

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 214 369

FL 012 814

AUTHOR Hutchison, John P.
TITLE A Reference Grammar of the Kanuri Language.
INSTITUTION Wisconsin Univ., Madison. African Studies Program.
SPONS AGENCY Office of International Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 81
GRANT GOO8002123
NOTE 373p.
LANGUAGE Kanuri; English

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC15 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *African Languages; *Descriptive Linguistics;
*Grammar; Phonology; Second Language Learning;
Semantics; Syntax; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Kanuri; *Nigeria

ABSTRACT

This study presents a grammatical analysis of the Kanuri language as it is spoken in Yerwa, the capital of Borno State in Nigeria. The material is organized in such a way as to be useful to students of the Kanuri language, to linguists, and to Kanuri people interested in the grammar of their language. The text is organized in pedagogical order having eight main sections, each of which is further subdivided into chapters. (AMH)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

Title VII, NDEA, Sec. 602
CONTRACT # G00-80-02123

The Kanuri Language

a reference grammar

ED214369

by

John P. Hutchison

EA 012814

African Studies Program
University of Wisconsin
Madison 1981

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

→ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official NIE
position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Univ. Wisconsin

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR
OF THE KANURI LANGUAGE

Project Associate: John P. Hutchison

Principal Investigator: A. Neil Skinner

U.S. Office of Education
Foreign Language and Area Research Program

Grant Number: G008002123

CRS Entity Number: 1-396006492-A1

Document Number: 02-G008002123

Project Number: 436AH00097

University of Wisconsin - Madison
African Studies Program

Boston University
African Studies Center

1981

3

FOREWORD

Kanuri is one of the three major languages spoken in the Muslim, northern states of Nigeria and has suffered, unlike the other two, Hausa and Fulfulde, from comparative neglect by Western scholars. So I was encouraged in the rainy season of 1978 in Kano when John Hutchison expressed his readiness to undertake the work needed to produce this book. As a linguist, whose dissertation topic had been Kanuri syntax, a fluent speaker of the language, and one who had been involved in teaching in Maiduguri and advising in the Kanuri textbook program being developed there, he seemed the right person for the task. He has been, and I trust that users of this book will agr e with me.

Major thanks are due to the U.S. Office of Education and, in particular Mrs. Julia Petrov, for financial support, encouragement and patience through the long months of the work; and to the African Studies Program of the University of Wisconsin, Madison and its Associate Director, Paul Beckett, for providing a home for the work and day-to-day assistance.

Lastly, it is my hope that scholars, in the U.S., in Nigeria, and wherever African languages are studied, will find much to profit from in Professor Hutchison's work.

A. Neil Skinner,
Department of African Languages and Literature,
University of Wisconsin, Madison

INTRODUCTION

The present work represents the culmination of my experience with the Kanuri and Kanembu languages from 1966 to the present. Having been trained to speak the Manga dialect of Kanuri as a Peace Corps Volunteer, I was then posted to a Kanembu speaking village on the eastern shores of Lake Chad where I had to quickly adapt to a very different dialect. As an employee of the Peace Corps subsequent to my service, I developed materials for and trained volunteers in that dialect of Kanembu. From early 1974 until late 1978 I worked as a Research Fellow and Lecturer in the Nigerian university system in Kano and Maiuuguri. There I was involved in the development of the Kanuri spelling system, and of Kanuri materials for Universal Free Primary Education (UPE) in Nigeria. We also developed a dictionary, and established a program in Kanuri Studies at the University of Maiduguri which today offers a B.A. degree. Throughout that time, a great many people contributed to my apprenticeship in the Kanuri and Kanembu languages, and their dialects. Among those whose contributions have had a direct impact on this present work are Wakkil Modu, Tijani El-Miskin, Shettima Bukar, and Alhaji Mustafa Mohammed. To them and to the countless others who helped in so many ways, I am extremely grateful.

Work on this project began with the preliminary drafting of the materials for the reference grammar during the fall semester of the 1979-80 academic year. After initial reaction to the draft from Professor Skinner, the materials were then tested in the classroom in a Kanuri Structure course during the spring semester of that year. Final typing of the manuscript was begun during the summer of 1980 and completed in 1981.

A Reference Grammar of the Kanuri Language is designed to present in a readily accessible fashion, all of the intricacies of the Kanuri language and its grammar. The plethora of Kanuri language material presented in the book is organized in such a way as to be useful to students of the Kanuri language, to linguists and other academics, and to Kanuri people interested in the grammar of their language. The material is organized in pedagogical order throughout the book, and it is hoped that this arrangement will readily lend itself to use in the language teaching classroom.

In the table of contents at the beginning of the book, only the major section and chapter titles are presented with page numbers. At the beginning of each major section, another table of contents provides a detailed outline of the chapters included in that major section, including all of the minor sections and subsections of each chapter. The chapters are grouped into eight major sections of from two to eight chapters each. The index at the end of the book is designed to help the reader find the various points in the book where a given topic is treated since many topics are only introduced early in the book and elaborated later.

The Kanuri Reference Grammar Project was initiated by Prof. A. Neil Skinner of the University of Wisconsin's Department of African Languages and Literature. For his foresight in recognizing the need for this project, for his invaluable comments, criticism and discussion of the material drafted for inclusion in the book, and for his patience throughout the preparation period, I am deeply indebted to him and extremely grateful. I would also like to express my thanks to Dr. Paul Beckett, Assistant Director of the African Studies Program and the entire staff of the African Studies Program for their excellent support in facilitating the project and making my time in Madison productive and enjoyable.

INTRODUCTION (cont.)

Likewise, the input of the Chairperson and the members of the Department of African Languages and Literature was greatly appreciated throughout the duration of the project.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the U.S. Office of Education's Foreign Language and Area Research Program, and especially to Mrs. Julia Petrov, without whose patient support from the beginning to the end of the project, the work would have been impossible. I do hope that A Reference Grammar of the Kanuri Language will prove useful to Americans wishing to familiarize themselves with the Kanuri language, and will make a positive contribution towards our awareness of and sensitivity to other peoples, their languages and cultures, and will justify the efforts and resources committed to the project by all those involved in it.

John P. Hutchison

Department of Modern Foreign Languages and Literatures.

Boston University

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1S	first person singular
2S	second person singular
3S	third person singular
1P	first person plural
2P	second person plural
3P	third person plural
*	ungrammatical; unacceptable utterance
?	questionable utterance
≠	is not the same as; is not equivalent to
I	basic finite verb form
II	applied derived form of the verb
III	passive-reflexive derived form of the verb
IV	causative derived form of the verb
V	reduplicated-intensive derived form of the verb
A	Arabic (used to indicate borrowed words)
ant NP	antecedent NP of a relative clause construction (complex NP)
ASSOC	associative postposition
C	consonant
cl 1	verb class 1
cl 2	verb class 2
DET	determiner element; determiner element +dɛ
F	(˘) falling tone
H	(˘) high tone
L	(˘) low tone
L ₀ H	sequence of tones in the tone pattern of a word made up of any number of low tone syllables followed by final syllable high tone
M	(˘) mid tone
N	noun
NEC	noun emphasis completive aspect of the verb
neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
o.s.	oneself
OSV	object-subject-verb (language typology order)
POS	possessive pronoun
R	(˘) rising tone
rel NP	relative NP of a relative clause construction (complex NP)
RRC	restrictive relative clause
SKO	Standard Kanuri Orthography
s.o.	someone
SOV	subject-object-verb (language typology order)
SVO	subject-verb-object (language typology order)
UFE	Universal Free Primary Education
V	vowel
VEC	verb emphasis completive aspect of the verb
vi	intransitive verb

TABLE OF CONTENTS	PAGE
SECTION I: INTRODUCTION TO THE LANGUAGE	1
Chapter 1: The Kanuri Language and Its Dialects	3
Chapter 2: Typological Characteristics of Kanuri Grammar	7
SECTION II: THE SOUND SYSTEM AND WRITTEN KANURI	13
Chapter 3: The Syllable, the Word and the Sound System	15
Chapter 4: The Role of Tone	23
Chapter 5: The Standard Kanuri Orthography	29
SECTION III: WORD TYPES AND THEIR STRUCTURES	33
Chapter 6: The Lexical Category <i>NOUN</i>	35
Chapter 7: The Pronouns	45
Chapter 8: Words Formed through Productive Affixation	55
Chapter 9: Word Formation through Tone Change, Epenthesis and Reduplication	63
Chapter 10: Word Formation: Historical Word Formatives	75
SECTION IV: THE VERB	85
Chapter 11: Introduction to the Verb System	89
Chapter 12: The Composition of the Verb Classes	95
Chapter 13: The Structure of the Basic Verb Form and the Verb Aspects	113
Chapter 14: The Derived Forms of the Verb	133
Chapter 15: The Nonfinite Forms of the Verb	157
SECTION V: NONVERBAL PREDICATE TYPES	165
Chapter 16: Nonverbal Predicates of Presentation and Existence	167
Chapter 17: Nonverbal Predicates of Identification, Description, Location and the Postpositions	173
Chapter 18: Nonverbal Predicates of Comparison	179

SECTION VI: THE NOUN PHRASE: FORM AND FUNCTIONS	185
Chapter 19: Introduction to the Structure of the Noun Phrase	189
Chapter 20: Modifier Types in the Noun Phrase	195
Chapter 21: The Determiners of the Noun Phrase	205
Chapter 22: Subject and Object Noun Phrases: Status and Order	211
Chapter 23: The Complex Noun Phrase (Relative Clause Construction)	217
Chapter 24: Nominal Clauses as Subject, Object and Oblique NP Constituents	229
Chapter 25: Noun Phrase Status Marking	239
Chapter 26: The Cleft NP Construction	249
SECTION VII: ADVERBIAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES	255
Chapter 27: Postpositions in Adverbial Postpositional Phrases and Clauses	257
Chapter 28: Adverbials Linking Sentences and Clauses	265
Chapter 29: Temporal and Locative Adverbial Clauses and Expressions	269
Chapter 30: Concessive Adverbial Clauses	283
Chapter 31: Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition	289
Chapter 32: The Functions of the Adverbial Adjunct <i>dūwō</i>	303
SECTION VIII: COORDINATION, ORDER AND SENTENCE CONNECTION	309
Chapter 33: The Coordinating Conjunctions and Phrasal Coordination	311
Chapter 34: Prepositions and Other Out of Order Elements	317
Chapter 35: The Syntax and Semantics of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb	321
APPENDICES	325
INDEX	355
REFERENCES	361

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION TO THE LANGUAGE	PAGE
Chapter 1: The Kanuri Language and Its Dialects	3
1. Introduction	3
2. The Major Dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu	4
Chapter 2: Typological Characteristics of Kanuri Grammar	7
1. Introduction	7
2. The Postpositions	7
3. The Typological Structure of the Noun Phrase	8
4. The Typology of the Finite Verb Form	9
5. The Structure of the Kanuri Lexicon	10
6. Simple Sentences of Identification	10
7. Person and Number in the Basic Grammatical Paradigms	11

CHAPTER 1: THE KANURI LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

1. Introduction. The speakers of what is commonly referred to as the Kanuri language are the people, of the same name, who are today concentrated in Borno State in north-eastern Nigeria. The present study represents a grammatical analysis of the Kanuri language as it is spoken in Yerwa, which is the traditional Kanuri name for what is today known outside of the Kanuri world as Maiduguri. Maiduguri or Yerwa, is the capital of modern-day Borno State, and is as well the present traditional seat of the Shehu of Borno, king of the Kanuri people. Therefore, for both traditional reasons and also because of the modern-day political realities, the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri has emerged as perhaps the most important dialect that is spoken in Nigeria.

Greenberg's classification (1966:130) of Kanuri as a member of the Saharan branch of the Nilo-Saharan family of African languages has been widely accepted. He presents the Saharan languages as the second branch of his six branch Nilo-Saharan family in the following groupings: 2. Saharan: (a) Kanuri, Kanembu; (b) Teda, Daza; (c) Zaghawa, Bertu. Greenberg (1971: 423) slightly altered and simplified the Saharan sub-branch in a later publication, simply listing the major language of each grouping, as follows: 2. Saharan: Kanuri, Teda, Zaghawa, Bertu. These he refers to as the four basic units of the Saharan sub-branch. It is thus apparent that the term *Kanuri* may be used to refer to the Yerwa dialect of the Kanuri and Kanembu languages, or, for classification purposes, it may be used to refer generally to the basic linguistic unit *Kanuri*, of the Saharan sub-branch, thus encompassing all of the dialects of the mutually intelligible languages *Kanuri* and *Kanembu*.

The languages Kanuri and Kanembu are spoken by the peoples of the same names who are today concentrated in the area to the west, north, and east of Lake Chad in central Africa. Although for the major part of their history they were linked in various ways as one linguistic unit in a common political entity, today they occupy parts of four different modern-day African nations. In a great variety of dialect forms, Kanuri and Kanembu are today spoken by substantial numbers of people in Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and by a smaller group in the Cameroon. They are concentrated in Borno State in north-eastern Nigeria, in eastern Niger from Zinder eastwards to the shores of Lake Chad, and in the Kanem, Lake, and Chari-Baguirmi Prefectures of the Republic of Chad. In spite of the division of these peoples effected by and reflected in the modern-day map of Africa, there is still a great deal of contact among the Kanuri and the Kanembu peoples of the four countries. There is recognition of traditional kings and rulers that crosses modern borders, intermarriage, a great deal of cultural contact, religious bonds, and the undeniable bond of a common language and history, the language thriving today not only in the various forms of traditional music and literature, but also in the modern educational system, in certain of the countries.

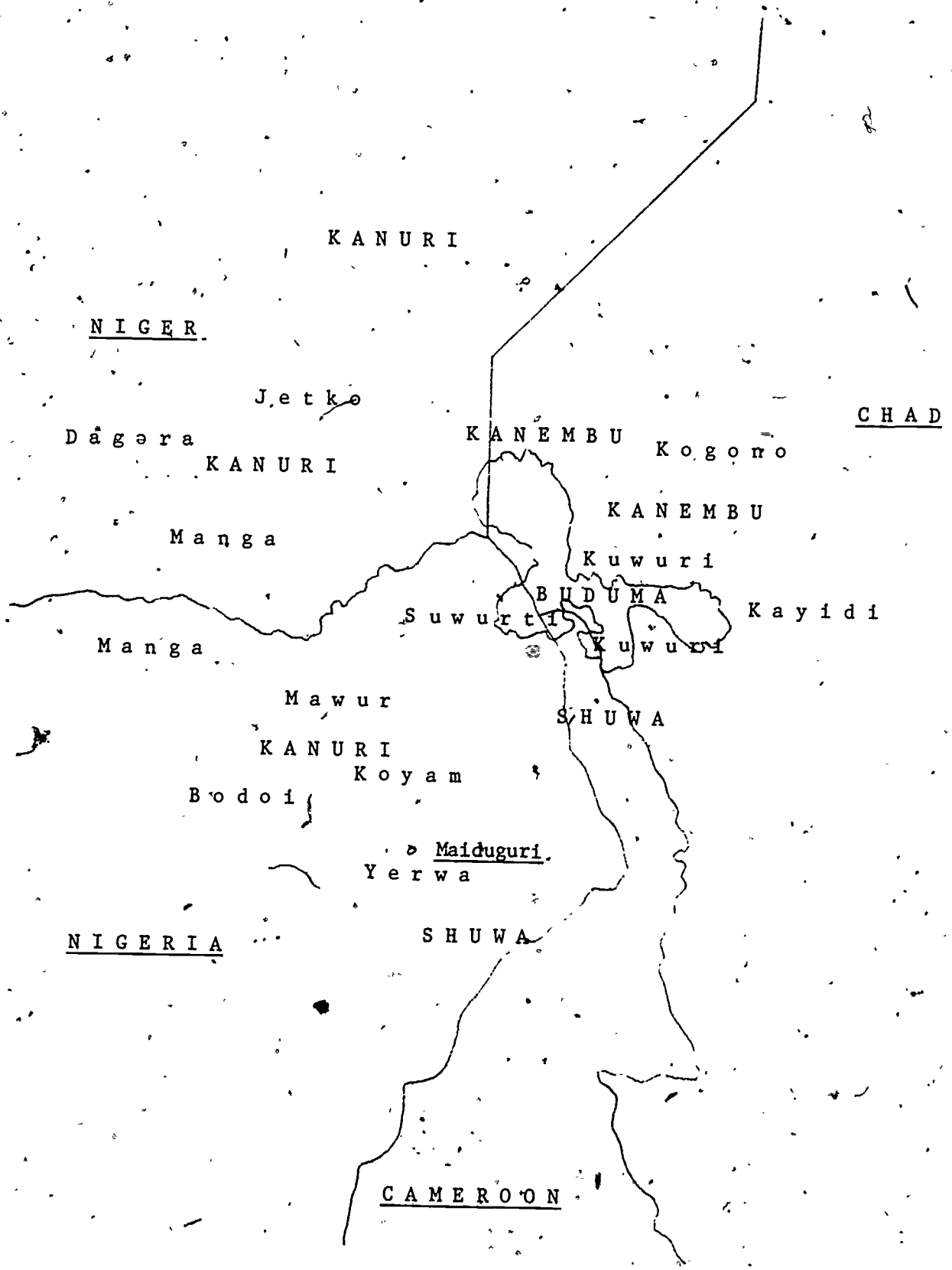
Historians have used the term *Kanem* to refer to the vast empire which dominated the central Sudan region from about 1000 A.D. until its collapse during the fourteenth century (cf Cohen, 1976:12-19). The empire was concentrated in the sahel region north of Lake Chad, and the historical term has been preserved today to refer to that region; it is also the official name of the large prefecture in present-day Chad which occupies a portion of the realm of the Kanem empire. The term *Kanembu* is derived from *Kanem* through the application of the plural form +wú of the agentive suffix +ma, and thus means literally *people of Kanem*, *owners of Kanem*. Also in historical treatments, the term *Bornu* (today stripped of its 'colonial' spelling and pronunciation and changed to *Borno* to reflect its actual pronunciation,

in the Kanuri language) is used to refer to the region southwest of Lake Chad, and to the offshoot of the failing Kanem empire, which was founded there during the fourteenth or the fifteenth century A.D. (Cohen, 1967:15). The members of the royal family, as well as other elements of the falling Kanem empire which left it and founded the Borno empire are commonly referred to as the Kanuri. If Tucker and Bryan (1956:47) are correct, this name was originally applied to the conquering people from Kanem. The commonly espoused etymology of the term Kanuri is that it is morphologically a place name, formed through the application of the suffix *-uri*, a morpheme used to derive nouns of place when applied to a noun referring to the occupant of that place. Thus it is possible that Kanuri is *kan + uri*, which might literally translate as 'the land of Kanem'. It might have originally been used by the invaders from the north to refer to the area which they had conquered in Borno. Thus historically speaking, the Kanembu language was once much more widely spoken than Kanuri, as the language of the Kanem empire, while Kanuri, as Greenberg (1971:425) states, is basically the language of its successor state, Borno. Today, in referring to the history of both the Kanembu and the Kanuri peoples, historians talk of the history of the Kanem-Borno empire.

Given this historical backdrop, it is clear that Kanuri and Kanembu represent basically one language. For first-language speakers of any of the wide range of dialects, Kanuri and Kanembu are almost perfectly interintelligible. Throughout the history of African language classification, regardless of the classifier or his system, Kanuri and Kanembu have been grouped together at the most immediate level of relationship. Koelle, (1854:70) in his Polyglotta Africana, refers to Kanuri and Kanembu as *kanuri*. The speakers of Kanuri today far outnumber the speakers of Kanembu. It is likely that there are more than 2 million speakers of Kanuri in Nigeria alone, though reliable figures are not available. As the Borno empire grew from the fifteenth century onwards, it conquered and incorporated a variety of formerly independent ethno-linguistic entities. It is likely that the political and religious exigencies of the time, obligated such groups to assimilate culturally and linguistically as quickly as possible. Even today in Borno State one observes ethnic groups with no genetic linguistic relationship to the Kanuri, who are bilingual speakers of Kanuri and their own e.g. Chadic language, and who cosmetically and dresswise are identical to the Kanuri. This interpretation of the history of the Kanuri language is corroborated by linguistic evidence which indicates that there is considerably more dialect variation in Kanuri than in Kanembu, plus internal evidence that Kanuri has been much more affected by contact with other unrelated languages than has Kanembu.

