In this paper, I will first introduce the sounds of Senufo Nafara along with morphemes encountered in the language. I will then focus on some salient syntactic features of Nafara. Our speaker, Aminata Coulibaly, is from northern Côte d’Ivoire. This paper has no pretention to be fully exhaustive, and is based on recordings and primary observations. It is the result of fifteen weeks of studying the language.

1. Sounds

The phonemic and allophonic distribution of Senufo has been studied so far through recordings of careful speech production of either isolated words or sentences by Aminata. The list may not be exhaustive or fully accurate at this point.

1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Senufo encountered in the data so far appear in the consonant chart below.
Each consonant phoneme will be illustrated using various occurrences. The environments in which those appear, along with the different allophones for each, will also be discussed.

**a. voiceless plosives**

There are three voiceless stop phonemes in Senufo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>?</td>
<td>kp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>Fricative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>β</td>
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<td>z</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>tʃ</td>
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<td>dʒ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approx.</td>
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<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) | Bilabial | Labiodental | Dental | Alveolar | Postalveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal | Labiovelar |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) **p** **ppin** "girl" **napin** "eye"

(3) **t** **tɔŋ** "leg" **tofɔ** "father"  
**dɔtʃɔru** "doctor" **kateŋ** "chair"

(4) **k** **kutʃiŋ** "shoulder" **kɔlu** "well"

**b. voiced plosives**

The three counterparts to the voiceless plosives above also occur as phonemes.

(5) **b** **bardău** "banana" **bosɔlm** "sweet potato"  
**nabegɔ** "mountain"
There is also a voiceless doubly articulated labio-velar that I argue is an allophone of /b/.

(6) ɲʊŋɡbɔ̰ɡ “big head” ɲʊŋɡbɔli “big heads”
ŋbɔ̰kɒɡ “big head” napikoɡ “big eye”
ɔ̰ɡ “big arm”

In (6), [kp] always occurs in complex words consisting of a noun root to which the adjective ‘big’ is attached. The noun roots at stake are velar-final, which justifies the occurrence of the doubly articulated labio-velar segment.

This phenomenon seems to only occur with /b/, and does not seem to affect any other voiced plosive phoneme. Also, double articulation seems to affect the quality of the vowel it precedes, that vowel becoming creaky voiced.

Nafara also counts an alveolar and a velar voiced plosive phonemes.

(7) d dɔrtɔru “doctor” bardâu “banana”

(8) g kɔɡ “arm” nabjeɡ “yam”
napigel “eyes”

As it appears in these last occurrences, the voiced velar plosive /ɡ/, when located in final position, is produced without any audible release.

Looking at the Praat waveform spectrogram for the word [tʃĩɡ] “tree” below, the absence of release is clearly noticeable.
c. nasals

Four different nasal phonemes occur in Senufo Nafara. The fact that each one of these nasals may occur in various immediate contexts (word-initially, word-medially, word-finally, preceding segments with similar features, and so forth) indicates that each nasal constitutes a distinct phoneme.

(10) m mānu “rice”

(11) n napin “eye” nəu “man”
ipin “girl” mānu “rice”

(12) ŋ nəŋ “head” ŋəŋ “mouth”
napipən “red eye”

(13) ŋ ŋodə (proper noun)
jasinə “bed” (surface) tʃə “sun”

For instance, as seen in (14), in the tokens for ‘rice’ and ‘eye’, /n/ and /m/ both occur word-initially and following a same vowel segment [a].
Also, the phonemes /n/ and /m/ are sometimes found as syllabic allophones.

(15) nbogbɔg \(\text{“big head”}\)
    bɔsɔlm \(\text{“sweet potato”}\)

d. trill

Trills occur rather frequently in Senufo Nafara.

(16) rdɔrtɔru \(\text{“doctor”}\)
    bardąu \(\text{“banana”}\)

The distribution of fricatives and affricates shows that each unvoiced phoneme also has a voiced equivalent.

e. voiceless fricatives

Both bilabial and alveolar voiceless fricatives occur in Nafara.

(17) ɸ tofɔ \(\text{“father”}\)
    naʃɔ \(\text{“mother”}\)

(18) s seŋɔ \(\text{“sibling”}\)
    seʃalụ \(\text{“farmer”}\)
    bosɔlm \(\text{“sweet potato”}\)
    jasnɛŋ \(\text{“bed” (surface)}\)

f. voiced fricatives

This observation is also true of their voiced counterparts.

