròg vs. ìmpròg ‘rat’
 bìrà vs. brà ‘day’
 pàtúrù vs. pàtrù ‘cat’
 àfén⁺dírí vs. àfén⁺drí ‘little grebe’
 kíribìg vs. kríbìg ‘scorpion’
 gúròg vs. gròg ‘lion’
 vírí vs. vrí ‘dirt’
 sùrùpáj vs. srùpáj ‘vulture’
 zúzúrág vs. zúzrág ‘shadow’

There are generally more examples of dropped *i* than dropped *u*. After *m*, *u* cannot be dropped. When *i* is dropped after *m*, *m* is usually released into *r* through an epenthetic (or exrescent) bilabial stop *b*:

- (144) mìrèg vs. mìrèg [mìbrèg] ‘nasal mucus’
 mìrà vs. mìrà [mìbrà] ‘again, to repeat’
 àmírá vs. àmrá [àmbrá] ‘brother’

III Part three: Nominal morphosyntax

7 Nouns, numerals and attributive adjectives

7.1 *Nouns: definition and general observations*

Nouns prototypically refer to things, i.e. entities that can be conceptualized without reference to ‘time’ or to a period during which they exist or ‘persist’ (Givón 1984: 51). They are time-stable concepts. In this they differ from verbs, which prototypically refer to actions, events or states, which are always characterized by a certain time during which they take place or persist.

Nouns function as the head of a noun phrase and can fulfill the functions of a noun phrase by themselves, serving as the sole item expressing the subject or object of a clause. Other functions of nouns include complements of prepositions, modifiers of other nouns and vocatives. Formally, the head vs. complement or modifier status of a noun is indicated by its position in the noun phrase. The head of a noun phrase always comes first. Modifiers follow.

- (145) nút í-bág-í
 bird ADJ-be.skinny-FV
 ‘skinny bird’
 (session_173, Babangida Audu, Elicitation)

- (146) àŋgwóg í
 house 3PL:POSS
 ‘their house’

- (147) àbìràg bér
 leaf tree
 ‘leaf of the tree’
 (session_173, Babangida Audu, Elicitation)

Not the noun, but the noun phrase as a whole is marked for number in Kam. Apart from number and deictic distance (by means of demonstratives), no other grammatical categories (case, definiteness, etc.) are marked in non-pronominal noun phrases in Kam.

Gender is not a grammatical category in Kam, nor is there another grammatical system of nominal classification.

About half of all noun stems have a prosodic prefix, which can be either *à-* (one third of all stems), *N-* (one sixth of all stems), or more rarely *Ń-* (just ten stems) or *á-* (just four stems).⁶⁰ These prosodic prefixes do not have a morphosyntactic function, although they may have had a function related to nominal classification in the past. Nasal prefixes are prosodically weak in that they are always homorganic with the following consonant (§ 4.2.4). The prosodic *a*-prefixes are prosodically weak in that they can be (and usually are) dropped or reduced to *ə-* when they occur utterance internally (§ 4.2.9). There are no examples where a nasal prefix precedes a palatal consonant.

- (148) àbàŋ ‘alcohol’

àwù ‘seed’

àlífírí ‘grave’

àdʒàr ‘fishing net’

àfù ‘womb’

- (149) mfpò ‘forest’

m̩kpálílēj [ŋm̩kpálílēj] ‘butterfly’

m̩páŋírí monkey, sp.’

ñfāŋ ‘rat’

ñsé ‘gazelle, sp.’

ñfóm ‘hoe’

ñkènsì ‘razor’

ñkwān ‘bean’

ñkùròg ‘voice’

⁶⁰ In other words, two thirds of all prosodic prefixes are *à-* and about one third is *N-*.

- (150) mípírâŋ ‘fish, sp.’
 míprîm ‘okra’
 ñsâ ‘fish, sp.’
 ñtéřî ‘squirrel’
 ñfóŋ ‘pig’
 ñfswâg ‘striped grass mouse’
 ígúrâg ‘chameleon’
 ígúrâg ‘goliath beetle’
 íkómî ‘nile monitor lizard’
 íkóŋ ‘louse’
- (151) ápú ‘bag’
 ákú ‘cult, sp.’
 ásúrá ‘trail’
 áfíſářì ‘first (one)’

The prosodic prefixes *à-* and *á-* are segmentally identical to the nominalizing prefix *à-* discussed in § 7.2.3 and the adjectivizing prefix *a^L* described in § 7.5. These derivational prefixes are also prosodically weak and behave prosodically identically to the prosodic prefixes *à-* and *á-*: they are also either dropped or centralized to *ə-* utterance-internally.

Derivational morphology operating on nouns includes the adverbializer *k-* (e.g. in *k-átwâb* ‘in a small way’, from *átwâb* ‘small’, *k-ántéří* ‘truly’ from *ántéří* ‘truth’). This *k-* may as well be analyzed as an instrumental marker (cf. § 15.4.7). Nouns can be combined into nominal compounds, which are not structurally different from attributive possession constructions (§ 7.2.1). Productive diminutive and augmentative derivations exist (§ 7.2.1.2), and there are two productive strategies for deriving new nouns from verbs (§ 7.2.3).

Numerals can be considered a subcategory of nouns, since purely morphosyntactically there is nothing differentiating them from nouns. Numerals are discussed in § 7.4.

7.2 Compounding and derivation

7.2.1 Compound nouns

7.2.1.1 General observations

Compounds are complex lexemes consisting of two or more other lexemes. Binominal compounds are very common in the lexicon of Kam (see also Pepper 2020). In Kam, a binominal compound is formally identical to an associative construction (§ 10.3.3.1). One could argue that binominal compounds are binominal phrases with a classifying modifier, whereas binominal phrases that are not compounds have a descriptive modifier (cf. Rijkhof 2008 on the distinction between *classifying modifiers* and *descriptive modifiers*).⁶¹ For example, a binominal construction made up of the nouns *àfàm* ‘animal’ and *àŋgwóg* ‘house’ is a regular phrase if *àŋgwóg* refers to a specific house, or to any hypothetical house that can be mentally invoked, as in (152). If *àŋgwóg* does not refer to any house in particular, but acts as a general concept that the referent is associated with, the binominal construction is a compound, as in (153). In (152), the modifier *àŋgwóg* describes a characteristic of the animal. In (153), the modifier *àŋgwóg* specifies the *kind* of the entity that being referred to (Rijkhoff 2008: 793), i.e. a ‘house’ type, as opposed to a ‘bush’ type (154). (153) and (154) are binominal phrases that behave like complex lexemes and can thus be considered binominal compounds.⁶²

- (152) àfàm àŋgwóg
 animal house
 ‘animal of the house’ or ‘animal of (a/some/any) house’

⁶¹ See also Giegerich (2015: 10-11) on associative attribution vs. ascriptive attribution in English.

⁶² I do not believe that the only difference between a compound and a phrase is that phrases are compositional and compounds are non-compositional or lexicalized. From that perspective a compound is essentially a lexicalized phrase. One could, of course, continue along this line and say that nouns can simply be formed by means of complex noun phrases and that there is no such thing as a separate compound construction in Kam. I believe, however, that it is important to distinguish those complex noun phrases that can function as complex nouns (which I consider compounds) from those that cannot (=non-compounds). The main distinguishing characteristic between the two is, as I argue in the text, the descriptive vs. classificatory nature of the modifier.

- (153) àfàm èŋgwóg
 animal house
 ‘house animal’, or ‘domestic animal’

- (154) àfàm èſé
 animal bush
 ‘bush animal’, or ‘wild animal’

Some compounds have a non-compositional or conventionalized meaning. In (155), for example, the meaning ‘cancer’ cannot be computed from the meanings ‘disease’ and ‘bush’ alone. This meaning has to be stored in a lexicon. In (156), the meaning ‘cassava’ is not the same as the literal interpretation of the phrase ‘dry yam’ from which it is derived.

- (155) àdég á*ſé
 disease bush
 ‘cancer’

- (156) àdʒí fō *from* àdʒú áfō
 cassava yam dry
 ‘cassava’ ‘dry yam’

Some compounds contain elements that are no longer recognizable as independent nouns and may be considered similar to the so-called cranberry morphs in English. An interesting case of this is (160), which seems transparent to a linguist working on the language, although the analysis presented here is rejected by my informants.

- (157) àʃí ség í*gün
 child ? behind
 ‘younger brother’

- (158) àʃí kpírág
 child(DIM) ?
 ‘spoon’

- (159) àván ífàl
 ? ?
 ‘lung’ (cf. another unanalyzable compound àván dʒíréг ‘heart’)

(160)	màn	èlíb
	fat	head
		'brain'

In Kam, compounds and phrases do not differ fundamentally in their morphosyntax. Rather, binominal compounds are a type of phrase with a classifying modifier rather than a descriptive one. Such binominal compounds can then by themselves operate as complex nouns. Binominal compounding is a productive way to form new, initially compositional nouns. These complex nouns can then, because of the classificatory, non-descriptive nature of the modifier, become non-compositional and lexicalized.

7.2.1.2 Noun + attributive adjective compounds with *jì* 'thing' or *jí* 'person'

New nouns can be formed with a noun followed by an attributive adjective. In this case, the noun is *jì* 'thing' or *jí* 'person'. I discuss this construction, a type of compound noun, in its own subsection because it is a common and productive way of creating new nouns.

Adjectives in these *jì/jí* compounds are derived from verbs according to the scheme discussed in § 7.5: they have a prefix *á^L*, replacive M tone on the verb stem,⁶³ and a final vowel -i (in CVC-stems, cf. § 12.2). They could be considered minimal relative clauses.⁶⁴

The *jí/jì* construction is used for basic lexical concepts such as 'food', 'elder', 'farmer' as well as for more specific concepts such as 'scratch', 'infected rash'.

(161)	jì	í-nīm-í
	jì	á ^L -nīm M-i
	thing	ADJ-eat\ADJ-FV
		'food'

(162)	jí	í-bɔ̄r-í
	jí	á ^L -bɔ̄r M-i
	person	ADJ-be.big\ADJ-FV
		'elder'

⁶³ This M could be a downstepped H, cf. footnote 69 on p. 174.

⁶⁴ I wish to thank Jeff Good for this suggestion.

(163)	jí	í-bār-í
	jí	á ^L -bàr\ADJ-FV
	person	ADJ-farm\ADJ-FV
		‘farmer’

(164)	jì	í-gbēr-í
	jì	á ^L -gbèr\M-i
	thing	ADJ-scratch\ADJ-FV
		‘scratch’

(165)	jì	í-bōb-rí
	jì	á ^L -bōb\L-rí\M
	thing	ADJ-come.out\CAUS-CAUS\ADJ
		‘infected rash’

(166)	jì	í-dērí
	jì	á ^L -dèrí\M
	thing	ADJ-draw\ADJ
		‘school’

(167)	jí	í-fāg-í
	jí	á ^L -fāg\M-i
	person	ADJ-lock\ADJ-FV
		‘prisoner’

(168)	jì	íʃō
	thing	warm
		‘living being’

7.2.1.3 Trinominal compounds: *jì* ‘thing’/*jí* ‘person + noun + adjective

Kam also features many trinominal compounds where *jì* ‘thing’ or *jí* ‘person’ is followed by a ‘noun + attributive adjective’ construction. These constructions involve an action, which is encoded by the final adjective (in (169) ‘to close’). This action affects a thing, which is expressed by the following noun (an

‘eye’). This action is executed by an agent, which is rendered by *ní* ‘thing’ or *ní* ‘person’. A Christian, then, is ‘a person who closes (their) eyes’.

- (169) *ní* *nùŋ* *tīksī*
 ní *ànùŋ* ^L-*tīksí*\M
 person eye ADJ-close\ADJ
 ‘Christian’ (literally: ‘person of closed eyes’)
 (session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

This type of compound is very productive. Like the *ní/ní* compounds discussed in § 7.2.1.2, they can express fairly basic concepts (e.g. ‘tailor’, ‘hunter’, ‘deaf person’), but are also used for more recently introduced concepts (‘toothbrush’, ‘Christian’, ‘cup’). The syntactic structure of the construction is akin to a complex associative construction (cf. § 10.3.3.1), where *ní* ‘person’ or *ní* ‘thing’ is modified by a ‘noun + adjective’ noun phrase (e.g. ‘person of lowering of forehead’). It is notable that in this construction the segmental part of the prefix *d^L* that usually derives adjectives from verbs is always dropped in the final adjective. It is never retained or centralized to *z^L*. Its floating ^L tone remains, blocking H tone spread from preceding syllables (e.g. in (174) and (175)).

- (170) *ní* *gòm* *bāg-ī*
 ní *àgòm* ^L-*bāgī*\M-i
 person forehead ADJ-lower.head\ADJ-FV
 ‘muslim’ (literally: ‘person of lowered forehead’)
 (session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (171) *ní* *ní* *bār-ī*
 ní *jì* ^L-*bār*\M-i
 person thing ADJ-farm\NMLZ-FV
 ‘farmer’ (literally: ‘person of farmed thing’)
 (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (172) *ní* *ʃàg* *dēŋ-ī*
 ní *àʃàg* ^L-*dēŋ*\M-i
 thing tooth ADJ-wipe\M-FV
 ‘toothbrush’ (literally: ‘thing of wiped thing’)
 (session_172, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (173) jì nùŋ bōk-sī
 jì ànùŋ ^L-bōk-sī\M
 thing eye ADJ-be.black-CAUS\NMLZ
 ‘shameful thing’ (literally: ‘thing of black eye’)
 (session_283, Babangida Audu, elicitation)
- (174) jí nág nīmsī
 jí nág ^L-nīmsī\M
 person cow ADJ-feed\NMLZ
 ‘cattle rearer’ (literally: ‘person of fed cow’)
- (175) jì mìŋkáŋá tūg-ī
 jì mìŋkáŋá ^L-tùg\M-i
 thing water ADJ-fetch\NMLZ-FV
 ‘cup’ (literally: ‘thing of fetched water’)
- (176) jí jí gbām-ī
 jí jí ^L-gbàm\M-i
 person thing ADJ-sow\NMLZ-FV
 ‘tailor’ (literally: ‘person of sowed thing’)
- (177) jí kàr fāg-ī
 jí àkàr ^L-fāg\M-i
 person ear ADJ-lock\NMLZ-FV
 ‘deaf person’ (literally: ‘person of closed ear’)
- (178) jí jí mgbaab-ī
 jí jí ^L-mgbaab\M-i
 person thing ADJ-shoot\NMLZ-FV
 ‘hunter’ (literally: ‘person of shot thing’)

7.2.2 Diminutive and augmentative derivation

Diminutive markers express small size of the entity referred to by the noun. (*à*)*yì* ‘child’ is used to form diminutives in Kam.

(179) a.

(à) <i>yì</i>	<i>m̄p̄er̄g</i>
child	rat
‘young of rat’	

b.

(à) <i>yì</i>	<i>m̄p̄er̄g</i>
DIM	rat
‘mouse, small rat’	

(180) *àŋgwóg á, àyì ñgwóg á*

house PROX DIM house PRSTT

‘This house is a small house.’

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

Larger male animals are often modified with *àná* ‘father’ of *mè* ‘mother’, but I have no examples of it being used as an augmentative marker for inanimate nouns.

(181) *àná mkpòj*

father agama.lizard

‘male agama lizard’

(182) *àná s᷑*

father large.ape

‘older male large ape’

(183) *mè s᷑*

mother large.ape

‘older female large ape’

7.2.3 Nominalization

7.2.3.1 Deverbal participant nominalization with *à-* and replacive H tone

The prefix *à-* can be found as a general nominalizer on verbs. The verb stem is almost always marked with a replacive H tone. The *à-* prefix is prosodically weak and behaves like other prosodic prefixes on nouns: it can be dropped utterance-medially or reduced to a central vowel *ə* (§ 4.2.9). This nominalization strategy is not synchronically productive, as no new nouns can be made with it. In the currently collected lexicon of 1,550 Kam lexemes, only 22 nouns are related to verbs in this way.

Patient nominalization

- (184) à-bén
 à-bén\H
 NMLZ-talk\NMLZ
 ‘talk, speech, topic’
- (185) à-jé
 à-jé\H
 NMLZ-shout\NMLZ
 ‘shout’
- (186) à-kpéré
 à-kpərē\H
 NMLZ-cough\NMLZ
 ‘cough’
- (187) à-nám
 à-nàm\H
 NMLZ-grind\NMLZ
 ‘flour’

Agent nominalization

- (188) à-zúb
 à-zùb\H
 NMLZ-steal\NMLZ
 ‘thief’

- (189) à-lóg
 à-lòg\H
 NMLZ-give.birth\NMLZ
 ‘maternal relative’

Instrument nominalization

- (190) à-bág
 à-bàg\H
 NMLZ-stab\NMLZ
 ‘knife’

Other nominalization types

- (191) à-búr
 à-búr\H
 NMLZ-white\NMLZ
 ‘cloud’
- (192) à-gág
 à-gág\H
 NMLZ-hang\NMLZ
 ‘branch’
- (193) à-kúptí
 à-kùptí\H
 NMLZ-kneel.down\NMLZ
 ‘lazy person’ or ‘laziness’
- (194) à-dég
 à-dèg\H
 NMLZ-be.sick\NMLZ
 ‘disease’

One example in the data unexpectedly shows a replacive L tone instead of a H tone on the verb stem.

- (195) à-vèg
 à-vég\L
 NMLZ-die\NMLZ
 ‘death, corpse’

Another individual example shows no replacive tone whatsoever.

- (196) à-làŋ
 à-làŋ
 NMLZ-cook
 ‘pot’

7.2.3.2 Abstract noun derivation with à- ... -rì and replacive H tone

Another nominalization pattern derives abstract nouns with a similar à-prefix, replacive H tone on the verb stem, and a *rì*-suffix. When the abstract noun denotes a property, its meaning can be metonymically extended to a person having that property. This nominalization process is fully productive and can be applied to any verb.

- (197) à-búní-rî
 à-būnī\H-rì
 NMLZ-cross\NMLZ-NMLZ
 ‘(a) crossing’, ‘(someone’s) crossing (the road)’

- (198) à-dʒíŋ-rî
 à-dʒíŋ\H-rì
 NMLZ-be.foolish\NMLZ-NMLZ
 ‘foolishness’ or ‘fool’

- (199) à-lém-rî
 à-lèm\H-rì
 NMLZ-be.good\NMLZ-rì
 ‘goodness, beauty’

- (200) à-sáŋ-r̄í
 à-sáŋ\H-r̄í
 NMLZ-go\NMLZ-NMLZ
 '(the) going'

7.3 Proper names

Proper names refer to persons or characters, places, clans, ethnicities and traditional institutions, specific events, and weekdays. Some examples follow. I did not collect proper names of animals and songs.

- (201) **Person names**

àkpákán	àkpàkánì	džúrkàkí
màſní	kìní	kìŋkìndžírí
bójí	nēwī	wàrkû
àtáké	gàŋsâ	zìmà
ʃjɔŋgàdžím	ŋkāŋfñ	ànùŋdžál
kávén	dùwásām	ŋwìŋkî
ŋkòntòró	àjáwkánî	sòvírí
ʃíwántà	ʃíŋgáw	mántì
àʃuwí	vówî	àsàbé

(202) **Place names**a. *Villages*

- gàñtú (Gangtu Kamajim)
 sàmàrlím (Sabongida Kamajim)
 àñwí bóg (Kamajim 1, where *àñwí* is ‘place’)
 àñwí li⁺léb (Kamajim 2, literally ‘middle place’)
 àñwí fénsòg (Kamajim 3, where *àñwí* is ‘place’)
 wúrá (Wura)
 gòptí (Gobti)
 dʒùrùkí (Kurugbe)
 kpágárág (Bayaro, literally ‘tilapia fish’)
 pjáw (a village within Sarkin Dawa)
 àbén ndérí (Abanderi, literally ‘spoiled talk’)
 àñgwóg kádirí (Garin Kadiri, literally ‘house of Kadiri’)
 àñgwóg é⁺kírag (Garin Zana, literally ‘house of Akirag’)
 àñgwóg góp⁺tí (Gunduma B, literally ‘house of Gobti’)
 àñgwóg sín⁺gáw (Garin Shingaw, literally ‘house of Shingaw’)
 àñwí né (Garin Tukura)
 àñwí bún⁺tí (Bunti)
 kàm sírá (Kam Sira)
 fènʃɔ́ (Fincon)
 ŋwé nín dá⁺rá (Garin Hamza, literally: ‘mouth of bottom of palm tree’)

b. *Lakes and mountains*

- ñtóŋ sání (mountain Sani)
 àsòm kwàn (lake Kwan)
 àsòm àmàmbírí (lake Amambiri, literally ‘lake coconut’)
 àsòm kpágárág (lake Kpagarag, literally ‘lake tilapia fish’)
 àsòm wúrá (lake Wura)
 dʒìm (a culturally important place where traditional chiefs are buried, on the Kamajim mountain)

(203) **Clan names**

- jí Jíríkú (Shiriku people)
jí mfɔ́ + séj ('thorn tree forest' people)⁶⁵
jí ntóŋí wēj ('mahogany tree mountain' people)⁶⁶
jí ntóŋ sání ('people of mountain Sani')
jíbá (the clan that takes care of the needs of the traditional chief)

(204) **Ethnicities and religions**

- àŋwòm (Kam)
dàw (Jirim)
kwàntóŋ (Mumuye)
àkómlâ (Mumuye, alternative name)
màkpà (Hausa, also Muslim)
jí nág nīmsī (Fulani, literally 'cattle rearer')
ánīmsī (Fulani, alternative name, an adjectivized form of 'to feed')
nīmsī nág (Fulani, alternative name, literally 'feeding of cow')

jí dʒóŋ mé (followers of the traditional religion)
jí gòm bāgī (Muslim, alternative name)
jí nùŋ tīksī (Christian, literally 'people who close their eyes')

⁶⁵ *séj* is a species of tree with thorns that I was not able to identify. My informants called it *kaya* in Hausa, which is a general name for 'thorn'.

⁶⁶ There is an unexpected vowel *i* after *ntóŋ* 'mountain' here. Note also that in the names including *ntóŋ* as a component, the L tone of *ntóŋ* is dropped.

(205) **Traditional institutions and titles⁶⁷**a. *Deities and cults*

kùrìkî (God, this name is used for the Christian and Islamic God)

màm (deity, sp.)

àléŋ (deity, sp.)

ákú (cult, sp.)

dzón̄ (cult, sp.)

dàmpóŋ (cult, named after a historical hero-chief)

b. *Types of magic*

tìdžón̄ (magic, sp., also the name for ‘east’)

kú (magic, sp., also the name for ‘cobra’)

c. *Official titles*

àbēnjí (traditional king, literally ‘owner of people’)

wàŋkú (traditional king, alternative name; literally ‘king of kú’, kú being a cult)

àwàn (king, general name)

mē tìdžón̄ (the mother of the traditional chief, literally ‘mother of tìdžón̄’)

ſáŋwádžè (elder daughter of the traditional chief)

ſóngádžím (younger daughter of the traditional chief)

ſíkú (priest, sp.)

àkímpá (official, sp.)

ſíwó (a group of people lead by the official called àkímpá)

bōnū (group of people responsible for opening traditional festivals)

⁶⁷ I do not currently have enough information to provide a clear picture of the meanings or uses of each term mentioned here. For example, it is not clear to me whether there are different deities that have different names, or whether there is one deity that goes by different names. The functions of different officials or different types of magic could also not be investigated within the scope of the current project. Meek (1931b: 538-550) provides some discussion of Kam traditional religion, but I was not able to fully verify his discussion with my consultants.

(206) **Events and dances**

ńsúrój (traditional dance, sp.)

àkú bónū (festival, sp.)

(207) **Weekdays**

Kam	English	Etymology notes
kàŋkánê	Monday	Name of a Jirim village that has a market event on Mondays. Also <i>Kankani</i> .
tálátá	Tuesday	Borrowed from Hausa (Talata) – originally from Arabic <i>at-talaata</i> ‘Tuesday’, literally ‘day the third (starting from Sunday)’
màjòkàm	Wednesday	Name of Mayo Kam, a Kam village with a market event on Wednesdays.
àlám̄:s	Thursday	Borrowed from Hausa (<i>alhamis</i>); originally from Arabic <i>yoom al-khamiis</i> ‘Thursday’, literally ‘day the fifth (starting from Sunday)’
džúmbàrè	Friday	Borrowed from Adamawa Fulfulde (<i>jumbaare</i>), originally from Arabic <i>yoom aj-jum'a</i> ‘Friday’, literally ‘day of the mosque’
àsábâr	Saturday	Borrowed from Hausa (<i>Asabar</i>), originally from Arabic <i>yoom as-sabat</i> ‘Saturday’, literally ‘day the seventh (starting from Sunday)’
láhàdì	Sunday	Borrowed from Hausa (<i>Lahadi</i>), originally from Arabic <i>yoom al-ahad</i> ‘Sunday’, literally ‘day the first’

People in Kam often have more than one name, including (1) a traditional name in Kam, (2) a Christian or an Islamic name, (3) one's father's name, (4) one or more nicknames.

The traditional name is chosen shortly after one's birth by one's grandparents, and can be a phrase referring to an event during which someone was born, or to something special about the pregnancy (e.g. *àjì yí* 'generation of poverty' for someone who was born in times of poverty, *kùrìkî sín à* 'God has done it' when someone has given birth who was thought to be infertile). The name can also simply be the same name as a grandparent or an older relative.

The Christian or Islamic name is given in the presence of an imam or a priest. When the parents of a child are Christian, this is done during baptism. Christian names are generally borrowed from English, Islamic names are borrowed from Hausa. Some children receive a Hausa name regardless of their parents' religion.

Children automatically receive their father's name as their second name and are often referred to (or refer to themselves) by their father's name. People often get a nickname based on their attitude, behavior or on their speech (e.g. common phrases they use).

Some morphosyntactic operations on proper names have a different function than when they are applied to common nouns. Plural marking on person names, for example, elicits an associative plural reading: 'people associated with x' rather than 'multiple instances of x':

- (208) Vówí jō
 Vówí PL
 'Vowi and his associates/family/friends'
 (session_353, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

When a person name is combined with a proximal or distal demonstrative modifier, it usually expresses frustration about that person, or it at least implies that the person has done something wrong.

- (209) Vówí ò
 Vówí DIST
 'That Vowi! (Has he done something bad again?)'
 (session_353, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

Person names or titles serving as such often occur in the vocative construction:

- (210) Bàbángídá ooj!
 Babangida VOC
 'Hey, Babangida!'

- (211) àlásírá ooj!
 white.person VOC
 'Hey, white man!'

7.4 Numerals

7.4.1.1 Basic morphosyntax of numerals

Numerals are morphosyntactically like nouns. Like nouns, they can be the head or the sole member of the noun phrase. They can also be used in a possessive construction, modified with adjectives and used with prepositions.

- (212) ɿàr kím mífám, ɪ̄wún kím ítábé
 three eat:PFV meat, five eat:PFV fish
 'Three ate meat, five ate fish.'

(session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (213) ɿí ɿàr á
 children three PRSTT
 'The children are three.'

(session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (214) ñnár á
 four PRSTT
 'It is four.'

(session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (215) bí í
 one 3PL:POSS
 'one of theirs'

(session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (216) ɿàr á-ɪ̄wí
 three ADJ-new
 'three new (ones)'

(session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (217) kó jírāg
 INSTR two
 ‘with two (e.g. hands)’
 (session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

When used as quantifiers, numerals always follow nouns.

- (218) àwàñ ãfàr
 king three
 ‘three kings’
 (session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)
- (219) m̄pīrī jírāg
 goat two
 ‘two goats’
 (session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

7.4.1.2 Formation of cardinal numerals

7.4.1.2.1 *Simplex numerals*

Kam has a decimal (10-based) and vigesimal (20-based) counting system, possibly with a trace of a quinary (5-based) system in number seven: *dʒùb jírāg* ‘seven’ can be segmented into *dʒùb* ‘six’ and *jírāg* ‘two’. Two diachronic interpretations of this are possible: either the compound expression is derived from a phrase meaning ‘second six’ (cf. Pozdniakov 2018: 150, 165), or *dʒùb* was the original term for ‘five’ and the original meaning was five-two. Apart from ‘seven’, numerals from one to ten are synchronically monomorphemic.

(220)	b̄ñ or bimbíní	1
	jīrāg	2
	ȝār	3
	ñnár	4
	ñwún	5
	dʒùb	6
	dʒùb jīrāg	7 (lit.: ‘six two’)
	sâr	8
	n̄i᷑zá	9
	bō	10

According to my current data, *bimbíní* is a free alternative to *b̄ñ* ‘one’. *b̄ñ* appears to be the default, most frequently used form. Possibly, *bimbíní* is or was an emphatic form meaning ‘exactly one’. *ñnár* ‘four’ has an initial syllabic nasal followed by a non-syllabic nasal, a phenomenon that does not occur elsewhere in simplex lexemes in Kam, which points to possible historical morphological complexity. The syllabic nasals are dropped when these numerals are used in complex numerals (see below). *n̄i᷑zá*, the numeral for nine, features internal downstep, which may also be indicative of historical complexity. For *n̄i᷑zá*, it should also be noted that the form found in isolation is different from the form found in complex numerals, which has an added velar stop in the final syllable’s coda position (*n̄i᷑zág*, see below).

There are two separate numerals for twenty. *kpējmī*, which is synchronically monomorphemic, and *àkpō-b̄ñ* which is, by analogy with tens after twenty, analyzable into the bound stem *àkpō* ‘twenty’ that does not occur anywhere in isolation, and the numeral for one, *b̄ñ*. Possibly, the initial part of both terms for ‘twenty’ are etymologically related to *kpō* ‘body’. *-mī* in *kpējmī* may be related to the indefinite article *mī^L* (cf. § 9.4.4). Some informants preferred *àkpō-b̄ñ* over *kpējmī* in isolation, but both are attested. These numerals have different combinatory properties with other numerals to form complex numerals: *kpējmī* is used to form numerals from twenty-one to twenty-nine, and *àkpō-b̄ñ* is used to form twenties above twenty, i.e. numbers that are multiples of twenty. Thirty can be formed with either numeral. See below for more on this.

(221)	kpēj-mī	20 (kpēj[body?]-mī ^L [some?])
	àkpō-b̄ñ	20 (àkpō[body?]-one)

In general, for many numbers, Hausa numerals can also be used by Kam speakers as simplex alternatives to the Kam complex numerals. Examples where simplex Hausa and complex Kam numerals can be used alongside each other are Hausa (originally Arabic) *tàlàtín* ‘thirty’ – alongside Kam *àkpō b̄ñ + rā gún bō* (or

kpèjmì gún bô, see below) ‘thirty’ and Hausa *dàrì* ‘hundred’ – alongside Kam *àkpôò ywún* ‘hundred’. Such alternative Hausa numerals can be used in complex Kam numerals, e.g. *dàrì bî* (hundred one) ‘one hundred’.

In some cases, only the numeral borrowed from Hausa is used, which is always simplex:

- (222) dúbú ‘one thousand’ (borrowing, likely from Hausa *dubu*)
 mìljén ‘one million’ (borrowing, likely from Hausa *miliyan*, indirectly borrowed from English *million*)

7.4.1.2.2 Complex numerals

Numerals from eleven to nineteen and twenty-one to thirty are formed according to a typical decimal system: with *bô* ‘ten’ or *kpèjmî* ‘twenty’ in combination with the prepositional noun *gún* ‘back, behind’ and one of the numerals from one to nine. Note that, for twenty-one to twenty-nine, only *kpèjmî* can be used to mean ‘twenty’, and never *àkpôò-bî*, which is only used in isolation and in multiples of twenty (see below). For the number ‘thirty’, two forms are possible: one according to this pattern - *kpèjmì gún bô* (twenty behind ten) ‘thirty’, or one according to the pattern with *àkpôò-bî* as discussed below.

Formation of numerals from eleven to nineteen and twenty-one to thirty

(223)	bô + gún + 1-9	
	bô gún bî	11 (ten behind one)
	bô gún bímbínl	11, alternative (ten behind one)
	bô gún jírâg	12 (ten behind two)
	bô gún nár	14 (ten behind four)
	bô gún wún	15 (ten behind five)
	bò gún ní ⁺ zág	19 (ten behind nine)
	kpèjmì gún bî	21 (twenty behind one)
	kpèjmì gún bô	30 (twenty behind ten)
	àkpôò-bî ⁺ ré gún bô	30, alternative (twenty-one COM behind ten, see below)

In numbers from eleven to nineteen, *bô* is sometimes simply dropped, which results, for example, in *gún jírâg* for ‘twelve’, or *gún wún* for ‘fifteen’.

Also note that, as mentioned above, the nasal prefixes of *n-nár* ‘four’ and *ñ-wún* ‘five’ are dropped in these complex numerals. In both cases, the tone of the prefix is also dropped. Also note the different form of *ní⁺zág*, which has a final -g in complex forms and a different tonal pattern.

The preposition *gún* ‘behind’ is a form of the prepositional noun *àgún* where, as often happens with prepositional nouns, the *à*-prefix has been dropped as well as its tone (cf. § 11.2.3). In numerals, this *à*- or its tone never resurfaces.

Multiples of twenty are formed according to a vigesimal system, i.e. by means of the bound stem *àkpō-* ‘twenty’, followed by the number referred to by the complex numeral divided by twenty. Note that 400 is obligatorily formed by means of the two different numerals that exist for twenty: *àkpō-* followed by *kpējmī*. The form **àkpō-á⁺kpō-bí* was not accepted by my informants here.

(224) **Formation of twenties**

<i>àkpō</i>	+ 1-20
<i>àkpō-bí</i>	20 (twenty one)
<i>àkpō-jírág</i>	40 (twenty-two)
<i>àkpō nár</i>	80 (twenty-four)
<i>àkpō-ŋwún</i>	100 (twenty-five)
<i>àkpō dʒúb</i>	120 (twenty-six)
<i>àkpō-bó^L</i>	200 (twenty-ten)
<i>àkpō-kpējmī</i>	400 (twenty-twenty)

Numbers in between the twenties (41-59, 61-79, 221-239, etc.) are generally formed with the ‘twenty’, followed by a modified form of the comitative *rá* – which has H tone in this construction but L tone elsewhere in the language – followed by the preposition *gún* ‘behind’ also found in other numerals, and then followed by the appropriate numeral from one to nineteen. *kpējmī* ‘twenty’ can also be used as the second part of this construction (instead of a numeral from one to nineteen), especially for numbers beyond 200, but in these cases no preposition *gún* is used, and the comitative *rá* receives its normal L tone. For thirty, as mentioned before, the numeral can be constructed according to this pattern, or it can be constructed according to the same pattern as numerals from one to thirty as described above.

(225) **Formation of numbers in between twenties**

[<i>àkpō</i> + 1-20] + <i>rá</i> + <i>gún</i> + 1-30	
<i>àkpō-bí⁺rá gún bō</i>	30 (twenty-one COM behind ten)
<i>kpējmī gún bō</i>	30, alternative (twenty behind ten)
<i>àkpō-jírág rá gún bō</i>	50 (twenty-two COM behind ten)
<i>àkpō-ʃár rá gún bō</i>	70 (twenty-three COM behind ten)
<i>àkpō-bó rá kpējmī</i>	220 (twenty-ten COM twenty)
<i>àkpō-bó rá kpējmī gún bō</i>	230 (twenty COM thirty[twenty behind ten])

7.5 *Attributive adjectives*

Attributive adjectives are lexemes that typically function as adnominal modifiers. In that position, they describe a property of the head noun. Very sporadically, an attributive adjective occurs as the head of a noun phrase. In such cases, the adjective metonymically refers to something that has the expressed property.⁶⁸

(226) **Adjectives modifying nouns**

àtär	i-dūb-ī
stone	ADJ-be.tall:ADJ-FV
‘a tall stone’	

àtär	i-būr-ī
stone	ADJ-be.white:ADJ-FV
‘a white stone’	

(227) **Adjectives functioning as head nouns**

ásūmrī	+jō
old	PL
‘old things’	

ábāgārī	+jō
black	PL
‘black things’	

ádōmrī	+jō
red	PL
‘red things’	

ávān	jō
male	PL
‘males’	

⁶⁸ One lexeme, *ántērī* ‘truth’ has all formal properties of an adjective but has only been attested as a noun.

ábōgō ‘night, dark’

áwū ‘ripe’ or ‘ripe fruit’

There are no unambiguously simplex adjectival stems in Kam. Most are derived from verbs. Some, listed in (231) below, have no corresponding verbal stem and are thus not synchronically derived from verbs.

The process deriving adjectives from verbs is morphologically complex, consisting of separate morphemes:

- Replacive M tone on the verb stem⁶⁹
- á^L- prefix (the floating L tone is evident from the fact that the H tone on á does not spread)
- -i final vowel (only if the verb ends in a consonant, cf. § 12.2)

This process is very productive. It is both visible in basic vocabulary and in the formation of neologisms. Adjectivized verbs are often found with the noun *jì* ‘thing’ to create new nouns (cf. § 7.2.1.2).

(228) **Examples of deverbal adjectives**

á-bōr-í
 á^L-bōr|M-i
 ADJ-climb\ADJ-FV
 ‘big’

á-dūbī
 á^L-dùb|M-i
 ADJ-be.tall\ADJ-FV
 ‘tall’

⁶⁹ This M could be a downstepped H. In the examples I used to check the tone of this type of derivation, a H after these adjectives is pronounced higher than the M that is found on the stem (e.g. ábōrī á ba~‘This is a big [thing] here.’). However, I have also sporadically heard a H tone after adjectives that is pronounced at the same height as the tone pattern of the stem. The latter situation could be explained by an analysis that treats the replacive tone pattern on adjectives as H, which is downstepped by the floating L tone of the prefix á^L. The H tones following an adjective could, then, be pronounced on the same (downstepped) register as the H tone on the adjective (á^{*}bóri á ba), or the register could be reset and the following H tones are pronounced as regular (non-downstepped) H tones. The exact pronunciation could depend on the phonological context and on the speaker.

á-fām-í
 á^L-fám|M-i
 ADJ-be.light|ADJ-FV
 ‘light’

á-būr-í
 á^L-búr|M-i
 ADJ-be.white|ADJ-FV
 ‘white’

á-wū
 á^L-wū|M
 ADJ-be.ripe|ADJ
 ‘ripe’

(229) Examples of *nì* + adjectivized verbs forming basic and new nouns

nì í-nīm-í
 thing ADJ-eat:ADJ-FV
 ‘food’ (literally: ‘thing of eating’)

nì í-gbēr-í
 thing ADJ-scratch:ADJ-FV
 ‘scratch, n.’ (literally: ‘thing of scratching’)

nì í-dēr-í
 thing ADJ-draw:ADJ-FV
 ‘school’ (literally: ‘thing of drawing’)

nì í-zūg-í kār
 thing ADJ-put:ADJ-FV ear
 ‘earpiece’ (literally an associative phrase: ‘thing of putting of the ear’)

As exemplified in (229) and in (230), the á^L-prefix is prosodically weak and behaves similarly to the a-prefixes found on nominal stems (§ 4.2.9 and § 7.1): they are omitted or reduced to /i/ utterance-internally.

In (229), this /i/ is raised to /i/ under the influence of a preceding /i/. Note that in examples such as (230), the a-prefix is never retained, but only the floating ^L tone remains (cf. § 7.2.1.3).⁷⁰

(230)	jí	nùŋ	tíksí	
	jí	ànùŋ	á ^L -tíksí\M	
	person	eye	ADJ-close:CAUS\ADJ	
'christian' (literally an associative phrase: 'person of closed eyes')				

For a small number of attributive adjectives, their deverbal origin is no more transparent synchronically. Such exceptions may be of three different types, and some attributive adjectives are exceptional in more than one of these regards: (1) some attributive adjectives have no corresponding verbal stem, (2) others show a historical relation between the adjective and the verbal stem, but cannot be synchronically derived from them, (3) some adjectives show the characteristic *á^L*-prefix, but are otherwise exceptional in that they do not show an expected final vowel *-i*, end in a *-ri* suffix, or their stem shows an unexpected tone. The following lists of examples provide all the cases found so far in my current lexical database.

(231) **Adjectives without corresponding verbal stem**

- ábōgō 'night, dark'
- ábēfā 'blue'
- áŋwī 'new'
- ámō 'good'
- ántē 'small'
- áſā 'unripe'
- ántwàb 'young, small'
- ásūmrí 'old'
- ág'bàn 'female' (cf. àgbàn 'wife')
- ákòg 'oldest, dominant' (cf. kògè jí 'old person')
- ávān 'male' (cf. àván 'husband')

⁷⁰ This could mean that á- and the floating ^L tone are in fact two different prefixes. In constructions such as (230), there may not be an underlying á-prefix, but only a floating ^L tone. Perhaps this floating ^L tone goes back to a prefix à- segmentally identical to the H tone á prefix, maybe the nominalizing à- mentioned in § 7.2.3.

(232) **Adjectives with historically related verbal stems**

- ádā ‘cold, well’ (cf. dág ‘to be cold, to become cold’)
 áfō ‘dry’ (cf. fóg ‘to be dry’)
 áʃō ‘warm’ (cf. ʃɔb ‘to be hot’)
 ádōmrī ‘red’ (cf. dìndòm ‘to be red’)

(233) **Adjectives with unexpected morphology or tone**

- ágbàn ‘female’ (cf. àgbàn ‘wife’) – unexpected L tone + no final vowel⁷¹
 ákòg ‘oldest, dominant’ (cf. kògè ní ‘old person’) – unexpected L tone + no final vowel
 ávān ‘male’ (cf. àván ‘husband’) – no final vowel
 ádōmrī ‘red’ (cf. dìndòm ‘to be red’) – unexpected -rì suffix
 ásūmrī ‘old’ – unexpected -rì suffix
 ábōgōrī ‘black’ – unexpected -rì suffix

⁷¹ Here and in the next example, the fact the tone is not M may indicate that these are not deverbal derivations but that the derivational pattern is different. These adjectives may, for example, derive from nouns.

8 Pronominals

8.1 Overview

Pronominals refer to speech act participants (first and second persons) and other entities already introduced in the discourse (third persons). In Kam, there is also a singular logophoric personal pronoun *i^L* that is used when a third person subject, object, or possessor in reported discourse has the same referent as the person whose discourse is being reported. There is no inclusive-exclusive distinction in the Kam pronominal system. Table 34 on p. 182 provides an overview of all the pronominals found in Kam.

Pronominals are a closed sub-class of nouns that can substitute other noun phrases. Pronominals and the pronominal system of Kam have the following features that set them apart from nouns:

- Number marking in pronominals is different from number marking in nouns. In pronominals, number is marked by means of suppletion: different stems are used, rather than a dedicated marker.
- Some pronominals feature argument marking. Subject pronominals are different from object pronominals and from possessive pronominals. The differences are mostly tonal: object pronominals have H tone, possessive pronominals have H^L tone, and some subject pronominals have L tone.
- There are different subject pronominals for 1SG and 2SG depending on the tense, aspect and negation values of the clause. In the typological literature, these are referred to as STAMP morphs (portmanteau Subject-Tense-Aspect-Mood-Polarity morphemes, cf. Anderson 2011, 2012, 2015, 2016). I will not use this term for Kam, since mood is not encoded grammatically. The only difference between forms in Kam is tonal.
- Pronominals are not usually modified with adjectives or relative clauses. This is not attested, but no negative evidence is currently available to suggest that this is impossible either.

There is a distinction between independent pronominals and bound pronominals. This is only relevant for first person singular, second person singular and first person plural categories. Following Haspelmath (2013) I call bound pronominals *person indexes* or just *indexes*.

Speakers usually leave third person non-human arguments unexpressed. Like humans, they may, however, be referred to anaphorically with the demonstratives *ba* ‘PROX.ID, this one’ or *bō* ‘DIST.ID; that one’. An exception is found in many folktales, where animals may be personified.

Pronominals cannot co-occur with a noun phrase expressing the same argument in the clause. Such noun phrases have sometimes been called conominals in the literature, and the co-occurrence of a noun

phrase with a pronominal or index has been called conomination (Haspelmath 2013: 205-209). In Kam, conomination is impossible: pronominals and noun phrases are in complementary distribution. The examples in (234) to (236) demonstrate this. A noun phrase can occur by itself without a pronominal (*àfì ígbàn mí* ‘a certain girl’ in (234)). A pronominal can occur by itself without conominal (*àwú* ‘3SG’ in (235)). (236) illustrates that a pronominal cannot be accompanied by a conominal: conomination renders the clause ungrammatical. Pronominals should thus not be considered agreement markers on verbs, but as noun phrases in their own right. There is no person or number agreement on verbs in Kam.

- (234) àfì í-gbàn mí rè fér jí
 girl ADJ-female some IPFV wash thing
 ‘Some girl was doing her laundry.’
 (session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

- (235) àwú ré *fér jí
 3SG IPFV wash thing
 ‘She was doing her laundry.’
 (constructed example)

- (236) * àfì í-gbàn mí àwú ré *fér jí
 girl ADJ-female some 3SG IPFV wash thing
 ‘Some girl was doing her laundry.’
 (impossible, constructed example)

(237) may appear as an example with conomination: the pronominal *jím* seems to co-occur with the noun *àwàn* within the same clause. The pronominal *jím*, however, is syntactically separate from the clause, and is detached from it by an intonation break (indicated in the example with a comma). Although it is co-referential with the subject argument of the clause, *jím* does not encode an argument by itself (cf. Haspelmath 2013: 206).

- (237) jím, àwàn jí ñwòm
 1SG.ID, king person Kam
 ‘I, the king of the Kam ...’
 (session_208, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

Another apparent exception to this rule are sentences with a relative clause, where a subject pronominal co-referential with the relativized noun is used after the relative clause. However, a pause is often inserted

between the relative clause and the subject pronominal. Like *nìm* (237), the noun phrase with the relative clause is syntactically and intonationally separated from the rest of the clause.

(238)	àwàn	ā	míŋ	éŋ [†] gwóg	â,
	king	REL	build:PFV	house	REL,
	ú	dé	ré	jì	rīg
	3SG	be	with	thing	POSS

‘The king who built the house is rich.’ (lit.: ‘The king who built the house, he is rich’)

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

Table 34 provides an overview of all subject pronominals, object pronominals, possessive pronominals and independent pronominals in Kam. I include the independent demonstratives *ba* ‘PROX.ID, this one’ or *bō* ‘DIST.ID, that one’ in the table, but I do not describe them in detail in this chapter. I treat them elsewhere, in § 9.2.

I discuss subject pronominals in § 8.2, object pronominals in § 8.3, possessive pronominals in § 8.4, independent pronominals in § 8.5 and the logophoric pronominal in § 8.6. I discuss other pronominals later in this chapter, including reflexive and reciprocal pronominals (§ 8.7), and the existential pronominal *níni^L* (§ 8.8).

Table 34 – Kam pronominals and demonstratives (grey cells indicate that there is no specialized form)

	Subject pronominal	Object pronominal	Possessive pronominal	Independent pronominal
1SG	Ń (PFV, FUT, NEG.FUT) ጀ (IPFV, NEG:NFUT)	ḿ	ḿ ^L	ńim
2SG	á (PFV, FUT, NEG.FUT) à (IPFV, NEG:NFUT)	á	já ^L	jà
3SG nonhuman	∅	∅	∅	∅
3SG human	àwú ~ ú	ú (= subject pronominal)	ú ^L (~ bú ^L after a vowel)	àwú (= subject pronominal)
1PL	ì ~ jùrù	júrú	júrú ^L	jùrù
2PL	jò	jó	jó ^L	jò (= subject pronominal)
3PL nonhuman	∅	∅	∅	∅
3PL human	àjí ~ í	í (= subject pronominal)	í ^L (~ bí ^L after a vowel)	àjí (= subject pronominal)
LOG.SG	í ^L	í ^L (= subject pronominal)	í ^L (= subject pronominal) (~ bí ^L after a vowel)	í ^L (= subject pronominal)
Pronominal demonstratives	bā ‘PROX.ID, this one’ bô ‘DIST.ID, that one’			

8.2 *Subject pronominals*

8.2.1 Overview

Table 35 provides an overview of the subject pronominals found in Kam along with some of their characteristics. Parameters along which different subject pronominals vary structurally are the following:

- (1) Whether they also mark the tense, aspect and polarity value of the clause. 1SG and 2SG subject pronominals have different forms according to tense, aspect and polarity. These are only different in terms of tone.
- (2) Whether the subject pronominal has a different tone from the corresponding object pronominal. When this is the case, the subject pronominal always has a L tone and the object pronominal has a H tone.
- (3) Whether there is a difference between the subject pronominal and the corresponding independent pronoun. When there is a difference, the subject pronominal is considered a bound pronominal or an index, since it cannot occur on its own. Indexes precede verbs or any preverbal marker that may occur in a clause (see § 13.1). Object indexes, on the other hand, are suffixes: they always occur immediately after the verb, and not to any markers or verbs that follow the verb in multi-verb constructions or future tense constructions (cf. § 13.1).

Note that there are no non-human subject pronominals. Note also that there is variation between *jùrù* and *i* for the first person plural subject pronominal. *i* is much more frequent than *jùrù* and only occurs in elicited data, but other than that I have not been able to find any difference in use between the two forms and I treat them here as free variants.

Subject pronominals occur in the initial slot of a clause, after any clause-initial adverbial modification in declarative clauses.

Table 35 - Subject pronominals

Category	Pronominal	Comments
1SG	Ń (perfective aspect) Ń (future tense) Ń (imperfective aspect) Ń (negative non-future)	Different from independent pronoun (<i>nìm</i>)
2SG	á (perfective aspect) á (future tense) à (imperfective aspect) à (negative non-future)	Different from independent pronoun (<i>ŋà</i>)
3SG nonhuman	∅	
3SG human	àwú ~ ú	
1PL	í ~ jùrù	í is different from the independent pronoun (<i>jùrù</i>)
2PL	ŋò	
3PL nonhuman	∅	
3PL human	àjí ~ í	
LOG.SG	í ^L	

Pronominals referring to speech participants (first and second persons) are different from those referring to non-speech participants (third persons) in a few ways. Firstly, third person pronominals (*àwú* ‘3SG’ and *àjí* ‘3PL’) have a prosodic prefix *à-* that functions exactly like prosodic prefixes on nouns (§ 4.2.9). These prosodic prefixes only occur postpausally and are dropped utterance-internally. Even postpausally, they are optional. This *à-* prefix arguably makes them more like nouns than the other pronominals. Secondly, singular speech participant pronominals have different forms depending on tense, aspect and polarity. Thirdly, singular speech participant pronominals (1SG and 2SG) have different tones in subject and object functions. For these pronominals, L tone indicates nominative arguments, H tone indicates accusative arguments. Finally, three out of four categories expressing speech participants (1SG, 2SG and 1PL) feature (or in the case of 1PL can feature) a distinction between subject pronominals and independent pronominals. Such a distinction is not available for third person pronominals.

8.2.2 Tense, aspect, and polarity distinctions in 1SG and 2SG subject pronominals

Tense, aspect and polarity are expressed by different markers in different places in the clause. A more comprehensive overview of such marking is provided in Chapter 1. One of the places where these categories are marked is on subject pronominals, specifically first person singular indexes and second person singular indexes. There are different pronominals for these categories depending on the tense, aspect and polarity value of the clause. The differences between these forms are exclusively tonal. Table 36 gives an overview of those tones (H or L tone) and the functions corresponding to each tone. Examples of these markers in context can be found in chapter 1 and throughout this dissertation.

Table 36 - Tonal tense, aspect and polarity distinctions in 1SG and 2SG pronominals

Tense	Polarity	Aspect	Tone of the pronominal
Non-future	Affirmative	Perfective	H
		Imperfective	L
	Negative	Any	L
Future	Any	Any	H

While I analyze these forms as portmanteau morphemes, another description is possible, although arguably less elegant from a comparative perspective. 1SG and 2SG subject indexes could be analyzed as toneless morphemes, and completely dependent on the tense, aspect and polarity value of the clause for their tones. From this perspective, tense, aspect and polarity are marked by tonal morphology on pronominals: a H tone marks perfective aspect or future tense, and a L tone marks imperfective aspect or negative non-future.

8.3 Object pronominals

Table 37 on p. 187 lists the object pronominals found in Kam.

Object pronominals express the object of a verb. They always immediately follow a verb and are never found in isolation. As such, they qualify as suffixes. I write them separately since they are not clearly phonologically bound to the verb.

Extended transitive clauses (e.g. ditransitive clauses) are expressed with multi-verb constructions, and goals or recipients are coded as the objects of individual verbs of multi-verb constructions (cf. § 14.5). It is not necessary to distinguish objects from indirect objects in Kam: they are morphologically and syntactically identical.

(239) Object pronominal **júrú** ‘1PL.O’ used as an object

jā pē kòsí júrú rè jí á
 thing:REL come join:PFV **1PL.O** COM 3PL REL

‘the thing that happened to **join us** with them’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(240) Object pronominal **júrú** ‘1PL.O’ used as a recipient

àlénj má **júrú** kòm dʒōŋ émō,
 God give **1PL.O** place ADJ:sit:ADJ ADJ:good

má **júrú** jì díní
 give **1PL.O** thing ADJ:meet:ADJ

‘(That) God (may) **give us** a good place to live and **give us** prosperity.’

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Many object pronominals are segmentally identical to the corresponding subject pronominals, excepting

- the 1SG pronominal *m̄* which may be pronounced as *óm* following a consonant.
- the 1PL pronominal *júrú*, which does not have *i* as an alternative short form unlike its subject equivalent, and
- 3SG and 3PL object pronominals, which are identical to the short form of the subject pronominals but cannot be expressed with a long form (cf. *àwí* ‘3SG.S’, *àjí* ‘3PL.S’).

All object pronominals have H tone, and for all except the 3SG, 3PL and logophoric pronominals, this H tone distinguishes accusative from nominative arguments, except in some tense-aspect-polarity categories where 1SG and 2SG nominative pronominals also carry a H tone.

Table 37 - Object pronominals

Category	Pronominal	Comments
1SG.O	m̄ (~ ém after a consonant)	H tone indicates object function (only in some tense-aspect-polarity contexts)
2SG.O	á	H tone indicates object function (only in some tense-aspect-polarity contexts)
3SG nonhuman	ø	
3SG human	ú	= short form of subject pronominal
1PL.O	júrú	H tone indicates object function
2PL.O	jó	H tone indicates object function
3PL nonhuman	ø	
3PL human	í	= short form of subject pronominal
LOG.SG	í ^L	= subject and possessive pronominals

These are further examples of object pronominals.

- (241) àjí dóg ém â
 3PL see:PFV **1SG.O** PFV

'They saw **me**.'

(Tope_Bitrus_04, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (242) m̄ mó̄m á â
 1SG.S.PFV laugh:PFV **2SG.O** PFV

'I laugh **at you**.'

(session_150, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (243) ú mgbáb ú kó bùn
 3SG shoot:PFV **3SG** INSTR arrow

'He shot **him** with an arrow'

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (244) lém júrú â
 good:PFV **1PL.O** PFV

'It is good for us.'

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(245)	m̄	p̄é	⁺ dín	j̄nó	k-ádā?
	1SG.S.PFV	come	meet:PFV	2PL.O	ADVZ-cold

'Did I meet **you people** (well) with the cold?'

(session_084, Yuguda Manti, conversation)

(246)	í	⁺ vér	í	ké	lūkōm	ñtām
	LOG.SG	kill:PFV	3PL	INSTR	road	poison
'(He said that) he killed them by means of poison.'						

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(247)	àwú	béní	íbí	jí	jírāg	jág	í
	3SG	say:FV:PFV	QUOT	person	two	catch:PFV	LOG.SG
	sán̄	é ⁺ ſé	jé	gbéb	⁺ í		
	go	bush	go	beat	LOG.SG		

'He said that two people took **him** to the bush and started to beat **him**.'

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

8.4 Possessive pronominals

Table 38 on p. 189 lists the possessive pronominals found in Kam. Possessive pronominals are found after nouns or prepositional nouns in Kam and do not occur in isolation. In noun phrases, they are found after adjectives.

Most possessive pronominals are segmentally identical to (subject and) object pronominals. There are four exceptions to this:

- The 2SG possessive pronominal *jád^L* is segmentally identical to the 2SG independent pronominal *jáà* rather than the subject and object pronominals (à '2SG.S.IPFV', à '2SG.S.NEG.NFUT', á '2SG.S.PFV', á '2SG.S.FUT' and á '2SG.O').
- The 3SG possessive pronominal *ú^L*, which has a free allomorph *bú^L* (pronounced [βú]) when it occurs after vowels.

- The 3PL possessive pronominal *i^L*, which has a free allomorph *bi^L* (pronounced [βí]) when it occurs after vowels.
- The logophoric pronominal *i^L*, which has a free allomorph *bi^L* (pronounced [βí]) when it occurs after vowels.

The free allomorphs for 3SG, 3PL and logophoric possessive pronominals with initial *b-* are not accepted by all informants, so they are not full exceptions. Specifically, my main consultant Babangida Audu did not accept them as alternative pronunciations (session_368). I have not yet investigated whether they are dialectal alternatives or whether their occurrence should be sought in individual variation across speakers.⁷²

All possessive pronominals have H^L tone. The floating ^L tone can be analyzed as a genitive case flag, except in the lophoric pronominal *i^L*, where both the subject pronominal and object pronominal also have a H^L tone pattern.

Note also that the 3PL and logophoric possessive pronominals are identical.

Table 38 - Possessive pronominals

Category	Pronominal	Comments
1SG:POSS	m ^L (~ ém after a consonant)	
2SG:POSS	já ^L	Segmentally different from S and O
3SG nonhuman	ø	
3SG.human:POSS	ú ^L	
1PL:POSS	júrú ^L	
2PL:POSS	jó ^L	
3PL nonhuman	ø	
3PL:POSS	i ^L	
LOG.SG	i ^L	= subject and object pronominals

These are further examples of possessive pronominals.

⁷² I only found these alternative pronunciations in possessive pronominals. The fact that I did not find them for object pronominals may be due to my pool of speakers or it may be because these pronunciations are only possible in possessive pronominals.

- (248) wó **m** ‘**my** dog’
wó **já** ‘**your** dog’
wó **ú** ‘**his/her** dog’
wó **júrú** ‘**our** dog’
wó **pó** ‘**your people’s** dog’
wó **bí** ‘**their** dog’
- (session_048, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (249) àŋwà **ú** ‘**his** friend’
àná **i** ‘**their** father’
- (session_368, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (250) àŋgwóg **já** ^{†dé} k-ádā?
house 2SG:POSS be ADVZ-cold
‘Is **your** house fine?’ (literally: ‘Is your house cold?’)
- (session_023, Adamu S. Baka, conversation)

- (251) àfí **bú** wō ïwāb jág ágbàn à
child 3SG:POSS PL all carry wife PFV
‘All **his** sons are now married’
- (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (252) àwàn **i** ^{†dá} míŋkim
àwàn **i-L** **dé** miŋ^Lkìm
king 3PL-POSS be different
‘Their king was different.’
- (session_021, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

8.5 Independent pronominals

Kam has independent as well as bound pronominals. An independent pronominal can make up a clause by itself, syntactically and phonologically disconnected from another clause, as in (253). When independent pronominals make up a minimal utterance, they may be accompanied by a topic (254) or focus (255) marker. Indexes cannot occur in such examples (256), (257).

- (253) jím, àwàn jí ñwòm
1SG.ID, king person Kam

'I, the king of the Kam ...'
 (session_208, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (254) n̄im dʒɛ?
 1SG.ID TOP
 'What about me?'

- (255) jà mā
 2SG.ID too
 'You too!'⁷³

- (256) *n̄/ní dʒɛ?
 1SG TOP
 'What about me?' (not possible)

- (257) *à/á mā
 2SG too
 'You too!'

The main functions of independent pronominals are the following:

- They are the form used in a nominal predication construction, as subjects of verbless clauses (cf. § 15.2.2).
- They are used as the complement of prepositions proper (cf. § 11.2.1 and § 11.2.2)
- They are used for focus and topic marking, as illustrated in (253) to (255) above.
- They are used as one word responses to content questions.

For most person categories, the independent pronominal and the subject pronominal are identical. Only 1SG, 2SG and 1PL categories have separate subject pronominals.

Table 39 lists the independent pronouns of Kam, and whether each of them is also used in subject function.

⁷³ mā is a Hausa additive marker that can be translated as 'too, also, even, still' which has a variety of different uses (Newman 2000: 327-328). It is also used in Kam but since I only found it twice in my corpus I do not discuss it in this dissertation. Readers are referred to Newman's (2000) grammar of Hausa for more on this particle.

Table 39 - Independent pronominals

Categories	Independent pronoun	Identical to subject pronominal?
1SG.ID	jìm	-
2SG.ID	jà	-
3SG human	àwú	+
1PL	jùrù	+
2PL	jò	+
3PL human	àjí	+
LOG.SG	i ^L	+

The following examples illustrate some main functions of independent pronominals. I illustrated the topicalization and focus functions in examples (253), (254) and (255) above.

As subject of verbless clauses (cf. § 15.2.2)

- (258) jìm àwàn jí ïwòm á
 1SG.ID king person Kam PRSTT
 'I am the king of the Kam people.'
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (259) í já jì gbàn á h̄
 QUOT 2SG.ID person female PRSTT NEG
 '(They say) that you are not a woman.'
 (session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

As complement of prepositions proper

- (260) jùrù rè jà
 1PL COM 2SG.ID
 'We and you' (also: 'you and me')
 (session_068, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

First person singular and second person singular independent pronouns can never be used to express subjects of verbal clauses. In those cases, indexes are always used.

- (261) í wátírí wár â
 1SG.S.PFV dream:PFV dream PFV

'I dreamt a dream.'
 (session_150, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (262) *jìm wátírí wár â
 (session_150, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

Use of the logophoric independent pronominal is illustrated in (263). In this example, the logophoric pronoun – merged with the quotative marker *iji^L* (see § 17.6) serves as the subject of a verbless clause. The predicate of the verbless clause is a relative clause meaning ‘the one who opened the window’.

- (263) àjí mí *wúr â
 person some answer PFV
 íjí *á fári ñwé kòm íntē â
 QUOT:LOG.SG REL open:PFV mouth place small REL

'Somebody answered (that) he was the one who opened the window.'
 (session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

8.6 The logophoric pronominal

Kam has a specialized logophoric pronominal, *t^L*. The logophoric pronominal is used in reported discourse. It indicates that its referent is the same entity as the entity whose speech is reported. Logophoric pronominals are only available for third person singular participants in Kam. In the plural, the regular 3PL pronominal is used (the possessive form of which is identical to the possessive logophoric pronominal). The examples in (264) and (265) illustrate the use of the logophoric pronominal. If the possessor of the knife in the reported discourse is the same person as the subject of the verb *béní* ‘say’, the logophoric proun *t^L* is used (264). If the possessor is another third person, the regular third person singular possessive proun *u^L* is used (265).

- (264) ú bén-i íbí *bág í *wútír á *jí
 3SG say:PFV-FV QUOT knife LOG.SG lose PFV stand
 'He_i said that his_i knife was lost.'
 (session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (265) ú bén-í íbí [†]bág ú [†]wútír á [†]jí
 3SG say:PFV-FV QUOT knife 3SG:POSS lose:PFV PFV stand
 'He_i said that his_j knife was lost.'
- (session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

Logophoric pronominals are most obviously found in possessor functions and in object functions. They are also found as subjects of verbless clauses and in subject positions, usually after the quotative marker *iji^L/ibi^L* (267), (268).

- (266) ikà àjì ván á táb í [†]né ké [†]táb á,
 then person male REL touch:PFV hand with fish REL,
 ú bén-í ijí [†]i [†]á
 3SG say:PFV-FV QUOT LOG.SG PRSTT

'Then the manⁱ who touched the fish said that it was himⁱ.'

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (267) ú bén-í ijí [†]i [†]né ré hñ
 3SG say:PFV-FV QUOT LOG.SG go EMPH NEG
 'Heⁱ said that heⁱ could not go (further).'
 (session_021, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

Very often, however, when the logophoric subject pronoun follows the quotative marker *iji^L/ibi^L*, the pronoun merges with the quotative marker, as in (268), which makes the logophoric pronominal difficult to detect.

- (268) àwú bén-í íbí [†]sín â
 3SG say:PFV-FV QUOT:LOG.SG do:PFV PFV
 'He said that he did it.'
- (session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

In (269) and (270), exceptionally, the logophoric pronoun is pronounced with a L tone. This difference in tone is currently unexplained but is only observed in subject function.

(269)	àwú	bén-í	íbí	†wós	á	†jí,
	3SG	say:PFV-FV	QUOT:LOG.SG	forget:PFV	PFV	stand,
	ì	ló	kpó	hn̄		
	LOG.SG	wash:PFV	body	NEG		

'He said that he forgot to bathe.' or 'He said that he forgot, that he didn't take bath.'

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(270)	ì	túsí	kpó	à	ké	lónjí	bē	kā;
	LOG.SG	show:PFV	body	PFV	TEMP	day	PRSTT	COND
'(she _i says that) she _i then shows her _i body on that day'								

(session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

The following examples show reported discourse introduced with other verbs of speech and thought: *túsí* 'to show', *ŷár* 'to tell', *másí* 'to know', *hwár* 'to think', *jíb* 'to ask', and *wúrī* 'to answer'.

(271)	àwú	túsí	íbí	†líg	bùg	líg-í
	3SG	show:FUT	QUOT:LOG.SG	dance:FUT	dance	dance-FV
'He will show that he will dance.'						

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(272)	àwú	ŷár-í	íbí	kpiŋ~kpáŋí
	3SG	tell:PFV-FV	QUOT:LOG.SG	PRED~strong
'He tells that he is strong.'				

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(273)	àwú	másí	íbí	*bág-í	†wútír	á	†jí
	3SG	know:PFV	QUOT	knife-LOG.SG	lose:PFV	PFV	stand
'He knows that his knife is lost.'							

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(274)	àwú	hwár	íbí	†dín
	3SG	think:PFV	QUOT:LOG.SG	meet:PFV

jí	†mí	ā	lil~lèm
thing	certain	REL	PRED~beautiful

‘He thinks that he found something beautiful.’

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(275)	àwú	jíb-í	íbí	†sín	kà,
	3SG	ask:PFV-FV	QUOT:LOG.SG	do:PFV	COND

í	gé	ré	†dín-í	gì	jī?
LOG.SG	what	COM	meet:PRV-FV	what	Q?

‘He asks what he will get if he does it.’

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(276)	àwú	wúr	á	íbí	†ním	jí	à
	3SG	answer:PFV	PFV	QUOT:LOG.SG	eat:PFV	thing	PFV

‘He answers that he has already eaten.’

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

8.7 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

Reflexive meanings are expressed with a possessive construction including either the noun *àlib* ‘head’ or *kpò* ‘body’, along with the possessive pronoun that is coreferential with the subject. When the subject is first person singular, the contracted form *àlím* from *àlib* + *m^L* ‘my head’ is used.

(277)	ń	tígí	†lím	à
	1SG.S.PFV	cover:PFV	self:1SG:POSS	PFV

‘I covered myself.’

(session_177, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (278) n̄ b̄ír kpó m̄ à
 1SG.S.PFV cut:PFV body 1SG:POSS PFV

'I cut myself.'

(session_294, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (279) àtʃ à v̄ér kpó *ú à s̄ír̄
 àf̄i à v̄èr kpò ú^L à s̄ír̄
 child PROX kill:PFV body 3SG:POSS PFV completely

'The boy killed himself.'

(session_294, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (280) àwú v̄ér i*lib ú à
 3SG kill:PFV head 3SG:POSS PFV

'He killed himself.'

(session_298, John Peter, elicitation)

Reciprocal clauses may be expressed with a similar possessive construction. There are not many examples of this in my corpus. The clearest example does not feature a possessive construction, but simply the noun for 'body' (281). Examples with 'head' are not found in the data. Alternatively, object pronominals can also have reciprocal meanings without any additional marking (282). Note that in this example, which is the only example with an object pronominal, the pronominal is singular. More examples of this type of construction are needed to understand reciprocals in Kam.

- (281) ají r̄é w̄ūr̄ kp̄ō
 3PL IPFV love body

'They love each other.'

(session_246, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (282) àmìrá ó j̄ír̄ág, ají r̄é gb̄èb ú *j̄é
 brother DIST two, 3PL IPFV beat 3SG hand

'Those two brothers, they were beating each other.' (lit.: 'they were beating each other by hand', since *gb̄èb* means both 'to beat' and 'to kick')

(session_294, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

8.8 *níni^L* ‘some’: an existential pronominal

The existential pronominal *nint^L* is used for referring to non-specific entities, usually translated as ‘some (people or things)’ into English.

- (283) jíníí ⁺ŷúg i⁺nág k-ámò, jíníí ⁺ŷúg k-ámò hn
 some do:PFV work ADVZ-good, some do ADVZ:good NEG
 ‘Some (people) can do this well, some (people) can’t.’
 (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (284) ñ dóg jíjí à, àmá àjí nánì hn
 1SG.S.PFV see:PFV some PFV, but 3PL many NEG
 'I can see some, but they aren't many.'
 (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

9 Nominal markers and quantifiers

9.1 Optional plural ‘word’ *jō*

Kam distinguishes singular and plural number. Of these two, the plural can be marked by an optional segmentally invariable (or ‘phonologically free’) marker *jō*, on the noun phrase.

That the marker is segmentally invariable and prosodically strong makes it qualify as a *word* or a *particle* as opposed to a clitic ('phonologically bound' markers occurring with stems of different word classes) in some typological studies (e.g. Dryer 2013).⁷⁴ This is not a trivial fact, given that the presence of such plural words is a potential areal feature characteristic of languages in the Macro-Sudan belt (Dryer 2013; Güldemann 2018b: 481; 2019: 11).

Speakers accept utterances consisting exclusively of *jō* as grammatical with the meaning ‘many’, but I have not observed such uses in natural discourse. It is unclear how its meaning or function in isolation is different from the quantifier *nìnnānī* (§ 9.4.3).

The plural marker *jō* is entirely optional, and there do not appear to be any restrictions related to a referent’s animacy or humanness. When a noun is modified by a numeral, *jō* does not usually occur, but its use always remains possible. Future research could give a better idea of the frequency of plural marking in different grammatical contexts and different information structural settings. My impression is that marked plurals occur about as frequently as unmarked plurals. The plural marker is by no means rare.

(285)	ঃ	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>jō</i>	<i>ním</i>	<i>dʒi</i>	<i>gbánákā</i>
		child	PL	eat:FUT	bat	later
‘The children will eat bat later.’						
(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)						

⁷⁴ A particle is often considered as a type of word, so some readers might point out that mentioning both is superfluous here. Neither *word* nor *particle* have a clear definition in the general linguistic literature. In this grammar, I generally refrain from using these terms but I mention them here since plural words have been of interest in the areal typological literature on the Macro-Sudan belt (cf. § 1.3.7).

- (286) àwàñ ñàr jō á
 king three PL PRSTT
 ‘These are three kings.’
 (session_339, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

Like other adnominal modifiers, *jō* follows, never precedes, the noun it qualifies. Its position is generally noun-phrase final, before demonstrative modifiers (288).

- (287) àmírá ⁺ná m̄ jō
 brother father 1SG:POSS PL
 ‘my father’s brothers’, or ‘my paternal uncles’
- (288) ñì jō **á** rè ká ⁺je kpôj̄ ké bérì míñá ñwāb
 child PL PROX IPFV shout shout always TEMP time PRSTT all
 ‘These children are always shouting’
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)
- (289) àñgwóg í-bärí jō nìnnāñé
 house ADJ-big:FV PL many
 ‘There are many big houses.’
 (session_303, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

jō cannot occur in between two nouns of an associative construction. This means that plurality marked on an associative construction pertains to either the head, the modifier, or to both at the same time – without further context, it is always ambiguous:

- (290) mē ñú m̄ jō
 mother uncle 1SG:POSS PL
 ‘the mothers of my uncle’, ‘the mother of my uncles’, or ‘the mothers of my uncles’
 (session_303, Babangida Audu, elicitation)
- (291) *ñú jō mē m̄
 uncle PL mother 1SG:POSS

- (292) *jū mē jō m̄
 uncle mother PL 1SG:POSS

There are examples where *jō* occurs inside a noun phrase rather than at the end, without any obvious difference in meaning involved. These examples can be analyzed as two noun phrases in apposition, *jō* marking the end of the first noun phrase (cf. § 10.5). If this is the case, one may expect the position of *jō* to be sensitive to information structural differences. I do not currently have the right data to investigate such differences, since all examples of *jō* in between nominals are elicited phrases with little discursive context. I did not yet discover any such uses in texts. There is currently not enough data to choose between one of these two analyses

- (293) àŋgwóg jō ⁺i-bōr-ī
 house PL ADJ-big-FV
 ‘big houses’
 (session_303, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (294) àŋgwóg jō ⁺i-bōr-ī á
 house PL ADJ-big:ADJ-FV PRSTT
 ‘These are big houses.’
 (session_303, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (295) àsiségi ⁺gún ém jō jīrāg
 young.child back 1SG:POSS PL two
 ‘my two younger siblings’ (or: ‘my younger siblings, the two of them’?)
 (session_004, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

For some speakers, *jō* has a variant *wō*. Speakers who use *wō* also use *jō*, but it is not clear whether all speakers using *jō* also use *wō*.