2. The Major Dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu.

On the following map of the Lake Chad Region the languages of the region are presented in capital letters. The dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu are presented in small letters, each shown in the approximate geographical area in which it is spoken. The dialects indicated represent only the major Kanuri and Kanembu dialects, and are designed to give the reader an approximation of the geographical distribution, especially of the Kanuri-speaking peoples. Maiduguri (Yerwa) is underlined.



Presently-available linguistic evidence from the various dialects is not sufficient to justify proposing groupings of the various dialects. It appears that the Kanuri dialects of northern Nigeria and eastern Niger represent a cohesive, larger dialect grouping, and that the Kanembu dialects of the western shores of Lake Chad represent a separate dialect grouping, distinct from the Kanembu dialects of the area north and east of Lake Chad.

CHAPTER 2: TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF KANURI GRAMMAR

1. Introduction. Grammarians may classify a language according to the typological characteristics of its grammar or syntax. In general this involves a description of the way the language groups, orders, and hierarchically arranges syntactic elements. In English, the verb normally occurs medially between its subject and its object, as in for example *Ali saw you*. Thus language typologists refer to English as a SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT or SVO language. For speakers of languages that are typologically similar to English, the most striking feature of Kanuri syntax is that the verb is always final in the sentence, preceded by its subject and its object. Thus the same sentence would be expressed in Kanuri as: *Ali you saw Ali nyiã sürünã*. Typologically therefore, Kanuri is referred to as a SUBJECT-OBJECT-VERB or SOV language.

The Kanuri language quite strictly maintains its basic and canonical SOV arrangement throughout its grammar, the only permissible variant in most environments being OSV, as in: *me hunger it seized Wüã kênâyè cõtã*, better translated into English as *I was stricken by hunger*. All nominal (major) and oblique (adverbial) constituents obligatorily precede the sentence-final verb. Major constituents include all subject and direct object noun phrases, which are direct participants in the action of the verb. Oblique constituents include all constituents that do not participate directly in the action of the verb, and thus all adverbial modifiers of the verb, indirect objects, etc. are included in this category.

Ali market+in I saw = I saw Ali in the market. *Ali kãsüwü+lân cürükò.*
him+to money I gave = I gave him money. *Shi+rò kúngãná yíkãná.*

A la Greenberg (1963:79-80), Kanuri falls into the "rigid" subtype of SOV languages since it is in agreement with his universal which states: "If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb."

For the speaker of English, the verb-final arrangement of a language may appear particularly problematical. This typological feature and those that are related to it as described in this chapter, seem to violate all of the grammatical instincts and intuitions of the English speaker. Many aspects of the language will feel reversed or backwards when the speaker of an SVO language tries to learn an SOV language. It is the purpose of this chapter to prepare the student of Kanuri for some of these problems by describing briefly how Kanuri arranges words into phrases, clauses and sentences, as well as how various kinds of Kanuri words are formed. In each case, the reader is referred to the relevant section of the book where the various aspects of a given typological feature are pursued in detail. This chapter will also introduce certain of the basic grammatical paradigms of the language to show the morphemes indicative of person and number which are recurrent in the language.

2. The Postpositions. In his fourth language universal, Greenberg (1963:79) states that "with overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional". In agreement with this, Kanuri has a full set of postpositions which have been referred to in some treatments of Kanuri grammar as case markers or case suffixes (Lukas, 1937:17). A postposition is a monomorphemic word or particle that is placed after a noun or pronoun, to mark it as an oblique constituent indicating place, direction, source, method, means, etc., which, from that position after its head word, performs all of the functions that we know to be those of

the preposition in a language like English. The Kanuri postpositions, and other suffixes, because they assimilate phonologically to their preceding head word, are written as part of the word they modify according to the Standard Kanuri Orthography (SKO).

agent postposition:	<i>Musa+by</i>	<i>Músà+yè</i>
associative postposition:	<i>money+with/having</i>	<i>Kúngónà+à</i>
indirect postposition:	<i>Musa+to/for</i>	<i>Músà+rò</i>
locative/means postposition:	<i>market+at</i> <i>knife+with</i>	<i>kàsúwù+làn</i> <i>jánà+làn</i>
genitive postposition:	<i>Musa+of/'s</i>	<i>Músà+bè</i>
directional 'via' postposition:	<i>market+via</i>	<i>kàsúwù+mbèn</i>

The above set of postpositions is used to mark all oblique (adverbial) modifiers of the language. Kanuri has no prepositions of its own. Those that do occur in the language have entered it through other language sources. As will be observed, these borrowed prepositions are used almost redundantly to emphasize an adpositional meaning which has already been indicated by one of the Kanuri postpositions (see ch. 34). As will be observed subsequently, the postpositions are not the only syntactic elements which are preceded by their head word.

The Kanuri postpositions also function as the markers of embedded sentences in the language. Thus they function as the subordinating conjunctions or subordinators, and as the complementizers of the language. This represents simply an extension of their role as postpositions occurring after a simple noun phrase, and consistent with that role, they again follow their governing constituent. As subordinators and complementizers the postpositions are preceded by sentences or clauses instead of nouns and pronouns. As is apparent in the following examples, and consistent with the SOV typology of the language, all subordinate clauses and complement sentences normally precede their main predicate or matrix clause. The only subordinating conjunctions that occur construction-initially are those that have been borrowed.

When he comes back greet him.

Ishí+à shí+à lèfàné.
ASSOCIATIVE

He is trying to go to Mecca.

Mákkà+rò lètá+rò májìn.
INDIRECT

3. The Typological Structure of the Noun Phrase. Just as the Kanuri postpositions follow their governing constituent, likewise all of the modifiers of a governing head noun follow it, without exception (see ch. 20). Thus *big house* is expressed as *house big fátò kùrà* in Kanuri, and *Musa's house* as *house Musa+of/'s fátò Músà+bè*. This HEAD-MODIFIER order within the noun phrase is considered by Greenberg and other language typologists as being typologically aberrant for a strict SOV language like Kanuri. In his universal 2, Greenberg (1963:78) states that: "In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes". The aberrant typological character of the Kanuri noun phrase is captured in his universal 5, in which he states (1963:79): "If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun". Kanuri is thus consistent with the subgroup of rigid SOV language described by this typological universal 5, as expressed by Greenberg. In Kanuri, all of the following modifier categories follow their head noun:

adjectives:	house big	fátò kùrà
genitives:	house Musa+of/'s	fátò Músà+bè
other postpositional phrases:	person market+in	kām kàsúwù+làn
determiners:	person this	kām ádè
quantifiers:	person one	kām fál
possessive pronoun suffixes:	money+my	kúngónà+nyí
noun adjuncts:	Ali too	Álì yé
relative clauses:	person he went+the	kām lèzónà+dá

When more than one of the above modifier categories occurs in a Kanuri noun phrase, the hierarchical order in which they occur after the head noun is predicted by Greenberg's universal 20 (1963:87) in which he states: "When any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite". In Kanuri the order is the exact opposite, thus the head noun is followed by the adjective, numeral, and demonstrative, in that order.

horse big two these = these two big horses fār kùrà índí ányì

4. The Typology of the Finite Verb Form. The finite verb form of Kanuri is synthetic or agglutinative. By this is meant that the verb form carries all of the required inflectional morphemes like person, number, tense/aspect, and as well, the optional derivational morphemes like causation, negation, and reflexivization. Thus the following synthetic verb form is sentential.

I will not sell (it) to you. Nzèkkèlädákinbá.

From the translation of the above example, it is clear that the verb carries a verb root, plus inflectional morphemes indicating a 1S subject, imperfect aspect interpreted as future. It also carries the derivational morphemes 2S indirect object, applied derivation morpheme, and negation. Thus in neutral unmarked environments where pronouns are in no way emphasized or questioned, they are carried only in the verb form and not manifested independently. Every finite verb form must carry its subject pronoun, fully specified for person and number.

In discussing the typology of finite verb forms Greenberg (1963:93) refers to the order of the three relevant morpheme categories root, inflectional, and derivational. His universal 16 (1963:85) predicts that "in languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb". Another language typologist Lehmann (1973:48) proposed a "structural principle of language", stating that "modifiers are placed on the opposite side of a basic syntactic element from its primary concomitant". Kuno (1974:117) relates this principle to the finite verb form in the following way: "... verbal modifiers for negation, causation, or reflexive or reciprocal action are placed after verb roots in OV languages ...". Typologists would therefore predict for a rigid SOV language like Kanuri that the verb root would precede all inflectional and derivational morphemes. For the most part, the inflectional morphemes of Kanuri agree with their prediction, though the modifier and derivational morphemes do not all agree. In the following schema which breaks down the earlier example, DER indicates a derivational morpheme, and INFL indicates an inflectional morpheme.

nzè	+kkè	+läd	+k	+in	+bá	>	nzèkkèlädákinbá.
DER	DER	ROOT	INFL	INFL	DER		
2S	applied	sell	1S	imperfect	negative		

As suggested by this example, it can generally be stated that the derivational morphemes precede the verb root in Kanuri, and the inflectional morphemes follow the verb root. In exception to this is the negative morpheme which always follows the inflectional morphemes indicating the subject pronoun. A further exception occurs in the formation of the past and future tense/aspects of the verb, where these inflectional morphemes are discontinuous being partly prefixed and partly suffixed (see pp. 117 and 122).

5. The Structure of the Kanuri Lexicon. The Kanuri lexicon might be described as a *layered* lexicon. It is layered chronologically in the sense that it is possible to recognize words in the language that are older as distinct from words that have not been in the language as long and also others that have entered the language from other language sources. Borrowed words in the lexicon as well are layered chronologically, since certain Arabic loan words have been part of the language for as much as a thousand years, whereas words from Hausa entered much later, and words from English only very recently. The Kanuri lexicon is also layered morphologically, in the sense that a relatively small set of basic lexical roots appear throughout the lexicon in a variety of derived forms corresponding to a variety of the lexical categories with which we are familiar in other languages.

With regard to the noun, Lukas (1937:9) stated: "The noun in Kanuri is, in most cases, composed of the root surrounded by affixes. Only in a very few instances can the formative affix be separated from the root; it is possible to recognize the root only by comparison with other dialects or with related languages." Thus there are many historically derived words in the lexicon which are made up of formative affixes which are no longer productive in the language (see ch. 10). These are distinct from words which are derived through synchronically productive morphological processes (see ch. 8). Still other words are derived through the process of tone change and phonological reduplication (see ch. 9).

With regard to lexical categories or parts of speech, the lines distinguishing the traditional categories noun, adjective and adverb are not clearly drawn. There are no overt morphological or syntactic characteristics which distinguish the lexical noun from similar words which have adjectival and adverbial meanings (see ch. 6). According to the analysis presented in this grammar, the lexical category *noun* is the only one of these three categories which truly exists in Kanuri. The majority of the 'adverbs' of Kanuri are in fact postpositional phrases, composed of a noun marked by one of the oblique postpositions.

Another very significant lexical category in Kanuri is that of the specific adverb or ideophone. Specific adverbs are words which may be onomatopoeic like the English word *boom* which is often used as a specific adverb to describe the verb *fall down*. There are literally hundreds of specific adverbs in Kanuri, used to describe verbs and adjectives specifically. They often function to qualify or to intensify these other lexical items. As a lexical category, specific adverbs are clearly distinguished in Kanuri by unique phonological features which do not occur in any other lexical category.

6. Simple Sentences of Identification. Predicates of identification and as well certain predicates of existence, are characterized by nonverbal stative constructions. Such predicates are formed through the simple juxtaposition of constituents since there is no overt verb *to be* in Kanuri. Such sentences clearly bear no inherent tense or aspect since they are

nonverbal. When two nominals are juxtaposed, such sentences are equational. Descriptive sentences may be formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal and an adjectival, or a nominal and a postpositional phrase, as elaborated in section V, chs. 16-18.

Ali farmer = *Ali is a farmer.*

Alì bàrè má.

horse+his big = *His horse is big.*

Fār+nzè kùrà.

Ali market+in = *Ali is in the market.*

Alì kàsúwù+làn.

7. Person and Number in the Basic Grammatical Paradigms. Kanuri does not have grammatical gender. The pronouns of the language overtly distinguish person and number, but not gender. Thus all pronouns, including the subject pronoun morphemes carried in the finite verb form, may refer either to a male or a female referent, both in the singular and in the plural. All of the grammatical paradigms of the language therefore in which person and number are explicitly designated, have six different forms and thereby distinguish three persons in the singular and the plural.

One of the lexical formatives referred to in section 5 above which is crucial to Kanuri word formation (see p. 81) is the phoneme *n*. Its role as lexical formative is matched by its role in the formation of certain of the basic grammatical paradigms of the language. This phoneme (/morpheme), or its homophone, clearly functions as a formative in the structure of the suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns.

1S	+n+ +í	> +nyí	<i>my</i>	1P	+n+d+y	> +ndé	<i>our</i>
2S	+n+m	> +nəm	<i>your</i>	2P	+n+d+w	> +ndó	<i>your</i>
3S	+n+s+	> +nzé	<i>his/her/its</i>	3P	+n+ +s+á	> +nzá	<i>their</i>

For the derivation of the independent possessive pronouns from the suffixed forms see page 76.

The subject pronoun morphemes carried by the finite verb form are as follows:

1S	+sk+ / +kk+ / +k+	<i>I</i>	1P	+y+	<i>we</i>
2S	+m+	<i>you</i>	2P	+w+	<i>you</i>
3S	s+	<i>he/she/it</i>	3P	s+a+	<i>they</i>

The most commonly used verb of the language is a verb of the older verb class 1 whose root is *n*. There can be little doubt that it is the most used since it occurs not only independently but also as the inflection to conjugate most of the verbs of the language (see p. 101). The verb *n* means *say, think*. Since the derivational morphology is equipped both diachronically and synchronically with processes which allow for change in lexical category, it is possible to speculate that the formative *n* and the verb root *n* were originally the same morpheme and that the forms of the verb *n* with their subject morphemes have played some role in the evolution of the possessive pronoun paradigm. Compare the verb emphasis completive aspect (p. 125) and conjunctive forms of the verb *n* with the suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns.

	VEC	CONJ	POS	SUBJECT
1S	ngí	ngè	+nyí	+sk+ / +kk+ / +k+
2S	nəmí	nəm	+nəm	+m+
3S	shí	sè	+nzé	s+
1P	nyéi	nyè	+ndé	+y+
2P	núwí	nèù	+ndó	+w+
3P	sái	sà	+nzá	s+a+

It is apparent that in the POS paradigm, 1P and 2P forms share the formative +d+ as an apparent formative of the plural. Whereas in the 3P form

the vowel +a+ seems to be the plural formative. Other evidence would document the hypothesis that both the morpheme +a+ and the morpheme +d+ function as plural formatives in Kanuri. In the personal pronoun paradigm, as indicated below, these two morphemes occur consistently to distinguish the plural from the singular pronouns. It is interesting to observe in the adjacent paradigm of the possessive pronoun affixes of one dialect of Kanembu, that the plural morpheme +d+ does occur consistently throughout the plural paradigm as plural formative.

	PRO		KANEMBU POS	
1S	wú	I	+ní	my
2S	nyí	you	+núm	your
3S	shí	he/she/it	+ngú	his/her/its
1P	ándí	we	+ndé	our
2P	nándí	you	+ndó	your
3P	sándí	they	+ngédé	their

The morphemes involved in the formation of the number *two* indí are probably related to those involved in the formation of the plural forms of the pronouns.

In the paradigms for the past and the future forms of the verb *n*, the formatives +a+ and +d+ again appear apparently to indicate the plural of the 3P form alone. The following paradigms show these forms of the verb *n* as they are used to inflect the class 2 verb *bák+ beat, hit*.

	PST	FUT
1S	bák+kòkò	bák+còkò
2S	bák+kàm	bák+càm
3S	bák+kòndò	bák+còndò
1P	bák+kàiyè	bák+càiyè
2P	bák+kàú	bák+càú
3P	bák+kàdà	bák+càdà

A comparable formative +n+ appears in the above paradigms as well as in the negative future paradigm (see p. 119) for the 3S form, but not elsewhere in the language as a 3S formative.

The plural morpheme +d+ surfaces again for as yet unexplained reasons in the 1P form of the negative completive for all verbs. In some dialects speakers produce a comparable form in the 2P negative completive. In both cases the seemingly aberrant forms resemble the comparable suffixed possessive pronoun forms, as shown below for the verb *bù+eat*.

1S	búkènyí	1P	búiyèndé
2S	būmí	2P	būwí/búyòndó
3S	zāwūnyí	3P	zāwūnyí

SECTION 11: THE SOUND SYSTEM AND WRITTEN KANURI	PAGE
Chapter 3: The Syllable, the Word, and the Sound System	15
1. Introduction	15
2. The Phonological Structure of the Syllable and the Word	15
3. The Inventory of Consonant Phonemes	17
3.1. The Bilabial Consonants	17
3.2. The Palatal and Palatalized Consonants	18
3.3. The Velar Consonants	19
3.3.1. Alveolar Consonant Assimilation to a Following Velar Plosive	21 21
3.4. Consonant Assimilation Involving the Nasal Consonant n	21
3.4.1. Progressive Nasal Assimilation	21
4. The Vowels	21
Chapter 4: The Role of Tone	23
1. Introduction	23
1.1. Kanuri Tones	23
1.2. Tone and the Word	24
2. Minimal Pairs and Triplets	25
3. Tone Practice Word Sets	25
3.1. L	25
3.2. H	25
3.3. F	25
3.4. R	25
3.5. H-L	25
3.6. L-H	26
3.7. H-H-L	26
3.8. L-H-H	26
3.9. L-F	26
3.10. L-H-L	26
3.11. L-H-H; L ₀ -H	26
3.12. W-M-M in words and across morpheme boundaries	26
4. Non-Derived Tone Relations Among Lexical Items	26
4.1. Nouns	26
4.2. Class 2 Verb Roots	26
5. The Relation of Tone to Lexical Category	27
5.1. Class 1 Verbal Nouns	27
5.2. Class 2 Verbal Nouns	27
5.3. Specific Adverbs	27
5.4. Derived Nouns	27
6. Morphological Tone Change	28
7. Tone Changing Affixes	28

SECTION II: THE SOUND SYSTEM AND WRITTEN KANURI	PAGE
Chapter 5: The Standard Kanuri Orthography (SKO)	29
1. Introduction	29
2. Basic Principles of the SKO	29
2.1. Writing the Dependent Suffixes	30
2.2. Compounding and the SKO	31

CHAPTER 3: THE SYLLABLE, THE WORD AND THE SOUND SYSTEM

1. Introduction. Linguists divide the study of the phonology or sound system into: 1) what is referred to as *segmental phonology* dealing with the phonemes of the language in isolation and as they occur together in the syllable and the word, as distinct from 2) what is referred to as *suprasegmental phonology*, which treats the prosodic elements of the language, analyzing features which are judged external to the actual phonemes making up the word, e.g. tone/pitch, accent, stress, intonation, etc. (see ch. 4). It is the purpose of the present chapter to introduce the segmental phonology of Kanuri, hopefully in a way that will be useful to any student of the language, and that will facilitate the language learning experience.

The chapter begins with some generalizations about the characteristic phonological structure of the syllable and the word, and then proceeds to present a complete inventory of the (segmental) phonemes of the language. The possible sequences of sounds prescribed by the phonology of the language are described. The allophonic variants of the basic phonemes of the language are presented, with descriptions of the pronunciation of the sounds as they are phonetically realized in various phonological environments.

