Language

The Kakuwâ people refer to language as *lokuliye*; hence *lokuliye ló Kakuwâ* means "the Kakuwâ language." Some Kakuwâ dialects prefer the term *kútú* (literally 'mouth'), hence *kútú na Kakuwâ*. The name of the Kakuwâ language is also called Kakuwâ—named after its people.

Kakuwâ is a Nilo-Saharan (Eastern Nilotic sub-group) language with three-letter code ISO 639-3: keo (*Ethnologue*: http://www.ethnologue.com/codes).

Speech Sounds and Conventions

Kakuwâ, like other indigenous languages, has first existed as speech language. That speech is now represented by a standard alphabet consisting of 38 distinct letters and punctuation marks originally developed mostly by printers and serve chiefly to help the spoken language in a conventional way. The speech sounds show variations in pause, pitch, stress and tone and used with slight modifications in actual speech. The pronunciation of words may vary considerably among the different dialects so that one can easily identify the same Kakuwâ people as being from, or speaking, *Kakuwâ ná Ko'buko* (in Uganda), *Kakuwâ ná Kongo* or *Kakuwâ Inga* (in the Democratic Republic of the Congo—RDC), and *Kakuwâ ná Sudani* (Kakuwâ of the Southern Sudan), etc.

The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbol for a Kakuwâ phoneme is shown in Table 1 along with the Kakuwâ phone (in brackets) where it differs from the IPA letter. Table 2 shows the full standard Kakuwâ orthography:

Table 1. Consonants of Kakuwâ

Manners of Articulation						
	labial	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	labiovelar
plosive (vowels)	**p**	**t**	**ʈ**		**k**	**kp**
plosives (vd)	**b**	**d**	**ɖ (dr)**	**(j[1])**	**g**	**gb**
Implosive	**ɓ ('b)**	**ɗ ('d)**		**ʄ ('y)**		
Prenasalized	**mb (mb)**	**ⁿd (nd)**	**ⁿɖ (ndr)**	**(nj) (nj/nz)**	**ŋg (ng)**	**ŋmgb (ngb)**
Nasal	**m**	**n**		**ɲ (ny)**	**ŋ**	**ŋm (ŋmn)**
fricative vowels[2]		**s**				
fricative vd		**(z)**				
Liquids		**l, r**		**y[3]**		**w**

Source: Onziga, Y. J. and L. Gilley. *Phonology of Kakuwâ (Kakwa): Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages*. No. 10. SIL International, 2012, p. 2.

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1 /j/ is the palatal plosive and alternates freely with the voiced alveolar fricative. Some dialects prefer one over the other
2 /h/ is used in some exclamations but is not found in words
3 /y/ is the palatal approximate

Table 2. Kakuwâ Orthography (Graphemes and Phonemes)

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbol	Proposed Grapheme for	Example word	English Gloss Examples
a	**a**	**a'bugútî**	'dove'
b	**b**	**bé'ya**	'to praise, honour'
ɓ	**'b**	**'bandrû**	'to search'
d	**d**	**dúmba**	'to deceive'
ɖ	**dr**	**dró'yu**	'to bend, coil'
ɗ	**'d**	**'dúmba**	'to pick'
ɛ	**e**	**éja (éza)**	'to pick' e.g. fruits, flowers
f	(***f***) (for loan words)	***furáyi***	'pleasure, happiness'
g	**g**	**guruté**	'lizard'
gb	**gb**	**gbogbo**	'straight'
i	**i**	**ínî**	'here'
ɟ ~z	**j or z**	**jóndra (zóndra)**	'to bring/fetch'
k	**k**	**kúwâ**	'biting'; 'be bitten'
kp	**kp**	**kpógu**	'to knock, tap'
l	**l**	**lípô**	'mud'
m	**m**	**mogâ**	'to catch'
mb	**mb**	**mbíwu**	'sling'
n	**n**	**nénga**	'inclined, slope, tilted'
nd	**nd**	**ndúlú**	'whole, complete'
nɖ	**ndr**	**ndrólóndróló**	'small eel-like fish'
ŋg	**ng**	**ngúlúpí**	'whole, intact'
ŋmgb	**ngb**	**ngbé**	'tight, secure, solid'
ɲj ~nz	**nj or nz**	**njúru (nzúru)**	'jeering'
ɲ	**ny**	**nyádru**	'to love'
ŋ	**ŋ**	**ŋérâ**	'cutting, be cut'
ŋm	**ŋmn**	**ŋmnojâ (ŋmnozâ)**	'to smell/hate'
ɔ	**o**	**ódra**	'to spoil', 'soil', 'stain'
p	**p**	**pirî**	'place, location'
r	**r**	**rógu**	'to harden'
s	**s**	**sádru**	'to announce'
t	**t**	**tá**	'you (2PL)'
ʈ	**tr**	**trótro**	'equal'
u	**u**	**udrû**	'to feed, plant, nurture'
w	**w**	**wí'yo**	'to swallow'
y	**y**	**yó'yu**	'to think, ponder'
ʄ	**'y**	**'ya'yu**	'to add, mix, increase, multiply'

Source: Onziga, Y. J. and L. Gilley. *Phonology of Kakuwâ (Kakwa): Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages*. No. 10. SIL International, 2012, p. 2.