(19) β ʃʃanβɔ \(\text{“younger sibling”}\)

(20) z ɔzag \(\text{“rain”}\)
g. **affricates**

Voiced and voiceless alveopalatal affricates both occur in Senufo Nafara.

(21)  \( \text{tʃ} \quad \text{tʃɛŋ} \quad \) “sun”  \( \text{tʃɪɡ̊} \quad \) “tree”  
      \( \text{kutʃɪɡ̊} \quad \) “shoulder”  \( \text{kɔtʃɔŋ} \quad \) “big clay cooking pot”  

(22)  \( \text{ʤ} \quad \text{kodjɔɡ̊} \quad \) “regular clay cooking pot”  \( \text{nudjɛn} \quad \) “nice head”  

As the two sounds may occur in very similar environments (here in initial position and followed by an open vowel), they are separate phonemes.

(23)  \( \text{tʃabɛl} \quad \) “women”  \( \text{ʤagɛl} \quad \) “green vegetable”  

h. **Alveolar lateral approximant**

The alveolar lateral approximant /l/ constitutes its own phoneme. The most salient piece of evidence for that is that it occurs in various positions within a syllable or a word.

(24)  \( \text{l} \quad \text{loŋ} \quad \) “mango”  \( \text{liu} \quad \) “bed”  
      \( \text{tʃabɛl} \quad \) “women”  \( \text{tabalbɛl} \quad \) “tables”
1.2 Vowels

The vowels in the chart below are hypothetical phonemes. However, evidence for their status will be discussed throughout this subsection.

According to this chart, vowels in Senufo are classified in several categories. All front vowels are unrounded, whereas all back vowels are rounded. The existence of at least one central vowel phoneme is confirmed by the data collected. Also, some nasal vowels have been encountered as potential phonemes.

a. Front vowels

As shown in this minimal pair, one item being singular and the other one being plural, the double vowel /ii/ at the end of certain plural words does not constitute a long vowel /iː/, but an association of two vowels, one being the plural inflectional suffix [i], and the other one, found in the singular form, undergoing an ATR (Advanced Tongue Root) feature regressive assimilation.
in order to become identical to the plural marker. This is also what appears in the waveform spectogram below.

(27)

\[ \text{e and } \varepsilon \]

Two distinct front-mid vowel segments occur in Nafara.

(28) \( \text{ʤagel} \quad \text{“green vegetable”} \quad \text{nabēg} \quad \text{“mountain”} \)

\( \text{nēŋ} \quad \text{“beef”} \quad \text{ɲen} \quad \text{“sky”} \)

(29) \( \text{e} \quad \text{senā} \quad \text{“sibling”} \quad \text{nabje} \quad \text{“yams”} \)

One first assumption about these front vowel is that they are in complementary distribution, \([\varepsilon]\) being found in word-final syllables involving a coda while \([e]\) is found elsewhere.

(30) \( \text{a} \quad \text{napin} \quad \text{“eye”} \quad \text{daŋ} \quad \text{“floor”} \)

\( \text{bardāu} \quad \text{“banana”} \quad \text{mānu} \quad \text{“rice”} \)
b. Back vowels

The back vowels occurring in Nafara are all rounded, which is not very surprising, those being phonologically less marked than their unrounded counterparts.

(31) /u/ mānu “rice” ɲun “head”

/o/ and /ə/

(32) bəsələm “sweet potato” nəbəkpə “big head”
jeʃəbel “older siblings” gəbel “chicken” (plural)

c. Central vowels

Although it is unclear whether /a/ and /i/ are two separate phonemes, they both occur in the data elicited. Since there is some free variation occurring in the data collected, I assume that they are allophonic variants.

(33) /i/ tʃigi ‘a tree’ gi (negation marker)
/a/ tʃígə wəgə ‘a big green tree’

d. Nasal vowel phonemes

Nasal vowels often seem to be the result of a partial assimilation – either regressive or progressive – in the context of a nasal consonant. However, some minimal pairs occurring in the data do not leave any doubt on their status of phonemes.

(34) ɨ tʃi ‘that’ (relative) / tʃi: ‘trees’

(35) ə mā ‘to’ (preposition) / ma (past tense marker)

(36) ɔ̃ livru kwə wə ɲə ‘this is not a book’
1.3 Tones

Senufo Nafara appears to be a tone language. As a matter of fact, some minimal pairs can be founds that only differ by tone.