2. The Phonological Structure of the Syllable and the Word. With regard to the synchronic phonology, the only permissible consonant/vowel sequences in the Kanuri syllable are: CV and CVC. Syllables consisting of a single vowel alone do occur, but only in initial position as the result of borrowing from other language sources. Scholars who have dealt with the phonological structure of the Kanuri syllable generally agree that synchronic Yerwa Kanuri does not possess surface long vowels (cf e.g. Jarrett, 1977: 59-65). However in Kanuri as it is written today according to the SKO, it will be noticed that there are some words of the language written with the syllable structure CVV. Such words are originally bisyllabic sequences and not instances of vowel length. They result from the historical weakening or intervocalic lenition of consonants over time and are written as sequences of identical vowels so that the orthography might better reflect the actual pronunciation of the language (see p. 19).

The phonological structure of the Kanuri syllable may be predictable on the basis of the position in which it occurs within the Kanuri word, and as well on the basis of the category of the word in which it occurs. The same is true of the suprasegmental feature, tone. For example, if specific adverbs are excluded, then every word in the lexicon ends either with a vowel-final CV syllable, or with a sonorant consonant-final CVC syllable. The sonorant consonants include the liquid consonants l, r, and the nasal consonants m, n. Thus for all lexical categories except for that of the specific adverb (ideophone), the only word-final consonants that may occur are the sonorant consonants. The specific adverbs, on the other hand, are characteristically monosyllabic, and rarely more than two syllables in length, unless some form of phonological reduplication is involved. Unlike other lexical categories, specific adverbs are not strictly limited with regard to phonological structure. They may be of the structure CV, CVC, and as well CVV. Bisyllabic specific adverbs are normally of the syllable structure CVCVC, and in many cases can be shown to be derived from CVC counterparts. The final consonants of the specific adverbs are not limited to the sonorant consonants, since any of the consonant phonemes of Kanuri and any of their allophones may occur as the final consonant. The same is true of the initial consonant position where even the allophone p of b occurs, whereas it is not normally manifested in initial-position in other lexical categories.

If one were to isolate all of the non-derived monomorphemic words that are basic to the lexicon (i.e. excluding words containing a lexical formative, words that have undergone a tone-changing morphological process, words that represent a compounding of two lexical items), the remaining lexical core would very likely be made up of only monosyllabic and bisyllabic words. It seems that the optimal syllable structure for the Kanuri word is bisyllabic, since many of the monosyllabic words of the language carry contour tones (rising and falling) which represent the historical combination or collapsation of an original bisyllabic. Some members of this proposed lexical core are shown in the following lists.

bē	hot season	bálò	scar
bí	male animal	bánò	hoe
bū	blood	bàrà	hunting
cā	formerly	béì	excrement
cí	mouth	búné	night
dā	meat	césà	sand
fār	horse	dágèl	monkey
kā	stick, cane	dàlò	bull
kū	today	fátò	house
nā	place	fúwù	front
rāk	medium-sized, just right	gégè	whiskers
shí	foot, leg	lèrém	denseness
yā	mother	mándá	salt
zā	arms length measurement	mòwá	deaf and dumb
zār	root	nágè	nut of desert date fruit
zāu	difficult	sérèn	pain

The only consonant clusters which occur within a given syllable in Kanuri are the word-initial prenasalized clusters mb, nd, and ng [ŋg]. The initial homorganic nasal is very often pronounced as a syllabic nasal. In medial position, a sequence of two obstruents or a nasal consonant and an obstruent are always syllabified after the first consonant. Thus it is apparent that Kanuri does not have consonant clusters as we know them in other languages, and that the nasal plus obstruent clusters which occur only in word-initial position are instances simply of prenasalization.

We have already established a significant body of phonological constraints on the structure of the syllable and the word in Kanuri. As soon as one turns to examine trisyllabic words in Kanuri, one begins to see signs of characteristic derived tone patterns, phonological reduplication, and the occurrence of both productive and no longer productive lexical formative affixes. Borrowing is also a factor in words of more than two syllables in length. When a word of any number of syllables comes into the language, if it violates any of the above-described constraints on syllable structure and word formation, then the phonology of the language will alter it accordingly. The consonant clusters of English borrowings for example are broken up, when Kanuricized, by the addition of epenthetic vowels, as in fàrémàrè *primary*, and fàrèsèná *prisoner*, etc. It is apparent that the unallowable word-initial *p* of these words has been accordingly altered to *f*. Borrowings that come into the language with a word-final obstruent violate the above constraint that basic lexical items when consonant-final, must end in a sonorant consonant. Here again, vowel epenthesis may occur so that such words will be vowel-final rather than obstruent-final. Such a final, epenthetic vowel is normally low tone, and in such cases all non-coronal consonants will undergo weakening or consonant lenition in the resultant intervocalic environment. The Kanuri word for *market*, for example, is trisyllabic though it was originally borrowed from the monosyllabic Arabic stem *suq*, and it has undergone a number of Kanuri phonological and morphological processes. The Arabic stem has undergone *k*+ prefixation and

final vowel epenthesis, as well as tone application to yield the Kanuri word *kàsúwù* < *kà+súk+ù. It is apparent that the underlying obstruent *k* has been weakened to the semi-vowel *w* in the resulting intervocalic environment.

3. The Inventory of Consonant Phonemes. The underlying segmental consonant phonemes of Yerwà Kanuri are presented in the following schema, arranged according to consonant type and point of articulation. The allophonic variants of the basic phonemes are presented in parentheses. Both the phonemes and their allophones are presented here as they are written according to the SKO. Where this representation does not adequately capture a given sound, the phonetic realization is represented in brackets adjacent to the phoneme or its allophone.

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>labial-dental</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>laryngeal/ glottal</i>
<i>plosives</i>	(p)		t		k	[ʔ]
	b				g	
<i>prenasalized</i>	mb		nd		ng[ŋg]	
<i>affricates</i>				c[č]		
				j[ǰ]		
<i>fricatives</i>	(f)[ɸ]	f	s	sh[š]	(g)[ɣ]	h
	(w)[β]		z			
<i>nasals</i>	m		n	(ny)[ɲ]	(ng)[ŋ]	
<i>liquids</i>			r[r]			
			l	(l)[ɭ]		
<i>semi-vowels</i>	w			y		

3.1. The Bilabial Consonants. Although the consonant *p* is not normally considered as a phoneme of the language it is nevertheless included as a letter of Kanuri in the SKO. It occurs as an allophone of *b* when *b* is followed by a voiceless plosive. Therefore though *b* is the underlying root-final consonant for the class 2 verb *náb+ sit down*, it is never written as such since it never occurs in the language followed by a voiced plosive. Therefore the verbal noun is *nápté* < *náb+té, and the 3S imperfect form is *nápcìn* < *náb+shìn.

The consonant *p* may also occur phonetically as an allophone of *f*, though

this variation is not reflected in the SKO, except in the case of certain of the specific adverbs. The f:p alternation may vary freely when in word-initial position, and different speakers apply it in different ways. The choice of the allophonic variant may correlate with semantic emphasis or intensification since it is very commonly selected over the phoneme for f-initial specific adverbs such as fòk/pòk, fít/pít, fiu/piu, etc.

The voiceless bilabial fricative occurs as an allophone of f, and in apparent free variation with f, on all open vowel-final syllables which begin with f. This occurs most predictably in syllables characterized by non-central vowels.

The voiced bilabial fricative is a common allophone of b when b occurs in intervocalic environments. This allophonic variation is reflected in the SKO by writing the weakened b as w. In similar environments, an underlying f is weakened to a voiced or voiceless bilabial fricative. This weakening also occurs when underlying f occurs between a liquid consonant and a vowel. This is again reflected in the SKO by writing w. The following examples demonstrate the weakening and are written according to the SKO, for the bilabial consonants in the environments mentioned.

zəwìn	s/he eats.	<*s+bù+ìn
zəwái	s/he mounts	<*s+bá+i
səwərtín	s/he plucks	<*s+fərt+ìn
ngəwəl	egg	<*ngəbəl
kāwúdi	perfume	<*kà+bút+V
kələwà	well, healthy	<kə+léfà
rúwò	writing	<*rúbò
dəlfù/dəlwù	way, method	<dəlfù
ngəwù	alot, many	<*ngəbù
kərwí	leather bucket	<*kərfí
kāwé	advice	<*kà+bé
bārwù	thief	<*bārfù
kítawù	book	<*kítábù
ngənəwù	trouble, suffering	<*ngənəp+V

The fricativization of an initial p is shown in the following examples of borrowed words.

fám	pound sterling
fərəmóshèn	promotion
fərəmārè	primary
fərəsənà	prisoner
fómfòm	pump

3.2. The Palatal and Palatalized Consonants. The palatal consonants of Yerwa Kanuri represent perhaps the weakest and most phonologically tenuous series of consonants in the language. Those that are classified as phonemes of the language occur not only phonemically, but also allophonically as allophones of what might be referred to as the more basic consonant phonemes. For example the status of the phoneme *ʃ*, written according to the SKO as the digraph *sh*, might be questioned since in many of its word-initial occurrences it occurs in borrowed words, and in other words in the same environment it precedes the high front vowel *i*, and thus is very likely an allophone of *s*. The Yerwa dialect is perhaps unique in this respect since there is a strong tendency to palatalize all consonants in the environment of a high front vowel. For example, the consonant clusters **ki*, **si*, **ni*, and others rarely if ever occur in the language. Words that do begin with initial *ki*+*v* like *kímè red*, always have an alternative palatalized form beginning with the palatal consonant *c*, and thus both pronunciations *kímè* and *címè*, are acceptable. As indicated in the above consonant

schema, the palatal nasal consonant *n*, written according to the SKO as the digraph *ny*, is not a phoneme of the language since its occurrence is always conditioned by the occurrence of a following high front vowel.

Similarly, the occurrence of the retroflex liquid consonant *ɖ* (included in the consonant schema as a palatal consonant), is always predictable, again on the basis of the high front vowel environment. Again the Yerwa dialect is unique in this respect since the retroflex consonant does not occur in other dialects, either phonemically or allophonically. The only words in which this consonant does occur in non-high front vowel environments are instances of borrowing, and in such cases are recorded as an *r* according to the SKO. Because the occurrence of *ɖ* in high front vowel environments is so predictable, and in order to avoid the addition of a new orthographical symbol, the SKO does not differentiate the regular *l* in non-high front vowel environments from the retroflex form which occurs when *l* is followed by a high front vowel. Both are always written as *l*. The pronunciation of this consonant involves the turning back of the tongue slightly to a retroflexed position and the subsequent moving of the end of the turned back tongue forward and downward so that the under side flaps against the palatal area just behind the alveolar ridge.

3.3. The Velar Consonants. The velar obstruent phonemes *k* and *g* have perhaps more phonetic realizations in the spoken language than any other consonant series. Like the bilabial series, the velar obstruents are subject to weakening whenever they occur in intervocalic environments, or in the environment of a liquid consonant. Their allophones are always conditioned by the quality of the vowels adjacent to them, and for the most part, the allophones are reflected in the spelling conventions of the SKO.

As Lukas (1937:2) states, the velar *g* is a voiced velar plosive, fully pronounced as *ʒ* such when it occurs initially, or when preceded by a nasal *n*. In all other occurrences its pronunciation is predictable on the basis of phonological environment. Wherever in present-day Yerwa Kanuri an underlying *g* is pronounced with any trace of a velar constriction, then the *g* is retained in the SKO. For many speakers, this occurs when the *g* occurs after a liquid consonant and before a central vowel. The pronunciation of such words however varies greatly from speaker to speaker. When a front vowel follows the underlying *g* the velar constriction is much less noticeable, but nevertheless, the *g* has been retained in the SKO. When the underlying *g* is not pronounced with noticeable velar constriction, one may have the impression either that the preceding liquid consonant is being doubled or that the following vowel has been essentially lengthened. Thus many of the following examples will be observed as pronounced in three different ways. Lukas correctly adds that "in careful speech the *g* may be pronounced throughout and when *ma*lams write Kanuri in Arabic script they write the letter *g*." (1937:2)

wálgàtá	they returned	bélgə	speech defect
fálgàtá	anged	ngárgə	goat etc. dung
bárgə	blessing	fərgi	black soil
gərgá+	be angry.	kálgɪ	thorn
sálgə	chain	fárgɪ	vagina
várgə	interval	kárgɪ	fart
dárgé	last	fárgámɪ/fərámɪ	fingernail, claw
kárgə	state, region	wárgàtá	burned
bílgə	foam	tárgàtá	they dispersed
ngərgə	leather sack.	nzərgə	increase
kərgón	brain		

When an underlying *g* is followed by a back vowel in these liquid consonant

environments then it is written as a w according to the SKO and is normally pronounced as such.

kürwün	medicine	bürwù	complaint, cry for help
kürwówù	heavy	kürwúllì	lion
bürwò	cunningness	kúlwú	gown, robe
kúlwün	black sticky mud	kúrwm	turmeric

When underlying g occurs intervocalically, it is retained in the orthography only in those environments where it has been judged that most speakers make some kind of velar constriction, usually a velar fricative, in pronunciation. This occurs when either the preceding, the following, or both of the vowels surrounding the g are the high central vowel which is written according to the SKO as shwa ə, as shown in the following examples.

kärägè	heart	kəmägè	heat, humidity
kəmämägè	stammering	bëndägè/bünduwù	gun
cägè	sinew, gristle	ägè	chewing stick
dägè	living	mänägèkin	I speak to (him)
këntägè	month, moon	këndägè	oil
këndägè	life	dägè	four
dèlägè	rain, rain clouds	kèrägè	war
këmägèn	honey	mägè/máwù	week
kägè	fear, cowardice	kágèl	anvil

When underlying g occurs between identical back vowels, then it is written as w according to the SKO and may be pronounced as such. These allophones of g are not always clearly articulated, and the weakening may go so far as to sound as though nothing occurs between the two identical back vowels, as if they were long vowels, as in the following examples.

kàsúwù	market	kùrúwù	long
úwù	five	fyúwù	fifty
kàfúwù	short	kúlúwù	lake, pond
kàdúwù	descendant	fówò	clouds
búwúr	wooden bowl	mòwònjín	it is possible
mòwò	taking	fúwù	front

When underlying g occurs between identical vowels a or i, then the consonant weakening is shown with no orthographical symbol occurring between the identical vowels according to the SKO, as in the following examples.

lää	some, a certain one	kàalà	advice, counsel
dàatà	standing	fàatà	awake
lífítà	doctor	kàllímò	camel
lííjì	trouble		

The voiced velar fricative is an allophone of both of the velar plosives g and k, as is shown in the following 3S imperfect verb forms for certain class 1 verbs. As is also apparent in the following examples, w is also an allophone of g/k: Whether the velar or the bilabial allophone occurs is clearly determined by the quality of the vowel of the verb root.

zägái	s/he follows	*s+gá+i
zägámbìn	s/he scratches	*s+gámb+iñ
sägárin	s/he forges, carves	*s+kàr+iñ
súwórin	s/he asks	*s+kór+iñ

As represented in the earlier schema of the consonant phonemes, the velar nasal consonant is not one of the phonemes of the language. It does occur as an allophone of n when it precedes either of the velar plosives. Its occurrence is thus always conditioned in some way by a following velar plosive. The only environment in which it does occur alone, without a

following velar plosive being phonetically realized at the surface, is in fact conditioned by an underlying adjacent velar plosive k. This occurs in the 1S form of the class 1 verb ngìn [ɲin] in certain verb-aspects, and thus in the 1S forms of all class 2 verbs which are inflected by ngìn. There the velar nasal consonant results across a morpheme boundary, where the root consonant n and the 1S subject pronoun morpheme +k+ meet. When this derived velar nasal occurs intervocalically it may be further weakened to the point that all that remains is nasalization of the vowels on either side of it. This weakening is not reflected in the SKO. The velar nasal is always written according to the SKO as ng. Thus the class 2 root má+ *look for*, is inflected by ngìn in the 1S imperfect form, as follows: *má+n+k+ìn > mángìn [máɲin] which for most speakers is phonetically realized as [máĩn]. A sequence of two velar nasals is written, according to a convention of the SKO, as +ngg+. This combination occurs across morpheme boundaries in the 1S imperfect form of class 2 verbs whose roots end in k, as in bák+ *beat, hit* *bák+ngìn > bānggìn [bāɲɲin].

3.3.1. Alveolar Consonant Assimilation to a Following Velar Plosive. Certain of the alveolar consonants seem to assimilate readily to a following velar plosive k, so that the following words are today heard pronounced in both of the ways indicated.

búskìn/búkkìn/búkìn	<i>I eat</i>
yàské/yàkké	<i>three</i>
àràské/àràkké	<i>six</i>
bískà/bikkè/bíkà	<i>yesterday</i>
múskò/múkkò	<i>hand, arm</i>
kútékìn/kúdekìn/kúkkìn	<i>I bring</i>
yátékìn/yádekìn/yákkìn	<i>I carry</i>

3.4. Consonant Assimilation Involving the Nasal Consonant n. The plosives of each series may assimilate to a following nasal. This is especially apparent in the morphological inflection of class 2 verbs by the class 1 verb ngìn. This is shown clearly in the first and second person forms in the imperfect aspect in the following paradigms.

root/1S/2S/1P/2P	meaning
náb+/námngìn/námmèmin/námnyèn/námmùwì	<i>sit down</i>
sáb+/sámngìn/sámmèmin/sámnyèn/sámmùwì	<i>gather</i>
lét+/lènnngìn/lènnèmin/lènnnyèn/lènnùwì	<i>sleep</i>
nzét+/nzènnngìn/nzènnèmin/nzènnnyèn/nzènnùwì	<i>squeeze, wring out</i>
bák+/bānggìn/bāngnèmin/bāngnyèn/bāngnùwì	<i>beat, hit</i>
kòk+/kōnggìn/kōngnèmin/kōngnyèn/kōngnùwì	<i>peck at</i>

3.4.1. Progressive Nasal Assimilation. A nasal consonant may assimilate to a preceding liquid consonant l in certain contexts. This occurs consistently in the 2S and 2P forms of class 2 verbs in e.g. the imperfect aspect, for class 2 roots ending in l.

fàl+/fàllèmin/fàllùwì	<i>change</i>
wàl+/wàllèmin/wàllùwì	<i>become</i>

This progressive assimilation of a nasal consonant to a preceding liquid consonant does not occur when the liquid consonant is an r, as is the case in other dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu.

4. The Vowels. The phonemic vowel segments are presented in the following schema.

	front	central	back
high	i	ə[ɨ]	u
mid	e		o
low		SKO a =	Λ Lukas' a a Lukas' a

As indicated in the above schema, the two different vowel phonemes Λ and a , which were distinguished in Lukas' (1937) orthography by a and α , are not differentiated in the SKO, since both are written wherever they occur as a . Jarrett (1978) has argued very strongly for the inclusion of the vowel Λ in the vowel system of synchronic Yerwa Kanuri. On the basis of historical evidence, he argues that the core of the Kanuri vowel system once consisted of two series of five vowels, one long and one short, and that today those two series of five vowels have been reduced to one series of seven vowels, the two 'new' vowels being ϵ and Λ , with the result that vowel length has been lost as a surface contrast (Jarrett, 1978:45).

CHAPTER.4: THE ROLE OF TONE

1. Introduction. Kanuri is a tone language. Tone is of great importance in Kanuri, both lexically and grammatically. It has been proposed (Voorhoeve, 1973; Hyman and Schuh, 1974) that tone languages may be either "restricted" or "nonrestricted". "A 'nonrestricted' tone language is one where tones are assigned to individual syllables on a relatively free basis and without regard to the tone pattern throughout the entire word or morpheme." On the other hand, there are many different types of "restricted" tone languages, e.g. those in which a particular tone pattern must be assigned to a whole morpheme or word, those which restrict the number of high or low tones that can occur within a morpheme or word and its position within the word. It is also possible historically, for a tone language of the nonrestricted type to become a tone language of the restricted type, and perhaps eventually to even become a nontonal language (Hyman and Schuh, 1974: 82-3).