- (296) àdʒwà wō ‘cheeks’ (session_030, Babangida Audu)
 àdʒwà jō ‘cheeks’ (session_010, Garba Abubakar Bako)
- (297) àlíb wō ‘heads’ (session_030, Babangida Audu)
 àlíb jō ‘heads’ (session_010, Garba Abubakar Bako)

Sometimes, a longer form, *jūwō* is used without difference in meaning. It is used by speakers who use *wō* as a variant, but also by speakers who only use *jō* elsewhere. This form resembles reduplicated verbs and adjectives elsewhere in the language, in the sense that /u/ in the first syllable *jū-* features a high vowel, and

wō a lower vowel (compare: *bòb* ‘to come out’ → *bùbbòb* ‘to be out’). *u* could be seen as the prespecified high variant of *o* (cf. § 4.3.2). This form is not entirely similar to reduplications, however, since the syllables have a different onset (*j* vs. *w*).

- (298) ñíjí júwō vs. ñíjí jō ‘tendons’ (session_030, Babamngida Audu)

When *jō* is used with a proper name, its function is that of an associative plural. *Ajíjí jō* means ‘Ajíjí and people associated with him’. The people associated may be, family, friends, colleagues, or people who are physically around John.

àná jō, literally ‘fathers’, can refer to all relatives of the generation of one’s parents and above (i.e. mother(s), father, uncles, aunts, and grandparents).

9.2 Demonstratives and demonstrative modifiers

Kam has two sets of demonstratives. One set contains deictic demonstratives, which single out a referent by specifying its distal deixis. The set includes adnominal modifiers (*à* ‘this’ and *ò* ‘that’) and independent, pronominal demonstratives (*ba* ‘this one’ and *bô* ‘that one’). The second set contains presentative demonstratives, which establish the presence or existence of a certain entity or action. I found three different presentative demonstratives in Kam.⁷⁵

- *á*, a marker used as a demonstrative identifier in identificational clauses (e.g. *àmòrēg á* ‘It is a nose.’) and equational clauses (e.g. *ni mòrēg á* ‘The thing is a nose.’).
- *míná*, a marker used as a nominal modifier drawing attention to an entity in discourse (e.g. *ñtèkù mína ló kpô* ‘See the toad (it) washes itself.’), as a demonstrative identifier in presentative clauses (e.g. *àbén mína* ‘there’s talk’).
- *bē*, a marker used as a nominal modifier, in a similar way to *mín(á)*, but also often used to point out that an *event* happened rather than that an entity is present (e.g. *i bòg ábày à kā bē* ‘There you go, after they prepared the beer...’).

9.2.1 Deictic demonstratives

In Kam, the deictic demonstrative system distinguishes between nearby referents (the proximal demonstrative *à* or *ba* ‘this’) and faraway referents (the distal demonstrative *ò* or *bô* ‘that’). *à* ‘PROX’ and

⁷⁵ My analysis of presentative demonstratives was inspired by Treis (2018).

ò ‘DIST’ are exclusively used as adnominal demonstrative modifiers. Speakers us *bā* and *bō* both as independent demonstratives, for example as arguments of clauses, and as adnominal modifiers.

Demonstrative modifiers, like all adnominal modifiers, follow the noun they modify. They usually come at the end of the noun phrase, following the plural marker *jō*. They can also occur inside a noun phrase, and can even be marked simultaneously on different elements of the noun phrase, with no apparent difference in meaning (307). Like with the different positions of the plural marker *jō*, it is possible to analyze noun phrase internal demonstrative modifiers as marking a break between noun phrases in apposition. As is the case with *jō*, I do not have the necessary data to determine whether the position of demonstratives within the noun phrase (or in between different apposed noun phrases) is sensitive to other grammatical or information structural constraints. Note in this regard that I found more examples of the distal demonstrative modifier occurring in between nominals than I found of proximal demonstratives in this position. I only found multiple marking in a single noun phrase with distal demonstratives, not with proximal demonstratives. I did not find the longer forms *bā* and *bō* inside of a noun phrase, only following the noun phrase.

Examples of the proximal demonstrative modifier *à*.

- (299) jí lēb é⁺jé à
 person in bush PROX
 ‘the people in this bush’
 (Tope_Bitrus_04_Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (300) ʃí jō à rè ká +jé kpōŋ ké béri mína ŋwāb
 child PL PROX IPFV shout shout always TEMP time PRSTT all
 ‘These children are always shouting’
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (301) ñ rè wūrī ké bá àpá +sín à
 ñ rè wūrī ké bá àpí à sín\H REL
 1SG.S.IPFV IPFV want INSTR REL person PROX do\PFV REL
 ‘I want this person to do it.’
 (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (302) **jà** jō
 nì à jō
 thing PROX PL
 ‘these things’
 (Tope_Bitrus_04, Saheed Kam Bala, elicitation)

Examples of the distal demonstrative modifier **ò**.

- (303) jí léb é⁺jé **ò**
 person in bush **DIST**
 ‘the people in that bush’
 (Tope_Bitrus_04_Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (304) nì ígbàn étām jō **ò**
 person female ADJ:big PL DIST
 ‘those big women’
 (Tope_Bitrus_02_Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (305) ú déb áj⁺gwóg ó bōrī ã
 3SG buy:PFV house **DIST** big PFV
 ‘He bought that big house.’
 (Tope_Bitrus_02, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (306) àmírá ó jīrāg, àjí ré gbèb ú ⁺né
 brother **DIST** two, 3PL IPFV beat 3SG hand
 ‘Those two brothers, they were beating each other.’
 (session_294, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (307) **jò** jō **ò**
 nì ò :jō **ò**
 thing **DIST** PL **DIST**
 ‘those things’
 (Tope_Bitrus_04, Saheed Kam Bala, elicitation)

Speakers use *bá* and *bó* both as demonstrative modifiers and as independent demonstratives (e.g. as nominal arguments). The proximal demonstrative is also identical to the relativizer *bá*. They may be related to the numeral *bí* ‘one’, with the final vowels *a* and *o* being the demonstrative stems.

Examples of independent demonstratives.

- (308) mäm **bô**
 give:1SG.O **DIST.ID**
 ‘Give me that one.’
 (session_037, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)
- (309) bá mà ì ʃájírí hí à jí?
 PROX.ID also 1PL finish:PFV NEG REL Q
 ‘This one too that we have not finished?’
 (session_271, Solomon Ahmadu, conversation)

Examples of *bā* and *bô* as demonstrative modifiers.

- (310) àtábí **bâ**
 fish **PROX**
 ‘this fish’
- (311) níŋkā àwú pé *ké *đzé mí *bâ
 maybe 3SG come:FUT TEMP month some **PROX**
 ‘Maybe he will come some time this month.’
 (session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)
- (312) wó **bô**
 dog **DIST**
 ‘that dog’
- (313) kwí **bô**
 stick **DIST**
 ‘that stick’

I did not find contexts where independent demonstratives are obligatory. A type of construction that frequently features pronominal demonstratives is identificational clauses with *á bâ* ‘this is’ or *á bô* ‘that is’ (§ 15.2.2).

- (314) dʒì á bâ
 bat PRSTT PROX.ID
 ‘This is a bat.’ (literally: ‘It is a bat this one.’)
 (session_040, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (315) àŋwà ŋgwóg ém +á bô
 friend house my PRSTT DIST:ID
 ‘That is my neighbor.’ (literally: ‘It is my neighbor that one.’)
 (session_047, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

9.2.2 Presentative demonstratives

There are three presentative demonstratives in Kam. Some of them have specialized functions in nominal predication constructions (§ 15.2), as adverbials, or in information structure. I briefly mention these functions here. Since those functions are only loosely tied to nominal morphosyntax, however, I treat them more elaborately in other sections in this grammar, together with the constructions they occur in.

The demonstrative identifier *á* occurs in identificational and equational clauses, where it is always clause final. I describe these constructions in § 15.2.2 and in § 15.2.3.

míná can also function as a demonstrative identifier, in presentative constructions. I illustrate this function in § 15.2.5.

Elsewhere, it occurs adnominally, where it draws attention to a certain entity in discourse

- (316) àlásírá mína pé dín júrú â
 white.man PRSTT come meet:PFV 1PL.O PFV
 ‘See the white man (he) came and met us.’
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (317) àwú mína bá ʃinátánì gànj à
3SG PRSTT REL stand up REL

'Here he is, standing up.'

(Context: my consultant was telling the frog story and came to a picture of a character standing up.)

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (318) tò, àjí mína bá kāmā mísi
so, 3PL PRSTT PROX here again

'So, here they are again.'

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

bē occurs as an adnominal modifier, where it functions similarly to *mín(á)*, drawing attention to an entity in the discourse.

- (319) mè ntèkù bē dʒē mína bá kúb á
mother frog PRSTTTOP PRSTT PROX become.weak PFV

- lù rè ʃkám ʃfí bú jō à
lay.down COM rest child 3SG:POSS PL PFV

'The mother-frog lies down here like this with the rest of her children.'

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (320) bér ò bē, àwàñ rè míj íŋ gwóg àléb i᷑jé
time DIST PRSTT, king IPFV build house in bush

'Earlier, the king was building a house in the bush.'

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (321) àjí rē *wó bē rè ʃwāb
3PL COM dog PRSTT COM all

'(They are still looking for the frog,) he and the dog here, all of them.'

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

It frequently occurs as a complement of the copula *dó* 'to exist', as I illustrate in § 15.2.1.

Elsewhere, speakers use *bē* to tie events together in discourse. Here, it can be translated as ‘there you go’. I illustrate these uses in § 18.3.

9.3 Relativizers and relativizers fused to nouns

The default relative clause construction in Kam employs two markers, one following the modified noun and preceding the relative clause *ā*, and one following the relative clause *à*. The second marker is optional. This section focuses on the morphology of the first relativizer, special relative forms of nouns and nominal markers. Relative clauses in general are discussed in more detail in § 17.2.

- (322) àwàn **ā** míŋ íŋ^tgwóg **ā,** ú dé ré jnì rīg
 king REL build house REL, he be with thing EMPH
 ‘The king who built this house is rich (i.e. ‘he really has things’).’
 (Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

The first relativizer often fuses with the preceding element. The outcomes of these cases are predictable by means of regular phonological rules of hiatus resolution (§ 6.2.1) and tone simplification. A few such combinations occur so frequently that they merit some discussion here. Some may be viewed as relative pronouns, such as *jnā* ‘the thing that’, *jnā* or *àjna* ‘the person who’. Another marker that frequently merges with the relativizer is the existential quantifier *mt^L*, which results in *mā* ‘some:REL’.

Examples where *jnì* ‘thing’ precedes a relative clause, where *jnì* and *ā* merge into *jnā* ‘thing:REL’.

- (323) **jnā** dé bē lēb à
 jnì **ā** dé bē àlēb à
 thing REL be PRSTT inside REL
 ‘The thing that is inside’
 (session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

- (324) **jnā** pírá ^tjí à
 jnì **ā** pírá^L jí à
 thing REL come.PFV arrive REL
 ‘The thing that came ...’
 (session_019, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (325) ànā **jā** dín ém ā ...
 ànā **jì** ā dín\H m̄ ā ...
 today thing REL meet\PFV 1SG.O REL ...
 'What happened to me today (made me angry).'
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Examples with àpá (àpí 'person' + ā 'relativizer'):

- (326) **àpá** *ú mgbáb â
 àpí ā ú mgbàb\H à
 person REL 3SG shoot\PFV REL
 'The person that he shot...'
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (327) **àpá** *gá *tábi kár â
 àpí ā gá\H átábí kár à
 person REL trap\PFV fish keep REL
 'the person that caught fish'
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Non-merged examples of *jí* + *ā* are also occasionally attested.

- (328) **jí** **á** pè līlē ā, àjí sáŋ â
 jí ā pè àlīlē à, àjí sáŋ\H à
 person REL come yesterday REL, 3PL go\PFV PFV
 'The people who came here yesterday have left.'
 (session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

The indefinite quantifier *mí^L* fused with the relativizer as *mā* 'some:REL' is special in that it can occur together with a noun already incorporating the relativizer, surprisingly resulting in relative clauses that are marked with two clause-initial relativizers.

- (329) **àpá** **mā** gán ú *íjí *** à
 àpí ā **mí^L** ā gán ú^L ijí^L *** à
 person REL some REL name 3SG-POSS QUOT *** REL
 'A certain person whose name is ***...'
 (session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(330)	jā	mā	í	sín	á
	jì	ā	mi^L	ā	í
	thing	REL	certain	REL	LOG.SG

‘Something that he did.’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(331)	jā	mā	kùrikí	sín	á	†míná
	thing:REL	some:REL	God	do:PFV REL	PRSTT	
	‘This is something God has done.’					

(session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

Some other relative markers may derive historically from combinations of a noun and the relativizer *ā* but are no longer synchronically segmentable since part of the original segmental or tonal form of the noun is lost. These are *ba-* ‘PROX:REL’ (identical to *ba-* ‘PROX’), *kā-* ‘the place where’. and *mīnā-* ‘which (interrogative relativizer)’.

ba-‘PROX:REL’ sometimes occurs as a regular relative clause marker.

(332)	džá	bá	à	sín	á	†dá	gé	gì	jí?
	reason	PROX:REL	you	do PFV REL	be	what	what	what	Q
‘What is the reason why you did it?’ (lit.: ‘The reason that you did (it) is what?’)									

(session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

kā- ‘place:REL’ is a contraction of *kòm* ‘place’ and the relativizer *ā*. It retains some nominal properties. It can still be modified by the existential quantifier *mi^L* ‘some’, for example (334).

(333)	ú	jéb	kô	kā	ú	ré	džòŋ	à
	ú	jéb\H	kô	kòm-ā	ú	rè	džòŋ	à
	3SG	go	PURP	place:REL	3SG	IPFV	sit	REL

‘She went to (for) the place where she would sit.’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

(334)	kā	mā	í	námrí	sīsīrā	é	méhùlā
	place:REL	some:REL	3PL	call:PFV	now	QUOT	Maihula
	‘some place that they now call Maihula’						

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

The following example demonstrates the fused form *mīnā* ‘which:REL’ of the interrogative modifier with the relative marker. This interrogative modifier is only used in interrogative clefts. For more on this construction, see § 16.1.2.2.

- (335) àŋgwóg míñā, àwàñ míŋ â
 àŋgwóg míñā, àwàñ míŋ\H à
 house which, king build\PFV REL
 ‘Which house (is it) that the king built?’
 (Tope_Bitrus_07, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

9.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a semantically defined category in Kam: they indicate the relative amount of the referent of the noun they modify. There are no unifying morphosyntactic features setting them apart from other nominal modifiers as a separate morphosyntactic category. Some behave exactly like deverbal adjectives, others have some nominal or verbal characteristics but also have their own specific behavior. Only one quantifier, *mi^L* ‘some’, is always an adnominal modifier. The other quantifiers are typically used outside of the noun phrase, separated from their semantic head noun by other clause elements. In other languages, such uses have sometimes been termed ‘floating quantifiers’ (cf. Hoeksema 1996). It may be more appropriate to treat them as unrelated adverbial uses of quantifiers rather than a subtype of adnominal modification. Adnominal uses of *ŋwāb*, *mīnté*, and *ninnánē* have not been unambiguously attested.

The following quantifiers have been attested in Kam, the first three of which have also been found as ‘floating quantifiers’. Note that there is no mass noun vs. count noun distinction in quantifiers.

- (336) ŋwāb ‘all’, adnominal universal quantifier
 mīnté ‘few, little’
 ninnáné ‘many, much’, multal quantifier
 mi^L ‘some’, existential quantifier

9.4.1 ŋwāb ‘all’: a universal quantifier

The only examples of possible adnominal use of *ŋwāb* in my data, such as (337), come from a simple lexical elicitation session, which has very little syntactic information. Example (338) features *ŋwāb* in apposition with the noun phrase it precedes ('his sons'): it cannot be said with certainty that it is adnominal, since the plural marker (here: *wō*) may be interpreted as noun phrase final (cf. § 10.2). The other examples unambiguously feature *ŋwāb* as a ‘floating quantifier’.

- (337) àtàr ɿwāb
 stone all
 ‘All stones’

(session_338, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (338) àfí bú wō ɿwāb jág ágbàn à
 child 3SG:POSS PL all carry:PFV wife PFV
 ‘All his sons are now married’

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (339) àliè ɿémsí jí á sīrī ɿwāb
 fire take thing PFV completely all
 ‘The fire burnt everything.’

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (340) ní dōg jí á ɿwāb
 1SG.S.PFV see:PFV person PFV all
 ‘I saw all the people.’

(session_176, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (341) ají p̄é ɿwāp
 3PL come:FUT all
 ‘They will all come.’

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

9.4.2 *mīnté* ‘few, little’

The same remarks as for *ɿwāb* also apply to *mīnté*: most of its uses are as a floating quantifier, and only a few elicited examples exist where it may be interpreted as an adnominal modifier. *mīnté* does not have many attestations in my corpus. Note that in (343), it is partly reduplicated.

- (342) jí mīn⁺té
 person few
 the people are few
 (session_342, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (343) ní nág àtar jè mínté mín
 1SG.S.PFV throw:PFV stone go few few
 ‘I threw a few stones (away).’
 (session_342, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

9.4.3 *nìnnānē* ‘numerous, many, much’: a multal quantifier

Morphosyntactically, the multal quantifier *nìnnānē* resembles a lexicalized predicative adjective (cf. § 12.5.2). As is the case with predicative adjectives, its affirmative form is reduplicated, and its simplex form is only used under negation ((346), (347)) (cf. § 12.5.2). There are no clear examples where it may be used adnominally.

- (344) àfì ú nìnnānē
 child 3SG:POSS many
 ‘She has many children.’ (lit.: ‘Her children are numerous’).
 (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (345) jí á +wúrí bàŋ à nìnnānē
 person REL want alcohol REL many
 ‘The people that want alcohol are many.’
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (346) ní dóg jíní à, àmā, àjí nánī h̄
 1SG.S.PFV see:PFV some PFV, but, they many NEG
 ‘I see some (monkeys), but they are not many.’
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (347) jí nán+é ká h̄
 person many place:PROX NEG
 ‘Not many people live here’
 (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

9.4.4 *mi^L* as existential quantifier ('some, any') and as specificity marker ('a certain')

mi^L is an existential quantifier. It indicates that the number of the noun it modifies is one or more. It covers both affirmative existential quantification (*some* in English) and negative existential quantification (*any* in English). Like other modifiers, it follows the noun it modifies. This is the only quantifier that must be used adnominally and cannot 'float'.

(348)	jì	mí	†dé	bé	kā,	bén	má	†júrú.
	thing	some	be	EMPH	COND	say:PFV	give	1PL.O
	má	jì	mí	sírí		kā,		
	but	thing	some	be.NEG		COND,		
	jā		mā	kùrikí	sín	á	†míná	
	thing:REL		some	God	do:PFV	REL	PRSTT	

'If there is anything, tell us. But if there is nothing, this is how God has done it.'

(session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

mi^L is very often used to introduce a specific entity in the discourse, which is then further specified.

(349)	ázág	á	†Kánô, kòm	mí	†dá	bé
	side	PROX	Kano, place	some	be	EMPH
	†í	námří	í	†jákàsê		
	3PL	call:PFV	QUOT	Nyakasai		

'At this side of Kano, there is a place they call Nyakasai.'

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

In (350), two different referents are introduced into the discourse, and *mt^L* is used in the second clause to make clear that the dog in the second clause is different from the dog introduced in the first clause. There is no dedicated lexeme or marker meaning '(an)other' in Kam.

(350)	mí	gbéb	wó	mí	à,
	1SG.S.PFV	beat:PFV	dog	some	PFV,
	wó	mí	⁺ ním	óm	à
	dog	some	bite:PFV	1SG.O	PFV catch.

'I beat one dog, and another bit me.' (or: 'I beat some dog, and some dog bit me.')

(session_339, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

10 Noun phrases

10.1 Function and internal structure

Noun phrases typically function as arguments in a clause. For example, as illustrated in (351), they can function as subjects (*àwàn* ‘king’) or as objects (*àngwóg* ‘the house’, *yí bú* ‘his son’) in (extended) transitive clauses.

- (351) àwàn jág ⁺ŋgwógá mà yí bú
 king carry:PFV house PFV give son 3SG:POSS
 ‘The king has given the house to his son.’
 (Tope_Bitrus_05, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

Noun phrases can also function as copula subjects or complements (352) or complements of prepositions in a prepositional phrase (353).

- (352) àkpò džázúg á
 food rice PRSTT
 ‘The food is rice.’
 (session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (353) ú mgbáb ú ká bùn
 3SG shoot:PFV 3SG INSTR arrow
 ‘He shot him with an arrow’
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Noun phrases can also modify other noun phrases within a complex associative construction, occur in apposition with other noun phrases (§ 10.5), or function as minimal clauses as vocatives (cf. § 7.3) or as the answer to a content question.

Internally, noun phrases in Kam minimally consist of a head noun, which occupies the leftmost position in the noun phrase. The head noun indicates the entity the whole noun phrase refers to and can be followed by modifiers qualifying the entity or describing additional properties of that entity.

The head slot can be filled by any type of noun (common noun, proper name, locative noun, pronoun, numeral or any other quantifier). Common nouns, locative nouns and numerals can be followed

by modifiers (cf. § 7.4.1.1 and § 10.3). Attributive adjectives sporadically occur as the head of a noun phrase (see § 7.5).

The modifier slots in a noun phrase can be filled by an attributive adjective (§10.3.1), a relative clause (§ 10.3.2), a noun (§ 10.3.3) or a numeral (§ 10.3.3.2).

Noun phrases also contain a number of grammatical markers, including the plural marker *jō* (§ 9.1), proximal and distal demonstrative modifiers *à* and *ò* (or *ba-* and *bō*) (§ 9.2), possessive indexes (§ 8.4 and § 10.3.3), an existential quantifier *ml^L* (§ 9.4.4) and the interrogative modifier *mīnā* (§ 16.1.2.2). I discuss these markers and their position in the noun phrase in their respective sections. I only mention them in passing in this chapter.

I only found one example where a prepositional phrase may modify a noun phrase (354). This example is ambiguous, however, since the comitative phrase *rà zírág ábìràg* ('with vegetable soup') can also be analyzed as a comitative argument that links directly to the clause instead of to the noun phrase (cf. § 11.1.1). Alternatively, *rà* can be interpreted as a coordinator ('Do you like cow meat and vegetable soup') instead of a preposition, without clear 'modifier' and 'head' structure between the two coordinated noun phrases. I did not dedicate an elicitation session to the noun phrase modification with prepositional phrases, so it may still be possible. In any case, it is not a common strategy.

(354)	à	rà	wūrī	àfàm	nág	rà	zírág	ábìràg	jī?
	2SG.S.IPFV	IPFV	like	meat	cow	COM	soup	leaf	Q
'Do you like cow meat with vegetable soup?'									
(session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)									

10.2 Word order in the noun phrase

The order of elements in the noun phrase is always head-modifier. Adjectives, numerals and other modifiers follow the noun. Possessors follow their possessee. Relative clauses follow relativized nouns. When adjectives and numerals co-occur, the order is adjective-numeral. In general, the order of elements can be summarized as follows. It is more difficult to say where the plural marker *jō* can occur in the noun phrase and where demonstratives appear, but they generally appear at the end of the noun phrase, in the order 'plural marker + demonstrative modifier'. I discuss more complex cases in § 9.1 and § 9.2. Quantifiers are usually located outside of the noun phrase (cf. § 9.4). NOUN^{MODIFIER} in (355) captures all nouns occurring as modifier in an associative construction.

(355)	NOUN ^{HEAD} + NOUN ^{MODIFIER} + ADJECTIVE + NUMERAL + <i>jō</i> 'PL' + DEMONSTRATIVE
-------	--

- (356) àmīrēg āwàn
 nose king
 ‘the king’s nose’
 (Tope_Bitrus_03, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (357) jí í-ʃāg-ī
 person ADJ-be.ugly-FV
 ‘ugly person’

- (358) jì ígbàn étām jō ò
 person female ADJ:big PL DIST
 ‘those big women’

(Tope_Bitrus_02_Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (359) àŋwóg í-bōr-ī mí ſàd
 house ADJ-big-FV 1SG:POSS three
 ‘my three big houses’

(Tope_Bitrus_03, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

The interrogative quantifier *sím* likewise follows nouns it modifies.

- (360) jí sím
 person how.many
 ‘How many people (came to church yesterday)?’
 (session_289, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

Possessive pronominals follow nouns and adjectives and precede the plural word *jō* (cf. § 9.1). I did not find them following an attributive numeral, only before numerals.

- (361) àmírá *ná mí jō
 brother father 1SG:POSS PL
 ‘my father’s brothers’, or ‘my paternal uncles’

10.3 Nominal modification

10.3.1 Modification with adjectives

Attributive adjectives modify nouns by ascribing a property to the noun. The morphological properties of adjectives are discussed in § 7.5. To briefly repeat what is said there: adjectives are typically derived from verbs with a prosodically weak \acute{a}^L -prefix, a replacive M tone on the stem, and a final vowel *i*. There are some synchronically underived adjectives that appear to be historically derived, but synchronically form a closed adjective class in the language. Adjectives rarely function as the head of a noun phrase. When they do, they function as nouns, metonymically referring to referents by means of their properties (cf. § 7.5).

When modifying head nouns, adjectives always follow the noun, conforming to the head-modifier word order in the noun phrase. In this position, the vowel of their initial \acute{a}^L -prefix is usually centralized to *ə* (cf. § 7.1).

(362)	àtar	í-būr-ī
	stone	ADJ-white\ADJ-FV
		‘white stone’

(363)	àtar	í-fām-ī
	stone	ADJ-light\ADJ-FV
		‘light stone’

10.3.2 Modification with relative clauses

Nouns can be modified by a relative clause. Relative clauses describe a property of the noun that helps to identify its referent. The order of noun and relative clause is always head-modifier. The default relative clause used in Kam is introduced by the marker *ā* and closed by the marker *à* indicating the end of the relative clause. Relative clauses are further described in § 17.2.

(364)	[[[NOUN ^{HEAD} + [ā + RELATIVE CLAUSE + à] ^{RELATIVE CLAUSE}]] ^{NP} + ...] ^{MAIN CLAUSE}
-------	---

(365) àwàñ á míj íñ⁺gwóg â,
 king REL build house REL,

ú dέ ré jì ríg
 3SG be COM thing POSS

‘The king who built this house is rich.’

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

In Kam, ordinal numerals are usually expressed with a relative clause construction.

(366) kwí á jírág ká *jí
 stick REL two break:PFV stand

‘The second stick broke.’ (literally: ‘The stick that is two was broken’)
 (session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

10.3.3 Modification with nouns

10.3.3.1 The associative construction

A construction where a noun or a possessive pronominal modifies another noun is called an associative construction. This construction often expresses a relation of possession, but it can also express various other relationships, including kin relationship, partnership, ethnicity or clan membership, relationship with a place, relationship with a certain time ('yesterday's work') product-resource relationship ('table of wood'), container-contents relationship ('a calabash of water'), part-whole relationship, etc. Some examples:

(367) Kin relationship

àñí dáññí⁺
 son Danaci

‘The son of Danaci’

(session_019, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

(368) **Place relationship**

àtʃí	gárbáʃédé
child	Garba.Chede
'The boy(s) from Garba Chede.'	
(session_020, Yuguda Manti, narrative)	

(369) **Ethnic membership**

jí	ŋwòm
person	Kam
'Kam people'	
(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)	

(370) **Time relationship**

àŋwág	ém	†lóŋ	ô
house	1SG:POSS	time	DIST
'My house of that time', i.e. 'my earlier house'			
(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)			

An associative construction is expressed by simple juxtaposition of nouns or noun phrases, with the regular head-modifier order. There is no morphosyntactic difference between alienable and inalienable possession constructions in Kam.

(371)	àkùb	wó
	bone	dog
'a dog bone' (inalienable) or 'a dog's bone' (alienable, a bone that a dog is chewing)		

As is usually the case, utterance-internal nouns with a prosodic prefix *a-* lose this prefix, or it is centralized to *ə*, and the usual tone rules apply (cf. § 7.1).

(372)	àkùb	èbòg
	àkùb	àbòg
bone leg		
'shin bone'		

(373)	àdég	é ⁺ ʃé
	àdég	àʃé
	disease	bush
		‘cancer’

(374)	àlímíné	lè
	àlímíné	àlè
	tongue	fire
		‘flame’

The modifier in an associative construction can be a noun or a possessive pronominal.

(375)	àŋwà	mí
	friend	1SG:POSS
		‘my friend’

(376)	àŋgwòg	jó
	house	2PL:POSS
		‘your people’s house’

Prepositional phrases headed by prepositional nouns are structurally very similar to associative constructions (cf. § 11.2.1 and § 10.3.3.1). There is no formal difference between nominal compounds and associative constructions (see § 7.2.1).

10.3.3.2 Noun + numeral phrases

In § 7.4, I presented the morphological characteristics of cardinal numerals. I argued that numerals are morphosyntactically related to nouns in Kam. In a similar vein, a construction where a numeral modifies a noun may be seen as a kind of associative construction, except that the plural marker *jō* may occur in between a noun and a numeral (378), but not between a possessor and a possessee. The relationship between modifier and head in a ‘noun-numeral’ construction is restricted to ‘unit-quantity’.

(377)	àság	ŋwùn
	year	five
		‘five years’
(session_019, Yuguda Manti, narrative)		

- (378) àfiségí ⁺gún ém jō jīrāg
 child behind 1SG:POSS PL two
 ‘my two younger brothers’
 (session_159, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

As mentioned in § 10.3.3.2, ordinal numerals are expressed with relative clauses. Exceptionally, ‘first’ is expressed with a specialized form, *áʃʃàři*⁷⁶ and ‘last’ with a deverbal nominalization *àlógórí* (from *lòg* ‘to deliver, to give birth’). These are not derived from cardinal numerals.

10.4 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrases in Kam can be coordinated with the conjunction *rà* ‘and’, which is identical to the comitative preposition *rà* discussed in § 11.2.2.2.

- (379) jùrù rà jà
 1PL COM 2SG.ID
 ‘We and you.’ or ‘Me and you.’
 (session_068, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

Simple parataxis can also be used, in particular when the coordinator in English would be ‘or’. There does not have to be a pause in between the coordinated noun phrases.

- (380) bèrì pè gbán jé, jīrāg tʃār hñ kā
 day come arrive enter, two three NEG COND
 ‘When it wasn’t (even) **two or three** days later ...’
 (session_276, Anonymous, narrative)

The meaning ‘or’ can also be marked by the conjunction *kò*, borrowed from Hausa (*ko* ‘or’). In the following example, there is a brief pause after each coordinated noun, and each final vowel is lengthened with rising intonation. I do not know whether this intonation is a consistent characteristic of lists.

- (381) á lóm tʃé(é), kò mûró bē(é), kò dʒífō(ó)
 2SG.S.FUT plant:FUT guinea.corn, or maize PRSTT,or cassava
 ‘You will plant guinea corn, or maize, or cassava ...’
 (session_073, Sani Bello, narrative)

⁷⁶ The tones of this item are not certain.

Often, when noun phrases are presented as alternatives, they will occur in separate short clauses. The noun phrases are not coordinated in these cases, but rather the clauses. Such coordination has been attested with *kò* ‘or’, or with simple parataxis.

- (382) Bàbágídá á jí, kò Sólómón +á jí?
 Babangida PRSTT Q, or Solomon PRSTT Q
 ‘Is it Babangida, or is it Solomon?’
 (session_351, Solomon Ahmadu & Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (383) àbén dʒóŋ mína, à-bén kú mína ...
 talk magic, sp. PRSTT,talk magic, sp. PRSTT ...
 ‘There’s talk of *dʒóŋ*, there’s talk of *kú* (what should I do?)’
 (session_142, Làmî, song)

10.5 Noun phrase apposition

Two noun phrases are in apposition if they refer to the same entity independently, while sustaining a syntactically independent status from each other. This means that there is no modifier-head relationship between the two noun phrases. In the vocative construction in (384), the second noun phrase identifies or more narrowly specifies the referent of the first noun phrase, but cannot be said to modify that noun phrase or to function as its head.

- (384) àŋwá kùl!
 friend tortoise
 ‘(My) friend, tortoise!’ (In a story, where the hare calls the tortoise.)
 (session_277, Wesam, narrative)

In § 9.1, I addressed the free position of the plural word *jō* within the noun phrase. A possible analysis for examples where this marker is inserted (a) in between a noun and an attributive adjective or (b) before a quantifier is that we are dealing with independent noun phrases in apposition here. Since these examples are elicited without much context, it is not possible to verify in what discourse contexts they are used. This is a topic for further inquiry.

- (385) àŋgwóg jó +í-bɔr-í
 house PL ADJ-big:ADJ-FV
 ‘houses, big (ones)’
 (session_303, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (386) àṣiségí [†]gún ém jō jīrāg
young.child back 1SG:POSS PL two
'my younger siblings, (the) two (of them)'
(session_004, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

11 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

11.1 Prepositional phrases

11.1.1 Functions of prepositional phrases

One major way of introducing oblique or circumstantial arguments into a clause is by using prepositional phrases. These introduced arguments are locations (387), companions (388), instruments (389), and objects of comparison (390):

(387)	àwàn	míŋ	íŋ ⁺ gwóg	léb	ſé	hì
	king	build:PFV	house	inside	bush	NEG

‘The king has not built a house in the bush.’

(session_005, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

(388)	í	pè	jóŋ	rá	+jí	á
	1PL	come	sit	COM	3PL	PFV

‘We came and sat with them (and asked them what happened).’

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(389)	ú	mgbáb	ú	ká	bùn
	3SG	shoot:PFV	3SG	INSTR	arrow

‘He shot him with an arrow’

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(390)	á	ʃúg	í ⁺ nág	á ⁺ rí	jím
	2SG.S.PFV	do:PFV	work	SIM	1SG.ID

‘You worked like me.’

(session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

It is not clear whether prepositional phrases can also occur as modifiers complex noun phrases. I did not find clear examples of this (cf. § 10.1).

Some prepositional phrases occur in more specialized constructions. Comitative phrases with *rà*, for example, can function as the complement in a copula clause expressing predicative possession (§ 15.2.1), while no other prepositional phrase is found in that position, and prepositional phrases with *sé*

‘until’ only occur as minimal clauses used for farewell biddings (§ 11.2.2.4). Similative prepositional phrases are often used in an equative construction (§ 11.2.2.3).

When prepositional phrases modify whole clauses as circumstantial modifiers, they occur peripherally. They may occur at the left periphery of a clause (391) or at the right periphery (392). They come before or after any other elements of a clause.

- (391) àrí bá, àjì tán pé
SIM PROX.ID world stand come

‘Like this, the world began.’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (392) jā pé dúg ígún á [†]pé ké bérí à
thing:REL come follow behind REL come INSTR time PROX

‘That which came after came some days ago...’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Prepositional phrases may be nested more tightly into the clause when they are not just circumstantial modifiers of the whole clause but act as verbal modifiers. In those cases, they introduce an argument that is more central to the action expressed in the clause, such as the arrow that is being shot in (389) or the bush where the king’s house has been built in (387). They fall within the scope of clausal negation and occur right after the object of a clause, or after the primary verb if the clause is intransitive.

11.1.2 Internal structure

Internally, prepositional phrases are structured like noun phrases. The leftmost element of the prepositional phrase is the head. This can be a preposition proper or a prepositional noun (cf. § 11.2.1). The second slot to the right is taken by a noun phrase that acts as the complement of the preposition.

- (393) [HEAD] [COMPLEMENT]
[PREPOSITION] [NOUN PHRASE]

- (394) ké làŋ
INSTR pot
‘(Heat it up) with a pot.’

(395)	ị́kám	ílāŋ
	under	pot
		'underneath the pot'

11.2 Prepositions

11.2.1 Prepositional nouns and prepositions proper

There are two types of prepositions in Kam. One type corresponds to what have been called prepositional nouns and locational nouns in the literature (Elders 2000: 242-261; Anonby 2008: 428-430). The other type corresponds to the traditional notion of preposition and will be called here prepositions proper. Prepositional nouns and prepositions proper share a common syntactic function as prepositions, i.e. they are the head of a prepositional phrase, and they take a noun phrase as their complement (see § 11.1.2 above) 11.1.2.

The three main characteristics of prepositional nouns are the following:

- (1) They take possessive pronominals as complements. This makes prepositional phrases with prepositional nouns similar to the associative construction (cf. § 10.3.3.1). For example, in isolation, *àgún ám* (back 1SG:POSS) can be translated both as a prepositional phrase ('behind me') and as a possessive noun phrase ('my back').
- (2) They are phonologically similar, and sometimes identical to a set of corresponding nouns that they derive from, often featuring a prosodic *à*-prefix (cf. § 7.1). Sometimes, this *à*-prefix does not occur in prepositional nouns whereas it would occur in the corresponding nouns.
- (3) They express prepositional meanings by means of the regular associative construction (cf. § 10.3.3.1), where the prepositional noun (*àlìb* 'head, top') is the head noun and the noun expressing the argument of the preposition (*àŋgwóg* 'house') is the modifier.

(396)	àlìb	á ⁺ ŋgwóg
	head	house
		'on the house', or 'the top of the house'

Prepositional nouns retain their initial *à*-prefix only sometimes. This is a characteristic that sets prepositional nouns apart as a separate morphosyntactic category from common nouns in Kam. Most prepositional nouns, when used utterance-internally, drop the *à*-prefix, including its tone. This is apparent in the following examples, where the H tone of *dá* spreads to *lèb* 'in' (from *àlèb* 'inside, n.') and *gún* 'behind' (from *àgún* 'back side'). If the *à*-prefix were present, we would expect *léb* in (397) to have a L tone (*lèb*) and *gún* in (398) to be realized with a downstepped H tone (*gún*) (cf. Chapter 3).

- (397) dέ léb ⁺ú
 be inside 3SG:POSS
 ‘It’s inside of him.’
 (session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

- (398) dέ gún ém
 be behind 1SG:POSS
 ‘It’s behind me.’
 (session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

In contrast to prepositional nouns, prepositions proper take independent pronouns as complements. In the following examples, *àrí* ‘like’ takes the independent pronoun *jím* ‘1SG.ID’ as its argument, and the complex preposition *hár r̀* ‘including’ takes the independent pronoun *jà* ‘2SG.ID’.

- (399) á ⁺áfug ⁺ájág àrí jím
 2SG.S.PFV do:PFV work SIM 1SG.ID
 ‘You work like me.’
 (session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)
- (400) hár r̀ jà
 until COM 2SG.ID
 ‘Including you.’
 (session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

11.2.2 Prepositions proper

In my data on Kam, I distinguish seven prepositions proper (i.e. prepositions taking independent pronouns as complements). Most of the prepositions proper are monosyllabic, except for the simulative *àrí*, which is derived from a noun *àrí* ‘type’. Four out of seven prepositions are probably borrowed from Hausa: *sé* ‘(not) until’, *hár* ‘until’, *à* ‘at/to’ and *dākā/dāgā* ‘from’.

- (401) **Prepositions proper not borrowed from Hausa**
 kó, instrumental and temporal preposition, ‘with’
 r̀, comitative preposition, ‘with, and’
 àrí, simulative preposition, ‘like’

(402) **Prepositions proper probably borrowed from Hausa**

sé, temporal preposition, ‘(not) until’ (Hausa *sái*)

hár, temporal preposition, ‘until’ (Hausa *hár*)

à, locative preposition, ‘at/to’ (Hausa *à*)

dākā/dāgā, locative preposition ‘from’ (Hausa *dākā*)

The following sections give an overview of each of these prepositions, with some examples. The prepositions borrowed from Hausa are treated together in § 11.2.2.4.

11.2.2.1 *ká*, instrumental and temporal

ká has both instrumental and temporal uses. It is commonly used to introduce an instrument. It can also, for example, introduce the language in which something is said.

- (403) ú ŋgbáb ú **ká** bùn
 3SG shoot:PFV 3SG **INSTR** arrow
 ‘He shot him with an arrow’
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (404) m bímbén á rè mérá m
 1SG.S.PFV speak PFV COM brother 1SG:POSS
 *ká jí jì íbēnī
 INSTR thing thing ADJ:speak:FV

‘I speak with my junior brother on the phone.’

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (405) **ká** ŋwé jí ŋwòm
 INSTR language person Kam
 ‘(What is this word) in Kam?’
 (session_034, Samuel U. Adams, conversation)

- (406) ì ním é⁺lím ká ⁺bén á bē?
1PL eat:PFV front INSTR talk PROX PRSTT?

'So, do we continue with this discussion?'

(session_271, anonymous, conversation)

- (407) ká ⁺jág á àwú jág pè àbìbí jí ñwòm
INSTR work REL 3SG carry:PFV come earth person Kam

'(We cooperate with him) in the work that he came to do in Kam land.'

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (408) ʃúg ú á jàgì ká
catch:PFV 3SG PFV take INSTR

jí sāmrī á àwú sín â
thing spoil:ADJ REL 3SG do:PFV REL

'It (the trial) confirmed his guilt' (lit. 'it caught him with the bad things that he had done').)

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (409) í ⁺vér í ká lūkōm ñtàm
LOG.SG kill:PFV 3PL INSTR road poison

'(He said that) he killed them by means of poison.'

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

ká can also introduce a temporal argument:

- (410) ká lójí ré hâ
TEMP day FUT:NEG NEG
'(You will not sleep in the same room with your wife) on that day.'

(session_076, Adamu S. Baka, narrative)

- (411) ká bérí mīnā
TEMP time what
'When?'

11.2.2.2 *rà*, comitative

The comitative preposition *rà* encodes company, similar to the non-instrumental use of *with* in English. There is no difference between animate and inanimate comitative arguments. The comitative is also used for nominal coordination.

- (412) àwú lû rà ɲwá ú wō.
3SG sleep:FUT COM friend 3SG:POSS PL.

‘She will sleep with her friends.’

(session_076, Adamu S. Baka, narrative)

- (413) jò lú sîm rà fònù à?
2PL sleep:PFV how COM harmattan PFV?

‘How are you sleeping with the harmattan period?’

(session_084, Yuguda Manti, conversation)

- (414) i pè ʃug èŋág á kā rà jákúbû
1PL come do:PFV work PROX here COM Jakob

‘We did this work here with Jakob.’

(session_053, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

- (415) tán sîm rà pág
stand how COM work
‘How is work?’ (lit.: ‘How does it stand with the work?’)

- (416) àfú ré bëntí
shirt COM trousers
‘shirt with trousers’ or ‘shirt and trousers’
(session_037, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

When coordinating two referents who are jointly participating in an action, an inclusory construction with *rà* is often used. This is a construction where an initial plural pronominal (*àjí* ‘they’ or *jùrù* ‘we’) refers to the group as a whole and a following noun or pronominal (*wó* ‘dog’ or *nà* ‘you’) picks out one of the two referents (cf. Singer 2001). This construction is ambiguous between an interpretation as ‘they and N’ and ‘he and N’ (when the relevant pronominal is 3PL) or ‘we and N’ and ‘I and N’ (when the pronominal is 1PL). A non-inclusory comitative construction (*nìm rà nà* ‘me and you.SG’; *àwú rà ⁺wó à* ‘he and the dog’) can be used to disambiguate between these meanings.

- (417) jùrù rè jà
 1PL COM 2SG.ID
 'I and you.' (or 'We and you') (lit.: 'we and you.SG')
 (session_068, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (418) ájí ré ⁺wó â
 3PL COM dog PROX
 ‘He and this dog.’ (or, literally, ‘they and this dog’)
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

The comitative marker *rò* is also used in the predicative possession construction (cf. § 15.2.1). It is also identical to the preverbal imperfective aspect particle *rò* (cf. § 13.3.1):

- (419) ú dé ré gbàñ
 3SG be COM wife
 ‘He has a wife.’ (lit.: ‘He is with a wife’)
 (session_004, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation, slightly adapted)

- (420) wó ré ⁺gúb n̩ʃ̩ɔŋ
 dog IPFV chase pig
 ‘The dog is chasing the pig.’
 (session 005, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

There is no privative preposition ('without') in Kam. The equivalent of a privative construction is not expressed with prepositions, but with a clause including a comitative preposition and clausal negation:

- (422) à fúg é⁺nág ré jním hn
 2SG.S.NEG.NFUT do:NEG.NFUT work COM 1SG.ID NEG
 ‘You did not work with me’ or ‘You worked without me.’
 (session 354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

The comitative preposition also occurs in complex numerals, where it sometimes has an unexplained H tone instead of a L tone. § 7.4.1.2.2 contains examples of this.

11.2.2.3 *àrí*, similitive

The similitive preposition, equivalent to English ‘like’, has the same form as the noun *àrí* ‘type’. It is often used in equative clauses.

- (423) á fúg é⁺nág àrí jím
2SG.S.PFV do:PFV work like 1SG.ID

‘You work like me.’

(session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

- (424) Bábángídá *fúg é⁺nág àrí jákûb
Babangida do:PFV work like Jakob

‘Babangida works like Jakob.’ (alternatively: ‘Babangida works as much as Jakob’)

(session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (425) mē mí kpìmkpájí àrí *ná m
mother 1SG:POSS STAT~strong like father 1SG:POSS

‘My mother is strong like my father.’ (or: ‘My mother is as strong as my father.’)

(session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (426) àngwóg ú àrí *gbáj
house 3SG:POSS like palace

‘His house is like a palace.’

(session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

11.2.2.4 Borrowed prepositions proper: *sé*, *hár*, *à* and *dākā*

Four commonly used prepositions proper in Kam are likely borrowed from Hausa: *sé*, from Hausa *sái* ‘(not) until, except’; *hár* ‘(up) to, including, until’ and *à* ‘in, at, on (stationary location) (cf. Jaggar 2001: 668-670) and *dākā/dāgā* ‘from’. They may also be borrowed from Fula or from another contact language.

sé is frequent in formulas for announcing departure (‘until later, see you soon, until tomorrow’). It does not occur outside of these uses.

- (427) sé lémó
until later
‘See you later.’

(session_012, Garba Abubakar Bako, conversation)

- (428) sé gbánákā
 until later
 ‘See you later.’
 (Constructed example, very frequently heard)

- (429) sé pí[†]káŋ
 until tomorrow
 ‘See you tomorrow.’
 (Constructed example, very frequently heard)

hár is used in the same sense as it is used in Hausa, as a temporal preposition meaning ‘(up) until’ and to introduce adverbial clauses (cf. § 17.5.1.2).

- (430) àjí mág [†]dóg ítèkù hn̄, hár sisīrā
 3PL NEG:NFUT see toad NEG, until now
 ‘They haven’t seen the toad, until now.’
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (431) hár énā, jìm mā ...
 until today, 1SG.ID also ...

 mí bór jéŋ á rē hn̄
 1SG.S.PFV climb:PFV horse PFV EMPH NEG

 ‘Until today, even me, I have never climbed a horse.’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (432) ì pè jóŋ á pè, hár é[†]lén̄ énā
 1PL come sit:PFV PFV come, until sun today
 ‘We are still settled here, up until today.’
 (session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

à, like *hár*, is used the same way as it is in Hausa, as a locative preposition. It is widely attested in narratives, conversations, and in songs, but is not usually accepted by speakers in elicitation sessions. Equivalent locative phrases can also be constructed without prepositions.

- (433) ú jí pè (à) bélđùm
 3SG leave:PFV come LOC Belgium

'He came here from Belgium.'

(session_053, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

- (434) àtáb á †kósí (à) ŋwé márê
 fish REL gather:PFV LOC mouth river

'fish that was gathered at the bank of the river'

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (435) à ŋwé ŋgwóg, ní dág ú, mágádi
 LOC mouth house, 1SG.S.PFV see:PFV 3SG guard

'At the door, I see him, a guard'

(session_156, Bebi, song)

dākā 'from' is another locative preposition used in the same way as it is in Hausa. It can be pronounced *dākā* or *dāgā*.

- (436) í dží †jág dākā k̄ō kā
 1PL TOP carry from place:DIST COND

'If they, now, dug (earth) from that place (the river bank), (the water would gush away).'

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (437) i jí pé dāgā māsār
 1PL arrive come from Egypt

'We came here from Egypt'

(session_021, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (438) dākā jàmátāmāndā, á jé kòl bátímérúwá
 from Nya.Matamanda, 2SG.S.FUT go:FUT surpass Bati.Meruwa

'From Nya Matamanda, you will go past Bati Meruwa.'

(session_335, Babangida Audu, narrative)

11.2.3 Prepositional nouns

The main defining characteristics of prepositional nouns are the following.

- Prepositional nouns take possessive pronominals as complements. This distinguishes them from prepositions proper, which take independent pronominals as complements.
 - Each prepositional noun has a corresponding noun – often a body part term – in the lexicon.
 - The weak prosodic prefix *à*- in prepositional nouns can be left out without trace. This distinguishes those prepositional nouns from regular nouns, where the segmental part of the prefix *à*- can be dropped, but its tone is retained.

Prepositional nouns are quite common in African languages and have been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Welmers 1973: 216-217; Ruelland 1992: 230-231; Elders 2000: 242-261; Anonby 2008: 428-430).

The following prepositional nouns have been attested in Kam:

- (à)líb ‘on (top of)’ from *àlib* ‘head’, exemplified in (439), (440), (441)
 - (à)lèb ‘in(side)’, from *àlèb* ‘inside (as in ‘inside of belly’), exemplified in (442) and (443)
 - (à)gàw ‘beside’, from *gàw* ‘rib’, exemplified in (444)
 - (à)gún ‘behind, after’, from *àgún* ‘back side, behind’, exemplified in (445) and (446), cf. also § 7.4.1.2.2)
 - (à)lím ‘in front of’, from *àlím* ‘front’ (cp. *àlímíné* ‘tongue’), exemplified in (445)
 - ñkùm ‘behind’, means ‘back’ as a noun, exemplified in (448)
 - ñkám ‘under’, means ‘rest’ and ‘space underneath’ as a noun, exemplified in (449) and (450)

- (439) àwú dé **lɪb** jéŋí
 3SG be on horse
 ‘He is on a horse.’
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (440) àṣúwā ḥkā jí tòr pè líb bér à
then:REL thunder arrive fall come on tree REL
‘Then (that) the thunder struck the tree.’ (literally: ‘fell down on the tree’)
(session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

- (441) **ń** **ʃítàn** **líb** **ń^ttóŋ**
 1SG.S.PFV stand on mountain
 'I stand on (top of) the mountain.'

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (442) **àngwóg** **mí** **sírí** **léb** **i^tʃé** **ríg**
 house some be.NEG**inside** bush be.NEG
 'There is no house in the bush'.

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (443) **dé** **léb** **ú**
 be **inside** 3SG:POSS
 (It) is inside of him.

(session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

- (444) **àwú** **ré** ***fér** **jì** **àgàw** **bér** **mí**
 3SG IPFV wash thing **side** tree some
 'She was washing clothes next to some tree.'

(session_007)

- (445) **dé** **gún** **ém**
 be **behind** 1SG:POSS
 (It) is behind me.

(session_354, Rahab Garba Precious)

- (446) **àgún** **ú,** **í** **sí** ***bén** "tò ..."
 after 3SG:POSS 3PL SEQ say "so ..."
 'After him, they said "so ..." (Context: succession of different kings in Kam oral tradition;
 'after him' refers to the time after the ruler Awan Sipiru died.)

(session_019, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (447) **ń** **ʃítàn** **àlím** ***ŋgwóg**
 1SG.S.PFV stand **in.front.of** house
 'I stand in front of a house.'

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (448) àdʒé dé bé ñkùm ñgwóg
shea.tree be EMPH **behind** house
‘There is a shea tree behind (my) house.’
(session_098, Danjuma Bello, narrative)

- (449) dē ñ⁺kám bér
be **under** tree
‘(It) is underneath the tree.’
(session_311, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (450) ñkám tāŋ
under lap
‘(The rabbit told the tortoise to hide him) under (his) lap.’
(session_277, Wesam, narrative)

IV Part four: Verbal morphosyntax

12 Verbs

12.1 Introduction

12.1.1 Definition and general remarks

Verbs express actions (where an agent and/or patient is involved), experienced events (where an experiencer is involved), and states (where an entity is described as in a particular state). What connects these meanings semantically is that they are time-instable (Givón 1984: 51, 55): they persist for a certain amount of time. The meaning of a verb cannot be conceptualized without reference to a specific point in time during which the action, event or state persists. Functionally, verbs predicate something about one or more things (cf. Croft 2001): verbs say something about nouns.

The current chapter focuses on segmental and tonal morphology. Nominalization and derivation of adjectives were treated in § 7.2.3 and § 7.5. Where relevant, they are discussed only in passing here. I treat multi-verb constructions, which can be used to express aspectual distinctions, direction, valency change and comparison, in Chapter 1 below. Chapter 1 brings together all issues relevant to tense, aspect and polarity marking, which involves both morphological marking on verbs and other markers dispersed across the clause.

Segmental morphology on verbs includes

- Causative and iterative derivational suffixes (§ 12.4)
- Some derivational prefixes and suffixes that turn verbs into nouns (cf. § 7.2.3)
- The final vowel *-i* that occurs in some constructions, both derivational and inflectional (§ 12.2)
- Different types of reduplication that play a role in adjectival derivation and future tense marking (§ 12.5), and
- Object indexes (cf. § 8.3)

Other morphology is tonal, marking various tense and aspect functions, polarity, and playing an important role in verbal derivation and nominalization. I treat tonal morphology in § 12.3.

12.1.2 Verb structure

Verbs in Kam are made up of a verb stem that has a CVC, CV or CVCi shape, CVC being the most canonical stem shape. Some verb stems have a free CVC and a CVCi allomorph, captured here under CVC(i). I

observed such allomorphy in 14 instances, which I list in (452). It is possible that more verb stems show this pattern than I have uncovered so far. I also found one root with a CCVC structure, *mgbàb* ‘to shoot’.

Each root has a lexical tone. Monosyllabic verbs have L, M or H tone. CVCi stems have L-H or M-M tone. CVC(i) stems have L-L and H-H tones, depending on the tone of their CVC-stem. The verbs in question can be analyzed as a combination of CVC stem + a final vowel *i*, where the tone of the stem is copied onto the toneless final vowel. One such verb, *tán(i)* ‘to stand’, has an irregular HL tonal pattern. This verb is peculiar in other ways and is discussed in some more detail in § 12.6.2. The final vowel *i* in these verbs may be related to the final vowel *-i* found in several grammatical constructions in Kam, although it is synchronically different (see § 12.2 below).

(451)	CV (18 stems)	fé ‘to harvest (maize)’, lù ‘to lie down’, wū ‘to be ripe’
	CVC (131 stems)	víŋ ‘to mould’, wàb ‘to tie’, bùm ‘to spoil’
	CVC(i) (14 stems)	gúb(i) ‘chase’, dèb(i) ‘buy’
	CVCi (15 stems)	bàgí ‘to bend one’s head’, gbigí ‘to shake’
	CCVC (1 stem)	mgbàb ‘to shoot’

(452) **CVC stems with CVCi allomorphs**

gúb(i) ‘chase’	ʃúg(i) ‘catch, carry’	jàg(i) ‘take, carry’
dèb(i) ‘buy’	dòg(i) ‘see’	vég(i) ‘die’
néb(i) ‘go’	gòm(i) ‘pay’	tàb(i) ‘touch’
swàb(i) ‘sing’	jib(i) ‘ask’	sìn(i) ‘do’
tán(i) ‘stand’	dín(i) ‘find, meet’	kòr(i) ‘surpass’

Some examples of such verbs with CVC and CVCi allomorphs are given in (453) to (455).

(453)	àní	mínā	ʃúgí	jág	â?
	person	which	carry:PFV	catch	REL
‘(Who is) the person who took it?’					
(session_271, anonymous, conversation)					

- (454) **tfúg** ú á **jàgì**
 carry:PFV him PFV catch

- ké jí sāmrī ⁺á àwú sín â
 INSTR thing bad REL 3SG do:PFV REL

‘It (the investigation) caught him (with the bad things that he did).’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (455) lámé ⁺dzág níj ú à **dògì**
 hare spy:PFV private.parts 3SG:POSS PFV see
 ‘The hare gleans at his private parts.’

(session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

Grammatical tones may overwrite the lexical tone of a verb stem, and derivational suffixes may be attached to the stem.

- (456) **ʃɔb** ‘to be hot’
 ʃɔp-tí ‘to boil’ (replacive L tone on the verb + causative suffix *-tí*)

Object indexes are phonologically free but cannot occur in isolation. They may be considered verbal suffixes (cf. § 8.3). Object indexes follow any derivational suffixes. Rules of hiatus resolution apply (cf. § 6.2.1 e.g. *i* + *u* → *u*).

- (457) **gbèb** ‘to beat’
 gbèb-rí ‘to beat repeatedly’ (replacive L tone + iterative suffix *-rí*)
 gbèb ú ‘beat him’ (object index *ú*)
 gbèb-r ú ‘beat him repeatedly’ (replacive L tone + iterative suffix *-rí* + object index *ú*)

When a verb is reduplicated, it involves a copy of the first syllable of the verb stem. This copy has a vowel that is prespecified for height: the vowel is always a high vowel. An *e*, *ɛ*, or *a* in the stem becomes *i* in the copy. An *o* or *ɔ* becomes an *u*.

The tone of reduplications depends on the construction (cf. § 12.5). One construction involves full reduplication of the tone of the stem. Another construction applies a replacive tone to the copy but leaves the base with its lexical tone. And yet another construction completely overwrites the tone of the whole reduplication.

(458) lèm ‘to be good’

lil~lèm ‘good’ (predicative adjective, the tone is repeated)

lil~lèm-ì ‘It will be good’ (future tense, copy gets HL replacive tone, base keeps its lexical tone)

lil~lèm-ì hn̄ ‘very good’ (intensity construction, whole reduplication gets HM tone)

12.2 Inflectional and derivational final vowel -i on CVC-stems

12.2.1 General remarks

Several constructions feature an inflectional or derivational final vowel *-i* on CVC verbs and CVC(i) verbs. *-i* is toneless and it copies the tone of the preceding syllable. I call *-i* a final vowel and gloss it as FV, to draw attention to its similarities to *final vowels* in Bantu languages (see e.g. Grégoire 1979). In Bantu languages, like in Kam, a final vowel may co-express various morphosyntactic functions (e.g. a certain tense, aspect or mood distinction), together with other markers, but is never the sole dedicated marker of a function. In Kam, the vowel occurs in seven different constructions. It is impossible to attribute a single function to it.

The constructions it occurs in are the following:

- Deverbal attributive adjectives
- Future tense constructions
 - The affirmative future tense construction (the construction with an object and the construction without an object)
 - The negative future tense construction
- Speech and thought reporting clauses
- The ‘intensity’ construction with partial reduplication

Each of these constructions are exemplified in the following sections. Except for the ‘intensity’ construction, which I discuss briefly in § 12.5.4 below.

In § 12.1.2, I listed a number of verbs that have a CVCi structure or a CVC(i) structure, with optional final *i*. The inflectional final vowel *-i* and the optional final *i* in these stems are synchronically different morphs: the inflectional *-i* has a morphosyntactic function; the optional *i* does not. In these verbs, the *i* does not serve any of the functions listed in § 12.2.2 to § 12.2.4. They also occur outside of the relevant constructions. Nonetheless, it is likely that this final *i* and the final vowel in these constructions are

historically related. Stems ending in *i* may be historically complex. Alternatively, the constructions in § 12.2.2 to § 12.2.4 may retain a final *i* that was historically more widespread in verb stems.

12.2.2 Deverbal adnominal adjectives

When they are derived from a stem ending in a consonant, deverbal adnominal adjectives always carry the final vowel *-i*. The final vowel co-expresses this derivational function with a prefix *á^L* and a replacive M tone on the verb stem (cf. § 7.5).

- (459) á-bōr-í
 á^L-bōr|M-i
 ADJ-go.up\ADJ-FV
 ‘big’

not possible: *á-bōr

- (460) á-dūb-í
 á^L-dùb|M-i
 ADJ-be.tall\ADJ-FV
 ‘tall’

not possible: *á-dūb

- (461) á-fām-í
 á^L-fám|M-i
 ADJ-be.light\ADJ-FV
 ‘light’

not possible: *á-fām

12.2.3 Future tense constructions

There are three different future tense constructions in Kam: an affirmative construction with object, an affirmative construction without object, and a negative future tense construction. In each of these constructions, the final vowel *-i* plays a role, but always in a different manner.

The affirmative construction with object is formed with optional repetition of the verb after the object (cf. § 13.6.3). It is possible to omit the repeated verb, but consultants prefer repetition, at least in

elicitation. I did not detect any pragmatic or information structural differences. The copy, located after the object, receives the final vowel *-i*. Other markers co-expressing future tense in this construction are pronominal H tone (only in 1SG and 2SG pronominals) and HL tone on the verb preceding the object.

- (462) àwú dóg ñtèkù dóg-i
 àwú dóg\HL ñtèkù dög-i
 3SG see\FUT toad see-FV
 '(whether) he will see the toad (or not)'
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (463) mí búg à būg-i
 N búg\HL á būg-i
 1SG.S.FUT pinch\FUT 2SG.O pinch-FV
 'I will pinch you.'
 (session_345, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

- (464) àwàn míŋ èŋgwóg mīŋ-i àlēb é⁺ſé
 àwàn míŋ\HL èŋgwóg mīŋ-i àlēb àſé
 king build\FUT house build-FV middle bush
 'The king will build a house in the bush.'

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (465) wó gúb ú gūb-i
 wó gúb\HL ú gūb-i
 dog chase\FUT 3SG chase
 'the dog will chase him'
 (session_218, anonymous, narrative)

Affirmative future constructions without an object are not expressed with repetition of the verb, but with a partially reduplicated verb and HL tone on the copy (§ 13.4.2). The subject pronominal is the same as in affirmative future constructions with an object. The reduplicated verb carries the final vowel *-i*.

- (466) ní fífàr-i
 N fí\HL~fàr-i
 1SG.S.FUT tell\FUT~tell-FV
 'I will tell (it).'
 (session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (467) m̄ búgbūg-í
 N̄ búg\HL~būg-í
 1SG.S.FUT pinch\HL~pinch-FV
 'I will pinch (it).'
 (session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (468) n̄ fíf[†]fér-í
 N̄ fíf\HL~fér-í
 1SG.S.FUT wash\HL~wash-FV
 'I will wash (it).'
 (Constructed example)⁷⁷

The negative future tense construction does not have verbal repetition or reduplication. Instead, it features a H pronominal (if it is 1SG or 2SG), H verbal tone, a preverbal particle *rɔ̄L* and an optional post-verbal, post-object particle *rɔ̄*. Like in affirmative future tense constructions, the verb features a final vowel *-i*.

- (469) í ré [†]dʒóŋ-í kòm hn̄
 í ré^L dʒóŋ\H-i kòm hn̄
 3PL FUT.NEG live\FUT.NEG-FV place NEG
 'They will not (be able to) live here.'
 (session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (470) á ré [†]jéb-í hn̄?
 á ré^L jéb\H-i hn̄?
 2SG.S.FUT FUT.NEG go\FUT.NEG-FV NEG?
 'Won't you go?'

(session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

- (471) àjí ré [†]dóg-í ntèkù r̄ hn̄
 àjí ré^L dóg\H-i ntèkù r̄ hn̄
 3PL FUT.NEG see\FUT.NEG-FV toad FUT.NEG NEG
 'They will not see the toad.'

(session_359, Garba Rahab Precious, elicitation)

⁷⁷ I do not have examples of future verbs with a lexical H tone in my corpus.

One exception was found in the data, where an affirmative future tense construction without object did not have a final vowel. Here, the future tense construction was also part of a sequential construction with the preverbal marker *sì* (§ 17.4.3). It is not clear why no final vowel is present in this example.

- (472) ñ fúg éŋ⁺ág nāŋkō, sì bín⁺bén
 Ṅ fúg\H àŋág nāŋkō, sì bín\HL~bén
 1SG.S.PFV do\PFV work first, 1PL SEQ talk\FUT~talk
 'I work first, then we will talk.'

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

12.2.4 Speech and thought reporting constructions

When a speech/thought verb introduces reported speech or thought with the quotative marker *ijit^L/ibi^L/á* (cf. § 17.6), it has a final vowel. It is sometimes optionally dropped due to hiatus resolution, since the quotative marker typically starts with an identical vowel *i*. However, a pause can be left between the verb and the quotative marker, and in those cases the final vowel is unmistakable. Note that the final vowel *i* is segmentally identical to the logophoric pronominal *t^L*. It is not clear whether or how they may be related.

- (473) àwú bén-í ijí *sáŋ â fóg
 3SG say:PFV-FV QUOT:LOG.SG go:PFV LOC farm
 'He_i said that he_i went to the farm.'

(session_363, David Mamuda, elicitation)

- (474) í sí *bén-í á gé sín gi jí?
 3PL SEQ say-FV QUOT what do what Q
 'They then said: "What happened?"'

(session_020, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (475) àní mí *jíb-í
 person some ask:PFV-FV

 á gá gi ú ré sín à sísírā gi jí?
 QUOT what:REL what 3SG IPFV do REL now what Q?

 'Somebody asks what it is that he is doing right now.'

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda)

(476)	àwú	ŷár-í	íbí	kpiŋ~kpáŋí
	3SG	tell:PFV-FV	QUOT:LOG.SG	PRED~strong
'He tells that he is strong.'				
(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)				

The verb *hwár* has not been found with a final vowel in thought reporting constructions. This observation is based on only one example. More examples are needed to understand whether this is an exceptional omission, if *hwár* is a lexical exception, or if something else is going on here.

(477)	àwú	hwár	íbí	
	3SG	think:PFV	QUOT:LOG.SG	
	*dín	jí	mí	ā
	find:PFV	thing	certain	REL
lil~lèm PRED~beautiful				
'He thinks that he found something beautiful.'				

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

12.3 Tonal morphology

12.3.1 Inflectional tone

12.3.1.1 Overview

Verbal tone plays an important role in the expression of tense, aspect and polarity. Each type of replacive tone is discussed in the following sections. By way of overview, Table 40 summarizes which tone patterns occur in which types of clauses, form to function. A function-to-form overview can be found in § 13.4.1.

Table 40 - Tonal morphology on verbs, form to function

Tone pattern	Grammatical value
Lexical tone (= unmarked)	Most imperatives Imperfective aspect (affirmative) Negative non-future without object Secondary verbs in multi-verb constructions Second verb of future tense constructions with object
H	Perfective aspect (affirmative) Negative future Negative non-future with object
HL	Affirmative future (in case of reduplication: only the copy)
Free variation	Some imperatives

12.3.1.2 Lexical tones

The citation form of verbs, from which all other forms can be predicted, is characterized by a lexical distinction between L, M, H, L-L, M-M, H-H and L-H patterns. Derived forms (discussed in § 12.4) always have a lexical L-H pattern when uninflected. Lexical tones are found in a subset of tense, aspect, and mood constructions, i.e. in most imperatives, affirmative imperfective aspect constructions, in negative non-future constructions without object, in secondary verbs in multi-verb constructions, and in the second verb of future tense constructions with an object. Each of these are exemplified as follows:

(478) **Lexical tone: imperatives**

- bòb ‘come out’
- bìr ‘blow’
- kpāb ‘mix’
- tēb ‘count’
- fé ‘harvest (maize)’
- víŋ ‘mould (clay)’
- gùrì ‘vomit’
- dērī ‘snore’
- fīrī ‘jump’
- gúbí ‘chase away’
- ŋwórí ‘tie (a knot)’

gbìgí ‘shake’

tàgí ‘affect’

bùsí ‘bow (down)’

bòrsí ‘add’

(479) **Lexical tone: affirmative imperfective aspect constructions**

a.

wó ré ***gúb** níʃóŋ

dog IPFV chase pig

‘The dog is chasing the pig.’

(session_005, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

b.

ìmpòm rè **kpàr**

rain IPFV rain

‘It is raining.’

(session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

c.

jùrù jí ìgwàm rè **wūrī** gwó

we person Kam IPFV like stranger

‘We Kam like strangers.’

(Isolated_Items_01, Yuguda Manti, conversation)

(480) Lexical tone: negative non-future constructions without object

à **gbèb** hñ
 à **gbèb** hñ
 2SG.S.NEG.NFUT beat NEG
 'You didn't beat (it).'
 (David Mamuda, session_364, elicitation)

m **fírī** hñ
 N **fírī** hñ
 1SG.S.NEG.NFUT jump NEG
 'I didn't jump.'
 (David Mamuda, session_364, elicitation)

jò **déŋ** hñ
 2PL roast NEG
 'You people didn't roast (it).'
 (David Mamuda, session_364, elicitation)

(481) Lexical tone: non-initial verbs of multi-verb constructions

a.

ʈfúg	ú	á	jàg-i
ʈfúg\H	ú	à	jàg-i
catch\PFV	3SG	PFV	catch-FV

'It (the investigation) caught him (with the bad things that he did).'
 (session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

b.

wó	ré	láb	dʒérī
dog	IPFV	hide	look

'The dog is secretly looking.'
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

(482) **Lexical tone: second verb of future tense constructions with object**

a.

í	líg	bùg	líg-i
í	líg\HL	bùg	líg-i
LOG.SG	dance FUT	dance	dance-FV
‘(He showed that) he could dance.’			
(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)			

b.

ím	fá	[†] kúmé fâ
ń	fà\HL	kúmé fâ
1SG.S.FUT	raise.chicken FUT	chicken raise.chicken
‘I will raise chickens.’ ⁷⁸		
(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)		

12.3.1.3 Replacive H tone: various functions

In other tense, aspect and polarity constructions, verbal tonal patterns are determined by the construction rather than by the lexical tone of verbs. Verbs have a H tone in many constructions, viz. affirmative perfective clauses, negative perfective clauses with an object and negative future constructions.

⁷⁸ fâ ‘to raise chickens’ is realized with HL tone due to H tone spread

(483) Perfective aspect construction

ikā	m̄pīrōg	bōb	á	pè	àlèb	ìgùm,
ikā	m̄pīrōg	bōb\H	à	pè	àlèb	àgùm,
then	rat	come.out PFV	PFV	come	inside	hole,
ním	ú	â	jàg-ì			ŋwé.
ním\H	ú	à	jàg-i			ŋwé
bite PFV	3SG	PFV	catch-FV			mouth

'Then, a rat came from inside the hole and bit him on the mouth.'

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

(484) Negative perfective aspect with an object

m̄	gbéb	ú	h̄n
᷇	gbèb\H	ú	h̄n
1SG.S.NEG.NFUT	beat PFV	3SG	NEG
'I did not beat him.'			
(David Mamuda, session_364, elicitation)			

jò	góm	ú	h̄n
jò	góm\H	ú	h̄n
2PL	pay PFV	3SG	NEG
'You people did not pay him.'			
(David Mamuda, session_364, elicitation)			

(485) Negative future

a.

ń	ré	[†] góm-í	hñ
Ń	ré ^L	góm\H-i	hñ
1SG.S.FUT	NEG.FUT	pay\NEG.FUT-FV	NEG

'I will not pay.'

(session_364, David Mamuda, elicitation)

b.

ń	ré	[†] gbéb	ú	ré	hñ
Ń	ré ^L	gbéb\H	ú	rè	hñ
1SG.S.FUT	NEG.FUT	beat\NEG.FUT3SG	NEG.FUT	NEG	

'I will not beat him.'