(37) \( m \- məŋən \quad m̩ \- m̩əŋən \quad (VC, 2/3) \)
1SG-sleep \quad 2SG-sleep
'I slept.' \quad 'You slept'

2. Morphology

In this section, I will address noun formation and noun classes in Senufo. Four different noun classes appear in Senufo Nafara, three of which consist of countable nouns, the fourth one referring to non-countable nouns. Definite markers are noun class specific, as highlighted in (38). Whereas some variations occur among indefinite nouns within a same class, definite nouns clearly show consistency. The chart in (39) synthesizes the Nafara noun classification in respect to definite markers.

(38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>Indefinite singular</th>
<th>Definite singular</th>
<th>Indefinite plural</th>
<th>Definite plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pi a go l ( 'a , child' )</td>
<td>pi u go u ( 'the , child' )</td>
<td>pi: bèl ( 'children' )</td>
<td>pī bèl ( 'the , children' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'a chicken'</td>
<td>'the chicken'</td>
<td>bèl ( 'chickens' )</td>
<td>bèl ( 'the , chickens' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ʧɪg ə tɔ gɔ ( 'a , tree' )</td>
<td>ʧɪ g ( 'the , tree' )</td>
<td>ʧɪ ja ( 'trees' )</td>
<td>ʧɪ i ( 'the , trees' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( 'a leg' )</td>
<td>( 'the leg' )</td>
<td>tɔ je ( 'legs' )</td>
<td>tɔ i ( 'the , legs' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nəp lə ( 'an , eye' )</td>
<td>nəp n ( 'the , eye' )</td>
<td>nəpí gɛl ( 'eyes' )</td>
<td>nəpí gɛl ( 'the , eyes' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( 'a , girl' )</td>
<td>( 'the , girl' )</td>
<td>pəpí gɛl ( 'girls' )</td>
<td>pəpí gɛl ( 'the , girls' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>a la: ra / la: ra:ra</td>
<td>'some stomach'</td>
<td>a la: ra / la: ra:ra</td>
<td>'the stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'some hair'</td>
<td>'the hair'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>səl ma / səl ma:ma</td>
<td>'some salt'</td>
<td>səl ma / səl ma:ma</td>
<td>'the salt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Uncountable</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>bèl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>g̩</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>gel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking at the examples in 0, although each Nafara noun belongs to a given noun class, there seems to be a possibility for it to relocate to a different noun class, involving semantic implications. As illustrated in the diagram, class 1 nouns may relocate to either one of the other classes, creating either an augmentative (class 2) or a diminutive effect (class 3). Also, nouns from class 2 may relocate into class 3, and vice versa. Yet, no noun from either class 2 or 3 seems to be able to relocate into class 1.
3. Syntax

3.1 Pronouns

According to the data recorded so far, the following chart lists the personal pronouns that appear in Senufo Nafara.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject pronouns</th>
<th>Object pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ṃ / mi</td>
<td>ṃ / mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>ṽ / Ṽ</td>
<td>ṽ / mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>wo / Ṽlu</td>
<td>wo / wol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>je / jel / jelu</td>
<td>jel / jel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>bèn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the pronunciation might slightly differ, there is no clear evidence that Nafara uses case marking in order to make the distinction between subject and object pronouns. Yet, the greater difference between the two pronouns for 3rd person plural remains mysterious and the question of case marking will require more research.

As it also appears in the data, when it comes to pronouns, there is no distinction between masculine and feminine in Senoufo.

(42)  wo  məŋɔn
      3SG  sleep.pst
     ‘She/he slept.’
3.2 Noun Phrases including Adjective Phrases

As showed in (43) through (46), adjectives occur between the noun and its class and number marker. The last column shows that there is no possible alternative to that word order within the complex NP. Therefore, it is very clear now that the Nafara class/number marker is not necessarily affixed to the head noun it refers to.