Kanuri might be described as such a language that is undergoing change with regard to the role played by tone. Synchronic Kanuri has certain of the characteristics of a nonrestricted (lexical) tone language, as well as certain characteristics typical of a restricted (tone harmony) language.

The lexicon of the language might be described as historically layered. It is made up of words that entered the language at a great many different time periods in the history of the language. Using tone as a criterion, it is possible to distinguish certain of the layers of the lexicon and to establish subparts in which lexical tone plays an integral role, as opposed to other subparts in which tone pattern and lexical category are closely interrelated.

1.1. Kanuri Tones. All of the tone patterns of Kanuri words are based in a two-tone system, a level high (H) tone, and a level low (L) tone. In both diachronic and synchronic word formation processes, these level syllabic tones may combine over a given syllable to result in combined or contour tones, the combination H-L resulting in a falling (F) tone, the combination L-H resulting in a rising (R) tone. Nearly all of the falling and rising tones of the language can be explained in this way as compound tones. In certain environments, the morphological combination of syllables resulting in the tone pattern H-L-H will result in the raising of the low tone to mid (M), and the lowering of the final high tone to mid, producing H¹M-M. The level, contour, and the raised/lowered tones of the language are shown in the following examples:

L: *bā mounting, ngāwūrè tail*

H: *bū ashes, kāmú woman, wife*

H+L=F: *bū blood, bā there is not, māngìn I look for*

L+H=R: *kāusù heat, kāinò odor, lēngìn I go*

H+L+H=H+M+M: *sāwā friend, +nzā his/her, sāwānzā his/her friend*

The marking of tone is not part of the Standard Kanuri Orthography (SKO). In the present work however, for reasons of clarity and pedagogy, the level and contour tones will be everywhere indicated. As in the above examples, a low tone will be indicated by a downward sloping grave accent ($\grave{\text{o}}$), a high tone by an upward sloping acute accent ($\acute{\text{o}}$), a falling tone by a circumflex accent (\circ), a rising tone by the criss-crossed upturned circumflex accent, which is a combination of the low and high tones (δ). The mid tone will not be indicated since it is predictable on the basis of the combination of the level tones, as will be indicated below.

To the non-Kanuri speaker it might seem surprising that the SKO does not

include tone marking. However it is not the case that misunderstandings and the inability to recognize certain words result from the lack of tone marking. It is virtually impossible to create a written context for which ambiguities would result from a reading by a first language speaker of Kanuri. Problems of ambiguity could only result out of context, for example in looking at certain words which participate in minimal tonal pairs in isolation. The words *bā mounting* and *bā there is not*, are both written as *ba* according to the SKO.

Tone markings are included in this work so that the linguist, the learner, and the Kanuri person using it may be aware of the tone patterns of the language. For the language learner, awareness of tone patterns is quite important, but preoccupation with them may be detrimental to the language learning experience. Experience has shown that when a language learner becomes preoccupied with 'reaching' for tones and tone patterns, more language learning problems may be created than are avoided. Because a language is tonal does not mean that it is sung. It means rather that every syllable has a designated pitch, relative to the pitch of the other syllables in a word, compound, or combination of words. It is only through continuous imitation of a first language speaker that one may be able to speak a tone language naturally.

Many of the tone-based processes described in this chapter are not crucial to the beginning student of Kanuri. Certain of the processes are very obscure and rarely used. Some are therefore included only in the quest for completeness, and thus should not be dwelled upon by the learner.

1.2. Tone and the Word. Within the lexicon, the basic non-derived, monomorphemic words characteristically end with a syllable bearing a low tone, or a falling tone, the latter being the compound of the H-L combination. In this basic subpart of the lexicon, the monosyllabic CV/C lexical item will characteristically bear a falling tone, which may represent the historical collapse of two syllables, for example:

<i>bē</i> hot season	<i>ngā.</i> healthy
<i>bī</i> male	<i>ngō</i> here, behold
<i>bū</i> flood	<i>sār</i> loan
<i>cā</i> formerly	<i>shī</i> foot, leg
<i>dā</i> meat	<i>yā</i> mother
<i>fār</i> horse	<i>zā.</i> arm's length measurement
<i>kā</i> stick	<i>zār</i> root
<i>kū</i> today	<i>zāu</i> difficult

In the same basic subpart of the lexicon, monomorphemic bisyllabic words characteristically bear the same tone pattern represented by the falling tone pattern on the monosyllabic words, but with the H-L occurring on two syllables instead of one.

<i>dúnò</i> strength	<i>ngánjì</i> chest
<i>fátò</i> house	<i>sáwà</i> friend
<i>férò</i> girl	<i>tímì</i> tooth

Very few of the words that fall into this subpart of the Kanuri lexicon can be shown to be derived, either tonally or morphologically. There are also a great many very basic vocabulary items with the same syllable structures described here but which do not fit the H-L tone pattern, and also cannot be shown to be derived. Thus these observations are not to be taken as general rules, but rather as observations applying to the core members of the Kanuri lexicon.

It appears that the core members of the lexicon are the monosyllabic and bisyllabic words described above. A look at trisyllabic words reveals

signs of characteristic tone patterns related to specific morphological processes and lexical categories, signs of reduplication, and of formative affixes. Borrowing is also a factor in words of greater than two syllables, and when trisyllabic, it is very often the L-H-L tone pattern which is applied to them.

2. Minimal Pairs and Triplets. The following pairs and triplets of words represent words of the same segmental phonological structure, distinguished one from the other uniquely by the suprasegmental feature of tone. In a number of cases, the tone of a given member does not reflect its underlying lexical tone, but rather is assigned due to its grammatical category. For example, all of the verbs of class 1 have a non-prefixed form of the verbal noun which, regardless of verb root tone, is always low tone. The root *bá+* *mount* is inherently high tone, but as a verbal noun it becomes the low tone *bà*.

<i>bá/wá</i> (question marker)	<i>bā</i> <i>there is not</i>	<i>bà</i> <i>mounting</i>
<i>bú</i> <i>ashes</i>	<i>bū</i> <i>blood</i>	<i>bù</i> <i>eating</i>
<i>dúnó</i> <i>thigh</i>	<i>dúndò</i> <i>strength</i>	
<i>káwú</i> <i>twin</i>	<i>káwù</i> <i>cold</i>	<i>kàwú</i> <i>day</i>
<i>kām</i> <i>quietly</i>	<i>kām</i> <i>handful</i>	
<i>kānzà</i> <i>nose</i>	<i>kānzà</i> <i>drinking</i>	
<i>kārì</i> <i>dog</i>	<i>kārì</i> <i>dune</i>	
<i>kóló</i> <i>small drum</i>	<i>kólò</i> <i>clay pot</i>	
<i>kóró</i> <i>donkey</i>		<i>kòrò</i> <i>asking</i>
<i>létá</i> <i>touching</i>		<i>lètá</i> <i>going</i>
<i>ngálí</i> <i>year</i>	<i>ngálì</i> <i>penis</i>	
<i>nòtá</i> <i>knowing</i>	<i>nòtè</i> <i>knowledge</i>	
<i>nyiyá</i> <i>sweet cake</i>	<i>nyiyá</i> <i>marriage</i>	

3. Tone Practice Word Sets.

3.1. L

<i>bà</i> <i>mounting</i>	<i>ngàwùrè</i> <i>tail</i>
<i>bù</i> <i>eating</i>	<i>nzà</i> <i>drinking</i>
<i>gàwòm</i> <i>water jar</i>	<i>nzàsèrà</i> <i>believing</i>
<i>màtà</i> <i>looking for</i>	<i>tàndòmà</i> <i>builder</i>

3.2. H

<i>bú</i> <i>ashes</i>	<i>shí</i> <i>he, she</i>
<i>dáwú</i> <i>neck</i>	<i>súrò</i> <i>stomach</i>
<i>dúnó</i> <i>thigh</i>	<i>wú</i> <i>I</i>
<i>kámú</i> <i>woman, wife</i>	<i>wútá</i> <i>looking at</i>

3.3. F

<i>ám</i> <i>people</i>	<i>kàlā</i> <i>head</i>
<i>bū</i> <i>blood</i>	<i>kānām</i> <i>sleep</i>
<i>fār</i> <i>horse</i>	<i>njī</i> <i>water</i>
<i>kām</i> <i>person</i>	<i>māngìn</i> <i>I look for</i>

3.4. R

<i>kāimè</i> <i>shadow</i>	<i>kāiyà</i> <i>song</i>
<i>kāinò</i> <i>odor</i>	<i>kāllā</i> <i>noise</i>
<i>kāiwù</i> <i>fear</i>	<i>kāusù</i> <i>text</i>

3.5. H-L

<i>fátò</i> <i>house</i>	<i>sāwà</i> <i>friend</i>
<i>férò</i> <i>girl</i>	<i>tādà</i> <i>boy</i>
<i>ngálà</i> <i>good</i>	<i>túlùr</i> <i>seven</i>

3.6. L-H

dàlò *bull*
 ìndí *two*
 kòrkór *circle*
 kùrú *again*

lètó *going*
 nàndí *you (pl)*
 tìlò *one*
 yàkkó, yàskó *three*

3.7. H-H-L

híngéngè *hiccup*
 kúngèná *money*

ngénéwù *trouble, burden*
 ngériwù *bastard*

3.8. L-H-H

gènááté *putting down*
 kàmbélí *wrestling*

kánádí *patience*
 kàráwú *proverb*

3.9. L-F

kàkkè *mine*
 kàngè *fever*

kàlá *head*
 kèlí *raw, green*

3.10. L-H-L

kántánà *mosquito*
 Kànùrì *Kanuri people*
 kàráà *bush*
 kàzáà *spear*

kèndágè *oil*
 kítáwù *book*
 kùrúwù *long*
 sènáàsèn *flat cake*

3.11. L-L-H; L-H

fèrwá *horses*
 gèràsán *thread*
 Kànùrì *Kanuri language*
 kàrámá *wax*

Màidùwùrí *Maiduguri village*
 mànáté *speaking*
 nàsàrànàsàrá *English language*
 tàdàwá *children*

3.12. H-M-M in words and across morpheme boundaries

ámùsú *cold*
 árzègí *good fortune*
 námùsú *coldness*
 tóngòrí *snoring*
 ádègái *like this*
 cìngènyí *I didn't get up*
 fánanzé *his house*
 fárnzé *his horse*

túrúwùwù *epileptic seizure*
 wúsèsá *hedgehog*
 Yàràwá *Yoruba*
 zégèsé *narrow*
 kwánzè *her husband*
 rúkènyí *I didn't see it*
 sáwànzé *his friend*
 wúnèmí *you didn't look at it*

4. Non-Derived Tone Relations Among Lexical Items. The examples cited in this section may be representative of older tone-based morphological processes which are no longer active in the Kanuri lexicon. It is apparent that there are certain pairs of words from a variety of lexical categories which differ only in tone, and seem to have some semantic relationship.

4.1. Nouns.

dáwù *middle*
 dèmbà *irrigated garden square*
 dúndò *strength*
 kólò *small clay pot*
 ngálwó *noble, royal, superior*
 ngólà *good*
 ngòàà *shield*

dáwú *neck*
 dèmbá *large calabash gourd bowl*
 dúndó *thigh*
 kóló *small drum*
 ngálwó *better, healthier*
 ngólá *clean*
 ngòáá *wrestling*

4.2. Class 2 Verb Roots. For the most part, non-derived class 2 verb roots are level in tone, either high or low. Semantically, many of the

high tone roots tend to be transitive, and the low tone roots intransitive. While there are certainly exceptions to this in the following minimal pairs, the semantic relations are quite apparent.

dām+ become crowded, fill up	dām+ seep, ooze
fū+ blow	fū+ swell
kā+ avoid, escape	kā+ open, uncover, reveal
kòk+ peck at	kók+ plant, stick in ground
lè+ go	lé+ touch
sām+ distribute, give out	sám+ rub on
sèp+ shovel up	sép+ lower, bring down
tār+ spread out, lay out	tár+ scatter, disperse
yín+ breathe	yín+ smell, sniff
zák+ scrape, grate, shake	zák+ annoy, pester, irritate

5. The Relation of Tone to Lexical Category. A great many Kanuri words might be classified as not basic to the lexicon since their tone pattern is related to their lexical category. In the case of the verbal nouns, the fact that consistent tone patterns are almost always observed is clearly the result of a word formation process. Specific adverbs (ideophones) on the other hand, are not derived but have generalizable tone characteristics perhaps due to their lexical category and use.

5.1. Class 1 Verbal Nouns. All class 1 verbs have a low tone verbal noun; some also have a k-prefixed form which in most cases bears a L-P-L tone pattern (p. 157-8). These derived nominal patterns apply regardless of the underlying tone of the verb root.

bā+ mount	bā, kəmbā mounting
bū+ eat	bū, kəmbū eating; food
fānd+ find	fāndò finding
kór+ ask	kòrò asking, question

5.2. Class 2 Verbal Nouns. Verbal nouns derived from class 2 roots have two different characteristic tone patterns, depending on the tone of the root. Low tone roots have one verbal noun formed through the suffixation of high tone +tá to the low tone root. High tone roots have a high tone verbal noun formed through the suffixation of high tone +tá to the high tone root, and a low tone verbal noun formed through the suffixation of low tone +tà to the root with a low tone (p. 160).

lè+ go	lètá going
lé+ touch	lètà, létá touching
tār+ spread/lay out	tártá spreading/laying out
tár+ scatter, disperse	tártà, tártá scattering, dispersing

5.3. Specific Adverbs. Specific adverbs represent a unique subpart of the lexicon since in both their segmental and suprasegmental phonological structure they violate many of the constraints that apply to other parts of the lexicon. All of the syllables of a specific adverb are consistently on the same level tone, which more often than not is a high tone.

búu group movement	gáa strong odor
cít very red	gájáb very old man
fádák very blind	sélái very well
fók very white	səmbəmbəm large buttocks

5.4. Derived Nouns. One of the many layers of the lexicon is occupied by a group of nouns that have been formed through k-prefixation, a process which is no longer productive in the language (pp. 75-80). Like the k-prefixed verbal nouns for class 1 cited in 5.1 above, many of these nouns occur with the trisyllabic L-H-L tone pattern in the lexicon. Because

such nouns are representative of an older word formation process, there are many exceptions to this characteristic tone pattern. When it was productive, it is likely that the k-prefix carried a low tone. As will be observed with regard to still productive word formation processes, it is often the case that the tone of the affix consistently determines the tone pattern of the derived nominal.

assuq	A market	kàsúwù	market
bǎnè	trouble	kǎwǎnè	sorrow, suffering
gǎlá+	advise	kǎálà	advice
sótõ	hospitality	kùsótõ	guest, stranger

6. Morphological Tone Change. Tone change plays a very crucial role in the derivational morphology of the language, as well as in the morphology of the verb. A very common process involves the alteration of the lexical tone of a word so that the final syllable is high tone, and all preceding syllables are low tone, symbolized by L H. Semantically this process very often results in a derived form that is abstract in meaning as compared to its source. The L H tone pattern is also prevalent in nominals derived through compounding (see p. 67). Only a few examples representative of these processes are presented here.

fúfù	lungs	fùfù	permanent cough
shímáì	tears	shímáì	cattle disease with tearing
férò	girl	fèró	typical of a girl, girlish
díwì	you do it	díwì	you did it
mánǎm	you took for and	mǎnǎmbúí	daily bread
búi	eat it		
cí	mouth	cíkùndùlí	moustache
kùndùlí	hair		
Kǎnúrí	Kanuri people	Kǎnúrí	Kanuri language

7. Tone Changing Affixes. A great many of the synchronically productive word formation affixes of the language carry an inherent tone, and in their application alter the tone pattern of the word to which they are applied. Only a few representative examples are included here since the affixes are examined in detail in chapter 8. For the plural of the noun see page 43.

férò	girl	fèròwá	girls
kámú	woman	kámùní	effeminate male
lǎwǎn	village head	lǎwǎntí	village head's residence
kàsám	breeze	kàsámráw	window

CHAPTER 5: THE STANDARD KANURI ORTHOGRAPHY (SKO)

1. Introduction. With very few minor exceptions, the Kanuri language data presented in this reference grammar is written according to the principles and conventions of what is referred to as the Standard Kanuri Orthography, hereafter the SKO. The SKO represents an effort towards the standardization of the writing of Kanuri. It includes not only the prescribed roman alphabet for the writing of the language but also rules for the spelling of words and other grammatical morphemes of the language which have in the past been written with varying and divergent spellings.

Because of the anticipated growth in the use of the Kanuri language for educational and literacy purposes it was deemed important that a standard orthography of the language be developed, with the Yerwa dialect widely acclaimed as the standard for this writing system. The SKO is rooted in Kanuri as it is spoken in the Yerwa area (greater Maiduguri Metropolitan) today. Nearly all of the Kanuri language publications produced in Nigeria in recent history have also been based on Yerwa Kanuri. Thus the SKO represents the modern standardized form of the Kanuri writing tradition. Given the present-day political importance of Maiduguri (Yerwa) as the seat of the Shehu of Borno, and as the capital of Borno State, there can be little doubt of the importance of the Yerwa dialect, which can be said, for these reasons, to be functioning as the modern day 'lingua franca' of the Kanuri dialects spoken in Nigeria.

Because it has now been adopted as one of the languages to be used in primary schools for Universal Free Primary Education (UPE) in Nigeria, the language is now making great progress toward full development as a written language. Hopefully the next twenty years will see its growth as a popularly read and written language with a substantial body of published materials available to a literate Kanuri reading public. In the past, no such united, concentrated effort was made, and thus there was no attempt to standardize the writing system. Materials were produced sporadically; an adult literacy newspaper did not survive. Things were produced in a variety of inconsistent orthographies, coming from different dialects and written at different periods of educational development. This is quite understandable since these efforts were never accompanied by a complementary educational policy which contributed to the development of the language. Orthography tests carried out in 1974 in Maiduguri showed that students in teacher training colleges wrote certain problematical words in as many as nine different ways (cf Cyffer, 1977:50-1).

The SKO was developed during 1974-5 in Maiduguri by the research staff of Bayero University Kano's Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, in collaboration with the Kanuri Language Board and local representatives of the Ministry of Education. The Orthography Committee of the Kanuri Language Board put the finishing touches on an earlier proposed orthography, and the finished product was finally unanimously approved by the Kanuri Language Board for adoption in late 1975. It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe some of the principles involved in the development and application of the SKO, so that the user of the present work will not encounter difficulties in dealing with Kanuri as it is written.

2. Basic Principles of the SKO. In general, the overriding principle applied in the development of the SKO was that the orthography should reflect the pronunciation of the Kanuri word in a systematic and predictable way, with as few exceptions as possible. In addition, wherever possible, an attempt was made to retain the historical CV(C) structure of the Kanuri syllable in the written word. In applying this principle, the already existing

Kanuri (Roman) alphabet was used. This was done in order to avoid the educational and the financial costs that would have resulted from the creation of new letters and symbols, the use of diacritics such as tone markings, or the addition of new and unfamiliar vowel and consonant symbols. All of the latter were rejected as possible ways of standardizing the writing of Kanuri.

The result would have to be described as a compromise between a phonetic, a phonemic, and a morphemic orthography. Nevertheless, within the boundaries of the Kanuri word, the SKO does consistently represent modern Kanuri pronunciation in a systematic and predictable fashion. The SKO is faithful to the pronunciation of all lexical items, and to all derivational and inflectional affixes which occur within the word. A word may be described for the purposes of the SKO as any morpheme or collection of morphemes which may occur autonomously as the head of a phrase as a nominal or pronominal, as the modifier of the head of a sentence or phrase as an adjectival, as a finite or non-finite verb form, or as the adverbial modifier of a sentence or verb, with or without suffixes. Whether functioning independently within the sentence, or in a dependent role attributively, such forms are words and are written independently according to the SKO.