(session_364, David Mamuda, elicitation)

12.3.1.4 Replacive HL tone: future tense constructions

In affirmative future tense constructions, verbs have a HL tone scheme. As described in § 12.2.3 and § 13.6.3, future tense with a specific object can be partly expressed by means of repetition of the verb after the object. The repetition of the verb is expressed with the lexical tone of the verb (cf. § 12.3.1.2). Future tense without an object is expressed with partial reduplication of the verb (cf. § 12.2.3 and § 13.4.2). In this case, the copy gets a HL tone and the base receives the lexical tone of the verb. The partially reduplicated form can be analyzed as a contracted form of the future tense construction with a repeated verb: without the intervening object, the verbs are merged into a partial reduplication construction. Under this analysis, the tone of both the original and the repeated verbs are the same in both constructions.

(486)	mí	fá	[†] kumé fâ
	Ń	fá\HL	kumé fâ
	1SG.S.FUT	raise.chickens\FUT	chicken raise.chickens

'I will raise chickens.'

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (487) m̄ **fí-fà**
 N̄ **fà\HL-fà**
 1SG.S.FUT raise.chickens\FUT-raise.chickens
 'I will raise (chickens).'
 (session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

12.3.1.5 Free variation: some imperative verbs

For a few monosyllabic verbs, there is a free choice of tones in imperative forms. This free variation is not consistent across speakers, and in my current dataset 15 verbs have been identified with such free choice by at least one speaker.

Most examples of such free variation occur in isolation. I checked some examples in a frame, with the adverb *mísí* ‘again’, where they also showed such free variation (session_323, David Mamuda, elicitation).

Some examples of imperative verb forms that can have both a L and a H realization:

- (488) bìr, bīr or bír (lexical tone = H) 'to cut, to slaughter'
- (489) sìn, sīn or sín (lexical tone = H) 'to do, to make'
- (490) dèb, dēb or déb (lexical tone = L) 'to buy'
- (491) bàr, bār or bár (lexical tone = L) 'to farm, to weed'
- (492) a. mèr mísi 'swallow again!'
 b. mér mísi 'swallow again!'
- (493) a. gbèb mísi 'beat again!'
 b. gbéb mísi 'beat again!'
- (494) a. bàr mísi 'farm again!'
 b. bár mísi 'farm again!'

12.3.2 Derivational tone

Derivation is partly accomplished with tonal morphology. The following derivational patterns make use of replacive tone on verbs. Note that these patterns are overwritten by inflectional replacive tones in certain grammatical contexts (§ 12.3.1).

- Causative and iterative derivation with *-tí*, *-sí* or *-rí* suffixes: replacive L tone on the verb stem. More examples can be found in § 12.4 below.

(495)	$\text{ʃɔb}\backslash\text{L}$	+ tí	\rightarrow	ʃɔp-tí
	be.hot\CAUS	CAUS		become.hot:CAUS-CAUS
		'to boil'		

- Deverbal participant and action/state nominalization with *à-* prefixes and with *-rí* suffixes: replacive H tone on the verb stem. See § 7.2.3.1 and § 7.2.3.2 for more examples.

(496)	à	+ $\text{zùb}\backslash\text{H}$	\rightarrow	à-zúb
	NMLZ	steal\NMLZ		NMLZ-steal:NMLZ
		'thief'		

(497)	à	+ $\text{lém}\backslash\text{H}$	+ rí	\rightarrow	à-lém-rí
	NMLZ	be.good\NMLZ	NMLZ		NMLZ-good:NMLZ-NMLZ
		'goodness, beauty'			

- Deverbal adjectivization with the prefix *á^L-* and final vowel *-i* include a replacive M tone on the verb stem (see § 7.5).⁷⁹

(498)	á-düb-í
	$\text{á}^{\text{L}}\text{-düb}\backslash\text{M-i}$
	ADJ-be.tall\ADJ-FV
	'tall'

12.4 Derivational suffixes: causative *-tí* and *-sí*, iterative *-rí*, and other meanings

I found three marginally productive derivational suffixes on verbs: *-sí* and *-tí* derive causative verbs and *-rí* expresses an iterative meaning. In at least one case, *-sí* and *-tí* are interchangeable (*bòmtí* = *bòmsí* 'to lengthen something'). Although I present *-ti* and *-si* as suffixes because of their bound nature (they cannot occur as an utterance by themselves) and their derivational semantics, from a phonological point of view they are prosodic stems as their initial consonants are consonants that occur only in the prosodically strong stem-initial position (cf. § 4.2.10). Suffixes cannot be stacked to make more complex forms. All derivations

⁷⁹ This M could be a downstepped H, cf. footnote 69 on p. 174.

applying these suffixes also feature replaceive L tone on the verb stem, which will not be explicitly marked in this section but has been discussed in § 12.3.2.

(499) **Iterative -rí**

gbèb-rí	beat-IT ‘to beat repeatedly’	(gbèb ‘to beat’)
tùb-rí	push-IT ‘to put holes in something’	(tùb ‘to push’)
wòm-rí	break-IT ‘to hit repeatedly’	(wòm ‘to break’)
bà-rí	remove-IT ‘to rinse’	(bà ‘to remove’)

(500) **Causative -tí and -sí**

jòp-tí	be.hot-CAUS ‘to boil’	(jòb ‘to be hot’)
mòm-tí	laugh-CAUS ‘to greet’	(mòm ‘to laugh’)
wòm-tí	break-CAUS ‘to break something’	(wòm ‘to break’)
lù-tí	lie.down-CAUS ‘to lay something down’	(lù ‘to sleep’)
tám-sí	grow-CAUS ‘to nurture something’	(tám ‘to grow’)
jì-sí	leave-CAUS ‘to take something’	(jì ‘leave’)
dák-sí	be.cold-CAUS ‘to cool something down’	(dág ‘to be cold’)
lèk-sí	be.sharp-CAUS ‘to sharpen something’	(lèg ‘to be sharp’)
mílák-sí	be.soft-CAUS ‘to make something soft’	(mílág ‘to be soft’)
jár-sí	be.wide-CAUS ‘to make something wide’	(jár ‘to be wide’)
bòm-sí ~ bòm-tí	be.long-CAUS ‘to make something long’	(bóm ‘to be wide’)

In two cases, *-tí* and *-sí* have a meaning related to physical contact or penetration. I have called this function ‘applicative’, but it is difficult to accurately characterize.

(501) **Applicative -tí and -sí**

jè-tí	enter-APPL ‘to lean against something’	(jé ‘to enter’)
tùp-sí	push-APPL ‘to pierce, to prick’	(tùb ‘to push’)

These suffixes are only marginally productive in the sense that they are found only with a limited subset of verbal roots. Causatives are very productive in stative verbs, as illustrated in (500) above, but elsewhere it is impossible to make new verbs with these suffixes.

- (502) mèl ‘to swallow’ → *mèlsí, *mèltí, *mèlrí
 déŋ ‘to roast’ → *dèŋsí, *dèŋtí, *dèŋrí
 gòm ‘to pay’ → *gòmsí, *gòmtí, *gòmrí
 bén ‘to speak’ → *bèntí⁸⁰, *bènsí, *bènrí
 sà ‘to roof’ → *sàtí, *sàsí, *sàrí
 fà ‘to raise chickens’ → *fátí, *fásí, *fàrí⁸¹

In many verbs with these suffixes, the related source verb has disappeared from the language or the semantic relationship between the derived verb and the original is too opaque for the derivation to be analyzable as synchronic. Where the simplex stem has disappeared, there are usually still derived forms in the language that attest its former presence, for example in lexicalized resultative derivations or in adjectives.

(503) **Opaque semantic relationships**

pèntírí ‘to barter’	compare	pèntí ‘collect rest of crops’
lògrí ‘to finish’	compare	lòg ‘to deliver a child’
dʒibrí ‘to change’	compare	dʒib ‘to fence a place’
fàgrí ‘to gather’	compare	fàg ‘to close, to cover, to lock’

(504) **No simplex stem in the language**

mènsí ‘to scatter’	compare	mén á *jí ‘scattered’ (lexicalized resultative)
pòpsí ‘to press together’	compare	pūppōb ‘pressed together’ (lexicalized adjective)
ŋànsí ‘to fold/bend’	compare	ŋīŋān ‘bent’ (lexicalized adjective)
vìŋkrí ‘to make round’	compare	víŋ á *jí ‘moulded’ (lexicalized resultative)
vèrí ‘to kill’	compare	vèg ‘to die’?
nàmrí ‘to name’		?
kwàntrí ‘to fold’		?
gbàsí ‘to loosen’		?

⁸⁰ bèntí exists as a verb meaning ‘to cut’ and as a noun meaning ‘trousers’.

⁸¹ fàrí exists as a verb meaning ‘to fold’ and a verb meaning ‘to open’.

(505) shows two cases where there is an obvious relationship between a form with a suffix and a source verb. Their derivation is, however, historical rather than synchronic.

In other cases, there is no observable syntactic or semantic difference between the derived verb and the source verb, or between the same verb root used with different derivational suffixes.

- (510) wārī ‘to dream’
 = wàt-rí ‘to dream’
 (session_358, David Mamuda, elicitation)

12.5 Reduplication (and repetition)

12.5.1 Overview

There are three different types of verbal reduplication in Kam, each with their own inflectional or derivational functions. Related to but distinct from reduplication is verb repetition.

- Predicative adjectives are derived by means of partial segmental reduplication with full tonal reduplication.⁸² This process involves repetition of the first syllable of a verb with a vowel prespecified for height, but full repetition of the tonal pattern of the verb. Predicative adjectives do not have tense and aspect distinctions and cannot be negated directly. To negate them and to indicate tense and aspect distinctions, underived verb stems are used. Examples are *giggàb* ‘shared’, from *gàb* ‘to share’ *kpikpési* ‘slippery, smooth’, from *kpèsí* ‘to be slippery, smooth’ and *jifɔb* ‘hot’, from *ʃɔb* ‘to be hot’. I discuss this construction in § 12.5.2.
- The future tense construction without object employs partial reduplication with replacive tone on the copy (which is the first syllable of the construction) and lexical tone on the base. A final vowel *-i* occurs on this construction. I discuss this future tense construction in § 12.2.3 and § 13.4.2.
- The future tense construction with an object employs repetition of the whole verb after the object. Since other lexemes can occur between the verb and its copy, they are not phonologically or morphologically linked to one another. The verb before the object receives replacive HL tone. The copy occurs with the final vowel *-i* and features the verb’s lexical tone. § 12.2.3 and § 13.6.3 deal with this type of construction.
- There is an ‘intensity’ construction in Kam that uses partial segmental reduplication, where the first syllable of the verb is copied and the whole reduplicated verb receives a HM replacive tone as well as a final vowel *-i*. This intensity construction also features the negator *hñ*. I discuss it in § 12.5.4.
- I also found examples of unmotivated reduplication in Kam. That is, instances, where a verb can be reduplicated without any difference in meaning. Such reduplications are also partial, involving a copy of the first syllable of the verb. They also feature replacive HM tone, and for some verbs a final vowel *-i*. I discuss these cases in § 12.5.5.

⁸² I analyze these as predicative adjectives, since they are not marked for tense and aspect. Another possibility would be to analyze them as a type of stative verb, since they are always derived from verbal stems.

12.5.2 Predicative adjectives

Predicative adjectives are always derived from a verb stem by means of reduplication. The reduplication process involves (1) making a copy of the first syllable of the stem, (2) assimilation of the final consonant of the copy to the first consonant of the base (cf. § 6.1.1.3), and (3) full reduplication of the tone of the stem. As discussed in § 4.3.2, the vowel in the copy of partial reduplications are always high. An *e*, *ɛ*, *i* or *a* becomes an *i*, an *o* or *ɔ* becomes an *u*.

Thus, a predicative adjective derived from the verb *pár* ‘to be tight’ is *píppár* ‘tight’. the first syllable is copied, and the vowel in the copy is high. The final consonant of the copy assimilates to the first consonant of the stem, and merges with it into a geminated *pp*. The tone is simply copied.

Some examples:

- (511) dàm ‘to be clean’ → dìndàm ‘clean’
- būm ‘to rot’ → būmbūm ‘rotten, spoiled’
- kág ‘to crunch’ → kíkkág ‘crunched’
- lèm ‘to be good’ → lìllèm ‘good’
- gàb ‘to share’ → gíggàb ‘shared’
- tùb ‘to push’ → tùttùb ‘holed’
- bóm ‘to be long’ → búmbóm ‘long’
- fám ‘to be light’ → fímfám ‘light’
- gáŋ ‘to bend’ → gíngáŋ ‘bent’
- tám ‘to grow’ → tíntám ‘big’
- wòm ‘to be hollow’ → wùmwòm ‘hollow’
- wū ‘to be ripe’ → wūwū ‘ripe’

All examples in (511) derive from monosyllabic verbs. When a predicative adjective is derived from a disyllabic verb, the realization of tones can be more complicated. When *sòŋí* ‘to be sweet’ is reduplicated, for example, the resulting reduplication has only three syllables, whereas there are four tones that have to be attached: L H L H. The result is *sùnsóŋí*: the first L tone attaches to the copy; the following H tone attaches to the first syllable of the base, and the final L and H tone simultaneously attach to the final syllable, resulting in a M tone. Some more examples of this, where the process is identical, are the following.

- (512) kpèsí ‘to be slippery’ → kpìkpésī ‘slippery’
 kòktí ‘to be smooth’ → kùkóktī ‘smooth’
 fòrì ‘to be sour’ → fùfòrī ‘sour’
 kpànjí ‘to be strong’ → kpìñkpáñjī ‘strong’
 ɳwàntí ‘to be straight’ → ɳwìñwántī ‘straight’
 pírì ‘to be astringent’ → pèpírì ‘astringent’
 mùsí ‘to fill’ → mùmúsī ‘full’
 zòrì ‘to be bitter’ → zùzórtī ‘bitter’

No tense, aspect or negation distinctions can be marked on predicative adjectives. When such distinctions must be expressed, the regular verb stem is used with the relevant morphology and clausal marking. For example, if a speaker wants to say that ‘the place is hot’, they can use a predicative adjective as in (513). If they want to code such a situation in the past that is no longer the case, they could use the same construction, or choose to code it in the perfective aspect (514). If they want to emphasize that the place is not hot now, but will be hot in the future, a future tense construction can be used with the regular verb stem (515). If they want to negate that it is hot, they would use the regular verb stem with a negative construction (516).

- (513) kòm fíʃʃób
 kòm fíʃ~ʃób
 place PRED~be.hot
 ‘the place is hot’
- (514) kòm fób â
 kòm fób\H à
 place be.hot\PFV PFV
 ‘the place was hot’
- (515) kòm fíʃ~ʃóbí
 kòm fíʃ\HL~ʃób-i
 place FUT\FUT~be.hot-FV
 ‘the place will be hot’
- (516) kòm fób hñ
 place be.hot NEG
 ‘the place is not hot’

12.5.3 Future tense constructions

I treat future tense constructions elsewhere in this grammar, in § 12.2.3, § 13.1, § 13.4.2 and § 13.6.3.

12.5.4 The ‘intensity’ construction with partial reduplication and the negator *hñ*

A rare *intensity construction* features a partially reduplicated form of verbs with HM replacive tone together with the clause-final negator *hñ*. This construction expresses emphatically affirmative meaning rather than negation (which would be expected given the presence of the negator). I only found this construction in elicited data, not in texts, songs or conversation. This may be an artefact of the relatively small size of the corpus. The functions of this construction are not well understood. The construction can be schematized as follows:

- (517) The intensity construction

NP + INT~V\HM-i + hñ

- (518) àjáván á ⁺dúb hñ, àmá, àwú dúddūb-í hñ.
man PROX be.tall NEG but 3SG INT~be.tall\INT-i NEG.

‘This man is not (just) tall, but he is very tall.’

(session_287, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (519) àŋgwóg á ⁺tíntām-í hñ.
house PROX INT~grow\INT-i NEG.

‘This house is very big.’

(session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (520) àŋgwóg mō á díddāg-í hñ.
house good PROX INT~cold\INT-i NEG.

‘The good house was very cold.’

(session_342, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

A negative future tense interpretation for these examples (‘The man will not grow.’, ‘The house will not cool down.’) is not possible. Negative future tense clauses are expressed with another construction that does not involve reduplication but tonal morphology and some clausal markers instead (cf. § 13.1).

It is possible that the negator *hṇ* originally was an intensity marker, which was used with other negators in the clause⁸³ and later acquired a negative meaning. The intensity construction, then, preserves the earlier non-negative meaning of *hṇ* which may have been something like ‘really, truly, absolutely’. This would be an example of the Jespersen Cycle that has been described for many other languages across the world (Jespersen 1917; Dahl 1979; van der Auwera 2009).⁸⁴

Alternatively, this construction derives from a so-called ironic negative construction, where a negative clause may be used to express an emphatically positive proposition.⁸⁵ This ironic negative construction could have conventionalized and entirely lost its negative meaning to an emphatic positive one (cf. Shmelev 2016 on the conventionalization of irony and other pragmatic effects).

12.5.5 Unmotivated reduplication

Sometimes, reduplication appears completely optional in any tense-aspect configuration. In these cases, I failed to identify a clear function of reduplication, and my consultants said simplex forms are equally acceptable as reduplicated forms.

In all these cases, partial segmental reduplication applies, overlayed with replacive H-M tone. Some reduplications involve a final vowel *-i*, some do not. Note that the examples I found in imperatives are all verbs connected to bodily functions.

(521) **Some examples in imperatives**

- bíbīrī ‘whistle’ (cf. bīr ‘whistle’)
- ŋíŋāmtī ‘yawn’ (cf. ŋàmtí ‘yawn’)
- kpíkpírī ‘cough’ (cf. kpírī ‘cough’)
- ʃínʃémī ‘sneeze’ (cf. ʃém ‘sneeze’⁸⁶)

⁸³ The optional preverbal negator *mág* may have been obligatory at some stage in the language (see § 13.3.3). There are various other non-final negation markers in Kam. These are all discussed in Chapter 1.

⁸⁴ I wish to thank Dmitry Idiatov for this suggestion.

⁸⁵ See the Lingtyp discussion on Ironic negative constructions in January 2020 at <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/pipermail/lingtyp/2020-January/007568.html>. I wish to thank Mark Van de Velde for pointing me in this direction and sharing with me the Lingtyp post on ironic negative constructions. I also wish to thank Pascal Boyeldieu for sharing his ideas on this type of antiphrasis.

⁸⁶ The tone of /ʃém ‘to sneeze’ is uncertain.

(522) Imperfective aspect

í	ré	+bímbēn	kā,
í	rè	bín~bén\HM	kā,
3PL	IPFV	UNM~say\UNM	COND,
í	ré	+dàk-sí	ʃéedindàŋ.
í	rè	dág\L-sí	ʃé-dìndàŋ
3PL	IPFV	cold\CAUS-CAUS	guinea.corn-?

‘When they are talking, they are cooling beer.’

(session_271, Danjuma Bello, conversation)

(523) Perfective aspect

ń	dʒídʒágɪ
ń	dʒɪ~dʒàg\HM-i
1SG.S.PFV	UNM~do.secretly\UNM-FV

‘I spied.’

(session_361, David Mamuda, elicitation)

12.6 Irregular verbs

12.6.1 Copulas

The copula *dá* has an affirmative existential and locational meaning. It also occurs in predicative possession clauses. It fills the verb slot in a clause, but does not behave like other verbs. It does not inflect for tense or aspect and it does not occur with tense or aspect particles. In locational predication clauses, the copula *dá* takes a circumstantial (adverbial) argument as its complement. In existential clauses, it takes the presentative demonstrative *bē* as its complement. *bē* may derive from an adverbial or demonstrative element meaning ‘here’ or ‘there’. *dá* is a special interrogative existential form of the copula, but it is not obligatory. I only occasionally observed it in informal settings but did not record data on it. Interrogative and conditional clauses can be formed in the regular way, by means of the regular interrogative and conditional particles *jī* and *kā* (cf. § 16.1 and § 17.5.1.6).

The negative equivalent of the copula *dá* is *sírī* ‘not to be’. It is always used with the clause-final particle *rīg*, which forms an essential part of the negative locational and existential predication

constructions. The *sìrī* ... *rīg* construction is used as the negative counterpart of any affirmative construction with *dá*.

Further description and examples of constructions with *dá* and *sìrī* can be found in § 15.2.1 and in § 13.4.3.

12.6.2 Irregular conjugations

There are very few verbs that have irregular conjugations in Kam. Just three verbs have been identified that behave irregularly:

- (1) *pè* ‘come’, which has a special perfective aspect form;
- (2) *táni* ‘stand, stay’, which as a primary verb is only attested in a special uninflected complex form *finá⁺táni* ‘stand’ as a primary verb. This is also the only verb with a H-L pattern in the language.
- (3) *mà* ‘give’, which has different forms depending on the object it takes

The verb *pè* ‘come’ has a special perfective aspect form *pírá* that is often used when it is the only verb in a clause. The exact function of this special form is not yet clear, and I have not checked whether it can always be substituted by the regular forms *pè* or *pà*.

(524)	àlásírá	míná	pírá
	white.person	PRSTT	come.PFV

‘The white man came like this.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(525)	gó	pírá	kā,
	guest	come.PFV	COND,

í	ſfúg	ú	ká ⁺ né	jírág	jírág
1PL	take	3SG	INSTR:hand	two	two

‘When a stranger comes, we cooperate with him.’

(session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

- (526) sù jí jí mgbāb-ī pírâ
 section person thing ADJ:hunt-FV come.PFV

‘(Then, when a certain year came,) a group of hunters came. (They came and met the Kam people)’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

The verb *táni* ‘stay, stand’ (alternative forms: *tán^L* or *tán*) is rarely found outside of multi-verb constructions (§ 14.3.2), except in the greeting *tán sim* ‘how are things?’ (527). Elsewhere, where it means ‘to stand’ as a primary verb, it is accompanied by an unanalyzable morpheme *ʃiná^L* (or its short form *ʃi*), which is not found anywhere else in the currently collected lexicon of Kam. The complex verb *ʃiná⁺-tán(i)* (and *ʃi-tán(i)*) is not marked for tense or aspect ((527)(528)-(530)).

- (527) tán sìm àlénj á jí?
 tán^L sìm àlénj á jí?
 stand how sun PROX Q
 ‘How do (things) stand today?’ (i.e. ‘How are things?’)
 (session_003, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (528) àwú mína bá ʃinátánì gànj à
 3SG PRSTT REL stand up REL
 ‘Here he stands up.’
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (529) n̩ ʃi⁺tán gâŋ
 1SG.S.PFV stand up
 ‘I stand up’
 (session_049, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (530) n̩ ʃi⁺tán àlím ŋgwòg
 1SG.S.PFV stand front house
 ‘I stand in front of the house.’
 (session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

The verb *mà* ‘give’ has irregular forms for different objects, except in the first person plural and second person plural. The irregular forms are the result of possessive indexes merging with the verb.

- (531) mām ‘give me’
 mā ‘give you’
 mō ‘give him’
 mà júrú ‘give us’
 mà jnó ‘give you’
 mē ‘give them’

13 Aspect, tense and negation

13.1 Introduction and overview

Different tense, aspect and negation values are marked cumulatively in Kam. There is no one dedicated morpheme that expresses perfective aspect, imperfective aspect, or future tense, for example. These categories are expressed through a combination of morphemes co-occurring in a clause. Such combinations of morphemes are referred to in the literature as multiple exponence and sometimes as hypermorphemes (e.g. Payne 1997: 234).

Firstly, the tone of the primary verb in the clause plays an important role, as well as the tone of its accompanying subject pronominal (if they are singular speech act participants, i.e. 1SG and 2SG). I discussed such tonal marking in § 8.2.2 and § 12.3. They are briefly summarized in this chapter. There are some specialized preverbal markers expressing tense, aspect and polarity. I also identified two post-verbal (and post-object) tense, aspect and polarity markers. The final vowel *-i*, already discussed in § 12.2, is found in all future tense constructions. Reduplication and repetition of verbs also co-express future tense in a clause. All these markers are summarized in Table 41. I discuss each of them in more detail in the remainder of this chapter. I observed many of the same markers in subordinate clauses, although I did not study these in detail and there may be differences in subordinate clauses that I have not identified yet.

Time, aspect, polarity and modality can also be lexically expressed, by adverbial modifiers (§ 15.4), multi-verb constructions (§ 12.5.5), prepositional phrases (cf. § 11.1) and complex sentences (Chapter 1). The current chapter is only concerned with grammatical marking of these categories, and not with lexical or adverbial expressions.

Kam distinguishes the following tense, aspect, and polarity categories:

- Future vs. non-future tense
- Perfective vs. imperfective aspect
- Positive vs. negative polarity

These terms refer to the typical functions of each construction, and their meanings are straightforward. The only value that needs some more definition is the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect constructions describe an event as viewed as a whole, without focusing on their internal structure. Imperfective aspect constructions, on the other hand, construe an action as ongoing. Perfective aspect is the most common aspectual value in the current Kam corpus, and it is the default aspectual value used to translate a basic English past or present tense clause.

Table 41 introduces the different markers used for expressing tense, aspect and polarity in Kam and gives an overview of the different slots they occur in. A few general observations can be made:

- Tense and aspect marking is very different in affirmative and negative clauses. Every construction and most individual markers simultaneously mark a tense/aspect and negation value.
- Out of four pre-verbal markers in the table, only one belongs to the affirmative construction set. Most pre-verbal markers are negators.
- The only clause-final markers are negators.

Table 41 – Tense, aspect and polarity marking in Kam clauses

The following clauses show cumulative marking. Each marker is highlighted. Subsequent sections further discuss and exemplify each position.

(532) **Affirmative imperfective**

à rè bén ántērī.

2SG.S.IPFV IPFV say truth.

'You are telling the truth.'

(session_159, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

(533) **Affirmative future without object**

mí búg †á būg-i.

Ń búg\H á būg-i.

1SG.S.FUT pinch\FUT 2SG.O pinch-FV.

'I will pinch you.'

(session_345, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

(534) **Negative non-future with object**

mì (màg) ním àfàm nág hñ.

Ń (màg) ním\H àfàm nág hñ.

1SG.S.NEG.NFUT (NEG.NFUT) eat\NEG.NFUT meat cow NEG.

'I did not eat cow meat.'

(session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(535) **Negative future**

ré †kábírí ré hñ.

ré^L kábírí\H rè hñ.

NEG.FUT break\NEG.FUT NEG.FUT NEG.

'(Whatever you put in this bag,) (it) will not break.'

(session_290, David Mark, elicitation)

(536) **Future negative continuative**

ráháb gbán-i gárínhāmzà pí†káj džén.

Rahab arrive:FUT-FV Garin.Hamza tomorrow NEG.CONT.

'Rahab will not yet arrive in Garin Hamza tomorrow.'

(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

(537) Negative imperative

jò ká jéb ^tŋgwóg wàn nè gá
 2PL NEG.IMP go house king EMPH NEG.IMP

'Don't go to the house of the king!' (to more than one person)

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

13.2 1SG and 2SG subject pronominals (Subject-Tense-Aspect-Polarity morphemes)

A clause has different first person singular and second person singular subject pronominals depending on the tense, aspect and polarity value of a clause. Specifically, the tone of these pronominals is different. Segmentally, their forms remain the same. Other pronominals are constant, both segmentally and tonally. Pronominals are discussed in detail in § 8.2.2. Table 42 repeats the facts that are relevant to tense, aspect and polarity marking. Such portmanteau morphemes are never the sole markers of tense, aspect, or polarity in the clause, but are always combined with markers elsewhere in the clause.

Table 42 - Tense, aspect and polarity distinctions in 1SG and 2SG subject pronominals

Tense	Polarity	Aspect	Pronominal tone	1SG form	2SG form
Non-future	Affirmative	Perfective	H	Ń	á
		Imperfective	L	Ṅ	à
	Negative	Any	L	Ṅ	à
Future	Any	Any	H	Ń	á

While I analyze these forms as portmanteau morphemes, another description is possible, although arguably less elegant from a comparative perspective. 1SG and 2SG subject indexes could be analyzed as toneless morphemes (respectively *N* and *a*), and completely dependent on the tense, aspect and polarity value of the clause for their tones. From this perspective, tense, aspect and polarity are marked by tonal morphology on pronominals: a H tone marks perfective aspect or future tense, and a L tone marks imperfective aspect or negative non-future.

13.3 Pre-verbal markers

13.3.1 rà, màg, ré^L and ká

Preverbal markers include the imperfective aspect marker *rà*, the optional non-future negator *màg*, the negative future marker *rɔ^L*, and the negative imperative marker *ká* (discussed in § 16.2). They follow subject pronominals and precede the first verb of a clause. The sequential marker *sì* (discussed in § 17.4.2) also

occurs in this slot, but since it is not directly relevant to tense, aspect, modality and polarity, it is not discussed here. All of these preverbal markers may derive from initial verbs in multi-verb constructions that grammaticalized into preverbal markers.

13.3.2 Imperfective *rà* and homophonous markers

The imperfective marker *rà* also serves as (or is homophonous with) the comitative/temporal preposition, (§ 11.2.2.2). It is also used in predicative possessive constructions (§ 15.2.1) and in complex sentences expressing wishes (§ 17.3). It is possible that one of these constructions served as the source construction for the other constructions (e.g. the use of *rà* could have started as comitative/possessive, and could have been extended to acquire both the imperfective and the modal ‘wish’ function). It is also possible that a single verb was grammaticalized at different times into different grammatical markers.

A marker *-rà* is also used as a deverbal nominalizer (cf. § 7.2.3.2), and an identical optional *rà* marker co-expresses the negative future after objects (§ 13.6.2). Furthermore, the marker is segmentally similar to the iterative/causative suffix *-rí* (§ 12.4), the preverbal negative future marker *rà^L* (§ 13.3.1), the emphatic marker *nìg* (§ 18.4) and the negative possessive marker *nìg* (§ 13.7). Some of these similarities may be coincidental but they may also indicate divergent grammaticalization paths of a single marker.

The imperfective particle *rà* is one of the only markers in Kam that can express a certain tense, aspect or polarity value by themselves (the only other such markers are the verbal declarative negator *hn* and the affirmative copula *dó*). When the subject is expressed by anything other than a 1SG or 2SG pronominal, there is no other marking present in the clause.

13.3.3 *mà(g)*, an optional preverbal negation marker

Negative non-future constructions may feature an optional pre-verbal negator *màg*. It has an alternative pronunciation as *mà*, where the final velar is elided. This pronunciation is homophonous with the Hausa marker *mà* ‘also, too’, which is also sometimes found in Kam discourse (see example (255)). It is interesting to note that when my consultants were confronted with this pronunciation in a clause in isolation, they often could not tell for certain which *mà* was intended when not presented with the English translation. Leaving it in or omitting it does not change the semantics of a proposition. One could speculate that it serves an important function as an early signal of negation in those clauses where the only obligatory negation marker

is the clause-final particle *hñ*.⁸⁷ Some (but not all) of my informants said that *mág* is never obligatory but that it is always preferable, yet in elicited clauses it only occasionally occurs. Its frequency in different constructions in natural discourse remains to be studied.

(538)	m̄	(mág)	ním	àfàm	nág	hñ.
	Ñ	(mág)	ním\H	àfàm	nág	hñ.
	1SG.S.NEG.NFUT	(NEG.NFUT)	eat\NEG.NFUT	meat	cow	NEG.

'I did not eat cow meat.'

(session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(539)	Gàmbó	(mág)	kím	mífàm	ú	hñ.
	Gàmbó	(mág)	kím\H	mífàm	ú-L	hñ.
	Gambo	(NEG.NFUT)	chew\NEG.NFUT	meat	3SG-POSS	NEG.

'Gambo did not eat his meat.'⁸⁸

(session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(540)	àwú	(mág [†])	pé	līlē	hñ.
	àwú	(mág)	pè\H	àlīlē	hñ.
	3SG	(NEG.NFUT)	come\NEG.NFUT	yesterday	NEG.

'He did not come yesterday.'

(session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(541)	múró	(mág)	fóg	hñ
	maize	(NEG.NFUT)	dry:NEG.NFUTNEG	
	'The maize is not dry.'			

(session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

⁸⁷ See also § 12.5.4, where the possibility is suggested that *hñ* originated as an intensifier that grammaticalized into a negator. *mág* may have been an obligatory pre-verbal negator in the past which has now become optional, and the function of which has been completely taken over by *hñ* in some constructions. A similar process has been described in a wide variety of languages across the world as part of the *Jespersen cycle* (cf. Van der Auwera 2009; Dahl 1979; Van Gelderen 2008)

⁸⁸ *mág* has HL tone in this example because Babangida Audu left a pause in between *mág* and *kím*.

13.4 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology is discussed in detail in Chapter 12. For understanding tense, aspect and negation distinctions, four types of verbal morphology are relevant (1) tonal morphology, (2) reduplication, (3) the (toneless) final vowel *-i*, and (4) suppletion, specifically for copulas.

13.4.1 Tonal morphology

Verb tones in declarative clauses are summarized from a function-to-form perspective in Table 43.

Table 43 - Tonal morphology on verbs, function to form

Polarity value	Future	Non-future	
		Perfective	Imperfective
Positive polarity	HL	H	Lexical tone (\emptyset)
Negative polarity	H	Object present: H	
		No object present: Lexical tone (\emptyset)	

For ease of reference, verbal tones are summarized from a form-to-function perspective in Table 44.

Table 45 - Tonal morphology on verbs, form to function

Tonal pattern	Value
Lexical tone	Imperfective aspect (affirmative) Negative non-future without object
H	Perfective aspect (affirmative) Negative future Negative non-future with object
HL	Affirmative future (in case of reduplication: only the copy)

13.4.2 Partial reduplication

The affirmative future tense construction without an object is co-expressed by means of partial reduplication of the verb. This type of reduplication takes the verb stem as the base and copies the first syllable. The copy, which is the first syllable of the reduplicated construction, takes a HL tone, as explained in the previous section. It features a vowel that is prespecified for height. An *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, or *a* becomes an /i/, an *o* or *ɔ* becomes an *u*. Already high vowels remain identical. The base retains its lexical tone. When the verb stem is a monosyllabic CVC-syllable, the final vowel *-i* is added at the end of the reduplication (cf. § 12.2). Other phonological details of partial reduplication constructions are described in § 4.3.2. The future partial

reduplication construction can be schematized as follows. (542) covers reduplication of monosyllabic CV stems and polysyllabic stems. (543) covers reduplication of monosyllabic CVC-stems.

$$(542) \quad [\sigma_1(\sigma_2)] \rightarrow [CV^{HIGH}(C)_1 \backslash HL]^{COPY} \sim [\sigma_1(\sigma_2)]^{BASE}$$

$$(543) \quad [\sigma_1] \rightarrow [CV^{HIGH}C \backslash HL]^{COPY} \sim [\sigma_1]^{BASE-i}$$

Some examples:

(544)	fà 'to raise chickens'
m	fí~fà
N	fV ^{HIGH} \HL~fà
1SG.S.FUT	raise.chickens\ FUT~raise.chickens
'I will raise (chickens).'	
	(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(545)	ʃàŋrí 'to finish'
n	ʃín~ʃàŋrí
N	ʃV ^{HIGH} N\HL~ʃàŋrí
1SG.S.FUT	FUT~finish
'I will finish (it)'	
	(session_345, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

(546)	tàb 'to touch'
n	tít~tàb-ì
N	tV ^{HIGH} t\HL~tàb-i
1SG.S.FUT	FUT~touch-FV
'I will touch it'	
	(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

13.4.3 Suppletion in copulas

Although there are no aspectual and temporal differences in non-verbal constructions, there are two different locational-existential copulas. The first, *dá* 'to be', expresses presence and often co-occurs with the presentative demonstrative *bē*. The second, *sírī* 'not to be', expresses absence and is always accompanied by the clause-final existential negator *rīg*. *dá* and *sírī* take the same slot in the clause.

- (547) ànág **dé** b̄é
work be PRSTT

‘There is work.’

- (548) jì **sírī** rīg
thing be.NEGNEG

‘There is nothing.’

(session_253, Anonymous, narrative)

- (549) àŋgwóg dé bé [†]lēb èj̄é
house be PRSTT inside bush

‘The house is inside the bush.’

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (550) àŋgwóg mí sìrī lēb é[†]j̄é rīg.
house certain be.NEGinside bush NEG.

‘There is no house in the bush.’

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

13.5 Final vowel -i (future tense)

The final vowel *-i* is discussed in more detail in § 12.2. It is found on CVC-stems and CVC(i)-stems (but not on CV-stems) in all future tense constructions, both affirmative and negative. Future constructions differ, however, in where the final vowel *-i* occurs.

In negative future constructions, it appears on the primary verb:

- (551) ají ré [†]dóg-í ntèkù rè hn̄
3PL FUT.NEG see:FUT.NEG-FV toad FUT.NEG NEG

‘They will not see the toad.’

(session_359, Garba Rahab Precious, elicitation)

(552)	kòm	lèm	hñ	kõ	kā,
	place	good	NEG	place:DIST	COND,
í	ré		⁺ džóŋ-í	kòm	hñ
3PL	FUT.NEG		live- FV	place	NEG

'If the place isn't safe, they will not (be able to) live here.'

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

In the affirmative future construction with an object, it occurs on the verb that is repeated after the object.

(553)	m	búg	⁺ á	búg-í.
	Ń	búg\HL	á	búg-í.
	1SG.S.FUT	pinch\FUT	2SG.O	pinch- FV .
				'I will pinch you.'

(session_345, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

In the affirmative future construction without object, it comes after the reduplicated verb (§ 13.4.2).

(554)	tàb 'to touch'			
	ń	tít~tàb-í		
	Ń	tít\HL~tàb-í		
	1SG.S.FUT	FUT\FUT~touch- FV		
				'I will touch it'

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

13.6 Immediately post-object position

13.6.1 Affirmative perfective marker à

The marker *à* co-expresses perfective aspect in affirmative clauses. It occurs after the primary verb in clauses without an object, and immediately after the object in clauses with an object. I have never observed this marker in relative clauses.

- (555) àdèl ém wàb à jfùg-i
 stomach 1SG:POSS tie:PFV **PFV** do-FV
 'I have a cramp in my stomach'
 (session_305, Danladi Baleri, elicitation)

- (556) m fá kúmí à.
 N fà\H kúmí à.
 1SG.S.PFV raise.chickens|PFV chicken PFV.
 'I raised chickens.'
 (session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (557) m fár à
 N fàr\H à
 1SG.S.PFV open PFV
 'I opened (the door).'
 (session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (558) jfùg ú á jágí ká jí sámni à ú sín à
 take:PFV 3SG **PFV** catch INSTR thing bad REL 3SG do REL
 'It (the trial) confirmed his guilt' (lit. 'it caught him with the bad things that he had done').
 (session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (559) ají dóg í à
 3PL see:PFV 3PL **PFV**
 'They saw them.'
 (Tope_Bitrus_03, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (560) àwú [†]né tàb bél ém à
 àwú àné tàb bél mí^L à
 3SG hand touch wood 1SG:POSS **PFV**
 'He touched my wood.'

(session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

There are also examples without *à*. It is not clear when *à* can be omitted. Very often, a prepositional phrase or other types of adverbial modification are present in such clauses ((561)-(567)). Example (558), however, shows that it can still occur in such clauses. And (568) and (569) show that it is optional even in clauses where no adverbial modification or circumstantial arguments are present.

- (561) ú ŋgbáb ú ké bùn
 3SG shoot:PFV 3SG **INSTR** arrow
 'He shot him with an arrow'

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (562) àwú jág jí tīg ú rē sīrī.
 3SG carry:PFV thing cover:ADJ 3SG:POSS EMPH **completely**
 'The man that came, he completely took off his cloak.'

(session_314, Danjuma Bello, narrative)

- (563) jíŋkā méri másí rē
 maybe Mary know:PFV EMPH
 'Maybe Mary knows.'

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (564) mí pé kàptì
 N pé\H àkàptì
 1SG.S.PFV come\PFV **morning**
 'I came in the morning.'

(session_034, Samuel A. Adams, conversation)

- (565) íkā í sí [†]jág ú pé àgbáñ éwàn
 then 3PL SEQ carry:PFV 3SG come palace king
 'Then, they brought him to the palace of the king.'

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (566) ní nág àtár jè mīnté mîn
 1SG.S.PFV throw:PFV stone go few few
 'I threw a few stones (away).'

(session_342, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (567) á ʃúg é⁺nág àrí ním
 2SG.S.PFV do:PFV work like 1SG.ID
 'You work like me.'

(session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

- (568) ú sín jí ⁺sámri
 3SG do:PFV thing bad
 '(The man whose name is X,) he did something bad.'

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (569) ʃàr kím ímfàm, ɪjwún kím í⁺tábé
 three eat:PFV meat, five eat:PFV fish
 'Three ate meat, five ate fish.'

(session_346, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

13.6.2 Optional marker *rè* in the negative future tense construction

Negative future tense is marked with a combination of markers, including a H tone subject pronominal (only when the subject is 1SG or 2SG), a dedicated pre-verbal marker *rò^L*, H tone on the verb, the final vowel *-i*, the standard negator *hñ*, and an optional marker *rò* that appears immediately after the verb, or if there is an object, after the object. The following examples show the occurrence of *rò*.

- (570) á pé jájá hñ,
 2SG.S.PFV come:PFV quickly NEG,

 ú ré ⁺jí ré hñ
 3SG FUT.NEG get.up FUT.NEG NEG

'You came too late. She will not get up (again.)' (context: The addressee arrived late for an appointment. The woman waiting for the addressee has already gone to bed.)

(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (571) kó já mā,
if thing:REL some:REL
- á jág zúg élèb pú â,
2SG.S.PFV take:PFV put inside bag REL,
- ré *kábrí ré hn
FUT.NEG break:FUT.NEG FUT.NEG NEG

'No matter what you put in this bag, it will not break.'

(session_290, David Mark, elicitation)

- (572) àjí ré *dógi ntèkù rè hn
3PL FUT.NEG see:FUT.NEG toad FUT.NEG NEG
- 'They will not see the toad.'

(session_359, Garba Rahab Precious, elicitation)

- (573) ì ré *gbéb ú ré hn
1PL FUT.NEG beat 3SG FUT.NEG NEG
- 'We will not beat him.'

(session_364, David Mamuda, elicitation)

- (574) àwàn ré *míŋ
king FUT.NEG build:FUT.NEG
- éŋ *gwóg ú rè àlèb í *jé hn
house 3SG:POSS FUT.NEG in bush NEG

'The king will not build his house in the bush.'

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

My informants told me that leaving the marker in or leaving it out does not impact the semantics of the clause.

(575) a. with *rà*

àjí	bén				
3PL	say:PFV				
*í	ré	*pé		ré	*píkāŋ
3PL	NEG.FUT	come:NEG.FUT		NEG.FUT	tomorrow
					NEG

‘They said that they would not come tomorrow.’

b. without *rà*

àjí	bén				
3PL	say:PFV				
*í	ré	*pé		píkāŋ	hñ
3PL	NEG.FUT	come:NEG.FUT		tomorrow	NEG

‘They said that they would not come tomorrow.’

(Tope_Bitrus_05, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

rà may be an emphatic marker, or an information structural marker indicating contrast. Most examples where it occurs were elicited, so no inferences could be made from discourse context. More examples where it does not occur are the following.

(576)	kòm	lèm	hñ	kõ	kā,
	place	good	NEG	place:DIST	COND,
	í	ré		*dʒón-í kòm	hñ
	3PL	FUT.NEG		live-FV place	NEG

‘If the place isn’t safe, they will not (be able to) live here.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (577) jà dʒɛ̄, á ré *jébí hñ?
 2SG.ID TOP, 2SG.S.NEG.FUT NEG.FUT go NEG
 ‘What of you, won’t you go?’

(session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

- (578) jì í-sāmṝ sī bób á dʒɛ̄ à kā.
 thing ADJ-spoil:ADJ SEQ come.out PFV TOP EMPH COND
 ré *sín né hñ.”
 NEG.FUT do EMPH NEG.”

‘If something bad comes out, it won’t work.’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

It is likely that *rà* is related to the clause-final emphatic marker *rīg* (§ 18.4), and it may (directly or indirectly) be related to the imperfective and comitative marker *rò* (cf. § 11.2.2.2 and § 13.3.1).

13.6.3 Repeated verbs in the future tense construction with an object

There are two affirmative future constructions in Kam, depending on whether there is an object in the clause or not. The construction without object involves partial reduplication of the primary verb and is discussed in § 13.4.2. The construction with object involves optional repetition of the primary verb after the object. Whereas the first occurrence of the primary verb has HL tone, the copy occurs with its lexical tone and with the final vowel *-i* (§ 12.2).

(579) Future tense construction with an object

Ń (1SG.S.FUT), á (2SG.S.FUT), or other Subject + V\HL + NPObject (+V-FV)

- (580) mí búg *á būg-ī.
 Ń búg\HL á būg-i.
 1SG.S.FUT pinch\FUT 2SG.O pinch-FV.
 ‘I will pinch you.’

(session_345, Danjuma Bello, elicitation)

(581)	íj	wóm	*ú	wòm-i	jàg-i
	Ń	wòm\HL	ú	wòm-i	jàg-i
	1SG.S.FUT	slap	3SG	slap-FV	carry-FV
'I will slap him.'					

(session_360, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

Such repetition is optional. When I asked my consultants if the second verb could be left out, they agreed but maintained that the construction with repetition is preferred. Leaving the second verb out does not change the meaning of the clause.

13.7 Clause-final negators *hàn*, *dʒēn*, *gà* and *rīg*.

There are four different clause-final negators. *hàn* is the standard negator used to negate non-imperative verbal clauses. *dʒēn* ‘not yet’ is a negative continuative marker and is exemplified in § 15.4.5. *gà* is a negative imperative marker, part of the negative imperative construction *ká ... gà* (see § 16.2). Finally, *rīg* is a negative existential marker and part of the construction *sírī ... rīg* (cf. § 15.2.1).

Since the other clause-final negators are exemplified elsewhere, I only provide examples of the standard negator *hàn* here.

(582)	ré	*kábrí	ré	hàn.
	ré ^L	kábrí\H	rè	hàn.
	NEG.FUT	break\NEG.FUT	NEG.FUT	NEG.
'(Whatever you put in this bag,) (it) will not break.'				

(session_290, David Mark, elicitation)

(583)	íj	gòm	hàn.
	1SG.S.NEG.NFUT	pay	NEG.
'I did not pay.'			

(session_364, David Mamuda, elicitation)

(584)	à	pè	hàn.
	2SG.S.NEG.NFUT	come	NEG.
'You did not come.'			

(session_364, David Mamuda, elicitation)

(585)	jò	gbéb	ú	hn̄.
	jò	gbèb\H	ú	hn̄.
	2PL	beat\NEG.NFUT	3SG	NEG
'You people did not beat him.'				
(session_364, David Mamuda, elicitation)				

14 Multi-verb constructions

14.1 Overview

A multi-verb construction consists of a series of verbs where each verb expresses a facet of a complex event. It can, for example, include a verb of motion and a verb expressing the direction in which the motion occurs (*jàg ... pè* ‘carry ... come’, meaning ‘bring’ or ‘carry here’), or one verb can qualify another, much like adverbs can modify verbs in other languages (e.g. *màrà pè* ‘return come’, meaning ‘come again’ or ‘come back’). These are only two instances of various types of multi-verb constructions currently identified in Kam. This overview sketches general properties of such constructions and lists the multi-verb constructions I found in Kam so far.⁸⁹

I prefer here the broader term *multi-verb construction* (cf. Aikhenvald & Muysken 2011) to the term *serial verb construction* to steer clear of terminological debates that in the past two decades have been conducted in the typological literature (c.f. Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, 2019; Bisang 2009; Foley 2010; Haspelmath 2016; Paul 2008; Seiss 2009; Senft 2008; Stewart 2015). The structures identified here as ‘multi-verb constructions’ will be of interest to researchers of serial verb constructions as well as related concepts such as light verbs, auxiliaries, complex predicates, verb compounding and coordination.

Multi-verb constructions are morphosyntactically different from complex sentences in two main ways.⁹⁰

- In complex sentences, subject pronominals can be repeated. In multi-verb constructions, the subject is expressed only once in the beginning of a clause.
- In complex sentences, each separate clause has a verb that is inflected for tense and aspect. In multi-verb constructions, only one verb is inflected. This is mostly apparent in the tone of verbs: when a

⁸⁹ Further research will likely uncover more multi-verb constructions. For example, Dmitry Idiatov observed a potential construction involving the verb *né(b)* ‘to go’, which may express an inceptive or sequential meaning ‘start, begin (doing something, to do something), proceed to, move on to (doing something)’. Examples of this construction, which I did not investigate in further detail, are found in (586) on p. 294, (589) on p. 298, (830) on p. 369 and (882) on p. 394.

⁹⁰ I did not study the prosodic properties of multi-verb constructions. In other languages, serial verb constructions often have a single intonation contour, as opposed to multi-clausal constructions (Aikhenvald 2006: 7; cf. Givón 1991).

verb is inflected, it often features grammatical tone replacing the verb's lexical tone. In multi-verb constructions, secondary verbs occur with their lexical tone.

I call the inflected verb in a multi-verb construction the primary. I call the non-inflected verbs the secondary verbs.

These morphosyntactic properties are illustrated in (586). In this example, three clauses are coordinated, and in each of them the subject, *ú* 'he' is repeated at the beginning of the clause. Each of them also has one inflected verb (*ló* 'wash', *jé* 'enter' and *ŋé* 'go'). Each of the clauses also features a multi-verb construction, where the subject is not repeated before every verb (*ló ... lògrí* 'wash ... finish'; *jé sàj* 'enter go' and *ŋé kúb* 'go wear'). The second verb in each construction is not inflected.

(586)	ú	ló	kpô	lògrí,
	3SG	wash:PFV	body	finish
	ú	jé	sàj	lèsèr,
	3SG	enter:PFV	go	room,
	ú	ŋé	[†] kúb	[†] fú
	3SG	go:PFV	wear	shirt

'He finished washing his body, went inside the room, and went to put on a shirt.'

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

There are various kinds of multi-verb constructions, each with their own functions and specialized verbs. These constructions and their properties are summarized in Table 46. Each of the constructions are further discussed and illustrated in the remainder of this chapter.

Specific characteristics of different constructions include the following:

- Secondary verbs have a restricted position in the clause. Different verbs have different positions depending on the construction.
 - Most secondary verbs always occur after the object of the clause (or, in case there is no object, right after the primary verb).
 - Two secondary verbs, viz. *pà*, a reduced form of *pè* 'come' and *màrà* 'return', always occur right before the primary verb.

- One secondary verb, *tán(i)* ‘to stand’, can occur either before the primary verb or after the object.
- In a multi-verb construction linking a sequence of events, the order of verbs is iconic: a verb expressing an earlier event comes before a verb expressing a later event (cf. Haspelmath 2016: 18).
- Some secondary verbs have a specific shape in multi-verb constructions.
 - *pə* ‘come’ has a reduced vowel when it precedes a primary verb. Its citation form is *pɛ*.
 - *jí* ‘(stand [up])’ has a H tone in a resultative construction, whereas its citation form has a M tone (*jī*)
 - *tánì* ‘stand’ only occurs in this form in multi-verb constructions. As a primary verb it always occurs in a complex but unanalyzable form *gfná⁺-tán(i)* or *gí-tán(i)* (cf. § 12.6.2). It also has a reduplicated form *títtānī*. It is not clear whether the reduplicated form has a different function.
 - *dúddgī* ‘see’ always occurs in its reduplicated form in an experiential construction.

Table 47 - Multi-verb constructions

Function	Relevant secondary verb(s)	Position of secondary verb(s)	Comments on the form of the secondary verb
Link a sequence of events	Any	Sequence-iconic order	
Repetitive	<i>mèrà</i> ‘return’	Before primary verb	
Persistent	<i>táni</i> ‘stand, stay’ (alternative forms: <i>tán</i> , <i>tittàni</i>)	Before the primary verb or after the object	This verb is only found in multi-verb constructions; elsewhere, it is part of a complex lexeme (cf. § 12.6.2)
Resultative	<i>jí</i> ‘stand (up)’	After the primary verb	<i>jí</i> always has H tone in this construction.
Completive	<i>lògrí</i> ‘end’	After the object	
Ventive	<i>pè</i> ‘come’	After the object	
Andative	<i>ság</i> ‘go’	After the object	
Benefactive	<i>mà</i> ‘give’	After the object	<i>mà</i> takes its own object; this construction forms a ditransitive clause
Comparative	<i>kòr(i)</i> ‘surpass’	After the object	<i>kòr(i)</i> takes its own object; this construction forms a ditransitive clause
Perfect aspect	<i>dúddōgī</i> ‘see’	After the object	<i>dúddōgī</i> is the reduplicated form of <i>dōg</i> ‘see’
Unclear	<i>pò</i> ‘come’	Before the primary verb	<i>pò</i> is a reduced form of <i>pè</i>

Different types of multi-verb constructions may co-occur in a single clause, and various examples of this can be found throughout this grammar. In (587), for example, a benefactive construction with *mà* ‘give’ is combined with a ventive construction with *pè* ‘come’. I did not verify whether there are any co-occurrence restrictions or whether all multi-verb constructions can be combined freely.

- (587) sétí píráñ ó ⁺**mām** pè
 tear cloth DIST give:1SG.O come

'Come tear that cloth for me.'

(session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

Sometimes an example is ambiguous between different kinds of multi-verb constructions. The *sáy léb àjé* ('go in bush') part in (588), for example, can be seen as part of the longer sequence multi-verb construction in the clause (i.e. 'they catch him, carry him, and go to the bush'). But *sáy* can also be seen as a directional verb which indicates that the king was carried *away* ('they catch him, carry him away into the bush').

(588) í	ſtúg	éwàn	jàg	sánj	léb	àjé
3PL	catch:PFV	king	carry	go	in	bush

'They caught the king and went to the bush.' or 'They caught the king off into the bush.'

(session_143, Anonymous, song)

The following sections analyze and illustrate the different kinds of multi-verb constructions each in turn. The constructions are divided into five categories, depending on their functions.

- The sequence construction forms a category on its own
- Aspectual multi-verb constructions
 - Repetitive construction, with *mòrò* 'return'
 - Persistive construction, with *tán(i)* 'stand'
 - Resultative construction, with *jí* 'stand up'
 - Completive construction, with *lògòrì* 'end, finish'
 - Directional constructions: ventive with *pè* 'come' and andative with *sáy* 'go'
- Constructions that add an argument to the clause
 - Benefactive construction, with *mà* 'give'
 - Comparative construction, with *kòr(i)* 'surpass'
- A poorly understood perfect aspect construction with *díddògí* 'see', only found in negative and interrogative clauses.
- A poorly understood construction with pre-main-verbal *pò* 'come'.

This chapter is largely based on discourse data with little elicitation, so not all co-occurrence restrictions with grammatical marking were investigated. Any possible interactions between multi-verb constructions and different tense, aspect, mood and polarity constructions are topics for further research.

14.2 Linking a sequence of events: sequence construction

Sequence constructions can be used to express a sequence of events or to arrange the parts of a complex event into a sequence of simple events. The verbs are ordered iconically: verbs encoding events that occur first come first and verbs encoding events that come later, occur later in the sequence (cf. Haspelmath 2016: 18). In (589), the subject went, gathered stones, then carried them away and then kept them. In (590), the object was first carried to the bush, and then beaten there. In (591), an event is broken up into separate facets that logically succeed each other: lightning first arrived and then struck the tree. This construction is similar to the *linking serial verb construction* in Bamgbose (1982) and the construction Elders (2000: 505-507) calls ‘construction liante’ in his description of Mundang.

- (589) ú jé kòsí tārì jàg kàr
 3SG go:PFV gather stone carry keep

‘He went and gathered stones.’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (590) àwú béní íbí jí jírāg jág-í
 3SG say:FV:PFV QUOT person two catch:PFV-LOG.SG

sáŋ é⁺jé jé gbéb⁺-í
 go bush go beat-LOG.SG

‘He_i said that two people took him_i to the bush and beat him_i.’

(session_365, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (591) àsúwá ïkā jí tòr pè líb bér à
 when:REL thunder enter:PFV fall come head tree REL

‘When lightning struck the tree (she died).’

(session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

As in other multi-verb constructions, tense and aspect are only marked on the primary verb. If two or more transitive verbs follow each other and they share the same object, the object follows the first transitive verb and is not repeated afterwards. This applies to (589), for example, where the stones are first gathered and then carried and kept, but they are only explicitly expressed after *kòsí* ‘gather’. If two verbs share the same referent as object, but they do not follow immediately after one another, then the object is repeated. This is

the case in (590) which literally reads that two people ‘caught him, went (to the) bush, and (went to) beat him’. ‘went to the bush’ intervenes in between the ‘catching him’ and ‘beating him’, so the pronominal referring to ‘him’ has to be repeated after *gbèb* ‘beat’.

Some examples were found that are ambiguous between a directional multi-verb construction (cf. § 14.3.4) and a multi-verb construction expressing a sequence of events. (592) contains the secondary verb *pè* ‘come’, and can be interpreted either as a sequence construction, i.e. ‘They carried him (and) came to the palace of the king.’ or as a directional construction where *pè* indicates movement towards a certain point (cf. § 14.4.1): ‘They carried him here to the palace of the king.’ (593) gives a similar example, this time with the verb *sáy* ‘go’, which in a directional construction expresses movement away from a certain point (cf. § 14.4.2). This example can either be translated as ‘They caught the king, carried (him) and went in(to) the bush.’ or as ‘They caught the king and carried him away into the bush.’

- (592) ikā í sí *jág ú pè àgbáj éwàn
then 3PL SEQ carry:PFV 3SG come palace king
'Then, they brought him to the palace of the king.'
(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (593) í ʃúg éwàn jág sáy léb á*ʃé
1PL catch:PFV king carry go in bush
'They took the king to the bush.' (context: a song about the king being kidnapped)
(session_143, Anonymous, song)

14.3 Constructions with aspectual functions

14.3.1 Repetitive with *màrà* ‘return’

The repetitive multi-verb construction expresses that an action is repeated once. Such repetition is indicated with an uninflected form of the verb *màrà* ‘return’, which is placed before the primary verb of a clause. Most of the examples in texts were about the repetition of a movement from one place to another (e.g. ‘to go again’ in (594) and (595), (596), ‘to meet someone again’ in (594) and ‘to descend again’ in (596)). Some elicited clauses also show uses with verbs that do not indicate such movement: ‘to say again’ in (597), ‘to do again’ in (598), ‘to push again’ in (599), and ‘to beat again’ in (600).

- (594) àwú **méró** *sáŋ ŋgwóg, ú ré **mérà** dín ú
 3SG return go:PFV house, 3SG IPFV return meet 3SG
 ‘He went home again, and he met him again.’
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (595) mí **mérà** sáŋ.
 1SG.S.PFV return go.

 àná dʒé *mí mér á pɛ
 àná dʒé mí mérà:PFV PFV come
 today TOP 1SG.S.PFV return PFV come

‘[Yesterday,] I went back [home]. Today, I returned here [to continue the work].’

(session_053, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

- (596) í gáb kpó *í,
 3PL separate:PFV body 3PL:POSS,

 í **méró** *dʒór sáŋ pɛ.
 3PL return descend:PFV go come

‘They separated and they descended again [to] go [here].’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (597) sàhídú **méró** *béní “mìfàm”
 Saheed return say:FV:PFV “mìfàm”
 ‘Saheed said “mìfàm” again.’
 (Tope_Bitrus_01, Saheed Bala, elicitation)

- (598) **mérà** sín
 return do
 ‘Repeat (it)!’ or ‘Do (it) again!’
 (Tope_Bitrus_08, Saheed Bala, elicitation)

- (599) àní **mérá** ⁺túb â
 person return push:PFV PFV
 ‘A person pushed again.’
 (Tope_Bitrus_09, Saheed Bala, elicitation)

- (600) ú **mérá** ⁺gbéb óm
 3SG return beat:PFV 1SG.O
 ‘He beat me again.’
 (session_296, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

mérà ‘return’ is also found as non-initial verb in other examples of multi-verb constructions, following the primary verb instead of preceding it. Those instances should be interpreted as instances of the sequence construction (§ 14.2), and are different from the aspectual construction treated here.

- (601) í bór mérà pè zág áwú â
 3PL descend:PFV return come side north PROX
 ‘They [should] descend and return to the north side.’
 (session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

14.3.2 Persistive aspect construction with *tánì* ‘stand’

Persistive aspect constructions emphasize that an event is still going on at the reference point. Such constructions use the verb *tán(i)* ‘stand’, which can come before (602) or after (603), (604) the primary verb of a clause. I did not find many examples of this construction in my data, and I could not determine what may condition this ordering variation. It appears to be used mostly to indicate ongoing states (‘it is still on’) rather than actions (‘they are still searching’), although (602) shows that actions can also feature the persistive aspect construction. The verb *tánì* only occurs in its monomorphemic form in these persistive aspect constructions. As a primary verb it always occurs in a complex but unanalyzable form *fíná*⁺-*tán(i)* or *yí-tán(i)* (cf. § 12.6.2). It also sometimes has a reduplicated form *títání* when used in persistive aspect constructions. It is not clear whether the reduplicated form has a different function.

- (602) ñtékù á, àjí **tánì** sóg.
 toad PSTT, 3PL stand search
 ‘They (are) still search(ing) for the frog.’ (lit.: ‘It is the frog they are still searching for.’)
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (603) àjí ɿwár á [†]tán
 3PL mix:PFV PFV stand

‘(That is why) we are still mixed.’ (context: a historical explanation of why different tribes live together in Kam villages)

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (604) àliè títigí tánì
 light on stand

‘The light is still on.’

(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

14.3.3 Resultative or stative aspect construction with *jí* ‘stand up’

A form of the verb *jí* ‘stand up’ can occur as a secondary verb in multi-verb construction. It indicates that the situation described by the clause is a state resulting from the action denoted by the primary verb. The result of ‘tiring’ (*kpétí* ‘to tire’) is being tired (605). The result of ‘finishing’ (*ʃáŋjí* ‘to finish’) is being finished (606). Specific to this construction is that *jí* always has a H tone, whereas the lexical tone of *jí* ‘to stand up’ is M.

- (605) m kpét á [†]jí
 1SG.S.PFV tire PFV stand.up
 ‘I am tired.’

- (606) ʃáŋj á [†]jí
 finish PFV stand.up
 ‘It is finished.’

- (607) dʒón túsi [†]mérá ú

John show:PFV brother 3SG:POSS

- [†]ŋgwóg ʃém á jí
 house burn:PFV PFV stand.up

‘John showed his brother (that) the house had burned down.’

(session_337, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (608) àbòg ém [†]vég á [†]jí
leg 1SG:POSS die:PFV PFV stand.up

‘My leg has died.’ (i.e. ‘My leg is sleeping.’)

(session_305, Danladi Baleri, elicitation)

- (609) àngwóg á [†]tíntám àlój ô, àmá húm á [†]jí
house PROX big day.before DIST, but break PFV stand
- ‘The house was big, but it has collapsed.’

(session_041, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

14.3.4 Completive aspect construction with *lògrí* ‘end, finish’

The completive aspect construction can be formed by adding *lògrí* ‘to end, to finish’ as a secondary verb at the end of a multi-verb construction.

- (610) ú ló kpô lògòrí,
3SG wash:PFV body finish

‘He finished washing his body.’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (611) ní ním jí à lògòrí
1SG.S.PFV eat:PFV thing PFV finish

‘I finished eating.’

(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

14.4 Directional constructions

14.4.1 The ventive construction with *pè* ‘come’

Ventive multi-verb constructions indicate that the action described in a clause is centripetal: it moves towards a certain goal. Such constructions feature an uninflected form of the verb *pè* ‘come’, which is placed after a transitive object in transitive clauses, or directly after an intransitive verb.

- (612) bìr à, àjí **dʒɔ́r** á pè,
time PROX, 3PL **descend:PFV** PFV **come.**
- i pè díní zázówà
1PL come meet:PFV Zazowa.

‘[The Kam were travelling ...] This time, they descended (in that direction). We came and met Zazowa.’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (613) ikā ïkā **tór** á pè
then thunder **fall:PFV** PFV **come**
- ‘Then, thunder fell down.’

(session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

- (614) sétí [†]píráñ ó [†]mām pè
tear cloth DIST **give:1SG.O** **come**

‘Tear that cloth for me here.’

(session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

In examples (612), (613) and (614), the goal of the movement is left implicit. But the goal can also be expressed right after the verb *pè* with a prepositional phrase or a noun referring to a location. In (615), the goal is the tree. In (616), an intonation break separates *pè* from the goal, which is Kam country.

- (615) àsúwá ïkā jí tòr pè líb bér à
when:REL thunder enter:PFV fall **come** on **tree** REL
- ‘When lightning struck the tree (she died).’

(session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

- (616) jág á àwú jág p̄é, àbìbí jí ñwòm
work REL 3SG carry:PFV **come,** **ground person Kam**

‘The work that he brought to Kam country.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

14.4.2 The andative construction with *sáŋ* 'go'

The andative construction indicates movement away from a certain point, i.e. movement that is centrifugal. This construction features an uninflected form of the verb *sáŋ* 'go', placed in the same position that *pè* 'come' is placed in the ventive construction. The point that is moved away from is always implicit in the examples I found in my data. In (617), the 'source' the dog runs away from is the path it was walking before. In (618), the source is the room of a compound where the conversation takes place. In (619), the source is the subject's friends' house. And in (620), it is the village from which the king was kidnapped.

- (617) já[†]líb wó á rè kàsí **sáŋ** á ...
 because dog REL IPFV branch go REL ...
 'Because the dog that was branching away ...'
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (618) bòb **sáŋ** gér
 come.out go outside
 'Go outside!' (Context: Telling someone to leave a room)
 (session_049, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (619) àwú lû rè ïwá ú wō.
 3SG sleep:FUT COM friend 3SG:POSS PL
 ké mágári kápì,
 TEMP taste:NMLZ morning,
 ú bób ***sáŋ** àñwók ***ná** ú wō
 3SG come.out:FUT go house father 3SG:POSS PL

'She will sleep with her friends. In the early morning (lit. 'taste of the morning'), she will go away to her parents' house.' (context: a description of traditional marriage practices)

(session_076, Adamu S. Baka, narrative)

- (620) í ʃúg éwàn jàg sàŋ léb n̄⁺tóŋ wá
 3PL catch:PFV king carry go in mountain oh
 ‘They caught the king and carried him away to the mountain, oh!’
 (session_143, Anonymous, song)

In (618), (619) and (620), a locative noun phrase (in (618) *gèr* ‘outside’, in (619) *àngwóğ á⁺ná ú jō* ‘her parents’ house’) or a prepositional phrase (*léb n̄⁺tóŋ* ‘in the mountain’) follows the andative verb *sáŋ*. These phrases do not indicate the source from where the movement originates, but a direction that the movement goes towards. A ventive construction, with *pè*, could express roughly the same proposition as expressed in these andative examples. However, a ventive construction would put the emphasis on the arrival at the goal location, and background the source of the movement. An andative construction puts emphasis on the fact that the entity in question leaves its previous location (which is kept implicit), and can express a direction into which it moves, but it does not imply that this is the ultimate goal that will be or has been reached.

14.5 Valency increasing constructions

14.5.1 The benefactive construction with *mà* ‘give’

A benefactive construction express that something is done for someone’s or something’s benefit. In Kam, this construction is expressed with a multi-verb construction including the verb *mà*. The benefactive argument is expressed following *mà*. *mà* has specific forms when it takes 1SG (*mām*), 2SG (*mā*), 3SG (*mō*) and 3PL (*mē*) pronominal objects. In these specific forms, the pronominal objects have merged with the verb.

- (621) í sóg jéŋí mō
 3PL search:PFV horse give:3SG
 ‘They searched the horse for them’
 (session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)
- (622) àwàn jág f̄⁺ŋgwó? á ⁺mā ʃí bú
 king carry|PFV house PFV give son 3SG:POSS
 ‘The king has given the house to his son.’
 (Tope_Bitrus_05, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

When the benefactee of the action is the speaker, the benefactive construction is often combined with a ventive multi-verb construction with *pè* ‘come’ (cf. § 14.4.1).

- (623) sétí píráñ ó mām pè
 tear cloth DIST give:1SG.O come
 ‘Tear that cloth for me here.’
 (session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

- (624) gímsí kpò mām pè
 break food give:1SG.O come
 ‘Break this food for me here.’
 (session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

14.5.2 The comparative construction with *kòr(i)* ‘surpass’

Comparison of inequality is expressed with a multi-verb construction with the secondary verb *kòr(i)* ‘surpass’. The subject of a comparative construction typically refers to the comparee. The object of *kòr(i)* indicates the standard to which the subject is compared.

- (625) àwàñ bén éñwòm kòrì ãsé?í
 king speak:PFV Kam surpass child
 ‘The king speaks Kam better than the children.’
 (session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (626) ní jínpēb kór á â
 1SG.S.PFV walk surpass 2SG.O PFV
 ‘I walk faster than you.’
 (session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

The comparee can also be the object.

- (627) ní dóg â kórí jínpí
 1SG.S.PFV see:PFV 2SG.O surpass other
 ‘I see you more than (I see) other people.’
 (session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

When two actions are being compared (i.e. ‘X does action A more than they do action B), the second action (action B) cannot be expressed with a simple verb, but it has to be referred to by a noun.

- (628) á lísí lú ⁺kórí ⁺jág
 2SG.S.PFV sleep:PFV sleep surpass work
 ‘You sleep more than you work.’
 (session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (629) àjí swábí kòrì bén
 3PL sing:PFV surpass speech
 ‘They sing better than they speak.’
 (session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

If there is no noun or nominalization that can refer to the action, a relative clause can be used.

- (630) àjnàgbàn bímbēnī kōr jnā ú ró ⁺ním â
 person:female UNM~speak surpass thing:REL 3SG IPFV eat REL
 ‘The woman speaks more than she eats.’
 (session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)
- (631) mí bímbēn jnājī jnājī kōrī
 1SG.S.PFV speak fast fast surpass
 bā à rè dúb â
 this:REL 2SG.S.IPFV IPFV write REL
 ‘I speak more quickly than you are writing.’
 (session_291, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

14.6 Poorly understood constructions

14.6.1 The experiential construction with *dúddōgī* ‘to see’

I found three examples in my data where a *dúddōgī*, a partially reduplicated form of *dōg* ‘to see’ (cf. § 12.5), acts as a secondary verb in a multi-verb construction. Because of the scarcity of data, the exact function of this construction with *dúddōgī* is not entirely clear, but it appears linked with past experience, and hence is preliminarily called the experiential construction here. All three examples were translated using either *ever* or *never* in English. Two examples are questions and one is a negative continuative construction. More examples and elicitation are needed to arrive at a better understanding of *dúddōgī* in this multi-verb construction.

- (632) á zúz[†]zúbí dúddōgī kòm gómánáti jí?
 2SG.S.FUT FUT~steal:FV:FUT EXPA~see place government Q
 ‘Would you ever steal from the government?’
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)
- (633) á.S.PFV jéb á [†]dúddōgī légós jí?
 2SG go:PFV PFV EXPA~see Lagos Q
 ‘Have you ever visited Lagos?’
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)
- (634) mì mà dág ú dúddōgī dʒēn
 1SG.S.NEG.NFUT NEG.NFUT see:NEG.NFUT3SG EXPA~see not.yet
 ‘[I have heard his name, but] I have not seen him yet.’
 (session_271, Danjuma Bello, conversation)

14.6.2 Suddenness, spontaneity, or absence of intention, with *pà* ‘come’

pà often occurs before a primary verb, forming a multi-verb construction with it. It is a reduced form of the verb *pè* ‘come’. *pà* is not inflected for tense or aspect, and it retains its lexical tone. In all examples I found, the primary verb is inflected for perfective aspect. All these examples describe something that ‘just happened’, or that ‘someone happened to do X’, without specific intentionality. Elsewhere in the literature (e.g. for Chadic languages and for some Senufo languages), serial verb constructions involving a verb for ‘come’ or ‘go’ are sometimes described as expressing suddenness, unexpectedness, or surprise (e.g. Dombrowsky-Hahn 2012: 103-104; Ebert 1987: 56; 2003: 115). Unexpectedness is a possible meaning of these constructions in Kam, although it is not present in all examples given here. The different possible meanings of this ‘pre-verbal’ *pà* remain to be disentangled.