The consonants **'b**, **'d**, and **'y** are glottal stops in Kakuwâ. The principal feature about these consonants is the sudden closing of the vocal chords just before the sound is articulated. The airstream is controlled by moving the glottis downward in addition to expelling air from the lungs. Where a glottal consonant occurs in the middle of a word, this "catch" in the breath clips off the preceding vowel in a marked manner. Certain dialects prefer to leave out the glottal

catch in certain word initial positions, such as **'díló** 'the traditional staple bread' may be become **íló**, and **'détî** 'dish/sauce' may be become **étî**.

The consonant combinations are *gb*, *kp*, *mb*, *nd*, *ndr*, *nj* (*nz*), *ny*, and *ŋmn* (*ŋm*) each of which is pronounced as one consonant. The reason they are combined this way is the proximity by which each of the letters combine.

Tone in Kakuwâ
Kakuwâ is a tone system (in which each syllable must have its tone specified). Intonation or tone is the use of pitch in language to distinguish lexical or grammatical meaning of words. Tones are just as much a part of many Kakuwâ syllables or words as are the consonants and vowels. The importance of tone marking on the vowels cannot be overemphasized. Failure to utter a word with the proper tone can lead to confusion, insult, embarrassment and even fights.

Tones are distinguished by their shape (contour) and pitch range (or register). The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) uses a set of accent marks to mark tone throughout Ko'dote. Often, grammatical information is conveyed solely by tone at the lexical level and at the grammatical level. When the same two identical vowels occur consecutively together, these are indicated by doubling the vowel letter as in **aá**, **eé**, **ií**, **oó**, and **uú**; and **aâ**, **eê**, **iî**, **oô**, and **uû.**

Tone at Lexical Level
In Kakuwâ, changes in the tone of a word can indicate singularity or plurality in the word without any morphological marking, such as affixes or other word forming strategies. The following are examples of the tones at lexical level:
• **lórúwó** 'black' ~ **lórúwô** 'black ones'
• **nákpé** 'white' ~ **nákpê** 'white ones'

Tone at Grammatical Level
Tone at the grammatical level occurs in words that can be understood completely only when they occur with other words in a phrase, clause or sentence:
• **kúla** (verb intransitive) 'to urinate' ~ **kúlá** (noun) 'urine'
• **wúdra** (verb transitive) 'to change' ~ **wúsâ** (passive form of **wúdra**) 'be changed' or 'changing'
• **kó'yu** (verb transitive) 'to abandon' ~ **kólô** (passive form of **kó'yu**) 'to be abandoned', 'abandonment', 'abandoning'

Words with Multiple Syllables
Words can have multiple syllables:

CV	**lé** 'milk'	
V.CV	**u.go** 'large bat'	
CV.CV	**mo.ga** 'to catch'	
CV.CV.CV	**sú.kú.ri** 'chicken'	
CV.CV.CV.CV	**lo.kó.ko.rî** 'boundary/frontier'	
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	**lu.gu.lé.lé.gu** 'millipede'	
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	**ku.ju. ŋu.tó.ŋó.to** 'humming bird'	

Words with long vowels such as *kaáta* 'a calf' are syllabified as CV.V.CV. Likewise, kpé 'in vain or 'futile attempt', would be interpreted as CV.V.

Syntax
Right from childhood we naturally as children and follow almost instinctively follow a pattern or order in which words stand in sentences in order to convey meaning. From the simple word groups, we build sentences of varying length and complexity. The study of the relationships between words and word groups in sentences is called syntax, and is the principal division of grammar.

Word Shape or Basic Word Order
As a CV language, word structure or shape in Kakuwâ is always (C) (consonant) and V (vowel) syllable structure only—no coda is allowed meaning that all words must end with a vowel.

The aristerics show the impossibility of a meaningful word in Kakuwâ:
• lé (noun) (CV) 'milk'
  *el (VC)

• píyo (noun) (CV.CV) 'water'
  * ipoy VC.VC

Constraints on Consecutive Consonants
In addition to not allowing codas, Kakuwâ also has constraints on the number of consecutive consonants allowed in the
Outset of a word:
• **yáwâ** (noun) (CV.CV) 'beer'
  *yyáwâ

• **sasê** (noun) (CV.CV) 'sister'
  *ssasê
  *ssassê

in the middle of a word:
• **goroju** (verb) (CV.CV.CV) 'to stare at'
  *ggoroju
  *gorroju
  *gorojju
  *ggorrojju

• **koko'ya** (verbu) (CV.CV.CV) 'to steal'
  *kokko'ya

*kkokko'ya
*kkokko'yya

at the end of a word:
• **ŋútú** (noun) (CV.CV) 'person'
  *ŋúttú
  *ŋŋúttú

• **kímá** (noun) (CV.CV) 'fire'
 *kimma
 *kkimma

Word Order in Kakuwâ Sentences
The main sentence elements in Kakuwâ are identified by their position in the sentence---that is, by word order. The typical order of the main elements is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO), or Subject-Linking verb-Complement. This is the order in which we make most statements by which we understand them when the verb is transitive:

• Yugá (Subject)   nyosú (Verb)   mákû (Object)
  Yuga.proper.name.MS   eat   potato.PL
  'Yuga eats potatoes.'