2.1. Writing the Dependent Suffixes. The writing of the Kanuri word as described above, is basically phonemic according to the SKO, though many of the allophones of the basic phonemes are reflected in the writing of the word. The dependent suffixes however function as grammatical function markers throughout the language and obviously occur outside of the word. In order that they be consistently recognizable they are therefore written morphemically, with allophonic variations and phonetic realizations not being reflected according to the SKO. Suffixes are any meaning-bearing elements which may only occur in a dependent role preceded by the above defined 'word'. Because of the Kanuri writing tradition, and as well for many morphophonological reasons, suffixes are written directly suffixed to a preceding head word or to any other preceding suffix, using no hyphenation or other means of separation. In the present text they are sometimes separated for pedagogical purposes by a plus (+) sign, which is not part of the SKO. Elements that fall into this class of dependent suffixes written together with preceding heads include both modifier elements that occur at the level of the phrase, as well as grammatical function markers at the level of the sentence. Included in this group of dependent suffixes are: the dependent determiner +dê, the possessive suffixes, and the postpositions, the latter being the grammatical function markers at the phrase, clause and sentence levels and thus functioning also as subordinators and complementizers.

In general, as mentioned above, the principle applied to the dependent suffixes in the development of the SKO was that they should always be distinct and unambiguous as they occur in written Kanuri. Therefore the SKO writing of the dependent suffixes is generally consistent and unchanging throughout their uses, and in some cases does not reflect their actual pronunciation. This principle should be a great learning aid to the Kanuri child or adult learning to read and read Kanuri, and also to the non-Kanuri student of the language. The reason for this is that the inherent typological ordering of the language, plus its assimilative phonology, combine to make it extremely difficult to recognize certain morphemes. The plethora of suffixes and the inevitable stacking of determiners, adjectives, postpositions and subordinators at the end of words, phrases and clauses contribute to this problem. This is especially a problem with regard to the postpositions which function as grammatical function markers. Thus the agent postposition +ye and the genitive postposition +be are always written as such regardless of their pronunciation to clearly distinguish

them, even though in certain environments and for certain speakers their pronunciation may be identical.

Because the grammatical analysis presented in the present work differs with regard to the analysis of certain of the postpositions from that implied by the SKO, certain discrepancies in the writing of these postpositions will be apparent. What the SKO treats as four different morphemes (at least orthographically) are according to the present analysis all one and the same morpheme, and thus are all written the same in the Kanuri data presented here. These morphemes are the SKO's associative postposition $+(C+)\grave{a}$, the direct object postposition $+g\grave{a}$, the conditional subordinator $+g\grave{a}$, and the subordinator of the verb emphasis past $+y\grave{a}$. In chapters 22, 25 and 31, we present evidence that all of these functions are in fact carried out by a single morpheme, here referred to as the associative postposition and written everywhere as the assimilating $+(C+)\grave{a}$. When a series of noun phrases are conjoined by the associative postposition, each one of the conjoined noun phrases is separated from the associative postposition by a hyphen according to the SKO. This represents the only use of a hyphen which is a part of the SKO.

Though tone is indicated on all of the Kanuri data presented in the present work, it is not included as part of the SKO. It has been indicated here for the benefit of the linguist and the student of Kanuri. Its absence from the SKO rarely, if ever, results in any problem of ambiguity for the Kanuri speaker when reading Kanuri.

The segmental phonology of the application of the associative postposition and that of plural formation in Kanuri are identical, though they do differ with regard to the suprasegmental feature of tone. The associative postposition does not alter the lexical tone of the word to which it is applied, whereas the plural morpheme is always high tone and changes all preceding tones to low, yielding the L₀H tone pattern. The SKO takes care of this potential problem by always writing the associative postposition as it is pronounced, showing assimilative consonant gemination in consonant-final environments. The plural morpheme however, is always written as $+wa$, even though it is never pronounced in that way except after words ending in a back vowel. This is shown in the following examples.

<i>SKO</i>	<i>phonetic</i>	<i>meaning</i>
fər	[fə̀r]	horse
fərwa	[fə̀rrá]	horses
fərra	[fə̀rrà]	having a horse
fərwaa	[fə̀rráá]	having horses

2.2. Compounding and the SKO. Certain morphological processes of Kanuri involving tone change may result in a lexical item essentially losing its status as an autonomous, independently written word according to the SKO, and in its being written together with another word. The process of building compound words from two independent words through tone change is very productive in Kanuri. The SKO reflects this process by writing the derived compound as one word. Thus, written independently, the two words *shím* *eye* and *kəlí* *green* may combine to *shím kəlí* meaning *green eye*. However if the two are compounded to the L₀H compound *shím kəlí*, the meaning of this derived compound is *jaundice, hepatitis*.

Other principles and conventions of the SKO which relate specifically to certain areas of the grammar will be referred to when relevant at various points in the present work.



h

SECTION III: WORD TYPES AND THEIR STRUCTURES	PAGE
Chapter 6: The Lexical Category <i>NOUN</i>	35
1. Introduction	35
2. Characteristics of the Lexical Category <i>Noun</i>	35
3. Lexical vs. Derived Nouns	35
4. Adjectival Nouns	36
5. Adverbial Nouns	37
6. Noun Types and Their Referents	38
6.1. Personal Nouns with Inherent Gender	38
6.2. Personal Nouns of Dual Gender	38
6.3. Non-Count Nouns	38
6.4. Animal Species	39
7. Proper Nouns and Nouns of Unique Reference	39
7.1. Titles	40
7.2. Personal Names and Naming	40
8. Nouns Borrowed From Arabic	42
9. The Plural Form of the Noun	43
9.1. Irregular Plural Forms	44
Chapter 7: The Pronouns	45
1. Introduction	45
2. Personal Pronouns	45
2.1. Structure of the Personal Pronouns	45
2.2. Using the Personal Pronouns	46
2.3. Pronouncing the Personal Pronouns	47
3. The Possessive Pronouns	47
3.1. The Morpheme Structure of the Possessive Pronouns	48
3.2. Using the Suffixed and Independent Possessive Pronouns	48
3.2.1. The Suffixed Possessive Pronouns After the Word <i>fâtò house</i>	49
3.2.2. The Independent Possessive Pronouns as Modifiers of a Head Noun	49
3.3. Expressions of Opinion Derived from the Independent Possessive Pronouns	49
4. The Demonstratives as Pronouns	49
4.1. The Anaphoric Use of the Demonstratives as Pronouns	50
5. The Interrogative Pronouns	51
6. Indefinite Pronouns Derived from the Interrogative Pronouns	52
Chapter 8: Words Formed through Productive Affixation	55
1. Introduction	55
2. Abstract Nouns with the Prefix <i>nəm+</i> (less often <i>kər+</i>)	55

3. The Suffix +lá	56
4. The Suffix +ma	56
5. The Nominal Suffix +mì	58
5.1. The Suffix +mì in Ordinal Number Formation	58
5.2. The Suffix +mì in Other Derived Nominals	58
6. The Suffix +nó in the Formation of Nominals	59
7. The Suffix +ram	60
7.1. The Suffix +ram in Instrumental and Locative Nominals	60
8. The Suffix +rí	62
 Chapter 9: Word Formation Through Tone Change, Epenthesis and Reduplication	 63
1. Introduction	63
2. Words Derived from Other Words through Tone Change	63
2.1. Diachronic Evidence of Tone Change as a Word Formation Process	63
2.2. Deriving Language Names from Ethnic Group Names	64
2.3. Deriving Abstract Forms from Lexical Nouns	64
2.4. Derived L ₀ H Abstract Forms with Suffixes	65
2.5. Deriving Nominals from Verbal Nouns	67
3. Deriving Nominals by Combining Words	67
3.1. Compounds Made up of Nouns	68
3.2. Compounds Made up of Verbs	69
3.3. Compounds and Other Nominals Derived from Verb Emphasis Completive Forms	71
4. Word Formation through Final Vowel/Syllable Epenthesis	71
4.1. Epenthesis Applied to Underlying Class 2 Verb Roots	71
4.2. Class 2 Roots and Corresponding Nominals from Arabic Sources	73
5. Word Formation through Reduplication	74
 Chapter 10: Word Formation: Historical Word Formatives	 75
1. Introduction	75
2. The Formative Prefix k+	75
2.1. The Formation of the Possessive Pronouns	76
2.2. The Formation of the Ordinal Numbers	76
2.3. Nominals Derived from Class 1 Verb Roots	77
2.4. k+ Prefixed Nominals Derived from Class 2 Verb Roots	78
2.5. k+ Prefixed Nominals Derived from Lexical Sources	79
2.6. k+ Prefixed Nominals from Arabic Borrowings	80
2.7. k+ Prefixed Nominals with Tubu Cognates	80
3. The Formative Prefix n+	81
3.1. Abstract Nominals Derived through n+ Prefixation	81
3.2. Other Examples of the n+ Prefix as a Lexical Formative	82
4. The Formative Prefix s+	83

CHAPTER 6: THE LEXICAL CATEGORY *NOUN*

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of this chapter to first briefly analyze the categorical structure of the Kanuri lexicon and to establish the prominence of the lexical category *noun*. Secondly, the various kinds of nouns that occur in the language will be presented, with a small group of examples presented for each noun type. Reference will be made to a possible semantic grouping of the nouns of the language based on the kind of referents to which the nouns refer, in terms of classificatory features like generic, unique, specific, etc.. The relation of such semantic groupings to the analysis of the grammar of the language will be briefly discussed. The formation of the plural form of the noun will also be described in detail. It is shown to be one of the tone changing morphological processes of Kanuri, which may be relatable to some of the tone changing processes described on p. 65. A collection of nouns that have entered Kanuri from Arabic are also presented late in this chapter. Their phonological form has clearly been affected by the segmental and suprasegmental phonology of Kanuri over time.

2. Characteristics of the Lexical Category *Noun*. According to the present analysis, the lexical category *noun* covers a much broader spectrum of lexical items in the Kanuri language than has traditionally been understood. Based on meaning, usage, and syntactic behavior, it is apparent that the lexical category *noun* is perhaps the only lexical category (other than those of *verb* and *specific adverb*) that exists in the language. The reason for this is that words that translate into other languages as adjectives (see p. 36) — and adverbs (see p. 37) have no overt phonological, morphological or syntactic characteristics that differ from the same characteristics of words that translate into other languages as nouns. Syntactically, Kanuri words that translate into all three categories in other languages (i.e. noun, adjective, and adverb) may all be marked by the nominal determiner +dã, which is indicative of the constituent status *noun* or *nominal*. Some words which in isolation translate with adverbial meanings into other languages in fact must be marked by an oblique (adverbial) postposition before they can perform an adverbial function in usage.

The syllable structure and the basic phonological characteristics of the word, with specific reference to the noun, were presented on p. 15. In light of the present proposal that the lexical categories *adjective* and *adverb* do not exist, then these basic characteristics can now be extended to apply to the entire Kanuri lexicon, with the exception of the verb and the specific adverb. Lexical items which translate into other languages as adjectives, may therefore be referred to as *adjectival nouns* (see p. 36), or nouns that perform attributive functions; similarly for adverbs, they may be referred to as *adverbial nouns* (see p. 37), or nouns that perform adverbial functions.

3. Lexical vs. Derived Nouns. Morphologically speaking, there are two basic noun types: 1) nouns that are indivisible morphologically, made up of one morpheme and belonging to the basic core lexicon, and 2) nouns that are polymorphemic, made up of more than one morpheme (either diachronically or synchronically), derived perhaps from a given lexical item together with derivational affixes, or even as a compound in combination with another lexical item. Among the derived nouns of Kanuri are those made up of affixal word formatives which are no longer representative of productive morphological processes in the language. For example, the originally Arabic class 2 verb root *lãfã* meaning *greet*, may be used as a simple noun *lãfã greeting*, but through *k+* prefixation, the derived

noun *kàléwà* meaning *well, healthy* has been formed. K-prefixation is one of the word formation processes which is no longer productive in the language. These processes are covered in chapter 10.

The productive derivational morphology of Kanuri is replete with processes for word formation that involve either 1) affixation, or 2) phonological alteration, or both. The latter word formation processes based in phonological change may be either segmental, involving processes like reduplication and vowel epenthesis, or suprasegmental, involving tone change as a productive word formation process. Phonologically derived, the word *kòm̀kòm̀* meaning something like *calculation*, is derived through reduplication and vowel epenthesis from the class 2 verb root *kòm̀* + *count, include, cite*. Through tone alteration alone the word *ngànjí* meaning *chest cough, TB*, is formed from the word for *chest* which is *ngànjí*. All of the nouns derived through such phonological processes are treated in ch. 9. Turning now to the former productive process of affixation, it is apparent that it may involve either suffixation (which is by far the most common form) as in the word *bàrè má* *farmer*, which is derived from the noun *bàrè* *farming*, through the application of the agent/owner suffix +*ma*; or prefixation, as in the word *nəm̀zòlí* *madness, craziness*, which is derived from the adjectival noun *zòlí* *crazy, crazy person*, through the application of the abstract nominal prefix *nəm̀*. All of the words formed through this type of productive affixation are treated in chapter 8.

4. Adjectival Nouns. As observed above, there is nothing about the structure of words functioning as modifiers in Kanuri that overtly distinguishes them as a lexical category apart from the nouns of the language, nothing that is other than their translation into other languages. Both are made up of the same lexical formatives. Both may have the same productive affixes applied to them in the derivational morphology. Given the fact that all lexical and derived nouns may occur as modifiers to head nouns in both simple and complex noun phrases, plus the fact that words, translating as adjectives in other languages may also function independently as nominals, there seems to be no reason to make a distinction between the adjectives and the nouns of Kanuri. Any difference which exists is only the semantic one which arises when they are translated into other languages that more clearly distinguish the two categories. Thus the adjectival nouns of Kanuri are a sub-group of the nouns of the language, which more readily lend themselves to the attributive modifier function than do the remaining nouns of the language. The word *cimè* for example may be used as a modifier meaning *red*, or as a noun meaning *the red one*, or even to mean *redness*, though for the latter meaning there is also the alternative derived *nəm̀cimè* *redness* formed through the affixation of the abstract nominal prefix. Many words go constantly back and forth between the constituent status of noun and modifier, such as *càrí* which means *old (of a man)* or *old man*, and colloquially to refer to one's father. The word *càrí* is also used by many in naming, both as a nickname and for a namesake. Similarly, the word *kəm̀úrsò* means *old (of a woman)* when used as a modifier, and *old woman*, when used as an independent head. The word *kurà* means *big, important* as a modifier, and either *boss, leader, head* or *the big one, the important one*, when used as an independent head. The nouns *fèrò* *girl*, *kámú* *woman, wife*, and *kwàngá* *man*, all function readily as modifiers meaning *female (of a child)*, *female (of a relative)*, and *male*, respectively. *kòrí* means *short (of a woman)*, or *a short woman*.

Any of the words that have traditionally been translated as and referred to as adjectives of Kanuri can function as noun phrase heads, referring back to an anaphorically understood noun phrase antecedent. Thus when marked with the determiner +*dá*, adjectival nouns take on noun phrase mean-

ings like the one or the one that is , as in e.g. sháwàdê the pretty one, kùrwòwùdê the heavy one, etc. When pluralized in the noun phrase head position, such adjectival nouns may take on the generic meanings comparable to English noun phrases like *the rich, the poor*, etc.

The following list represents a small sample of what are here being referred to as adjectival nouns, or lexical nouns that translate as adjectives when used in the noun phrase modifier function.

bútù	cheap, easy	kèskè	easy, simple, unimportant
kùrà	big, important	díwì	bad
kèjí	nice, pleasing, sweet	kùrwòwù	heavy
cím	bitter	sháwà	pretty
dín	old, used, worn out	sélém	black
címè	red, fair-skinned	káfúwù	short
kàmbái	light (in weight)	gàná	small, little
ngálà	good	zàu	difficult, expensive
kúttù	unpleasant, bad-tasting	lélé	sweet
bèlín	new	ból	white
kèlì	green, raw, wet	kùrúwù	long, tall
gálíwù	rich	zégèsé	narrow

5. Adverbial Nouns. In this section are presented the non-derived lexical items which function as *adverbs* in Kanuri. Since the language has no true *adverbs*, the words presented here are of the lexical category *noun* and are therefore referred to here as *adverbial nouns*. Though adverbial in meaning, they are syntactically nouns and may be marked for this status by certain of the suffixes used to mark nouns, such as the determiner +dê. When they occur in non-verbal sentences, they most often appear in sentence-initial position, as in e.g. Kù kàusùà (*literally: Today has heat.*) *It is hot out today.* The most common use of adverbial nouns is in verbal sentences where they always occur in pre-verb position. In pre-verb position though they often tend to occur in sentence-initial position, their order in relation to other constituents may vary quite freely.

Most of the adverbial nouns function as time adverbs. As such, they normally function as an integrated part of the clause or sentence in which they occur. Unless somehow separated by a determiner or a disjunctive postposition, they function as normal time adjuncts to the verb. When in sentence-initial position they function as sentence adverbs, with the entire sentence as their domain, and essentially performing the semantic function of topic for the clause in which they occur, as in e.g.: Kù kàsúwùrò lèngín. *Today I am going to the market.* As reflected in the preceding example, they normally precede other adverbial phrases e.g. of place, instrument, etc. When adjacent to the verb, they fall within the domain of the verb phrase, as in e.g. Àlì 'bískà 'lèwónò. *Ali went yesterday.*

The following adverbial nouns require no oblique postpositional marking in realizing their function as adverbs of time.

bálì	tomorrow	kúllùm	always, every day
bálimìnnà	next year	kùrè	long ago
bískà	yesterday	kàusù	noon, heat of the day
bískántò	day before yesterday	màndè	last year
bískàntòmí	two days ago	mèndètè	year before last
cá	formerly	mèndètòmí	two years ago
kémèndè	this year	wàyé	in just a short while
kù	today	súwà	morning, in the morning

6. Noun Types and Their Referents. It is impossible to adequately deal with the semantic classification of nouns and their referents without incorporating a discussion of the determiner system as well. Nevertheless, one can lay the groundwork for that discussion (see ch. 21) by introducing the notions involved here, and by presenting some of the ways in which Kanuri nouns can be grouped when considered in isolation.

Without speaking of the referents of the noun in the discourse context, it is possible to classify the nouns according to the degree to which they are common or general in referring to a semantic class. The following group of nouns represent the most general nouns of Kanuri for the categories indicated. It is generally agreed that the restrictive relative clause in any language represents the most restrictive form of modification possible, where it is the information borne by the relative clause that is the most important new information crucial to identifying, and not the lexical head noun itself. The following general nouns are those that occur most frequently in the role of head noun in the relative clause construction.

HUMAN	kām	person, man
OBJECT	āwó	thing
PLACE	nā	place
TIME	sā	A time
ANIMATE NON-HUMAN	dābbā	A animal (wild or domestic)
MANNER	fútù	way, means, method
REASON	dālíl	A reason

It will be shown in the treatment of the complex noun phrase that the first four nouns of the above group are frequently omitted when they occur as head nouns of relative clause constructions, being anaphorically understood in the utterance context.

6.1. Personal Nouns with Inherent Gender. There are a great many sex-specific personal nouns in Kanuri, based on natural sex distinctions. Examples are presented in the following list.

kámú	woman, wife	zówòr	divorced woman
kwāngā	man	kèlàyàkké	young unmarried girl
kwā	man, husband	kēmúrsò	old woman
tádà	boy, son	cári	old man
férò	girl, daughter	záiró	young single man
gúdùm	middle-aged woman	kèshiyánà	woman (contemptuous)
kwānà	guy (male only)	rāshidì	male head of family

6.2. Personal Nouns of Dual Gender. From the list presented in 6.1, the word *tádà* may also be used without reference to gender to mean *offspring* or *child*. Other personal nouns of this type are presented below.

kām	person	sáwà	friend
kèlāmá	peer	kāmā	companion, friend
tíwāl	A infant	kām kúrā	important person
bārēmá	farmer	fátómá	spouse
kāsùwumá	market merchant	kārwmá	periodically mad person

Many of the kinship terms of Kanuri are not gender specific, and must be specified with a modifier when gender is to be indicated.

yèiyá	elder sibling	kèrámì	younger sibling
kāá	grandmother/-father	kèsāi	in-law

Others like *yā* mother, *bá* father, *rāwà* uncle (mother's brother), etc. are clearly gender specific.