- (635) ì pè sáŋ á kòróròfā.
 1PL come go:PFV LOC Kororofa.
 ‘We happened to go to Kororofa.’
 (session_021, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

Context: “The Kam and the Jukun met together in Kano. We continued our journey, and passed some place called Yakafiye (?) in Jukun. This is what our ancestors told us. We slept and left from there. Then, nothing happened (for a while). **We happened to go to Kororofa.** There were no problems. But then, something happened. A king killed a man. And that made the Kam people bitter.”

- (636) àlásírá mína pè *dín júrú à
 àlásírá mína pè dín\H júrú à
 white.person PRSTT come meet:PFV 1PL.O PFV
 ‘The white person happened to meet us.’
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Context: “In Kam, we do not do bad things that cause violence. We do not do things that make people angry. We live in peace. **The white man happened to meet us**, because in our land, his forefathers came and lived with us. Today, he comes back to talk again, in this peaceful settlement. So, now, our prayer is that God keep us in peace.”

- (637) àjì mí á
 àjì mí-L á
 land 1SG-POSS REL

 í pè *jág ém lùtí ké wàn à
 í pè jág\H ém lùtí ké àwàn à
 3PL come carry\PFV 1SG.O appoint with king REL

‘This land where they happened to appointed me king.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Context: “So, now, see the land. **This land where they happened to appoint me king.**
 The land has become big. We see it. Eyes have seen it. Progress has entered our land.”

(638)	mí	pé	*dín	jó	k-ádā?
	mí	pé	dín\H	jò	kə-ádā?

1SG.S.PFV come meet|PFV 2PL.O ADVZ-cold

‘Did I happen to meet you well?’ (literally: ‘Did I meet you with the cold?’)

(session_084, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

Context: A greeting used in the harmattan period.

V Part five: Clausal morphosyntax

15 Simple clauses

I consider a simple clause to be a string of segments (along with their suprasegmental materials) that can make up an utterance, expressing at least a communicative reaction or an emotion and at most a single proposition (which may be requested or questioned). This can be a verb with its essential arguments, together forming a basic verbal clause (§ 15.1). Such basic verbal clauses may be extended with less essential circumstantial (or adverbial) modifiers (§ 15.4). But clauses can also be less elaborated, consisting of just a nominal predication in non-verbal clauses, copula constructions, identificational, equational or presentative clauses (§ 15.2). An utterance (and hence a simple clause) can be as minimal as a simple verbal, nominal or adverbial stem, or an interjection (Chapter 1).

I discuss much of the basic verbal clause structure of Kam in other chapters of this book, especially the chapters in Part IV of this thesis, which is dedicated to verbal morphosyntax. I provide a summary of basic clause structure with cross-references to relevant sections in § 15.1. The current chapter focuses on topics that have not received full attention elsewhere, such as adverbial modification (§ 15.4), nominal predication (§ 15.2), some special clausal constructions for expressing sensations and emotions (§ 15.2), and interjections (Chapter 1). § 15.1 brings together the basics of verbal clauses in Kam that are already covered, referring to sections where I provide more complete descriptions.

15.1 Basic verbal clauses

Verbs are the core of a verbal clause. They can receive various types of morphological marking for perfective aspect, future tense and positive and negative polarity. There is never just one morphological marker dedicated to marking one aspect-tense-polarity value. Rather, every value is expressed simultaneously by a variety of markers in the clause. Conversely, various markers also have more than one function and occur in different constructions (such as the final vowel *-i*, as described in § 12.2). Apart from the inflectional final vowel *-i* and partial reduplication, verbs can also be inflected for tense, aspect and polarity value by means of tone. Inflectional verbal morphology is treated in § 12.2, § 12.3 and § 12.5.

Core arguments are expressed by noun phrases, which contain either a pronominal or a nominal head (§ 10.1). There are two types of core arguments in the clause, subject and object. Constituent order is SVO and it is fixed. Pronominals have a different tone according to their argument function. 1SG and 2SG subject indexes are also (tonally) different depending on the tense, aspect and polarity value of the clause (§ 8.2.2).

New participants can be added to the clause, forming extended transitive clauses, by means of benefactive (§ 14.4.2) and comparative (§ 14.5.2) multi-verb constructions. Benefactive participants are introduced with the verb *mà* ‘give’ and comparative participants with the verb *kòri* ‘surpass’. The participants are coded as regular object arguments of these verbs.

To the basic ‘verb + arguments’ structure of a verbal clause can be added a variety of clausal markers and modifiers. Aspect, tense and negation is marked, in addition to verbal morphology, with pre-verbal markers (the imperfective marker *rà*, the optional negator *màg*, the negative future marker *ri^L* and the negative imperative marker *ká*), an optional affirmative perfective marker *à* that is placed after the object of a verb, a repeated future tense form of the primary verb (with the marker *-i*), a future negator *rà* that comes immediately after an object, and three clause-final negators (the standard negator *hn*, the negative continuative marker *dʒən* and the negative imperative marker *gà*). I discussed all of these markers in Chapter 1, and a summary overview, including relative ordering of markers, can be found in § 13.1.

Circumstances surrounding the proposition may be highlighted in a variety of ways in clauses. Circumstantial noun phrases may attach to a clause with prepositional phrases (§ 11.1.1). Various multi-verb constructions express circumstantial meanings that would in English be expressed with adverbial modifiers (§ 12.5.5). Finally, Kam also features adverbial modifiers, which I describe in § 15.4).

Clauses with multi-verb constructions can be analyzed as consisting of two types of verbal components. The first type, which I call primary verbs, are marked for tense, aspect and polarity. The other type, secondary verbs, may precede a primary verb or follow a primary verb and its object if there is one. Secondary verbs are not inflected. A clause typically has one primary verb and may have one or more secondary verbs.

Quantifiers, although semantically part of the noun phrase, are perhaps best seen as clause-level constituents, since they are typically syntactically separated from the noun phrase in their semantic scope (§ 9.4).

There are some specific simple clause constructions for expressing sensations and emotions, which I discuss in § 15.2 below. One construction encodes the experiencer as the object and the sensation or emotion as the subject of the clause. These are then linked with the generic verb *tàgi* ‘to affect’. Another construction uses an affected body part as the subject, the experiencer as either a possessor of the body part or the object of the clause, and a verb specifically encoding the experience. Some experiences are encoded with idiomatic expressions.

I analyze non-declarative utterances, such as questions and commands, in Chapter 16.

Other markers than the ones discussed so far may also occur in a clause. These include topic markers, focus markers and emphasis markers. I discuss four such information structure sensitive markers in Chapter 17.6: the topic marker *dʒɛ̄*, the presentative demonstrative *bɛ̄* that may derive from a spatial adverbial, the emphatic marker *rɪg*, and an emphatic marker *nè* that is probably borrowed from Hausa (*ne*).

15.2 Nominal predication: copula clauses and verbless clauses

Nominal predication covers copula clauses, identificational clauses, equational clauses and presentative clauses. These clauses are different from verbal clauses in that they are not marked for tense or aspect.

Copula clauses with the copula *dá* ‘be’ (§ 15.2.1) express existence, presence in a certain location, predicative possession, or the attribution of a quality to an object or situation. Identificational clauses include the presentative demonstrative *á* and, optionally, a demonstrative that marks distance contrasts (‘It is a bird; this is a bird; that is a bird’) (§ 15.2.2). In equational clauses (‘The bird is a guinea fowl’), nominals are juxtaposed and the clause is marked with the presentative demonstrative *á* (§ 15.2.2). The quotative marker *íjí* serves as a copula for attributing proper names to things, people or places (§ 15.2.4). Presentative clauses (‘see N’, ‘here is N’) are formed with the presentative demonstrative *míná* (§ 15.2.4).

15.2.1 Predication of existence, location, possession and quality with *dá*

Clauses that express that something or someone *exists* are existential clauses. Clauses that say *where* something is are locational clauses. Predicative possession clauses say that something belongs to someone or to something else (‘I have a house’). Predication of quality says something about the state something is in (‘good’, ‘different’). In Kam, all these expressions use the copula *dá* ‘to be’, followed by the presentative demonstrative *bɛ̄* (in the existential construction) or a relevant adverbial expression (a location, a quality, a comitative phrase).

In the existential construction, *dá* is always accompanied by the presentative demonstrative *bɛ̄* (§ 18.3). Given the semantically empty nature of *bɛ̄* in the existential construction, *dá bɛ̄* can synchronically be seen as a complex existential marker. Elsewhere, *bɛ̄* has presentative and information-structural functions. It is likely to derive from a demonstrative marker meaning ‘here’ or ‘there’, which would imply that the existential marker *dá bɛ̄* is lexicalized from a locational construction meaning ‘to be here/there’. (639) is a schematic representation of the existential construction, followed by some examples.

(639) S(ubject) + d^é + b^é(640) kùrìkí d^é b^é

God be PRSTT

'God exists.' or 'God is there.'

(session_020, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

(641) jì mí *d^é b^é kā, bén má *júrú

thing some be PRSTT COND, say give 1PL.O

'If there is anything, tell us.'

(session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

Apart from expressing that something exists, existential clauses are also the default construction used to express that something exists in abundance or in excess. I did not identify another construction dedicated to this.

(642) sùnsòg d^é b^é

salt be PRSTT

'There is (too much) salt.'

(constructed example)

(643) jìsīrī d^é b^é

money be PRSTT

'There's (plenty of) money.'

(constructed example)

(644) ànág d^é b^é

work be PRSTT

'There is (a lot of) work.'

(constructed example)

Locational clauses are simply marked with the copula *dá*

(645) àŋgwóg á *dá léb àjé

house PROX be inside bush

'This house is in the bush.'

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

Any adverbial argument can be in the ‘location’ slot, allowing predication of quality or possession with a similar construction.

- (646) àŋgwóg jná [†]dé k-ádā?
 house 2SG:POSS be ADVZ-cold
 ‘Is your house fine?’ (literally: ‘Is your house cold?’)
 (session_023, Adamu S. Baka, conversation)

- (647) àwàn í [†]dé míŋkìm
 king 3PL:POSS be different
 ‘Their king was different.’
 (session_021, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (648) Májókàm dé kpár
 Mayo.Kam be close
 ‘Mayo Kam is close.’
 (session_068, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (649) ní dé ré [†]wó
 1SG be COM dog
 ‘I have a dog.’
 (session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (650) ní dé ré [†]ʃóm rīg
 1SG be COM hoe EMPH
 ‘I have a hoe.’
 (session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (651) ñtèkù dé ré fù rīg
 toad be COM pregnancy EMPH
 ‘The toad is pregnant.’
 (session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

Possessor and possessee can occur in any order in this construction, although the order ‘possessor + possessee’ is most frequently used. I did not check this, but word order choice may depend on information structure. I illustrate ‘possessee + possessor’ order in (652).

- (652) wó dé ré jìm
 dog be COM 1SG.ID
 'I have a dog.'

(session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

Copula clauses with *də* are negated with the negative copula *sìrī*, not with the standard clause-final negator *hñ*. The emphatic morpheme *rīg* also obligatorily occurs clause-finally. The presentative demonstrative *bē* does not occur in negative copula clauses, and there is no comitative marker *rə* in the negative predicative possession construction.

- (653) jìsīrī sī[†]rē rīg
 money be.NEGNEG
 'There's no money.'

(Constructed example)

- (654) àngwóg mí sìrī léb òjé rīg
 house some be.NEG inside bush NEG
 'There is no house in the bush.'

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (655) ní sī[†]rē wó rīg
 1SG be.NEG dog NEG
 'I don't have a dog.'

(session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

15.2.2 Identificational clauses with the presentative demonstrative *á* (+ *bā/bō*)

Identificational clauses can be formed with a noun followed by the presentative demonstrative *á*, or *á* followed by one of the independent demonstratives *bā* 'this one' or *bō* 'that one'. The presentative demonstrative *á* is similar to the relativizer *ā* (§ 9.2.2, § 17.2), to the perfective marker *à* (§ 13.6.1) and to the proximal demonstrative modifier *à* (§ 9.2). *bā* and *bō* are respectively proximal and distal demonstratives that can also be used as demonstrative modifiers (§ 9.2).

Identificational clauses are used to identify an entity in one's surroundings in the same way as one would use 'it is an x', 'this is an x', or 'that is an x' in English. *á bā* is used for talking about close-by entities or when the closeness of an entity is not specified, *á bō* is used for distant entities. The construction

with simply the presentative demonstrative *á* does not specify distance but simply identifies the presence of an entity or provides an answer to a question (e.g. ‘Who/what is it?’).

- (656) dʒì á bā
 bat PRSTT PROX.ID
 ‘This is a bat.’ (lit.: ‘It is a bat this one.’)
 (session_040, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (657) ànjwà ŋgwóg ém *á bô
 friend house 1SG:POSS PRSTT DIST:ID
 ‘That is my neighbor.’ (lit.: ‘It is my neighbor that one.’)
 (session_047, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (658) Sólómón *á
 Solomon PRSTT
 ‘It is Solomon.’ (e.g. as an answer to the question: ‘Who is it? Babangida or Solomon?’)
 (session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

Identificational clauses are negated with the regular verbal negator *hn̄*.

- (659) mìŋkáŋá mìrèg á hn̄
 water nose PRSTT NEG
 ‘It is not snot.’
 (session_030, Babangida Audu, conversation)

15.2.3 Equational clauses with the clause-final presentative demonstrative *á*

A nominal predication clause where noun phrases are juxtaposed, without a verb, establishes the identity of the referents of those noun phrases (the same way English *is* does in ‘That man is my father.’). In all cases, the presentative demonstrative *á* follows the nominal predicate. A pause can be left between the two nominals. Tone rules and other prosodic rules do apply over the border.

When a nominal predicate is a proper name (e.g. ‘His name is Babangida’), the quotative marker *ijí* is used in between the noun phrases (see § 15.2.4).

- (660) àkpò dʒázúg *á
 food rice PRSTT
 ‘The food is rice.’
 (session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

- (661) àwú jí ñwòm á
 3SG person Kam PRSTT
 'He is Kam.'⁹¹
 (session_284, Saheedu, conversation)

- (662) ànà kàñkáné ⁺á
 today Monday PRSTT
 'Today is Monday'
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)
- (663) jím àwàn jí ñwòm á
 1SG.ID king person Kam PRSTT
 'I am the king of the Kam'
 (session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Verbless clauses undergo the same negation as verbal clauses, with the clause-final negator *hn̄*.

- (664) àkpò džázúg á hn̄
 food rice PRSTT NEG
 'The food is not rice.'
 (session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

15.2.4 The quotative marker *iji^L* as a copula for proper names

The quotative marker *iji^L* is used to identify proper names.

- (665) gán ám ⁺ijí bùbákàr
 name 1SG:POSS QUOT Abubakar
 'My name is Abubakar'
 (session_003, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)
- (666) àná mà gán ú ⁺ijí bùbákàr à
 person:REL some:REL name 3SG:POSS QUOT Abubakar REL
 'A certain person whose name is Abubakar ...'
 (adapted from session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

⁹¹ In the original translation: 'He was Kam'. There are no tense and aspect distinctions in verbless clauses.

15.2.5 Presentative clauses with the presentative demonstrative *míná*

When the presentative demonstrative *míná* is combined with a preceding noun phrase, they form a presentative clause. Presentative clauses are used to draw attention to something, or to re(introduce) an entity into the discourse. Such clauses are generally translated into English by consultants as ‘see X’, e.g. *ànygwág mína* ‘see the house’.

- (667) àfàm mína
 meat PRSTT
 ‘See (this) meat.’
 (session_029, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (668) tò, bá *tán á (...)
 so, REL stand REL (...)

àjì mína.
country PRSTT.

àjì mí á
 country 1SG:POSS REL
 í pé *jág ém lùtí ké wàn à.
 3PL come carry:PFV 1SG.O appoint INSTR king REL.
 kòm tám á.
 place grow:PFV PFV.

‘So, now (‘as it stands’) ... See the country. My country where they have appointed me king. The place has grown.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (669) ñtàm mína ká ...
 poison PRSTT COND
 ‘Since it is poison (that he used to kill people, the king spoke to him and said ...)’
 (session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(670)	jā	mā	i	rè	wúr	á	†míná!
	thing:REL	some:REL	1PL	IPFV	want	REL	PRSTT!
‘That is how we like things!’ (literally: ‘See something that we like!’)							
(session_089, Yuguda Manti, conversation)							

15.3 Clauses expressing sensations and emotions

In Kam, some sensations (e.g. hunger, thirst, pains, cramps, etc.) and emotions (anger, joy) are expressed with specific constructions, and sometimes idiomatic expressions. I identified the following three ways how such experiences can be coded.

- A construction with *tágí* ‘to affect’: the generic verb *tágí* ‘to affect’ takes the experience (a noun) as subject and the experiencer as an object (e.g. *féb tágí m á* ‘I am angry’, literally ‘anger affects me’)
- A construction with a body part term as the subject, a verb specifically encoding the experience, and the experiencer as the object of the verb and/or as the possessor of the body part (e.g. *àlíf rá dèg óm* ‘I have a headache’, literally ‘my head is hurting me’).
- An idiomatic construction specialized for a specific experience (e.g. *lù rà déy óm* ‘I am sleepy’), literally ‘sleep is roasting me’; *àbòg óm †vég á †jí* ‘My leg is sleeping’, literally ‘My leg has died.’)

Table 48 summarizes the different uncontrolled experiences I came across featuring these constructions. The *tágí*-construction occurs in most cases. Five experiences have their own specific construction, often using metaphors for describing certain feelings (sharp = suffering; sweet = happy; dead = numbness/weakness). The ‘body part + verb’ construction is used in three cases. Some examples follow the table.

Table 48 - Expressions of sensations and emotions⁹²

Experience	Construction type	Template	Literal translation
feeling (generic)	tàgí-construction	àjáam + tàgí + EXP	feeling affects EXP
anger	tàgí-construction	féb + tàgí + EXP	anger affects EXP
urge to defecate	tàgí-construction	àjib + tàgí + EXP	shit affect EXP
hunger	tàgí-construction	àbób + tàgí + EXP	hunger affects EXP
thirst	tàgí-construction	ànjwár + tàgí + EXP	thirst affects EXP
pain in body	body part + specific verb	body part + dèg + EXP	body part pains EXP
cramp	body part + specific verb	body part + wàb + ʃúgí	body part ties (and) catches
itch	body part + specific verb	body part + nágí	body part itches
suffer	idiomatic construction	kpò + EXP + lègì	body of EXP is sharp
joy	idiomatic construction	kpò + EXP + sùnsójí	body of EXP is sweet
sleepiness	idiomatic construction	lù + déŋ + EXP	sleep roasts EXP
paresthesia (numbness of hand or leg, ‘sleeping leg’)	idiomatic construction	body part + vég á *jí	body part has died
food or drink going down the wrong way	idiomatic construction	THING dúg sáŋ ká íjkùròg éfō	thing follows goes with the dry throat

⁹² EXP = experiencer

Examples with *tàgí* ‘to affect’:

- (671) féb tàgí m â
 anger affect:PFV 1SG.O PFV
 ‘I was angry.’ (lit. ‘Anger affected me.’)
 (session_320, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (672) àfìb rè tàgí m
 shit IPFV affect 1SG.O
 ‘I want to use the toilet.’ (lit. ‘Shit is affecting me.’)
 (session_324, Anonymous, elicitation)

- (673) àbób ré tàgí m
 hunger IPFV affect 1SG.O
 ‘I am hungry.’ (lit. ‘Hunger is affecting me.’)
 (session_324, Anonymous, elicitation)

Examples with body parts and specific verbs. Note that sometimes, a possessive pronominal is used with the body part (675), (676), (677), (678), and sometimes no possessive pronominal is used (674). I could not determine when it is used and when it is left out.

- (674) àlìb ré dèg ém
 head IPFV pain 1SG.O
 ‘My head hurts.’
 (session_324, Anonymous, elicitation)

- (675) àbòg ém rè dèg ém
 leg 1SG:POSS IPFV pain 1SG.O
 ‘My leg hurts.’
 (session_324, Anonymous, elicitation)

- (676) àdèl ém [†]wáb á [†]ṣúg-í
 stomach 1SG:POSS tie:PFV PFV do-FV
 ‘I have a cramp in my stomach’ (lit. ‘My stomach ties.’)
 (session_305, Danladi Baleri, elicitation)

- (677) ñíjí bòg ém *wáb á *tʃúg-í
 muscle leg 1SG:POSS tie:PFV PFV do-FV
 'I have a cramp in my leg.' (lit. 'My leg muscle ties')
 (session_305, Danladi Baleri, elicitation)

- (678) àní ém rè njág-í
 arm 1SG:POSS IPFV itch-FV
 'My arm itches.'
 (session_150, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

Examples of idiomatic expressions:

- (679) lù rè déŋ ém
 sleep IPFV roast 1SG.O
 'I am feeling sleepy.' (lit. 'Sleep is roasting me.')
 (session_324, Anonymous, elicitation)

- (680) àbòg ém *vég á *jí
 leg 1SG:POSS die:PFV PFV stand
 'My leg is sleeping.' (lit. 'My leg has died.')
 (session_305, Danladi Baleri, elicitation)

- (681) mìŋkáŋá dúg sáŋ ké njálòg éfō
 water follow:PFV go INSTR throat dry
 'The water went down the wrong pipe.' (lit. 'water followed went with the dry throat')
 (session_305, Danladi Baleri, elicitation)

15.4 Adverbial modifiers

15.4.1 Overview

A clause or a verb can be modified by an adverbial modifier. Such modifiers provide a spatial, temporal, aspectual, modal, sequential or polar frame for the state of affairs described in the clause. I outlined the grammatical means of expressing tense, aspect and polarity in Chapter 1. Adverbial modifiers presenting temporal, aspectual, and polar meanings are different from grammatical markers in terms of (1) frequency and obligatoriness, (2) position, (3) morphological complexity, and (4) morphosyntactic independence.

- (1) Obligatoriness: most grammatical items are obligatory and leaving them out renders the clause ungrammatical⁹³. Adverbial modifiers can always be left out. This has no consequences for the grammaticality of a clause.
- (2) Position: adverbial modifiers can occur peripherally, preceding or following a clause or a verb. Grammatical markers have a fixed position within a clause and are not peripheral.
- (3) Complexity: adverbial modifiers are rarely monomorphemic. When they are, they are longer than the typical morpheme in Kam and are probably historically complex.
- (4) Morphosyntactic independence: grammatical markers do not usually form an utterance by themselves. Adverbial modifiers can be meaningfully used as separate utterances.

Some of the meanings similar to the ones expressed by adverbial modifiers can also be expressed in Kam by verbs in multi-verb constructions (see § 12.5.5). The relevant verbs in multi-verb constructions share with adverbial modifiers their morphosyntactic independence (they also occur as independent verbs) and the fact that they are not strictly obligatory (although they are very frequent). They are structurally different from adverbial modifiers in that they are not morphosyntactically complex (excepting derivational suffixes) and they occur in a fixed set of multi-verb constructions.

Different types of lexemes and phrases can be used as adverbial modifiers. These include prepositional phrases ((682), (683)), adverbial clauses (684), nouns (685) and special adverbial expressions, including a small set of adverbial lexemes. Prepositional phrases are discussed in § 11.1 and adverbial clauses in § 17.5. The focus of the rest of this section is on adverbial lexemes and some frequently recurring specialized adverbial expressions.

(682)	á	ʃúg	é ⁺ nág	àrí	jím
	2SG.S.PFV	do:PFV	work	like	1SG.ID
‘You work like me.’					

(session_354, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

(683)	ú	ŋgbáb	ú	kó	bùn
	3SG	shoot:PFV	3SG	INSTR	arrow
‘He shot him with an arrow’					

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

⁹³ Some grammatical markers are optional, e.g. the pre-verbal negator *mág*, the perfective aspect marker *à* and the immediately post-object negative future marker *rò*. I discuss these and other markers, some optional and some obligatory, in Chapter 1.

- (684) í jág jní [†]dʒí á bē
 3PL take:PFV thing dig PFV PRSTT
- hár í pé [†]gbó pé [†]ŋwé sùm
 until 3PL come:PFV stream come mouth lake

‘They dug until they came to the stream, to the mouth of the lake.’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (685) wò jár bì rā hñ
 blood drip:FUT ground FUT:NEG NEG

‘There will be no bloodshed.’ (literally: ‘blood will not drip on the ground’)

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

In what follows, I discuss spatial adverbial modifiers first (§ 15.4.2). Next, I illustrate temporal (§ 15.4.3) and aspectual (§ 15.4.4) adverbial modifiers. The expression of phasal polarity receives separate treatment in § 15.4.5. The only attested modal adverbial expression, *jíŋká* ‘maybe’, is illustrated in § 15.4.6, and a few adverbials encoding manner are presented in § 15.4.7.

15.4.2 Space

I found the following spatial adverbial modifiers in Kam:

- (686) kāmā or kā ‘here’
 kāmō or kō ‘there’

Some examples:

- (687) á pérá kā
 2SG.S.PFV come.PFV here
 ‘You came here.’

- (688) dē kō
 be there
 ‘(It) is there.’

- (689) jì mí á, àwú ré tàg á kēmā
 thing some REL, 3SG IPFV touch REL here
 'It is something that he is touching, here.' (when reading a book)

- (690) àwú dʒóŋ kēmō
 3SG sit there
 'He sits there.'

kă and *kō* are short forms of *kōmā* and *kōmō* respectively. These adverbial modifiers derive from the noun *kōm* 'place', combined with the demonstrative modifiers *à* and *ò*. The short forms are currently used more frequently than the long forms. *kă* and *kō* can be combined with the nouns *àgàj* 'sky' and *àbì* 'ground' to form complex adverbial modifiers. I have not observed this with the long forms.

- (691) àgàj kō 'up there'
 àbì kō 'down there'
 àgàj kă 'up here'
 àbì kă 'up there'

15.4.3 Time (and sequence)

When referring to a time in the past, an adverbial modifier can be used consisting of the distal demonstrative *ò* combined with a noun referring to a unit of time (*bərì* 'time, day', *àlóŋ* 'day') to signal a certain distance in time from the present moment.

- (692) bər ò bē, àwàn rè míŋ íŋ⁺gwóǵ àléb í⁺ʃé
 time DIST PRSTT,king IPFV build house in bush
 'Earlier, the king was building a house in the bush.'
 (Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (693) àlóŋ ô, bərì mà i jí â,
 day DIST, time some:REL 1PL grow.up\PFV REL,
 jí bōr-í jō jág ágbàn nī:
 person ADJ:big:ADJ-FV PL carry:PFV wife like.this: ...

'In those days, the time when we grew up, the elders married like this: ...'
 (session_076, Adamu S. Baka, narrative)

Other temporal adverbial modifiers include the following.

- (694) kpānī ‘before’
 sīsīrā ‘now’
 àlūkō ‘just now’
 pí⁺káŋ ‘tomorrow’
 gbánákā ‘later’
 bàtànā ‘right now’
 àlīlē ‘yesterday’
 nàŋkò ‘first(ly)’

kpānī ‘before’ is often followed by the conditional particle *kā*.

- (695) kpānī kā, àŋgwógbé ⁺tíntám
 before COND, house PRSTT big
 ‘Before, the house was tall.’
 (Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (696) kpānī kā, á dín gúrōg jàg rè jī?
 before COND, 2SG.S.PFV meet lion catch where Q
 ‘Where could you find lions before?’
 (session_293, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

Some more examples with temporal adverbials:

- (697) ní ⁺ñúg i⁺nág nāŋkō, ì sì bímbēn
 1SG.S.PFV do:PFV work first, 1PL SEQ FUT~talk
 ‘I work first, then we will talk.’
 (session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, Danladi Baleri, elicitation)

- (698) bàtànâ, jā i rè tòg à kā,
 now, thing:REL 1PL IPFV beg REL ?,

 kùrùkí jág júrú ká ké kóm jōŋ ímō
 God take:PFV 1PL.O place:PROX INSTR place sit good

‘Right now, the thing that we are praying for, is that God may keep us in peace.’

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (699) àlìlē ém pérá ká
 yesterday 1SG.S.PFV come.PFV here
 ‘Yesterday, I came here.’

(session_053, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

- (700) àwú dέ ré sísírā?
 3SG be where now?

‘Where is he now?’

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

15.4.4 Aspect

The two main aspectual adverbs that I identified in Kam are *mísí* ‘again’ and *sírî* ‘completely’. Other expressions of repetition are made with a multi-verb construction with *mèrà* ‘repeat, return’ (cf. § 14.3.1), or with a noun phrase including the noun *àbòg* ‘leg’ modified by a quantifier or a numeral (*àbòg yàr* ‘three legs’, for example, meaning ‘three times’).

mísí ‘again’ expresses repetition:

- (701) ú ré mèrè pè mísi

3SG IPFV return come again

‘He is coming back again.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (702) tò, àjí mína bá kēmā mísi

so, 3PL PRSTT PROX here again

‘So, here they are again.’

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

sīrī ‘all of it, completely’ expresses that an object has been affected by an action in its entirety.

- (703) àwú dʒáng á sīrī ŋwāb

3SG read:PFV PFV completely all

‘He read it completely.’ (or: ‘He read all of it.’)

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (704) m fári ŋwé kòm nté á sīrī.

1SG.S.PFV open:PFV mouth place small PFV completely

‘I opened the window completely.’

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (705) àwú méns á sīrī

3SG scatter PFV completely

‘He scattered it completely.’ (or: ‘He scattered all of it.’)

(session_189, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (706) wó kásí kwí à sīrī

dog break:CAUS:PFV stick PFV completely

‘The dog broke the stick completely.’ (or: ‘The dog broke the whole stick.’)

(session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

- (707) bàrí tásò à sīrī

clean plate PROX completely

‘Clean this plate completely.’ (or: ‘Clean the whole plate.’)

(session_301, David Mamuda, elicitation)

(708)	àná	†pâ,
	person:REL	come:REL,
	àwú	jág
	3SG	carry:PFV
	jí	tīg
	thing	cover:ADJ
	ú	3SG:POSS
	rē	EMPH
	sīrī.	completely

‘The man that came, he took off all of his cloak.’ (or: ‘He completely took off his cloak.’)

(session_314, Danjuma Bello, narrative; from ‘The North Wind and the Sun’)

15.4.5 Phasal polarity

Phasal polarity constructions include those expressions that can be translated into English with ‘not yet’, ‘already’, ‘still’ and ‘no longer’. The current section briefly illustrates how these meanings are expressed in Kam. Van der Auwera’s (1998) terminology is used in this overview.

Positive phasal polarity expressions do not have a dedicated construction in Kam. Continuative constructions (English ‘still’) can be expressed with any of three adverbs: *tánfɔŋ* ‘still, always’, *kpɔŋ* ‘always, usually’ or *kpèn* ‘always, usually’.

(709)	Bàbángídá	ʃug	i †nág	tánfɔŋ
	Babangida	do:PFV	work	always/still
‘Babangida is still working.’ or ‘Babangida is always working.’				
(session_288)				

(710)	àliè	tít~tīgī	tán-i	kpɔŋ
	light	PRED~be.off	stand-FV	always/still
‘The light is always off.’ or ‘The light is still off.’				
(session_288)				

- (711) àwú dúb ètóm dùbì kpèn
 3SG write:FUT message write usually
 'He will usually write a letter.'
 (session_288)

- (712) ú ré [†]dúbí jí kpèn
 3SG IPFV write thing usually
 'He is usually writing letters.'
 (session_041)

Inchoative constructions (English ‘already’, cf. Kramer 2017: 10, 11) are either left unexpressed or can be expressed with a coordinated clause with *fàyṛi* ‘to finish’ or *lògrí* ‘to end’.

- (713) ní ním jí à ní lògrí.
 1SG.S.PFV eat:PFV thing PFV 1SG.S.PFV end
 'I finished eating.', 'I have already eaten' (lit.: 'I ate, I finished')
 (session_288)

- (714) ní ním á [†]gāñṛí
 1SG.S.PFV eat:PFV PFV finish
 'I finished eating', 'I have already eaten' (lit.: 'I ate, it is finished')
 (session_288)

Negative phasal polarity constructions are more grammaticalized and feature dedicated clause-final markers in complementary distribution with the clause-final negator *hn̄* (cf. § 13.6.3).⁹⁴

The negative continuative ('not yet') is usually expressed with standard negative clauses, optionally including the preverbal negator *màg*. Instead of the clause-final particle *hn̄*, however, the clause-final negation marker *dʒēn* is used.

- (715) àjí mág dògí ñtèkù dʒēn.
 3PL NEG.NFUT see toad NEG.CONT.
 '(It is the toad they are looking for,) they haven't seen the toad yet.'
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

⁹⁴ I would like to thank Dmitry Idiatov for providing useful references that I have not yet implemented but plan to use to flesh out the analysis of clause-final negation in Kam.

- (716) m̄ màg d̄g ú
 1SG.S.NEG.NFUT NEG:NFUT see:NEG.NFUT3SG

dúddóg dʒ̄en
 see NEG:CONT

‘I have never seen it before.’ (Literally: ‘I have not ever seen it yet.’)

(session_271, Danjuma Bello, conversation)

Unlike standard negation clauses, which may be completely different depending on tense and aspect values, clauses with *dʒ̄en* can combine with different affirmative aspect and future constructions without transforming the whole construction. This implies that it does not belong to the same syntactic category as the regular negator *h̄n*. In this sense, it is similar to such adverbs as *tánfɔŋ* ‘still’ and *kpàŋ* ‘always, usually’, although such adverbs can also occur in other positions and can occur as independent clauses while *dʒ̄en* only occurs clause-finally.

- (717) ráháb gbán-í gárhámzà dʒ̄en.
 Rahab arrive:PFV-FV Garin.Hamza NEG.CONT.

‘Rahab did not yet arrive in Garin Hamza.’

(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (718) ráháb r̄é *gbán-í gárhámzà dʒ̄en.
 Rahab IPFV arrive-FV Garin.Hamza NEG.CONT.

‘Rahab is not yet arriving in Garin Hamza.’

(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (719) ráháb gbáni gárhámzà pí *káŋ dʒ̄en.
 Rahab arrive:FUT Garin.Hamza tomorrow NEG.CONT.

‘Rahab will not yet arrive in Garin Hamza tomorrow.’

(session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

A discontinuative action (‘no longer’) is expressed with regular negation constructions with the marker *nàŋ* preceding the clause-final negator *h̄n*. What makes this marker interesting is that *nàŋ* has only been attested in affirmative constructions as part of the complex adverb *nàŋkò* ‘first(ly)’, and nowhere else. The exact function and full distributional properties of *nàŋ* are matters for further research.

- (720) mérí ním jí nàŋ hñ.
 Mary eat:NEG.NFUT thing no.longer NEG.
 'Mary is no longer eating.'
 (session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (721) déjvíd ꝑúg í[†]jág nàŋ hñ.
 David do:NEG.NFUT work naŋ NEG.
 'David is no longer working.'
 (session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

nàŋ also occurs in negative existential and locational negation constructions.

- (722) bábaŋídá sírí džálìŋgò nàŋ rīg.
 Babangida be:NEG Jalingo naŋ NEG.
 'Babangida is no longer in Jalingo.'
 (session_288, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

15.4.6 Modality

The only modal adverb I have found in my corpus is *níŋkā* ‘maybe’. It seems historically complex, but it is synchronically impossible to segment into different morphemes. Historically, it may contain the conditional marker *kā* (cf. § 17.5.1.6). Or, given its tonal structure, it may be a lexicalized noun phrase or compound with *jí* ‘thing’ and a currently unidentified adjectivized verb (cf. § 7.2.1.2).

- (723) níŋkā mérí másí r̥á
 maybe Mary know:PFV EMPH
 'Maybe Mary knows.'
 (session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (724) níŋkā àwú pé *ké *džé mí *bá
 maybe 3SG come:FUT TEMP month some PROX
 'Maybe he will come some time this month.'
 (session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

15.4.7 Manner

mín is a manner adverb that can usually be translated as ‘like this’ or ‘thus’. It may be related to the presentative demonstrative *míná* (§ 9.2.2).

- (725) àní ígbàn dʒélí míń
person female see:PFV thus
'The woman sees it, like this.'
(session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

- (726) ú péntrí jág ⁺mín,
3SG exchange:PFV carry thus
'So, she exchanges it (her sex), like this.'
(session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

Adverbial modifiers of manner are often formed from adjectives with the instrumental preposition *kó*. Unlike in other positions where they occur, the *a^L-* prefixes of adjectives are not dropped but retained after *kó*. The vowel of the instrumental preposition is dropped instead. In these cases, the instrumental preposition can be analyzed as an adverbializing prefix.

- (727) í lútí m **k-áŋwī** á
3PL lay:CAUS:PFV 1SG.O ADVZ-new REL
'(while) they have crowned me newly'
(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (728) ú ré ⁺dín í **k-ámō**
3SG IPFV meet 3PL ADVZ-good
'He is meeting them well.'
(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (729) k-ántēří
ADVZ-truth
'really, truly'
(session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

16 Questions and commands

16.1 Questions

16.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions can be formulated in one of two ways. One involves the use of a specific interrogative marker, *jī*, which also occurs in content questions. The second method involves a M or H tone marker at the end of the clause. Polar questions are sometimes pronounced on a higher pitch than corresponding declarative clauses. I did not investigate intonation in much detail. It is not clear how often questions are produced on a higher pitch or whether this may be obligatory in some cases.

The interrogative marker *jī* is clause-final and sentence-final, and occurs after other clause-final markers such as the negator *hñ*. Aspect and tense values are preserved in questions. Most polar questions are formed with *jī*.

- (730) jì mí *tág á àgún ém jī?
 thing some happen:PFV PFV behind 1SG:POSS Q
 ‘Did anything happen while I was gone?’ (literally: ‘Did anything happen behind me?')
 (session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (731) á ním éfàm já jī
 2SG.S.PFV eat:PFV meat 2SG:POSS Q
 ‘Did you eat your meat?’
 (session_350, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (732) ɿí rè jípnāŋā jī?
 child IPFV play Q
 ‘Are the children playing?’
 (session_287, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (733) lém á dʒī hñ jī?
 be.good:PFV 2SG.O EMPH NEG Q?
 ‘Is it not good for you?’
 (session_271, anonymous, conversation)

- (734) á dógí mpō mí à jī, Bábàngídá?
 2SG.S.PFV see:PFV monkey some PFV Q Babangida
 ‘Do you see any monkeys, Babangida?’
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

I did not investigate questions without *jī* but with a clause-final H/M tone marker in detail. It is possible that this construction is derived from the construction with clause-final *jī* where *jī* is dropped but its tone retained. Since the only examples I currently have involve clauses that would end in a L tone if they were declarative, I do not know whether the question marker is M or H, since either M or H could result in a M if merged with a preceding L – which is the case in all of the observed instances.

- (735) àkpó ñwún, àkpó ñwún á hñ?
 àkpó ñwún, àkpó ñwún á hñ-M
 twenty five, twenty five PRSTT NEG-Q?
 One hundred, isn't it one hundred?
 (session_034, Isa Sarkin Dawa, conversation)

- (736) a.
 ú dúddūb?
 ú dùd~dùb-M
 3SG STAT~be.tall-Q
 ‘Is he tall?’

vs.

- b.
 ú dúddûb
 ú dùd~dùb
 3SG STAT~be.tall
 ‘He is tall.’

(session_350, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

(737)	á	dín	é ^t mérá m	á?
	á	dín\H	àmérá m-L	à-M
	2SG.S.PFV	meet:PFV	brother 1SG-POSS	PFV-Q

Have you met my brother?

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

(738)	á	fár	á?	
	á	fári\H	à-M	
	2SG.S.PFV	open\PFV	PFV-Q?	
	ì,	m	fár	â.
	m	Ń	fári\H	à
	yes,	1SG.S.PFV	open\PFV	PFV

'Did you open it (the door)? Yes, I opened it.'

(session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

16.1.2 Content questions

Content questions are formed in two major ways in Kam. One method involves the use of a specific content interrogative marker, referring to the questioned element as a human (*bɛ^H ... bì* 'who?'), a non-human object (*gɛ^H ... gì* 'what?'), a place (*rè* 'where?'), or a manner or quantity (*sìm* 'how [much/many]?'). The question particle *jī* may also occur clause-finally. The other method involves modifying a noun phrase with a relative clause with *mīnā* 'which'. This noun phrase and relative clause together stand as a full content question.

16.1.2.1 Content interrogatives

There are four content interrogatives in Kam.

(739)	<i>bɛ^H ... bì</i>	who?
	<i>gɛ^H ... gì</i>	what?
	<i>rè</i>	where?
	<i>sìm</i>	how? or how much/many?

Two out of four content interrogatives are morphologically simple. Two are complex and involve quasi-repetition of the initial element at the end of the clause, a quite unusual strategy for forming content

questions cross-linguistically. The two content interrogatives (the initial one and its repetition) enclose the clause. The whole of the clause is optionally followed by the question particle *jī*. In (742), the tone of the initial *gè* is LH because the floating ^H tone (exceptionally) attaches to the preceding syllable and the tone of the final *gi* is H because of tone spread of the preceding H tone.

- (740) bè í ré dʒ̥ərī bì jī?
 who 3PL IPFV look who Q
 ‘Who are they looking for?’

(session_020, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (741) gè ú ré sìn gi jī?
 what 3SG IPFV do what Q
 ‘What is he doing?’

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

- (742) gɛ àwàn míŋ ká lèb àʃé gó?
^{gɛ^H} àwàn míŋ\PFV ká àlèb àʃé gi
 what king build\PFV here inside bush what
 ‘What did the king build inside the bush?’

(Tope-Bitrus_07, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

In (743) and (744), the bipartite content interrogatives *bɛ^H ... bì* ‘who’ and *gɛ^H ... gi* ‘what’ are not separated. As a result, the floating ^H tones of *bɛ^H* and *gɛ^H* attach to the second part of the interrogative. Therefore, *bì* and *gi* are realized with a high tone.

- (743) bè **bí** jī?
^{bɛ^H} **bí** jī
 who who Q
 ‘Who (is it)?’ (Who will ascend the throne?)
 (session_020, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (744) gè **gí** jī?
^{gɛ^H} **gí** jī
 what what Q
 ‘What (is it)?’

When used as possessors or as complements of prepositions, simplex forms of the complex content interrogatives are used. In such cases, *bì* and *bè*, and *gì* and *gè* are used interchangeably. I do not have many examples of this sort, but in all examples the tone of *bì*, *bè*, *gì* and *gè* is L.

- (745) àfì bì?
 child who?
 ‘whose child?’
 (session_271, Saheedu, conversation)

- (746) ú dέ ré bè?
 ú dέ rè bè
 3SG be COM who
 ‘He is with whom?’
 (Tope-Bitrus_06, Saheed Bala)

The interrogatives *rè* ‘where’ and *sím* ‘how (much/many)’ occur where locative and manner/quantity arguments would occur in clauses. Their use is illustrated as follows.

- (747) àfì dāátfí dέ ré jí?
 child Dan.Aci be where Q
 ‘Where is the son of Dan Aci?’
 (session_019, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

- (748) í dín gúróg jàg rè jí?
 1SG.S.PFV find:PFV lion catch where Q
 Where can I find lions?
 (session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (749) á núŋ míŋ⁺káŋá sím? í núŋ ké ñwé.
 you drink:PFV water how? I drink:PFV with mouth.
 ‘How do you drink water? I drink with (my) mouth.’
 (session_302, David Mamuda, elicitation)

- (750) jnò lú sím rè bérì fònù á?
 you sleep:PFV how with time harmattan PFV:Q?
 ‘How did you sleep with the harmattan period?’
 (session_084, Yuguda Manti, conversation)

- (751) dàrí b̄í sim á?
hundred one how COP:Q

‘One hundred is how much?’

(session_034, Samuel U. Adams, conversation)

- (752) nìsírī sim á gū já mā àlīlē à jī?
money how REL uncle your give:you yesterday REL Q?

‘How much money (is it) that your uncle gave you yesterday?’

(session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

16.1.2.2 Cleft structures with the interrogative modifier *mīnā* ‘which/what?’

In elicitation sessions, my informants often preferred a cleft construction with the interrogative modifier *mīnā* and a generic noun, such as ‘person’ or ‘thing’, over the constructions with interrogative pronominals described in § 16.1.2.1. This construction can be summarized as follows, where the elements in round brackets (the relative clause marker *à* and the question marker *jī*) are optional. The construction can be analyzed as a verbless clause including only a relativized noun phrase without copula, and an optional question marker. I discuss clefts more generally in § 18.1.

- (753) [N] + *mīnā* + [relative clause] (+ à) (+ jī)

mīnā is a historically complex modifier that has incorporated the relativizer *á* (cf. § 17.2). It also bears formal resemblance to the presentative demonstrative *míná* (‘there you go’, ‘like this’) (§ 9.2.2).

The noun modified by *mīnā* refers to an argument of the relative clause. This argument is what the question is about. It can be a circumstantial argument such as a place (754) or time (755), and it can also be a core argument such as a subject ((756), (757)) or an object (758). In (754), for instance, the speaker enquires about the place (*kòm*) that (*mīnā*) the hearer went to (*á jéb á*). The interrogative is not selective (unlike English ‘which’, which implies the selection between different alternatives). The relative clause does not repeat the argument about which information is requested.

- (754) kòm mīnā á jéb á jī?
place which:REL 2SG.S.PFV go:PFV REL Q

‘Where did you go?’ (lit.: ‘Which place (is it) that you went?’)

(session_286, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (755) bèrì mīnā àwàn míj áŋg⁺wóg ú ká lèb èjé á?
 time which:REL king build:PFV house his here in bush REL:Q?
 ‘When did the king build his house in the bush?’ (lit.: ‘Which time (is it) that the king ...?’)
 (Tope-Bitrus_07, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (756) àní mīnā sín â
 people which:REL do:PFV REL
 ‘Who did it?’ (lit.: ‘Which person (is it) that did it?’)
 (session_169, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (757) àní mīnā fúgí jág â?
 person which carry take REL
 ‘Who took it?’ (lit.: ‘Which person (is it) that took it?’)
 (session_271, anonymous, conversation)

- (758) àní mīnā jíjé ním ú jág à
 person which:REL snake bite:PFV 3SG carry REL
 ‘Who did the snake bite?’ (lit.: ‘Which person (is it) that the snake bit?’)
 (session_350, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

16.2 Commands and prohibitions

In imperative clauses, most verbs occur with their lexical tone. For some monosyllabic verbs there is a free choice between high, mid or low tone for verbs in imperatives. This could be an indication that tonal contrasts in imperatives are fairly weak and are in a process of being neutralized in this construction. My informants mentioned that the tone of these imperative verbs is determined by extralinguistic factors such as emotions, importance of the command or urgency of the task. I did not check all verbs for such free variation, but out of 46 monosyllabic verbs that I did check, 15 allowed any tone.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| (759) | bír, bīr or bír | (lexical tone = H) | ‘cut, slaughter’ |
| | sìn, sīn or sín | (lexical tone = H) | ‘do, make’ |
| | dèb, dēb or déb | (lexical tone = L) | ‘buy’ |
| | bàr, bār or bár | (lexical tone = L) | ‘farm, weed’ |

Most examples of such free variation occur in isolation. I checked some examples in a frame, with the adverb *mísí* ‘again’, where they also showed such free variation (session_323, David Mamuda, elicitation).

More elicitation is needed in different contexts to further establish the robustness and the limits of this somewhat puzzling variation.

- (760) a. mèr mísi ‘swallow again’
 b. mér mísi ‘swallow again’

- (761) a. gbèb mísi ‘beat again’
 b. gbéb mísi ‘beat again’

- (762) a. bàr mísi ‘farm again’
 b. bár mísi ‘farm again’

When a command is directed at one hearer, no pronominal is used. When it is directed at more than one person, the second person plural subject pronominal *nò* is used.

- (763) jéb ñgwóg wàn nè
 go house king EMPH
 ‘Go to the house of the king!’
 (Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (764) nò jéb ñgwóg wàn nè
 2PL go house king EMPH
 ‘Go to the house of the king!’ (to more than one person)
 (Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (765) lòm
 ‘Plant (it)!’
 (session_170, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (766) dʒérí núŋ
 look bird
 ‘Look at the bird!’
 (session_137, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

Negative imperatives or prohibitions are formed with a discontinuous marker *ká ... gá*: *ká* is inserted before the verb, following any possible pronominals, and *gá* comes at the end of the clause.

- (767) jò ké jéb ñgwóg wàn nè gà
 2PL NEG go house king EMPH NEG
 ‘Don’t go to the house of the king.’ (to more than one person)
 (Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (768) ké džérí nūŋ gà
 NEG look bird NEG
 ‘Don’t look at the bird.’
 (session_137, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (769) ké ním džó già
 NEG eat fly NEG
 ‘Don’t eat the fly.’
 (session_137, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

17 Complex sentences

17.1 Introduction

Complex sentences include any sentence that is composed of more than one clause. Relative clauses (§ 17.2), complement clauses (§ 17.3) and adverbial clauses (§ 17.5) are subordinate clauses: they are clauses embedded into another clause (the main clause) as a constituent. Complement clauses function as an argument in the clause (e.g. a subject or object – only the latter in Kam). Relative clauses function as attributive modifiers of noun phrases. Adverbial clauses function as adverbial modifiers, provide information about the circumstances surrounding the presented state of affairs. Coordinated clauses (§ 17.4) are clauses with equal syntactic status. One is not embedded in the other, they are simply linked. I also briefly discuss some speech and thought reporting constructions in this chapter (§ 17.6). I discuss quotatives separately from complement clauses since there is no reason to assume that clauses in reported discourse are automatically object complements of a higher ‘main clause’ (cf. Idiatov 2011).

17.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause that prototypically functions as a modifier within a noun phrase. In accordance with the regular head-modifier order in the noun phrase, relative clauses in Kam follow the head noun they modify. This noun phrase then typically fills an argument slot in another clause, which is called the main clause. Other cases where relative clauses do not occur in argument functions is when they function as complement clauses (§ 17.3) or as clausal adverbial modifiers (§ 17.5). Relative clauses can also function as clefts, focusing a certain entity in the discourse (§ 18.1).

The main strategy for forming relative clauses in Kam includes the use of a relativizer *ā* preceding the relative clause, right after the modified head noun, and a relativizer *à* following the relative clause. A pause can be inserted after the relativizer *ā*. This strategy can be summarized as follows:

(770) [[[NOUN_{HEAD} + *ā* + [RELATIVE CLAUSE + *à*]_{RELATIVE CLAUSE}]]_{NP} + ...]_{MAIN CLAUSE}

When a relative clause modifies a human noun that refers to the subject of the main clause, a pause is inserted between the relative clause and the main clause. A pronominal coreferential with that noun is used in the main clause. The relativized noun phrase and the pronominal could be viewed as noun phrases in apposition, and the relative clause can be analyzed as a correlative relative clause.

(771) àwàñ á míŋ óŋ⁺gwóg á,
 king REL build:PFV house REL,

ú dέ rέ jnì rīg
 3SG be with thing POSS

‘The king who built this house is rich.’ (lit. ‘The king who built this house, he is rich’)

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

(772) àníván á ⁺táb í⁺jé kó tàb á,
 person:male REL touch:PFV hand INSTR fish REL

ú béní ijí ⁺i ⁺á,
 3SG say:PFV QUOT LOG.SG PRSTT

‘The man who touched the fish said it was him.’ (lit. ‘The man who touched the fish, he said it was him.’)

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(773) jí á ⁺pé lílē á,
 person REL come yesterday REL

ájí sáŋ á
 3PL go:PFV PFV

‘The people who came here yesterday left.’ (lit.: “ The people who came here yesterday, they left.)

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

When an object is relativized, a human object index co-referential with the relativized noun occurs in the relative clause. The same applies to relativized possessors (779).

- (774) àní míñā níjé ním ú jág á?
 person which:REL snake bite:PFV 3SG take REL?
 ‘Which person is it that the snake bit?’ (lit. ‘Which person (is it) that the snake bit him?’)
 (session_350, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (775) àní míñā á jág níśīrī mō?
 person which:REL 2SG.S.PFV take:PFV money give:3SG?
 ‘Whom did you give money to?’ (lit. ‘Which person (is it) that you gave the money to him?’)
 (session_350, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

The second relativizer, *à*, is optional and is often omitted. In elicitation sessions, my consultants always accepted such omission. It is not clear whether there are any restrictions in natural discourse.

- (776) àjì mí á
 country 1SG:POSS REL
 í pē [†]jág óm lùtí ké wàn (à)
 3PL come carry:PFV 1SG.O appoint INSTR king (REL)

‘(In) my country where they appointed me king.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (777) ànág á àwú jág pè àbíbí jí ñwòm
 work REL 3SG carry come land person Kam
 ‘the work that he brought to Kam country’
 (session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

In § 9.2.2, I provided an overview of how the relativizer *á* can be fused to different nouns and nominal markers. Some of these instances are synchronically transparent. Others are lexicalized but were clearly derived from such combinations. Some examples of relative clauses with a fused *á* are presented here. I describe the individual properties of each of these combinations in § 9.2.2.

(778) ànā **jā** dín ém â
 today thing:REL meet:PFV 1SG.O REL

féb tág ém à
 anger affect:PFV 1SG.O PFV

‘What happened to me today made me angry.’

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(779) **àpá** **mā** gán ú ***íbí** é
 person:REL certain:REL name 3SG:POSS QUOT QUOT

 N. à, ú sín jí *ísaámri
 N. REL, 3SG do:PFV thing ADJ:bad:ADJ

‘Some person whose name is N. did something bad.’ (lit.: ‘Some person that his name is N., he did something bad.’)

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(780) **jā** **mā** ì rè wūr â mína
 thing:REL certain:REL 1PL IPFV like REL PRSTT
 ‘We like this like this.’ (presentative clause (cf. § 15.2.4))

(session_089, Yuguda Manti, conversation)

(781) džá bá ***á** sín á ***dé** gé gi jí?
 reason REL 2SG.S.PFV do:PFV REL be what what Q
 ‘The reason why you did it is what?’

(session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

(782) ú jéb kô **kă** ú ré džòj à
 3SG go:PFV PURP place:REL 3SG IPFV sit REL
 ‘She went to the place where she would be living.’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (783) àní **méná** jífí ním ú jág à
 person which:REL snake bite:PFV 3SG carry REL

'Which person is it that the snake bit?'

(session_350, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (784) íká, **mámbá** súm gím jí á ká
 then, that.is.why:REL lake tear stand REL COND

'Then, that is why the water gushed (down from the lake)' (lit. 'that is why the lake tore.')

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

I have not encountered any restrictions on the accessibility of different arguments to relativization. The relative clause in (773), for example, targets a subject. In (785) and (786), an object is relativized. The relative clause in (787) relativizes a questioned copula subject. (788) relativizes a location, (789) an instrumental argument, (790) a benefactor. I have no data on whether a possessor or possessed in an attributive possession construction can be relativized. The role of a relativized noun within the relative clause itself is also flexible, including subject (773), object (785), various oblique roles (787), (788) and possessor roles (779).

- (785) ní déb jâ à wúrí à
 1SG.S.PFV buy:PFV thing:REL 2SG.S.PFV want:PFV REL

'I bought what you wanted' (i.e. 'I bough the thing you wanted.')

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (786) àjí nágí jâ àjí ré sòg à àlèb èfí
 3PL leave:PFV thing:REL 3PL IPFV search REL in bush

'They left the thing that they were searching in the bush.'

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (787) džá bá à sín á dè gé gi jí?
 reason REL 2SG.S.PFV do REL be what what Q

'The reason why you did it is what?'

(session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

- (788) ú jéb kô ká ú ré džòŋ à
 3SG go PURP place:REL 3SG IPFV sit REL

'She went to the place where she would live.'

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (789) tʃúg ú á jàgì
 catch:PFV 3SG PFV carry
- ké jí *sámrí á àwú sín â
 INSTR thing bad REL 3SG do:PFV REL

‘It (the trial) confirmed his guilt’ (lit. ‘it caught him with the bad things that he had done’.)

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (790) àní ménā á jág jísírī mō?
 person which:REL 2SG.S.PFV take:PFV money give:3SG
 ‘Whom did you give money to?’ (lit. ‘Which person (is it) that you gave the money to him?’)

(session_350, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

17.3 ká bā, a complementizer introducing wishes

Complement clauses are clauses functioning as core arguments in another clause, which is called the main clause. In Kam, I only found complement clauses functioning as objects, specifically complement clauses expressing wishes. The complementizer *ká bā* introduces such wishes and is used after the verb *wūrī* ‘want’. Morphologically, it is a combination of the instrumental/temporal preposition *ká* and the relativizer *bā*‘(the one) that’. It is also used as a temporal adverbial conjunction translating into English as ‘when’ or ‘while’ (§ 17.5.1.1).

Kam features a periphrastic modal construction for expressing wishes and needs. It consists of an imperfective construction with the verb *wūrī* ‘want, accept, like’, followed by a complement clause with the complementizer *ká bā* (TEMP REL). The complement clause takes the form of a relative clause. The construction exemplified in (791), for example, literally translates to ‘I want with this that I drink my medicine.’

(791)	ń	rè	wūrī				
	1SG.S.IPFV	IPFV	want				
	ké	bá	ń	núŋ	ńtám	ém	
	TEMP	REL	1SG.S.PFV	drink	medicine	1SG:POSS	

‘I want to take my medicine.’

(session_309, David Mamuda, elicitation)

(792)	ń	rè	wūrī	ké	bá	ń	déb	mân
	1SG.S.IPFV	IPFV	want	TEMP	REL	1SG.S.PFV	buy:PFV	oil

‘I want to buy oil.’

(session_309, David Mamuda, elicitation)

(793)	kòm	ā,	ì	rè	wūrī	ké	bá	ńtám	â
	place	REL,	1PL	IPFV	accept	TEMP	REL	grow:PFV	REL

‘This place that we want to develop.’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

17.4 Parataxis and coordination

Independent main clauses can be linked together in discourse in two main ways in Kam. One method involves the use of a coordinator (§ 17.4.1). The other way is simple juxtaposition or parataxis (§ 17.4.2). I also discuss the use of the sequential preverbal marker *sí* ‘then’ (§ 17.4.3), which marks sequentiality (vs. simultaneity) of events in linked clauses. *sí* functions similar to a coordinator, but I treat it separately here because it is syntactically different. Rather than occurring in between two clauses, it occurs before the verb of a coordinated clause.

Subject pronominals are repeated when linked clauses share the same subject referent. This is one of the main distinctions setting linked clauses apart from multi-verb constructions in Kam (cf. § 12.5.5).

17.4.1 Coordinators

The following three coordinators are found in my current corpus of Kam, two of which are found in neighboring languages and are probably borrowed from Hausa. Most coordinators are also used as floor holders in conversations. More coordinators will appear in a more extensive analysis of Kam texts and natural discourse.

- ikā ‘then’
 - àmā ‘and’ and ‘but’, borrowed from Hausa (*àmmā*).
 - kō ‘or’, borrowed from Hausa (*ko*)

Some examples of each coordinator in use:

ikā ‘then’

- (794) m̄pwòm rè kpàr, ɪkā ɪŋkā tór á pè
 rain IPFV rain, then thunder fall PFV come
 'Rain was falling, (and) then thunder came down.'
 (session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|--------|-------|-------|
| (795) | ú | sín | jí | sāmrī |
| | 3SG | do:PFV | thing | bad |

íkā	í	sí	‘jág	ú	pé	àgbànj	àwàn
then	3PL	SEQ	carry	3SG	come	palace	king

'He did something bad. (And) then they brought him (here) to the palace of the king.'

(session 051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

āma ‘and’, ‘or’ The *ā*-syllable in this coordinator is a weak prosodic prefix and is often dropped.

- (796) ní dóg njíjí à, àmā àjí nánì hn
 1SG.S.PFV see:PFV some PFV, but 3PL many NEG
 'I can see some, but they aren't many.'
 (session 187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

- (797) àwàñ bób pè gér,
 king come.out come ouside,

 àmā jí ú jō mómt ú
 and person 3SG:POSS PL greet 3SG

‘The king came out and his people greeted him.’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (798) à rè dín jí nīm kā,
 2SG.S.IPFV IPFV find thing ADJ:eat COND,

 dàmūwā júrú hñ,
 problem 1PL:POSS NEG

mā, á másí ríg, jì mí +dé bé kā,
but, 2SG.S.PFV know EMPH, thing some be PRSTT COND,

 bén má +júrú, **mā** jì mí sìrī kā
 say give 1PL.O **and** thing some be.NEGCOND

 jà mì kùrikí +sín á +míná
 thing:REL some God make:PFV REL PRSTT

‘If you find food to eat, we don’t have a problem. But, you know, if there is anything, tell us. And if there is nothing, that is how God has made it.’

(session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, conversation)

kō ‘or’

- (799) bābāngídá á jī, kō sólómón à jī?
 Babangida PRSTT Q or Solomon PRSTT Q

‘Is it Babangida or is it Solomon?’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (800) ú ním á jī, kō ú jéni?
 3SG eat:PFV PFV Q or 3SG refuse:PFV

‘Did he eat or did he refuse?’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

17.4.2 Parataxis: no coordinator

àmā, which is borrowed from Hausa (àmmā), is the only coordinator corresponding to English ‘and’ and ‘but’ in Kam. When the Hausa-borrowed strategy is not applied, coordinated clauses are simply juxtaposed without a coordinator.

- (801) wó ré ⁺tíntóm, pàtùrú ⁺tég á sàj
 dog IPFV bark, cat run\PFV PFV go

‘The dog was barking, and the cat ran away.’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (802) àwàn bób pè gèr, jí ú jō mómt ú
 king come.out:PFV come outside, person 3SG PL greet:PFV 3SG

‘The king came out (here) and his people greeted him.’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

- (803) ú ló kpô lògòrí, ú jé sàj lèsèr,
 3SG wash body finish, 3SG enter:PFV go room,

ú jé jàg fú kùb
 3SG go:PFV carry shirt wear

‘He washed his body, entered the room, and put on a shirt.’

(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)

(804)	m̄	màg	ním	àfàm	nág	h̀n,
	1SG.S.NEG.NFUT	NEG	eat:NEG.NFUT meat	meat	cow	NEG,
	m̄fàm	m̄pīrī	ā	ń	kím	
	meat	goat	REL	1SG.S.PFV	eat:PFV	

‘I did not eat cow meat, (but it is) goat meat that I ate.’

(session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

17.4.3 Sequential clauses with the preverbal marker *sì*

In Kam, it is possible to signal that two events happen in sequence, as opposed to simultaneously, by inserting the preverbal particle *sì* in the second clause. When the subject of the second clause is a first person singular pronominal or a second person singular pronominal, its tone is L, regardless of the aspectual value of the clause (cf. § 8.2.2). The exact functional difference between coordination with *ikā* ‘then’ and marking with *sì* is currently unclear. There may be information structural or pragmatic differences involved. It should be noted that, in most examples here, the proposition marked with *sì* may be presupposed and may have already been a topic of the conversation. In a conversation where (805) is used, the topic may have been ‘when will you marry?’. (806) could be the response to a question ‘When will we talk?’ and (807) to ‘When are you meeting the king?’. (808), from a report of a trial at the king’s palace, lists the events leading up to the trial that was held (see also (854)). So the fact that the perpetrator was brought to the palace was already known. (809) is more difficult to frame in this explanation. For more context on this particular example, see the text in the appendix of the dissertation.

(805)	ń	ʃáŋrí	jí	í-dérí	mí	à	kā
	Ń	ʃáŋrí\PFV	jì	í ^L -dérí\ADJ	mí ^L	à	kā
	1SG.S.PFV	finish	thing	ADJ:draw	1SG-POSS	PFV	COND
	ń	sì	jág	ágbàn			
	Ń	sì	jág\H	àgbàn			
	1SG.S.SEQ	SEQ	carry\PFV	wife			

‘After I finish school, I (will) marry.’ (possibly: ‘It is after I finish school that I (will) marry.’)

(session_119, Jauro Babangida Tukura, elicitation)

(806)	ń	ʃúg	éŋ ⁺ ág	nàŋkò, ì	sì	bín ⁺ bén	
	1SG.S.PFV	do:PFV	work	first,	1PL	SEQ	talk:FUT
‘I work first, and then we will talk.’, (possibly: ‘It is after I worked that we will talk.’)							
(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)							

(807)	ń	ʃúg	é ⁺ nág	nàŋkò, ń	sì	rè	mòmtí wàn
	1SG.S.PFV	do:PFV	work	first,	1SG.SEQ	SEQ	IPFV greet king
‘I work first, and then I am meeting the king.’ (possibly: ‘It is after I worked that I will be meeting the king.’)							
(session_351, Solomon Ahmadu, elicitation)							

(808)	ú	sín	jí	sámrit			
	3SG	do:PFV	thing	bad			
	íkā	í	sí	+jág	ú	pé	àgbàj àwàn
	then	3PL	SEQ	carry	3SG	come	palace king

‘He did something bad. And then they brought him (here) to the palace of the king.’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(809)	jí	íʃé	dʒóṛ	p̪é
	person	ADJ:war	descend:PFV	come
í	s̪í	b̪é	tóṛ	í
3PL	SEQ	PRSTT	fall:PFV	3PL catch

‘Warriors came down. Then, they (the Kam) fell on them (the warriors) and caught them.’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

17.5 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are essentially complex adverbial modifiers. Just like complement clauses are substitutes for simplex nominal core arguments in a clause, and just like relative clauses are complex adjective-like modifiers within a noun phrase, adverbial clauses are the clausal equivalents of peripheral clause modifiers (cf. § 15.4).

In this section, I distinguish two morphosyntactic types of adverbial clauses: those that are introduced by an adverbial conjunction (17.5.1) and conditional clauses, which are marked with a clause-final conditional marker (17.5.1.6) instead of a conjunction. The main difference between the two is thus where the clause-linking marker occurs: in the beginning of a clause, or at the end of a clause.

17.5.1 Adverbial conjunctions

I collected a variety of adverbial conjunctions in Kam, some of which are widely attested and some of which are fairly rare in the current corpus. It is expected that more conjunctions and more examples will be found after more texts are analyzed. Adverbial conjunctions often have other functions in other parts of the grammar. One conjunction, *ká bā* (TEMP REL) ‘when, temporal; since, reason’ is also used as a complementizer (see § 17.3 above). *hár* ‘until, temporal’ – borrowed from Hausa (*har*) – is also used as a preposition (cf. § 11.2.2). *àrí bā* (SIM PROX.ID) ‘like, manner’, *àmīnā* ‘like, manner’ and *māmbá* ‘that is how, reason’ are also used as floor holders in conversations. Other conjunctions, which have not been found in other functions, include the purposive marker *kō*, *àsúmà* ‘when/after’, *àsúwá* ‘when/after’, *àná⁺lib* ‘because, since, reason’ *síká* ‘if not, lest, conditional/apprehensive’.

17.5.1.1 Temporal clauses with *ká bā* ('when', 'while')

ká bā introduces temporal clauses ('when', 'while'), and by extension reasons ('since, because') for an earlier mentioned state of affairs. When it introduces a temporal clause, it often signals co-occurrence of the events described in the linked clauses (like English 'while'). *ká bā* is probably a combination of the temporal preposition *ká* (§ 11.2.2.1) with the relativizer *bā* (§ 9.2.2).

(810) jì gé àpá bōlī jná
thing what person ADJ:climb:FV 2SG:POSS

rə sìn jì gí jī,
IPFV do thing what Q,

ké **bá** **†á** gbán pè?
TEMP **REL** 2SG.S.PFV arrive:PFV come?

'What will your older brother be doing when you arrive?'

(session_288, David Mark, elicitation)

(811) jí ná[†]ní hñ,
person many NEG,

ké **bá** àjí nág á kō kā sīsīrā
TEMP **REL** 3PL leave:PFV PFV place:DIST place:PROX now

'There are not many people, since they left this place here now.'⁹⁵

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

⁹⁵ The use of both a distal form and a proximal form of 'place' in this clause is peculiar and currently unexplained.

(812)	lillèm	ké	bá	⁺ á	jútí	jí	â
	good	when	REL	2SG.S.PFV	give	thing	REL

'It is good to give things (away).' (lit.: 'It is good when you give things.')

(session_187, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(813)	ú	pé	⁺ tór	á	à	kòm
	3SG	come	fall:PFV	PFV	LOC	place

ké	ba	⁺ í	lútí	m	k-ájwí	â
TEMP	REL	3PL	lay.down:CAUS:PFV	1SG.O	ADVZ-new	REL

'He has come to visit the place during the time that I am appointed king.'

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

17.5.1.2 Temporal clauses with *àsúmà* 'when', *àsūwā* 'when' and *hár* 'until'

àsúmà and *àsūwā* have both been found introducing adverbial clauses with a temporal meaning (functioning like English 'when'). It is not clear how these adverbial clauses are different from clauses introduced with the complementizer *kó ba-* (§ 17.3). *àsúmà* and *àsūwā* may be historically complex but cannot be segmented synchronically. In (814), the adverbial clause is expressed by a relative clause, so the final vowel *â* of *àsūwā* seems to be related to the relative marker *â*. No evidence of a relative clause is found in (815): the final vowel has a L tone, and there is no clause-final *â*. Given that this clause-final marker is optional in relative clauses, it is still possible that *àsúmà* contains a relativizer and that (815) contains a relative clause. Since this is the only example of a temporal clause with *àsúmà* in my data, I cannot provide a definitive analysis.

(814)	àsūwā	ŋká	jí	tòr	pé	líf	bér	â
	when:REL	thunder	arrive:PFV	fall	come	on	tree	REL

'When lightning struck the tree (she died).'

(session_007, Garba Abubakar Bako, narrative)

(815)	àsúmà	àlénj	jí	†ʃɔb	tán	pè	àgèr	k-áʃō
	when:REL?	sun	arrive:PFV	be.hot	stay	come	outside	ADVZ-hot
		jāŋjī	jāŋjī, àŋá	†pé,				
		quickly	quickly,person:REL	come,				
		àwú	jág	jí	tīg	ú	rē	sīrī
		3SG	take	thing	cover:FV	3SG:POSS	EMPH	completely

‘When the sun quickly shone out with warmth, the man that had come took off all of his cloak.’

(session_314, Danjuma Bello, narrative)

hár also has only one clear example in the data where it introduces a temporal clause.

(816)	í	jág	jí	†dʒí	á	wɛ
	3PL	take:PFV	thing	dig	PFV	EMPH
	hár	í	pé	†gbó	pé	†ŋwé
	until	3PL	come:PFV	stream	come	mouth
						sùm

‘They dug until they came to the stream, to the mouth of the lake.’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

17.5.1.3 Reasons and consequences (*māmbā* ‘that is why’ and *àŋá* ‘because, since’)

The conjunction *māmbā* ‘that is why’ also serves as a discourse marker. As a conjunction, it is attested in only a few examples in the current corpus. It introduces consequences of an earlier mentioned action. Its last syllable (*bā*) likely derives from the relativizer *bā*, since the adverbial clauses that go together with this conjunction are relative clauses. It is unclear where the first syllable (*mām*) stems from.

- (817) ikā **māmbá** sùm gím jí á kā
 then **that.is.why:REL** lake tear:PFV stand REL ?⁹⁶
 '(They dug the banks of the river away.) That is why the lake tore.'
 (session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

àpná ⁺lib (analyzable as ‘thing:REL head’) introduces adverbial clauses that signal reasons why the event described in the previous clause happened.

- (818) àpná ⁺lib sòm ò ...
thing:REL **head** lake DIST ...

 gèr rè dʒór sāŋ kā
 outside IPFV descend go ?⁹⁶

 '(They dug the banks of the river away) so that the lake would be gushing down.'
- (session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (819) ànèván mí ā dín ɳwá ⁺ú
 man some REL meet friend 3SG:POSS

 já ⁺lip ⁺bén ⁺táb á ⁺kósí à ɳwé márê
thing:REL **head** talk fish REL gather:PFV LOC mouth river

 'A man met his friend because of an issue of fish gathered at the river bank.'