• Do (Subject)   a (Verb)   ka-togolo-ni (Complement)
  2SG   COP   AGEN-SG
  'You (singular) are a teacher.'

In verb intransitives, the word order is simply SV since no object is required:
• Lepé(-ŋá)/Liyó(-ŋá)   tototo.
  3SG   sleep
  'He/She/It sleeps.'

For the most part, Kakuwâ uses the order of words in a sentence to indicate grammatical relations, or to differentiate meanings. Although the form of words is the same, it makes a lot of difference in meaning or interpretation whether their order is:

• **Kemurû**   lo   kojá (kozá)   **ŋówû.**
  lion.SG   DEF.the.MS.SG bite   hyena.SG
  'The **lion** bites **hyena**.'

• **Ŋowû**   lo   **kojá**   **kémurû.**
  hyena.SG   DEF.the.MS.SG bite   lion.SG
  'The **hyena** bites **lion**.'

Onomatopoeia (Idiophones)

Onomatopoeia <'letter echoing sense'> is formation of a word by imitating the natural letter associated with the object or action involved: echoism. Kakuwâ uses this phenomenon in considerable ways, especially in naming animals, such as:

- *ŋowu*: name of the 'hyena' coined from the echoing sound ŋowuuuuuu! this predator makes.
- *Azozo* (variant *ajojo*): name of the conspicuous forest-dwelling bird species Bycanistes (related to the Hornbills) derived from its raucous and noisy nasal calls amid heavy wing beats: azozooooooooooooo!

Picturesque Nouns

Some Kakuwâ words give a picturesque or whimsical description of the object in question but they convey a completely different meaning as in:

- *Si'de-ná-gboro* <literally 'Chair of the beast'> is actually the insect species, *Walking Stick* or *Preying/Praying mantis*.
- *Toli-ló-kujo* <literally 'Heart of soil'> is actually a type of frog.
- *Lérí-na-lo'doke* <literally 'drum of the frog'> is actually some type of inedible mushroom species
- *Konye-ti-kedini* <literally, 'Eyes of a tree'> is actually reference to a fruit
- *Sókóro-ti-Múlete* <literally, 'Chickens of God'> is actually a species of Water-ducks

Gender in Nouns

Kakuwâ has two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. All nouns belong to either one or the other. This grammatical gender enters into the grammar in the following ways: Third person singular personal pronouns (he, she, it, etc., in English) have the gender of the noun they refer to. Adjectives and adverbs agree with the nouns they modify in gender. Possessive adjectives *liyo(-ŋa)/niyo(-ŋa)* 'my', *lolu(-ŋa)/nonu(-ŋa)* 'your' agree with the nouns they modify in number and gender.

Most noun forms do not indicate their gender. Grammatical gender normally agrees with biological gender for people and animals; thus the following nouns are masculine:

- **monye** 'father'
- **ŋiro** 'son'
- **duwe** 'ox'

The following nouns are feminine:

- **ŋótê** ~ mother'
- **sasê** ~ 'sister'
- **'díye ~** 'girl'

However, most names for animals do not specify biological gender:

- **gbagbe-ta** 'fox/jackal
- **munu** 'snake'
- **lo'doke** 'frog'
- **tome** 'elephant'

Number in Nouns

Kakuwâ has singular and plural number, but nouns that refer to multiple entities are not obligatorily plural. That is, if the context is clear, a formally singular noun may refer to multiple entities:

- **ŋutu** 'person' or "people"
- **ŋutu mure** 'two men' or 'two people.

The singular noun form is, in fact, unspecified for number. When it is important to make the plurality of a referent clear, however, the plural form of the noun is used.

In Kakuwâ, noun plurals are formed through the addition of a variety of affixes (prefix and especially suffixes) as well as through intonation: *-ji*(*-zi*), *-ki*, *-kiya*, *-la*, *-li*, *-lo*, *-ŋa*, *-ŋoji*(*-ŋozi*), *-nya*, *-pa*, *-po*, *-si*, *-ta*, *-ra*, *-ri*, *-teni*, *-yo*, *-to*, *-wâ*, *-wo*, *-yo*, etc. Examples of lexical level tone marking (i.e. stand alone) common nouns ending in these suffixes are shown below along with their plurals in brackets:

Table 3. Some Plural of Comon Nouns in Kakuwa

mónye (**mónye-ji**) 'father'	lo'do (lo'do-ki) 'thumb'	**mékô** (**mékó-ra**) 'buffalo'	**'díyo** (**'díyó-ŋoji**) 'dog'	**gupa** (**gupa-li**) 'basket'
tagbo (**tagbo-ka**) 'female amimal'	**ŋede** (**ŋede-pa**) 'tongue'	**munu** (**munu-wo**) 'snake'	**songbo** (**songbo-lo**) 'pots'	**kapule** (**kapule-ta**) 'navel'
leri (**leri-yo**) 'drum'	**lepile** (**lepile-ko**) 'baboons'	**ŋutu** (**ŋutu-lu**) 'person'	**roro** (**roro-to**) 'sound'	**putu** (putu-wa) 'bow-string'
munye (**munye-ŋo**) 'liver'	**monye** (**monye-teni**) 'intestine'	**goro** (**goro-ma**) 'wall'	**keni** (**keni-si**) 'hand'	**moke** (**moke-nya**) 'mother-in-law'

Kakuwâ Pronouns

A pronoun sometimes replaces a noun or complete noun phrase in a sentence, and is especially useful for avoiding repetition. It has the same properties as a noun: number, person, gender, and case.