6.3. Non-Count Nouns. Among the following group of nouns are those that

are inherently plural and those that are not normally pluralized. All are presented with their meanings as non-count nouns.

dúli	children	dá	meat
kúngǎnà	money	bú	blood
kàjím	grass, hay	àrgǎm	millet
màsàr	corn	kóljì	groundnuts
cídà	work	bèrì	food
cám	milk	njì	water
kèská	wood, firewood	wújìr	business
fèlá	cream	kèndágè	oil

When used as count nouns, kèská means *tree*, wújìr means *need*, cídà means *job*, and bèrì means *meal*.

6.4. Animal Species. It is generally the case that for domestic animals there are separate lexical nouns for reference to the female and to the male of the species, and sometimes also a separate lexical noun for the offspring of the species. For species that have both a male and a female lexical noun, it is normally the name of the female of the species which is used generally to describe the animal, with the male lexical noun used to refer specifically to a male. For wild animals, there are not normally separate nouns to distinguish male and female, but rather one noun to refer generally to the animal, male or female. For such species that do not have gender-specific nouns, the nouns kùrkùrì and bí can be used either independently or as modifiers to specify the female and the male of the species, respectively.

kùwù	chicken, hen	gùdòwùm	cock, rooster
kànyí	goat, she-goat	daal	he-goat
dímì	sheep, female sheep	ngélárò	ram
fé	cattle, cow	dàlò	bull.
fè gámbà	old cow	kénná	calf
fêr	horse	kàlìimò	camel
kústà	colt, foal, baby camel	fêr kùrkùrì	mare
kùrkùrì	female of any species.	fêr bí	stallion
bí	male of any species	dágèi	monkey, ape
bùltù	hyena	cílcíli	skunk
cígè	fly	délá	jackal
kànyérí	squirrel	kàmówùn	elephant
kàrgálíwù	bustard	kèryágè	ostrich
ngérí	gazelle	kèrì	dog

7. Proper Nouns and Nouns of Unique Reference. Clearly all of the proper nouns of any language qualify as nouns of unique reference. Proper nouns include personal names, place and geographical names, the days, the months, festivals and celebrations, titles and offices, etc. Some proper nouns relevant to the Kanuri speaking area of northeastern Nigeria are presented here.

Sádè	Lake Chad	Yèrwà	Yerwa (Maiduguri)
Màidùwùrí	Maiduguri village	Kàmádúwù Yòbè	Yo River
Mákkà	Mecca	Fàrànsà	France, Chad, Niger
Fòrlómì	Ndjamena, Chad	Bámà	Bama
Afùndrì	Hausa quarter/ward	Alhàjìrì	pilgrim registration area
Shèhùrì	Shehu's palace/ward	Lìmantì	Imam's residence/ward
Zèmàrà	Friday mosque	Kàsúwù Lètèlínbè	Yerwa's Monday market
Nigeria	Nigeria	Lètèlìn Yèrwàbè	Kanembu
Shúwà	Shuwa Arab	Kànèmbù	Kanembu
Kèrgè Bòrnòbè	Borno State	Íkò	Lagos

Certain lexical nouns may as well be used in much the same way that proper nouns are used. Some of these nouns are inherently nouns of unique reference, for example in the case of the sun, of which there is only one in the universe. Others of them are not inherently so, but may be used as nouns of unique reference in a given context.

kàngál	<i>the sun</i>	kám̀bàl	<i>the moon</i>
sàlà	<i>prayer</i>	njì	<i>water, the well</i>
kàsúwù	<i>market, the central market</i>	fátò	<i>home, the house</i>
kùlò	<i>farm, the field</i>	máshídì	<i>the mosque</i>
yá	<i>mother</i>	bá	<i>father</i>

7.1. Titles. One is constantly aware of the very important role played by titles in Borno, at every level of Kanuri society. Their importance historically and at present in the society cannot be understated. Whether gained through an honorary turbaning ceremony, through an election, through one's heritage, through performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca, through naming, or through simple adoption, they are constantly used both in addressing people and in referring to people. In many parts of the society titles are much more important than given names, and they very often replace given names. The history of Borno 'lives today' in the system of traditional titles. Some examples are presented here.

Shéhù	Wáziri
Shèttímà Kúwàa	Shèttímà Kánúribè
Mái Kènándì	

The holders of the following offices may also become known by the title of the office rather than by their given names. Reference to such people is often made by the use of the title followed by the geographical name of the area over which they govern.

Ajá	<i>District Head</i>	Làwán	<i>Village/Ward Head</i>
Bálàmà	<i>Head of small village</i>	Lègálì	<i>Judge</i>

There are a number of titles which reflect one's position or status in relation to the Islamic faith. Some of these are professional offices, which may be used alone to refer to the person holding the office, or followed by the name of the geographical area covered by the office and/or the person's given name. Others reflect the degree of a person's mastery of the Holy Koran. Others are earned as a result of making the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Lìmám	<i>the Imam</i>	Làdán	<i>the muezzin</i>
Gònyí	<i>master of the Holy Koran</i>	málàm	<i>Koranic teacher</i>
Ajjà	<i>female pilgrim to Mecca</i>	Alhájjì	<i>male pilgrim to Mecca</i>

Persons without titles may be generally addressed and referred to by the terms Málàm for a man, and Málàmà for a woman. These terms may be used both with and without a following given name.

7.2. Personal Names and Naming. The selection of personal names and the naming system might be described as much more flexible in Kanuri society than the one with which we are familiar. The sources of names are diverse and the first-last name division does not exist. Given names comparable to first names are given to a child on the day of the naming ceremony. These given names are normally selected either via the religion in consultation with a malam, or through the process of namesaking, in which the parents of the infant choose to honor a friend or relative by naming their child after that person. Such given names are normally selected from a

relatively small group of originally Arabic names which have entered Kanuri. Examples are presented here.

male

Ali
Musa
Mamadu/Modu/Mahamat
Mustafa/Masaa
Tijani/Tuja/Tija
Dala
Adam
Ibrahim
Abubakar/Bukar
Amadu

female

Fanta
Aisa
Fanna
Amsatu
Mariam
Hawa/Awa
Amina
Fati
Falmata

As might be expected, there is nothing sacred about the given name, and it is often exchanged for another name. I believe that even second names may be used in place of the given first name. Nicknaming is another source of names that replace a person's given name. For example, all of the following are nicknames or *dárwùn*, for the given male name Tijani. A child with the given name Tijani, may at any time be referred to by any one of the following nicknames, or alternatively, one of the nicknames might permanently replace the given name as the name by which the child will be known.

Ahmed
Kuli Malia Talia
Tijanima
Kuli

Shehu Ahmed
Zairo Shambulbe
Rabbanima
Kuli Kuwuiye Kòkcinba

Another factor which further complicates the naming process in Kanuri is that a child who is named after someone, may be referred to by the given name of his namesake or *cūwūná*, or by any of the nicknames and/or titles by which that namesake is known. Thus a girl who is for example named Fanna after her aunt who has been to Mecca, might come to be known by the name Ajja or Ajja Gana *little ajja*, after the title that her aunt has earned by making the pilgrimage.

Given names may also be replaced in usage by non-Arabic names that are Kanuri words which are chosen by the parents to protect the health of the child, or in the belief that by calling a child by such a name the child will live and not be taken from them. The following names are for the most part selected by parents to replace given names when the couple have previously lost many children at birth or in infancy.

Ndawuro
Amarjiya/Amarca
Kolo
Waate
Waani

Nojiya
Gapciya
Kunduli
Suwuli

Second names similarly come from a great variety of sources and may or may not replace the given name as the name by which a person comes to be known. One of the major sources is those names derived from the parents' names or those of other relations, which represent derived nominals which express for example filial relations. These productive derivational processes are discussed on p 58 and on p. 60. Other sources of second names are occupations or professions and villages of origin. Both of these latter sources are normally derived through the application of the agent/owner suffix +ma, which is treated on p. 56. Some examples are presented here.

Mai Bukar Madzinama
Malam Tamsu Sunoma
Gamboruma
Shettima Ali Monguno

Ali Kulloma
Mai Dunoma
Tijani Gamboru
Wakkil Modu Belama

8. Nouns Borrowed from Arabic. The following list of nouns is a sample of those that have entered the Kanuri language at various times in its history from the Arabic language. Words that have entered the Kanuri language from sources other than Arabic are insignificant in comparison to those from Arabic. The Arabic sources of the following words are not indicated. Many have been greatly altered by the phonology of Kanuri. In some cases one observes that the Arabic definite article *al-* is retained in some form as a prefix on the Kanuri word as well. In other cases the *l* of the definite article has become the initial consonant of the Kanuri counterpart, followed in some cases by an epenthetic vowel. In still other cases it is apparent that the *k-* prefix has been applied as a word formative to the Arabic borrowing. This considerable variety with regard to the phonological processes that have been applied to the borrowings by the phonology of Kanuri may reflect different stages in the history of the language at which these words entered Kanuri. It may also reflect the effects of the phonologies of other languages on the borrowed words, i.e. other languages which may have served as the medium through which these originally Arabic words were actually introduced into Kanuri. The phonological structure of the borrowed word is also a relevant factor.

ãrgálãm/ãlkálãm	<i>pen, quill</i>	kítáwù	<i>book</i>
ãlgámã/lãgámã/lããmã	<i>wheat</i>	kàsúwù	<i>market</i>
lúwásãr	<i>onion</i>	kãlgôtãn/kãltãn	<i>cotton</i>
lúwúrãn	<i>Holy Koran</i>	kãnásãr	<i>victory</i>
límãn	<i>imam</i>	kãléwã	<i>well, healthy</i>
lãwãn	<i>village head</i>	kãlĩmò	<i>camel</i>
lãdãn	<i>muezzin</i>	kãrã	<i>reading, study</i>
kítáwù	<i>book</i>	léfã	<i>greeting</i>
lívùlã	<i>needle</i>	shãrã	<i>law, justice</i>
lívú	<i>pocket</i>	sãlã	<i>prayer</i>
lòktù/hòktù/wòktù	<i>time</i>	sãmì	<i>sky</i>
hãwãr	<i>news</i>	sãnãm	<i>fetish, superstition</i>
lãmãr	<i>event</i>	sãndúwù	<i>box, trunk</i>
ãlbíshĩr	<i>good news</i>	gãlívù	<i>rich</i>
kãwãr	<i>grave</i>	kãsãlã	<i>bath</i>
bòwùl	<i>urine</i>	gãsãlã	<i>bathing the dead</i>
ãlógã	<i>creation</i>	lãmãn	<i>wealth, property, livestock</i>
ãlègè	<i>creature</i>	dãbbã	<i>animal</i>
shãfì	<i>page</i>	sãrdè	<i>saddle</i>
dĩnãr	<i>gold</i>	sãlãm	<i>greeting, present</i>
sãdáã	<i>alms</i>	mãlãiyã	<i>angel</i>
sãdãgè	<i>groom's present to bride</i>	sòwòrì	<i>idea, consultation</i>
hãkkì	<i>tax</i>	súwã	<i>morning</i>
hãrãm	<i>forbidden by religion</i>	lãgãlì	<i>judge</i>
lèbdè	<i>padded horse covering</i>	lãyã	<i>amulet</i>
lãwãtãrã	<i>mule</i>	lãshã	<i>evening prayer/meal</i>
fãrãwã	<i>temptation, addiction</i>	lãrdè	<i>country, region</i>
fãsãrì	<i>explanation, translation</i>	nãjãsã	<i>excrement</i>
ãsãrã	<i>miscarried child</i>	ãsãr	<i>loss</i>
lúwãlì	<i>protector</i>	lòrúsã	<i>bride, bridegroom</i>
ãshëm	<i>Ramadan fast</i>	rívã	<i>profit</i>
ãlìó	<i>slate, writing tablet</i>	hãléwã	<i>candy, sweets</i>
hãiyã	<i>truth, fact</i>	ìzèní	<i>permission</i>
lãimã	<i>tent, umbrella</i>	hër	<i>peace</i>

lāirā	judgement day	lādā	sunday
lēwāyā	market business	lētāīn	monday
fājār	early morning prayer/time	tālāgā	tuesday
dúwār	2:00 prayer/time period	lārāwā	wednesday
āsār	4:00 prayer/time period	lāmīsā	thursday
māirū	dusk prayer/time period	zēmā	friday
māskīn	poor person	sēbdā	saturday
āiwū	sin	mōwōsā	scissors
gūrsū	Marid Theresa dollar	fāidā	use
lāunō	color	fārgī	vagina
ārzēgī	luck, good fortune	tārtīb	plan, arrangement, order
sākān	kettle	tājīrwā	danger
tāgā	window	shíkāl	vowel
kūrīs	chair, stool	kārnū	century
hāl	character	fūwūrā	student of the Holy Koran
jāmā	public	zīyārā	visit
bēndāgā	gun		

9. The Plural Form of the Noun. The plural form of a count noun is indicated according to the SKO by the application of the plural suffix +wa, which is written as part of the word to which it is applied, without hyphenation or separation, thus fərwa *horses* from fər *horse*. The plural suffix is high tone, and when applied to a noun renders all of the preceding tones of the singular form as low tones, thus fēr becomes fēr^hwā. Thus plural formation represents a tone altering morphological process which may be relatable to those described in ch. 9 in which the resulting tone pattern is L₀H.

The spelling of the plural suffix according to the SKO does not represent its actual pronunciation. Except for tonal differences, the actual segmental phonological shape of the plural suffix and that of the associative postposition are one and the same. Thus in pronunciation, the final consonant of a consonant-final word is actually geminated when it is applied (as discussed on p. 30). Because of the confusion that might result from this phonological identity since the SKO does not include tone marking, the plural suffix +wā therefore always clearly distinguishes the plural form of the noun from the associative-marked form, for which the consonant assimilation is shown.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>associative-marked</i>
bābūr <i>motorcycle</i>	bābūrwā [bābūrrā]	bābūrrā <i>having motorcycle</i>
fērō <i>girl</i>	fērōwā [fērōā]	fērōā <i>having a girl</i>
māi <i>king</i>	māiwā [māiā]	māiā <i>having a king</i>
njīm <i>hut</i>	njīmwā [njīmmā]	njīmmā <i>having a hut</i>
kāsūwū <i>market</i>	kāsūwūwā [kāsūwūā]	kāsūwū <i>having a market</i>
sūwūrām <i>key</i>	sūwūrām ^h wā [sūwūrāmmā]	sūwūrāmmā <i>having a key</i>
kōrō <i>question</i>	kōrōwā [kōrōā]	kōrōā <i>having a question</i>
kōrō <i>donkey</i>	kōrōwā [kōrōā]	kōrōā <i>having a donkey</i>

Pluralization represents perhaps the single most consistently productive morphological process in the language with regard to the form of the affix, the tone pattern of the derived plural, and the universality of its application. It can be applied to any lexical count noun of the language, and even to non-count nouns if desired. The very few exceptions are indicated below.

9.1. Irregular Plural Forms. The only known irregular plurals of the language are shown here. Only one noun is involved, and two adjectival nouns.

singular

kám *person*
 kúrà *big*
 gáná *little, small*

plural

ám *people*
 wúrà *big*
 sánáná *little, small*

The adjectival noun kúrà is irregular not only in that it has the above irregular plural form, but also in that it productively accepts the plural affix on either its singular or its plural form. Thus the following three forms are all possible and will all be heard as ways of expressing *the big/old/important people*: ám wúrà/ám kúràwá/ám wúràwá. Such noun phrases are not however typical since it is not normally the case that the plural affix is applied to an adjectival noun modifying a plural head noun. This and other related problems are discussed in detail in ch.20 where the forms modifiers take are treated.

CHAPTER 7: THE PRONOUNS

1. Introduction. The term nominal refers to a large and varied class of constituents which may function in noun phrase positions in a language. Different types of nominals function in different ways in speech to recall or cite for one's listener the referent to which a nominal refers. In Kanuri speech, as in all languages, a speaker has a variety of nominal types from which to choose in bringing the referent to the listener's mind. A speaker at any given time, selects on the basis of what he assumes to be the state of the listener's thought and awareness in the context of the utterance. The various noun types introduced in ch. 6 would fall at the more explicit end of the spectrum of nominal devices that a language may use to essentially capture the referent. The various noun types may be packaged in different ways, depending on the semantic role they are to play in a given utterance. This packaging is effected by the many possible combinations of modifiers and determiners described in ch. 8. Pronouns are basically nominals which may be used to replace the more explicit noun phrases, when the referent is somehow understood in the context of the utterance, and thus one of the more explicit nominal forms is not necessary. It is the purpose of this chapter to present all of the various categories of Kanuri nominals which may perform this pronominal function of non-explicit representation of a noun phrase whose referent is understood in the context of the utterance. Also to be included here are the pronouns which represent an unknown referent, namely the interrogative pronouns, and their cognate indefinite pronouns which have an indeterminate referent.

2. Personal Pronouns. The personal pronouns may be used to replace noun phrases having human referents.

1S	wú	I	1P	ândí	we
2S	nyí	you	2P	nândí	you
3S	shí	s/he	3P	sândí	they

Kanuri is a language which does not have grammatical gender. This is clear in the above paradigm since none of the personal pronouns carries inherent gender. Thus any pronoun may have either a male or a female referent. The third person pronouns may also have non-human referents, either animate or inanimate. The pronoun *shí* therefore corresponds to the English *s/he, it*.

2.1. Structure of the Personal Pronouns. All the personal pronouns have in common that they end with a high tone high vowel which is likely *i* in all persons and numbers, having been altered by the preceding consonant in the 1S form. The elements apparent in the plural pronouns which consistently distinguish them from the singular forms are the occurrence of the medial prenasalized *+d+*, and the low tone vowel *a* occurring in the initial syllable of each. The personal pronoun paradigm therefore represents one of the few paradigms of the language where these two elements are used paradigmatically to indicate plurality. As has been observed in ch. 2, these elements function elsewhere in the language to indicate the plural, e.g. in the finite verb form paradigm, though never as consistently as is apparent in the personal pronoun paradigm. The characteristic *s* of the 3S and 3P forms is consistent with all other grammatical paradigms of the language.

The 1P personal pronoun *ândí* will be heard from many speakers pronounced as *ândé*. The ending of this latter form clearly coincides with the characteristic 1P possessive ending *+ndé*. Some speakers from the Bama area seem to have in this way created an additional pronoun since for them the pro-

noun *ândé* functions as a dual pronoun meaning *we two, the two of us*, whereas the pronoun *ândí* stands for *we* when the referent is more than two people. This extension of the pronoun paradigm does not however represent a very widespread phenomenon.

2.2. Using the Personal Pronouns. The personal pronouns represent independent nominals in the language. They may occur alone, or marked by certain of the postpositions of the language, depending on the syntax of the environment in which they occur.

Shí sáwànyí.	<i>S/he is my friend.</i>
Nyí bàrè má wá?	<i>Are you a farmer?</i>
Sàndí sháwà.	<i>They are beautiful.</i>
Shírò yíkìn.	<i>I will give it to him.</i>
Shílàn kúngènáà.	<i>He has got money.</i>
Shírò díkìn.	<i>I will do it for him.</i>

For semantic reasons, the independent personal pronouns can be marked by the determiner element +*dá*.