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

17.5.1.4 Manner clauses with *àrí bā* and *àmīnā*

Both of these items have a similar meaning and are often translated by my consultants as ‘like this’. They are fairly poorly attested in my data as conjunctions. *àrí bā* is composed of the similitative preposition *àrí* ‘like’ and the relativized demonstrative *bā*. *àmīnā* is synchronically unanalyzable but is probably related to the presentative demonstrative *míná*. They are frequently found as floor holders, similar to ‘like’ in English.

⁹⁶ The function of *kā* here is unclear. It appears to be semantically empty.

In those contexts, they can be literally translated as ‘like this’. The following two examples show them as conjunctions.

(820)	ú	pé	[†] dóg	ré	nùŋ	ú	rə,
	3SG	come:PFV	see	COM	eye	3SG:POSS	EMPH
	àrí	bá	jákú	jō	tán	pé	
	like	this:REL	ancestor	PL	stay	come	

‘He came to see it with his eyes, how (his) ancestors stayed here.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

(821)	àmīnā	í	ré	jág	kùb	sàŋ	máré
	like.this	3PL	IPFV	take	be.weak	go	river
‘(The lake flooded ...) and like that they were drowning in the river.’							

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

17.5.1.5 Purposive clauses with *kô*

The following examples illustrate the use of the purposive conjunction *kô*. Note that in examples (823) and (824) the subject is not repeated after *kô* and that the verb after *kô* is not marked for tense or aspect in those examples. This makes the construction in these examples syntactically similar to a multi-verb construction (cf. § 12.5.5). This may be a hint that *kô*, which is not currently found as a lexical verb in Kam, may derive from a verb, and that this purposive adverbial clause construction may be a grammaticalized instance of a multi-verb construction. Example (822), unambiguously shows *kô* as a conjunction. To corroborate or reject this hypothesis, we need more examples than what is available in the current corpus.

(822)	jì	mí	ā	ú	ré	láb	dʒērī,
	thing	certain	PROX	3SG	IPFV	hide	look,
	kô	àwú	dógi		ntèkù	dógi	
	PURP	3SG	see:FUT		toad	see	

‘He was secretly looking at something, so that he would see the toad.’

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

- (823) ì rè pè rè **kô** dôg ré ⁺mísí
 1PL IPFV come EMPH **PURP** see EMPH again
 ‘We are coming to see it again.’

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (824) ì pé **kô** tûbî jág á rē
 1PL come:PFV **PURP** start work PROX EMPH
 ‘We came to start the work (where we left yesterday).’

(session_053, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

17.5.1.6 Negative conditional and apprehensive clauses (*sīkā* ‘if not, lest’)

sīkā can be used both as a negative conditional coordinator meaning ‘if this is not the case’ (825) and as an apprehensive coordinator corresponding to English ‘lest’ (825), (827). It is not synchronically analyzable but may be related to the conditional marker *kā* (cf. § 17.5.2).

- (825) mā jò béní
 and 2PL say:PFV
- ijí ⁺bàŋ sìrī kā, ...
 QUOT alcohol be.NEG ?⁹⁷
- sīkā í jé kô sógí pêh sùwā?
 if.not 3PL go:PFV PURP search come TAG

‘And you people say that the alcohol is finished, right? ... If not, they should go and search for it.’

(session_271, Danjuma Bello, conversation)

⁹⁷ The function of *kā* here is unclear. It appears to be semantically empty.

- (826) ì wóg èwàn à, sīkā í pé [†]gúq èwàn ...
 1PL hide:FUT king PROX, lest 3PL come catch:FUT king ...
 'We will hide the king, lest they will come and catch (our) king.'

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (827) í tín gópsí,
 3PL move:PFV separate,

 sīkā àjí sámri kèm sámri.
 lest 3PL spoil:FUT place spoil

'(The Kam say that) they moved away, lest they (the Jukun) will ruin the place.'

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

17.5.2 Conditional clauses with the clause-final conditional marker *kā*

Conditions are coded with the clause-final particle *kā*. *kā* follows all other particles, including the negator *hñ*. No examples have been observed where it co-occurs with the interrogative marker *jī*, so their relative positions are uncertain. In a construction where a condition is given for a certain situation to actualize, the order is usually condition then situation. Other orders are possible too, however.

- (828) jì mí [†]dé bé kā, bén má [†]júrú
 thing some be PRSTT COND, say give 1PL.O
 'If there is anything, tell us.'

(session_056, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

- (829) jò dóg jí nīmī hñ kā,
 2PL see:NEG.NFUTthing ADJ:eat:ADJ NEG COND,

 jò ré [†]jéb-í mákáràntà hñ.
 2PL NEG:FUT go\NEG:FUT-FV school NEG.

'If you people do not see food, you people will not go to school.'

(session_271, Wesam, conversation)

(830)	gì	jī	jà	bòrì	já	rè	síní	gê,	ànā,
	what	Q	person	ADJ:climb	2SG:POSS	IPFV	do-i	what,	today,
á		jéb	jérī	hñ	kà,				
2SG.S.FUT		go:FUTsee	NEG	COND,					
jì	gé	á		hwál	gì	jī?			
thing	what	2SG.S.PFV	think	what	Q				

‘What is your brother doing today, if you don’t go see him, do you think?’

(session_290, David Mark, elicitation)

kà is often used to mark the first event in a chronological sequence of two events. In that sense, it is not just a conditional marker but also a sequential marker:

(831)	àwú	sáj	áj ⁺ gwóg	án ⁺ á	ú	jò	kà,
	3SG	go\PFV	house	father	3SG ^{NS}	PL	COND,
àléb,	àwú	sín		†ní	nīm-ī,		
evening,	3SG	make\FUT	thing	eat:ADJ-FV,			
ú	jág		mísí	pê			
3SG	carry\FUT	again	come				

‘When she goes back to her parents’ house, in the evening, she will prepare food and she will bring it back (to you).’

(session_076, Adamu S. Baka, narrative)

17.6 Reported speech and thought

17.6.1 The quotative marker *íjí^L*

Reported speech and thought can be introduced with the quotative marker *íjí^L*. It most commonly follows the verb *bén* ‘to say’ but can also occur with other reporting verbs. It has been attested with *túsí* ‘to show’, *yār* ‘to tell’, *másí* ‘to know’, *hwár* ‘to think’, *jìb* ‘to ask’, and *wūrī* ‘answer, accept’, agree?’ (see examples in § 8.6). Most verbs preceding this quotative marker feature a final vowel *-i* (cf. § 12.2), except if they are followed by the optional perfective marker *à*. There are a number of alternative forms of the quotative marker. One form, *ibí^L* (a prosodically weak stem, pronounced as [íβí]) is an idiolectal variant, used by some speakers (such as Babangida Audu) but not by others (such as Solomon Ahmadu). It may be dialectal, but I do not have the relevant data to confirm this. There are also two reduced forms, *i* and *á*. The tone of the quotative marker also varies between H-H^L and H-H (for disyllabic forms) and between HL and L (for reduced forms). It is not clear whether Kam distinguishes direct from indirect speech.

(832)	àwú	béní	íjí	*sánj	â	fóg
	3PL	say:FV	QUOT:LOG.SG	go:PFV	LOC	farm

‘He_i said that he_i went to the farm.’

(session_363, David Mamuda, elicitation)

(833)	àwú	béní	íbí	*sánj	â	fóg
	3SG	say:FV	QUOT:LOG.SG	go:PFV	LOC	farm

‘He said that he went to the farm’

(session_363, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

(834)	lámé	*bén	â	í	kùl	tór	jéb.
	hare	say:PFV	PFV	QUOT	tortoise	fall:PFV	go

‘The hare said that the tortoise should fall inside (the pond).’

(session_277, Wesam, narrative)

(835)	í	sí	*béní	á	gé	sín	gì	jí?
	3PL	SEQ	say:PFV:QUOT	QUOT	what	do	what	Q

‘They then said: “What happened?”

(session_020, Yuguda Manti, narrative)

The reporting verb can be left out, leaving only the quotative marker followed by the reported discourse.

- (836) **íjí** vág júrú sīrī kō bē
 QUOT border 1PL.O be.NEGplace:DIST PRSTT
 '(They said) that our boundary is not there.'
 (session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (837) **íjí** ⁺sóg pè bā,
 QUOT:3PL search:PFV come EMPH,

 í ⁺jé kō sóg pé bē
 QUOT:3PL go:PFV PURP search come PRSTT.

'(We suggested) that they look for it, that they go searching for it.'

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Example (837) shows that, when *íjí^L* is followed by the third person plural pronoun *àjí*, the pronoun merges with the quotative marker. The same is true when the quotative marker is followed by the singular logophoric pronoun *í* (cf. § 8.6).

- (838) ú béní **í** rè pè pí⁺káŋ
 3SG say:FV QUOT:LOG.SG IPFV come tomorrow
 'He said that he is coming tomorrow.'
 (Tope-Bitrus_03, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (839) àní mí ⁺wúr â
 person some answer PFV

 íjí á ⁺fáří njwé kòm énté à
 QUOT:LOG.SG REL open:PFV mouth place small REL

'Someone_i answered that he_i is the one who opened the window.'

(session_054, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, elicitation)

The quotative marker is also used to identify proper names (cf. § 15.2.4).

- (840) gán ém [†]ijí bùbàkàr
 name 1SG:POSS QUOT Abubakar
 'My name is Abubakar'
 (session_003, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

- (841) ànjá mà gán ú [†]ijí bùbàkàr à
 person:REL some:REL name 3SG:POSS QUOT Abubakar REL
 'A certain person whose name is Abubakar ...'
 (adapted from session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)

17.6.2 Reported speech without overt quotative marker

In just a few instances, the quotative marker was omitted and a pause was left between the reporting verb and the reported speech. In a few examples, both the verb and the quotative marker are dropped. It is not clear how natural such omissions are or whether they have something to do with the distinction between direct and indirect speech. This distinction has not been investigated in Kam.

- (842) jàkúb [†]bén, ní déb àfàm ʃàr
 Jakob say:PFV, 1SG.S.PFV buy:PFV meat three
 'Jakob says: "I bought three (pieces of) meat".'

- (843) jàkúbú [†]bén mā gàmbó,
 Jakob say:PFV give Gambo,

 á ním jí àfàm sīrī?
 2SG.S.PFV eat:PFV thing meat completely?

'Jakob says to Gambo: "Did you eat your meat?"'

(844) àfí bú bī,
 child 3SG:POSS one,

Gàmbó mág ⁺kímí mfàm ú hn
 Gambo NEG eat:PFV meat 3SG:POSS NEG

‘One of his children (says): “Gambo did not eat his meat”.’

(845) Gàmbō, m̄ m̄, àbìràg á íj kím bím.
 Gambo, no, vegetable REL 1SG.S.PFV eat:PFV only.
 “Gambo (says): “No, I only ate vegetables.””

18 Information structure

A comprehensive analysis of information structure in Kam is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Here, I present a basic description of a number of markers and constructions. These were difficult to analyze in terms of traditional nominal, verbal or adverbial categories. I focus on presenting relevant data. Terminology and specific analyses are preliminary. The topics I consider in this chapter are clefts, which can mark focus (§ 18.1), the marker *dʒɛ̄* marking topic and emphasis (§ 18.2), discourse-cohesive uses of the presentative demonstrative *bɛ̄* (§ 18.3) and two emphatic markers with currently little understood functions: *rīg* (§ 18.4) and *nɛ̄* (§ 18.5).

18.1 The cleft construction marking focus

Clefts may introduce new referents which may be contrasted with earlier introduced referents or which may provide new information about an already introduced state of affairs. (846) shows the basic structure of relative clauses, which form the basis of cleft constructions (cf. § 17.2)

(846) [N] + ā + [relative clause] (+ à)

A cleft construction allows referents utterance-initially that would occur utterance-finally or utterance-medially in main clauses not preceded by clefts. For instance, main clauses always have SVO order ('I washed a shirt', (847))a. A cleft strategy allows the object referent of a main clause ('a shirt') to be encoded utterance-initially in its corresponding cleft construction ('It is a shirt that I washed', (847))b.). I did not find any instances of a cleft construction introducing new subjects. New subjects may be introduced by other means.

(847) a.

mí	fér	é ⁺ fú
1SG:PFV	wash:PFV	shirt
'I washed a shirt.'		

b.

àfú	á,	mí	fér
shirt	REL,	1SG	wash:PFV
'It is a shirt that I washed.'			

(constructed examples)

Example (848) shows a clear case of contrastive focus. The first clause describes what type of meat the speaker did not eat, and the second clause, a cleft construction, introduces a new referent contrasting with the subject of the first clause: the type of meat that the speaker *did* eat.

(848)	mí	màg	ním	àfàm	nág	hñ.
	1SG.S.NEG.NFUT	NEG	eat	meat	cow	NEG.
	ìmfàm	ìpírí	á,	ń	kím	
	meat	goat	REL,	1SG.S.PFV	eat:PFV	

'I did not eat cow meat. It was goat meat that I ate.'

(session_285, Babangida Audu, elicitation)

In (849), a state of affairs is introduced where a group of jihadi raiders were taken prisoner by the Kam and held as slaves. The second and third clauses, instances of the cleft construction, introduce supplementary information about who exactly was taken slave.

(849)	í	ʃúg	í	jág	*ké	pínî.
	3PL	catch:PFV	3PL	take	INSTR	slave.
	zág	jí	gbàn	jō,	í	ʃúg
	side	person	female	PL:REL,	3PL	catch:PFV
	zág	jí	vān	mā,	í	ʃúg
	side	person	male	some:REL,	3PL	catch:PFV
						â.
						REL.

‘They (the Kam) captured them (the intruders) as slaves. They captured women. They captured some men.’

(session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Example (850) is taken from the description of a criminal trial in which the political king of Kam judges someone who has committed various murders. The king calls the perpetrator to him, subjects him to a test which verifies his guilt, and then banishes him. The cleft construction, “It is in this land that we don’t want bad things”, has to be understood within the perspective of this banishment. The king says that he does not want evil things to happen in *this* land, that the murderer and his actions do not fit in the society he wants to represent, and that he should move to another place, away from the Kam country. The focus construction introduces the decision to banish the murderer.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|------------|----------|-------|---------------|------|
| (850) | àwàn | bén: | | | | | | |
| | king | say:PFV | | | | | | |
| | “ àbìbí | á | mā, | ì | wúrí | jì | í-sāmrī | hìn. |
| | “ land | REL | certain:REL, | 1PL | want:PFV | thing | ADJ-spoil:ADJ | NEG. |
| | àjì | míná | ré | tám | á | †jí. | | |
| | world | PRSTT | IPFV | grow | REL | stand | | |
| | jì | í-sāmrī | sī | bób | á | dʒē | à | kā, |
| | thing | ADJ-spoil:ADJ | SEQ | come.out | PFV | TOP | EMPH | COND |
| | rè | sìn | nè | hìn.” | | | | |
| | IPFV | do | EMPH | NEG.” | | | | |

‘The king said: “In this land, we don’t want bad things. This world that has been developing (lit. ‘growing’). And now, if something bad comes out, it won’t work.”’

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

In § 16.1.2.2, I introduced a cleft structure with the interrogative modifier *mīnā* ‘which [N]?, what [N]?’¹⁰, which is a variation of the cleft constructions discussed in this section.

*18.2 Topic shift and emphasis with *dʒē**

The marker *dʒē* has a variety of different uses. It can also be found as *dʒī*, *dʒā* and *dʒē*.

Speakers use *dʒɛ* to introduce or change a topic in discourse. *dʒɛ* follows noun phrases that are introduced as a new topic. (851) is a question where a new person gets involved in the discourse situation. This person becomes the new topic of the conversation as information is inquired about them.

- (851) **jà dʒɛ́, á ré †jébí hñ?**
2SG.ID TOP, 2SG.S.FUT NEG.FUT go:NEG.FUT:FUT NEG
‘What of you, won’t you go?’
(session 357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

In (852), a speaker is recounting events that happened the day before, and in the third clause shifts the topic and time frame from yesterday's (*àlilé*) course of events to today's (*ànā*) plans.

(852)	ní	nág	á	kă	ā [†] lilé	ké	kárfé	jírak.
	1SG.S.PFV	leave:PFV	LOC	here	yesterday	TEMP	hour	two.
	mí	mérə	sáñ.					
	1SG.S.PFV	return	go:PFV.					
	ànā	dʒē	mí	mér	á	pè.		
	today	TOP	1SG.S.PFV	return:PFV	PFV	come.		
	i	pè	kô	túbí	*jág	á	rə	
	1PL	come:PFV	PURP	start:PFV	work	PFV	EMPH	

'I left here yesterday at two o' clock. I went back (home). Today I came back. We came here to start the work.'

(session_053, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

(853) comes from a narrative where the king of Kam recounts a disagreement between two men that has escalated into violence. After he explains the case, he briefly takes a step back and focuses on the stability that he thinks should be upheld in Kam land. Here, the topic marker *dʒē* also distances the Kam from the troublemakers, who are apparently from another ethnic group.

(853)	tò,	jùrù	dʒē ,	àjì	ŋwòm,				
	so,	1PL	TOP ,	world	Kam				
kébá	i	dʒóŋ	kóm	jōŋ	pə̄	rə̄,			
since	1PL	sit:PFV	place	ADJ:sit	come	EMPH,			
àjì	jákú		júrú		†á,				
world	ancestor		1PL:POSS		PRSTT,				
wò	nár		ébì	rə̄		hñ.			
blood	drip:NEG.FUT	ground	NEG.FUT		NEG				
i	sín		á-sāmrī	rə̄		hñ			
1PL	do:NEG:FUT	ADJ-spoil:ADJ	NEG.FUT		NEG				
tò,	bó		†tán	à,	àjí	sú	jì	mí	†á
so,	DIST:REL	stand	REL,	3PL	ethnicity		thing	some	PRSTT
i	wūrī	kébá	†wó	i		†nár	ébì	à	hñ
1PL	want	when	blood	3PL:POSS	drop:PFV		down	REL	NEG

‘So, as for us, the Kam land: when we live here in this place – it is the land of our ancestors –, there will be no bloodshed. We cannot do anything bad. So, that thing (that we discussed), they are another ethnicity. We do not want their blood to be shed.’

(session_048, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

Finally, (854) gives a fragment of a story where a criminal is brought to the king's court to be judged. The first three clauses tell the sequence of events of his arrival at the palace: he is accused, he is brought to the palace, and he is trialed. Then, the topic shifts to the result of the trial, and the outcome is presented

(854)	í	pé	*bír	ú	nùŋj.			
	3PL	come:PFV	blow:PFV	3SG	eye			
	ànùŋj	á	í	pé	*bír	ú	á	dʒé,
	eye	REL	3PL	come:PFV	blow:PFV	3SG	REL	TOP,
	ʈfúg		ú	á	jági	ké		
	catch:PFV		3SG	PFV	take	INSTR		
	jí	sámri	á	àwú	sín	â		
	thing	spoil:ADJ	REL	3SG	do:PFV	REL		

'They came and brought him to trial. That trial that they brought him to, it confirmed his guilt (lit. 'They came and blew into his eye. The eye that they blew, it caught him with the bad things that he had done').'

Context: 'He did something bad. Then they took him here to the palace of the king. They came and brought him to trial. **That trial that they brought him to, it** confirmed his guilt.'

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

I also found *dʒé* in some unrelated syntactic contexts following verbs. In (855), *dʒé* occurs after an imperative verb and urges the hearer to start telling his story. In (856), it is used after a simple clause. My informants translated *dʒé* here as 'finally'. Like the examples given above, both (855) and (856) mark a shift in topic. The difference is that here the topic is not present in the clause as a noun phrase. It is implicit: in (855) the hearer is urged to start the new topic, and in (856) the following chapter of a story is announced.

(855)	bímbén	dʒé						
	~say	TOP						
	'go ahead, start talking'							
	(session_019, Awunu Yakubu, conversation)							

- (856) m̄, gbán á **dʒɪ** kā
 mm, arrive PFV **TOP** COND
 ‘so, when (the day) finally arrives ...’
 (session_254, Shawuya, narrative)

18.3 Emphatic uses of the presentative demonstrative b̄

In § 9.2.2, I discussed the presentative demonstrative *b̄*. It is mostly used as an emphatic marker in clauses.

- (857) àjí r̄é **+wó** **b̄é** r̄è ɳwāb
 3PL COM **dog** **PRSTT** COM all
 ‘(They are still looking for the frog,) he and the dog, all of them.’
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)
- (858) **àfjɔ́r** **b̄é** mína bá gágár á **+tán-ì** gáŋ à
 bee **PRSTTPRSTT** REL hang:PFV PFV stand-FV up REL
 ‘See the bee(hive) here, that hangs down (up on the tree).’
 (session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

(859) mè ñtèkù bē dʒē míná bá kú bá
 mother frog PRSTT TOP PRSTT PROX become.weak PFV

lù rè ïkám ãi bú jò à
 lay.down COM rest child 3SG:POSS PL PFV

‘The mother frog here is laying down with the rest of her children.’

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

bē can also occur immediately following verbs, however. Here, it can also be translated as ‘then’, ‘now’, or ‘there you go’. It highlights what happens next, after what came before in a narrative, for example.

(860) àwú fírí wūrī kíbá jág bē ʃɔr ʃùg jàg à
 3SG.S jump want COMP grab PRSTT bee catch grab PFV

‘Then/now/there you go, he jumps and wants to grab and catch the bee here.’

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

(861) àlítírî dʒē būbbōb pē [†]bē lēb gùm bēr
 hawk TOP ?~come.out come PRSTT inside hole tree

‘(When the dog fell out of the tree,) then (suddenly) a hawk came out of the tree hole.’

(session_181, Babangida Audu, narrative)

In (862) and (863), *bē* follows entire clauses. If it is left out, my consultants explained, the soaking of the alcohol does not entail any link with the return of the person mentioned in the first part of the sentence. In (863), *bē* appears to link back in some way to the alcohol or the event of soaking the alcohol, for which the participants of a certain festival have to take off their clothes.

(862) àwú ré mèrè pè, í bōg ébàŋ à bē.
 3SG IPFV return come 3PL soak:PFV alcohol PFV PRSTT

‘(As) he’s coming back, there you go, they brewed the beer.’

(session_357, Shawuya, narrative)

(863)	í	bóg	ébàj	à	kā	bɛ̄,	àbàj	túttūbī ...
	3PL	soak:PFV		alcohol PROX	COND	PRSTT,		alcohol FUT~start
	í	túsì	kpò	bɛ̄.				
	3PL	show:FUT	body	PRSTT.				

‘There you go, after they soaked the alcohol, the alcohol will then start ... and then they will show their body.’

(session_357, Shawuya, narrative)

18.4 Emphatic marker *rīg* (or *rā*)

The emphatic marker *rīg* (or *rā*) occurs clause-finally before any clausal adverbials and negators. I have found *rīg* in many different functions, for example stressing that something is the case, counter to expectation (864), or as a modal particle that can be translated as ‘also’ into English (865).

(864)	mí	másí	rīg	
	1SG.S.PFV	know:PFV	EMPH	
‘I do know.’ (countering some assumption or expectation that the speaker doesn’t know.)				

(session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

(865)	ní	ʃüg	ènág	rā	
	1SG.S.FUT	do:FUT	work	EMPH	
‘I also want to work.’					

(session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

Other examples include the following.

(866)	àwú	jág	jí	tīg	ú	rā	sīrī
	3SG	take	thing	cover:FV	3SG:POSS	EMPH	completely
‘[When the sun quickly shone out with warmth,] he took of all of his cloak.’							

(session_314, Danjuma Bello, narrative)

(867)	ú	pé	ʳdóg	ré	nùŋ	ú	rā
	3SG	come:PFV	see	COM	eye	3SG:POSS	EMPH
‘He came to see it with his eyes.’							

(session_052, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (868) tʃāmbā dē lèb jí ŋwòm rā
 Chamba be inside person Kam **EMPH**
 There are Chamba among the Kam people.
 (session_191, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

- (869) i pè kō túbí *jág á rā
 1PL come PURP start:PFV work PFV **EMPH**
 'We came to start the work.'
 (session_053, Muhammad Bose Yuguda, narrative)

rīg is very often found in an affirmative predicative possession construction. There is no semantic difference between clauses that have *rīg* and those that do not (871). Such clauses do occur more frequently with *rīg* than without, however, and consultants express that the construction with *rīg* is preferred.

- (870) ní dē ré *ʃóm rīg
 1SG be COM hoe **EMPH**
 'I have a hoe.'
 (session_071, Isa Sarkin Dawa, elicitation)
- (871) ntèkù dē ré fù (rīg)
 toad be COM pregnancy **EMPH**
 'The toad is pregnant.'
 (session_357, Rahab Garba Precious, elicitation)

rīg is obligatory in the negative predicative possessive construction (cf. § 15.2.1). It is also likely that the postverbal negative future marker *rā* is related to the emphasis marker *rīg*, although it probably does not have any emphatic meaning in that context (cf. § 13.1 and § 13.6.2).

18.5 Emphatic marker *nè*

Kam allows the use of *nè*, an emphatic marker borrowed from Hausa (*ne*) (cf. Jaggar 2001: 508-510).⁹⁸ This marker appears in both affirmative and negative, imperative and declarative clauses. It has scope over the whole clause. In negative clauses, I have currently only found *nè* in the slot before negators ((873), (874)). In Hausa, it can also occur after clause-final negators.

⁹⁸ Hausa also has a feminine emphatic marker, *ce*, which is not borrowed into Kam.

(872) jéb ŋgwóg wàn nè
 go house king EMPH

'Go to the house of the king!'

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

(873) ké jéb ŋgwóg wàn nè gà
 NEG:IMPgo house king EMPH NEG:IMP

'Don't go to the house of the king!'

(Tope_Bitrus_06, Garba Abubakar Bako, elicitation)

(874) rè sìn nè hì
 IPFV do EMPH NEG

'It is not doing (it)', i.e. 'It cannot work like this.'

(session_051, Isa Sarkin Dawa, narrative)

19 Minimal clauses: interjections

Interjections form a word class that cannot combine with other syntactic items to form a clause⁹⁹. They are always a separate utterance. Functionally, they are characterized by expressive and socio-pragmatic functions rather than propositional meaning. Most of them can be described as backchannels. They are by no means a ‘minor’ linguistic category in the language, since they are so frequent and are so important in natural conversation, in terms of turn-taking and discourse-related functions.

Each interjection has a wide variety of specific functions that differ according to the discourse context in which it is used, and it is difficult to abstract across these functions to find a general meaning for each. Functions of interjections include the expression of surprise, disbelief, endorsement, disagreement, humility, hesitation, delight, insistence, encouragement, discouragement, understanding, misunderstanding and a request for repair, anger, fear, relief, etc. At some times, they express emotions. At other times they are essential discourse tools and serve as expected cues to show that someone is following a conversation. In some cases, they may be considered formulaic.

Probably because of their important social and expressive functions, their generally high salience in speech, their flexibility to be used in many different contexts and their high frequency, they are very memetic, very easy to mimic and very easy to pick up and integrate into one’s own speech. As a result, interjections are very easily borrowed from one language into another (cf. e.g. Matras 2007; Andersen 2014). Most of the interjections found in Kam are also found in many other languages in the region. Some items are identified by my consultants as not Kam (although they are frequently used in Kam discourse), and some items are identified as purely Kam, not borrowed from or occurring in any other languages (although some of these interjections generally do occur elsewhere, such as *m* for ‘yes’ and *m m* for ‘no’ – according to my consultants, these do not have a fixed tone).

A list of general interjections is given here. It is not exhaustive, but it exemplifies the range of items and emotions and functions that are expressed by interjections, as well as some typical phonological

⁹⁹ I do not specifically discuss any other minimal utterances than interjections. Any noun phrase, prepositional phrase, verb and adverbial modifier can occur on its own, forming a minimal utterance. These are all described in their respective sections. At a later stage in the description and documentation of Kam, I plan to include a fuller discussion of such minimal clauses as vocatives, insults, greetings, other formulaic expressions and elliptic clauses (cf. Elders 2000:584 -600).

properties. All of these interjections are also found in other languages in the area, possibly with different shades of meaning.

- ee* (no associated tone) agreement, compliance (identified as Hausa by consultants)
- aa* (no associated tone) agreement, compliance
- ?a?a* (no associated tone) disagreement, noncompliance (identified as Hausa by consultants)
- ɛ↓* (ingressive ε; can also be other sounds, sometimes *m↓*, an ingressive bilabial nasal; both eyebrows are raised while inhaling, and head is tilted lightly backwards for a moment) agreement, confirmation
- γ* (back-released uvular click with closed lips) agreement, compliance (see also Lionnet [to appear]),
- γγ* (two back-released uvular clicks with closed lips) disagreement, noncompliance
- éé* insistence while offering something
- ?a?á* surprise, disbelief, endorsement of a previous statement
- ṁ̬ṁ̬* strong agreement with and endorsement of a previous statement, encouragement, delight, relief
- mmm* (no associated tone) doubt, reluctance to answer, reluctance to agree or disagree with a statement
- kà* agreement, satisfaction, generally translatable as ‘OK’
- wéjjj* endorsement, agreement, delight, humor, empathy
- wájjj* endorsement, agreement, delight, humor, empathy
- wàné* delight, humor
- èhēj* endorsement, agreement, empathy
- jáwwàà* endorsement, agreement, delight (from Hausa or Fulfulde, where it has the same form).
- wájjòò* empathy
- ójjòò* empathy

- kaj* (no associated tone) surprise, disbelief, anger, dissatisfaction, frustration, empathy
 (a Hausa or Adamawa Fulfulde borrowing, where it has the same form). This item can also be repeated many times in a row quietly (*kaj kaj kaj kaj kaj*) to express agreement and empathy
- sss* call for attention

The following interjections are identified as Kam, and not (borrowed from) any other language, by my consultants.

- m* (no associated tone) agreement, compliance
- m?m* (no associated tone) disagreement, noncompliance
- óóój* agreement, call for attention
- o?o* (no associated tone) disagreement, noncompliance
- íj* insistence
- ŋŋ* hesitant acceptance to receive something
- támín* agreement, probably a short form of *tá?á mîn* ‘It happened like that.’
- dàr* humility, apology, translatable as “sorry”
- nùg* frustration, anger, dissatisfaction, translatable as ‘fuck!’

VI Part six: texts and lexicon

Texts

A fable

This fable tells the story of a man who dresses up like a woman. The king notices him, takes interest in him, and wants to marry him. The hare, however, spies on the man and notices that he is, in fact, male. When the hare tells the king about his discovery, the king is dismayed and decides to put the man to the test. He organizes a festival where each participant has to take off their clothes in order to receive traditional beer. The cross-dressing man hears about this plan, is afraid, and goes to the toad for help. The toad, who is female, agrees to exchange her sex with the man, who makes his transition into a woman. When the festival takes place and the participants have to take off their clothes, the woman appears to be female. Everybody turns on the hare, who fears for his life and runs off. The story then goes back to the toad, who turns out to have been pregnant when he exchanged his sex with the woman. He is unable to give birth to his children and dies.

I collected this fable in Sabongida Kamajim on October 18th, 2017, during a storytelling session with around twenty-five participants. The story was performed by a lady called Shawuya. The participants, mostly male, urged her to tell a story so that the recordings would not just represent the men of Kam but all of Kam society (session_254).



Figure 21 – Storytelling session with Shawuya in Sabongida Kamajim, 18th of October 2017

- (875) àfí ívān bīnī
child male one
One boy,
- (876) àwú jág kpá kōm kō jé jí ígbàn
3SG carry:PFV wrapper tie PURP go person female
he wears a wrapper to walk (like) a woman.
- (877) kpánjí dʒī, kpánjí dʒī hákā,
hang.out FOC hang.out FOC like.that
Moving around, moving around like this.
- (878) wáj! àwàñ jélí ká: wàñé
EXCL king see:PFV COND it.is.good
Hey! When the king sees them, (he thinks) it is good.
- (879) àgbàn á àwàñ ʃíní gbàn à jág
woman REL king betroth:PFV wife REL carry
This is the woman that the king wants to marry.
- (880) ú ʃíní ú dʒī à dʒè kā
3SG betroth:PFV 3SG FOC PFV FOC COND
When he has paid the dowry,¹⁰⁰
- (881) tò
so
then
- (882) bérì bā í jéb kpáj fijè
time REL 3PL go hang.out:PFV washing.place
The time that they (the women) go hang out at the river,

¹⁰⁰ The tone of *dʒè* is unexpected here. M tone is expected.

- (883) í ré lò kpò
3PL IPFV wash body
they are washing themselves,
- (884) ìkā lámé [†]dʒág níŋ ú à dògì. wéi!
then hare spy:PFV privates 3SG:POSS PFV see:FV EXCL
the hare spies on his private parts, hey!
- (885) ú pé à bén
3SG come:PFV PFV say
He comes (to the king and) says:
- (886) “àshìná, àwàn”
swear king
“I swear, king,”
- (887) “jná [†]á yfn á kà,”
person:REL 2SG.S.PFV betroth:PFV REL ?
“the person you paid a dowry for,”
- (888) “ànjí ígbàn á há?”
person female PRSTT eh
“(you think) she’s a woman, eh?”
- (889) “jnì ígbàn á dúddōgī hn̄, jní ívān á”
person female PRSTT ?~see NEG person male PRSTT
“She is not a woman, she is a man!”
- (890) jní ívān á, àwú jní ígbàn á hn̄
person male PRSTT,3SG person female PRSTT NEG
“She is a man, she is not a woman!”
- (891) “é k-ántērī wá? “
QUOT ADVZ-truth eh
(The king:) “Is that true?”

(892) “m̄”

yes

(The hare:) “Yes.”

(893) “í sín dʒá ò sìm?”

1PL do reason DIST how

(The king:) “What can we do about it?”¹⁰¹

(894) “jā Í r̄e s̄in r̄ ā k̄á h̄á”

thing:REL 1PL IPFV do EMPH REL ? eh

(The hare:) “What we are going to do (is this):”

(895) “jág ébàj̄, jág ébàj̄ bòg”

carry beer, carry bear soak

“Take beer, take beer, (and) soak it”

(i.e. prepare beer, organize a festival)

(896) “á jág ébàj̄ bòg kā, í túsi kpō”

2SG.S.PFV carry:PFV beer soak COND 3PL show:PFV body

“When you prepare beer, they show their body.”

(i.e. for the festival, they have to take off their clothes)

(897) tò

so

So,

(898) í jág ébàj̄ à, í jág bòg dʒí kā

3PL carry:PFV alcohol PFV 3PL carry:PFV soak FOC COND

They take the alcohol, and they soak it.

(899) í jág ébàj̄ à,

3PL carry:PFV beer PFV

When they take the beer

¹⁰¹ The translation of *dʒá* is not entirely clear here.

- (900) í jág dʒí bòg dʒí kā
 3PL carry:PFV FOC soak FOC COND
 and they soak it,
- (901) àní ígbàn dʒélí míń
 person female see:PFV thus
 The woman sees it.
- (902) àwú dʒé, *ú másí hñ
 3SG TOP, 3SG know:PFV NEG
 He does not know (of the plan).
- (903) jní dʒé má r̩á
 person TOP know EMPH
 (Other) people do know.
- (904) àní ígbàn mé sì pè bén mó
 person female some SEQ come say:PFV give:3SG
 Some woman then tells her:
- (905) “dʒèlì, jà há”
 see 2SG.ID eh
 “See, you, eh”
- (906) “kòm dʒōŋ já,”
 place ADJ:sit 2SG:POSS
 “Your living space,”
- (907) “á dʒóŋ élèb ñwóg á hā”
 2SG.S.PFV sit:PFV inside house PROX eh
 “(as) you sit inside this house, eh”
- (908) “í dé kó bímbēní kpóŋ *líb já wànē”
 3PL be PURP talk always on 2SG:POSS it.is.good
 “They are always talking about you.”

- (909) “í jâ ...”
QUOT 2SG.ID
“That you ...”

(910) “í jâ jí vān á, í jâ jí ígbàn á hn̄”
QUOT 2SG.ID person male PRSTT QUOT 2SG.ID person female PRSTT NEG
“They say that you are a man, they say that you are not a woman.”

(911) “í jâ jí vān á”
QUOT 2SG.ID person male PRSTT
“They say that you are a man.”

(912) “í bōg ébàŋ à kà bē.”
3PL soak beer PFV ? PRSTT
“Then they soak the alcohol.”

(913) “àbàŋ tutúbí, í túsi kpò”
alcohol FUT~start 3PL show:FUT body
“the alcohol will start, and they will show their body.”¹⁰²

(914) m̄ bén mā,
1SG.S.PFV say:PFV give:2SG.O
“I tell you (this)”

(915) à m̄sí hí kā
2SG.S.NEG.NFUT know NEG COND
“in case you did not know.”

(916) àní ígbàn jág á dʒɔŋ kò dèr jībī
person female carry:PFV PFV sit ? belly ?
The woman sits and is worried.¹⁰³

¹⁰² The tone of *tìttúbí* ‘to start’ is unexpected here.

¹⁰³ The analysis of this clause is unclear. *kò dèr jībī* appears to mean something like ‘with a worried belly’.

- (917) ú láŋ ékpò kā, ú ním hn
 3SG cook:PFV food COND 3SG eat NEG

When she cooks food, she doesn't eat it.

- (918) jì ívān ā mā jí ígbàn á
 person man PRSTT but person woman PRSTT

It is a man, but also a woman.

- (919) ú pé *jág á dʒɔŋ
 3PL come carry:PFV PFV sit

She sits down

- (920) kò dèd jībī, kò dèd jībī dʒī kā hákà
 ? belly ? ? belly ? FOC ? like.that

and is worried.¹⁰⁴

- (921) àléŋ mí, māmbā,
 day some that.is.how.

That is how, one day,

- (922) ú fúg é *jé bú
 3PL do:PFV arm 3SG:POSS
 she takes her arm.¹⁰⁵

- (923) ú sáŋ, ú jéb jéb,
 3SG walk:PFV, 3SG go:PFV go

She goes for a walk, she goes and goes.

- (924) ú gbáŋ kā, ñtékù mína tánì ló kpó à
 3SG arrive:PFV COND, toad PRSTT stand wash body PFV
 When she arrives, a toad is washing itself.

¹⁰⁴ *kò dèd jībī* appears to mean something like 'with a worried belly'. The analysis of this phrase is unclear.

¹⁰⁵ I am not certain of the analysis of this clause.

- (925) ñtèkù rè ló kpó
toad IPFV wash body
The toad is washing itself.
- (926) ú kúntí bì, ú jīb ñjwé ré ñtèkù¹
3SG bend:PFV ground, 3SG greet:PFV mouth COM toad
She bends down, and she greets the toad.
- (927) ñtèkù: “m̄?”
toad yes
(The toad:) “Yes?”
- (928) “tán sìm jī?”
stand how Q
(The woman:) “How are you?”
- (929) “tán jí hn̄.”
stand thing NEG
(The toad:) “There’s nothing.” (i.e. ‘I’m fine.’)
- (930) í *jnéb á, í *jnéb á pè kà hā
LOG.SG go:PFV PFV LOG.SG go:PFV PFV come ? eh
(The woman says that) she has gone here (because)
- (931) í bóg àbàŋ kā bē, í túsi kpò bē,
3PL soak:FUT beer COND PRSTT,3PL show:FUT body COND
when they will soak beer, they will show their body.
- (932) ikā, í jí ívān á.
then LOG.SG person male PRSTT
Then, that she is a man.
- (933) jí ívān pè jfíní m̄ á jàg
person male come pay.dowry:PFV 1SG.O PFV carry
(The woman:) “A man has paid my dowry.”

- (934) é í [†]jí ígbàn á
 QUOT LOG.SG person female PRSTT
 (That she says) that she is a woman.
- (935) tʃíní jág hàkā,
 pay.dowry:PFV carry like.that
 Since he paid the dowry,
- (936) jā mā i wúrí kā
 thing:REL certain:REL LOG.SG want ?
 what she wants is that
- (937) àwú pénrí kpó kóm mē rē [†]kā,
 3SG exchange:PFV body tie give:LOG.SG EMPH COND
 that if she (the toad) exchanges her body with her (the woman)¹⁰⁶
- (938) n̩fè ú mē rē kā,
 vagina 3SG:POSS give:LOG.SG EMPH COND
 if she (the toad) gives her (the woman) her vagina,
- (939) i túsi kpó à ká lójí bē kā;
 LOG.SG show:PFV body PFV TEMP day PRSTT COND
 if she (the woman) then shows her body on that day,
- (940) jí d̩g bē, tò
 person see:FUT PRSTT so
 then people will see it.
- (941) ú pénrí jág mìn,
 3SG exchange:PFV carry thus
 So, she exchanges it (her sex), like this.

¹⁰⁶ It is not clear what the verb *kóm* ‘to tie, to complete’ does in this clause.

- (942) ñtèkù jnéní hñ. ñtèkù péntri á mō
toad refuse NEG toad exchange:PFV PFV give:3SG

The toad does not refuse. The toad exchanges it (her sex) with her.

- (943) í kpén, í túbí ébàj. í pír ébàj
3PL hang.out:PFV 3PL start:PFV beer 3PL brew beer

They go, they start (preparing) the beer. They brew the beer.¹⁰⁷

- (944) gbán á dʒí ká +lóŋí ɻwāb ɻwāb ɻwāb ɻwāb ɻwāb
arrive:PFV PFV FOC TEMP day all all all all all

Then everyone arrived on the day.¹⁰⁸

- (945) í túsi kpô dʒí kā
3PL show:PFV body FOC COND

When everybody shows their body,

- (946) jní mína ɻwāb pé túsi,
person PRSTT all come:PFV show

Everyone comes to show it.

- (947) jní mína ɻwāb pé túsi,
person PRSTT all come:PFV show

Everyone comes to show it.

- (948) àní mína ɻwáb +láří kpá ú,
person PRSTT all open:PFV wrapper 3SG:POSS

So, everyone opens their wrapper.

- (949) àní mína ɻwáb +gáří bén+tí ú
person PRSTT all take.off:PFV pants 3SG:POSS

Everyone takes off their pants.

¹⁰⁷ This is the only place where I found the verb *pír* ‘to brew’.

¹⁰⁸ I am not certain about the translation of this sentence.

- (950) màmúwà gbán á ðʒí íʃò
 turn? arrive:PFV PFV TOP child DIST
 When it is finally that child's turn (who is now a woman)¹⁰⁹
- (951) “jí gáŋ”, ú jéni, “jí gáŋ”, ú jéni
 stand up 3SG refuse:PFV stand up 3SG refuse:PFV
 “Stand up!”, but she refuses, “Stand up!”, but she refuses.
- (952) àsūwā ú jí gáŋ,
 when 3SG stand:PFV up,
 When she stands up
- (953) ú gbásí kpá mína kā,
 3SG loosen:PFV wrapper PRSTT ?
 and when she loosens her wrapper,
- (954) àwú jí ígbàn á
 3SG person female PRSTT
 (they see that) she is a woman.
- (955) í lápsí lámē, í tí vèrí hákā,
 they sneak:PFV hare 3PL hammer:PFV kill like.that
 When they sneak up to the hare to kill him,
- (956) í dín ú hñ,
 3PL meet:PFV 3SG NEG
 they do not find him.
- (957) í tí vèrí á kā, í dín ú hñ
 3PL hammer:PFV kill ? COND 3PL meet:PFV 3SG. NEG
 When they (want to) kill him, they do not find him.

¹⁰⁹ The analysis of this sentence is not entirely clear.

- (958) m̄, gbán á dʒ̄í kā ...
 so arrive:PFV PFV FOC COND
 So, when it (the time?) arrives, (i.e. ‘after that’) ...

- (959) ñtèkù dʒ̄é ...
 toad FOC
 Where the toad is concerned ...

- (960) ñtèkù d̄é r̄é f̄ù r̄é
 toad be COM pregnancy EMPH
 The toad is pregnant.

- (961) ñtèkù d̄é r̄é f̄ù r̄é
 toad be COM pregnancy EMPH
 The toad is pregnant.

- (962) àfú ntèkù dó *jí.
 pregnancy toad grow.old:PFV stand
 The toad’s pregnancy is old. (i.e. ‘it is ready to give birth’)

- (963) àlén̄j á ñtèkù r̄é l̄g é*ŋ̄í jō á *kā
 day REL toad IPFV give.birth child PL REL COND
 On the day that the toad is giving birth to its children,

- (964) ñtèkù jí ívān á
 toad person male PRSTT
 the toad is a man.

- (965) àd̄ér ú *f̄éb féb féb féb féb.
 belly 3SG:POSS swell:PFV swell swell swell swell
 His belly swells and swells and swells.

- (966) ñtèkù végí
 toad die:PFV
 The toad dies.

- (967) $\ddot{\text{f}}$ áŋ á $\ddot{\text{j}}$ í
 finish PFV stand
It is finished.

A fragment of oral tradition

This fragment of oral history presents a scene where the Kam are raided by an alliance of Chamba and Fulani invaders. The story mentions a historical character, Burba dan Hamman (*Buruba* in the text). Burba was the Fulani chief of Bakundi¹¹⁰ in 1860 and the Emir of Muri¹¹¹ from 1869 to 1873 (cf. Meek 1931b,c; Kirk-Greene 1958, 1972). Since the fragment begins in the middle of a scene, it needs some context to be understood.

The narrative is set in the time of Fulani jihads, where people are captured and forced to convert to Islam. In the narrative that came before, the Kam decide to hide their king so that he is safe from these raids. To keep the king safe, they build a platform covering a lake. With the help of their gods, they manage to make the water from the lake dry up, to set poles in the lake, and to create a platform. On this platform, they construct a compound for the king and his family. Once everything is finished, they pray to their deities to fill up the lake again. When the intruders arrive, they try to shoot the Kam with arrows, but these fail to hit their mark. Since the Kam are better marksmen and enjoy protection by their deities, their arrows *do* hit their targets. They manage to fend off the intruders without casualties of their own. Now, Burba's men go to a nearby village where they meet some people of the Chamba ethnic group. The invaders convince the Chamba to join them in their pursuit of the Kam. Together, they make a plan to dig into the main river that drains the lake. By making the river broader, they hope to empty the lake so that they can catch the Kam. At this point, the fragment begins.

I did not collect this text myself. Babangida Audu recorded it with his phone on June 9th, 2017. The speaker is Isa Sarkin Dawa, the political king of Kam. The whole text is a thirty-minute compilation of various episodes from Kam traditional history (session_191). This is one fragment.

¹¹⁰ Bakundi is a district in Bali Local Government area. Around 1875, the Fulani of Bakundi gained power in Bali town, which had been independent Jukun territory until then (Meek 1931b: 507) . The emir of Bali is still known today as the chief of Bakundi. For a while, the Kam speaking area fell within the Bakundi district, but today there is an independent Kam district, headed by Sarkin Dawa, the Kam political king.

¹¹¹ Muri was an emirate in the 19th century spanning much of present-day Taraba State. Today, it is a town in northwestern Taraba.

Note that the construction of a “pile village” on a lake in defense of a Chamba invasion is also mentioned in discussions of the history of the Wurbo people, who speak a few different Jukunoid languages (Temple 1919: 364)¹¹².

- (968) dākā ɻjwé márē
from mouth river
From the mouth of the river
- (969) í dʒí jág
3PL dig:PFV carry
they (the Chamba/Fulani invaders) dug.
- (970) dākā ɻjwé márē
from mouth river
From the mouth of the river ...
- (971) dākā ɻjwé máré [†]jí ɻjwəm
from mouth river person Kam
From the mouth of the river of the Kam people,
- (972) bā mā, í námrí sīsīrā
PROX:REL certain:REL, 3PL call:PFV now
the one (river) that is now called
- (973) ijí májó kàm à
QUOT Mayo Kam REL
Mayo Kam.
- (974) í dʒí jág dákā k̩
3PL dig:PFV carry from place:DIST COND,
They dug from that place so that ...

¹¹² These languages together form the Wurbo subgroup of Central Jukunoid (Hammarström et al. 2019). They are Como Karim [Glottocode: como1258], Jiru [Glottocode: jiru1238] and Shoo-Minda-Nye [Glottocode: shoo1247]. Documentation of these languages is currently limited to the lexical data presented in Shimizu (1980).

- (975) ré gbó sáŋ ɻwé sòm kā
 because? stream go mouth lake COND
 So that a stream would flow from the mouth of the lake.¹¹³

- (976) àná[†]líb sòm ò gér rè dʒɔr sāŋ kā
 because lake DIST outside IPFV descendgo COND
 So that (the water of) that lake would gush away.

- (977) sòm jí ɻwòm nág á kàr kā
 lake person Kam leave:PFV PFV have? COND
 (So that) the lake of the Kam people would empty¹¹⁴

- (978) mā í ré [†]ʃúg í jàg
 and 3PL IPFV catch 3PL carry
 and they (the invaders) would (be able to) catch them (the Kam),

- (979) àlíb kámtírà í ò wè
 on platform 3PL:POSS DIST there
 on their platform there.

- (980) ika í jág jí [†]dʒí á wè
 then 3PL carry thing dig PFV there
 So, they dug,

- (981) í jág jí [†]dʒí á wè,
 3PL carry thing dig PFV there
 and they dug,

- (982) í jág jí [†]dʒí á wè,
 3PL carry thing dig PFV there
 and they dug,

¹¹³ The translation of *ré* is uncertain, and the tense and aspect marking of this clause is unclear.

¹¹⁴ The function of *kàr* ‘to have’ in this sentence is unclear.

- (983) í jág jí [†]dʒí á wē
3PL carry thing dig PFV there
and they dug...
- (984) hár í pé [†]gbó pé [†]ŋwé sùm
until 3PL come stream come mouth lake
Until they came to the stream, came to the mouth of the lake.
- (985) ikā māmbá sùm gím jí á kā
then that.is.how:REL lake tear:PFV stand REL COND
Then it happened that the lake tore,
- (986) mámbá, í jágí lárí sàŋ dʒór sàŋ
that.is.how:REL, 3PL carry:PFV open go descendgo
and then it happened that they (the invaders) were carried down (by the water)¹¹⁵
- (987) ámínà rè jàg kùb sàŋ máré
that.is.why IPFV carry weak go river
and they were drowning.
- (988) bā mā fɔr bób à, fór bôb
PROX:REL some:REL survive come.out REL, survive come.out
Those who survived, survived.
- (989) bā mā fɔr hí à, tò ...
PROX:REL some:REL survive NEG REL, so ...
Those who did not survive, well ...
- (990) tò, zágá ká mā, jí ŋwóm
so, side place:REL some:REL person Kam
So, from the side where the Kam ...

¹¹⁵ The analysis of this sentence is unclear.

- (991) í dʒór dʒí p̪é, jí *tʃé dʒór:PFV p̪é
 3PL descend:PFV dig come, person war descend come
 they came down, warriors came down.
- (992) í sì bē tóri *ʃifugí¹
 3PL SEQ PRSTT fall:PFV ?~catch:FV
 Then they (the Kam) fell on them and caught them (the intruders).
- (993) jā mā ijí *tʃwár á tàn,
 thing:REL some:REL 3PL mix:PFV PFV stand
 That is how they (our groups) are mixed,
- (994) á d̪og
 2SG.S.PFV see:PFV
 you see,
- (995) ʃāmbā d̪é lèb jí tʃwóm ré
 Chamba be inside person Kam EMPH
 there are Chamba within the Kam people.
- (996) ámīnā sù ʃāmbā d̪é lèb jí tʃwóm ré
 that.is.why section Chamba be inside person Kam EMPH
 That is why a section of Chamba is inside of Kam.
- (997) d̪òŋ ijí *tʃugí jàg ké pínî
 ? 3PL catch carry INSTR slave
 They caught them as slaves.
- (998) zágí jí gbàn, í *tʃúg á
 side person female, 3PL catch:PFV PFV
 The women, they caught.
- (999) zágí jí vān mā, í *tʃúg á
 side person male also, 3PL catch:PFV PFV
 The men, they caught.

- (1000) tò, àjí jí zág mákpà ò
 so, 3PL stand:PFV side muslim DIST
 So, they are the muslim side.
- (1001) bà mà íjí *námri *búrúbâ
 PROX:REL some:REL they call:PFV Buruba
 The one (man) that they call Buruba ...
- (1002) àní bínbín á, í nágí kā
 person one PRSTT, 3PL leave:PFV COND
 It is one man that they left.
- (1003) àní bínbín á, í nágí kā
 person one PRSTT, 3PL leave:PFV COND
 It is one man that they left.
- (1004) àfú ndžámdí á *ú kúb kā
 shirt iron REL 3SG wear:PFV ?
 It was an iron shirt that he wore.
- (1005) àjí nág ú kā
 3PL leave:PFV 3SG COND
 When they (the Chamba) left him (Buruba),
- (1006) íjí bó í méré jé kā *ú rè bén
 3PL ? 3PL return:PFV go PURP 3SG IPFV say
 they returned to him and told him
- (1007) mà kò kā mē í námri á sísírá
 give ? place:PROX some 3PL call:PFV PFV now
 that this place they now call
- (1008) í gásòl á
 QUOT Gassol PRSTT
 Gassol.

- (1009) ú jé bén má jí bé kā
 3SG go say:PFV give person PRSTT ?

(That) he should go and tell the people that

- (1010) àwú á bání
 3SG PRSTT remain:PFV
 he is the one who remained

- (1011) jí ñwòm vér:PFV í á sīrī
 person Kam kill 3PL PFV completely
 (and that) the Kam killed them all.

- (1012) tò, āmīnā, àwú àjí ván ⁺fú ndžámdí ò jéb
 so, that.is.why, 3SG person male shirt iron DIST go:PFV
 So, that is why he, the man with the iron shirt, went

- (1013) jé kòsí tarì jàg kàr
 go gather stone carry keep
 and gathered stones.

- (1014) àtar á dē bē,
 stone PRSTT be PRSTT
 There are stones there,

- (1015) àmīnā ñjòj ijì á ká júrú
 that.is.why sit world PRSTT ? 1PL:POSS
 now, it is our boundary area¹¹⁶

- (1016) í ré kă mī í nám̄r á
 3PL COM place:PROX some 3PL call:PFV PFV
 with the place they call

¹¹⁶ The analysis of this clause is uncertain.

- (1017) *í táwrítʃàb á
 QUOT Tauri.Chab PRSTT
 Tauri Chab.
- (1018) ké bá *tán à kó *léb bìr à mà
 INSTR REL stand REL ? inside time REL some:REL
 Now, even in our time – recently
- (1019) àjí jé á pè
 3PL enter:PFV PFV come
 they (some intruders) came into our land.
- (1020) íjí vág júrú sìrē kó bē
 QUOT border 1PL:POSS be.NEGplace:DIST PRSTT
 They said that our boundary is not there.
- (1021) àmìnà
 that.is.why
 That is why
- (1022) ní jág tákàdà bób pè
 1SG.S.PFV carry:PFV document come.out come
 I brought out the document.
- (1023) mím mérè tár kóm jàg
 1SG.S.PFV return collect:PFV tie carry
 I collected it again, tied it and carried it,
- (1024) mē kā àtàr à
 give.3PL place:PROX stone PROX
 and showed them the place of these stones.

- (1025) k̄ō place:DIST
place:PROX (?)
This place.¹¹⁷

- (1026) í bén ká
3PL say ?
They said that

- (1027) jní ñwòm,
person Kam
the Kam people ...

- (1028) jùrù jní ñwòm ā kósí kár hn̄,
1PL person Kam REL gather:PFV keep NEG
We, the Kam people, did not gather and keep the stones.

- (1029) jní ā ì sín éf̄é r̄é à m̄nā kósí kár
person REL 1PL do:PFV war EMPH REL which gather keep
It's the people that we were fighting who gathered them.

- (1030) sábòdà hákà,
because this,
Because of this (the document?)¹¹⁸,

- (1031) káùjè dàbà r̄é *sín r̄è hn̄
village different NEG.FUT do:NEG.FUT NEG.FUT NEG
a different village (to set the boundary) will not work.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ This use of two nouns phrases with seemingly incompatible meanings is puzzling.

¹¹⁸ This is Hausa.

¹¹⁹ káùjè dàbà is Hausa, with some slight differences. In Standard Hausa, it would be written *kauye dabam*. I want to thank Lora Litvinova for helping me understand this phrase.

- (1032) kó bá ⁺tán à mīn, ní tár á jàgì
 INSTR REL stand REL thus, 1SG.S.PFV collect:PFV PFV carry
 Even now, I still have it.¹²⁰
- (1033) tò, dākā k̄s mīnā
 so from place:DIST thus
 So, from that place,
- (1034) jí ñwòm
 person Kam
 the Kam ...
- (1035) àfē á bē pē fáŋ jí à
 war REL PRSTT come finish stand REL
 the war that had finished¹²¹
- (1036) àmìnà, jí ñwòm bén: “tò ... bā tán à mīnā”
 that.is.why, person Kam say:PFV so REL stand REL thus
 that is why the Kam said “well, now ...”
- (1037) í bór méré pē zág áwú à
 3PL descend:PFV return come side north PROX
 They descended and returned to the north side.
- (1038) sīkā í dʒóŋ-i, í sōg jí
 lest 3PL settle:FUT-FV, 3PL search:PFV thing
 Lest they (the intruders) would settle, they (the Kam) searched something.
- (1039) í wūrī dāmūwà hñ
 3PL want trouble NEG
 They did not want trouble.

¹²⁰ Literally: “With now, I collected it.”

¹²¹ This sentence is incomplete.

- (1040) tò, í sí [†]jí ó dʒì jí
so 3PL SEQ arrive:PFV ? dig stand
So, they then arrived, dug and stayed
- (1041) í bór á pè, à zág éwù
3PL descend:PFV PFV come, LOC side north
They descended toward the north side.
- (1042) àmìnà í pè [†]dʒóŋ á pè
that.is.why 3PL come sit PFV come
That is why they settled here,
- (1043) à kā mā
LOC place:REL some:REL
at the place
- (1044) í námrí sīsīrā é méhùlā
3PL call:PFV now QUOT Maihula
they now call Maihula.

A song

I recorded this song with Bèbí in Garin Hamza, in the room of Hamza, the village head, during a short visit there on May 22nd (session_156).

The song laments that the traditional and ritual places of Kam are no longer as well protected as they used to be. It makes reference to a former political king selling pieces of Kam land to people of other groups (*sárkin dáwà jág jì à dèbì* “Sarkin Dawa has sold the world.”). My consultants mentioned that at some point a piece broke off the Kamajim mountain, and in this song, they connect this natural event with the sale of traditional land.



Figure 22 - Session in Garin Hamza with Bèbí

- (1045) n̄t̄oj húm á p̄é ɻ̄wé kámádz̄im wò
 mountain break:PFV PFV come mouth Kamajim oh
 ‘The mountain broke at the mouth of Kamajim, oh! ’
- (1046) sù jí ɻ̄wòm sámri jì à
 ethnic.group person Kam spoil:PFV world PFV
 ‘The Kam people have spoiled the world.’
- (1047) sárkín dáwà jág jì à dèbì
 Sarkin Dawa carry:PFV world PFV buy
 ‘Sarkin Dawa has sold the world.’
- (1048) jn̄ò lág á dúddōgī, jn̄ò jí ɻ̄wòm jō wò?
 2PL hear:PFV PFV EXPA~see 2PL person Kam PL oh
 ‘Did you ever hear that, you Kam people?’
- (1049) mòtō bórí māwàn
 car climb:PFV Sabongida.Kamajim
 ‘A car went up to Sabongida Kamajim.’
- (1050) à ɻ̄wé ɻ̄gwóg, n̄ dág ú, mēgād̄i
 LOC mouth house, 1SG.S.PFV see:PFV 3SG:POSS guard
 ‘By the door of the house, I can see a guard.’
- (1051) mām mám àjì
 Mám create:PFV world
 ‘Mam (the creator) created the world.’
- (1052) ikà jì júrú *sám̄r á wò.
 then world 1PL:POSS spoil:PFV PFV oh
 ‘And then the world spoiled.’

Kam-English lexicon

A a

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
a	Interjection	yes	positive response word	This marker does not have a fixed tone. <i>o:j</i> is the preferred positive response word.
á	Pronoun	2SG.O; you	second person singular object index	
á	Pronoun	2SG.S; you	second person singular subject index, used in future tense and perfective aspect constructions	
à	Pronoun	2SG.S.IPFV; you	second person singular subject pronominal, used in imperfective constructions	
à	Derivational affix	NMLZ	a synchronically unproductive nominalizing prefix that derives patientive and agentive nouns from verbs	
à	Particle	PFV	perfective aspect marker	This marker follows the object if one is present. The marker is optional.
à	Particle	PROX; this	proximal demonstrative marker	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
à á	Interjection	EXCL; aha	an expression of surprise, disbelief, or endorsement of a previous statement	
àbág	Noun	knife		
àbàn <small>ŋ</small>	Noun	alcohol; beer; wine		
àbób	Noun	hunger		
àbòg	Noun	foot; leg		
àbòg	Noun	time		Used when counting the number of times something happened (e.g. àbòg jírág 'two times, twice')
àbóm <small>rī</small>	Noun	length		cf. bóm 'to be long'
àbó <small>ŋ</small>	Noun	breath; life		
àbó <small>ŋ</small> ó	Noun	breath; life		
ábōr <small>ī</small>	Adjective	big		cf. bòr 'to go up, to mount'
àbòràg	Noun	leaf		
àbórég	Noun	bag, sp.	a bag where harvested crops are stored	
àbórég	Noun	locust bean tree		
àbòrèg	Noun	antelope, sp.	red-flanked duiker	
àbórí	Noun	grave		
ábēf <small>ā</small>	Adjective	blue		
àbég	Noun	termite hill, sp.	a small type of termite hill, made "as if there is a cap on it"	
àbèg	Noun	jealousy		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àbélî	Noun	belch		
àbén	Noun	talk		cf. bén 'to speak, to tell, to, say, to talk'
àbén ndérit	Proper Noun	place name	a place name, referring to a village commonly known as Abanderi.	The name literally translates to 'curse' or 'idiotic talk'.
àbén tʃē	Noun	lie		cf. àbén 'talk' and tʃē 'to lie'
àbēnī	Noun	traditional king		Literally 'the owner of people' (?).
àbèr	Noun	egg		
àbèr àŋgwóğ	Noun	host; householder		cf. àŋgwóğ 'house'
àbì	Adposition	down		cf. àbì 'soil'
àbì	Noun	soil		cf. àbìbí 'soil'
àbì	Noun	song		
àbìbí	Noun	down		cf. àbìbí 'soil'
àbìbí	Noun	soil		cf. àbì 'soil'
àbìm	Noun	steam		
àbìtʃē	Noun	tree, sp.	an unidentified tree that looks similar to the kiriya tree or iron wood tree	
àbô	Noun	day after tomorrow		
ábōgō	Adjective	dark		cf. ábōgō 'night', ábōgōrī 'night'
ábōgō	Noun	night	night time, when it is dark, roughly from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m.	cf. ábōgō 'dark', ábōgōrī 'night'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ábōgorí	Adjective	black		cf. ábōgō 'night, dark'
àbù	Noun	mahogany tree		
àbùn	Noun	arrow		
àbúnří	Noun	crossing	a crossing over a road, or over a river	cf. būnří 'to cross, to be across'
àbúr	Noun	cloud		cf. būr 'to become white'
ábūrī	Adjective	white		cf. būr 'to become white'
àbúrú	Adverb	day after tomorrow		
àbúrú	Noun	tree, sp.	a very common tree with black fruit that looks like a bambara nut	
ádā	Adjective	cold		cf. dág 'to be cold'
ádā	Adjective	well		cf. ádā 'cold'
àdágrí	Noun	coldness		cf. dág 'to be cold'
àdágrí	Noun	wetness		cf. dág 'to be cold'
àdàm	Noun	menstruation		
àdóm	Noun	beard		
ádōmrí	Adjective	red		cf. dindōm 'red'
àdòŋ	Noun	south		
àdèbòg	Noun	sole of foot		cf. àdèr 'outside of the belly', àbòg 'leg, foot'
àdég	Noun	disease		
àdég	Noun	pain		
àdég é+jé	Noun	cancer		cf. àdég 'disease'
àdègàn	Noun	sky		cf. àdèr 'outside of the belly', àgàn 'up(side)'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àdégrî	Noun	pain		cf. àdég 'pain'
àdèp�	Noun	palm of hand		cf. àd�r 'outside of the belly', àj� 'hand, arm'
��d�r	Noun	outside of belly		
��d�r�	Noun	snore		cf. d�r� 'to snore'
��d�k�r�	Noun	sweat		cf. àd�k�r� 'armpit'
��d�m	Noun	deep water		cf. l�m 'dive'
��d�u	Noun	angle		
��d��r	Noun	gate, backdoor		
��d��r	Noun	fishing net		
��d��g	Noun	driver ant, sp.	a type of army ant that makes temporary anthills with big colonies	cf. àd��gb�r� 'driver ant, sp.'
��d��gb�r�	Noun	driver ant, sp.	red ant	cf. àd��g 'driver ant, sp.'
��d��n	Noun	saliva		
��d��r	Noun	pinch		
��d��	Noun	trousers		
��d��	Noun	month, moon		
��d��	Noun	shea tree	shea tree	
��d�� l�s��r�	Noun	coconut tree		cf. àd�� 'shea tree'
��d�� f�	Noun	cassava		cf. àd�� 'yam', áf� 'dry'
��d��k�r�	Noun	armpit		cf. àd�k�r� 'sweat'
��d��n�r�	Noun	fool, foolishness		cf. d��n 'to be foolish'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àdʒirèkì	Noun	epilepsy		cf. àdʒirèkì 'ground-beetle, sp.'; probably related to this meaning: a beetle, when turned upside down shakes his legs in the air like someone with epilepsy
àdʒirèkì	Noun	ground-beetle sp.	a type of saber-toothed ground beetle that can spray acid to defend itself	
àdžú	Noun	yam		
àdʒwā	Noun	cheek		
àdʒwā ñwé	Noun	lip		cf. àdʒwā 'cheek', ñwé 'mouth'
àdʒwàn	Noun	short, poisonous snake	a type of short, poisonous snake	
àfàm	Noun	animal		cf. àfàm 'meat'; generally refers to mammals and not to insects, fish, birds and reptiles
àfàm	Noun	meat		cf. àfàm 'animal'; food from an animal
àfàm àŋgwóg	Noun	farm animal, domestic animal		cf. àfàm 'animal', àŋgwóg 'house'
àfàm àjé	Noun	bush animal, wild animal		cf. àfàm 'animal', àjé 'bush'
àfár	Noun	sugar		
àfär	Noun	lung		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àfárómkpà	Noun	sugar cane		cf. àfár 'sugar'; tone is uncertain.
àfí	Noun	mat		
àfib	Noun	calf		
àfib ébòg	Noun	calf		cf. àfib 'calf'
àfijè	Noun	water fetching place	a water fetching place, such as a river or a lake	
àfir	Noun	foam		
àfir	Noun	needle		
áfō	Adjective	dry		cf. fóg 'to be dry'
àfú	Noun	shirt		
àfù	Noun	pregnancy		cf. àfù 'womb'
àfù	Noun	womb		cf. àfù 'pregnancy'
ágág	Noun	branch		cf. gág 'to hang'
àgàm èbòg	Noun	ankle		cf. àbòg 'leg'
àgàm líp tǐ rè pé	Noun	knuckle		cf. àlím tǐ rè pé 'finger'
àgàñ	Noun	dry season		
àgàñ	Adposition	up		
àgàñ	Noun	upside		
àgatìnà	Noun	hat		
àgàw	Adposition	beside		Tone is uncertain.
àgàw	Noun	ribs, side		Tone is uncertain.
àgbág	Noun	stool		
àgbām	Noun	fig tree		
ágbàn	Adjective	female		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àgbàn	Noun	wife		
àgbàn ékwèg	Noun	first wife		cf. ákòg 'biggest one, dominant one'
àgbàn éntʃwē	Noun	co-wife		cf. ʃwē 'newborn child'
àgbānē	Noun	plant sp.	a type of crinum, a plant with a leafless stem that develops from bulbs	This plant is used for medicinal purposes. Its name in Hausa is gadeli. Tone is uncertain.
àgbáŋ	Noun	chin		
àgbáŋ	Noun	palace		
àgbáŋ ɻwé	Noun	jaw		cf. àgbáŋ 'chin'
àgbáŋásù	Noun	market		cf. àgbáŋásùb 'market'
àgbáŋásùb	Noun	market		cf. àgbáŋásù 'market'
àgbòràg	Noun	francolin	clapperton's francolin, double-spurred francolin	
àgbér	Noun	neck		
àgbér é ⁺ ɲé	Noun	wrist		cf. àgbér 'neck', ɲé 'arm, hand'
àgòb	Noun	plant sp.	a type of crinum, a plant with a leafless stem that develops from bulbs	This plant is used for medicinal purposes. Its name in Hausa is gadeli.
àgòm	Noun	forehead		
àgòrù	Noun	heron		
àgèr	Noun	outside		
àgíníŋ	Noun	buttocks		cf. gínéné 'round'
àgùm	Noun	hole	a pit, hole (in the ground)	
àgùm àmèrèg	Noun	nostril		cf. àgùm 'hole', àmèrèg 'nose'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àgùm əfíb	Noun	toilet		cf. àgùm 'hole', əfíb 'shit'
àgùm fâ	Noun	flood plain hole	a hole that is dug in a flood plain in order to get fresh water	
àgún	Adverb	backwards		cf. àgún 'behind'
àgún	Noun	behind		
àgúŋ ébòg	Noun	heel		cf. àgún 'behind', àbòg 'leg, foot'
àgùrì	Noun	vomit		cf. gùrì 'vomit'
àjárî	Noun	width		cf. jár 'to be wide'
àjáwkánî	Proper Noun	person name		
àjé	Noun	cry, shout		
àjè	Noun	gut		
àjè	Noun	intestines		
àjé kà	Noun	shout		cf. àjé 'cry, shout', ká 'to shout'
àjé tʃò	Noun	cry		cf. àjé 'cry, shout'. Tone is uncertain.
àjén	Noun	wound		
àjí	Pronoun	3PL.S; they	third person plural subject pronominal	
àjì	Noun	era, generation		
àjì	Noun	world		
àjírí	Noun	draw soup ingredient	soup ingredient for draw soup, a type of traditional soup	
àkápṭí	Noun	morning	time of the day from 6 to 10 a.m.	cf. àkáptílísílbí