Personal Pronouns

Kakuwâ distinguishes person, number, and often, gender that play a role within the grammar of the languageas seen within the basic set of independent personal pronouns. The set of possessive adjectives and pronouns: *niyo* 'my (feminine, singular)'; **lolu** 'your (masculine, singular).'

Case of Pronouns

Pronouns may be used as the main subject in a sentence; they may be used to display possession; and they may be used as an object of a proposition. While cases of nouns do not typically change form, cases of pronouns can.

1st Person

- *na* 'I'
- *niyo* 'my', *niyo* 'mine'
- **na** 'me'

2nd Person

- **do** 'you'
- *nonu/lolu* 'your', *lolu(-ŋa)/nonu(-ŋa)* 'yours'
- *do* 'you'

3rd Person

- **lepe(-ŋa)** 'he/she/it'
- **na/lo lepe(-ŋa)** 'his, her/hers, its'
- **lepe(-ŋa***)* 'him/her/it'

Personal Pronouns

1st Person

- **yi** 'we'
- **nika(-ŋa), lika(-ŋa), kaya(-ŋa)** 'our, ours'
- **yi** 'we'

2nd Pesron

- ta 'you'
- **konu(-ŋa)/kolu(-ŋa)/kasu(-ŋa)** 'your', 'yours'
- **ta** 'you'

3rd Person

- **kara(-ŋa)** 'they'
- **kasi kara(-ŋa)** 'their', theirs'
- **kara(-ŋa)** 'them'

Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

- **lo/na** 'who'
- **lo/na** 'whose'
- **lo/na** 'whom'
- **lo/na** 'which/that/what'
- **lo/na** 'which/that/what'

Indefinite Pronouns

- **ŋutu-lu giri** 'everybody'
- **lo/na ŋutu-lu giri** 'everybody's'
- **ŋutu-lu giri** 'everybody'

Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns indicate possession of a noun. The ways of expressing possession in Kakuwâ are extremely complex and challenging. This is because both the Possessed item and the Possessor are influenced by one or the of the:

- Person (First Person, Second Person or Third Person)
- Number (Singular or plural), and
- Gender (male or female)

Reflexive and Reciprocal pronouns

Kakuwâ has two ways of expressing reflexive pronouns. One is to use the noun meaning ***mugu*** 'self' (singular): myself; yourself; himself; herself; itself, or selves (plural) ourselves; yourselves; themselves. We use a reflexive pronoun after a transitive verb when the direct object is the same as subject of the verb:

- *Na togo'yu **mugu** i wogu na leri.*
  'I am teach/taught myself to play drums.'

- Kitu lo ka'yu *mugu* ku yeze gedro ni.
  'The python wraps/wrapped itself around the chest of the monkey.'

The other possibility is to use the noun meaning *mugu* 'body' plus the preposition ***ku*** 'with':

- *Na **ku mugu*** 'I myself'
- *Do **ku mugu*** 'you, yourself'

Kakuwâ has a reciprocal pronoun ***'beri*** 'each other':

- *Kara(-ŋá) momoroju **'beri.***
  'They insult **themselves**.'
  'They insult **each other**.'

- *Kara(-ŋá) pudra **'beri.***
  'They praise themselves.'
  'They praise each other.'

Demonstrative Pronouns

Like English, Kakuwâ makes a two-way distinction between proximal ('this, these') and distal ('that, those') demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. All dialects distinguish masculine and feminine for the proximal and distal pronouns.

Person Verb Inflection

A verb's person reflects whether the act, or state or condition is that of:

1. the person speaking 'First person, nâ or 'I', yî or 'we'
2. the person spoken to 'Second person, dó 'you', or ta 'you'
3. the person spoken of 'Third person, lepé(-ŋá) 'he, she, it, or kárá(-ŋá) 'they'

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Kakuwâ does not inflect the main verb for person: First person, Second Person or Third Person:

1st Person Singular:

- Ná yinga.
  1SG listen/hear
  'I listen.'

1st Person Plural:

- Yí yinga.
  1PL listen/hear
  'We listen/hear'

2nd Person Singular:

- Dó yinga.
  2SG listen/hear
  'You listen/hear.'

2nd Person Plural:

- Tá yinga.
  2PL listen/hear
  'You listen/hear'

3rd Person Singular:

- Lepé(-ŋá)/Liyó(-ŋá)   yinga.
  3SG   listen/hear
  'He/She/It listens/hears.'

3rd Person Plural:

- Kárá(-ŋá)/Kúwo(-ŋá)/Koó(-ŋá)   yinga.
  3PL   listen/hear
  'They listen/hear.'

- Yuga yinga.
  'Yuga listens/hears.'

- Tayisa yinga.
  'Tayisa listens/hears.'

Number Marking on Verbs

There is generally no number marking on Kakuwâ verbs. However, the *túwá* 'to die' is unique in that it is the only known verb that marks plural number with a prefix *ta-*:

- Kárá(-ŋá)/Kúwo(-ŋá)/Kóô(-ŋá)   ta-túwa   ku   mágô.
  3PL   die-PL   with   hunger.SG
  'They die (died) of hunger.'