(43)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>'farmer'</th>
<th>'short farmer'</th>
<th>*'short farmer'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDF.SG</td>
<td>ta₃al o</td>
<td>ta₃al kₚer o:</td>
<td>*ta₃al o kₚer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF.SG</td>
<td>ta₃al u</td>
<td>ta₃al kₚer u:</td>
<td>*ta₃al u kₚer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF.PL</td>
<td>ta₃al bel (tone?)</td>
<td>ta₃al kₚer bel (tone?)</td>
<td>*ta₃al bel kₚer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF.PL</td>
<td>ta₃al bel (tone?)</td>
<td>ta₃al kₚer bel (tone?)</td>
<td>*ta₃al bel kₚer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(44)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>'road'</th>
<th>'straight road'</th>
<th>*'straight road'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDF.SG</td>
<td>ko ga</td>
<td>ko zₚaʔa ga</td>
<td>*ko ga zₚaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF.SG</td>
<td>ko g'</td>
<td>ko zₚaʔa g'</td>
<td>*ko g' zₚaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF.PL</td>
<td>ko ja</td>
<td>ko zₚaʔa ja</td>
<td>*ko ja zₚaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF.PL</td>
<td>ko i</td>
<td>ko zₚaʔa i</td>
<td>*ko i zₚaʔa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(45)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>'mango'</th>
<th>'sweet mango'</th>
<th>*'sweet mango'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDF.SG</td>
<td>lo na</td>
<td>lo da: na</td>
<td>*lo na da:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF.SG</td>
<td>lo n</td>
<td>lo da: n</td>
<td>*lo n da:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF.PL</td>
<td>lo gal  (tone?)</td>
<td>lo dₚa: gal (tone?)</td>
<td>*lo gal dₚa: (tone?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF.PL</td>
<td>lo gal  (tone?)</td>
<td>lo dₚa: gal (tone?)</td>
<td>*lo gal dₚa: (tone?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(46)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>'meat'</th>
<th>'fine meat'</th>
<th>*'fine meat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>ka: ra</td>
<td>ka ʃe ra</td>
<td>*ka: ra ʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>ka r</td>
<td>ka ʃe r</td>
<td>*ka r ʃe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Infinitives

When looking at infinitive verbs, it appears that those verbs all follow the same pattern. The following data shows that the infinitive mode is also marked by a morpheme that is attached to the verb.

(47)  bɪ-tó   bɪ-tʊ?g   bɪ-ká   bɪ-ŋɔn   (VC, 2/3)
     INF-fall   INF-walk   INF-break   INF-sleep
     ‘to fall’   ‘to walk’   ‘to break’   ‘to sleep’

Therefore, the morpheme [bɪ] appears as the infinitive marker, placed before verbs.

3.4 Tense

When it comes to tense marking in Senufo Nafara, the data examined shows the presence of tense indicators.

a. Present tense

Present tense does not seem to require any tense marker. Comparing (48) and (53) clearly shows that tense is not carried by the main verb – as it remains identical in both past and present tenses.

(48)  m  gol  ña
     1SG  chicken.INDF  see
     ‘I see a chicken.’

b. Future tense

As shown in (49) to (51), future tense is marked in Senufo Nafara using the morpheme [daba]. No kind of inflectional affix attached to the verb can be found in the following occurrences. Therefore, the hypothesis of possible verb conjugations is rejected.
(49)  wú daba to  (VC, 2/5)
3SG FUT fall
‘He / she will fall.’

(50)  Mi daba lolo ka
1SG FUT mango eat
‘I will eat a mango.’

(51)  wɔl daba lolo ka
1PL FUT mango eat
‘We will eat a mango.’

c. Past tense

The following data items consist of past tense occurrences with different verbs and different subjects. However, the same morpheme [mɔ] is found in each line. Therefore, it is highly possible that that morpheme acts in the sentence as a marker of past tense.

(52)  pipim mɔ to  (SC, 2/3)
girl.DEF PST fall
‘The girl fell.’

(53)  m mɔ gol ṣã  (VC, 2/17)
1SG PST chicken.INDF see
‘I saw a chicken.’

(54)  m mɔ ṣən  (VC, 2/17)
1SG PST sleep
‘I slept.’

3.5 Aspect

Senufo Nafara also uses different aspects along with tenses. (55) and (56) show that two different aspects in English, when elicited in the studied language, also show aspect markings.
Here, the English present perfect tense is represented by the use of two different phonemes, one being the past tense marker [ma], and the other one being [be], presumably marking the perfect aspect. This hypothesis seems to be verified in (57) and (58).