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àkáptílóbílì	Noun	dawn, early morning	time of the day from 4 to 6 a.m.	cf. àkaptì 'morning'
àkár	Noun	snake, sp.		
àkàr	Noun	ear		
ákòg	Adjective	biggest one, oldest one, dominant one		Used with peoples (e.g. the oldest of two wives) or 'higher' mammals (e.g. the leader of a band of gorillas).
àkóg	Noun	mushroom		
àkòk swò	Noun	large ape	a type of large ape, used for a variety of species, e.g. gorillas and chimpanzees	cf. ákòg 'biggest one, oldest one, dominant one', swò 'baboon'
àkómlâ	Proper Noun	Mumuye		
àkórág	Noun	fence		
àkéràg	Noun	soldier termite		
àkérè	Noun	pumpkin		
àkimpá	Noun	official, sp.		
àkpág	Noun	bottom		
àkpág ñwé bî	Noun	bottom of mouth		cf. àkpág 'bottom', ñwé 'mouth'
àkpág ñwé gàn	Noun	palate		cf. àkpág ñwé 'palate', àgàn 'upside'
àkpàkán	Proper Noun	person name		cf. àkpàkánì
àkpàkánì	Proper Noun	person name		cf. àkpàkán
àkpóré	Noun	cough		cf. kpērī 'to cough'
àkpèb	Noun	shoulder		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àkpèb àjé	Noun	shoulder		cf. àkpèb 'shoulder', àjé 'arm, hand'
àkpétí	Noun	tiredness		cf. kpétí 'to become tired'
àkpímkpáñá	Noun	force, strength		cf. kpímkpánjí 'strong, hard'
àkpò	Noun	tuwo		
àkpó bī	Cardinal numeral	twenty		cf. bī 'one'
àkpó bí + ré gún bō	Cardinal numeral	thirty		cf. àkpó bí 'twenty', bō 'ten'
àkpó bō	Cardinal numeral	two hundred		cf. àkpó bī 'twenty', bō 'ten'
àkpó bō rà kpējmī	Cardinal numeral	two hundred and twenty		cf. àkpó bī 'twenty', kpējmī 'twenty'
àkpó bō rà kpējmī gún bō	Cardinal numeral	two hundred and thirty		cf. àkpó bī 'twenty', kpējmī 'twenty', bō 'ten'
àkpó dʒúb	Cardinal numeral	one hundred and twenty		cf. àkpó bī 'twenty', dʒùb 'six'
àkpó jíràg	Cardinal numeral	forty		cf. àkpó bí 'twenty', jíràg 'two'
àkpó jíràg ré gún bō	Cardinal numeral	fifty		cf. àkpó jíràg 'forty', bō 'ten'
àkpó kpējmī	Cardinal numeral	four hundred		cf. àkpó bī 'twenty', kpējmī 'twenty'
àkpó nár	Cardinal numeral	eighty		cf. àkpó bí 'twenty', nínár 'four'
àkpó nár + ré gún bō	Cardinal numeral	ninety		cf. àkpó nár 'eighty', bō 'ten'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àkpó ñwún	Cardinal numeral	hundred		cf. àkpó bī 'twenty', ñwún 'five'
àkpó ñjár	Cardinal numeral	sixty		cf. àkpó bī 'twenty', ñjár 'three'
àkpó ñjár rō gún bō	Cardinal numeral	seventy		cf. àkpó ñjár 'sixty', bō 'ten'
àkprà	Noun	plate		
ákú	Proper Noun	cult, sp.		cf. kú 'magic, sp., deity, cobra'
àkùb	Noun	bone, skeleton		
àkùb àbòg	Noun	shin		cf. àkùb 'bone, skeleton', àbòg 'leg, foot'
àkùb gwàj	Noun	chestbone		cf. àkùb 'bone, skeleton', gwàj 'chest'
àkùb lántí gwàj	Noun	breastbone		cf. àkùb 'bone, skeleton', lántí 'joint' gwàj 'chest'
àkùb ñkùm	Noun	spine		cf. àkùb 'bone, skeleton', ñkùm 'back'
àkùp tábé	Noun	fishbone		cf. àkùb 'bone, skeleton', àtábé 'fish'
àkúptí	Noun	laziness		cf. kùb 'to become weak'
àkúptí	Noun	lazy person		cf. kùb 'to become weak'
àkùr	Noun	tortoise, turtle		
àkúrî	Noun	smell		cf. kúr 'to stink'
àkúrú	Noun	noon		
àkwān	Noun	bean		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
á ^L -	Derivational affix	NMLZ	a prefix that turns verbs into adnominal adjectives	This prefix is part of a larger construction that also involves a toneless suffix -i in case the verb has a CVC shape, and replacive M tone on the verb root.
àlámí:s	Noun	Thursday		Borrowed from Hausa (alhamis); originally from Arabic yoom al-khamiis ‘Thursday’, literally ‘day the fifth (starting from Sunday)’
àlámíné	Noun	tongue		
àlání	Noun	spider		
àlànj	Noun	pot	any type of pot, e.g. for cooking or for carrying water	cf. láj 'to cook'
àlànj òbì	Noun	bowl		cf. àlànj 'pot', cf. àbì 'soil, down'
àlànj ódā	Noun	fridge		cf. àlànj 'pot', ádā 'cold'
àlànj pjáw	Noun	heavy container	a container that is used as a basin to keep water	cf. àlànj 'pot', pjáw 'sub-village inside Sarkin Dawa'
àlásíné	Noun	sand	a type of sand found by the riverside	cf. àlásíné 'sand'
àlásíné	Noun	sand	a type of sand found by the riverside	cf. àlásíné 'sand'
àlásírá	Noun	moringa tree		cf. àlásírá 'white person'
àlásírá	Noun	white person		cf. àlásírá 'moringa tree'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àlàwàn	Noun	west		
àlóg	Noun	maternal relative		cf. lóg 'to deliver a child'
àlòg	Noun	bamboo bed		
àlógórî	Noun	birth		cf. lóg 'to deliver a child'
àlógórî	Noun	end		cf. lògòrì 'to finish, to end'
àlógórî	Noun	last, final one	the last one in a sequence	cf. lògòrì 'to finish, to end'
àlógórî	Noun	root (of plant)	the root of a plant	cf. lògòrì 'to finish, to end'. The root of a plant is the 'final' part when looked from the perspective 'above ground'.
àlè	Noun	fire, light, electricity		
àlè	Noun	cave		
àlè	Noun	gun		cf. àlè 'fire'
àlè ájā	Noun	light bulb		cf. àlè 'fire, light, electricity', ájā 'fresh, unripe'
àléb	Noun	late afternoon, evening	time of the day from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.	cf. àlèb 'inside', àliléb 'middle', àléj élèb 'afternoon'
àlèb	Adposition	in		
àlèb	Noun	inside		
àlèb èdèr	Noun	inside of the belly		cf. àlèb 'inside', àdèr 'outside of the belly'
àlébrî	Noun	fruit		cf. àlèb 'inside', bér 'tree'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àlémrî	Noun	beauty, goodness, correctness		cf. lèm 'good, beautiful, correct'
àléŋ	Noun	deity, sp.		cf. àléŋ 'sun'. This word is dispreferred by some speakers, who prefer the word kùrikî for 'God'.
àléŋ	Noun	sun		
àléŋ dág â	Noun	late afternoon, evening	time of the day from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.	Literlaly 'the sun has cooled off'. cf. àléŋ 'sun', dág 'to become cold', à 'PFV'
àléŋ áléb	Noun	late afternoon, evening	time of the day from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.	cf. àléŋ 'sun', àléb 'evening', àléb 'inside', àliléb 'middle'
àléŋ kúrú	Noun	noon	time of the day from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.	cf. àléŋ 'sun', àkúrú 'noon'
àlèsèr	Noun	room		cf. àléb 'inside', sèr 'room'
àlíb	Noun	head		
àlíb	Adposition	on		
àlíbórá	Noun	grave		
àlìè	Noun	armband		This word used to refer only to an armband that was traditionally given when a man wanted to marry a woman. Now, it refers to any kind of armband. Tone is uncertain.
àlile	Noun	yesterday		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àliléb	Adposition	in between, in the middle of		cf. àliléb 'middle'
àliléb	Noun	middle		cf. àlèb 'inside'
àlím	Noun	front		cf. àlib 'head, on', àlímíné 'tongue, horn'
àlím	Adposition	in front of		cf. àlím 'front'
àlímíné	Noun	horn		cf. àlímíné 'tongue', àlib 'head, on', àlím 'front'
àlímíné	Noun	tongue		cf. àlímíné 'horn', àlib 'head, on', àlím 'front'
àlímíné lè	Noun	flame		cf. àlímíné 'tongue', àlè 'fire'
àlíp sér	Noun	roof		cf. àlib 'head', sér 'room'
àlíp tʃí rè bòg	Noun	toe		cf. àlib 'head', tʃí 'child, diminutive', rè 'comitative', àbòg 'foot, leg'
àlíp tʃí rè jé	Noun	finger, fingernail		cf. àlib 'head', tʃí 'child, diminutive', rè 'comitative', àjé 'hand, arm'
àlíp tʃí rè jé bɔrī	Noun	thumb		cf. àlíp tʃí rè jé 'finger, fingernail', ábɔrī 'big'
àlíp tʃí rè jé ntwàb	Noun	pinky		cf. àlíp tʃí rè jé 'finger, fingernail', ántwàb 'small'
àlísírí	Noun	guinea corn pap		
àlítórí	Noun	hawk		
àlō	Noun	sling		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àlūkōm	Noun	road		cf. àlūkōm 'through'. Tone is uncertain.
àlūkōm	Adposition	through		cf. àlūkōm 'road'. Tone is uncertain.
àlùkòm wò	Noun	vein		cf. àlùkòm 'road', wò 'blood'. Tone is uncertain.
àlúlù	Noun	kneecap		
àlúlù jé	Noun	elbow		cf. àlúlù 'kneecap', jé 'hand, arm'
àmā	Connective	and	conjunction that connects clauses; not used for noun phrases, where the comitative preposition rè is used	Borrowed from Hausa (àmmā).
àmā	Connective	but	conjunction that connects clauses	Borrowed from Hausa (àmmā).
àmálî	Noun	flower		
àmàmbérí	Noun	coconut		cf. bér 'tree'
àmán	Noun	bamboo		
àmérá	Noun	younger relative		
àmérēg	Noun	nose		cf. mérēg 'nasal mucus'
àmí	Noun	dew		
àmí nûŋ	Noun	teardrop		cf. àmí 'dew', ànûŋ 'eye'
ámō	Adjective	good, kind		
àmùl	Noun	fruit, sp.	an unidentified type of fruit that becomes yellow when ripe. Its leaf is used for relieving throat ache	Tone is uncertain.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àná	Noun	father		
ànā	Noun	day		
ànā	Adverb	today		
àná ábōrī	Noun	elder brother of father		cf. àná 'father, ábōrī 'big'
àná ántē	Noun	younger brother of father		cf. àná 'father, ántē 'small'
àpjá bòrì	Noun	older sibling		cf. àpjí 'person', ábōrī 'big'. Tone is uncertain.
àpjá mèrēg	Noun	left hand		cf. àpjí 'hand, arm', àmērēg 'nose'. Literally 'nose hand', the hand used for blowing one's nose, as opposed to the right hand, which is used for eating.
àná mkpōŋ	Noun	male agama lizard	male agama agama	cf. àná 'father', mkpōŋ 'agama lizard'
àpjá nīmī	Noun	right hand		cf. àpjá 'hand, arm', nīm 'to eat'. Literally 'eating hand', the hand used for eating.
àná swô	Noun	older male large ape	the largest or oldest male ape in a troop	cf. àná 'father', swô 'baboon'. Used for different species.
àpjág	Noun	work		
àpjàgbàn	Noun	woman		cf. àpjí 'person', ágbàn 'female'
ànám	Noun	flour		cf. nàm 'to grind'
ànám ńkànsīrān	Noun	grinded charcoal		cf. ànám 'flour', ńkànsīrān 'charcoal'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àpjá ⁺ líb	Connective	because		Tone is uncertain.
àpjé	Noun	arm, hand		
àpjí	Noun	person, people		
àpjí	Noun	owner		
àpjí sét tür	Noun	blacksmith		cf. àpjí 'person', sét tür 'forge'
àpjí vān	Noun	man		cf. àpjí 'person', ávān 'male'
ántē	Adjective	small		cf. ʃwē 'newborn child, newborn animal'
ántērī	Noun	truth		
ántwàb	Adjective	small, young		
ànùŋ	Noun	eye		
ànùŋ èbòg	Noun	front of heel		cf. ànùŋ 'eye', èbòg 'leg, foot'
ànùŋ édʒibī	Noun	faintness, dizziness		cf. ànùŋ 'eye', dʒib 'to turn'
ànùŋ èpjé	Noun	wrist		cf. ànùŋ 'eye', èpjé 'arm, hand'
ànùŋdžál	Proper Noun	person name		
ànjámtí	Noun	yawn		cf. ñàmtí 'to yawn'
àŋgwóg	Noun	house		
àŋgwóg ábɔrī	Noun	city	large town, city	cf. àŋgwóg 'house', ábɔrī 'big'
àŋgwóg á ⁺ kórág	Proper Noun	Garin Zana	Kam village, called Garin Zana in Hausa	cf. àŋgwóg 'house', ákérág 'fence'
àŋgwóg góp ⁺ tí	Proper Noun	Gunduma B	Kam village, called Gunduma B in Hausa	cf. àŋgwóg 'house'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àŋgwóg kádirì	Proper Noun	Garin Kadiri	Kam village, called Garin Kadiri in Hausa	cf. àŋgwóg 'house'
àŋgwóg ʃíŋ⁺gáw	Proper Noun	Garin Shingaw	Kam village, called Garin Shingaw in Hausa	cf. àŋgwóg 'house'
àŋwà	Noun	friend		
àŋwà ŋgwóg	Noun	neighbor		cf. àŋwà 'friend', àŋgwóg 'house'
àŋwán	Noun	in-law		
àŋwár	Noun	thirst		
àŋwòm	Noun	Kam		
áŋwī	Adjective	new		cf. áŋwī 'story'
àŋwí	Noun	village		
àŋwī	Noun	story		cf. áŋwī 'new'
àŋwí bōg	Proper Noun	Kamajim 1	Kam village, called Kamajim 1 in Hausa	cf. àŋwí 'village', bōg 'to prepare alcohol' (tone uncertain)
àŋwí bún⁺tí	Proper Noun	Garin Lah	Kam village, called Garin Lah in Hausa	cf. àŋwí 'village', bùntí 'to drive, to ride (a horse)'
àŋwí fénsòg	Proper Noun	Kamajim 3	Kam village, called Kamajim 3 in Hausa	cf. àŋwí 'village', ñsòg 'salt'
àŋwí lí⁺léb	Proper Noun	Kamajim 2	Kam village, called Kamajim 2 in Hausa	cf. àŋwí 'village', àliléb 'middle'
àŋwí né	Proper Noun	Garin Tukura		cf. àŋwí 'village'. Tone is uncertain.
àpírájî	Noun	cloth, blanket, clothing, handkerchief	any piece of cloth or clothing	
ápú	Noun	bag		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ápú dèr	Noun	stomach		cf. ápú 'bag', àdèr 'outside of belly'
àrí	Adposition	like	similative preposition	
àrí bā	Adverb	like this		cf. àrí 'like', bā 'this one'
ájā	Adjective	unripe		
àjà	Noun	floodplain, swamp		In Nigerian English it is called a 'fadama area'. The term refers to an area that is fit for agriculture and can be irrigated. It usually refers to low-level plains close to water sources.
àsábâr	Noun	Saturday		Borrowed from Hausa (Asabar), originally from Arabic yoom as-sabat 'Saturday', literally 'day the seventh (starting from Sunday).
àsàbé	Proper Noun	female name		
àság	Noun	year		
àfàg	Noun	tooth		
àfàg àdú	Noun	last teeth		cf. àfàg 'tooth', àdú 'angle'
àfàg àgáñ	Noun	upper teeth		cf. àfàg 'tooth', àgáñ 'up'
àfàg àví	Noun	milk teeth		cf. àfàg 'tooth', àví 'breast, milk'
àfàg álí ⁺ léb	Noun	incisor teeth		cf. àfàg 'tooth', àliléb 'middle'
àfàg fùràg	Noun	horn of an elephant		cf. àfàg 'tooth', fùràg 'elephant'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àfám	Noun	feeling		
àfjb	Noun	fly, sp.	fly that often disturbs people, usually in the bush	cf. àfjb 'air, wind, apparition, possessed person'
àfjb	Noun	air, wind		
àfjb	Noun	apparition, ghost		
àfjb	Noun	possessed person		
àsòm	Noun	lake		
àsòm àmàmbérí	Proper Noun	lake Amamberi	a lake within the Sarkin Dawa area	cf. àsòm 'lake', àmàmbérí 'coconut'
àsòm kpágárág	Proper Noun	lake Kpagarag	a lake close to Bayaro	cf. àsòm 'lake', kpágárág 'tilapia fish'
àsòm kwàn	Proper Noun	lake Kwàn	a lake close to Ardo Sonvini	cf. àsòm 'lake', kwàn 'Jukun'
àsòm wúrá	Proper Noun	lake Wura	a lake close to Wura	cf. àsòm 'lake'
àsé	Noun	tail		
àjé	Noun	bush		
àfém	Noun	sneeze		cf. fém 'to sneeze' (tone uncertain)
àfjb	Noun	shit, excrement		
àsíŋ	Noun	fart, flatulence		
àfjrémán	Noun	pepper		
áfjràrì	Noun	first (one)		Tone is uncertain.
áfō	Adjective	warm		cf. fób 'to be hot'
àfjùgérì	Noun	termite's nest		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àjùkù	Noun	rooster		
àsúm	Noun	digging tool	any tool used for digging holes, e.g. boreholes	
àsúmà	Connective	when		cf. àsūwā 'when'. Tone is uncertain.
ásúmrì	Adjective	old		
àjúr	Noun	hit		
ásúrá	Noun	trail		Tone is uncertain.
àsūwā	Connective	when		cf. àsúmà 'when'. Tone is uncertain.
àjùwí	Proper Noun	person name		Name of Hamza, the village head of Garin Hamza.
àtábé	Noun	fish		
àtáké	Proper Noun	person name	female person name	
àtámrì	Noun	growth, greatness		cf. tám 'to grow'
àtár	Noun	stone		
àtár kàpìrù	Noun	fire stone		cf. àtár 'stone', cf. kàpìrù 'match'
àtár nínnámí	Noun	grinding stone		cf. àtár 'stone', cf. nínnám 'flesh'
àtár ẹ́	Noun	grinding stone, sp.	a stone used to make holes while grinding	cf. àtár 'stone'
àtóm	Noun	message		cf. tóm 'to send'
àtágbàn	Noun	younger sister		cf. àjì 'child', ágbàn 'female'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àtfáří	Noun	wisdom, wise person		cf. fàř 'to tell (a story)'
àtfóm	Noun	hoe		
àtfór	Noun	bee		cf. fóř 'to throw a spear (tone uncertain). Also used for bee-flies.'
àtfór	Noun	propeller	a propeller used to throw spears	cf. fóř 'to throw a spear (tone uncertain). Also used for bee-flies.'
àtfór égáŋ	Noun	beehive		cf. àtfór 'bee', àgáŋ 'up'
àtfé	Noun	war, fighting		cf. n̄fé 'war'
àtfér	Noun	fear		
àtfí	Noun	poverty		
àtfí	Noun	child, boy		
àtfí	Particle	DIM	diminutive marker	cf. àfí 'child'
àtfí ígbàn	Noun	daughter		cf. àfí 'child', ágbàn 'female'
àtfí ígbàn	Noun	girl		cf. àfí 'child', ágbàn 'female'
àtfí ígbàn	Noun	girlfriend		cf. àfí 'child', ágbàn 'female'
àtfí ígbàn ónfwē	Noun	baby girl		cf. àfí ígbàn 'girl', f̄wē 'newborn child'
àtfí íntē	Noun	baby, child		cf. àfí 'child', ántē 'small'
àtfí ívān	Noun	bachelor		cf. àfí 'child', ávān 'male'
àtfí ívān	Noun	boy		cf. àfí 'child', ávān 'male'
àtfí ívān	Noun	son		cf. àfí 'child', ávān 'male'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àfí ívān ónfwē	Noun	baby boy		cf. àfí ívān 'boy', fwē 'newborn child'
àfí kpírág	Noun	spoon		cf. àfí 'diminutive'
àfí kùrikî	Noun	Jesus		cf. àfí 'child', kùrikî 'God'
àfí jòb	Noun	stubborn boy		cf. àfí 'child', jòb 'possessed person'
àfí wàŋkú	Proper Noun	person name		cf. àfí 'child', wàŋkú 'traditional king'
àfíróg	Noun	bitterleaf		
àfíségé	Noun	boy		cf. àfí 'child'
àfíségé	Noun	child		cf. àfí 'child'
àfíségé + gún	Noun	younger brother		cf. àfíségé 'boy', gún 'behind'
àtukúrú	Noun	hill		
átwàb	Adjective	small, young		
àvàm	Noun	clay		
ávān	Noun	male		cf. àván 'husband'
àván	Noun	husband		cf. ávān 'male'
àván ófàr	Noun	lung		Tone is uncertain.
àvándzírég	Noun	courage		cf. àvándzírég 'heart'
àvándzírég	Noun	heart		cf. àvándzírég 'courage'
àvèg	Noun	corpse		cf. àvèg 'death', vég 'to die'
àvèg	Noun	death		cf. àvèg 'corpse', vég 'to die'
àví	Noun	breast, nipple		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àví	Noun	lungfish	West African lungfish, an air-breathing fish with an eel-like body that can reach 1m in length and lives in riverbeds	
àví nág	Noun	udder		cf. àví 'breast, nipple', nág 'cow'
àvìràkwàb	Noun	mud		
àwám	Noun	evil person		
àwàn	Noun	king		
àwár	Noun	place with flat stones	a place with many flat stones	
àwàr	Noun	bulrush millet, sp.	a type of bulrush millet that is harvested during the dry season	
àwáří	Noun	noise		
àwóg	Noun	grinding stone	a type of grinding stone	
áwū	Noun	ripe fruit		cf. wū 'to be ripe'
àwú	Pronoun	3SG.S, he, she, they (singular)	third person singular subject pronominal	
àwù	Noun	north		
àwù	Noun	seed		
àwù pì	Noun	seed		used for any type of seed
ázág ávān	Adverb	right side		cf. zág 'side', ávān 'male'
àzání	Noun	termite, sp.	an unidentified type of termite	
àzántí	Noun	centipede		
àzóg	Noun	lazy person	lazy person	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
àzònù	Noun	sickle		
àzér	Noun	granary		
àzíré	Noun	calabash		
àzúb	Noun	thief		cf. zùb 'to steal, to deceive'

B b

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
bà	Verb	remove by cutting		
bá	Particle	this (one)	proximal demonstrative	cf. à 'proximal demonstrative'
bàbâ	Noun	father		Borrowing, likely from Hausa, baba. Tone is uncertain.
bàg	Verb	stab		
bàgàràg	Noun	hyena		
bágī	Verb	lower head	to lower one's head	Tone is uncertain.
bàr	Verb	farm		
bàr	Verb	weed	to weed an area, to remove unwanted plants	
bárí	Noun	rodent, sp.		Looks like a smaller cane rat. It is called burugu in Hausa.
bárí	Verb	rinse		
bòb	Verb	come out		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
bòjí	Proper Noun	person name		
bóm	Verb	long	to be or to become long	
bòmsí	Verb	lengthen	to make something long	
bòmtí	Verb	lengthen		
bōnū	Noun	festival openers	group of people responsible for opening the traditional festivals	Tone is uncertain.
bòr	Verb	go up	to climb or go up an elevated surface	
bòr	Verb	mount	to mount an animal or a vehicle	
bòrsí	Verb	add	to add to something, to make something increase or grow	
bòrì	Noun	day, period, time		
bē	Particle	PRSTT, here is	presentative demonstrative	
bèd màmbírí	Noun	coconut tree		cf. bér 'tree', àmàmbérí 'coconut'
bèd mán	Noun	bamboo tree		cf. bér 'tree', àmán 'bamboo'
bè ^H ... bì (jí)	Interrogative pro-form	who		
bén	Verb	say, speak, talk, tell		Tone is uncertain.
bèntí	Verb	cut nails	to cut one's nails	
bèntí	Noun	pants		
bér	Noun	tree		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
bèr	Noun	wood		
bèr àʃɔb	Noun	haunted tree		cf. bér 'tree', àʃòb 'ghost, apparition'
bètúg	Noun	pestle (to pound food with)		cf. bér 'tree', túg 'mortar'
bí	Cardinal numeral	one		cf. bímbíní 'one'
bíbírī	Verb	blow	to blow	cf. bír 'to blow'. Tone is uncertain.
bìgè	Noun	quiver		
bí ^L	Pronoun	3PL:NS, them	Third person plural non-subject pronominal	
bímbíní	Cardinal numeral	one		cf. bí 'one'. Tone is uncertain.
bír	Verb	cut	to cut	Tone is uncertain.
bír	Verb	slaughter	to slaughter	Tone is uncertain.
bír	Verb	blow		
bír ənùj	Verb	stand trial	literally 'swear on one's eyes'	cf. bír 'to blow', ànùj 'eye'. Literally 'to blow one's eye'. Tone is uncertain.
bô	Particle	that	distal demonstrative	cf. ò 'distal demonstrative'
bō	Cardinal numeral	ten		
bō gún bí	Cardinal numeral	eleven		cf. bō 'ten', bí 'one'
bō gún bímbíní	Cardinal numeral	eleven		cf. bō 'ten', bímbíní 'one'
bō gún dʒûb	Cardinal numeral	sixteen		cf. bō 'ten', dʒùb 'six'
bō gún dʒûb jírág	Cardinal numeral	seventeen		cf. bō 'ten', dʒùb jírág 'seven'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
bō gún jírāg	Cardinal numeral	twelve		cf. bō 'ten', jírāg 'two'
bō gún nár	Cardinal numeral	fourteen		cf. bō 'ten', nánár 'four'
bò gún pízàg	Cardinal numeral	nineteen		cf. bō 'ten', jízá 'nine'
bò gún sâr	Cardinal numeral	eighteen		cf. bō 'ten', sâr 'eight'
bō gún tʃâr	Cardinal numeral	thirteen		cf. bō 'ten', tʃâr 'three'
bò gún wún	Cardinal numeral	fifteen		cf. bō 'ten', ɻwún 'five'
bùbbòd	Adjective	big, heavy, large		cf. bòr 'to go up, to mount'
búbbɔrī	Adjective	many		cf. bòr 'to go up, to mount'
búbbúr	Adjective	white		cf. búr 'to become white'
būg	Verb	pinch		
búgbág	Adjective	skinny		Tone is uncertain.
bú ^L	Pronoun	3SG:NS, him, her, them (singular)	third person singular non-subject pronominal	
būm	Verb	rot, spoil	to rot, to spoil	
búmbóm	Adjective	long		cf. bóm 'to be long'
búmbúm	Adjective	spoiled, rotten, decayed'	rotten, spoiled, decayed	cf. būm 'rot, spoil'
būnī	Verb	be across, cross		
bùntí	Verb	drive, ride (a horse)		cf. būnī 'to be across, to cross'
búr	Verb	become white		
búr á *jí	Verb	whitened	to be whitened	cf. búr 'to become white'
bùsí	Verb	bow	to bow down to someone, for example to the king	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
bùsí	Verb	carry	to carry something or someone on one's back	
bùsí	Verb	close	to close something	
bùsí ŋkùm	Verb	carry on your back	to carry something or someone on one's back	cf. bùsí 'to carry'

D d

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dáb	Verb	to be far		
dág	Verb	to be cold, to become cold		
dágā	Adposition	from		cf. dákā 'from'. Borrowed from Hausa.
dákā	Adposition	from		cf. dágā 'from'. Borrowed from Hausa.
dàksí	Verb	cool down	to make something colder, to cool something down	cf. dág 'to be cold'
dàm	Verb	clean	to be clean	
dàmpój	Proper Noun	cult, sp.	a cult that involves secret rituals performed by the traditional chief	
dáŋâ	Noun	termite hill	a big termite hill consisting of dry sand	
dàr	Interjection	sorry	An apology, sorry	Tone is uncertain.
dàrá	Noun	palm tree		
dàw	Proper Noun	Jirim		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dōg	Verb	see		Tone is uncertain.
dá	Verb	to be, to exist		
dérí	Verb	draw		
dèb	Verb	buy		
dèg	Verb	to be sick	to be or to become sick	
déŋ	Verb	press clothes		
déŋ	Verb	roast	to roast something, e.g. maize	
déŋ	Verb	scrape	to scrape something	
déŋ	Verb	whet a knife		
déŋ	Verb	wipe		
dérí	Verb	snore		
díddáb	Adjective	far		cf. dáb 'to be far'
díddág	Adjective	cold		cf. dág 'to be cold'
díddág	Adjective	wet		cf. dág 'to be cold'
díddèg	Adjective	painful		cf. dèg 'to be sick'
díddèg	Adjective	sick		cf. dèg 'to be sick'
díg	Noun	hiccough		
díg	Noun	drum, sp.		
dígì	Noun	fish, sp.	Senegal bichir, an eel-like fish with a serrated dorsal fin, found in lakes, swamps and close to rivers. Reaches about 30cm in length.	
dilóng	Noun	shrew		
dín	Verb	find		Tone is uncertain.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dín	Verb	meet		Tone is uncertain.
dìnà	Noun	mosquito		
dìndàm	Adjective	clean		cf. dàm 'to be clean'
dìndòm	Adjective	red		cf. ádōmrī 'red'
díráŋ bér	Noun	root of a tree		cf. bér 'tree'
dó	Verb	insult	to insult someone	Tone is uncertain.
dùb	Verb	deep		
dùb	Verb	high, tall		
dúbú	Cardinal numeral	thousand		Borrowed from Hausa. Tone is uncertain.
dùddùb	Adjective	deep		cf. dùb 'deep, high, tall'
dùddùb	Adjective	high		cf. dùb 'deep, high, tall'
dùddùb	Adjective	tall		cf. dùb 'deep, high, tall'
dúg	Verb	follow		Tone is uncertain.
dùwásām	Proper Noun	person name		Tone is uncertain.

Dʒ ðʒ

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dzá	Noun	blade	the blade of something, e.g. a knife, an axe, a hoe, a key, or a tooth	
dzá	Noun	grain, seed		
dzá	Noun	reason		cf. džá 'grain, seed, situation'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dzá	Noun	situation		cf. dzá 'grain, seed, reason'
dzá gúsi kpò	Noun	kidney		cf. dzá 'grain, seed', kpò 'body'
dzá nṣè	Noun	clitoris		cf. dzá 'grain, seed', nṣè 'vagina'
dzá fàg	Noun	tooth blade	the part of a tooth that can be considered its blade	cf. dzá 'blade', àfàg 'tooth'
dzá zùg	Noun	rice		cf. dzá 'grain, seed', zùg 'grass'
dzá +lib	Noun	brains		cf. dzá 'reason', àlìb 'head'
džàg	Verb	hide, do secretly	to do something secretly	cf. džàg 'whisper'
džàg	Verb	whisper		cf. džàg 'hide'
dzám	Adverb	well		Borrowed from Hausa or Fulfulde. Tone is uncertain.
dzáñ	Verb	plant	to plant a tree or fruit	
džàngirigò	Noun	school		Borrowed from Fulfulde (janngirde).
džáñí	Verb	crawl		
džáñinúŋ	Noun	fish, sp.	an unidentified fish; it looks similar to species of Africa tetras, but grows much bigger (up to 2m) than the (other) tetras found in the area	cf. dzá 'grain, seed'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dzázô	Noun	fish, sp.	Cromeria, a small (ca. 4cm) type of freshwater fish that is often eaten smoked and dried	cf. džá 'grain, seed'
džónj	Noun	deity, sp.		
džónj	Verb	sit		
džónj	Verb	live, settle		
džónj ágbàn	Noun	female magic	the magic for which women are responsible	cf. džónj 'deity, sp.', ágbàn 'female'
džónj wór	Verb	guard		cf. džónj 'sit'
džónj wór	Verb	wait		cf. džónj 'sit'
džòr	Verb	decrease		
džòr	Verb	descend		
džòtí	Verb	bring down	to bring something down	cf. džòr 'to descend'
džòtí	Verb	wake up	to wake up	cf. džòr 'to descend'
džé	Particle	TOP, wat about	a topicalizer that affects the event or object described by the phrase or clause it is postposed to.	cf. džō, džē. In English, it can be paraphrased as "What about X?", X being this event or object. Such topicalization often occurs as a cohesive device in storytelling, to tie the discourse together. When used in natural interaction, it also functions as a question marker, pointing the hearer to an entity or topic they have neglected in his discourse.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dʒə̄	Particle	TOP, wat about	a topicalizer that affects the event or object described by the phrase or clause it is postposed to.	cf. dʒə̄, dʒə̄. In English, it can be paraphrased as "What about X?", X being this event or object. Such topicalization often occurs as a cohesive device in storytelling, to tie the discourse together. When used in natural interaction, it also functions as a question marker, pointing the hearer to an entity or topic they have neglected in his discourse.
dʒə̄	Particle	TOP, wat about	a topicalizer that affects the event or object described by the phrase or clause it is postposed to.	cf. dʒə̄, dʒə̄. In English, it can be paraphrased as "What about X?", X being this event or object. Such topicalization often occurs as a cohesive device in storytelling, to tie the discourse together. When used in natural interaction, it also functions as a question marker, pointing the hearer to an entity or topic they have neglected in his discourse.
dʒérî	Noun	guinea fowl		
dʒérî	Verb	look	to look at something	
dʒì	Noun	bat		
dʒì	Verb	dig		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dʒìb	Verb	fence	to fence a place	
dʒìb	Verb	round	to make something round	
dʒìb	Verb	turn	to turn around	
dʒìbrí	Verb	change		cf. dʒìb 'to turn'
dʒìbrí	Verb	exchange		cf. dʒìb 'to turn'
dʒìbrí	Verb	turn		cf. dʒìb 'to turn'
dʒùm	Proper Noun	place name	the place where all past chiefs are buried	
dʒíndʒíŋ	Adjective	foolish		cf. dʒíŋ 'to be foolish'
dʒíŋ	Verb	be foolish		
dʒò	Noun	fly		
dʒò nág	Noun	tsetse fly		cf. dʒò 'fly', nág 'cow'
dʒùb	Cardinal numeral	six		
dʒùb jírāg	Cardinal numeral	seven		cf. dʒùb 'six', jírāg 'two'
dʒúdʒúrág	Noun	shade		cf. dʒúdʒúrág 'shadow', zúzúrág 'shade'
dʒúdʒúrág	Noun	shadow		cf. dʒúdʒúrág 'shade', zúzúrág 'shadow'
dʒùmbàrè	Noun	Friday		Borrowed from Adamawa Fulfulde (jumbaare), originally from Arabic yoom aj-jum'a 'Friday', literally 'day of the mosque'
džúná	Noun	face		
džúná	Noun	structure		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
dgúrkàkí	Proper Noun	person name		cf. dgùtí 'dash, give', kùrígí 'God'
dgùrùkí	Proper Noun	place name	name of the place also known as kurugbe	
dgúrú [†] né	Noun	claw		cf. zùr 'to pull', ànjé 'hand, arm'
dgúrú [†] né	Noun	finger		cf. zùr 'to pull', ànjé 'hand, arm'
dgùtí	Verb	dash, give	to give a present or a (pre-)tip	cf. zùr 'to pull'
dgùtí	Verb	hand over		cf. zùr 'to pull'

Θ Θ

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
á	Particle	QUOT, (say) that	quotative marker, introduces reported speech	cf. íbí ^L 'quotative', í ^L 'quotative', íjí ^L 'quotative'

F f

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
fā	Verb	raise chickens	to raise animals; this verb is specifically used for chickens	
fād	Verb	suck		
fāg	Verb	close, cover, lock		
fāg á *jí	Verb	closed	to be closed	cf. fāg 'close, cover, lock'
fāgrí	Verb	gather	to gather things	cf. fāg 'close, cover, lock'
fam	Verb	plait hair	to plait someone's hair	cf. fam 'to squeeze, to wring out'. Tone is uncertain.
fam	Verb	squeeze	to squeeze something	cf. fam 'to plait hair, to wring out'. Tone is uncertain.
fam	Verb	wring out	to wring something out	cf. fam 'to squeeze, to plait hair'. Tone is uncertain.
fār	Verb	blow nose	to blow one's nose	
fār	Verb	fold, wrap	to fold something or wrap something in	
fār	Verb	think		
fārí	Verb	fold	to fold something	cf. fār 'to fold, wrap'
fārí	Verb	open	to open a door	cf. fār 'to fold, wrap'
fātārī	Verb	fold	to fold something	cf. fār 'to fold, wrap'
fāg	Verb	dry		
fāg	Noun	farm		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
fɔg	Noun	fish, sp.	grass-eater, a fish found in rivers that can grow to more than 60cm	
fɔnù	Noun	harmattan		
fé	Verb	break	to break something long, such as maize or an arm	
féb	Noun	anger		cf. féb 'to swell'
féb	Verb	swell		cf. féb 'anger'. Tone is uncertain.
fəntʃó	Proper Noun	Fincon		cf. nɪʃó 'coco yam'
fér	Verb	clean, wash		
fímfám	Adjective	light		cf. fam 'to squeeze, wring out' (tone uncertain).
fírī	Verb	fly		cf. fírī 'to jump'
fírī	Verb	jump		cf. fírī 'to fly'
fúffɔg	Adjective	dry		cf. fóg 'to be dry'
fúrû	Noun	mission grass	mission grass or foxtail, a very widespread type of grass	
fú+kúnú	Noun	grass, sp.	an unidentified type of grass	

G g

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
gág	Verb	hang	to hang	
gàgrí	Verb	hang up	to hang something up	cf. gág 'to hang'
gàj	Noun	beginning of spine	the piece of the spine that meets the neck	
gán	Noun	name		
gànsâ	Proper Noun	person name		
gàntú	Proper Noun	Gangtu Kamaajim	the place where the people closest to the traditional king live	
gàpsí	Verb	divorce	to divorce people	cf. gàb 'to separate'
gàpsí	Verb	separate	to separate things	cf. gàb 'to separate'
gàpsí	Verb	share	to share something, to divide something among one another	cf. gàb 'to share'
gàrí	Verb	undress	to take off one's clothes, to undress	
gàw	Noun	ribs		
gàw dʒwā	Noun	jaw		cf. gàw 'ribs', àdʒwā 'cheek'
góm	Verb	pay		
gópsí	Verb	separate	to separate things	
góptí	Proper Noun	Gobti		
gè̥ ... gì jí	Interrogative pro-form	what	content interrogative for non-humans	
gèr	Noun	outside		cf. àgèr 'outside'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
giggàb	Adjective	cut		cf. gàb 'to share, to separate'
gím á *jí	Adjective	broken		cf. gímsí 'to tear'
gím á *jí	Adjective	torn		cf. gímsí 'to tear'
gímsí	Verb	tear	cutting or breaking a part from, e.g., bread or tuwo	
gìn	Verb	drum	to beat drums	Tone is uncertain.
gín ánûŋ	Noun	eyebrow		cf. gínéné 'round', àgíníŋ 'buttocks', ànùŋ 'eye'
gínéné	Adjective	round		cf. àgíníŋ 'buttocks', gín ánûŋ 'eyebrow'. Tone is uncertain.
gíntí	Verb	knock	to knock, e.g. on wood or on a door	cf. gìn 'to drum'
gíngáŋ	Adjective	bent	not straight	
gíngàŋ	Noun	drum, sp.		
gíre	Noun	grasshopper		
gó	Noun	stranger, guest		
gúb	Verb	chase, chase away	to chase something or someone away, to pursue something or someone	
gúbí	Verb	chase, chase away	to chase something or someone away, to pursue something or someone	cf. gúb 'to chase'. Tone is uncertain.
gùm	Noun	grunt		
gúrôg	Noun	lion		
gùrì	Verb	vomit		cf. àgùrì 'vomit'
gúrú	Noun	dust		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
gùjí	Noun	ground nut, peanut		
gùjí kpímkpájá	Noun	bambara nut		cf. gùjí 'ground nut', kpímkpájá 'hard, strong'
gwàj	Noun	chest		

GB gb

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
gbá	Noun	type of flute	a flute used for communication	
gbàm	Verb	sew		
gbán	Verb	arrive		Tone is uncertain.
gbánákā	Adverb	later	in the same day, or generally later, but not much later	
gbásí	Verb	loosen		
gbógó	Noun	shin		
gbòrù	Noun	stream		
gbòrù	Noun	valley		
gbê	Noun	squirrel, sp.		
gbèb	Verb	beat		cf. gbèb 'to kick'
gbèb	Verb	kick		cf. gbèb 'to beat'
gbèb vā	Verb	to flog		cf. gbèb 'to beat'
gbèbrí	Verb	beat repeatedly	to beat or kick someone repeatedly	cf. gbèb 'to beat'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
gbēnī	Verb	carve	to carve something inside something else (e.g. to carve text in a tree), to ridge something	cf. gbèr 'to remove, to scratch'
gbēnī	Verb	dig open	to dig open yam heaps, or to dig for groundnuts	cf. gbèr 'to remove, to scratch'
gbèr	Verb	remove		
gbèr	Verb	scratch		
gbìgí	Verb	shake		
gbùgbúrû	Noun	striped polecat		

H h

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
hár	Adposition	(not) until		borrowed from Hausa or Fulfulde
hìn	Particle	INT, very	intensifier	cf. hin 'negator'. Used in an 'intensity construction', together with a reduplicated form of the verb, to indicate a high presence of a certain quality.
hìn	Particle	NEG, not	clause-final negator	
hwár	Verb	think		Tone is uncertain.

I i

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
i	Affix	FV, final vowel	final vowel, which is an optional part of some verb stems and part of a variety of constructions, but does not have one specific morphosyntactic function	It is toneless and takes the tone of the preceding syllable.
í	Pronoun	3PL.O, them	third person plural object pronominal	
í	Particle	QUOT, (say) that	quotative marker, introduces reported speech	cf. á 'quotative', íbi ^L 'quotative', íjí ^L 'quotative'
ì	Pronoun	1PL:S, we	first person plural subject pronominal	
íbí ^L	Particle	QUOT, (say) that	quotative marker, introduces reported speech	cf. á 'quotative', í ^L 'quotative', íjí ^L 'quotative'
ídžíb	Proper Noun	Egypt		Borrowed from English.
íjí ^L	Particle	QUOT, (say) that	quotative marker, introduces reported speech	
íkā	Particle	then	conjunction, linking clauses	
í ^L	Pronoun	3PL.POSS, their	third person plural possessive pronominal	
í ^L	Pronoun	LOG.SG, that they	logophoric pronominal	

J j

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jàg	Verb	carry		
jàg	Verb	take		
jág ágàŋ	Verb	pick up	to pick something up, to lift something up	cf.jàg 'to carry, to take', àgàŋ 'up'. Tone is uncertain.
jág ágbàn	Verb	marry	to marry a woman	cf.jàg 'to carry, to take', àgbàn 'wife'. Tone is uncertain.
jág ŋkùròg	Verb	record	to record something	cf.jàg 'to carry, to take', ŋkùròg 'voice, throat'. Tone is uncertain.
jàkú	Noun	ancestor		cf. jàkú 'grandparent/grandchild', kùkú 'ancestor'. It is not clear what the difference is between kùkú and jàkú.
jàkú	Noun	grandparent /grandchild		cf. jàkú 'ancestor', kùkú 'grandparent/grandchild'. It is not clear what the difference is between kùkú and jàkú.
jár	Verb	to be wide	to be or to become wide	
járt	Verb	announce	to announce something	
jàrsí	Verb	widen	to make something wider	cf. jár 'to be wide'
jáwwà	Interjection	yes!	exclamation of agreement or delight	This is a common exclamation in the area.
jé	Verb	cry, shout		Tone is uncertain.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jé	Verb	enter		Tone is uncertain.
jé kôm	Noun	door, entrance		cf. ɳwē 'mouth', kòm 'place'
jèsí	Verb	bring inside		cf. jé 'enter'
jètí	Verb	lean	to lean against something	
jéb	Verb	fry		Tone is uncertain.
jéné	Noun	horse		
jéŋí ntē	Noun	foal		cf. jéné 'horse', ántē 'small'
jèrí	Verb	be plenty	to be plenty, to be sufficient, to be too much	
jī	Verb	arrive		cf. jī 'leave'
jí	Verb	leave		cf. jí 'arrive'
jī	Particle	Q, ?	question marker	
jī	Verb	stand		
jī	Verb	wake up		
jìb	Verb	ask		
jìb	Verb	greet	greet	
jíb wé	Verb	greet	to greet someone	cf. jib 'greet', ɳwé 'mouth'. Tone is uncertain.
jífúrû	Noun	stingray	Niger stingray, a stingray found in rivers in the area	
jíjár	Adjective	wide		cf. jár 'to be wide'
jírāg	Cardinal numeral	two		
jísí	Verb	put straight	to put something straight	cf. jí 'to stand'
jítí	Verb	carry up	to carry something up	cf. jí 'to stand'
jō	Particle	PL, -s	Plural marker	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
júrú	Pronoun	1PL.O, us	first person plural object pronominal	
jùrù	Pronoun	1PL, we	first person plural subject pronominal	
júrú ^L	Pronoun	1PL.POSS, our	first person plural possessive pronominal	

K k

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ká	Verb	shout		Tone is uncertain.
kà	Verb	break	to break something	
kà	Verb	harvest maize	to harvest maize by breaking it	
kā	Particle	COND, if, when	postclausal conditional particle	
kā	Adverb	here	this place, here	
kā	Noun	place		
kág	Verb	crunch	to crunch (intransitive)	
kág á *jí	Verb	crunched		cf. kág 'to crunch'
kaj	Interjection	hey		This interjection does not have a fixed tone.
kàj	Noun	falcon		
kàksàg	Noun	basket		
kàksí	Verb	crunch	to crunch something	cf. kág 'to crunch'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kàm sírá	Proper Noun	place name	name of Kam Sira, a Kam village	
kàndà	Noun	grasshopper, sp.	a big type of grasshopper	
kàndàgà	Noun	insect, sp.		
kántô	Noun	sugar		
káŋjálí	Noun	ant, sp.	an unidentified type of red ant	
káŋjéláŋ	Noun	hanging basket		
kàŋkánê	Noun	Monday		Name of a Jirim village that has a market event on Mondays. Also Kankani.
káŋkāŋā	Adjective	empty		Tone is uncertain.
kàpèj	Noun	cutlass		
kàpìrù	Noun	match		
kár	Verb	accompany		Tone is uncertain.
kàr	Verb	have		
kàr	Verb	keep		
kár jí mī hì	Clause	there are no problems	a response in a greeting, used to say that one is doing well	cf. kár 'to have', jí 'thing', mī ^L 'some', hì 'not'. Literally: 'I don't have anything.'
kàsí	Verb	branch	to branch off, to take a different path	cf. kà 'break'
kàsí	Verb	break		cf. kà 'break'
kàtʃírî	Noun	weaver ant		
kávén	Proper Noun	person name		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ká ⁺ qírí	Noun	hedgehog		
kò nīnnāmī	Noun	grinding place	a mill, a grinding place	cf. kòm 'place', nàm 'to grind'
kògònjí	Noun	old person		cf. ákòg 'biggest one, dominant one', ànjí 'person'
kòktí	Verb	smooth	to be smooth	
kóm	Verb	complete	to complete something, to finish something	cf. kóm 'to tie'
kóm	Verb	tie	to tie a wrapper	cf. kóm 'to complete'
kòm	Noun	place		
kòm dʒòŋ	Noun	chair		cf. kóm 'place', dʒòŋ 'to sit'
kòm lù	Noun	bed		cf. kóm 'place', lù 'to sleep'
kòmsí	Verb	engage	to be engaged to someone or to be betrothed to someone	cf. kóm 'to tie, to complete'
kòŋí	Verb	repair	to repair something	
kòŋfímì	Noun	snail	May be a water snail or a land snail	
kòr	Verb	to surpass	to surpass someone or something	
kòrí	Verb	praise	to praise someone	
kòsí	Verb	gather		cf. kòsí 'to join'
kòsí	Verb	join		cf. kòsí 'to gather'
kó	Adposition	INSTR, with	instrumental preposition	cf. kó 'temporal preposition'
kó	Adposition	TEMP, at, during	temporal preposition	cf. kó 'instrumental preposition'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kó bá	Particle	when, that	complementizer used for expressing wishes	cf. kó 'temporal preposition, instrumental preposition', bá 'this'
kó bérí mīnā	Interrogative pro-form	when	question word used to ask for a certain time	cf. kó 'temporal preposition', bérí 'time', mīnā 'which'
kōmā	Adverb	here		cf. kōm 'place', à 'this'
kōmò	Adverb	there		cf. kōm 'place', ò 'that'. Tone is uncertain.
kérəbìg	Noun	scorpion		
kérəbìg mìŋkáŋá	Noun	lobster		cf. kérəbìg 'scorpion', mìŋkáŋá 'water'
kérəbìg fùgərì	Noun	black scorpion		cf. kérəbìg 'scorpion', àfùgərì 'termite's nest'
kérəbìg tè	Noun	earwig		cf. kérəbìg 'scorpion', tè 'guinea corn'
kéb	Verb	blow (wind)	to blow, of the wind	Tone is uncertain.
kíkkág	Adjective	crunched	to be crunched	kág 'to crunch (intransitive)'
kím	Verb	bite, chew		
kímpōnī	Noun	boat		cf. Adamawa Fulfulde koombooje 'boat'
kímpōnī	Noun	airplane		cf. Adamawa Fulfulde koombooje 'airplane'
kìní	Proper Noun	person name		
kìngindzírí	Proper Noun	person name		
kó	Connective	or		Borrowed from Hausa (ko)

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kō	Particle	place	that place, there	cf. kēmō 'there'. Tone is uncertain.
kò ásō	Noun	sweat		cf. kò ásō 'sweat'
kò ásō	Noun	sweat		cf. ásō 'hot'
kò gòm bāgī	Noun	mosque		cf. kòm 'place', àgòm 'forehead', bāgī 'to lower one's head', ní gòm bāgī 'Muslim'
kú	Noun	cobra		cf. kú 'deity, magic'
kú	Noun	deity	generic name for all gods	cf. kú 'cobra, magic'
kú	Noun	magic		cf. kú 'deity, cobra'
kúb	Verb	wear		
kùb	Verb	rain lightly	to rain lightly	
kùb	Verb	weaken	to become weak	
kûb	Noun	reed fish	reed fish or snakefish, a snake-like fish that can grow more than 30cm in length	
kúbérî	Noun	dustbin		
kùkóktî	Adjective	smooth		cf. kòktí 'to smoothen'
kúkórú	Noun	donkey		
kùkkùb	Adjective	weak	to be weak	cf. kùb 'to become weak'
kúkkúr	Adjective	smelly	to be smelly	cf. kúr 'to stink'
kùkú	Noun	ancestor		cf. jàkú 'ancestor', kùkú 'grandparent/grandchild'. It is not clear what the difference is between kùkú and jàkú.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kùkú	Noun	grandparent /grandchild		cf. jàkú 'grandparent/grandchild', kùkú 'ancestor'. It is not clear what the difference is between kùkú and jàkú.
kúkwéj	Noun	stick, sp.	a stick that is used to send messages from village to village, carried around by messengers, e.g. to call meetings	cf. kwî 'walking stick'
kúmé	Noun	chicken		
kúmé vân	Noun	rooster		cf. kúmé 'chicken', ávân 'male'
kùnì	Noun	dirt		cf. kùnjì 'dustbin', kúr 'to stink'
kùpjì	Noun	dustbin		cf. kùnì 'dirt', kúr 'to stink'
kùntí	Verb	bend down		cf. kùptí 'to bow down, to kneel down, to squat'
kùptí	Verb	bow down, kneel down, squat		cf. kùntí 'to bend down'
kúr	Verb	stink	to stink, to be smelly	
kùrìkî	Proper Noun	God	term used for both the primary traditional deity and the Abrahamic deity	cf. kú 'magic, deity'
kùrúkùrù	Noun	grasshopper, sp.	a big grasshopper	
kùrùkwàb	Noun	bird sp	an unidentified big type of non-water bird	
kùsí	Verb	smell	to smell something	cf. kúr 'to stink'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kwàñ	Proper Noun	Jukun		cf. ïkwāñ 'bean', àkwāñ 'bean'
kwàntóŋ	Proper Noun	Mumuye		cf. kwàñ 'Jukun', ñtóŋ 'mountain'
kwàntérí	Verb	bend	to bend something, such as the branch of a tree	
kwàntérí	Verb	fold	to fold something, such as clothes	
kwár	Verb	make a rope		Tone is uncertain.
kwàr	Noun	hip, loins, waist		
kwàsí	Verb	pluck		
kwêj	Noun	mudfish	mudfish, an airbreathing type of catfish that can grow up to 1m in length.	
kwí	Noun	walking stick		cf. kúkwéj 'stick, sp.'

KP kp

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kpá	Noun	grazing ground	a path cattle follow to go to water	
kpá	Noun	wrapper	a colorful piece of clothing worn by women	
kpà	Noun	claw		cf. kpà 'cover, nail'
kpà	Noun	cover		
kpà	Noun	nail		cf. kpà 'cover, claw'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kpà bér	Noun	bark		cf. kpà 'cover', bér 'tree'
kpà líp ūí rè bòg	Noun	toe nail		cf. kpà 'cover, claw, nail', àlím ūí rè bòg 'toe'
kpà líp ūí rè pé	Noun	fingernail		cf. kpà 'cover, claw, nail', àlím ūí rè pé 'finger'
kpāb	Verb	mix		
kpágárág	Proper Noun	place name	name of Bayaro, a Kam village.	cf. kpágárág 'tilapia'.
kpágárág	Noun	fish, sp., tilapia		
kpānē	Adverb	before	at least one year ago	cf. kpānēkā 'before'
kpānēkā	Adverb	before	at least one year ago	cf. kpānē 'before'
kpáŋ	Adverb	usually		Tone is uncertain.
kpàŋí	Verb	strong	to be strong	
kpàŋrí	Verb	hang out	to go outside without a particular goal in mind	
kpár	Verb	rain		Tone is uncertain.
kpájìnè nág	Noun	bird, sp.	an unidentified type of bird; it is white and is often seen moving along with cow herds	cf. nág 'cow'. Tone is uncertain.
kpàtibá	Noun	north		
kpɔŋ	Noun	illiterate person		Tone is uncertain.
kpōrī	Verb	cough		
kpèsí	Verb	slippery	to be slippery	cf. kpèsí 'to be smooth'
kpèsí	Verb	smooth	to be smooth	cf. kpèsí 'to be slippery'
kpējmī	Cardinal numeral	twenty		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
kpējmī gún bī	Cardinal numeral	twenty-one		cf. kpējmī 'twenty', bī 'one'
kpējmī gún bō	Cardinal numeral	thirty		cf. kpējmī 'twenty', bō 'ten'
kpét á +jí	Adjective	tired		cf. kpétí 'to tire'
kpètí	Verb	tire	to become tired	
kpíkpésī	Adjective	slippery		cf. kpèsí 'to be slippery'. Tone is uncertain.
kpíkpésī	Adjective	smooth		cf. kpèsí 'to be smooth'. Tone is uncertain.
kpìmkpáŋī	Adjective	difficult, hard, strong		cf. kpàŋí 'to be strong'. Tone is uncertain.
kpír	Verb	brew	to brew something, to prepare a liquid	Tone is uncertain.
kpò	Noun	body		
kpò	Particle	REFL, self	reflexive marker	cf. kpò 'body'
kpò bér	Noun	tree trunk		cf. kpò 'body', bér 'tree'

L 1

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
là	Noun	skin		
là kpò	Noun	skin		cf. là 'skin', kpò 'body'
là kúmé	Noun	book, paper, tissue		cf. là 'skin', kúmé 'chicken'
là nùŋ	Noun	eyelid		cf. là 'skin', ànùŋ 'eye'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
làb	Verb	do secretly	to do something secretly, to hide oneself while doing something	Tone is uncertain.
làg	Verb	lick		
làgàtàr	Noun	fish, sp.	Ansorge's Neolebias, a small (max. 2.6cm) fish that lives close to stones and tastes bitter.	cf. làg 'to lick', àtàr 'stone'. It is called data in Hausa.
lágá⁺sô	Noun	alligator		
láhàdì	Noun	Sunday		Borrowed from Hausa (Lahadi), originally from Arabic yoom al-aħad 'Sunday', literally 'day the first'
lámē	Noun	hare		
làmìkàr	Noun	earwax		cf. àkàr 'ear'
lántí	Noun	joint		
lánj	Verb	cook		Tone is uncertain.
lánjî	Noun	blind person		
lapseí	Verb	hide	to do something secretly	cf. làb 'to do something secretly'
làrí	Verb	open	to unwrap something that is covered with cloth; also to open curtains	
lòg	Verb	deliver		
lògòrí	Verb	end		cf. lòg 'to deliver'
lòm	Verb	plant	to plant crops	
lòb	Adposition	inside		cf. àlèb 'inside, in'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
lèg	Verb	sharp	to be sharp	
lèg	Verb	hear, listen		
lèksí	Verb	sharpen	to make something sharp	cf. lèg 'to be sharp'
làm	Verb	beautiful, good, correct	to be beautiful, good, correct	
lém m̄ â	Phrase	It is good for me.	An expression of delight. Literally 'it is good for/to me'.	cf. lèm 'good', m̄ 'me'
lèmsí	Verb	beautify	to make something good, beautiful; to promote something	cf. lèm 'to be beautiful, good, correct'
lénî	Noun	axe	a small battleaxe	
lèsí	Verb	pick it		
líb	Adposition	on		cf. àlób 'head, on'
lig	Verb	dance	to dance	Tone is uncertain.
líg gbíg	Verb	dance	to dance	cf. lig 'to dance', gbígí 'to shake'
lillòg	Adjective	fertile	to be fertile	cf. lòg 'to deliver'
lillèg	Adjective	sharp	to be sharp	cf. lèg 'to be sharp'
lillèm	Adjective	beautiful, good, correct		cf. lèm 'to be beautiful, good, correct'
lím	Verb	dive		
lò	Verb	wash (body)	to wash one's body	
lò kpò	Verb	take bath	to take a bath, to have a shower	cf. lò 'wash body', kpò 'body'
lù	Verb	lie down		
lù	Verb	sleep		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
lù	Noun	worm-like insect		
lù bì	Verb	lie down		cf. lù 'to sleep, to lie down', àbì 'down'
lùb	Verb	uproot		
lúb á +jí	Verb	removed	to be removed	cf. lùb 'to uproot'
lùbrí	Verb	remove	to remove something	cf. lùb 'to uproot'
lùbrí	Verb	uproot	to uproot a crop	cf. lùb 'to uproot'
lùmò	Noun	market		cf. lùmò 'week'
lùmò	Noun	week		cf. lùmò 'market'
lùpsí	Verb	remove		cf. lùb 'to uproot'
lùtí	Verb	appoint somebody	to appoint someone, to crown someone	cf. lù 'to sleep, to lie down'
lùtí	Verb	lay something down	to lay something down	cf. lù 'to sleep, to lie down'
lwàm	Noun	hippopotamus		

M m

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
m	Interjection	yes		This interjection does not have a fixed tone.
ím	Pronoun	1SG.O, me	first person singular object pronominal	
m m	Interjection	no		This interjection does not have a fixed tone.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
má	Connective	and	connects clauses, not noun phrases (which are conjoined with the comitative marker rè 'with')	cf. àmá 'and'
má	Connective	but	connects clauses	cf. àmá 'but'
mà	Particle	also	additive marker	borrowed from Hausa (ma)
mà	Verb	give	to give something to someone	Tone is uncertain.
má +fēb	Verb	make angry	to make someone angry	cf. mà 'to give', fēb 'anger'
mag	Verb	measure	to measure something	Tone is uncertain.
mag	Verb	taste	to taste something	Tone is uncertain.
màgàrí	Verb	imitate, act	to imitate something or someone; to act in a play	
mágáří káp̄tì	Noun	early morning	time of the day from 4 a.m. to 5 a.m.	cf. màgàrí 'to imitate', àkáp̄tì 'morning'
màjòkàm	Nominal	Wednesday		Name of Mayo Kam, a Kam village with a market event on Wednesdays.
màkpà	Noun	muslim		
málâm	Noun	teacher		Borrowed from Hausa.
mām	Verb	give me		cf. mà 'to give', m̄ 'me'
màn	Noun	fat		cf. màn 'oil'
màn	Noun	fuel		cf. màn 'oil'
màn	Noun	oil		cf. màn 'fat'
màn èlîb	Noun	brains		cf. màn 'fat', àlîb 'head'
màn àf̄ôr	Noun	honey		cf. màn 'fat', àf̄ôr 'bee'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
máñî	Noun	fish, sp.	an unidentified greasy-tasting fish that looks similar to a tarpon but is found in freshwater	cf. mán 'fat'
mántì	Proper Noun	person name		
màngóró	Noun	mango		Borrowed from Hausa
màrè	Noun	river		
màrè jòb	Noun	haunted river		cf. màrè 'river', àjòb 'ghost, apparition'
màsàr	Proper Noun	Egypt	Egypt	Borrowed from Hausa
màsí	Verb	know		cf. mǎ 'to know', màsí 'to notice'
màsí	Verb	notice		cf. màsí 'to know'
màfímí	Proper Noun	person name		
mòg	Noun	smoke		
mòm	Verb	laugh		
mòmtí	Verb	greet		cf. mòm 'to laugh'
mē	Noun	mother		
mē	Verb	give them		cf. mà 'to give', í 'them'
mè dáñâ	Noun	queen termite		cf. mè 'mother', dáñâ 'termite hill'. Tone is uncertain.
mè swò	Noun	older female large ape	older female in a troop of apes	cf. mè 'mother', swò 'baboon'. Used for different species of apes (e.g. baboons, chimpanzees, gorillas).

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
mè tàr nīnnāmī	Noun	big grinding stone		cf. mè 'mother', àtàr 'stone', nàm 'to grind. Tone is uncertain.
mè tìdžónj	Noun	official, sp.	the mother of the traditional king; she's responsible for the magic called tìdžónj	cf. mè 'mother', tìdžónj 'magic, sp., east'
mèlénj	Noun	insect, sp.		cf. mè 'mother'
mèràsà	Noun	python		
mèrà	Verb	return		
mèràg	Noun	ant, sp.	an unidentified type of ant that stings	
mèràg	Noun	nasal mucus		cf. àmèràg 'nose'
mén á +jí	Verb	scattered	to be scattered	cf. mènsí 'to scatter', mìnsí 'to scatter'
mènsí	Verb	scatter	to scatter things	cf. mìnsí 'to scatter'
mér	Verb	swallow		Tone is uncertain.
mìfàm	Noun	animal, meat		cf. àfàm 'animal, meat'
mìfò	Noun	forest		
mìfò kú	Noun	paternal relative		cf. mìfò 'forest', jàkú 'ancestor', kùkú 'ancestor'
mgbàb	Verb	shoot		
mgbètè	Noun	pouched rat		
mijírág	Adjective	alone		cf. jírág 'two'. Tone is uncertain.
mí^L	Particle	some, any, a certain	existential quantifier	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
mílágmílág	Adjective	soft		cf. mìlàksí 'to soften'. Tone is uncertain.
mìlàksí	Verb	soften	to make something soft	
mìljèn	Cardinal numeral	one million		Borrowed from Hausa. Tone is uncertain.
mín	Adverb	like this		
míná	Particle	PRSTT, see it	presentative demonstrative	cf. míl 'like this'
mínā	Interrogative pro-form	which	interrogative modifier	
mìnsí	Verb	scatter	to scatter things	cf. mènsí 'to scatter'
mìnté	Adjective	few		cf. ántē 'small'
mìnté	Adjective	little	little, only used for mass nouns (fluids, food, fruit)	
míŋ	Verb	build		
mìŋkáŋá	Noun	water		
mìŋkáŋá bér ábūrī	Noun	egg white		cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', àbèr 'egg', ábūrī 'white'
mìŋkáŋá bér ádōmrī	Noun	yolk, egg yolk	egg yolk	cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', àbèr 'egg', ádōmrī 'red'
mìŋkáŋá mārēg	Noun	nasal mucus		cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', àmārēg 'nose'
mìŋkáŋá nùŋ	Noun	iris (of the eye)		cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', ànùŋ 'eye'
mìŋkáŋá nùŋ	Noun	tears		cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', ànùŋ 'eye'
mìŋkáŋá n̄tòg	Noun	semen		cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', n̄tòg 'penis'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
mìŋkáŋá +ifóṛ	Noun	honey		cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', àfóṛ 'bee'
mìŋkáŋá +ví	Noun	milk		cf. mìŋkáŋá 'water', àví 'bee'
míŋkìm	Adjective	different		
mìsàg	Noun	broom		
mísí	Adverb	again		
ìmkpákár	Noun	back of head		
ìmkpálílēj	Noun	butterfly		
ìmkpàtì	Noun	plant, sp.	a leaf that is used for the preparation of draw soup	
ìmkpòkéróg	Noun	tree, sp.	an unidentified type of tree that is used for making traditional toothbrushes	Its name in Hausa is dada toka.
ìmkpóŋ	Noun	mute	someone who cannot speak	
ìmkpōŋ	Noun	agama lizard	agama lizard	
ìmkpóŋé	Noun	thigh		
ìmkpè	Noun	benniseed	sesame seed, benniseed	
ìmkpíntèṛì	Noun	banana		cf. ìmkpíntèṛì 'banana'
ìmkpíntèṛì	Noun	lame person		cf. ìmkpíntèṛì 'lame person'
ìmkpò	Noun	tuwo		
ìmkpò ðzú	Noun	pounded yam		cf. ìmkpò 'tuwo', àdžú 'yam'
mí^L	Pronoun	1SG.POSS, my	first person singular possessive pronominal	
mō	Verb	give him		cf. mà 'to give', ú 'him'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ìmpāj	Noun	lutefish, sp.	a type of lutefish, living on the bottom of lakes and growing to around 60cm in length. It goes upstream to lay eggs.	
ìmpàndzóŋ	Noun	mouse, sp.	possibly a jerboa	
ìmpáŋérí	Noun	monkey, sp.		
ìmpɔg	Noun	male goat		
ìmpòm	Noun	rain		
ìmpōm	Noun	wing	wing of a bird	
ìmpérâŋ	Noun	fish, sp.	featherback, a type of fish with slender and long bodies that has a knife-like shape and is also called knifefish	
ìmpérāg	Noun	rat		
ìmpérè	Noun	bird, sp.		
ìmpérèŋ	Noun	testicle		
ìmpérī	Noun	goat		
ìmpérímì	Noun	dung beetle		
ìmpérímì ſib	Noun	cockroach		cf. ìmpérímì 'dung beatle', àſib 'shit'
ìmpérè	Noun	leopard		
ìmpō	Noun	monkey, sp.		Tone is uncertain.
ímprím	Noun	okra		
ìmpúŋ	Noun	jug, calabash		
ìmpúŋ dʒón	Noun	ritual calabash		cf. ìmpúŋ 'calabash', dʒón 'deity, sp.'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ìmpúr	Noun	spring	a spring, a point where groundwater reaches the surface	
ìmpwár	Noun	duck		
múg	Verb	lick	e.g. to taste soup, to eat sugar or flour	Tone is uncertain.
mùmúsí	Adjective	full		cf. mùsí 'to fill something'. Tone is uncertain.
mùpà	Noun	patience		
mùrì	Noun	pearl millet	harvested in august or september	
múrô	Noun	maize		
mùrù	Noun	neighbor		
mùrù	Noun	peer	someone in the same social group	
mùsí	Verb	fill	to fill something, such as a cup, or a dictionary	

N n

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ń	Pronoun	1SG.S.PFV, I	first person singular perfective and future STAMP-morph/pronominal	
ń	Pronoun	1SG.S.IPFV, I	first person singular imperfective STAMP-morph/pronominal	
jà	Pronoun	2SG.ID, you	second person singular independent pronominal	
nàb	Verb	cut	to cut something with a cutlass or an axe	
nág	Noun	cow		
nàg	Verb	give a name	to give something or someone a name	Tone is uncertain.
nàg	Verb	lay eggs	to lay eggs	Tone is uncertain.
nàg	Verb	throw	to throw something	Tone is uncertain.
nág á ⁺ bóŋ	Verb	be alive		cf. nág 'to throw', àbóŋ 'breath'
nág á ⁺ bóŋ	Verb	breathe		cf. nág 'to throw', àbóŋ 'breath'
nág á ⁺ bóŋ	Verb	rest		cf. nág 'to throw', àbóŋ 'breath'
nám	Noun	buffalo		
nàm	Verb	grind	to grind something	Tone is uncertain.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
námbógrî	Noun	elephantfish	freshwater elephantfish, a family of fish that encompasses a wide range of species with widely varying sizes and different colors (dark and light), all characterized by a big head, and some characterized by an elephant-trunk-like mouthpart.	
nāŋkō	Adverb	first		Tone is uncertain.
nár	Verb	thick	to be thick	
nòr	Noun	spear, sp.		Tone is uncertain. The final <r> may represent a trill rather than a tap.
ndgámdí	Noun	iron		Borrowing from Fulfulde (njamndi)
ndgámdí	Noun	time	time on a clock	Borrowing from Fulfulde (njamndi)
ndgindženàkù	Noun	mantis		
nēwī	Proper Noun	Person name		
ñfànj	Noun	rat		
nìgí	Verb	stamp	to stamp with one's feet on the ground	cf. nìgí 'to trample'. Tone is uncertain.
nìgí	Verb	trample	to trample someone or something	cf. nìgí 'to stamp'. Tone is uncertain.
nìm	Verb	eat, bite	to eat something that you can bite; to bite (e.g. of a dog)	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
nìmsí	Verb	feed		cf. nìm 'to eat'
nìmtím	Noun	tumbu fly		
nínnám	Noun	flesh		cf. nám 'buffalo', nàm 'to grind'
nìnnänī	Quantifier	many	multal quantifier, expressing that there is a large quantity of something	There is no distinction for count or non-count nouns.
nínnár	Adjective	thick		Used only for things, not for animate nouns.
ìnár	Cardinal numeral	`four		
ńsâ	Noun	fish, sp.	African arowana, a species of fish belonging to the bonytongue family with a long body and large scales that can reach up to 1m in length	
ńsàŋà	Noun	fish, sp.	an unidentified type of fish that could be a tigerfish or the Niger tetra	
ńsòg	Noun	salt		
ńsé	Noun	gazelle, sp.		
ńsìrāŋ	Noun	bird, sp.	an unidentified medium-sized type of bird that comes to feed on maize on farms during harvest period	
ńsúrój	Noun	dance, sp.	a traditional dance, performed in september	
ńtāb	Noun	darkness		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ńtām	Noun	medicine, chemicals		
ńtām zùg	Noun	herbicide		cf. ńtām 'chemicals', zùg 'grass'
ńtōg	Noun	penis		
ńtōŋ	Noun	mountain		
ńtōŋ sání	Proper Noun	place name	A mountain in Sarkin Dawa	cf. ńtōŋ 'mountain'
ńtōwéj	Noun	south		cf. jí ntōŋí wēj 'clan, sp.'
ńtēkù	Noun	toad		cf. ántē 'small', kú 'magic, deity, cobra'
ńtén	Noun	spear, sp.		
ńtéři	Noun	squirrel		
ńtímá	Noun	sheep		
ńtřā	Noun	star		
ńtřatérì	Noun	stock	A stock that is used to make fences	
ńtřóm	Noun	hoe		
ńtřóŋ	Noun	pig		cf. ńtřóŋ 'pig'
ńtřóŋ	Noun	pig		cf. ńtřóŋ 'pig'
ńtřóŋ á+řé	Noun	wart hog		cf. ńtřóŋ 'pig', ářé 'bush'
ńtře	Noun	vagina		
ńtřé	Noun	war		cf. ářé 'war'
ńtří	Noun	bow		
ńtří	Noun	tendon		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ñjí	Noun	vein		cf. ñjí 'tendon'; alternative: àlùkòm wò 'vein'
ñjimā	Noun	crab		Tone is uncertain.
ñjiròŋ	Noun	insect, sp.	unidentified insect, elicited with a picture of an ensign fly	Its name in Hausa is rina.
ñjō	Noun	coco yam		
ñjūŋ	Noun	rope		
ñjwâg	Noun	striped grass mouse		Also called a 'bad-luck rat'. If you catch one, you shouldn't kill it, because you won't ever be able to catch any rat again.
ñjwàŋ	Noun	bird, sp.	an unidentified type of waterbird that resembles a storm petrel. It is frequently heard as it has a loud and frequent screech	
ñjwé	Noun	rainy season		
ñtúŋdér	Noun	outside of belly		cf. àdér 'outside of belly'
ñtútú	Noun	Senegal coucal	Centropus senegalensis	
nùg	Verb	copulate		
núŋ	Noun	bird		
núŋ	Verb	to drink		
núŋ	Verb	to smoke		
nùŋsí	Verb	feed water	to feed someone a fluid, e.g. milk or water	cf. nút 'to drink'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ñvìnvè	Noun	wasp		