Customary, Frequentative, Habitual Actions, Events or States
- Kárá(-ŋá)/Kúwo(-ŋá)/Kóô(-ŋá)   momoro-tu   ku   wálíya.
  3PL   fight-FREQ   with   knife.PL
  'They fight (frequently) with knives.'

Inappropriately Adopted Verbs
Foreign verbs such as the following have been rejected throughout the author's works on Kakuwâ:
- *julúmbo* (Arabic) 'to cheat'
- *sugú-a* (Arabic) 'to drive'
- *sayímba (Arabic/Kinubi) 'to fast'*
- *jaribu* (Arabic/Kiswahili/Kinubi) 'to taste'

Semantic Criterion
Traditionally, verbs are defined as 'action' or 'doing' words:
- Yuga   wudró   kuruputi.
  Yuga.proper.name.MS   PERF.AUX   letter.SG
  'Yuga writes a letter.'
     Here, the verb *wúdro* 'write' is certainly an action which Yuga performs, namely that of writing a letter.

However, there are many verbs that do not denote an action at all as in:
- Yi gbo   ku   nyádru.
  1PL COP   with   love
  'We have love.'
  Here, the verb *gbo* or 'to be with' does not denote an action. It denotes a state of being that we are, or seems, in love. The verb *gbo* is a copula or linking verb.

Verbs Derived from other Parts of Speech
Derivation is a process of adding a morpheme to a base word thus creating new words, or a different part-of-speech.
Infinitives (verbs)

There are few verbs created from nouns:
- *kukú'dija (kukú'diza)* 'to tickle' ~kukú'di (noun)'armpit'
- *kúla* 'to urinate'~ *kúlá* 'urine'
- *jâ (zâ)* 'to vomit' ~ *jâ (zâ)* (noun)'vomit'
- *rudé* 'to dream' ~ *rudé* (noun)'a dream, dreaming'
- *rémbu* 'to kill/murder' ~ *ríma* (noun)'blood'
- *túro* 'to flower' ~ *kotúro* (noun)'flower'

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The Forms of "To Be" in Kakuwâ

The verb "to be" in Kakuwâ has complex forms: *a* and *gbe'da/gbo'da*:

- *Na **a** katogolo-ni.*
  'I **am** a teacher.'

Simple Present Time
- *Na **gbo** Ko'buko*
  'I **am** in Ko'buko.'

Simple Past Time
- **Na *a gbe'da/gbo'da* Ko'buko.**
  'I **was** in Ko'buko, etc.

Past Perfect Time (Pluperfect Time)
- *Na **a** gbe'ga/gbo'da Ko'buko*.
  'I **had been** to Ko'buko.'

Progressive Forms of verb "To Be" are gender-, number- and distance-specific with the meaning of "to be in"

First Person (SG) *nâ* 'I'

- *Na [mâ] **ilo** Ko'buko* ~ 'I (MS.SG, near) **am** in Ko'buko.'

- *Na [mâ] **ina** Ko'buko* ~ 'I (FM.SG, near) **am** in Ko'buko.'

First Person (plural) *yî* 'we'

- *Yi [mâ] **kilo** Ko'buko* ~ 'We (MS.PL, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

- *Yi [mâ] **kine** Ko'buko* ~ 'We (FM.PL, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

2nd Person (SG) *dó* 'you'
- *Do [mâ] **ilo** Ko'buko* ~ 'You (MS.SG, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

- *Do [mâ] **ina** Ko'buko* ~ 'You (FM.SG, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

2nd Person (PL) *tá* 'you'
- *Ta [mâ] **kilo** Ko'buko* ~ 'You (MS.PL, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

- *Ta [mâ] **kine** Ko'buko* ~ 'You (FM.PL, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

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3rd Person (SG) lepé(-ŋá)/liyó(-ŋá) 'he/she/it'

- *Lepé(-ŋá)/Liyó(-ŋá) [mâ] ilo Ko'buko* ~ 'He/She/It (MS.SG, near) **is** in Ko'buko.'

- *Lepé(-ŋá)/Liyó(-ŋá) [mâ] ina Ko'buko* ~ 'She/It (FM.SG, near) **is** in Ko'buko.'

3rd Person (PL)

- *kárá(-ŋá)/kúwo(-ŋá)/koó(-ŋá)* 'they'

- *Kárá(-ŋá)/Kúwo(-ŋá)/Koó(-ŋá) [mâ] kilo Ko'buko* ~ 'They (MS.PL, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

- *Kárá(-ŋá)/Kúwo(-ŋá)/Koó(-ŋá) [mâ] kine Ko'buko* ~ 'They (FM.PL, near) **are** in Ko'buko.'

Simple Questions
Unlike English, Kakuwâ creates simple "Yes/No" questions by altering the intonation in a question form without inverting the order of subject and the "To be":

- Na ilo tótóto?
  *Ilo na tototo

The Linking and Existential 'To Be'
The verb "To be" most frequently works in conjunction with another verb—usually a main verb:

- *Lepe(-ŋa) a toto.*
  'He/She/It **slept**.'

- *Lepe(-ŋa) a toto.*
  'He/She/It **has slept**.'