(57)  
\begin{align*}
  \text{m mə nɔn lərbəl tər} \\
  1SG PST sleep hour.PL three \\
  'I slept for 3 hours.'
\end{align*}

(58)  
\begin{align*}
  \text{m mə be nɔn lərbəl tər} \\
  1SG PST PRF sleep hour.PL three \\
  'I have slept for 3 hours.'
\end{align*}

(59)  
\begin{align*}
  \text{m daba nɔn kwɔ lərbəl tər} \\
  1SG FUT sleep ? hour.PL three \\
  'I will have slept for 3 hours.'
\end{align*}

(59) remains as a mysterious occurrence, showing a tense and aspect phenomenon that we will have to focus on more closely while doing further research. Indeed, It is still hard to determine whether the morpheme [kwɔ] stands for anteriority, or for duration. Although comparing (58) and (59) seems to indicate that it rather expresses the anteriority, both the nature and the function of that element remain uncertain.
3.6 Simple transitive verbs

(60)  m ma go: ña
1SG PST chicken.DEF see
‘I saw the chicken.’

As we can notice in (60), Senufo Nafara is characterized by a Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order. Yet, as mentioned above, tense markers do not attach to verbs. My hypothesis is that they remain in T position as independent words, as shown in (61).

3.7 Ditransitive verbs

The following occurrences consist of sentences including ditransitive verbs.

(62)  m ma gol kā pibɛl ma
1SG PST chicken.INDF give children.DEF post
‘I gave the children a chicken.’

(63)  m ma gol jɛ pibɛl na
1SG PST chicken.INDF show children.DEF to
‘I showed the children a chicken.’

(64)  m m gol s2ʔɔ̰ pibɛl mɔ
1SG PST chicken.INDF cook children.DEF for
‘I cooked a chicken for the children.’
According to the data, the general construction of ditransitive verb sentences in Senufo is as shown in (65).

(65)

3.8 Negation

In Senufo Nafara, a double negation phenomenon seems to occur.

(66a)  m     mə  ɲɔn
1SG   PST   sleep
‘I slept.’

(66b)  mi  gɔ̀  ɲɔn-í
1SG  PST.NEG₁ sleep-Neg₂
‘I didn’t sleep.’

(67a)  nɔbin  mɔ  mə  ɲɔ  (VC, 2/5)
boy.DEF PST me see
‘The boy saw me.’

(67b)  nabin  go  mì  ɲa-i
boy.DEF PST.NEG₁ me see-Neg₂
The boy didn’t see me

(68a)  m  ma  gol  kɑ  pibɛl  ma
1SG PST chicken.INDF give children to
‘I gave the children a chicken.’

(68b)  m  go  goo  kɑ  pibɛl  ma-i
1SG PST.NEG₁ chicken.INDF give children to-Neg₂
‘I didn’t give the children a chicken.’
From these three pairs of occurrences, the first element being affirmative (a), and the second one being negative (b), we can make the following observations. First, when the sentence becomes negative, the past tense marker tends to disappear, being replaced by another element placed in the same position. Therefore, the element [go] is a marker for both past tense and negative. A hypothetical tree for (66b) would be the following.

(69)

Also, the final vowel phoneme /i/ appears as an inflectional affix for negation. The fact that it can attach to both a verb and a preposition demonstrates that this element is sentence-final.
4. Concluding remarks and further issues

Senufo Nafara shows some very interesting features, whether phonetically and phonologically or morphologically and syntactically.

In terms of phonology, the presence of marked sounds such as bilabial fricatives and nasal vowels as phonemes, but also the occurrence of doubly articulated segments as well as unreleased final voiced plosives makes the language very interesting as an object of study. The phonological processes occurring in the language in terms of complex morphology and also at the phrase and utterance level deserve a thorough analysis.

Regarding the syntax of the language, the [S O V] word order of sentences along with the behavior of negation and tense, but also the place of the noun class marker within the Noun Phrase, show interesting phenomena. The study of such phenomena may provide further insight on the Senufo Nafara Language, but would also play a major role in the study of the Senufo language family as well and would contribute to the field of syntax and linguistics.

In further research, I emphasize on Nafara word order in two different contexts. In a first project on Yes/No interrogatives, I discuss the various possible locations of the interrogative marker. The Master’s Thesis I am currently writing focuses on the structure of Noun Phrases in Nafara. I account for the surface word order [Noun Adjective Number/Class marker Demonstrative Numeral] within determiner phrases in the language. To some extent, the two projects feed into each other, as they provide new insight in terms of phrase structure that are likely to be transferable to other phrasal domains, both in Nafara and cross-linguistically.