N ñ

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jàl	Pronoun	2SG.POSS, your	second person singular possessive pronominal	
jàŋ	Noun	crybaby		
jàŋí	Adverb	quickly		Tone is uncertain.
jàr	Verb	drip		
jàsí	Verb	pour	pour something into or onto a target with a wide opening, e.g. the floor or a large pot	cf. jàr 'to drip'
jàé rà gàw	Verb	limp	to limp, to walk with difficulty	cf. jàéb 'to go', rà 'with', gàw 'side, ribs'
jàéb	Verb	go		Tone is uncertain.
jàení	Verb	refuse	to refuse something	Tone is uncertain.
jàí	Noun	people, person, man		
jàí	Noun	thing, something		
jàí bárī	Noun	farmer		cf. jàí 'person', bárī 'to farm'
jàí bōrī	Noun	big man		cf. jàí 'person', ábōrī 'big'
jàí bōrī	Noun	elder person		cf. jàí 'person', ábōrī 'big'
jàí bōrī	Noun	forefather		cf. jàí 'person', ábōrī 'big'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jì díní	Noun	progress		cf. jì 'thing', dín 'to meet, to find'
jí dūgī	Noun	drunk person		cf. jí 'person'. Tone is uncertain.
jí dʒùtí	Noun	gift		cf. jì 'thing', dʒùtí 'to give a present'
jí fágī	Noun	prisoner		cf. jí 'person', fág 'to close, to cover'
jí gbàn	Noun	woman, women		
jí gòm bāgī	Noun	Muslim		cf. jí 'person', àgòm 'forehead', bāgī 'to lower one's forehead', kò gòm bāgī 'mosque'
jí idérī	Noun	school		cf. jì 'thing', dèrī 'to draw'
jí ínágē	Noun	itch		cf. jì 'thing'
jí íʃòb tūrī	Noun	pump		cf. jì 'thing', àʃòb 'air', tùr 'to pump'
jí íʃò	Noun	creature	creature, living being	cf. jì 'thing', áʃò 'hot'
jí kàr fágī	Noun	deaf person		cf. jí 'person', àkàr 'ear', fág 'to close, to cover'
jí làkòm	Noun	termite		cf. jì 'thing'
jí làŋ mōŋī	Noun	potter		cf. jí 'person', àlàŋ 'pot'
jí mfó + séj	Proper Noun	royal clan that brings the king		cf. jí 'person', mìfó 'forest', séj 'tree, sp.'
jí mìŋkáŋá tūgī	Noun	cup		cf. jì 'thing', mìŋkáŋá 'water', tÙg 'fetch'
jí nág nímsí	Noun	cattle rearer		cf. jí 'person', nág 'cow', nímsí 'to feed'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jí jí bārī	Noun	farmer		cf. jí 'person', jí 'thing', bár 'to farm'
jí jí dūbī	Noun	teacher		cf. jí 'person', jí 'thing', dubi 'to write' (tone uncertain)
jí jí gbāmī	Noun	tailor		cf. jí 'person', jí 'thing', gbàm 'to sew'
jí jí mgbābī	Noun	hunter		cf. jí 'person', jí 'thing', mgbàb 'to shoot'
jí jí tī	Noun	hammer		cf. jí 'person', jí 'thing', tí 'to hit'
jí ntóŋ sání	Noun	clan, sp.	one of the clans within Kam	cf. jí 'person', ntóŋ sání 'place name'
jí ntóŋí wéj	Proper Noun	clan, sp.	the clan that is responsible for rainfall	cf. jí 'person', ntóŋ 'mountain', wéj 'tree, sp.'
jí nùŋ tīksí	Noun	Christian	a Christian	cf. jí 'person', ànùŋ 'eye', tīksí 'to close'
jí ŋwòm	Noun	Kam people, Kam person		cf. jí 'person', àŋwòm 'Kam'
jí ŋwé lāŋ	Noun	pot cover		cf. jí 'thing', ŋwé 'mouth', àlāŋ 'pot'
jí +jé kárī	Noun	hunter		cf. jí 'person', àjé 'bush', kár 'to accompany', kár 'to have, to keep'
jí séd ntàm	Noun	doctor		cf. jí 'person', sér 'room', ntàm 'medicine'
jí sèt tùd bírī	Noun	bellows		cf. jí 'thing', sér 'room', tür 'to pump', bír 'to blow'
jí fíb	Noun	anus		cf. jí 'thing', àfíb 'shit'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jì sín rò jí	Proper Noun	person name		cf. jì 'thing', jí 'person', sín 'to do, to make', rò 'with', jí 'person'
jí fírikú	Proper Noun	clan, sp.	clan responsible for magic in general	cf. jí 'person'
jí tábé tʃūgī	Noun	fisherman		cf. jí 'person', àtábé 'fish', tʃūg 'to catch'
jí vān	Noun	man, men		cf. jí 'person', ávān 'male'
jí +zóg	Noun	lazy person	lazy person	cf. jí 'person', àzóg 'lazy person'
jím	Pronoun	1SG.ID, me, I	first person singular independent pronoun, also used for focus	
jípí	Pronoun	other one	another one (both used for people and objects)	
jípí	Pronoun	some	some (indefinite pronoun, used for both people and objects)	
jíŋkā	Particle	maybe		This is probably a complex word, but the parts are not clear. Perhaps kā is the conditional marker. Tone is uncertain.
jíſé	Noun	snake		cf. jì 'thing', àſé 'bush'
jíſirī	Noun	money		cf. jì 'thing', sīrī 'completely' (?)
jí+zá	Cardinal numeral	nine		cf. jì 'thing'
jó	Pronoun	2PL.O, you	second person plural object pronominal	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jiò	Pronoun	2PL.S, you	Second person plural subject pronominal	
jiò ^L	Pronoun	2PL.POSS, your	second person plural possessive possessive pronominal	
ju ñgubí	Noun	urine		cf. ji 'thing', ñgub 'to urinate' (uncertain tone)

D ñ

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ñ	Interjection	come have it	an interjection used for presenting something to someone, urging them to take it	
ñàmtí	Verb	yawn		cf. ñàtí 'to open one's mouth'
ñànsí	Verb	bend	to bend something, e.g. the branch of a tree	cf. ñànsí 'to fold', ñán 'to be bent'
ñànsí	Verb	fold	to fold something, such as clothes	cf. ñànsí 'to bend', ñán 'to be bent'
ñáñ	Verb	to be bent		
ñáñ á +jí	Verb	bent	to be bent	cf. ñán 'to be bent'
ñàtí	Verb	open (mouth)	to open one's mouth	cf. ñàmtí 'to yawn'
ñgub	Verb	urinate		Tone is uncertain.
íjgúrôg	Noun	chameleon		cf. íjgúrôg 'goliath beetle'
íjgúrôg	Noun	goliath beetle		cf. íjgúrôg 'chameleon'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ŋíŋāmtí	Verb	yawn		cf. ŋámtí 'to yawn'. Tone is uncertain.
ŋíŋán	Adjective	bent		cf. ŋán 'to be bent'
ŋká	Noun	crocodile		
ŋká	Noun	thunder		
ŋkágá+líb	Noun	skull		cf. àlób 'head'
ŋkám	Noun	rest (of something)		cf. ŋkám 'underneath'
ŋkám	Adposition	underneath		cf. ŋkám 'rest (of something)'
ŋkám sù	Noun	bladder		cf. ŋkám 'underneath', sù 'navel'
ŋkánsírãŋ	Noun	charcoal		
ŋkáŋ	Noun	tick		
ŋkáŋ	Noun	edge		Tone is uncertain.
ŋkáŋ wó	Noun	tick		cf. ŋkáŋ 'tick', wó 'dog'
ŋkáŋfín	Proper Noun	person name		
ŋkázáří	Noun	ostrich		
ŋkómí	Noun	nile monitor lizard	West Africa nile monitor, an aquatic type of monitor lizard that grows to one or two meters in length; it is called water monitor lizard in English by Kam speakers	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ŋkompáne	Noun	fish, sp.	a type of fish that is dried and smoked before it is eaten; the exact species is not clearly identified	Tone is uncertain.
ŋkontóró	Proper Noun	person name		
ŋkónj	Noun	louse		
ŋkénsì	Noun	razor		
ŋkimá	Noun	milliped		
ŋkùm	Noun	back		
ŋkùm àgbér	Noun	nape of neck		cf. ŋkùm 'back', àgbér 'neck'
ŋkùm àbòg	Noun	upper part of foot		cf. ŋkùm 'back', àbòg 'leg, foot'
ŋkùm àmérèg	Noun	bridge of nose		cf. ŋkùm 'back', àmérèg 'nose'
ŋkùm àpjé	Noun	back of hand		cf. ŋkùm 'back', àpjé 'hand, arm'
ŋkùròg	Noun	throat		cf. ŋkùròg 'voice'
ŋkùròg	Noun	voice		cf. ŋkùròg 'throat'
ŋkúrú	Noun	cane rat		
ŋkwán	Noun	bean		
ŋkwàtèri	Noun	joint		
ŋkwàtèri bòg	Noun	knee		cf. ŋkwàtèri 'joint', àbòg 'leg'
ŋkwàtèri pjé	Noun	elbow		cf. ŋkwàtèri 'joint', àpjé 'arm'
ŋwáb	Quantifier	all		Tone is uncertain.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ŋwàŋá	Phrase	welcome		Tone is uncertain.
ŋwàntí	Verb	straighten		
ŋwáří	Verb	mix	to mix small things that can still be separated, such as seeds, beans, rice or pepper	Tone is uncertain.
ŋwóří	Verb	tie a knot		Tone is uncertain.
ŋwé	Noun	language		cf. ŋwé 'mouth'
ŋwé	Noun	mouth		
ŋwé	Noun	place		
ŋwé	Noun	river bank		cf. ŋwé 'mouth'
ŋwé bún	Noun	arrow point		cf. ŋwé 'mouth', àbùn 'arrow'
ŋwé lâŋ	Noun	mouth of a pot		cf. ŋwé 'mouth', àlàn̄ 'pot'
ŋwé márê	Noun	river bank		cf. ŋwé 'mouth', màrè 'river'
ŋwé nín dá ⁺ rá	Proper Noun	place name	Garin Hamza, a Kam village	cf. ŋwé 'mouth', àgíníŋ 'buttocks', dàrá 'palm tree'
ŋwé ŋwôm	Noun	Kam language		cf. ŋwé 'language', àŋwòm 'Kam'
ŋwìŋkî	Proper Noun	person name		
ŋwìŋwántí	Adjective	straight		cf. ŋwàntí 'to straighten'. Tone is uncertain.
ŋwún	Cardinal numeral	five		

O o

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ò	Particle	DIST		
o o	Interjection	no		cf. o:j 'yes'
o:j	Interjection	hey		
o:j	Interjection	yes		

P p

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
pàg	Noun	kitchen		
pàg àbàŋ	Noun	wine kitchen, brewery	literally 'wine kitchen'; a place where alcohol is made, a (small) brewery	cf. pàg "kitchen", àbàŋ 'beer, alcohol, wine'
pákpágìnjí	Noun	giant water bug		
pár	Verb	to be tight		
pàtàrí	Noun	skirt		
pátárá tár	Noun	cave		cf. pàtàrí 'skirt', àtár 'stone'. Tone is uncertain.
pàtúrû	Noun	cat		
pób	Verb	to be compressed		
pób á *jí	Verb	pressed together	to be pressed together	cf. pób 'to be compressed'
pòm	Noun	venom		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
pòpsí	Verb	press together	to press something together (e.g. a can of soda)	cf. pób 'to be compressed'
pè	Verb	come		cf. pè 'to come'
pèpírī	Adjective	astringent	astringent, rough, harsh; the taste one gets when biting an unripe banana or other types of raw fruit or vegetables; it is sometimes translated as 'too dry' into English, because of the dry feeling it leaves in the tongue and mouth; it is closely associated with bitterness but still different from it	cf. pírī 'to be astringent'. Tone is uncertain.
pè	Verb	come		cf. pè 'to come'
pèj	Noun	axe	big axe used to cut trees	
pén	Verb	jump	to jump across trees	Tone is uncertain.
pén	Verb	replace	to replace something	
pèntárí	Verb	barter		cf. pén 'to replace something'
pèntárí	Verb	exchange		cf. pén 'to replace something'
pèntárí	Verb	pass		cf. pén 'to jump across trees'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
pínî	Noun	non-believer	someone who does not believe in a certain deity	This word is used in the context of the jihadi raids that happened in the nineteenth century, where 'infidels' were captured and/or forcibly converted to Islam.
pínî	Noun	slave		
pipèj	Noun	shoulder blade		
píppár	Adjective	tight		cf. pář 'to be tight'
pírí	Verb	astringent	astringent, rough, harsh; the taste one gets when biting an unripe banana or other types of raw fruit or vegetables; it is sometimes translated as 'too dry' into English, because of the dry feeling it leaves in the tongue and mouth; it is closely associated with bitterness but still different from it	
písí	Verb	dry	to dry something	
písí	Verb	spray	to spray something	
pí⁴káŋ	Adverb	tomorrow		
pjáw	Proper Noun	village inside Sarkin Dawa	one of the sub-villages within the larger central village of Sarkin Dawa	
púppób	Noun	can		cf. pób 'to be compressed'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
púppób	Adjective	pressed together	cf. pób 'to be compressed'	cf. pób 'to be compressed'
pùpwàb	Noun	liver		

R r

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
rè	Adposition	COM, with	comitative preposition	cf. rè 'imperfective'
rè	Particle	IPFV, to be V-ing	imperfective aspect marker that indicates that the action referred to by the verb is viewed as ongoing	cf. rè 'with'
rè	Adposition	TEMP, during	temporal preposition	cf. rè 'with'
rí	Derivational affix	ITER	This suffix conveys the meaning that an action is executed multiple times or repeatedly	
rì	Derivational affix	NMLZ	Nominalizing suffix, part of some nominalization constructions	
rīg	Particle	EMPH	emphatic marker	cf. rīg 'possessive'
rīg	Particle	POSS	possessive marker	cf. rīg 'emphasis'

S s

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
sá	Noun	monkey, sp.		
så	Verb	roof	to roof a building	
sàb	Verb	grab		
sábórág	Noun	spear, sp.		cf. sàb 'to grab'
sàg	Noun	basket		
sàg àtfóř	Noun	beeswax		cf. sàg 'basket', àtfóř 'bee'
sàmàrí lím	Proper Noun	place name	Sabon Gida Kamajim, a Kam village	cf. àlím 'front'. Tone is uncertain.
sàmbògòři	Noun	porcupine		cf. ábōgōři
sámrí *jí	Adjective	rotten		cf. sámri 'to be bad, cruel'
sámri	Adjective	bad, cruel		Tone is uncertain.
sánigâw	Noun	ribs		cf. gàw 'ribs'
sáŋ	Verb	go, walk	to go, to walk	Tone is uncertain.
sár	Verb	comb		Tone is uncertain.
sàř	Noun	rest after filtering	something that remains behind after filtering a liquid or mass	
sâř	Cardinal numeral	eight		
sàří	Verb	peel		
sóg mùňà	Phrase	plead	to plead with someone	cf. sóg 'to search', mùňà 'patience'. Tone is uncertain.
sɔj	Noun	iron		
sɔj	Noun	spear, sp.		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
sòj áʃā	Noun	aluminium		cf. sòj 'iron', áʃā 'fresh, unripe'
sóŋ	Verb	remove	to remove something	Tone is uncertain.
sòvírí	Proper Noun	person name		
sé	Adposition	until		Borrowed from Hausa sái '(not) until, except'.
sébí	Noun	fin		cf. sébí 'thorn'
sébí	Noun	thorn		cf. sébí 'fin'
sáj	Noun	tree, sp.	an unidentified tree with thorns	Its name in Hausa is kaya.
sèŋsèŋ	Adjective	pointed		Tone is uncertain.
sér	Noun	room		
sét tür	Noun	forge		cf. sér 'room', tür 'to pump'
sétí	Verb	tear	to tear a fabric	
sí	Derivational affix	CAUS	causative suffix	
sì	Particle	SEQ, then	preverbal sequential particle indicating that the action denoted by the clause happens after an earlier mentioned event	
sí	Noun	weed, sp.	red sorrel, sheep's sorrel, sour weed, field sorrel, a type of weed that is also called yakuwa in Hausa	
sìbòg	Noun	shoe		cf. àbòg 'foot', sìlibòg 'shoe'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
sīkā	Connective	lest	apprehensive clause connector	cf. sì 'then', kā 'if'
sīm	Interrogative pro-form	how much /many, how	quantity content interrogative, used for enquiring after the quantity of something; quality interrogative	
sìn	Verb	do		cf. sìn 'to make'
sìn	Verb	make		cf. sìn 'to do'
sírá	Noun	hair		
sírá kpò	Noun	body hair		cf. sírá 'hair', kpò 'body'
sírá núŋ	Noun	feather		cf. sírá 'hair', núŋ 'bird'
sírá nùŋ	Noun	eyelash		cf. sírá 'hair', ànùŋ 'eye'
sírá ɻwé	Noun	whiskers		cf. sírá 'hair', ɻwé 'mouth'
sírá +dóm	Noun	beard		cf. sírá 'hair', àdóm 'beard'
sírá +líb	Noun	head hair		cf. sírá 'hair', àlíb 'head'
sírə ... rīg	Particle	be.NEG, is not, does not exist	negative existential construction, expresses that something does not exist or is not present	cf. rīg 'emphasis'
sírèkìŋ	Noun	frankfish	Gymnarchus niloticus, frankfish, freshwater tailrat, or African knifefish, a long, eel-like electric fish found in swamps, lakes, and rivers. It can grow up to 1.5m	Its name in Hausa is youni.

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
sīrī	Adverb	completely	completely, altogether, indicates that the state or action that has been applied to an object has reached its end state	Tone is uncertain.
sísé	Noun	adder, snake, sp.	this name is used for adders but also a variety of other species of snake, e.g. <i>Gongylophis muelleri</i> (short); <i>Lytorhynchus diadema</i> (long); <i>Cerastes vipera</i> ; <i>Echis ocellatus</i>	
sīsīrā	Adverb	now		
sù	Noun	clan, ethnic group, section within a clan		
sù	Noun	navel		
súbí	Noun	spear grass		
súkò	Phrase	hello	a greeting	Probably borrowed from a Jukunoid language (e.g. súko in Kuteb)
sùnsòg	Noun	salt		cf. n̄sòg 'salt', sòŋí 'sweet'
sùnsóŋí	Adjective	sweet		cf. sòŋí 'sweet'. Tone is uncertain.
sùnù	Noun	darter		
sùr	Verb	crush	to crush something with a stick	
sùr	Verb	pound	to pound something with a mortar	
sùrùpáj	Noun	vulture		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
swàb	Verb	sing		
swàptóri	Verb	add	to make something increase, to add to something	cf. swàptí 'to increase'
swàptí	Verb	increase	to increase (intransitive)	cf. swàptóri 'to add'
swár	Verb	live		
swò	Noun	baboon		

$$\Sigma \int$$

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
fág	Verb	to be ugly		
fág	Noun	laugh		
fág	Noun	fish, sp.	African pike, a type of gamefish that has a pike-like body shape that usually lives in deep water. It grows up to 40cm in length.	
fób	Verb	to be hot	to be or to become hot	
fób á + jí	Verb	heated	to be heated	cf. fób 'to be hot'
ság	Verb	search		Tone is uncertain.
fág	Noun	savannah monitor lizard	savannah monitor, a large type of lizard	
fójtí	Verb	remove	to remove something	cf. sój 'to remove'
fóptí	Verb	boil	to boil something	cf. fób 'to be hot'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
jɔ́r	Verb	survive		
jè	Noun	ash		
jɛm	Verb	sneeze		Tone is uncertain.
jɪŋgáw	Proper Noun	person name		
jíʃág	Adjective	ugly, disgusting	to be ugly or disgusting	cf. jág 'to be ugly'
jíʃɔ́b	Adjective	hot	to be hot	cf. jób 'to be hot'
jòrí	Verb	sour	to be sour, e.g. of milk that has spoiled	
jùrɔ́g	Noun	elephant		
jùʃóri	Adjective	sour	to be sour, e.g. of milk that has spoiled	cf. jòrí 'sour'. Tone is uncertain.

T t

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
tàb	Verb	breastfeed	to feed on a breast	cf. tàb 'to touch'
tàb	Verb	touch	to touch something	cf. tàb 'to breastfeed'
tàgàrí	Verb	forbid	to forbid something	cf. tàgí 'to happen'
tàgàrí	Verb	save	to keep safe	
tàgí	Verb	happen	to happen, to affect something or someone	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
tálátà	Nominal	Tuesday		Borrowed from Hausa (Talata) – originally from Arabic at-talaata ‘Tuesday’, literally ‘day the third (starting from Sunday)’
tám	Verb	grow	to grow (intransitive)	
tàmsí	Verb	grow	to make something or someone grow	cf. tám 'to grow'
tàmsí	Verb	nurture	to nurture something or someone	cf. tám 'to grow'
tánì	Verb	stand, stay		
tán jì hn̄	Phrase	no problem	a response in a greeting, used to say that one is doing well.	cf. tánì 'to stand, to stay', jì 'thing', hn̄ 'not'. Literally 'There is nothing.'
tán sìm	Phrase	how are you	a question in a greeting	cf. tánì 'to stand', sìm 'how much, how'
tántʃɔŋ	Adverb	still		cf. tánì 'to stand, to stay'
tànjà	Noun	traditional bell	bell used in traditional dances	
tárē	Noun	fish net	fishing net	
tárihî	Noun	history		Borrowed from Hausa.
tásí	Verb	drag	to drag something or someone along	cf. tásí 'to lead'
tásí	Verb	lead	to lead something or someone	cf. tásí 'to drag'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
tàsò	Noun	dish		Borrowed from local Hausa (taso) – probably originally from Arabic ṭaasa ‘bowl’.
tò	Particle	so, thus		
tòg	Verb	beg, pray		cf. tòg 'to request'
tòg	Verb	request		cf. tòg 'to beg, to pray'
tòg	Verb	shine	shining or burning of a light, the sun, the moon, fire	
tòg	Verb	spit		
tókpár	Adposition	at, near		
tòksí	Verb	light	to light a fire	cf. tòg 'to shine'
tòksí	Verb	turn on	to turn on the light	cf. tòg 'to shine'
tóm	Verb	send		Tone is uncertain.
tòmsí	Verb	message		cf. tóm 'to send'
tòmsí	Verb	send		cf. tóm 'to send'
tònī	Verb	swear, promise		used both as in promising as in saying bad words
tòr	Verb	fall		
tèb	Verb	count		cf. tèb 'to press'
tèb	Verb	press		cf. tèb 'to count'
tèg	Verb	run		
tí	Derivational affix	CAUS	causative suffix	cf. tí 'to hit'
tí	Verb	hit	to hit something, e.g. with a hammer	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
tífib	Verb	defecate		cf. tí 'to hit', àṣib 'shit'
tibá	Noun	tobacco		Borrowed from English, possibly through Hausa.
tídʒónj	Noun	east		cf. dʒónj 'deity, sp.'
tídʒónj	Noun	magic, sp.		cf. dʒónj 'deity, sp.'
tig	Verb	roof	to roof a place, to cover a room	
tíg á +jí	Verb	be off	to be turned off, of light or of equipment	cf. tígī 'to cover'
tígī	Verb	cover	to cover or close something	cf. tig 'to roof a place'
tígī	Verb	roof	to roof a building, to cover a room	cf. tígī 'to cover'
tígī	Verb	turn off (light)	to turn off light	cf. tígī 'to cover'
tiksí	Verb	close	to close one's eyes	cf. tígī 'to cover'
tiksí	Verb	turn off	to turn something off, such as light or fire	cf. tígī 'to cover'
tíntám	Adjective	big, fat, great, large		cf. tám 'to grow'
tíntám	Noun	rank		cf. tám 'to grow'
tùb	Verb	push		
túb á jí	Verb	be holed	to have a hole	cf. tùb 'to push'
tübí	Verb	start	to start doing something	cf. tùb 'to push'
tùbrí	Verb	gut	to gut a fish before cooking it	cf. tùb 'to push'
tùbrí	Verb	put holes	to put holes in something	cf. tùb 'to push'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
túg	Noun	mortar (in which to pound food)		
tùg	Verb	fetch		Tone is uncertain.
tún	Noun	forest		
túŋ	Noun	hunchback	a person with a hunchback	
tùpsí	Verb	pierce		cf. tùb 'to push'
tùpsí	Verb	prick		cf. tùb 'to push'
tùr	Verb	pour inside	to pour something inside a target with a narrow mouth, like a bottle or a calabash	
tùr	Verb	pump		
tùsí	Verb	show		cf. tùsí 'to teach'
tùsí	Verb	teach		cf. tùsí 'to show'
tùttùb	Adjective	gape	to gape, to have a hole	cf. tùb 'to push'

TΣ tʃ

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ʈáb	Verb	knead	to knead something	
ʈáb	Verb	mould	to mould something with one's hands	
ʈámkɔn	Noun	sparrow, bird, sp.	northern grey-headed sparrow	
ʈánjá + jí	Verb	finished	to be finished	cf. ʈànjrí 'to finish'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ṱàŋrí	Verb	finish	to finish (something)	
ṱáŋwádžè	Noun	elder daughter of the traditional chief	the first or second born daughter of the traditional chief	Tone is uncertain.
ṱàr	Verb	tell	to tell (e.g. a story)	
ṱàr	Cardinal numeral	three		
ṱòg	Noun	earthworm		
ṱóŋgádžim	Noun	junior daughter of the traditional chief	one of the younger daughters of the traditional chief	Tone is uncertain.
ṱóŋgádžim	Proper Noun	person name		cf. ṱóŋgádžim 'junior daughter of the chief'
ṱɔr	Verb	throw a spear		Tone is uncertain.
ṱè	Verb	block		cf. ṱè 'to lie'
ṱè	Noun	guinea corn		
ṱè	Verb	lie		cf. ṱè 'to block'
ṱé á +jí	Verb	be cut	to have been cut	cf. ṱésí 'to cut'
ṱè dìndàŋ	Noun	alcohol		cf. ṱè 'guinea corn'
ṱèrí	Verb	chop	to cut something into pieces	cf. ṱésí 'to cut'
ṱèrí	Verb	turn into		
ṱèsí	Verb	cut	to cut something with a knife	cf. ṱèrí 'to chop'
ṱéj	Noun	jerboa		
ṱém	Verb	burn	to burn (intransitive)	
ṱëmsí	Verb	burn	to burn (transitive)	cf. ṱém 'to burn'
ṱí	Noun	child, boy		cf. àfí 'child, boy'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
জি দিগ	Noun	drum, sp.		cf. জি 'diminutive', দিগ 'drum, sp.'
জিবা	Noun	clan, sp.		
জিকু	Noun	priest	a type of traditional priest	cf. জি 'child', কু 'magic, deity, cobra'
জিনে	Noun	teeth gums		
জিনি	Verb	betroth		
জিন্তাজ	Noun	twin		Used to refer to one of the twins.
জিন্তাঙ	Noun	dragonfly		
জিওন্তা	Proper Noun	person name		cf. জি 'child', আওন 'king'
জিও	Noun	group of people under akimpa	a traditional group of people under the leadership of an official called akimpa	cf. জি 'child'
জু	Noun	maternal uncle /sister's child		
জু জে	Verb	cry		cf. জে 'to cry, to shout'
জুগ	Verb	carry		cf. জুগ 'to catch, to do'
জুগ	Verb	catch		cf. জুগ 'to carry, to do'
জুগ	Verb	do		cf. জুগ 'to catch, to carry'
জুগ	Verb	choke	to choke (intransitive) or to choke someone or something (transitive)	cf. জুগ 'to catch, to carry, to do'
জুগ াঁজাগ	Verb	work		cf. জুগ 'to do', আজাগ 'work'
জুতান	Verb	stand		cf. তানি 'to stand, to stay'
জুতান	Verb	stop		cf. তানি 'to stand, to stay'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
tfwē	Noun	newborn animal		
tfwē	Noun	newborn child		

U u

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
ú	Pronoun	3SG.O, him, her, them (singular)	third person singular object pronominal	
ú ^L	Pronoun	3SG.POSS, his, her, their (singular)	Third person singular possessive pronominal	

V v

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
vàndžíréг	Noun	heart		cf. àvándžíréг 'heart'
véг	Verb	die		Tone is uncertain.
vèr	Verb	envelop		cf. vèr 'to roll up, twist, wrap'
vèr	Verb	roll up	to roll up a rope	cf. vèr 'to envelop, twist, wrap'
vèr	Verb	twist	to twist something	cf. vèr 'to envelop, to roll up, wrap'

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
vèr	Verb	wrap	to wrap something	cf. vèr 'to envelop, to roll up, to twist'
vèrí	Verb	kill	to kill someone or something	cf. vég 'to die'
vì	Noun	pot	a specific type of traditional pot	
vín + qíní	Noun	lizard		
víŋ	Verb	mould	to mould something into a shape; to give shape to a shapeless material	
víŋkóri	Verb	make round	to make something round	cf. víŋ 'to mould'
víŋkóri	Verb	mould	to mould something, to form something	cf. víŋ 'to mould'
vírí	Noun	dirt		
vítéří	Verb	stumble	to stumble	
vówî	Proper Noun	person name		
vùm vònù	Noun	tsetse fly, sp.		

W w

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
wàb	Verb	embrace	to embrace somebody	
wàb	Verb	tie	to tie something	
wàŋkú	Noun	traditional king		cf. àwàn 'king', kú 'magic, deity, cobra'
wár	Noun	dream		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
wáří	Noun	dream		cf. wár 'dream'. Tone is uncertain.
wàrkû	Proper Noun	person name		
wàtórí	Verb	dream		cf. wár 'dream'
wóg	Noun	malaria		
wògí	Verb	hide	to hide someone or something	
wòkárí	Verb	hide	to hide someone or something	cf. wògí 'to hide'
wòm	Verb	slap	to slap someone	
wòmrí	Verb	hit repeatedly	to hit or slap something or someone repeatedly	cf. wòm 'to slap'
wòmtí	Verb	break	to break something	cf. wòm 'to slap'
wòr	Verb	be careful		cf. wòr 'to guard'
wòr	Verb	guard	to guard something	cf. wòr 'to be careful'
wóru	Noun	snake, sp.	a type of snake; various types of snakes are subsumed under this name, including the speckled shovel-snout snake, the northern (or irregular) green bush snake, and the spotted blind snake	
wòsí	Verb	forget	to forget something	
wééèj	Interjection	EXCL	an exclamation of endorsement of another speaker's opinion	

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
wéj	Noun	tree, sp.	a large shade tree that grows in the bush	Its name in Hausa is kawo.
wó	Noun	dog		
wò	Noun	blood		
wū	Verb	to be ripe	to be ripe	
wùbrí	Verb	pour	to pour something	
wùmwòm	Adjective	broken	to be broken	cf. wòm 'to slap'
wùmwòm	Adjective	hollow	to be hollow	cf. wòm 'to slap'
wúrá	Proper Noun	Wura		
wür̄g	Noun	handle		
wür̄i	Verb	accept		cf. wür̄i 'agree, answer, love, need, want'
wür̄i	Verb	agree		cf. wür̄i 'accept, answer, love, need, want'
wür̄i	Verb	answer		cf. wür̄i 'accept, agree, love, need, want'
wür̄i	Verb	love		cf. wür̄i 'accept, agree, answer, need, want'
wür̄i	Verb	need		cf. wür̄i 'accept, agree, answer, love, want'
wür̄i	Verb	want		cf. wür̄i 'accept, agree, answer, love, need'
wùsí	Verb	rub		cf. wùsí 'to sweep'
wùsí	Verb	sweep		cf. wùsí 'to rub'
wùtrí	Verb	lose		
wūwū	Adjective	done	ready to be harvested	cf. wū 'to be ripe, done'
wūwū	Adjective	ripe		cf. wū 'to be ripe, done'

Z z

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
zâ	Noun	frog		
zág	Noun	side		
zág ágbàn	Noun	left side		cf. zág 'side', ágbàn 'female'
zág áwû	Noun	north side		cf. zág 'side', àwù 'north'
zág áwû	Noun	upwards		cf. zág áwû 'north side'
zánê	Noun	cricket		
zàŋ	Verb	snatch	to snatch something; to take something and quickly steal away	
zàŋ	Verb	wrestle		
zìm	Verb	shave		
zímá	Noun	fencing wood	wood used for fencing	
zímà	Proper Noun	person name		
zírág	Noun	soup, soup ingredient		
zírág á+jírí	Noun	draw soup		cf. zírág 'soup', ájírí 'draw soup ingredient'
zórí	Noun	fish, sp.	an unidentified small fish that tastes bitter	cf. zórí 'to be bitter'
zòrí	Verb	be bitter		
zùb	Verb	deceive	to deceive people, to scam people, to participate in fraud	
zùb	Verb	steal		

Kam	Word class	Glosses and translations	Definition	Notes
zùg	Noun	grass		
zùg	Verb	put	to put something somewhere	
zùg ájā	Noun	fresh grass		cf. zùg 'grass', ájā 'fresh, unripe'
zúná	Noun	face		cf. dʒúná 'face'
zùpfā	Noun	snake, sp.	a type of green snake that lives in green grass	cf. zùb 'to steal, to deceive', àjā 'floodplain, swamp'
zùr	Verb	argue		
zùr	Verb	leak		
zùr	Verb	pull	to pull something	
zùr	Verb	stretch a rubber	to stretch rubber or plastic	
zúfā	Noun	fresh grass		cf. zùg ájā 'fresh grass'
zùzóri	Adjective	bitter		cf. zùrí 'to be bitter'. Tone is uncertain.
zúzúrág	Noun	shade, shadow		cf. dʒúdʒúrág 'shadow, shade'

English-Kam lexicon

1

1PL.O *Pronoun júrú*

1PL:POSS *Pronoun júrú^L*

1PL *Pronoun jùrù; ì*

1SG.ID *Pronoun jìm*

1SG.O *Pronoun m̄*

1SG:POSS *Pronoun m̄^L*

1SG.S.FUT *Pronoun n̄*

1SG.S.IPFV *Pronoun n̄*

1SG.S.NFUT *Pronoun n̄*

1SG.S.PFV *Pronoun n̄*

2

2PL.O *Pronoun jñó*

2PL:POSS *Pronoun jñó^L*

2PL.S *Pronoun jñò*

2SG.ID *Pronoun jñà*

2SG.O *Pronoun á*

2SG:POSS *Pronoun jñá^L*

2SG.S.FUT *Pronoun á*

2SG.S.IPFV Pronoun à**2SG.S.NFUT Pronoun à****2SG.S.PFV Pronoun á**3

3PL:POSS Pronoun í^L**3PL Pronoun àjí; i****3SG Pronoun ú****3SG:POSS Pronoun ú^L****3SG.S Pronoun àwú**A a

Abanderi Proper Noun **àbén ndérí** A place name, referring to a village commonly known as

Abanderi. The name literally translates to 'curse' or 'idiotic talk'.

accept Verb **wūrī****accompany** Verb **kár** (tone is uncertain)**add** Verb **bòrsí** to add to something, to make something increase or grow; **swàptéří****adder** Noun **sísé****additive marker** Particle **mà** likely a borrowing from Hausa (*mā* ‘too, also’)**ADJ** Verb>Adjective **á^L-** adjectivizer**adjectivizer** Verb>Adjective **á^L-****adverbializer** Adjective>Adverb **k-****ADVZ** Adjective>Adverb **k-** adverbializer

African pike *Noun* **ʃâg** African pike, a type of gamefish that has a pike-like body shape that usually lives in deep water. It grows up to 40cm in length.

afternoon *Noun* **àlénj** éléb 4 to 7 pm

again *Adverb* **mísí**

agama lizard *Noun* **ìmkpōŋ**

agree *Verb* **wūrī**

air *Noun* **àʃɔb**

alcohol *Noun* **àbàŋ; tʃè dìndàŋ**

all *Quantifier* **ŋwāb**

alligator *Noun* **lágá'sô**

alone *Adjective* **míjírág**

also (too) *Particle* **mà** additive marker, likely borrowing from Hausa (*mā* ‘too, also’)

aluminium *Noun* **sòj** éʃã

ancestor *Noun* **jákú; kùkú**

and *Connective* **àmā** clause linking marker, likely borrowing from Hausa (*àmmā*). Not used for linking noun phrases. For this, the comitative marker *rè* is used.

anger *Noun* **féb₁**

angle *Noun* **àdú**

animal *Noun* **àfàm** refers to mammals and not to insects, fish, birds and reptiles

ankle *Noun* **àgàm** èbòg

announce *Verb* **jári**

answer *Verb* **wūrī**

ant, sp. *Noun* **àdʒòg** driver ant, a type of army ant that makes temporary anthills with big colonies. It rarely stings. It is called karkwasa in Hausa; **kánjálí** an unidentified type of red ant; **màrèg** an unidentified type of ant that stings

antelope, sp. *Noun àbərèg* red-flanked duiker

anus *Noun jí sìb*

apparition *Noun àfòb*

appoint someone *Verb lùtí* to appoint someone, to crown someone

argue *Verb zùr*

arm *Noun àpjé*

armband *Noun àlîè* an armband that was traditionally given when a man wanted to marry a woman.

Now, it refers to any kind of armband.

armpit *Noun àdžíkérí*

arrive *Verb gbán; jí* (tone is uncertain)

arrow *Noun àbùn*

arrow point *Noun ɪgwé bún*

ash *Noun ſě*

Ashuwi *Proper Noun àʃùwí* Name of Hamza, village head of Garin Hamza.

ask *Verb jìb*

astringent *Adjective pèpírí* Astringent, rough, harsh. The taste one gets when biting an unripe banana or other types of raw fruit or vegetables. It is sometimes translated as 'too dry' into English, because of the dry feeling it leaves in the tongue and mouth. It is closely associated with bitterness but still different from it.

astringent (be astringent) *Verb pìrí*

at *Adposition tókpár*

axe *Noun pêj* big axe used to cut trees; **léní** a small axe used for fighting

B b

baboon *Noun* swò**baby** *Noun* àtʃì íntē**baby boy** *Noun* àtʃì ívān éntʃwē**baby girl** *Noun* àtʃì ígbàn éntʃwē**bachelor** *Noun* àtʃì ívān**back** *Noun* ñkùm**back of hand** *Noun* ñkùm àpjé**back of head** *Noun* mkpákár**backdoor** *Noun* àdžár**backwards** *Adverb* àgún**bad** *Adjective* sámrí (tone is uncertain)**bag** *Noun* ápú**bag, sp.** *Noun* àbérég a bag where harvested crops are stored**bambara nut** *Noun* gùʃì kpímkpáŋá**bamboo** *Noun* àmán**bamboo bed** *Noun* àlòg**bamboo tree** *Noun* bèd mán bamboo tree**banana** *Noun* mkpíntèrì**bark** *Noun* kpà bér**barter** *Verb* pèntérí**barwood** *Noun* àvāŋkàŋ**basket** *Noun* kàksàg; sàg

bat *Noun* **ɸì**

Bayaro *Proper Noun* **kpágárág** a Kam village

be *Verb* **dá**

be across *Verb* **būnī**

be alive *Verb* **nág á'bóŋ**

be bitter *Verb* **zoré**

be careful *Verb* **wòr**

be holed *Adjective* **tùttùb** to gape, to have a hole

be plenty *Verb* **jérí** to be plenty, to be sufficient

be.NEG Particle **sírə ... ríg** Negative existential construction. This construction expresses that

something is not present, either in general or in a specific place.

bean *Noun* **àkwān; ñkwān**

beard *Noun* **àdóm; sírá 'dóm**

beat *Verb* **gbèb**

beat repeatedly *Verb* **gbèbrí** to beat or kick someone repeatedly

beautiful *Adjective* **lìllèm**

beautiful (be beautiful); Verb **lèm** to be beautiful

beautify *Verb* **lèmsí**

beauty *Noun* **àlémrí**

because *Connective* **àpjá'líb**

become long *Verb* **bóm** to be or to become long

become weak *Verb* **kùb**

become white *Verb* **búr** to become white

bed *Noun* **kòm lù**

bee *Noun* **àtʃóṛ** Also used for bee-flies.

beehive *Noun* **àtʃóṛ** **égáŋ**

beer *Noun* **àbàŋ**

beeswax *Noun* **sàg** **àtʃóṛ**

before *Adverb* **kpānēkā; kpānē** At least one year ago.

beg *Verb* **tòg**

beginning of spine *Noun* **gàj** the piece of the spine that meets the neck

behind *Noun* **àgún** behind

belch *Noun* **àbélí**

bell, sp. *Noun* **tàŋà** bell used in traditional dances

bellows *Noun* **pì** **sèt** **tùd** **bírí**

bend *Verb* **ŋànsí** to bend something, such as the branch of a tree; **kwàntáří** to bend something, such as the branch of a tree

bend down *Verb* **kùntí** to bend down

benniseed *Noun* **m̄kp̄e** sesame seed, benniseed

bent **ŋíŋán** *Adjective* to be bent; **ŋáŋ** **á** **‘jí** *Verb* to be bent

bent (be bent) *Verb* **ŋáŋ** to be bent

beside *Adposition* **àgàw** (tone is uncertain)

betroth *Verb* **ṭfíní**

big *Adjective* **tíntám;** **búbbōří;** **ábōří;** **bùbbòd**

big grinding stone *Noun* **mè** **tàr** **ninnāmí**

big man *Noun* **jí** **bōří**

big one *Adjective* **ákòg** of a person, for example the oldest in the family

bird *Noun* **núŋ₁**

bird, sp. *Noun* **kùrùkwàb** an unidentified big type of non-water bird; **ñtʃwàŋ** an unidentified type of waterbird that resembles a storm petrel. It is frequently heard as it has a loud and frequent screech; **ìmpèrè**; **ìnsirāŋ** an unidentified medium-sized type of bird that comes to feed on maize on farms during harvest period; **kpásìnè nág** an unidentified type of bird. It is white and is often seen moving along with cow herds (tone is uncertain)

birth *Noun* **àlógórí**

bite *Verb* **kìm**

bitter *Adjective* **zùzóri**

bitterleaf *Noun* **àtʃírág**

black *Adjective* **ábōgōrì**

black scorpion *Noun* **kèrèbìg sùgèrì**

blacksmith *Noun* **àjí sét túr**

bladder *Noun* **ñkám sú**

blade *Noun* **dgá** the blade of something, e.g. a knife, an axe, a hoe, a key, or a tooth

blanket *Noun* **àpíráŋí**

blind person *Noun* **lánjí**

block *Verb* **tʃè**

blood *Noun* **wò**

blow *Verb* **bìr;** **kéb** of the wind (tone is uncertain); **bíbírì** to blow

blow nose *Verb* **fàr₂** to blow one's nose

blue *Adjective* **ábētʃā**

boat *Noun* **kímpōnī**

body *Noun* **kpò**

body hair *Noun* **sírá kpô**

boil something *Verb* **fòptí** to boil something

bone *Noun* **àkùb**

book *Noun* **là kúmé**

border *Noun* **vág**

Bosc's monitor *Noun* **fòg** savannah monitor, a large type of lizard

bottom *Noun* **àkpág**

bottom of mouth *Noun* **àkpág ñwé bî**

boundary *Noun* **vág**

bow *Noun* **ñtʃí**

bow down *Verb* **kùptí; bùsí** to bow down to someone, for example to the king

bowl *Noun* **àlànj èbì**

boy *Noun* **àtʃìségé; àtʃì ; àtʃì ívān**

brain *Noun* **màn èlíf**

brains *Noun* **çá 'líf**

branch **kàsí** *Verb* to branch off, to take a different path; **àgág** *Noun*

break *Verb* **kàsí**

break (maize) *Verb* **kà** to break something

break (maize) *Verb* **fé** to break something long, such as maize or an arm

break (something long) *Verb* **fé** to break something long, such as maize or an arm

break something *Verb* **kà; wòmtí**

breast *Noun* **àví**

breastbone *Noun* **àkùb lántí gwàj**

breastfeed *Verb* **tàb**

breath *Noun* **àbóŋó**

breathe *Verb nág á⁴bój*

brew *Verb kpír* brew, make a liquid (tone is uncertain)

bridge of nose *Noun ḥkùm èmèrēg*

bring down *Verb dʒɔtí* to bring something down

bring inside *Verb jèsí*

broken *Adjective gím á 'jí; wùmwòm*

broom *Noun mìsàg* Used to sweep floors

buffalo *Noun nám*

build *Verb míŋ*

bulrush millet, sp. *Noun àwàr* a type of bulrush millet that is harvested during the dry season

burn *Verb tʃèm*

burn something *Verb tʃèmsí*

bush *Noun àſé*

bush animal *Noun àfàm èſé*

but *Connective àmā*

butterfly *Noun mìkpálílēj*

buttocks *Noun àgíníŋ*

buy *Verb dèb*

C c

calabash *Noun àzíré*

calf *Noun àfíb ébòg; àfíb*

calm yourself down *Phrase dá á⁴vándžírég já bì*

can *Noun* **púppób**

cancer *Noun* **àdég** é^tʃé

cane rat *Noun* **ịkūrū**

carry *Verb* **jàg; tʃúg**

carry (on one's back) *Verb* **bùsí** ịkùm to carry something on one's back

carry something *Verb* **bùsí** to carry something or someone on one's back

carry up *Verb* **jítí** to carry something up

carve something *Verb* **gbēnī** to carve something inside something else (e.g. to carve text in a tree), to ridge something

cassava *Noun* **àdʒí** fō

cat *Noun* **pàtúrū**

catch *Verb* **tʃúg**

cattle rearer *Noun* **jí nág nīmsī**

CAUS *Verb>Verb* **-lí** Possible historical causative suffix. Not synchronically productive.; **-sí** Causative suffix; **-tí** causative suffix: this conveys that the action is caused to happen to the object by a subject

causative suffix *Verb>Verb* **-tí** causative suffix: this conveys that the action is caused to happen to the patient by an agent; **-lí** Possible historical causative suffix. Not synchronically productive.; **-sí** causative suffix

cave *Noun* **pátárá** tár; àlè

centipede *Noun* **àzàntí**

chair *Noun* **kòm** dʒōŋ

chameleon *Noun* **ịgúr̩g**

change *Verb* **dʒibrí**

charcoal *Noun* **ịkànsirāŋ**

chase *Verb* **gúb**

chase away *Verb* **gúbí**

cheek *Noun* **àdʒwā**

chemicals *Noun* **ñtäm**

chest *Noun* **gwàj**

chestbone *Noun* **àkùb gwàj**

chew *Verb* **kìm**

chicken *Noun* **kúmé**

chief (traditional) *Noun* **àbènjí** literally “the owner of people”

child *Noun* **àtʃìségé ; àtʃì ; àtʃì íntē**

chill something *Verb* **dàksí** to make something colder, to cool something down

chin *Noun* **àgbánj**

choke *Verb* **tʃùg** to choke (intransitive) or to choke someone or something

choke someone or something *Verb* **tʃùg** to choke (intransitive) or to choke someone or something

chop *Verb* **tʃèrí** to cut something into pieces

christian *Noun* **jí nùn̄j tìksí** a christian

ciciyawa (Hausa) *Noun* **fôg** grass-eater, a fish found in rivers that can grow to more than 60cm

city *Noun* **àŋgwóg ébōrī** large town, city

clan *Noun* **sù**

clan, sp. *Noun* **jí ntóŋ sání** one of the clans within Kam

claw *Noun* **kpà; ðzúrú+jé**

clay *Noun* **àvàm**

clean dìndàm *Adjective; fér Verb*

clean (be clean) *Verb* **dàm** to be clean

clitoris *Noun* **dǵá ntsè**

close *Verb* **fág**

close one's eyes *Verb* **tíksí** to close one's eyes

close something *Verb* **bùsí** to close something

closed *Verb* **fág á 'jí** to be closed

clothing *Noun* **àpíráñî** any piece of clothing

cloud *Noun* **àbúr**

cobra *Noun* **kú**

cockroach *Noun* **m̄pər̄ímì s̄ib**

coco Yam *Noun* **n̄tʃō**

coconut *Noun* **àmàmbérí**

coconut tree *Noun* **bèd màmbírí; àdʒé lásírá**

coil (rope) *Verb* **vér** to roll up a rope

cold dé *Noun; díddág Adjective ; ádā Adjective*

cold (be cold) *Verb* **dág** to be cold, to become cold

coldness *Noun* **àdágrî**

COM *Adposition* **r̄è** comitative preposition, with

comb (hair) *Verb* **sár** (tone is uncertain)

come *Verb* **p̄è**

come out *Verb* **bɔb**

comitative marker *Adposition* **r̄è** comitative preposition, with

commit fraud *Verb* **zùb** to deceive people, to scam people, to participate in fraud

comparative verb *Particle* **k̄òr** to surpass someone or something

complementizer (for wishes) *Particle* **ká bá** complementizer used for expressing wishes

complete something *Verb* **kóm** to complete, finish something

completely *Adverb* **sírí** completely, altogether, indicates that the state or action that has been applied to an object has reached its end state (tone is uncertain)

compressed (be compressed) *Verb* **pób** to be compressed

conditional particle *Particle* **kā** postclausal conditional particle, roughly equivalent to 'if' and 'when' in English

content interrogative (non-human) *Interrogative pro-form* **gè^H** ... **gì jí** Content interrogative for non-humans

content interrogative (quantity) *Interrogative pro-form* **sím** Quantity content interrogative, used for enquiring after the quantity of something.

cook *Verb* **lánj** (tone is uncertain)

cool down *Verb* **dág** to be cold, to become cold

copulate *Verb* **nùg**

corpse *Noun* **àvèg**

correct *Adjective* **lillèm**

cough **kpərī** *Verb*; **àkpéré** *Noun*

count *Verb* **tēb**

courage *Noun* **àvándgírég**

cover **fàg** *Verb*; **kpà** *Noun* ; **tīgī** *Verb* to cover or close something

cow *Noun* **nág**

co-wife *Noun* **àgbàn** **éntʃwē**

crab *Noun* **ñtʃimā**

crave *Verb* **ntʃag** to crave something, to really feel like eating something

crawl *Verb* **ðānī** to crawl

creator deity *Proper Noun* **màm**

creature *Noun jì ìṣō* creature, living being

cricket *Noun zánē*

crinum *Noun àgòb* a type of crinum, a plant with a leafless stem that develops from bulbs. It is used for medicinal purposes. Its name in Hausa is gadeli.

crinum, sp. *Noun àgbānē* A type of crinum, a plant with a leafless stem that develops from bulbs. It is used for medicinal purposes. Its name in Hausa is gadeli. (tone is uncertain)

crocodile *Noun ḥká*

cromeria *Noun ḍázô* Cromeria, a small (ca. 4cm) type of freshwater fish that is often eaten smoked and dried

cross *Verb būni*

crossing *Noun àbúnřî* a crossing over a road, or over a river

cruel *Adjective sámří* (tone is uncertain)

crunch *Verb kág*

crunch something *Verb kàksí* to crunch something

crunched *kíkkág* *Adjective* to be crunched; **kág á 'jí** *Verb* to be crunched

crush (with a stick) *Verb sùr* to crush something with a stick

cry *tjú* *Verb jè* *Verb* (tone is uncertain); **jé** *Verb* (tone is uncertain) ; **àjé** *tjò* *Noun* (tone is uncertain) ;

àjé *Noun*

crybaby *Noun jàṇ*

cult, sp. *Proper Noun ákú; dàmpóṇ*

cup *Noun jì mìṇkáṇá tūgi*

cut *Verb nàb* with a cutlass or axe; **bír** to cut (tone is uncertain)

cut (be cut) *tjé á 'jí* *Verb* to have been cut (resultative derivation of 'to cut'); **giggàb** *Adjective* to be cut

cut (into pieces) *Verb tjèrí* to cut something into pieces

cut (with knife) *Verb* **tfèsí** to cut something with a knife

cut nails *Verb* **bèntí** to cut one's nails

cutlass *Noun* **kàpèj**

D d

dabchick *Noun* **àfén+dírí** little grebe or dabchick, a small waterbird that is often found in and around lakes; **ñfén+dírí** little grebe or dabchick, a small waterbird that is often found in and across lakes

damo (Hausa) *Noun* **fòg** savannah monitor, a large type of lizard

damu (Hausa) *Noun* **fòg** savannah monitor, a large type of lizard

dance *Verb* **lig** (tone uncertain), **líg gbìg**

dance, sp. *Noun* **ñsúrój** A dance that is done in September

dark *Adjective* **ábōgō**

darkness *Noun* **ñtāb**

darter *Noun* **sùnù**

dash (Nigerian English) *Verb* **ðùtí**

daughter *Noun* **àtʃí ígbàn**

dawn *Noun* **àkáptílíbílíbì**

day *Noun* **ànā**

day *Noun* **bèrì**

day after tomorrow *Noun* **àbúrú**

day after tomorrow *Noun* **àbô**

deaf person *Noun* **ní kàr fágí**

death *Noun* **àvèg**

deceive *Verb* **zùb**

decrease *Verb* **ɸɔr**

deep *Adjective* **dùddùb**

deep (be deep) *Verb* **dùb**

deep water *Noun* **àdìm**

defecate *Verb* **tí ʃib**

deity *Noun* **kú** generic name for all gods

deity, sp. *Noun* **ɸgóŋ**

deliver *Verb* **lòg** to deliver a child

demonstrative (distal) *Particle* **bô**

demonstrative (presentative) *Particle* **bē; mîná; á** presentative demonstrative

demonstrative (proximal) *Particle* **bā**

descend *Verb* **ɸɔr**

dew *Noun* **àmí**

die *Verb* **vég** (tone is uncertain)

different *Adjective* **míŋkìm**

difficult *Adjective* **kpìmkpáŋi**

dig *Verb* **ɸì**

dig something open *Verb* **gbènì**

digging tool *Noun* **àsúm**

DIM Particle **àtʃì**

diminutive marker *Particle* **àtʃì**

dirt *Noun* **kùnì**

dirt *Noun* **vírí**

disease *Noun* àdég

disgusting *Adjective* síṣág

dish *Noun* tàsò – from local Hausa (*taso*), probably originally from Arabic *taasa* 'bowl'

DIST Particle ò

DIST Particle bô

distal demonstrative marker *Particle* ò

distal demonstrative marker *Particle* bô

dive *Verb* lìm

divide *Verb* gàpsí to share something, to divide something among one another

divorce *Verb* gàpsí to divorce someone

dizziness *Noun* ànùŋ ádgíbí

do *Verb* tʃúg

do *Verb* sìn

do secretly *Verb* làb (tone is uncertain)

do something secretly *Verb* ḥàg

doctor *Noun* pí séd ntàm

document *Noun* tákàdà (tone is uncertain)

dog *Noun* wó

done *Adjective* wūwū

donkey *Noun* kúkórú

door *Noun* jé kôm

down *Noun* àbìbí

down *Noun* àbì

drag something *Verb* tàsí

dragonfly *Noun* tʃɪntsáŋ

draw *Verb* dèrí

draw soup *Noun* zírág á^tjírí

draw soup ingredient *Noun* àjírí

dream wàtérí *Verb* wár *Verb* wáráí *Noun* (tone is uncertain)

drink *Verb* nútʃ

drip *Verb* jnàr

drive *Verb* bùntí

driver ant *Noun* àdʒòg

driver ant *Noun* àdʒògbérí

drop, or rain *Verb* kùb

drum *Verb* gìn (tone is uncertain)

drunk person *Noun* jí dūgí (tone is uncertain)

dry *Adjective* áfō

dry *Adjective* fúffóg

dry (be dry) *Verb* fóg

dry season *Noun* àgàŋ

dry something *Verb* písí

dry tasting *Adjective* pèpírí

duck *Noun* mìpwár

dung beetle *Noun* mìpèrìmì

during *Preposition* rè

dust *Noun* gúrú

dustbin *Noun* kúbórí

dustbin *Noun* **kùpì**

D d

data (Hausa) *Noun* **lágàtàr** Ansorge's Neolebias, a small (max. 2.6cm) fish that lives close to stones and tastes bitter. It is called data in Hausa; **zórí** A small fish that tastes bitter. It is not precisely identified.

E e

ear *Noun* **àkàr**

early morning *Noun* **àkáptílíbílíbì** 5 to 6 a.m.; **mágári káptì** 4 to 5 a.m.

earthworm *Noun* **tʃèg**

earwax *Noun* **làmìkàr**

earwig *Noun* **kèrèbìg tʃè**

east *Noun* **tìdʒóŋ**

eat *Verb* **ním**

edge *Noun* **ংকাণ** (tone is uncertain)

egg *Noun* **àbèr**

egg white *Noun* **mìŋkáŋá bér ábūrī**

egg yolk *Noun* **mìŋkáŋá bér ádōmrī** egg yolk

Egypt *Proper Noun* **ídžíb; mäsär** Egypt

eight *Cardinal numeral* **sâr**

eighteen *Cardinal numeral* **bò gún sâr**

eighty *Cardinal numeral* **àkpô nâr**

elbow *Noun* ñkwàtèrì jé; àlúlù jé

elder brother of father *Noun* àná ábōrī

elder daughter of the king *Noun* tʃáŋwádʒè the first or second born daughter (tone is uncertain)

elder person *Noun* jí bōrī

electricity *Noun* àlè

elephant *Noun* fùròg

elephantfish *Noun* námbógrî freshwater elephantfish, a family of fish that encompasses a wide range of species with widely varying sizes and different colors (dark and light), all characterized by a big head, and some characterized by an elephant-trunk-like mouthpart.

eleven *Cardinal numeral* bō gún b̄í; bō gún bímbíní

embrace *Verb* wàb to embrace somebody

EMPH Particle rīg emphatic marker

emphatic marker *Particle* rīg emphatic marker

empty *Adjective* káŋkāŋā (tone is uncertain)

end àlóngrî *Noun*; lògòrī *Verb*

engage *Verb* kòmsí to be engaged to someone or to be betrothed

enhance *Verb* lèmsí

enlarge *Verb* bòrsí to add to something, to make something increase or grow

enter *Verb* jé (tone is uncertain)

entrance *Noun* jé kôm

envelop *Verb* vèr

epilepsy *Noun* àdžirèkì

era *Noun* àjì

ethnic group *Noun* sù

evening *Noun* àléb (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.)

evil person *Noun* àwám

EXCL Interjection wéééj an exclamation of endorsement of another speaker's opinion

exclamation of disbelief *Interjection* à?á an expression of surprise, disbelief, or endorsement of a previous statement

exclamation of endorsement *Interjection* wéééj an exclamation of endorsement of another speaker's opinion; à?á an expression of surprise, disbelief, or endorsement of a previous statement

exclamation of surprise *Interjection* à?á an expression of surprise, disbelief, or endorsement of a previous statement

excrement *Noun* àṣib

exist *Verb* dē

existential quantifier *Particle* mí^L

eye *Noun* ànùŋ

eyebrow *Noun* gín áñúŋ

eyelash *Noun* sírá nùŋ

eyelid *Noun* là nùŋ

F f

face *Noun* ḥúná

fadama area hole *Noun* àgùm ḥâ A hole that is dug in a flood plain in order to get fresh water.

faintness *Noun* ànùŋ éḍíbi faintness, dizziness

falcon *Noun* kâj

fall *Verb* tòr

far *Adjective* díddáb

far (be far) *Verb dáb* to be far

farm *Verb bàr* to farm *Noun fóg* field, farm

farm animal *Noun àfàm èñgwóg*

farmer *Noun jí bārī; jí jí bārī*

fart *Noun àsíŋ*

fat *màn Noun; tíntám 3 Adjective*

father *Noun àná; bàbâ* (borrowing, likely from Hausa, *baba*; tone is uncertain)

fear *Noun àtſér*

feather *Noun sírá núnj*

featherback *Noun mپérâŋ* featherback, a type of fish with slender and long bodies that has a knife-like shape and is also called knifefish

feed *Verb nìmsí; tàmsí* to nurture something or someone

feed water *Verb nùnsí* to feed someone a fluid, such as milk or water

feel angry *Verb féb tàʔè* to feel angry, literally "anger happens" (tone is uncertain)

feeling *Noun àʃám*

female *Adjective ágbàn*

female magic *Noun ḥónj égbàn* the magic for which women are responsible

fence *çìb* *Verb* to fence a place; *àkérág Noun*

fencing wood *Noun zímá* wood used for fencing

fertile *Adjective lìllòg* to be fertile

fertile area *Noun àʃà 1* In Nigerian English it is called a 'fadama area'. The term refers to an area that is fit for agriculture and can be irrigated. It usually refers to low-level plains close to water sources.

festival, sp. *Noun àkú bónû* festival for màm, the creator deity, held during the dry season, around march, after they finish harvesting

fetch *Verb tùg* (tone is uncertain)

few Adjective **mīnté**

field fóg field, farm

field sorrel Noun **sí** red sorrel, sheep's sorrel, sour weed, field sorrel, a type of weed that is also called

yakuwa in Hausa

fifteen Cardinal numeral **bò gún wún**

fifty Cardinal numeral **àkpő jírāg rē gún bō**

fig tree Noun **àgbām**

fill Verb **mùsí** to fill something, such as a cup, or a dictionary

fin Noun **sébí**

final vowel v:Any -i Final vowel, which is an optional part of some verb stems; Inflectional/derivational

Final vowel, which is part of a variety of constructions, but does not have a dedicated morphosyntactic function.

Fincon Proper Noun **fèntʃó**

find Verb **dín** (tone is uncertain)

finger Noun **çúrú'né**

fingernail Noun **àlíp tṣí rè né; kpà líp tṣí rè né**

finish Verb **tṣàṇrí**

finished Verb **tṣáṇ á 'jí** to be finished

fire Noun **àlè**

fire stone Noun **àtàr kàpìrù**

first Adverb **nāŋkō** (tone is uncertain)

first one Noun **áṣíṣàrà** first, ordinal numeral (tone is uncertain)

first person plural object pronominal Pronoun **júrú**

first person plural possessive pronominal Pronoun **júrú^L**

first person plural subject pronominal Pronoun **ì**

first person plural subject pronominal Pronoun jùrù

first person singular future subject index Pronoun ñ

first person singular imperfective subject index Pronoun ñ

first person singular non-future subject index Pronoun ñ

first person singular object pronominal Pronoun m̄

first person singular perfective subject index Pronoun ñ

first person singular possessive pronominal Pronoun m̄^L

first person singular subject pronominal Pronoun àwú

first wife Noun àgbàn ékwòg

firstly Adverb nāŋkō (tone is uncertain)

fish Noun àtábé

fish, sp. Noun m̄pérâŋ featherback, a type of fish with slender and long bodies that has a knife-like

shape and is also called knifefish; **jâg** African pike, a type of gamefish that has a pike-like body shape that usually lives in deep water. It grows up to 40cm in length.; **džátfinûŋ** an unidentified fish.

It looks similar to species of Africa tetras, but grows much bigger (up to 2m) than the (other) tetras found in the area; **mánî** An unidentified greasy-tasting fish that looks similar to a tarpon but is found

in freshwater; **lágatâr** Ansorge's Neolebias, a small (max. 2.6cm) fish that lives close to stones and

tastes bitter. It is called data in Hausa; **ŋkòmpánē** a type of fish that is dried and smoked before it is eaten. The exact species is not clearly identified. (tone is uncertain); **ñsàŋà** an unidentified type of

fish that could be a tigerfish or the Niger tetra; **fôg** grass-eater, a fish found in rivers that can grow to

more than 60cm; **dìgì** Senegal bichir, an eel-like fish with a serrated dorsal fin, found in lakes,

swamps and close to rivers. Reaches about 30cm in length.; **sírèkìŋ**, frankfish, freshwater tail-rat, or African knifefish, a long, eel-like electric fish found in swamps, lakes, and rivers. It can grow up to 1.5m; **džázô** Cromeria, a small (ca. 4cm) type of freshwater fish that is often eaten smoked and

dried; **zórí** A small fish that tastes bitter. It is not precisely identified.; **ńsâ** African arowana, a species of fish belonging to the bonytongue family with a long body and large scales that can reach up to 1m in length.

fishbone *Noun* àkùp tábé

fisherman *Noun* jí tábé tʃūgī

fishing net *Noun* àdʒàr; tárê fishing net

five *Cardinal numeral* ïjwún

flame *Noun* àlímíné lè

flesh *Noun* nínnám

flog *Verb* gbèb vā

flour *Noun* ànám

flower *Noun* àmálí

fly firí 1 *Verb*; dʒò *Noun*

fly, sp. *Noun* àʃób A fly that disturbs people in the bush.

foal *Noun* jéŋí ntē

foam *Noun* àfír₁

fold *Verb* fàtérí 1 to fold something; fàrí 1 to fold something

fold *Verb* kwàntérí 1 to fold something, such as clothes; ñànsí 2 to fold something, such as clothes

fold something *Verb* fàr₁ 1 to fold something

follow *Verb* dúg (tone is uncertain)

fool *Noun* àdžíŋrí

foolish *Adjective* dʒíndžíŋ

foolish (be foolish) *Verb* dʒíŋ to be foolish

foolishness *Noun* àdžíŋrí

foot *Noun* àbòg

forbid *Verb* tàgàrí 1 to forbid

force *Noun* àkpímkpáñá

forefather *Noun* jí bōrī

forehead *Noun* àgòm

forest *Noun* mìfò; tún

forge *Noun* sèt tùr

forget *Verb* wàsí to forget something

forty *Cardinal numeral* àkpó jíràg

`four *Cardinal numeral* ñnár

four hundred *Cardinal numeral* àkpó kpéjmi

fourteen *Cardinal numeral* bō gún nár

foxtail *Noun* fúrû mission grass or foxtail, a very widespread type of grass

francolin *Noun* àgbèràg Clapperton's francolin, double-spurred francolin

freeze something *Verb* dàksí to make something colder, to cool something down

fresh grass *Noun* zùg éfá; zúfá

Friday *Noun* ðùmbàrè Borrowed from Adamawa Fulfulde (*jumbaare*), originally from Arabic *yoom*

aj-jum'a 'Friday', literally 'day of the mosque'

fridge *Noun* àlàn̄ édā

friend *Noun* àñwà

frog *Noun* zâ

from *Adposition* dàgā; dàkā

front *Noun* àlím

front of heel *Noun* ànùñ èbòg

fruit Noun àlébrî

fruit, sp. *Noun àmùl* an unidentified type of fruit that becomes yellow when ripe. Its leaf is used for relieving throat ache (tone is uncertain)

fry (food) Verb jéb (tone is uncertain)**fuck Verb nùg****fuel Noun mân****full Adjective mùmúsî**

FV v:Any -i Final vowel, which is an optional part of some verb stems; Inflectional/derivational Final vowel, which is part of a variety of constructions, but does not have a dedicated morphosyntactic function.

G g

gadeli (Hausa) Noun àgbâñé A type of crinum, a plant with a leafless stem that develops from bulbs.