Shídé díwì.	<i>Him he is bad.</i>
Nàndídé ndá?	<i>And what about you?</i>
Sàndídé lèzàiwá.	<i>Them they are not going.</i>
Wúdá nòngènyí.	<i>Me I don't know.</i>

The emphatic particle +*má* may be used to emphasize or contrast a personal pronoun. Thus marked, such a pronoun may constitute a complete utterance in certain contexts.

Shímá.	<i>It's him/her.; That's it.</i>
Shímá lèzò.	<i>S/HE went.</i>
Wúmá lèngín.	<i>Even I am going.; I am going.</i>
Sàndímá.	<i>It's them.; They are the ones.</i>

The third person personal pronouns *shí* and *sàndí* may be used to designate or single out any noun referent in much the same way that in English one uses *the one/the ones*. In this role the third person pronouns may even occur as head nouns in relative clause constructions.

Shí kúràmádé kákkè.	<i>That one that is big is mine.</i>
Shídé kām díwì.	<i>That one is a bad person.; or him/her</i>
sàndí nòngènáádé ...	<i>the ones that I know ...</i>
sàndí kúngènáádé ...	<i>the ones that have money ...</i>
Ádámá shí wò.	<i>That's the one that it is.; That's it.</i>

Because of the synthetic structure of the finite verb form in Kanuri, the independent personal pronouns do not carry the same functional load in the verbal sentences of the language that they do in other languages (see ch. 13). The finite verb form carries its subject pronoun and may also carry direct and indirect object pronouns internally. Therefore when these constituents are not explicitly mentioned through the use of a non-pronominal nominal, they are very often carried only in the finite verb form itself. In the following examples, the independent personal pronouns are not manifested in environments where they would be required in other languages.

Nzúrúkàná.	<i>I saw you.</i>
Mákkàrò lèwòndò.	<i>S/he went to Mecca.</i>
Lèfànzàná.	<i>They greet you.</i>
Mànàsáwàná.	<i>S/he spoke to me.</i>
Rúkàná.	<i>I saw it.</i>
Lèfàtíyèná.	<i>We greeted each other.</i>
Lèngínbá.	<i>I am not going.</i>
Fáléságàná.	<i>S/he showed it to me.</i>

In verbal sentences, pronoun subjects and objects are independently manifested only for semantic reasons, i.e. when they are being in some way emphasized, contrasted, or even questioned or negated. Therefore it is very often the case that when they do occur independently and apparently redundantly in some cases, they are in some way marked for the semantic function which they are fulfilling. When object pronouns for example occur independently outside of the finite verb form, they are normally marked by the associative postposition, except when already marked by the determiner +dó. These phenomena are explored and explained in detail in chapter 22.

Wúà kǎnyè cítà.

I was stricken by hunger.

Wúdó súrǎnyí.

Me he didn't see.

Wúà nǒngǎnyí.

Me I don't know.

Shià cúrúkd.

I saw him.

Shí wá lèzò?

Did HE go?

Sàndí gǎnyí lèzà.

THEY did not go.

2.3. Pronouncing the Personal Pronouns. In rapid speech, Kanuri speakers often simplify the pronunciation of certain of the personal pronouns, in much the way that speakers of English make contractions. The following are the common variant pronunciations of certain of the pronouns. It is the third person forms which are most commonly altered in the ways indicated.

1S -		1P àndí	> [ǎyí]	<i>we</i>
2S -		2P nǎndí	> [nǎyí]	<i>you</i>
3S shí	> [yí]	3P sàndí	> [sǎyí]	<i>they</i>

s/he, it

The following are the common variant pronunciations of the personal pronouns as pronounced when marked by the associative postposition.

1S wú+à	> [wá]	1P àndí+à	> [ǎyá]
2S nyí+à	> [nǎ]	2P nǎndí+à	> [nǎyá]
3S shí+à	> [já]	3P sàndí+à	> [sǎyá]

3. The Possessive Pronouns. When the reference of a given nominal is to a referent that is possessed by someone or something, either alienable or inalienably, then a possessive pronoun may be selected to represent the noun phrase referent. The possessive pronouns can be said to essentially represent the personal pronouns, when the personal pronouns are in a genitive relationship to a preceding head noun or to an anaphorically understood head noun. Pronominal possession in Kanuri, as in many other languages, is of two forms: 1) suffixed, or 2) independent. When the head noun of such a genitive noun phrase is expressed, then the suffixed form of the possessive pronoun is normally selected and applied directly to the head (possessed) noun. The suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns are shown in the following paradigm, both in citation form and as they are applied to the noun for *horse*.

1S +nyí fǎrnyí	<i>my horse</i>	1P +ndé fǎrndé	<i>our horse</i>
2S +nám fǎrnám	<i>your horse</i>	2P +ndó fǎrndó	<i>your horse</i>
3S +nzé fǎrnzé	<i>his/her horse</i>	3P +nzá fǎrnzá	<i>their horse</i>

When the head noun of such a genitive noun phrase is not expressed independently and is anaphorically understood in the utterance context, then the independent form of the possessive pronoun is normally selected to independently represent the entire noun phrase. These independent forms, like the personal pronouns, are independent nominals. The independent possessive pronouns are all trisyllabic derived nominals with the often characteristic trisyllabic tone pattern L-H-L. They are morphologically derived from the suffixed possessive pronouns through prefixation and tone

alteration. For a complete description of the derivational relation between the suffixed and independent forms of the possessive pronouns see page 76. The independent possessive pronouns are presented here.

1S	kàkkè	mine	1P	kàándè	ours
2S	kàánəm	yours	2P	kàándò	yours
3S	kàanzè	his/hers/its/that one's	3P	kàanzà	theirs

3.1. The Morpheme Structure of the Possessive Pronouns. The morpheme structure of the possessive pronouns might be said to coincide more closely with the subject morpheme paradigm of the finite verb form than does that of the set of personal pronouns. The only suppletive change that occurs when the suffixed possessive pronouns are compared paradigmatically to the independent forms is that of the 1S form where the suffixed +nyí corresponds to the independent kàkkè. One might have expected *kàányí to be the independent 1S form. In the independent 1S form, the person morpheme +k+ or +kk+ actually corresponds with the characteristic 1S subject morpheme of the finite verb paradigm (see p. 11). A nasal consonant n occurs in the pre-person morpheme position in each of the possessive pronouns of both paradigms, except for the suppletive 1S form of the independent paradigm. The sometimes plural morpheme +d+ distinguishes the plural pronouns only in the 1P and the 2P forms of both paradigms. The third person pronouns again carry the characteristic third person morpheme s, with the 3S being distinguished from the 3P by the sometimes plural morpheme +a+, again in both paradigms. The final vowels of the 1P and 2P possessive pronouns, +e and +o respectively, are very likely phonological reflexes of the subject morphemes +y+ and +w+ of the comparable 1P and 2P forms of the finite verb paradigm of subject pronouns morphemes.

3.2. Using the Suffixed and Independent Possessive Pronouns. In a simple genitive noun phrase expressing possession, there are two basic noun phrase positions, i.e. that of the head and that of the genitive marked modifier. The head represents the item possessed and the genitive modifier, the possessor or owner, as in: fār Músabè *Musa's horse*. When either or both of the noun phrase positions are pronominalized, then the possessive pronouns are used. If only the possessor is pronominalized, then the possessive pronoun suffix is applied to the head noun giving: fārnzà *his horse*. If both possessor and head are pronominalized, then the corresponding independent possessive pronoun is used to represent the entire genitive noun phrase, as in: kàanzè *his*. The following examples show some of the uses of both the suffixed and the independent possessive pronouns.

Adè fārnyí.	<i>This is my horse.</i>
Adè kàkkè.	<i>This is mine.</i>
Túdù kúngónanzó.	<i>That is his/her money.</i>
Túdù kàanzè.	<i>That is his.</i>
Kúlondé kúrà.	<i>Our field is big.</i>
Kàándè kúrà.	<i>Ours is big.</i>
Kúngónanzá bá.	<i>They don't have any money.</i>
Kàanzá bá.	<i>They don't have one.</i>
Kàázəməndé sámmá kádáwà.	<i>All our clothes are dirty.</i>
Kàándè sámmá kádáwà.	<i>All of ours are dirty.</i>
Kórónəm rúkənyí.	<i>I haven't seen your donkey.</i>
Kàánəm rúkənyí.	<i>I haven't seen yours.</i>

It was shown above in 2.2 that the personal pronouns may be marked by the determiner +dó, the emphasis marker +má, and by the postpositions, for various syntactic and semantic reasons. Similarly, noun phrases in which either the suffixed or the independent possessive pronouns occur, may be marked in this way, as shown in the following examples.

Fārnzēmá rúkènyí.
 Kàánzēmá rúkènyí.
 Fārnzédé sháwà gènyí.
 Kàánzédé sháwà gènyí.
 Njēnzārò njí fígèné.
 Kàánzārò njí fígèné.
 Fārndó ádègái ngèwù bá.
 Kàándògái ngèwù bá.
 Adè fārnēm wá?
 Adè kàánēm wá?

I didn't even see his/her horse.
 I didn't even see his/hers.
 That horse of his is not beautiful.
 That one of his is not beautiful.
 Pour water into their pot.
 Pour water into theirs.
 There aren't many like this your horse.
 There aren't many like yours.
 Is this your horse?
 Is this yours?

3.2.1. The Suffixed Possessive Pronouns After the Word fátò house. When the suffixed possessives are applied to the noun fátò meaning house, it is phonologically contracted from fátò to fān+. This variant form of the word fátò only occurs in this environment which is very frequently used.

1S *fátò+nyí > fānnyí my house 1P *fátò+ndé > fānndé our house
 2S *fátò+nēm > fānnēm your house 2P *fátò+ndó > fānndó your house
 3S *fátò+nzè > fānnzè his/her house 3P *fátò+nzá > fānnzá their house

3.2.2. The Independent Possessive Pronouns as Modifiers of a Head Noun. Under certain circumstances, the independent possessives may be used as modifiers of a preceding head noun. They are used in this role in place of the suffixed possessives only when one is distinguishing, differentiating, or somehow emphasizing a given object and/or its possessor. Thus for semantic reasons the possessive pronouns may be adapted to the modifier role.

Fār kàánzédé sháwà.
 Fār kàánzédémá sháwà wò.
 Adè fátò kàánzà.

HIS horse is beautiful.
 It is HIS horse that is most beautiful.
 This is THEIR house.

When the independent possessives occur in this modifier role, the structure of the noun phrase may lend itself to interpretation as a relative clause construction, with expressed or anaphorically understood head.

Fār kàánzédé sháwà.
 Shí kàkkēmádé nā ádèlàn bá.
 Kàánèmmádé rúkènyí.

The horse that is his/hers is pretty.
 The one that is mine is not here.
 I haven't seen the one that is yours.

3.3. Expressions of Opinion Derived from the Independent Possessive Pronouns. There exists a rather obscure paradigm of pronoun-like derived forms which when used may express one's characteristic way of doing things, or one's outlook, opinion, or attitude. These derived forms are formed from the independent possessive pronouns through the suffixation of the high tone suffix +wú. The application of this suffix entails the alteration of the tone of the independent possessive to which it is applied. The resulting derived forms all bear the characteristic abstract L₀H tone pattern. The original source of this suffix is unknown.

1S kàkkèwú in my opinion 1P kàándèwú in our opinion
 2S kàánèmwú in your opinion 2P kàándòwú in your opinion
 3S kàánzèwú in his/her opinion 3P kàánzàwú in their opinion

These derived forms may be used as in the following examples.

Kàánzèwú gákinbá.
 Kàándèwú gáí.
 Abí yàyé dímià ngálà, kàánzàwúdáá.

I will not go along with his opinion.
 Go along with our point of view.
 Whatever you do is good, according to them.

4. The Demonstratives as Pronouns. When the referent to which a noun phrase refers is a visible or demonstrable object, reference to it may

be made through the use of a demonstrative, either as a pronoun replacing the entire noun phrase, or as a modifier of the noun phrase. This type of reference is often accompanied by a physical indication of the object by pointing or gesturing. As their name implies, demonstratives are used in their most basic role for this purpose of showing, indicating, or demonstrating. The Kanuri demonstratives in this physically real use, in almost exactly the way that their English counterparts function, are used to distinguish the position of the object with regard to distance from the speaker, thus distinguishing a referent that is near from a referent that is relatively further away from the speaker. As in English, both demonstratives have a singular and a plural form.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>near referent</i>	ádè <i>this</i>	ányì <i>these</i>
• <i>far referent</i>	túdù <i>that</i>	túnyì <i>those</i>

Like their English counterparts, the Kanuri demonstratives may be used either as independent demonstrative pronouns, or, dependent on a preceding nominal, as modifying determiners, as in the following examples.

Ádè/ányì kàkkè.	<i>This is/these are mine.</i>
Túdù/túnyì kàánàm.	<i>That is/those are mine.</i>
Fār ádè dōi.	<i>This horse is fast.</i>
Fār túdù dōi gènyí.	<i>That horse is not fast.</i>
Fèrōwá ányì lèzàiwá.	<i>These girls are not going.</i>
Am túnyì díwì.	<i>Those people are bad.</i>

Thus in Kanuri, as in English and many other languages, one set of demonstratives functions as the independent demonstrative pronouns, and also as the demonstrative determiners. In both roles, demonstratives serve to specify and to set off their noun phrase, whether it be manifested or anaphorically understood. The role played by the demonstratives as determiners of the noun phrase is discussed in detail in ch. 21. There the most commonly occurring determiner +dè, is also introduced and discussed in relation to the demonstratives as determiners.

4.1. The Anaphoric Use of the Demonstratives as Pronouns. As is the case in many languages, also in Kanuri the near/far distinction made by the demonstratives may be extended in use from the literal physical sense to a more abstract or metaphoric sense of reference to the more immediate or recently mentioned referent in time, as opposed to the more remote or earlier mentioned referent in time. This may be referred to as the *anaphoric* use of the demonstratives as pronouns, through which they recall or identify a noun phrase or other sentence material which is commonly understood and thus easily recognizable to speaker and hearer in the utterance context. In contrast, their use to physically identify something most often in introducing it for the first time may be described as the *deictic* use of the demonstratives as pronouns.

In anaphoric usage, it is most often the case that the singular forms of the demonstratives are used, regardless of the number of the noun phrase being recalled. Unless it is a case of e.g. *the former* and *the latter* being contrasted (in which case *túdù* and *ádè* respectively might be used anaphorically), then it is generally true that the near form of the singular demonstrative *ádè* is preferred in discourse to correspond to the anaphoric uses of both of the English demonstratives *this* and *that*. In this role, anaphoric reference may be made not only to a previously mentioned or understood noun phrase, but also to an entire idea or situation.

Túdùmádé záu yé kùrwòwù ye;
ádèmádé bútu yé kèskè ye.

*That one was difficult and burdensome;
this one is easy and unimportant.*

Adèlàn dùwò cìwàndéko.
 Adègái.
 Adémá shí wò.
 Adémá.
 Adèà, wú lèngínbá.
 Adègái dùwò yím láá bàwòwòndò.

Only with/after that did I find it.
 That's right./That's how it is.
 That's it./That is the one.
 That's it.
 If that is the case/given that, I won't go.
 It was like that though.until one day he died.

The role of the demonstratives in these and other anaphoric uses will be referred to and elaborated upon at various points in this work, among the most important are those that deal with the structure of the noun phrase and the status marking of the noun phrase. References to these uses occur throughout section VI, in chapters 19 through 26.

5. The Interrogative Pronouns. It was proposed earlier (see pp. 35-7) that the lexical category *adverb* does not exist in Kanuri, since all lexical items which function as adverbs are in fact nouns. Other adverbials are nouns marked by postpositions. These same observations can be applied to the interrogatives. The category *interrogative adverb* does not exist in Kanuri. Constituents performing this function are simply interrogative pronouns marked by one of the oblique postpositions of the language. For example, the Kanuri equivalent of *why?*, *for what?* is àbíró, made up of the interrogative pronoun àbí? *what?*, to which the indirect postposition +rò has been applied. For each of the interrogative pronouns presented below, any interrogative adverbials derived from them through the application of the postpositions are presented together with them.

ndú?	who?
Adè ndú?	Who is that?
Ndú rùm?	WHO did you see?
Ndúsò ísánà?	Who all has come?
Adè ndúbè?	Whose is this?
Ndúbèrò lèyám?	To whose house did you go?
Ndúrò yímìn?	To whom will you give it?
àbí?	what?
Adè àbí?	What is this?
Abí ádè?	may = What is going on?
Abí wò?	What is it?
Abí cídám?	What did you do?
Abíró cídám?	Why/for what did you do it?
Abí nánkàrò?	Because why?
Abísò cídám?	What all did you do?
ndásò?/x ndásò?	which one?/which x?
Ndásò kàánám?	Which one is yours?
Fátò ndásò cìlādám?	Which house did you sell?
Ndásònzá cìlādám?	Which one of them did you sell?
Ndásòrò lèyám?	To which one did you go?
x+bí?	which x? (less frequent than x ndásò?)
Fátòbí làdámìn?	Which house are you selling?
sàbí?/sàmbí?	when?, which time?
yìmbí?/lòktùbí?/hóktùbí?/wóktùbí?	when?, which time? (less frequently)
Sàbí kádìm?	When did you get here/come?
Sàmbí íshìn?	When is he coming?
fútùbín?/dálwùbín? = àbíàbín?	how?, in what way?, by which method?
Fútùbín cídám?	How did you do it?
Abíàbín tàdín?	How can it be done?

ndāwú?/x ndāwú?	how much? how many?/how many x?
Sàndí ndāwú?	How many are they?
Ndāwūn tàiyádà?	How much did they offer? (first offer)
Ndāwúrò káiwùm?	For how much did you buy it?
Fêr ndāwú nānzân?	How many horses are at his place/ does he have?
ndâ?	what about? where is? how is?
Músà ndâ?	Where is Musa?/ And what about Musa?
Ndâ Músâ?	How is Musa?
Ndâ wâté?	Good morning./How was the night?
Ndâ dâbdò?	Good afternoon/evening./How was the day?
Ndâ shí?	Where is it/he/she?
ndân?	where (at/in)?/ where from? = ndârân?
Sàndí ndân?	Where are they?
Ndân kádìm?	Where are you coming from?
ndára (may) *ndâ+rò)/ndáràrò	
Ndára lèñèmin?	
Ndáràrò lèñèmin?	
ndârân?	where from?
Ndârân kádìm?	Where are you coming from?
Ngámá?	But, why?

6. Indefinite Pronouns Derived from the Interrogative Pronouns. In English the indefinite pronoun *whoever* is clearly derived from the interrogative pronoun *who*. Similarly in Kanuri, pronouns of this type and many more are derived from the interrogative pronouns and the derived interrogative adverbials. The generic suffix +sò and the indefinite/concessive yàyé are applied very productively to the interrogative pronouns to produce the indefinite pronouns. The comparable negative indefinite pronouns are normally formed through the affixation to the interrogative pronoun of the emphasis marker +má and take on this role in negative environments. In the following example sets, the indefinite pronouns are presented in the same order in which the interrogative pronouns were presented in section 5 above.

Ndúsò ísèná.	Everyone has arrived.
Ndú-à ndú-à nàasó cídànzé sèdò.	Each and every person did his job.
Ndú yàyé sùrià súwóré.	He should ask whoever/no matter who he sees.
Ndúmá fánzèrò íshìnbá.	No one comes to his house.
Abísò sèdín.	S/he does everything.
Fánzàn àbí-à àbí-à nàasó fàndèmin.	You will find each and every thing in his house.
Abí yàyé kál; shé.	Whatever/no matter what it is; give it to me.
Abímá nānzān bā.	He has nothing at all.
Abírò yàyé shià kùrùrò wáwòkò.	No matter why I don't want to see him.
àbísòrò	for everything
àbí yàyé rò	for no matter what/whatever
àbímá rò (+neg)	for nothing
Ndásòsò kàánèm.	Every one (of them) is yours.
Fátò ndásòsò Àlìyè gárzónà.	Every house was built by Ali.
Ndásò yàyé ràammā njìkìn.	Whichever one you want I will give you.
Fār ndásò yàyé rò zèwāi.	He will ride no matter what horse/ any horse.

