

# The polyfunctional morpheme nā~nǎw in Samba Leko

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# n̄~n̄w

- Quite frequent
- At the end of the sentences
  - 2 forms of a same morpheme  
**n̄** [n̄] internal form      **n̄w** [n̄w] very final form
  - Commutes with postposition, expressive particles, the neutral ME (Sentence Modality)
- The informants
  - the same unit ('c'est encore lui', 'c'est le même')
  - 'en main', 'in hand'
  - ≠ **n̄n** 'hand, arm'                      ≠ **n̄n -ú** /hand Loc./ , **n̄n tém -ú** /hand heart Loc./
- Connected with different semantic values
  - 'Ponctual' in Fabre 2003              'control, power' ?

Tab.  
1

# nā~nǎw 2 paradigms / 3 contexts

## Postposition

### NP nā~nǎw

Anim.	Int. form	Fin. form	
-	dó, é bā	dú, ú bā	‘at, in’ ‘on’
+	sèn nā	sènú nǎw	‘by, at N’s’ ‘in hand’

## Expressive Particle

### [kè NP] nā~nǎw

### nā~nǎw

gà? wà t́ ʔō nǎw.  
 horn small Pred. 3s in\_hand  
 ‘he owns/has the small horn’  
 (Lit. ‘the small horn is in\_hand’)

1

## Localization

of an object in  
 relation to its  
 “owner”

Under controle of NP

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Expressive Particle

**[kè NP]** nā~nǎw

To be with ...

Illustrative PE **kîn**

2

Abstract nouns

kpē̃sél < kpēj ‘reinforce, make hard’ (Vt)

kpēj ‘harden’ (Vi)

Ø **tó** **kè** kpē̃sél **-á.**  
 3s Pred. with hardness ? ME  
 ‘He is in good heath’ *(Health)*

Ø **tó** **kè** kpē̃sél **nǎw.**  
 3s Pred. with hardness? in\_hand  
 ‘He is strong.’ *(Strength)*

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Expressive Particle

**[kè NP]** nā~nǎw

gàad té **kè** dín **nǎw.**  
 chief Pred. with spear in\_hand  
 ‘The chief has/owns a spear.’

Ø té **kè** dūn gbà **-á.**  
 3S Pred. with foot big ME  
 ‘He has big feet.’

**Alienability**

Controlling someth.

**Inalienability**

# nā~nǎw as an Expressive Particle ?

## Prepositional Phrase [kè N]

Verbal sentences

An additionnal complement

kè... -á

3

Instrumental

Ø yā -à kè yā -á.  
3S come Dist. with horse ME.

‘He came on horse.’

kè... tá

4

5

Accompagnied by  
= coagent,  
copatient

Ø yā -à kè yā tá.  
3S come Dist. with horse Acc.

‘He came together with Horse.’

kè... nā

6

7

Something  
carried along

Ø yā -à kè yā nāw.  
3S come Dist. with horse in\_hand

‘He came with a horse on a lead/as a gift.’

# nā~nāw as an Expressive Particle

8

Process involving 'hand'

9

The case of **pī** 'to give'

Importance of the alienable object  
a particular gift

10

-

16

Connects different processes  
Refers to another process  
(mentioned or just evocated)

Same agent (10)      Different agents (all other ex.)  
Sharing of the agent's control over the processes :  
    Either 1 agent controlling 2 processes,  
    Or several agents controlling subparts of 1 process

Synchronicity      (10, 11)

Very short succession      (12, 13)

Very short anteriority (Fut.) (14-16)

Feed-back, concurrence, opposition (11-16, 10 ?)

Present one of the processes as more under control than the other

And so...

RefLex DB

**náá ~ ná** Mumuye

**ná (Pl. náro)** Kpaɟam

**ná** Yoti

**nák (Pl. náĩ)** Yendaŋ

**nāā** Pɛɛɛ

**nāā** Burak

**nāg** Dii

**ne (Pl. néro)** ɓali

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**nā~nāw**

**nēn**

Samba Leko