- *Lepe(-ŋa) a toto.*
  'He/She/It **had slept**.'

- *Lepe(-ŋa) ina tototo.*
  'She/It **is sleeping**.'

Passive Verb Constructions
Passive Verb Constructions are useful when the subject of an action is not as important as what the subject did (the action of the sentence) or when the subject is unknown, or where the process is more important than who is doing the activity.

In Kakuwâ the auxiliary form of "To be" never changes regardless of the purepe of the main verb; the main verb stays the same.

The verb "To be" will also mot change form to indicate whether the subject is singular or plural:

- *Lo'de* lo *a toko* ku jiki'diya budro.
  'The **roof is supported** by eight pillars.'

- *Lo'de(-ya) kilo a toko* ku jiki'diya budro.
  'The roofs **were supported** by eight pillars.'

The verb "To be" will also change to indicate the time of the action and the aspect of the verb (simple, progressive, perfect):

- *Piyo kine **'buko** i songbo kata yu.*
  'The water **is poured** into the pot.' (Simple Present)

- *Su ku'de **a kakola**.*
  'Some cattle **were stolen**.' (Simple Past)

- *Piyo kine [ma] **kunu 'bukundro** kadi ni.*
  'The water **was pouring** into the house.' (Past Progressive)

- *Yayakiya na piyo-to **a tretrenya.***
  'Uses of water have **been explored**.' (Present Perfect)

- *Ku'de **i yuyuŋe.***
  'More [or others] **will be born**.' (Future)

Customary, Habitual, Frequentative Actions, Conditions, Events, or States
Kakuwâ marks number on verbs by a combination of reduplication, suffixes and tone changes to match the plural subjects. This marking is also applicable to actions, conditions or states deemed customary, habitual ,frequentative, etc.

- *Káríyâ   kilo   jóri-jóri.*
  river.PL   DEF.the.MS.PL   flood-FREQ
  'The rivers (frequently) **flood**.'
  i.e. each and every river floods/flooded.

- *Tá   jonyatu-jónyatu.*
  2PL laugh-FREQ
  'You (PL) **(frequently) laugh**.'
  i.e. each and every one of you (plural) laughs.

- *Yí **kukúdru-ta*** *kínyó.*
  1PL cultivate-FREQ   millet.PL
  'We **(customarily) cultivate** millet.'
   i.e. we each cultivate/cultivated millet.

Verb Paradigm

A verb paradigm is the phenomenon of enlarging word forms belonging to a lexeme. The different word forms change the meaning of the root verb or infinitive and function mostly as adverbs usually indicating a time, a manner, a place, a frequency, a reason, or a degree. The following is a partial list of the verb paradigm of the verb kúdrû 'to cultivate'

- *kurú-dru* (distal) 'to cultivate from here to there' i.e. away from speaker, writer, reader or listener
- *kurú-ji* (*kurú-zi*) (distal) 'to be cultivated from here to there' i.e. away from speaker, writer, reader or listener
- *kurú-ki* (dative) 'be cultivated for'
- *kurú-kindra* (dative) 'to cultivate for'
- *kurú-ndra* (proximal) 'to cultivate' where the suffix -ndra is an inflection or grammatical category, in this case, direction, and specifies action, condition or state from 'there to here' i.e. towards speaker, writer, reader or listener.
- *kurê* (proximal) 'to be cultivated from there to here' i.e. towards speaker, writer, reader or listener
- *kukurû* (abilitative) 'able to be cultivated'
- *kuru-niki* 'people cultivate'; here, the suffix **-niki** reflects an act, event, state, condition, or occurrence brought about by humans.
- *ka-gbuwa* 'dancers'

Partial or Full Reduplication of Verbs

All the main verbs in Kakuwâ make extensive use of reduplication (partial or full reduplication), and tone marking on vowels. The verb stem —in both its active and passive form, can be reduplicated in part or in full. As the examples below show, there is generally not much difference in the meaning of the different resulting verb forms:

- *wudro* (base form)
- *wuwudro* 'to write'
- *wudro-wudro* 'to write'
- *wuwudro-wudro* 'to write'
- *wuwudro-wuwudro* 'add on, increase, multiply'

Mood of a Verb in Kakuwâ

Mood is the form of the verb that shows the mode or manner in which a thought is expressed or what manner the verb is communicating the action. Kakuwâ verbs have four moods: indicative, imperative, subjunctive, and infinitive.

Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is what most speakers often use in ordinary statements expressing an assertion, denial, or question:

- *Liru a mere lo Kakuwâ.*

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- *Kudu lo **ani** jiye*.
- *Do a meti Apayi*?

Imperative Mood

The imperative mod expresses command, prohibition, entreaty, request, a wish, a hope, a curse, or advice. These positive imperatives are formed from the passive form of the verb, or bare root:

- **Wuré!**
  '[You] (singular) write!'

- **Wuré-ta!**
  '[You] (plural) write!'

- **Ɖiné** kí!
  '[You] (singular] stand up!

- **Ɖiné-ta** kí!
  '[You] (plural] stand up!

Forming Negative commands:

- **Ku** wuwúru!
  '[You] (singular) don't write!'

- **Ku** ŋíŋíye kí!
  '[You] (singular) don't stand up!'