It is used for medicinal purposes. Its name in Hausa is gadeli. (tone is uncertain); **àgòb** a type of crinum, a plant with a leafless stem that develops from bulbs. It is used for medicinal purposes. Its name in Hausa is gadeli

gall bladder Noun àwám fàr**Gangsa Proper Noun gànṣâ**

Gangtu Kamajim Proper Noun gànṣú this is the place where the king's people live

gape Adjective tùttùb to gape, to have a hole

Garin Hamza Proper Noun ɲwé nín dá'râ a Kam village

Garin Kadiri Proper Noun àŋgwóg kádírì a Kam village

Garin Shingaw Proper Noun àŋgwóg sín'gáw a Kam village

Garin Tukura Proper Noun àŋwí né a Kam village (tone is uncertain)

Garin Zana Proper Noun àŋgwóg é'kérág Kam village, called Garin Zana in Hausa

gate *Noun* àdžár

gather *Verb* kòsí ; fàgrí to gather things

gazelle, sp. *Noun* ñnsé

generation *Noun* àjì

generosity *Noun* àjné ðzūtī

get *Verb* tÙg (tone is uncertain)

giant water bug *Noun* pákpágìnjí

gift *Noun* jì ðzùtí

girl *Noun* àtʃì ígbàn 1

girlfriend *Noun* àtʃì ígbàn

give *Verb* mà (tone is uncertain)

give him *Verb* mō

give me *Verb* mām

give them *Verb* mē

go *Verb* jéb (tone is uncertain); sáŋ to go, to walk (tone is uncertain)

go up *Verb* bɔr 1 to climb or go up an elevated surface

goat *Noun* ìmpərī

Gobti *Proper Noun* gòptí

God *Proper Noun* kùrìkî; àléŋ

goliath beetle *Noun* ñgúrɔgì

good *Adjective* lìllèm; ámō

good (be good) *Verb* lèm to be good

goodness *Noun* àlémrí

grab *Verb* sàb

grain *Noun* **dgá**

granary *Noun* **àzér**

grandparent/grandchild *Noun* **kùkú; jàkú** 1

grass *Noun* **zùg**

grass, sp. *Noun* **fú'kúnú** an unidentified type of grass

grass-eater *Noun* **fɔg** grass-eater, a fish found in rivers that can grow to more than 60cm

grasshopper *Noun* **kùrúkùrù** big grasshopper; **gìrè; kàndà** the big one

grave *Noun* **àlóbérí; àbérí**

grazing ground *Noun* **kpá₁** a path cattle always follow to go to water

great *Adjective* **tíntám**

greatness *Noun* **àtámri**

greet *Verb* **mòmtí; jìb** greet; **jíb** **ŋwé** to greet someone (tone is uncertain)

grind *Verb* **nàm** to grind something (tone is uncertain)

grinded charcoal *Noun* **ànám íjkànsírān** grinded charcoal. Literally 'flour of charcoal'.

grinding place *Noun* **kò ninnāmī** mill, grinding place

grinding stone *Noun* **àtar ninnāmī**

grinding stone, sp. *Noun* **àtar tʃé** a stone used to make holes while grinding; **mè tar ninnāmī;**

àwóg a type of grinding stone

ground nut *Noun* **gùsì**

ground-beetle, sp. *Noun* **àdžirèkì** a type of saber-toothed ground beetle that can spray acid to defend itself

group of people under akimpa *Noun* **tʃiwó**

grow *Verb* **tám** to grow (intransitive); **bòrsí** to grow (transitive), to add to something, to make something increase or grow

growth *Noun* àtámřî

grunt *Noun* gùm

guard *Verb* ḏjòŋ wór; wòr

gugale (Hausa) *Noun* tʃámkòn northern grey-headed sparrow

guinea corn *Noun* tʃè

guinea corn pap *Noun* àlísírí

guinea fowl *Noun* ḏzérî

gun *Noun* àlè

Gunduma B Proper Noun àŋgwóg góp'tí

gut *Noun* àjè

gut (fish) *Verb* tòbrí to gut a fish before cooking it

H h

hair *Noun* sírá

hammer tí *Verb* to hit something, e.g. with a hammer; **pí pí tí** *Noun*

hand *Noun* àpjé

hand over *Verb* ḏžutí

handkerchief *Noun* àpíráŋî

handle *Noun* wūrōg

hang *Verb* gág to hang

hang out *Verb* kpàŋrí to go out without a particular goal in mind

hang up *Verb* gàgrí to hang something up

hanging basket *Noun* káŋéláŋ

happen *Verb* **tàgí** to happen

hard *Adjective* **kpìmkpáñí** not soft

hare *Noun* **lámê**

harmattan *Noun* **fɔnù**

harsh tasting *Adjective* **pèpírī** Astringent, rough, harsh. The taste one gets when biting an unripe banana or other types of raw fruit or vegetables. It is sometimes translated as 'too dry' into English, because of the dry feeling it leaves in the tongue and mouth. It is closely associated with bitterness but still different from it.

harvest (maize) *Verb* **fé** to break something long, such as maize or an arm

harvest (maize) *Verb* **kà** to harvest maize by breaking it

hat *Noun* **àgàtìnà**

haunted river *Noun* **màrì fòb**

haunted tree *Noun* **bèr èfòb**

have *Verb* **kàr**

hawk *Noun* **àlítéří**

head *Noun* **àlíb**

head hair *Noun* **sírá 'líb**

hear *Verb* **lèg**

heart *Noun* **àváñđíréğ; vánđíréğ**

heat up (intransitive) *Verb* **ʃób** to be or to become hot

heated *Verb* **ʃób á 'jí** to be heated

heavy *Adjective* **bùbbòd**

heavy container *Noun* **àlànj pjáw** a container that is used as a basin to keep water

hedgehog *Noun* **ká+tjírí**

heel *Noun* **àgúŋ ébòg**

hello *Phrase, súkò*

help grow *Verb tàmsí* to make something or someone grow

herbicide *Noun ñtàm zùg*

here *Adverb kēmā; kā* this place, here

here you go *Interjection ñj* an interjection used for presenting something to someone, urging them to take it; *Particle bē* presentative demonstrative

heron *Noun àgòrù*

hey *Interjection, o:j*

hey! *Interjection kaj*

hiccough *Noun díg*

hide *Verb wògí; làpsí* to do something secretly; *wòkérí*

hide oneself (while doing something else) *Verb làb* to do something secretly, to hide oneself while doing something

hide oneself (while doing something) *Verb dgàg* to do something secretly (tone is uncertain)

high *Adjective dùddùb*

high (be high) *Verb dùb* to be high

hill *Noun àtukúrú*

hip, loins, waist *Noun kwàr*

hippopotamus *Noun lwàm*

history *Noun tárihî*

hit àsúr *Noun; tí Verb* to hit something, e.g. with a hammer

hit repeatedly *Verb wòmrí* to hit or slap something or someone repeatedly

hoe *Noun àtfóm; ñtfóm*

hole *Noun àgùm* a pit, hole (in the ground)

holed *Verb* túb á 'jí to have a hole

hollow *Adjective* wùmwòm

honey *Noun* mìŋkáŋá 'tʃó;r; màng ètʃó;r

hook gágí *Verb*; ñgàlím *Noun*

horn *Noun* àlímíné

horn of an elephant *Noun* àfàg fùròg

horse *Noun* jéné

host *Noun* àbèr èŋgwóg

hot *Adjective* síʃób

hot (be hot) *Verb* şób to be or to become hot

house *Noun* àŋgwóg

householder *Noun* àbèr èŋgwóg

how *Interrogative pro-form* sìm Quantity content interrogative, used for enquiring after the quantity of something.

how are you *Phrase* tán sìm?

how many *Interrogative pro-form* sìm Quantity content interrogative, used for enquiring after the quantity of something.

how much *Interrogative pro-form* sìm Quantity content interrogative, used for enquiring after the quantity of something.

hunchback *Noun* túŋ

hundred *Cardinal numeral* àkpô ɳwún

hungry *Noun* àbób

hunter *Noun* jí 'jé kārī; jí jí mgbābī

husband *Noun* àván

hyena *Noun* bàgàràg

I i

i.e. *Connective wàtò* that is to say, in other words, i.e.

idiotic *Adjective ándérí* about talk, about a person, a very insulting word to use

if not *Connective sīkā*

illiterate person *Noun kpšŋ* (tone is uncertain)

imperfective marker *Particle rà* Imperfective aspect particle, indicates that the action referred to by

the verb is viewed as ongoing

improve *Verb lèmsí*

in between *Adposition àlìlēb*

in front of *Adposition àlím*

in other words, *Connective wàtò* that is to say, in other words, i.e.

in the middle *Adposition àlìlēb*

incisor teeth *Noun àṣàg élí'léb*

increase *Verb swàptí*

infidel *Noun pínî*

in-law *Noun àjwán*

insect, sp. *Noun n̄tʃíròŋ; mèléŋ; kàndàgà*

inside *àlèb Adposition; àlèb Noun*

inside of the belly *Noun àlèb èdèr*

INSTR Particle ké Some oblique prepositional sense that has yet to be discovered. Possibly

instrumental.

insult *Verb dó* (tone is uncertain)

INT Particle hñ intensifier, used in the *intensity construction*

intensifier *Particle hñ* intensifier, used in the *intensity construction*

interrogative modifier *Interrogative pro-form* **mīnā** interrogative modifier

interrogative relativizer *Interrogative pro-form* **mīnā** interrogative modifier

intestines *Noun* **àjè**

IPFV Particle r̩e Imperfective aspect particle, indicates that the action referred to by the verb is viewed as ongoing

iron *Noun* **n̩gámdí; s̩ɔj**

iron wood tree *Noun* **t̩ítfág** iron wood tree, African mesquite, or iron tree. It is called kiriya in Hausa.

is not *Particle* **s̩irə ... r̩ig** Negative existential construction. This construction expresses that something is not present, either in general or in a specific place.

it is good for me. *Phrase* **lém m̩ à** an expression of delight. Literally 'it is good for/to me'.

itch *Noun* **p̩i ípnagē**

IT Verb>Verb -rí This suffix conveys the meaning that an action is executed multiple times or repeatedly

iterative suffix *Verb>Verb -rí* This suffix conveys the meaning that an action is executed multiple times or repeatedly

J j

jaw *Noun* **àgbáŋ ñwé; g̩àw ðʒwā**

jealousy *Noun* **àbèg**

jerboa *Noun* **t̩éj**

Jesus *Noun* **àtʃi kùrìkî**

join *Verb* **k̩òsí**

joint *Noun* **ñkwàtèrì; lántí**

jug *Noun* **ñpúŋ**

juju *Noun* **kú**

jump *Verb fírī*

jump (across trees) *Verb pén₂* jump across trees (tone is uncertain)

junior daughter of the chief *Noun tʃóngádzím* (tone is uncertain)

K k

Kam *Noun àŋwòm*

Kam language *Noun ɳwé ɳwòm*

Kam people *Noun jí ɳwòm*

Kam Sira Proper Noun kàm sírá. Place name, name of a Kam village

Kamajim 1 Proper Noun àŋwí bóg Place name, Kam name of Kamajim 1

Kamajim 2 Proper Noun àŋwí lí'léb Place name, Kam name of Kamajim 2

Kamajim 3 Proper Noun àŋwí fénsòg Place name, Kam name of Kamajim 3

kamsuwa (Hausa) *Noun fúrù* mission grass or foxtail, a very widespread type of grass

karkwasa (Hausa) *Noun àdʒòg* driver ant, a type of army ant that makes temporary anthills with big colonies. It rarely stings.

kawo (Hausa) *Noun wéj* A larger shade tree that grows in the bush.

kaya (Hausa) *Noun séj* A tree that has thorns.

keep *Verb kàr*

keep chickens *Verb fà* to raise animals; this verb is specifically used for chickens

kick *Verb gbèb*

kick repeatedly *Verb gbèbrí* to beat or kick someone repeatedly

kidney *Noun dʒá gúṣì kpò*

kill *Verb vèrí* to kill someone or something

kind *Adjective ámō*

king *Noun àwàñ*

king (traditional) *Noun àbēñí* the owner of people

kiriya (Hausa) *Noun tʃítʃág* iron wood tree, African mesquite, or iron tree.

kitchen *Noun pàg*

knead *Verb tʃāb* to knead something

knee *Noun ɿkwàtèrì bòg*

kneecap *Noun àlúlù*

kneel down *Verb kùptí*

knife *Noun àbág*

knifefish *Noun mپérâñ* featherback, a type of fish with slender and long bodies that has a knife-like shape and is also called knifefish

knock *Verb gíntí* to knock, e.g. on wood or on a door

know *Verb mäsí; mă*

knuckle *Noun àgàm líp tʃí rè né*

Kurupbe *Proper Noun ɖjùrùkí*

L 1

lake *Noun àsòm*

lake amambéri *Proper Noun àsòm àmàmbéří* a lake within the Sarkin Dawa area

lake kpā?ärāg *Proper Noun àsòm kpágárág* a lake close to Bayaro

lake Kwàn *Proper Noun àsòm kwàn* a lake close to Ardo Sonvini

lake Wura *Proper Noun àsòm wúrá* Close to Wura

lame person *Noun mìkpintèrì*

language *Noun ɿwé*

large *Adjective* **tíntám; bùbbòd**

large ape *Noun* **àkòk swò**

last **àlógórí** *Noun* the last one in a sequence

last teeth *Noun* **àṣàg àdú**

late afternoon *Noun* **àlénj dág â** from 4pm to 7 p.m.

later *Adverb* **gbánákā** in the same day, or general

laugh **mòm** *Verb*; **fàg** *Noun*

lay eggs *Verb* **nàg** to lay eggs (tone is uncertain)

lay something down *Verb* **lùtí** to lay something down; to appoint someone

laziness *Noun* **àkúptí**

lazy person *Noun* **àkúptí ; àzóg** lazy person; **jní 'zóg** lazy person

lead someone *Verb* **tàsí** to lead something or someone

lead something *Verb* **tàsí** to lead something or someone

leaf *Noun* **àbèràg**

leak *Verb* **zùr** to leak

lean *Verb* **jètí** to lean against something

leave *Verb* **jí**

left hand *Noun* **àjnà mèrèg** left hand, literally 'nose hand', the hand used for blowing your nose, as opposed to the right hand, which is used for eating

left side *Noun* **zág ágbàn**

leg *Noun* **àbòg**

length *Noun* **àbómí**

lengthen (intransitive) *Verb* **bòmtí; bóm** to be or to become long

lengthen something *Verb* **bòmsí** to make something long

leopard *Noun* m̄pèrè

lest *Connective* sīkā

lick *Verb* múg e.g. to taste soup, to eat sugar or flour (tone is uncertain); làg

lie tʃè₁ *Verb*; àbén tʃè *Noun*

lie down *Verb* lù; lù bì to lie down

life *Noun* àbóñó; àbóñj

lift *Verb* jítí to carry something up

light àlè *Noun*; fímfám *Adjective*; gwó *Verb* e.g. to light a match (tone uncertain)

light (fire) *Verb* tòksí to light a fire

light bulb *Noun* àlè éʃā

like àrí bā *Adverb*; àrí *Adposition*

like this míñ *Adverb*; míñá *Particle*

limp *Verb* p̄é ré gàw to limp, to walk with difficulty

lion *Noun* gúr̄g

lip *Noun* àdʒwā ñwé

listen *Verb* lèg

little *Adjective* m̄inté little, only used for mass nouns (fluids, food, fruit)

little grebe *Noun* àfén+dírí little grebe or dabchick, a small waterbird that is often found in and around

lakes; ñfén+dírí little grebe or dabchick, a small waterbird that is often found in and across lakes

live *Verb* swár; ðʒɔŋ settle

liver *Noun* pùpwàb

living being *Noun* pì ísō creature, living being

lizard *Noun* víñ+tʃíní

lobster *Noun* kérèbìg mìñkáná

lock *Verb fâg*

locust bean tree *Noun àbérég*

LOG.SG Pronoun *f^L* logophoric pronominal

logophoric pronominal *Pronoun* *f^L* logophoric pronominal

long búmbóm₁ *Adjective; bóm Verb* to be or to become long

look *Verb ðērī*

loosen *Verb gbàsí*

lose *Verb wùtrí*

louse *Noun ñkóŋ*

love *Verb wūrī*

lower one's head *Verb bāgī* to lower one's head (tone is uncertain)

lung *Noun àfàr; àván éfàr* (tone is uncertain)

lungfish *Noun àví* West African lungfish, an air-breathing fish with an eel-like body that can reach 1m in length and lives in riverbeds.

lutefish, sp. *Noun m̄pāj* A type of lutefish, living on the bottom of lakes and growing to around 60cm in length. It goes upstream to lay eggs

M m

madman *Noun jí kāŋsí*

madrid *Noun àvāŋkàŋ*

magic, sp. *Noun tìdʒón*

mahogany tree *Noun àbù*

maiwa (Hausa) *Noun àwàr* a type of bulrush millet that is harvested during the dry season

maize *Noun múrō*

make *Verb* **māmī** to make or create something; **sìn**

make a rope *Verb* **kwár** (tone is uncertain)

make angry *Verb* **má †fēb**

make beautiful *Verb* **lèmsí**

make good *Verb* **lèmsí**

make grow *Verb* **tàmsí** to make something or someone grow

make holes in something *Verb* **tùbrí** to put holes in something

make round *Verb* **vìŋkáří** to make something round; **dgìb** to make something round

make something cold *Verb* **dàksí** to make something colder, to cool something down

make something long *Verb* **bòmtí**

make wide *Verb* **jàrsí** to make something wider

malaria *Noun* **wóg**

male *Noun* **ávān**

male agama lizard *Noun* **ànâ mkpôŋ** male agama agama

male goat *Noun* **ìmpòg**

malice *Noun* **àbésí** malice

man *Noun* **jí;** **àjì vān;** **jí vān;** **àjí**

mango *Noun* **màŋgóró**

mantis *Noun* **ńdžìndžènàkù**

many *Quantifier* **nìnnānī** multal quantifier, expressing that there is a large quantity of something.

There is no distinction for count or non-count nouns

market *Noun* **lùmò;** **àgbáŋásùb**

marry *Verb* **jág ágbàn** to marry a woman (tone is uncertain)

mat *Noun* **àfí**

match *Noun* **kàpìrù**

maternal relative *Noun* **àlóg**

maternal uncle/sister's child *Noun* **tʃū**

matoni (Hausa) *Noun* **àsúm** any tool used for digging holes, e.g. boreholes

maybe *Particle* **ɲíŋkā** (tone is uncertain)

me *Pronoun* **jìm** me, first person singular independent pronoun, also used for focus

measure *Verb* **mag** to measure something (tone is uncertain)

meat *Noun* **àfàm** meat, food from an animal

medicine *Noun* **ńtàm**

meet *Verb* **dín** (tone is uncertain)

men *Noun* **jí vān**

menstruation *Noun* **àdàm**

message **àtóm** *Noun*; **tòmsí** *Verb*

middle *Noun* **àlìléb**

millipede *Noun* **ị́kímá**

milk *Noun* **mìŋkáŋá** ^{ví}

milk teeth *Noun* **àʃàg àví**

mill *Noun* **kò nínnámí** mill, grinding place

millet, sp. *Noun* **àwàr** a type of bulrush millet that is harvested during the dry season

mission grass *Noun* **fúrú** mission grass or foxtail, a very widespread type of grass

mix *Verb* **kpāb**

mix (small things) *Verb* **ŋwárí** to mix small things that can still be separated, such as seeds, beans, rice
or pepper (tone is uncertain)

Monday *Noun* **kàŋkánê** Name of a Jirim village that has a market event on Mondays. Also *Kankani*.

money *Noun* **jìsírì**

monitor lizard *Noun* **ʃòg** savannah monitor, a large type of lizard

monkey *Noun* **m̄pō** (tone is uncertain); **sá**

monkey, sp. *Noun* **ɖìm;** **m̄pánjéří**

month *Noun* **àdʒè**

moon *Noun* **àdʒè**

moringa tree *Noun* **àlásírá**

morning *Noun* **àkàptì** from 6 to 10

mortar (in which to pound food) *Noun* **túg**

mosque *Noun* **kò ḡom bāgī**

mosquito *Noun* **dìnà**

mother *Noun* **mē**

mould *Verb* **víŋ** to mould something into a shape; to give shape to a shapeless material; **víŋkérí** to mould something, to form something; **ʈʃāb** to mould something with one's hands

mount *Verb* **b̄or** to mount an animal or a vehicle

mountain *Noun* **ñtóŋ**

mouse, sp. *Noun* **m̄pàndʒóŋ**

mouth *Noun* **ŋwé; mwé**

mouth of a pot *Noun* **ŋwé lâŋ; mwé lâŋ**

much *Quantifier* **nìnnānī** multal quantifier, expressing that there is a large quantity of something.

There is no distinction for count or non-count nouns

mud *Noun* **àvìràkwàb**

mudfish *Noun* **kwēj** mudfish, an airbreathing type of catfish that can grow up to 1m in length.

Mumuye *Proper Noun* **kwàntóŋ; àkómlâ**

mushroom *Noun* àkóg

Muslim *Noun* màkpà; jí gòm bāgī

mute *Noun* mìkpój

N n

nail *Noun* kpà

name *Noun* gán

name something or someone *Verb* nàg to give something or someone a name (tone is uncertain)

nape of neck *Noun* ñkùm àgbèr

nasal mucus *Noun* mìñkáñá mārēg; mèrèg

navel *Noun* sù

near *Adposition* tókpár

neck *Noun* àgbér

need *Verb* wūrī

needle *Noun* àfír

NEG Particle hñ Clause-final negation marker

negative existential Particle sìrē ... ríg Negative existential construction. This construction expresses

that something is not present, either in general or in a specific place.

negator Particle hñ Clause-final negation marker

neighbor *Noun* mùrù; àñwà ñgwóg

new *Adjective* áñwi

newborn animal *Noun* tʃwē

newborn child *Noun* tʃwē

night *Noun* ábōgō nighttime, when it is dark, roughly from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m.

Nile monitor *Noun* ñkómî West Africa Nile monitor, an aquatic type of monitor lizard that grows to

one or two meters in length. It is called water monitor lizard in English by Kam speakers

nine *Cardinal numeral* jí^tzá

nineteen *Cardinal numeral* bò gún jízàg

ninety *Cardinal numeral* àkpô nár 'ré gún bō

nipple *Noun* àví

NMLZ *Verb>Noun* à- a synchronically unproductive nominalizing prefix that derives patientive and

agentive nouns from verbs; -rì Nominalizing suffix, part of some nominalization constructions

no *Interjection* o o; m m

no problem *Phrase* tán jì hn̄

noise *Noun* àwáři

nominalizing affix *Verb>Noun* à- a synchronically unproductive nominalizing prefix that derives

patientive and agentive nouns from verbs; -rì Nominalizing suffix, part of some nominalization

constructions

noon *Noun* àkúrú; àléj kúrú 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.

north *Noun* àwù; kpàtibá

north side *Noun* zág áwû

nose *Noun* àmèrēg

nostril *Noun* àgùm àmèrēg

notice *Verb* màsí

now *Adverb* sísirā

Ntɔŋ sani *Proper Noun* ñtɔŋ sání A mountain in Sarkin Dawa

nurture *Verb* tàmsí to nurture something or someone

jí mfô 'séj *Proper Noun* a clan of Kam

nyi shiriku *Proper Noun* **jí síríkú** clan responsible for magic in general

Nyintɔngwei *Proper Noun* **jí ntóŋí wêj** the clan that is responsible for rainfall

O o

official, sp. *Noun* **àkìmpá; mē tìdʒóŋ** the mother of the traditional king; she's responsible for the magic called tìdʒóŋ

oil *Noun* **màn**

okra *Noun* **míprím**

old *Adjective* **ásūmrí**

old person *Noun* **kògònjí**

older female large ape *Noun* **mè swô** (tone is uncertain)

older male large ape *Noun* **àná swô**

older sibling *Noun* **àjnà bɔrì** (tone is uncertain)

on top of *Adposition* **àlíb**

one *Cardinal numeral* **bí; bímbíní** (tone is uncertain)

one hundred and twenty *Cardinal numeral* **àkpô ðgúb**

one million *Cardinal numeral* **mìljén** (tone is uncertain)

open (cloth) *Verb* **làrí** to unwrap something that is covered with cloth, also to open curtains

open (door) *Verb* **fàrí** to open a door

open (mouth) *Verb* **ŋàtí** to open one's mouth

open something (by digging) *Verb* **gbéní** to dig open yam heaps, or to dig for groundnuts

openers of the traditional festivals *Noun* **bōnū** people responsible for opening the traditional festivals
(tone is uncertain)

or kó *Connective ; mi Particle*

ostrich *Noun* ñkázárî

other *Quantifier* njíñí

outside àgèr *Noun; Adverb*

outside of belly *Noun* ñtúñédér; àdér

owner *Noun* àpjí

P p

pain *Noun* àdégrî; àdég

painful *Adjective* dìddèg

palace *Noun* àgbáñ

palate *Noun* àkpág ñwé gáñ

palm of hand *Noun* àdènjé

palm tree *Noun* dàrá

pants *Noun* bëntí

paper *Noun* là kúmé paper

pass *Verb* pëntérí

paternal relative *Noun* mìfò kú

patience *Noun* mùñà

pay *Verb* gòm

pearl millet *Noun* mìrì harvested in august or September

peel *Verb* sàrí

peer *Noun* mùrù

penis *Noun* ñtōg

people *Noun* **jí; àjní**

pepper *Noun* **àṣirèmán**

perfective aspect marker *Particle* **à₂** Perfective aspect marker.

perfective marker

period *Noun* **bèrì**

person *Noun* **jí; àjní**

person name *Proper Noun* **dgúrkàkí; zìmà; tʃòŋgàdʒìm; ànùŋdžál; àkpàkánì; sìŋgáw; màjíní; ñwìŋkí; àtʃí wàŋkú; lún'gágá; àkpàkán; wàrkû; àtáké; tʃìwántʃà; kávén; ñkāŋfin; ñkòntòró; dùwásām; mántì; jì sín rè jí; vówí; nēwí; sòvírí; àjáwkání**

pestle (to pound food with) *Noun* **bètúg**

PFV *Particle* **à** Perfective aspect marker.

pick it *Verb* **lèsí**

pick something up *Verb* **jág ágàŋ** to pick something up, to lift something up (tone is uncertain)

pieces *Noun* **àmùgù** a collection of broken pieces of something (e.g. dry fish)

pierce *Verb* **tùpsí**

pig *Noun* **ńtʃóŋ**

pinch **būg** *Verb*; **àdʒór** *Noun*

pinky *Noun* **àlíp tʃí rè jé ntwàb**

PL *Particle* **wō; jō** Plural marker

place **kòm** *Noun*; **kă** *Noun* place; **zùg** *Verb* to put something somewhere; **ñwé** *Noun*

place name *Proper Noun* **àŋwí bún'tí** Garin Lah; **dgìm** This is the place where all the past chiefs are buried.; **àbén ndéří** A place name, referring to a village commonly known as Abanderi. The name literally translates to 'curse' or 'idiotic talk'; **àŋgwóğ é'kérág** Kam village, called Garin Zana in Hausa

place with flat stones *Noun àwár₁* A place with many flat stones.

plait hair *Verb fam* to plait someone's hair

plant (crops) *Verb lòm* to plant crops

plant (fruit) *Verb dgán* to plant a tree or fruit

plant (tree) *Verb dgán* to plant a tree or fruit

plant, sp. *Noun mìkpàtì* A leaf that is used for the preparation of draw soups.; *àgbānē* A type of crinum, a plant with a leafless stem that develops from bulbs. It is used for medicinal purposes. Its name in Hausa is gadeli. (tone is uncertain)

plate *Noun àkprà*

platform *Noun kámtìrà* (tone uncertain)

plead *Phrase sòg mùjà* to plead with someone; literally: to look for patience (tone is uncertain)

pluck *Verb kwàsí; gàbrí* to pluck something, such as a blade of grass

plural marker *Particle jō* Plural marker

plural word *Particle jō* Plural marker

pointed *Adjective sêñsêñ* (tone is uncertain)

porcupine *Noun sàmbògòrì*

positive response word *Interjection a; o:j*

POSS *Particle rīg* Possessive marker.

possessed person *Noun àjòb*

possessive marker *Particle rīg*

pot *Noun àlàn̄j*

pot cover *Noun jì ñwé lân̄*

pot, sp. *Noun vî* a kind of traditional pot

potter *Noun jí làñ̄ mōñ̄i*

pouched rat *Noun* m̄gbètè

pound *Verb* sùr pound with a mortar

pounded yam *Noun* m̄kpò ðú

pour *Verb* tÙr to pour something inside a target with a narrow mouth, like a bottle or a calabash

pour something *Verb* wùbrí to pour something

pour something (into something large) *Verb* jàsí pour something into or onto a target with a wide opening, e.g. the floor or a large pot

poverty *Noun* àtfí

praise someone *Verb* kòrí to praise someone

pregnancy *Noun* àfù

presentative demonstrative Particle bē; m̄ná; á

press *Verb* tēb

press clothes *Verb* déj

press together *Verb* pòpsí

pressed together púppób *Adjective* to be pressed together; pób á 'jí *Verb* to be pressed together

prick *Verb* tùpsí

priest *Noun* t̄jikú

prisoner *Noun* jí fāgī

progress *Noun* jí díní

promote *Verb* lèmsí

propeller *Noun* àtfòr

proverb *Noun* àbén ézūkērī

PROX Particle à; bā

proximal demonstrative marker Particle bā

proximal demonstrative marker *Particle à*

PRSTT *Particle bē* presentative demonstrative; **míná** presentative demonstrative; **á** presentative demonstrative

pull *Verb zùr*

pump *tùr* *Verb* to pump; **jì íṣòb tūrī** *Noun*

pumpkin *Noun* **àkèrè**

puncture *Verb* **tùbrí** to put holes in something

push *Verb* **tùb**

put *Verb* **zùg** to put something somewhere

put straight *Verb* **jìsí** to put something straight

python *Noun* **mèràsà**

Q q

Q *Particle jí* polar question particle

queen termite *Noun* **mè dánjâ** (tone is uncertain)

question *Particle* **gò^H**

question marker *Particle* **jí**

quickly *Adverb* **jánjí** (tone is uncertain)

quiver *Noun* **bìgè**

quotative marker *Particle* **íjí^L** quotative marker, introduces reported speech; **í**; **á**; **íbí**

R r

rag *Noun* **àpírájñî** a piece of cloth

rain kpár *Verb* (tone is uncertain); **m̄p̄m̄** *Noun*

rain lightly *Verb* **kùb** to rain lightly

rainy season *Noun* **ñtʃwé**

raise chickens *Verb* **fà** to raise animals; this verb is specifically used for chickens

rank *Noun* **tintám**

rat *Noun* **ñfàŋ**; **m̄p̄r̄g**

rattle (traditional) *Noun* **tsítság** traditional rattle used in traditional dances

razor *Noun* **ñkènsì**

reason *Noun* **ɸá**

record *Verb* **jág** **ñkùr̄g** to record something (tone is uncertain)

red *Adjective* **ád̄m̄r̄i**; **dindòm**

red ant *Noun* **káŋálí** an unidentified type of red ant

red sorrel *Noun* **sí** red sorrel, sheep's sorrel, sour weed, field sorrel, a type of weed that is also called
yakuwa in Hausa

red-flanked duiker *Noun* **àb̄r̄èg** red-flanked duiker

reedfish *Noun* **kûb** reedfish or snakefish, a snake-like fish that can grow more than 30cm in length

reflexive Particle **kpò** reflexive pronoun

refrigerate something *Verb* **dàksí** to make something colder, to cool something down

refuse *Verb* **ñéni** to refuse something (tone is uncertain)

remove *Verb* **sóŋ** (tone is uncertain); **lùpsí**; **gbèr**; **ʃɔŋtí**; **lùbrí**

remove (by cutting) *Verb* **bà**

removed *Verb* **lúb** **á** **'jí** to be removed

repair something *Verb* **kòŋí** to repair something

replace something *Verb* **pén** to replace something

request *Verb* tòg

rest *Verb* nág á⁴bóŋ

rest (of something) *Noun* ɲkám

rest after filtering *Noun* sàr

Resultative marker

return *Verb* mèrè

ribs *Noun* sánígâw; gâw; àgâw (tone is uncertain)

rice *Noun* džá zûg

ridge something *Verb* gbéní to carve something inside something else (e.g. to carve text in a tree), to

ridge something

ridi (Hausa) *Noun* mìkpè sesame seed, benniseed

right hand *Noun* àpà nímí

right side *Adverb* ázág ávān

rinse *Verb* bàrí

ripe *Adjective* wūwū

ripe (be ripe) *Verb* wū to be ripe

ripe fruit *Noun* áwū

ritual calabash *Noun* mìpúŋ džóŋ

river *Noun* màrè

riverbank *Noun* ɲwé márê; ɲwé

road *Noun* àlükōm (tone is uncertain)

roast *Verb* déŋ

rodent, sp. *Noun* báří

roll up (rope) *Verb* vèr to roll up a rope

roof *Verb* **sà** to roof a building

roof tìg *Verb* to roof a place; **tìgí** *Verb* to roof a building; **àlíp sér** *Noun*; **kámtìrà** *Noun* (tone uncertain)

room *Noun* **sér**; **àlèsér**

rooster *Noun* **kúmé vān**; **àṣùkù**

root (of a plant) *Noun* **àlógórí**

root of a tree *Noun* **díráŋ bér**

rope *Noun* **ṇtʃùṇ**

rot *Verb* **būm** to rot, to spoil

rotten *Adjective* **sámr á 'jí**

rough *Adjective* **dàm hñ**

rough tasting *Adjective* **pèpírí** Astringent, rough, harsh. The taste one gets when biting an unripe banana or other types of raw fruit or vegetables. It is sometimes translated as 'too dry' into English, because of the dry feeling it leaves in the tongue and mouth. It is closely associated with bitterness but still different from it.

round gínéné *Adjective* (tone is uncertain); **ḍgìb** *Verb* to make something round

rub *Verb* **wùsí**

run *Verb* **tèg**

S s

saber-toothed ground beetle *Noun* **àḍìrèkì** a type of saber-toothed ground beetle that can spray acid to defend itself

Sabon Gida Kamajim *Proper Noun* **sàmàrí lím**, a Kam village, part of Kamajim (tone is uncertain)

safari ant *Noun* **àdòg** driver ant, a type of army ant that makes temporary anthills with big colonies. It rarely stings. It is called karkwasa in Hausa

saliva *Noun* àdʒóŋ

salt *Noun* ñsòg; sùnsòg

same *Adverb* tántʃòŋ

sand *Noun* àlàſíné a type of sand found by the riverside

Saturday *Noun* àsábâr Borrowed from Hausa (*Asabar*), originally from Arabic *yoom as-sabat*

‘Saturday’, literally ‘day the seventh (starting from Sunday)’

savannah monitor *Noun* ſòg savannah monitor, a large type of lizard

save *Verb* tàgàrí to keep safe

say *Verb* bén (tone is uncertain)

scam *Verb* zùb to deceive people, to scam people, to participate in fraud

scatter *Verb* mènsí

scatter something *Verb* mìnsí to scatter things

scattered (be scattered) *Verb* mén á 'jí

school *Noun* ɖàŋgìrìgò; jì ídērī

scorpion *Noun* kèrèbìg

scrape *Verb* déŋ

scratch *Noun* jì ígbērī

scratch something *Verb* gbèr

search *Verb* sòg (tone is uncertain)

second person plural object pronominal *Pronoun* jò

second person plural possessive pronominal *Pronoun* jò^L pronominal

second person plural subject pronominal *Pronoun* jò

second person singular future subject index *Pronoun* á

second person singular imperfective subject pronominal *Pronoun* à

second person singular independent pronominal *Pronoun jà*

second person singular object pronominal *Pronoun á*

second person singular perfective subject index *Pronoun á*

second person singular possessive pronominal *Pronoun já^L* pronominal

secret *Verb lìpsí* to do something secretly

section *Noun sù*

see *Verb dág* (tone is uncertain)

seed *Noun àwù₂; àwù jì* a generic noun used for any type of seed; *dzá*

semen *Noun mìnkáñá n¹tò*

send *Verb tóm* (tone is uncertain); *tòmsí*

Senegal coucal *Noun ñítútú* *Centropus senegalensis*

separate *Verb gòpsí* to separate things; *gàpsí* to separate things

separated *Verb gáb á 'jí*

SEQ Particle sì preverbal sequential particle indicating that the action denoted by the clause happens

after an earlier mentioned event

sequential marker Particle sì preverbal sequential particle indicating that the action denoted by the

clause happens after an earlier mentioned event

sesame seed *Noun mìkpè* sesame seed, benniseed

seven *Cardinal numeral džùb jírág*

seventeen *Cardinal numeral bō gún džúb jírág*

seventy *Cardinal numeral àkpó tʃár rē gún bō*

sew *Verb gbàm*

shade *Noun džúdžúrág*

shadow *Noun džúdžúrág*

shake *Verb* **gbìgí**

shame *Noun* **ànùŋ á'bógé**

shape *Verb* **vínj** to mould something into a shape; to give shape to a shapeless material

share *Verb* **gàb** to share something; **gàpsí** to share something, to divide something among one another

sharp *Adjective* **lìllèg**

sharp (be sharp) *Verb* **lèg** to be sharp

sharpen *Verb* **lèksí** to make something sharp

shave *Verb* **zìm**

shawo (Hausa) *Noun* **ìnpòrè**

shea tree *Noun* **àdʒé** shea tree

sheep *Noun* **ńtímá**

sheep's sorrel *Noun* **sí** red sorrel, sheep's sorrel, sour weed, field sorrel, a type of weed that is also called yakuwa in Hausa

shin *Noun* **àkùb èbòg; gbógó**

shine *Verb* **tòg** shining or burning of a light, the sun, the moon, fire

shirt *Noun* **àfú; àpírápí** any piece of clothing

shit *Noun* **àʃib**

shoe *Noun* **sìbòg**

shoot *Verb* **mgbàb**

short, poisonous snake *Noun* **àdʒwàn** A type of short, poisonous snake.

shoulder *Noun* **àkpèb èjné; àkpèb**

shoulder blade *Noun* **pìpèj**

shout àjé *Noun; ká Verb* (tone is uncertain); **àjé kà** *Noun; jé Verb* (tone is uncertain)

shout for attention *Interjection* **o:j**

show *Verb* **túsí**

shrew *Noun* **dílóg**

sick *Adjective* **dìddèg**

sick (be sick) *Verb* **dèg** to be or to become sick

sickle *Noun* **àzònù**

side *Noun* **zág; àgàw** (tone is uncertain)

sing *Verb* **swàb**

sit *Verb* **dgòŋ**

situation *Noun* **dgá**

six *Cardinal numeral* **dgùb**

sixteen *Cardinal numeral* **bò gún dgùb**

sixty *Cardinal numeral* **àkpô tṣár**

skeleton *Noun* **àkùb**

skin *Noun* **là; là kpò**

skinny *Adjective* **búgbág** (tone is uncertain)

skirt *Noun* **pàtàrí**

skull *Noun* **ŋkāgā'líb**

sky *Noun* **àdègàŋ**

slap *Verb* **wòm** to slap someone

slaughter *Verb* **bír** (tone is uncertain)

slave *Noun* **pínî**

sleep *Verb* **lù; lùsí**

sling *Noun* **àlō**

slippery *Adjective* **kpikpési**

slippery (be slippery) *Verb kpèsí* to be slippery

small *Adjective átwàb; ántē; ántwàb*

smell àkúrì *Noun; kùsí Verb* to smell something; **kúkkúr** *Adjective*

smell (intransitive) *Verb kúr* to stink, to be smelly

smoke *Noun mòg Verb núnj* to smoke (tobacco)

smooth *Adjective kpìkpésí; kùkóktí*

smooth (be smooth) *Verb kpèsí* to be smooth; **kòktí** to be smooth

snake *Noun jìṣé*

snake, sp. *Noun sísé; àkár; wórù* a type of snake. various types of snakes are subsumed under this name, including the speckled shovel-snout snake, the northern (or irregular) green bush snake, and the spotted blind snake; **zùpfá** A type of green snake that lives in green grasses.

snatch *Verb zànj* to snatch something; to take something and quickly steal away

sneeze *Noun àṣém*

snore déri *Verb; àdéri Noun*

so Particle tò

soft *Adjective mílágmílág* (tone is uncertain)

soften *Verb mìlàksí* to make something soft

soil *Noun àbìbí ; àbì₁*

soldier termite *Noun àkèràg*

sole of foot *Noun àdèbòg*

some Pronoun jíñí

some Particle mí^L existential quantifier

something Noun jì

somewhere Noun gwéj

son *Noun* àtʃì ívān

song *Noun* àbì

sorry *Interjection* dàr an apology (tone is uncertain)

soup *Noun* zírág

soup ingredient *Noun* zírág

sour *Adjective* jùʃóri taste of something that is spoiled, something that has become sour

sour (be sour) *Verb* jòrì to be sour

sour weed *Noun* sí red sorrel, sheep's sorrel, sour weed, field sorrel, a type of weed that is also called yakuwa in Hausa

south *Noun* àdàŋ; ñítówéj

sparrow *Noun* tʃámkòn northern grey-headed sparrow

speak *Verb* bén

spear *Noun* sábérág; sòj

spear grass *Noun* súbí

spider *Noun* àlání

spine *Noun* àkùb ïjkùm

spit *Verb* tòg

spoil (intransitive) *Verb* būm to rot, to spoil

spoiled *Adjective* būmbūm rotten, spoiled, decayed

spoon *Noun* àtʃì kpírág

spray something *Verb* písí to spray something

spring *Noun* ìmpúr

squat *Verb* kùptí

squeeze *Verb* fam to squeeze something

squirrel *Noun* **ńtéří**

squirrel, sp. *Noun* **gbê**

stab *Verb* **bàg**

stamp (on the ground) *Verb* **nìgí** to stamp with one's feet on the ground (tone is uncertain)

stand *Verb* **jī; tʃùtán**

stand trial *Verb* **bír énùŋ** literally 'swear on one's eyes' (tone is uncertain)

star *Noun* **ńtʃá**

start *Verb* **tūbī**

steal *Verb* **zùb**

steam *Noun* **àbím**

stick *Noun* **kwí**

stick used for communication *Noun* **kúkwéj** a stick that is used to send messages from village to village

stick, sp. *Noun* **kúkwéj** a stick that is used to send messages from village to village

stingray *Noun* **jìfúrû** Niger stingray, a stingray found in rivers in the area

stink *Verb* **kúr** to stink, to be smelly

stock *Noun* **ńtʃàtèrì** A stock that is used to make fences

stomach *Noun* **ápú dèr**

stone *Noun* **àtàr**

stool *Noun* **àgbág**

stop *Verb* **tʃùtán**

story *Noun* **àŋwí**

straight *Adjective* **ŋwìŋwántí**

straighten something *Verb* **ŋwàntí**

stranger, guest *Noun gó*

stream *Noun gbɔrù; gbó*

strength *Noun àkpímkpáŋá*

stretch (rubber, plastic) *Verb zùr* to stretch rubber or plastic

striped grass mouse *Noun nítfwâg* It is also called a 'bad-luck rat'. If you catch one, you should not kill it, because you won't ever be able to catch any rat again.

striped polecat *Noun gbùgbúrû*

strong kpìmkpáŋí *Adjective; kpàŋí Verb*

structure *Noun ðzúná*

stubborn boy *Noun àtʃì ſòb*

stumble *Verb vitérí* to stumble

suck *Verb fàd*

sugar *Noun kántô; àfár*

sugar cane *Noun àfárómkpà* (tone is uncertain)

sun *Noun àléŋ*

Sunday *Noun láhàdì* Borrowed from Hausa (*Lahadi*), originally from Arabic *yoom al-ahad* 'Sunday', literally 'day the first'

surpass *Particle kòr* to surpass (someone or something)

survive *Verb fór*

swallow *Verb mér* (tone is uncertain)

swamp *Noun àſà*

swear *Verb tōnī* both as in promising as in saying bad words

sweat *Noun àdíkérí; kò éʃō*

sweep *Verb wùsí*

sweet *Adjective* **sùnsóŋi**

swell *Verb* **féb** to swell (tone is uncertain)

T t

tail *Noun* **àsé**

tailor *Noun* **pí pí gbāmī**

take *Verb* **jàg**

take bath *Verb* **lò kpò** to take a bath, to have a shower

talk bén *Verb* (tone is uncertain); **àbén** *Noun*

tall *Adjective* **dùddùb**

tall (be tall) *Verb* **dùb** to be tall

taste *Verb* **mag** (tone is uncertain)

teach *Verb* **tùsí**

teacher *Noun* **málâm; pí pí dūbī**

tear *Verb* **gìmsí** cutting or breaking a part from, e.g., bread or tuwo; **sètí** to tear a fabric

teardrop *Noun* **àmí nûŋ**

tears *Noun* **mèŋkáŋá nûŋ**

teeth gums *Noun* **tfìnè**

tell *Verb* **tfàr₂** to tell (e.g. a story); **bén** (tone is uncertain)

TEMP Adposition **ké** Used as NP conjunction in time reference. Possibly a preposition in this use.

Possibly only used together with quantified time indications.; **rè** temporal preposition, during

temporal preposition *Adposition* **rè** temporal preposition, during

ten *Cardinal numeral* **bō**

tendon *Noun* ñtʃí

termite *Noun* jì làkòm

termite hill *Noun* dánjâ a big one, made with dry sand

termite hill, sp. *Noun* àbég A small type of termite hill, made as if there is a cap on it

termite, sp. *Noun* àzání an unidentified type of termite

termite's nest *Noun* àʃùgèrì

testicle *Noun* mپərən

that *Particle* ò distal demonstrative marker

that *Particle* bô distal demonstrative

that (complementizer expressing wishes) *Particle* ké bâ complementizer used for expressing wishes

that is (to say) *Connective* wàtò that is to say, in other words, i.e.

the clan that takes care of the chief *Noun* tʃíbá

the sun has gone down *Phrase* àléŋ jí â This phrase is used when the chief has died. Mentioning it explicitly is taboo.

then *Particle* ɿkâ (tone is uncertain)

there kêmò *Adverb* (tone is uncertain); **kô** *Particle* that place, there

there are no problems *Particle* kár ní 'mí hñ A response in a greeting, used to say, 'I am doing alright'. Literally: 'I don't have anything.'

there you go *Particle* bē presentative demonstrative

thick *Adjective* nínnár (only for things)

thick (be thick) *Verb* nár to be thick

thief *Noun* àzúb

thigh *Noun* mkpóŋé

thing *Noun* jì

think fàr *Verb* to think; **hwár** *Verb* (tone is uncertain)

third person plural possessive pronominal Pronoun bí^L

third person plural object pronominal Pronoun í

third person plural possessive pronominal Pronoun í^L

third person plural possessive pronominal Pronoun bí^L

third person plural subject pronominal Pronoun àjí

third person singular possessive pronominal Pronoun bú^L

third person singular object pronominal Pronoun ú

third person singular possessive pronominal Pronoun ú^L

third person singular possessive pronominal Pronoun bú^L

thirst Noun àŋwár

thirteen Cardinal numeral bō gún tʃâr

thirty Cardinal numeral àkpô bí 'ré gún bō; kpējmī gún bō

this Particle bá proximal demonstrative; **à** proximal demonstrative marker

thorn Noun sébí

thousand Cardinal numeral dúbú (tone is uncertain)

three Cardinal numeral tʃâr

throat Noun ɿkùròg

throw Verb nàg to throw something (tone is uncertain)

throw a spear Verb tʃɔr (tone is uncertain)

thumb Noun àlíp tʃí rè né bōrī

thunder Noun ɿkā

Thursday Noun àlámî:s From Hausa (*Alamis*), originally from Arabic *yoom al-khamis* ‘Thursday’

thus Particle tò; Adverb míñ

tick *Noun* ñkáñ; ñkáñ wó

tie *Verb* wàb to tie something

tie (a knot) *Verb* ịwórí to tie a knot (tone is uncertain)

tie (wrapper) *Verb* kóm to tie a wrapper

tigerfish *Noun* ñsàñà an unidentified type of fish that could be a tigerfish or the Niger tetra

tight *Adjective* píppár

tight (be tight) *Verb* pár

tighten (intransitive) *Verb* pár

tilapia *Noun* kpágárág

till *Adposition* hár

time *Noun* àbòg used when counting a number of times something happened; bèrì; ndágámdí time, as

read on a watch

tired kpétí *Verb*; kpét á 'jí *Adjective*

tiredness *Noun* àkpétí

tissue *Noun* là kúmé tissue

to *Adposition* hár

toad *Noun* ñtèkù

tobacco *Noun* tìbá

today *Adverb* ànā

toe *Noun* àlíp tñí rè bòg

toenail *Noun* kpà líp tñí rè bòg

toilet *Noun* àgùm èñib

tomorrow *Adverb* pí'kánj

tongue *Noun* àlímíné; àlámíné

too (also) *Particle* **mà**₁ additive marker, likely borrowing from Hausa (*mā* ‘too, also’)

tooth *Noun* **àṣàg**

toothblade *Noun* **džá ḥàg** the part of a tooth that can be considered its blade.

TOP Particle **dʒē** A question-like marker that topicalizes the event or object described by sentence it is postposed to. In English, it can be paraphrased as "What about X?", X being this event or object. Such topicalization often occurs as a cohesive device in storytelling, to tie the discourse together. When used in natural interaction, it also functions as a question marker, pointing the hearer to an entity or topic he has neglected in his discourse.

torn *Adjective* **gím á 'jí**

tortoise *Noun* **àkùr**

touch *Verb* **tàb**

tough *Adjective* **tʃítʃár** e.g. of a vein in meat

town *Noun* **àŋgwóg ébōrī** large town, city

traditional bell *Noun* **tàŋà** bell used in traditional dances

traditional chief *Noun* **àbēnī** lit. the owner of people

traditional king *Noun* **àbēnī** lit. the owner of people

traditional rattle *Noun* **tʃítʃág** traditional rattle used in traditional dances

trail *Noun* **ásúrá** (tone is uncertain)

trample *Verb* **nìgí** to trample someone or something (tone is uncertain)

tree *Noun* **bèr**

tree trunk *Noun* **kpò bèr**

tree, sp. *Noun* **àbítʃè** an unidentified tree that looks similar to the kiriya tree or iron wood tree; **tʃítʃág** iron wood tree, African mesquite, or iron tree. It is called kiriya in Hausa; **mkpòkéróg** an unidentified type of tree that is used for making traditional toothbrushes. Its Hausa name is dada toka.; **àgbām**; **àvāŋkàŋ**; **séj** A tree that has thorns. It is called kaya in Hausa.; **wéj** A larger shade

tree that grows in the bush. In Hausa it is called kawo.; **àbúrú**₂ A very common tree with black fruit that looks like a bambara nut.

trousers *Noun* **àdʒé**

truth *Noun* **ántērī**

tsetse fly *Noun* **dʒò nág**

tsetse fly, sp. *Noun* **vùmvònù**

Tuesday *Nominal* **tàlátà** Borrowed from Hausa (Talata) – originally from Arabic at-talaata ‘Tuesday’, literally ‘day the third (starting from Sunday)’

tumbu fly *Noun* **nìmtím**

turn *Verb* **dʒìbrí**

turn into *Verb* **tʃèrī**

turn off *Verb* **tìksí** to turn something off, such as light or fire

turn off (light) *Verb* **tìgī** to turn off light

turn on light *Verb* **tòksí** to turn on the light

turned off *Verb* **tíg á 'jí** to be turned off

turtle *Noun* **àkùr**

tuwo *Noun* **àkpò; mìkpò**

twelve *Cardinal numeral* **bō gún jírāg**

twenty *Cardinal numeral* **àkpô bî; kpējmî**

twenty-one *Cardinal numeral* **kpējmî gún bî**

twin *Noun* **tʃìntâj** (one of them)

twist *Verb* **vèr**

two *Cardinal numeral* **jírāg**

two hundred *Cardinal numeral* **àkpô bō**

two hundred and thirty *Cardinal numeral àkpô bô rè kpêjmi gún bô*

two hundred and twenty *Cardinal numeral àkpô bô rè kpêjmi*

type of drum *Noun díg₂; gìngàŋ; tʃì díg*

type of flute *Noun gbâ* a flute used for communication

type of spear *Noun ñtéñ; nòrr* (tone is uncertain)

U u

udder *Noun àví nág*

ugly *Adjective ñíʃág*

ugly (be ugly) *Verb ñág* to be ugly

underneath *Adposition ñkám*

undress *Verb gáří* to take off one's clothes, to undress

unripe *Adjective áʃâ*

until *Adposition sé*

unwrap *Verb lárí* to unwrap something that is covered with cloth, also to open curtains

up *Adposition àgànj*

upper part of foot *Noun ñkùm èbò*

upper teeth *Noun àʃág àgáŋ*

uproot *Verb lùb*

uproot (a crop) *Verb lùbrí* to uproot a crop

upwards *Noun zág áwû*

urinate *Verb ñgub* (tone is uncertain)

urine *Noun jù ñgùbî*

usually Adverb kpáŋ (tone is uncertain)

V v

vagina Noun ñtʃè

valley Noun gbòrù; gbó

vein Noun àlùkòm wò; ñtʃí

venom Noun pòm

veranda Noun àkìmpéг back of the house

village Noun àŋwí

village inside Sarkin Dawa Proper Noun pjáw

voice Particle bē presentative demonstrative

voilà Noun ñkùròg

vomit Verb gùrì to vomit *Noun* àgùrì

vulture Noun sùrùpáj

W w

wa Noun ñtʃé

wait Verb ðòŋ wór

wake up Verb ðòtí to wake up

wake up Verb jí

want Verb wūrī

war, fighting Noun àtʃé

warm Adjective áʃō

wart hog *Noun* **ńtʃóŋ ə'jé**

wash *Verb* **fér**

wasp *Noun* **ńvìnvè**

water *Noun* **mìŋkáŋá**

water fetching place *Noun* **àfijè** a water fetching place, such as a river or a lake

water monitor lizard *Noun* **ńkómí** West Africa Nile monitor, an aquatic type of monitor lizard that grows to one or two meters in length. It is called water monitor lizard in English by Kam speakers

water snail *Noun* **kòŋtʃinì** May be a water snail or a land snail

weak *Adjective* **kùkkùb** to be weakened

wear (clothes) *Verb* **kúb**

weaver ant *Noun* **kàtʃírî**

Wednesday *Nominal* **màjòkàm** Name of Mayo Kam, a Kam village with a market event on Wednesdays.

weed *Verb* **bàr** to weed an area, to remove unwanted plants

weed, sp. *Noun* **sí** red sorrel, sheep's sorrel, sour weed, field sorrel, a type of weed that is also called yakuwa in Hausa

week *Noun* **lùmò**

welcome *Phrase* **ŋwàŋá** (tone is uncertain)

well àbùndù *Noun*; **dzáám** *Adverb* (tone is uncertain); **ádā** *Adjective*

west *Noun* **àlàwàn**

West Africa Nile monitor *Noun* **ńkómí** West Africa Nile monitor, an aquatic type of monitor lizard that grows to one or two meters in length. It is called water monitor lizard in English by Kam speakers

wet *Adjective* **díddág**

wetness *Noun* **àdágrî**

what? *Interrogative pro-form* **gè^H** ... **gì jí** Content interrogative for non-humans

when *Particle* **àsūwā** (tone is uncertain); **àsúmà** (tone is uncertain)

whet a knife *Verb* **déŋ**

which *Interrogative pro-form* **mīnā** interrogative modifier

whiskers *Noun* **sírá ñwé**

whisper *Verb* **dgàg** to whisper

white *Adjective* **búbbúr; ábūrī**

white man *Noun* **àlásírá**

whitened *Verb* **búr á 'jí** to be whitened

who? *Interrogative pro-form* **bè^H** ... **bì jí**

wide *Adjective* **jíjár**

wide (be wide) *Verb* **jár** to be or to become wide

widen *Verb* **jàrsí** to make something wider

widen (intransitive) *Verb* **jár** to be or to become wide

width *Noun* **àjárî**

wife *Noun* **àgbàn**

wind *Noun* **àfòb**

wine *Noun* **àbàŋ**

wine kitchen *Noun* **pàg àbàŋ** literally 'wine kitchen'; a place where alcohol is made, a (small) brewery

wing *Noun* **ìmpōm** wing of a bird

wipe *Verb* **déŋ**

wisdom *Noun* **àtfárá**

wise person *Noun* **àtfárá**

with *Adposition* **rè** comitative preposition, with

woman *Noun* **jí gbàn; àjìgbàn**

womb *Noun* **àfù**

women *Noun* **jí gbàn**

wood *Noun* **bèr**

work **àpjág** *Noun*; **tṣúg** **é'pjág** *Verb*

world *Noun* **àjì**

worm-like insect *Noun* **lù**

wound *Noun* **àjén**

wrap *Verb* **vèr**

wrap something *Verb* **fàr**

wrapper *Noun* **kpá₂** a colorful piece of clothing worn by women

wrestle *Verb* **zàŋ**

wring out *Verb* **fam** to wring something out

wrist *Noun* **àgbér** **é'jné;** **ànùŋ** **èjné**

Wura *Proper Noun* **wúrá**, a Kam village

Y y

yakuwa (Hausa) *Noun* **sí** red sorrel, sheep's sorrel, sour weed, field sorrel

yam *Noun* **àdʒú**

yawn **ŋíŋāmtí** *Verb*; **àŋámtí** *Noun*; **ŋàmtí** *Verb*

year *Noun* **àság**

yes *Interjection* **m;** **a** Positive response word.; **oŋ**

yes! *Interjection* **jáwwà** an exclamation of agreement or delight.

yesterday *Noun* àlilē

yolk *Noun* mìŋkáŋá bér ádōmrí egg yolk

young *Adjective* átwàb; ántwàb

younger brother *Noun* àtʃiségé ¹gún

younger brother of father *Noun* àná ántē

younger relative *Noun* àmérá

younger sister *Noun* àtʃàgbàn

Appendix: Main consultants

Introduction

Many people helped me to collect the data that formed the basis of the current description. The pool of people I worked with was diverse, including men and women, people from various age groups, and from different religious backgrounds. The people I ended up spending the most time with was heavily skewed, however. Six main consultants are Christian men in their mid to late twenties who finished their secondary education, are comfortable speaking English and who want to continue their studies. The majority of my consultants were part of the Kam royal family, the *ní mfṓ + séj* clan. Four main consultants were Muslim. None of my main consultants practices the traditional religion, although I collected some texts from speakers who do. One main consultant is female, but I collected data from other women over the course of my field work. Four main consultants are considered elders in the community.

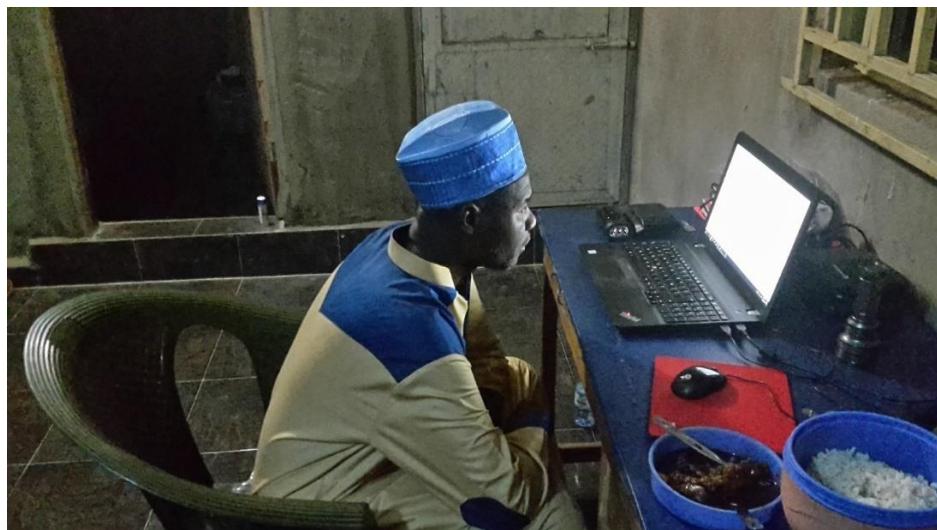
To provide some relevant background information, but also to duly acknowledge their share of work, I want to briefly discuss the Kam speakers who have worked with me most intensively during the last couple of years. I include some information that may be sociolinguistically relevant or that is important to speakers, such as age, religious background, other languages they speak, and in some cases the clan in which they were born. Many more speakers than I mention here have contributed, and the metadata to the individual recordings mention the speakers that provided them (see also the Acknowledgements at the beginning of this dissertation). Where possible, I also provide the name of the individuals who contributed each example in this grammar.

For each speaker, I include a picture. I took most of these pictures. I asked each speaker for permission to use their picture, and in some cases, speakers provided their own preferred pictures.

Isa Sarkin Dawa

Isa Sarkin Dawa is the head of the Kam district, also considered the political king of the Kam community, and he carries the title *àwàñ*. He was born in Fincon in the summer of '69 into the Kam royal family. He was 47 years old when we started working on this grammar book. His birth name is Isa Yakubu Kini and his traditional Kam name is *džúrkàkī*. Isa Sarkin Dawa finished his secondary school and received his diploma for a certificate course in Tractor Operation and Maintaining in Jalingo. His father was the former political king, Yakubu Sarkin Dawa, whom he succeeded in 2014 when he was turbaned by the Emir of Bali. He currently lives in Sarkin Dawa where he exercises his daily responsibilities, mostly from his palace (see pictures in Chapter 1). He practices Islam and his linguistic repertoire includes Kam, Jirim, Hausa and English.

Isa Sarkin Dawa worked with me almost every evening during my first field trip in December 2016 and January 2017 and again during the last field trip in November 2018. We worked on every aspect of the language and culture that found its way in this thesis: vocabulary, basic and more advanced morphosyntax, various texts and history, adding up to 34 sessions. He also provided the ideal conditions under which I could work and gave crucial advice throughout the project about safety and logistics. When necessary, he organized trips from the village to Jalingo, Bali and Sabongida Kamajim.



Isa Sarkin Dawa



Isa Sarkin Dawa

Babangida Audu

Babangida Audu was born in Kamajim in 1987. His traditional Kam name is *ni sín rà ni*, possibly translated as ‘thing/person who does [something] with people’, and his nickname among friends is Pharmacy. He was 29 years old when we met and started working on this grammar together. His parents moved to Sarkin Dawa when he was three years old. He completed his secondary school in Garba Chede and studied in Bali to obtain his Computer Training diploma. He lived in Abuja for two years when he was 18 years old and lived in Jalingo for three years in his early twenties. He is a farmer, practices Christianity, and speaks Kam, Hausa and English. The traditional chief in Kamajim and Maigandi Kaigama, the chief of Garba Chede, are his uncles.

Babangida is the person who spent the most time working with me. I collected vocabulary data with him, a few texts and a variety of grammatical data. Babangida features in 85 data collecting sessions in my corpus. He orally annotated a lot of the texts that were used for this project in SayMore, and he provided preliminary written transcriptions for stories and spontaneous conversations. He also helped me get around in Sarkin Dawa and in other Kam villages. When I was in Sarkin Dawa, I stayed at his house during most of the field trips. We spent a lot of time working in Jalingo, where Babangida’s network helped us to settle and travel around the town easily. We occasionally worked remotely through WhatsApp when I was in Europe.



Babangida Audu

Solomon Ahmadu

Solomon Ahmadu was born in Sarkin Dawa in 1992. He is part of the royal family and was 24 years old when he started working as my consultant. He finished class three in secondary school and started to work as a carpenter, a trade for which he has traveled around the country. He is also a farmer. In 2018 he married and started a family in Sarkin Dawa. He practices Christianity and his linguistic repertoire includes Kam, Hausa, English and some Jirim.

Solomon started working with me on vocabulary collection and tone analysis in December 2016 and continued to work intensively with me every following visit, visiting Jalingo twice for a few weeks when I could not stay in Sarkin Dawa. We worked on many different aspects of the language, including specific grammatical topics such as comparison, phasal polarity, tense and aspect, reported speech and complex sentences. He features in 36 of the data collection sessions in my corpus. Solomon also helped me by slowly respeaking and translating a number of stories. He showed me around in Sarkin Dawa and in other villages. He accompanied me to other villages for data collection sessions, together with babangida and Danjuma, and he provided assistance with solar energy, generators and other electronic equipment.



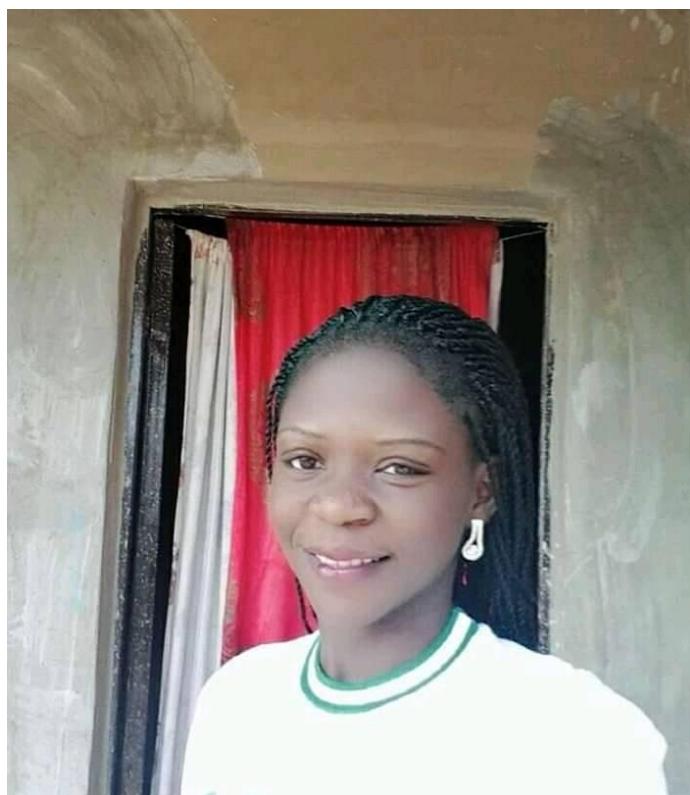
Solomon Ahmadu

(picture provided by Solomon)

Rahab Garba Precious

Rahab Garba Precious is my main female consultant. She was born in 1993 in Garin Hamza into the royal family and was 25 years old when she began working on this project. She moved to Kaduna and Abuja from ages 10 to 18 to go to school. She completed her NYSC assignment with Taraba TV in Jalingo in 2017 and 2018, after which she stayed in Jalingo to teach at a primary school. Currently, she lives in Gunduma where she helps relatives to take care of their children. She practices Christianity and speaks Kam, Hausa and English.

While Rahab was fulfilling her corporer duties for the NYSC, she often came to visit me in Jalingo to work on this project. She spent much of her time translating texts and spontaneous conversation, and helped me with glossing and grammatical analysis based on texts. Her help was invaluable in understanding those topics where contextual data is essential such as information structure and multi-verb constructions. She also helped me understand the history texts that were collected by Babangida from Isa Sarkin Dawa (session_191) and often helped me through WhatsApp and Facebook messenger when I was not in Nigeria.



Rahab Garba Precious

(Picture provided by Rahab)

Danjuma Bello

Danjuma Bello was born around 1993 in Sarkin Dawa where he also grew up. He went to school in the Zing College of Education. He is a farmer and a health worker, distributing vaccines every year to remote Kam villages. His father was a traditional doctor, and Danjuma has some knowledge of traditional medicine and what different kinds of plants are used for. He practices Islam and his linguistic repertoire includes Kam, Hausa and English.

Danjuma briefly worked with me during the first few field trips. He also came to Jalingo to work on this project in May 2018. He worked on various tasks, recording vocabulary data and collecting grammatical data on topics such as complex sentences, numerals and general nominal grammar as well as translating and annotating texts. He provided crucial assistance during interviews and story collecting sessions we conducted in Sabongida Kamajim. Danjuma features in a total of 34 sessions in the corpus.



Danjuma Bello

Garba Abubakar Bako

Garba Abubakar Bako was born in 1977 into the Kam royal family as the younger cousin of Isa Sarkin Dawa, the political king. Yakubu Sarkin Dawa, Isa Sarkin Dawa's father, was Abubakar's uncle. When I started working with Abubakar, he was 39 years old. Currently, he is the secretary of the political king. He practices Islam and his linguistic repertoire includes Kam, Hausa, Fulfulde, English and Tiv. He lives in Mayo Kam, where he also grew up.

Garba Abubakar Bako was the first Kam speaker I met. He came to visit when I stayed in Ilorin during my first trip to Nigeria in November 2016 (cf. § 1.5.3) and introduced me to Isa Sarkin Dawa, the political king of Kam, and the Kam community as a whole. When we met in Ilorin, we worked together for 4 days, during which we recorded thirteen sessions on basic vocabulary, basic morphosyntax and basic expressions to prepare me for my trip to the Kam community. Abubakar also provided two short texts which were the first two samples of natural Kam discourse recorded for this project. When I arrived in Jalingo a few days later, he escorted me to the Kam community. His efforts were instrumental to the early progress of this project.



Garba Abubakar Bako

Muhammad Bose Yuguda

Muhammad Bose Yuguda was born into the royal family of Kam in 1965 and is the older cousin of the political king, Isa Sarkin Dawa. He was raised in Mayo Kam, finished his secondary school and afterwards added an additional diploma. He currently works as a civil servant in Bali, where he also lives with his two wives and seventeen children. He practices Islam and his linguistic repertoire includes Kam, Hausa, English and

Muhammad was one of the first speakers to volunteer to work with me in the Kam community. After a few vocabulary elicitation sessions in a larger group, we arranged regular one-on-one meetings discussing specific topics. Over the course of a month, Muhammad frequently made time in his busy schedule to visit me in Sarkin Dawa from Bali. We recorded thirteen sessions covering vocabulary, basic clausal grammar, tense, aspect and mood, possession, greetings and basic conversation, and two short texts.



Muhammad Bose Yuguda

David Duwasam Mamuda

David Mamuda was born in Sarkin Dawa into the *ní mfó séj* in 1991 and is currently 29 years old. His traditional Kam name is *Dìwásām*. Since he finished his secondary education he often moves between Sarkin Dawa and Jalingo, where he works various jobs. He is currently training to become a professional driver. David practices Christianity and his linguistic repertoire includes Kam, Hausa, English and Jenjo.

David frequently came to visit me in Jalingo. He helped me with tone analysis, elicitation of data on various grammatical topics such as tense, aspect and negation, comparative constructions and the expression of sensations and emotions. He also helped translate and annotate texts, correct vocabulary data in the dictionary, and provided much appreciated logistic support. He also helped me with remote data collection when I was in Europe.



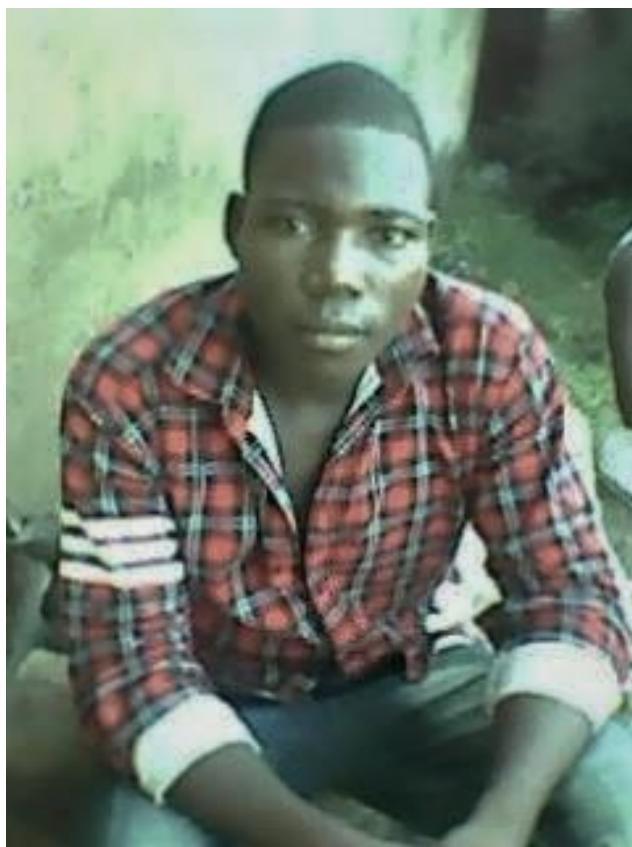
David Duwasam Mamuda

(Picture provided by David)

David Mark

David Mark (also Markus) was born in Garin Baba in 1995 and is currently 25 years old. He moved between various Kam villages when he was young, living in Garin Hamza when he was 9, then moving to Garin Lah to go to school. After that, when he was 17 years old, he left for Lagos and travelled to Imo State for a year. He went to secondary school in Yorro Local government and finished the rest of his education in Jalingo. His mother was Kam but his father was Hausa and was adopted into different families throughout his youth. He is currently a student, shoemaker and farmer. He practices Christianity and speaks Kam, Hausa and English.

While he was training to become a shoemaker in 2017, David often came to visit me in the evenings in Jalingo. When he came, he helped me to translate and transcribe texts, check my dictionary and elicit data on comparison, tense and aspect.

**David Mark**

(picture provided by David)

Adamu S. Baka

Adamu S. Baka was born in Sarkin Dawa in 1957 into the royal family. He is currently 63 years old. He is the maternal nephew of the late political king, Yakubu Sarkin Dawa. Adamu's father was considered the 'king of hunters'. Adamu is the former secretary of the king of Kam. He went to primary school in Garba Chede and continued his studies in Gembu and Jalingo. He obtained his National certificate of education and was head teacher of Sarkin Dawa for a while but currently holds a position as school supervisor in Garba Chede. He practices Christianity. His wife is Wurkun and, apart from Kam, Adamu speaks Jirim, Hausa, English, Fula, Chamba Leko, Mumuye and Wurkun.

In the framework of this project, Adamu taught me the basics of Kam conversation, provided some early texts and worked with me on vocabulary elicitation in December 2016. He features in 11 sessions in the current corpus of Kam.



Adamu S. Baka

Jauro Babangida Tukura

Jauro was born in 1984 in Sarkin Dawa, where he was also raised and where he currently lives. He went to school in both Garba Chede and in Jalingo. He finished his secondary school in 2010. He is part of the Kam royal family and is a civil servant and a farmer. He practices Christianity and his linguistic repertoire includes Kam, Hausa, English and Fulfulde.

I met Jauro Babangida Tukura in Sarkin Dawa, where he hosted me during my first trip to the Kam community in November 2016 to January 2017. Jauro allowed me to stay in his newly built house which he had equipped with fans and with connections for a generator. This allowed me to charge my field equipment in the evening. His hospitality made fieldwork in the village much easier. He is a busy man and often travels around various Kam villages, but made time to visit me to work on vocabulary collection and tone analysis. He also showed me around in Abanderi, the village where his wife comes from and was my driver when I travelled to Sabongida Kamajim.



Jauro Babangida Tukura

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Jakob LESAGE

A grammar and lexicon of Kam (àŋwòm), a Niger-Congo language of central eastern Nigeria

Résumé

Cette thèse fournit la première description détaillée du Kam (àŋwòm), une langue Niger-Congo parlée à Taraba State, dans le centre-est du Nigéria, par environ 8 000 à 10 000 personnes. La thèse propose une analyse de la grammaire et du lexique du Kam, informée par la typologie et la linguistique aréale, et contribue ainsi à notre compréhension de la structure grammaticale des langues Niger-Congo. Cette description est basée sur des nouvelles données linguistiques récoltées dans la communauté Kam entre 2016 et 2018. Elle se compose de six parties : (1) introduction, (2) analyse phonologique, (3) morphosyntaxe nominale, (4) morphosyntaxe verbale, (5) morphosyntaxe des propositions et (6) un échantillon de texte et un lexique composé de 1550 entrées. Les caractéristiques du Kam qui peuvent être d'un intérêt particulier pour la linguistique africaine et la linguistique générale comprennent les plosives labio-vélaires *kp* et *gb*; une différence prosodique entre les positions fortes et les positions faibles dans les thèmes prosodiques; la morphologie tonale utilisée pour la dérivation et pour la flexion; l'absence de classes nominales et du genre grammatical; des pronoms logophoriques; les STAMP-morphs (des morphèmes qui expriment simultanément la personne et le nombre grammatical du sujet, le temps, l'aspect et la polarité d'une proposition); les constructions multi-verbes; des stratégies de reduplication verbale; la négation de la proposition finale; et les interrogatives de contenu bipartite. Les Kam et leur langue font partie du paysage linguistique et culturel diversifié du nord-est et du centre-est du Nigéria. A ce jour, on classe le Kam comme une langue isolée dans la sous-famille Adamawa du Niger-Congo. Cependant, comme l'unité généalogique des langues Adamawa n'est plus largement acceptée aujourd'hui, la classification du Kam et des autres langues devrait être révisée. Bien que cette thèse ne traite pas la classification de Kam, elle fournit les données grammaticales et lexicales indispensables pour toute comparaison entre le Kam et d'autres langues et familles de langues.

Mots-clés grammaire, langues africaines, langues Adamawa, prosodie, ton, morphologie tonale, pronoms logophoriques, reduplication

Résumé en anglais

This thesis is the first extensive description of Kam (àŋwòm), a Niger-Congo language spoken in Taraba State, central eastern Nigeria, by an estimated 8,000 to 10,000 people. It offers a typologically and areally informed analysis of the grammar and lexicon of Kam, thereby advancing our understanding of the grammatical structure of Niger-Congo languages. This description is based on novel linguistic data collected in the Kam community between 2016 and 2018. There are six parts: (1) introduction, (2) phonological analysis, (3) nominal morphosyntax, (4) verbal morphosyntax, (5) clausal morphosyntax and (6) a sample of text and a lexicon with approx. 1,550 entries. Features of Kam that may be particularly interesting for African and general linguistics include labial-velar stops *kp* and *gb*; a difference between prosodically strong and prosodically weak positions in prosodic stems; tonal morphology used for both derivation and inflection; the absence of noun classes or gender; logophoric pronominals; STAMP-morphs; multi-verb constructions; verbal reduplication strategies; clause-final negation and bipartite content interrogatives. The Kam community and their language are part of the linguistically and culturally diverse landscape of north-east and central-east Nigeria. Previous research classified Kam as an isolated language within the Adamawa sub-family of Niger-Congo, whose genealogical unity is no longer widely accepted. Therefore, the classification of Kam and other languages should be reviewed. While classification is not addressed in this thesis, it provides grammatical and lexical data indispensable for any comparison between Kam and other languages and lineages.

Keywords kdx, Kam, Nyingwom, grammar, African languages, Nigeria, Niger-Congo, Adamawa languages, prosody, tone, tonal morphology, logophoric pronouns, serial verb constructions, reduplication, clause-final negation