Kakuwâ Adjectives

An adjective typically describes an attribute of a noun or pronoun by answering questions such as: which one', 'what kind', 'how many', or 'how much:

- piyo na **lilî**
  'cold water'

- ŋutu **druma**
  'big person'

- kariya **mure**
  '**two** rivers'

Comparison and Superlative Adjectives

As well as taking modifying words like 'very' and 'extremely', adjectives also take different forms to indicate their position on a scale of comparison. The lowest point on the scale is called the 'Absolute form', the middle point is called the 'Comparative form', and the highest point is called the 'Superlative form' which involves three or more

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comparison units. In most cases, the comparison is formed by adding **-ŋa**, and the superlative by full reduplication (or repetition) of the comparison form.

Absolute Form
Comparative (denoted by affix the suffix **-ŋa** to the absolute adjective. Superlative (denoted by fully reduplicating the absolute adjective

Absolute form: ***nárúwó*** 'black (feminine, singular)'
Comparison from: ***nárúwó-ŋá*** 'blacker (feminine, singular)'
Superlative form: ***nárúwó-nárúwó*** 'blackest (feminine, singular)'

Absolute: ***drúma*** 'big'
Comparison: ***drúma-ŋá*** 'bigger'
Superlative: ***drúma-drúma*** 'biggest'

Kinds of adjectives
There are two kinds of adjectives: Predicative and Attributive:

The Predicative adjectives are used as compliments since they follow a linking (copula or helping) verb a:

- Kediŋi   lo   a   **lózó.**
  tree.SG   DEF.the.MS.SG   COP   ADJ.tall.MS.SG
  'The tree is **tall** (feminine, singular).'

- Na   a   **lo'bú.**
  1SG   COP   ADJ.good.MS.SG
  'I am **good** (masculine, singular).'

The Attributive adjectives inherently carry no prefix and they follow a noun:

- kediŋî   **lózó**
  tree.SG   ADJ.tall.MS.SG
  'tall (masculine, singular) tree'

- ŋíro   **ná'bú**
  child.SG   ADJ.FM.SG
  'good (feminine, singular) child (girl)'

Nominal Adjectives
Certain adjectives are used as a class by describing one of the attributes of the class. We refer to all these types as nominal adjectives because they share some of the characteristics of nouns (hence nominal) and some of the characteristics of adjectives:

- **lemerí-ka** 'the poor' denotes a class of people who share similar wealth status of poverty
- **kóríné-kó** 'the rich' denotes a class of people who share similar wealth status of richness

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- **ka-drópa** 'the witches' denotes a class of people who share similar deviant status of bewitching

Kakuwâ Adverbs
Adverbs, like adjectives, describe, qualify or limit verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, whole groups of words, or other elements in a sentence or statement. Because of this feature, adverbs are close relations to adjectives.

Formal characteristics of Kakuwâ Adverbs
Like adjectives, many adverbs are 'gradable' (that is we can modify them using intensifiers such as *kóru* or *sarúdrowó* 'very' or 'extremely.'
- *mada* 'slowly' ~ *mada koru* 'very slowly'

- *mada* 'slowly' ~ *mada sarúdrowó* 'extremely slowly'

The modifying words *kóru* or *sarúdrowó* are themselves adverbs. They are called degree adverbs or intensifiers because they specify the degree to which an adjective or another adverb applies. English degree adverbs include almost, quite, barely, entirely, highly, slightly, totally and utterly.

Like adjectives too, some adverbs can take comparative and superlative forms:
- *mada* 'slowly'
- *mada-ŋá* 'more slowly'
- *mada-mada* 'slowest'

Kakuwâ Interjections
Interjections are words to express emotions. They are mostly chosen by taste and used to add emphasis, force, strong feeling and meaning to speech and writing. An interjection has little or no grammatical function in a sentence; it is used absolutely. An exclamation mark (!) is placed after the word, phrase or exclamation sentence. Usually these interjections stand alone or are used independently without any agreement or link with other words in a sentence. Different parts of speech may, however, be used in interjections:
- **Iyeté!**
  'Thank you!'

- **Iyena!**
  'Thank you!'

In Kakuwâ interjections may be used in calling the divinity, the ghosts, the mother, grand-mother, grand-father, the ancestors, in boastful, self-praising and sometimes cursing purposes.

Kakuwâ Conjunctions
Conjunctions are link-words that join two nouns, phrases, clauses or parts of a sentence or words within a clause. There are three types of conjunctions: coordinating conjunctions, which link words, phrases and clauses of equal importance; subordinating conjunctions, which link less important units to one or more of greater importance, and correlative conjunctions, which are used in pairs. Conjunctions also primarily provide a logical relationship between

propositions. If the conjunction of two propositions is true, then each of the component propositions is true. By this definition, nearly any two propositions in discourse could be considered conjoined.

Coordinating Conjunctions

Yuga	*nyosu*	*maku-ta*	**ku**	*leseri.*
Yuga.propername.MS	eat	potato-SG	and	maize.PL

  'Yuga eats potatoes **and** maize.'

In this example, ku or 'and' is the conjunction that links two parts of the sentence. It is the simplest kind of conjunction in that it is a linker or joiner and nothing more; it adds no new information to the sentence.

Definition and Types of Prepositions
A preposition is a word or phrase that links an object (a noun or noun equivalent) to another word in the sentence to show the relationship between them.

Simple and Compound Prepositions
Many prepositions are relatively straight forward simple words: *ku* 'with', *i* 'in', *beti* 'as' or 'like', etc. A compound preposition has two or more syllables; it may be made up of two or more words:
- **sé ku** (**só ku**) 'together with'
- **í kata** 'inside'
- **í muko** 'under'
- **í kî** 'upon'

Kakuwâ Numerical System
The term *kendâ* means 'to count' or 'counting' (the passive form is *kenâ* 'be counted' or 'counting.'

Cardinal Numbers (or Definite Numerical Adjectives) in Kakuwâ
Cardinal numbers or definite numeral adjectives are used to tell how many, and are written either in figures (1, 2, 3, ...) or in words (twenty, thirty-five, sixty-seven, etc). The most widely adopted counting method is the use of the Arabic numerals (i.e. 1, 2, 3, …) when numbers are written in figures.

In Kakuwâ, the counting adjectives are:
- **gboro** 'zero' or '0'
- **gelé** 'one', '1'
- **muré** 'two', '2'
- **musálâ** 'three', '3'
- **iŋmnání** 'four', '4'
- **mukána** 'five', '5'
- **bukíye** 'six', '6'
- **buríyó** 'seven', '7'
- **budrô** 'eight', '8'

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- **buŋâ(-nî)** 'nine', '9'
- **meregelé** *variant* pó 'ten', '10'

Mere gelé literally means 'one mountain/hill' (derived from *méré* 'mountain/hill and *gelé* 'one'). This is the adjective commonly used for 'ten' among the Kakuwâ of Ko'buko and those of the Congo; the same number is referred to as **pó** or púwó among the Sudanese Kakuwâ.

Units of Counting Between 11 -19

The units of counting between ten and nineteen, are introduced by mentioning the word **koyitá** (plural **konyé**) (literally 'eye' between mérégelé and the cardinal number.

- **mérégelé koyitá gelé** '11' is a formed by a combination of **méré** 'mountain' and **koyitá** 'eye'---hence literally 'mountain one eye'; '12' is mérégelé konyé muré 'mountain two eyes', etc.
- **meregelé koyita gelé** '11', 'eleven'
- **meregelé konyé muré** '12', 'tweleve'
- **meregelé konyé musálâ** '13', 'thirteen'
- **meregelé konyé iŋmnání** '14', 'fourteen'
- **meregelé konyé mukána** '15', 'fifteen'
- **meregelé konyé bukíye** '16', 'sixteen'
- **meregelé konyé buríyó** '17', 'seventeen'
- **meregelé konyé budrô** '18', 'eighteen'
- **meregelé konyé buŋâ(-nî)** '19', 'nineteen'

Counting Between 20- 99

For the twenties, thirties, forties, etc., till the nineties, Kakuwâ mentions the word *méríya* literally 'mountains' before the cardinal number:

- **méríya muré** literally 'two mountains', '20'
- **méríya musálâ** literally 'three mountains', '30'
- **méríya iŋmnáni** literally 'four mountains', '40'
- **méríya mukána** literally 'five mountains', '50'
- **méríya bukíye** literally 'six mountains', '60'
- **méríya buríyó** literally 'seven mountains', '70'
- **méríya budrô** literally 'eight mountains', '80'
- **méríya buŋâ(-nî)** literally 'nine mountains', '90'

Still, the units of counting are introduced by *koyitá* (singular) literally 'eye' or *konyé* (plural) 'eyes

- **méríya muré koyita gelé** '21', 'twenty-one'
- **méríya muré konyé budrô** '28', 'twenty-eight'
- **méríya mukána konyé bukíye** '56', 'fifty-six'
- **méríya bukíye konyé buŋâ** '69', 'sixty-nine'
- **méríya buŋâ konyé buŋâ** '99', 'ninety-nine'

Counting Between 100 - 999

A hundred may be regarded either as a multiple of ten i.e. *méré* (plural **mérí-ya**), or as a new group with the name *kámá* (plural *kámá-zi*). The units are introduced by the preposition *ku* or 'with.'

- **kama gelé** (really **mériya méré gelé** '100', 'one hundred'
- **kama gelé ku gelé** '101', 'one hundred and one'

With the **units**, the expressions beyond one hundred read as follows:

- **kama gelé ku mériya mukána** (really **mériya mérégelé konyé mukána** '150' or 'one hundred and fifty'
- **kama gelé ku mériya musálâ konyé buríyó** '137', or 'one hundred and thirty seven'
- **kámá-zî musálâ ku méré gelé konyé musálâ** '313', or 'three hundred and thirteen'

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSING SYMBOLS

The following abbreviations and symbols are used in the website:

ADJ — Adjective
ADV — Adverb
AGEN — Agentive
C — Consonant
COP — Copula (linking or helping verb)
DEF — Definite
FM — Feminine
FREQ — Frequentative
FUT — Simple Future Time (after now)
MS — Masculine
PL — Plural
V — Vowel
1SG — First Person Singular
1PL — First Person Plural

2SG — Second Person Singular
2PL — Second Person Plural

3SG — Firtst Person Singular
3PL — Third Person Plural
´ Rising Tone
ˆ Faling Tone