Ndásómá búkìnbá.

Fàrnzè ndásómá sháwà gènyí.

Ndásònzámá báwò.

Kámbsó hēr májìn.

Tádàbí yàyé ishíà wú bá gùllé.

àwóbí yàyé

Fàrbímàrò ráksà zèwáiwá.

Sàbísó shíà kàsúwùlàn rúkìn.

Sàbí yàyé ísémíà wúà fàndámìn.

Sàmbísòn wúà shìwòljin.

Sàmbín yàyé kál.

sàbísórò

Sàmbímán nánzérò lèngínbá.

Sàbísòn túrúiyèn.

Fútúbísòn sèdà dùwò tìyèrò.

Fútúbín yàyé kál, ísákin.

Fútúbímán mòwònjínbá.

àbíàbín yàyé

Sàndí ndàwú yàyé fálnzá wòsórò

súlè súlè yé.

Ndàwú yàyerò yíwùkìnbá.

Ndásó kúngáná.

Ndà yàyé kál.

Ndán yàyé, máné.

Ndámán sàndià rúkènyí.

Ndárásórò lèjin.

Ndará-à ndará-ànàasórò lèyádà.

Ndará yàyé(rò) lèngín.

Ndarámá(rò) lèzànyí.

Ndárásòn njíà.

Ndárán yàyé cìdàngín.

Ndárámán shíà fàndákènyí.

ngásó

*I won't eat either one/any (of them).
Not one/none of his horses is pretty.
Neither/none of them is there.*

*Every person is looking for peace.
No matter which/whichever child comes
say that I am not here.*

*whatever thing
He cannot ride any horse.*

*I always see him in the market.
Whenever/no matter when you come
you will meet me.*

He bothers me all the time.

No matter when/whenever.

for always/forever

I will never (ever) go to his place.

*We see each other all the time/
always/regularly.*

He tried it in every way but failed.

It does not matter how, I will come.

It is in no way possible.

no matter how

*However many/no matter how many they
are give a shilling to each one.*

I won't buy it for no matter how much.

There is money everywhere.

No matter where/anywhere is fine.

It does not matter where, look for it.

I didn't see them anywhere.

S/He is going everywhere.

They went to each and every place.

I will go anywhere/no matter where.

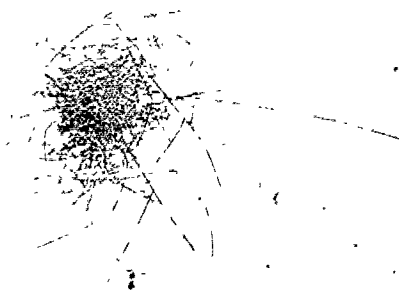
S/He has not gone anywhere.

It's raining/there is water everywhere.

I will work anywhere.

I didn't find him anywhere.

all



CHAPTER 8: WORDS FORMED THROUGH PRODUCTIVE AFFIXATION

1. Introduction. The words discussed in this chapter are formed through the application of the various synchronically productive affixes of the language, i.e. prefixes and suffixes. For the most part, the affixes described here are representative of processes that still have widespread application in the language (the no longer productive affixes are treated in ch. 10). As is apparent, many of the suffixes described carry a fixed tone and often alter the tone pattern of the root or word to which they are applied.

2. Abstract Nouns with the Prefix nəm+ (less often kər+). The prefix nəm+ is very productively used in synchronic Kanuri to form abstract nouns, often describing a state, usually from lexical nouns and adjectives. Semantically, abstract nouns formed through nəm+ prefixation carry meanings comparable to their English counterparts ending in suffixes like: *+ness, +hood, +ship*, etc. On the very limited number of words which take kər+ as a prefix, all of which are nouns, the meaning of the resulting abstract nominal is for all practical purposes identical to that which would be derived through the prefix nəm+, though the latter is rarely used in place of kər+ in such cases.

It is likely that the prefix kər+ is related to the no longer productive k-prefixation process (see ch. 10). There is also evidence that certain of the k-prefixed forms of class 1 verbal nouns are formed through the prefixation of kər+, as in kərmù *death, dying*. The following however, are the only attested abstract nouns derived through kər+ prefixation.

māi	king	kərmāi	kingship, reign
mālēm	malam, teacher	kərmālēm	state of being malam
məsəlēm	muslim	kərməsəlēm	islam

The prefix nəm+ is clearly related both morphologically and semantically to the abstract nominal prefix n+ (see p. 81) which is no longer productive in the language. For certain abstract nouns, some speakers may use the nəm+ prefixed forms and the n+ prefixed forms interchangeably. With regard to tone, whereas the prefix n+ carries a high tone with it in its application, the prefix nəm+ is always low tone, and does not alter the tone pattern of the noun or adjective to which it is applied.

bā	there is not	nəmbā	absence, lack
bārūwū	thief	nəmbārūwū	theft, thievery
būtū	cheap	nəmbūtū	cheapness
cārī	old	nəmcārī	old age
cibbū	hard	nəmcibbū	hardness
dīwī	bad	nəmdīwī	badness
dōi	quick	nəmdōi	quickness, speed
dōndī	sick	nəmdōndī	being sick
gālīwū	rich	nəmgālīwū	wealth
gānā	small	nəmgānā	smallness
kāfūwū	short	nəmkāfūwū	shortness
kām	person	nəmkām	relation, friendship
kāji	sweet, good	nāji, nəmkāji	sweetness, goodness
kārdī	non-muslim	nārdī, nəmkārdī	being non-muslim
kūrā	big	nəmkūrā	size, bigness
kūrūwū	long	nəmkūrūwū	length
kūrōwū	heavy	nəmkūrōwū	weight, being heavy
kūsótō	guest, stranger	nəmkūsótō	being guest, stranger
lāgā	worthless	nəmlāgā	worthlessness
ngālà	good	nəmgālà	goodness

ngónyì	<i>orphan</i>	nəmngónyì	<i>being an orphan</i>
ngəwù	<i>a lot, many</i>	nəmngəwù	<i>quantity, being a lot</i>
sáwà	<i>friend</i>	nəmsáwà	<i>friendship</i>
sélém	<i>black</i>	nəmsélém	<i>blackness</i>
sháwà	<i>beautiful</i>	nəmsháwà	<i>beauty</i>
zólí	<i>crazy, insane, mad</i>	nəmzólí	<i>madness, insanity</i>

3. The Suffix +lá. The suffix +lá is most often applied to nominals including nouns, verbal nouns, and adverbial nouns, usually to form a nominal 'of' or 'characteristic of' the nominal to which it is applied. Words derived through the application of this high tone suffix all carry the L₀H tone pattern.

bútù	<i>cheap</i>	bútùlá	<i>sth cheap</i>
césà	<i>sand</i>	césàlá	<i>cassava of sandy soil</i>
cíptá	<i>lancing (a wound)</i>	cíptàlá	<i>sth lanced</i>
dātè	<i>height</i>	dātèlá	<i>lengthwise</i>
dégé	<i>four</i>	dégèlá	<i>foursome</i>
dəndì	<i>sick</i>	dəndìlá	<i>often sick person</i>
dúwàr	<i>early afternoon</i>	dúwàrlá	<i>early afternoon meal</i>
fátò	<i>house</i>	fátòlá	<i>sth of the house</i>
káfè	<i>bare ground</i>	káfèlá	<i>clear bare area</i>
kài+	<i>skin, peel</i>	kàilá	<i>rope-like peeled tree bark</i>
kàkàtá	<i>cluck</i>	kàkàtàrá	<i>hen in egg-laying stage</i>
kàsúwù	<i>market</i>	kàsúwùlá	<i>market place</i>
kàwàr	<i>grave</i>	kàwàrlá	<i>graveyard</i>
kəlānzá	<i>his/her head</i>	kəlānzàlá	<i>sth done for o.s.</i>
mài	<i>king</i>	màilá	<i>sth of the king</i>
ngəbədò	<i>garbage</i>	ngəbədòlá	<i>garbage heap</i>
sàlá	<i>prayer</i>	sàlàlá	<i>gifts among musicians</i>
sàmtá	<i>distributing, giving out</i>	sàmtàlá	<i>sth given out</i>
shítì	<i>side, ribs</i>	shítìlá	<i>on one's side</i>
tàwàr	<i>thick</i>	tàwàrlá	<i>dense, crowded together</i>

4. The Suffix +ma. The nominalizing suffix +ma can generally be said to form animate (often human) nouns, which are semantically characterized by the noun to which the suffix is applied. In this way a great variety of nouns expressing agency of an action, ownership, and occupation are formed both from lexical nouns and from verbal nouns.

With regard to tone, there seems to be considerable variation among Kanuri speakers. Some of the variation in acceptable tone patterns is a result of the interplay of tone changing morphological processes with the suffixation of +ma. The tone of the suffix nevertheless is not fixed and changes in relation to the tone pattern of the word to which it is affixed. In general (cf Lukas, 1937: 9-11) the suffix takes a low tone and does not alter the tone of the word to which it is affixed when that word ends in a high tone. Elsewhere, after the H-L tone sequences represented in the sequences H-L, R-L, and F, the suffix takes a high tone and all that precedes it takes low tone, yielding L₀H. It should be remembered that this latter L₀H tone pattern is typical of the more abstract nominals derived through tone change, and also of nominals derived through compound-ing.

The plural of nominals in +ma is formed through the replacement of +ma with +wu, on the same tone.

When derived from a verbal noun, the nominal refers to the person who does or typically does the action of the verbal noun.

All nominals in +ma may also function in a modifying role, following a

noun. In this role they are still basically nouns but occur appositively to elaborate the head noun. Many people's names are derived in this way when the +ma nominal contains the name of a village.

ādīn	religion	ādīnmá	devout person
āīn	indigo	āīnmá	dyer
āmān	confidence	āmānmá	confidant
bārā	hunting	bārāmá	hunter
bārè	farming	bārēmá	farmer
bājì	mat	bājìmá	matmaker
bù	eating	bùmá	inheritance recipient
cārā	black (animals)	cārāmá	blackbird
cèlé	grilled meat	cèlémá	meat seller
cí	mouth	címá	ambassador
ciā	with mouth, door	ciāmá	doorman
cídā	work	cídāmá	worker
cítá	getting up, leaving	cítámá	one leaving, leaver
còlló	urine	còllómá	bedwetter
dálà name	béwò axe	dálà béwómá	praying mantis
dálà name	bálám porridge	dálà bálámámá	evening star
dìò	doing	dìòmá	doer, agent
fátké	petty trading	fátkémá	petty merchant
fátò	house, home	fátómá	house owner
férò	girl	fátómá	spouse
fèrèl	?	fèrómá	parent of daughters
fìtìfìtì	scurrying around	fèrèlmá	thunder
fómno	walk, stroll	fìtìfìtìmá	conjuror
fòmtà, fómás	walking, strolling	fómnomá	restless person
gàlgál	deceit	fòmtàámá, fómàsámá	restless person
gàngá	drum	gàlgálmá	type of ant
gàngáú	untanned skin	gàngámá	drummer
gèndé	highway robbery	gàngáúmá	skin merchant
gàré	chew it!	gèndémá	highway robber
gàrégàré	snack	Gàrémá	title/name
gùl+	say	gàrégàrémá	snacker
hàlàngnó	prostitution	gùlmá	troublemaking gossip
jìrè	truth	hàlàngnomá	prostitute
kágól	anvil	jìrémá	honest person
kàngé	fever	kágólmá	smith
kárá	sorcery	kàngémá	one often feverish
kār wà	wind, insanity	kàráámá	witch
kàsúwù	market	kàrwámá	periodically mad person
kàttí	earth	kàsúwùmá	market merchant
kàttúwù	lie	kàttímá	mudbrick mason
kèlā	read	kàttúwùmá	liar
kàmbú	eating, food	kàlámá	peer, age-mate
kànām	sleep	kàmbúmá	big eater, gourmand
kàn jō	giving	kànāmámá	often sleepy person
kàràlkàràl	crunching noise	kàn jómá	giver, provider
kúllò	brass	kàràlkàràlmá	chewable bones
kùlúwù	lake, pond	kúllòmá	brass-smith
kùngórí	asking, request	gàjì kùlúwùmá	tadpole
kùrú	seeing	kùngórimá	one who asks
làdò	selling	kùrúmá	overseer
lāshá	evening prayer/meal	làdómá	seller
lètá	going	lāshámá	evening meal partner
lìntá	persistence	lètámá	one going, traveler
		lètámá	good walker
		lìntámá	obnoxious go-getter

māi	king	Mādzínà	Machina	Māi	Mādzínámà	King of Machina
māiyò	water selling			māiyòmá		water seller
mánà	talk, speech			mánámá		complainant, speaker
mālì	dung			mánámá		professional talker
njì	water			mālímá		stable boy
njò	giving			njímá		water merchant
nzàsà	repairing			njòmá		giver
nzəlìwò	protecting			nzàsámá		repairman, mechanic
nzòrdò	accompanying			nzəlìwòmá		protector
nzúndù	technique, idea			nzòrdòmá		escort
sáá+	weave			nzúndùmá		ingenious person
shìshì	curious investigation			sáámá		weaver
wátə	disliking, not wanting			shìshímá		nosy person
				wátémá		one who dislikes sth
				wátémá		enemy

5. The Nominal Suffix +mì. In its most basic and productive use the low tone suffix +mì may be applied to any proper human noun to form a nominal meaning 'the son of' the person to whose name it is affixed. In this way it may be used to derive the names of male offspring, using as a base either the name of the father or the mother.

Aisà	Aisámì	son of Aisa
Músà	Músámì	son of Musa
Ūmàr	Ūmàrmì	son of Umar
Yā gānā, Yāanā	Yāanámì	son of Yaana

As is clear in the above examples, the suffix retains its tone and does not alter the tone pattern of the name to which it is affixed.

5.1. The Suffix +mì in Ordinal Number Formation. The low tone suffix +mì is applied to the cardinal numbers in the derivation of the ordinal numbers. It is likely that this is the same suffix, the basic use of which was described above. The high tone prefix +kén is also involved in ordinal number formation.

tìlò	one	kéntìlómì	the first
ìndí	two	kénìndímì	the second
yàkkò	three	kényàkkèmì	the third

5.2. The Suffix +mì in Other Derived Nominals. The occurrence of this suffix in uses other than those described in 5 and 5.1 represents an extension of its basic diminutive and relational characteristics. In the words presented here, the suffix bears a high tone, and often occurs in nominals which bear the characteristic semantically abstract tone pattern L₀H. In derivation, it is likely that a two stage process is involved, with the low tone suffix +mì first being applied to the stem without tone change, followed by the tone change to the L₀H pattern characteristic of derived nominals with meanings that are abstract in relation to their non-derived meanings. Some of the following examples have no obvious source.

gòrgòr	short, stocky, sturdy	gòrgòrmì	bull/male leader of animal herd
jòrò	swing, seesaw	jòròjòròmì	long-tailed lizard
kālì		kālímì	rus
kāmù	woman, wife	kāmùmì	effeminate male
kàrdì	non-muslim, pagan	kàrdímì	typically pagan; wild variety of animal species
kóró	donkey	kòròmì	water buck

kùrà big, important
màsàr corn, maize

kùrà mí pride
màsàr mí corn, maize
dàrwùlímí dung beetle

6. The Suffix +nó in the Formation of Nominals. The use of the suffix +nó in nominal formation represents a very productive process in the language. The suffix is applied to stems which function as class 2 verb roots. In general, nominals derived in this way can be said to describe the end result or final product of the action of the verb stem involved. Class 1 verb roots never occur in nominals derived in this way.

With regard to tone, +nó is a high tone suffix in many cases appears to lower the tone of the stem to which it is applied producing the L₀H pattern. When this suffix is applied to a stem-final l, the assimilation of +nó to +ló is reflected in the orthography.

àdàr+	witness, bear witness	àdàrnó	official message of death
bák+	beat, hit	bàngnó	sth beaten
cècè+	drain, trickle off	cècèné	water gather hole in riverbed
cící+	smoke/burn incense	cìcìnó	smoky insect-warding off fire
cíp+	lance, prick	címó	porcupine
dà+	stop, stand	dànó	showstopper; superior person
dáwár+	prepare	dáwàrnó	sth prepared
dé+	cook, boil	dèné	cloth boiled after dying
dègár+	gin, comb out, card	dègàrnó	balding of women
dèrí+	go around, avoid	dèrìnó	sth to avoid/go around
fér+	unfold, lay out, spread	fèrnó	building foundation
fèk+	empty/pour out		
II	pour out/copy onto	fèktègèné	copy, sth copied
fèrá+	sweep up	fèràné	swept waste; clean sweep arrest
fìn+	boil, foam over	fìnnó	gonorrhoea-like venereal disease
fù+	blow	fùnó	sth blown or swollen up
fú+	swell	fùfùnó	elephantiasis; sickly weakness
gàp+	remain, stay	gàpcùwùnó/gàptègèné	remainder, leftovers.
gèná+	place, put	gènàné	sth saved or put aside
gár+	drag along ground	gèrnó	grass on branch after dragging
gèwúr+	pound in mortar	gèwùrnó	pounded product
gòtà	taking	gòtànó	1st wife; load carried for pay
gò+	take		
hálák+	turn or flip over	hàlàngnó	prostitution
kár+	choose, select	kàrnó	sth selected
kàsár+	buy bit by bit	kàrnó	election
kèké+	= cècè	kàsàrnó	summary
kálí	roll or fold up	kèkèné	= cècèné
kámés+	knead, squeeze	kèlìnó	sth rolled up; sth rounded up
kàré+	sort out, select	kàmèsànó	sth crushed into powder
kók+	plant, stick in	kàrèné	selection, cream of the crop
kòkór+/kòrkòr+	turn, rotate, spin	kòngnó	sth planted or stuck in
kùlàs+	search for	kòrkòrnó	round living area
kúr+	draw, mark, trace	kùlàsànó	sth found through searching
làn+	insult	kùrnó	design, drawing
láwú+	pick, pluck; bunch, gather	lànno	insult
lé+	touch	làwùnó	sth left after picking out best
mút+	press and knead	lèlèné	a disease
náp+	sit down, stay	mùnnó	sth kneaded by hand
ndál+	steal	nàpcùwùnó	uninvited guest
njílók+	break or chip off	ndálló	theft
nzót+	squeeze or wring out	njìlòngnó	remainder after breaking off sth
nzók+	pluck, pick, cut off	nzànnó	sth squeezed or wrung out
		nzòngnó	sth cut or picked off

ré+	<i>split, divide halve</i>	rèrèno	<i>splittings</i>
sám+	<i>distribute</i>	sámno	<i>sth distributed</i>
sáp+	<i>collect, gather</i>	sámno	<i>gathering, meeting</i>
		sàsápno/sàpsápno	<i>collection</i>
shìl+	<i>peel, skin</i>	shìlló	<i>inside kernel of palm fruit</i>
shìshì+	<i>investigate</i>	shìshìno	<i>research, investigation</i>
táp+	<i>pour out, cast</i>	tápno/támno	<i>sth re-shaped by melting</i>
tòl+	<i>drip, leak</i>	tòlló	<i>drips from roof leak</i>
tùská+	<i>mix</i>	tùskàno	<i>mixture</i>
wá+	<i>dislike</i>	wáno	<i>rejected one of a group</i>
yók+	<i>drive, herd</i>	yóngno	<i>animal group split off from herd and driven e.g. to market</i>
zá+	<i>stab, beat, tap</i>	zàno	<i>cattle disease originally believed caused by poison dart</i>

7. The Suffix +ram. In its most basic and consistent use (and perhaps its original use) the suffix +ram is used in kinship terminology and naming, and represents the female counterpart of the suffix +mì (see p. 58). In this use it is applied to proper nouns and other human nouns to indicate *daughter of*, in relation to the noun to which it is suffixed. It may be used to derive the names of female offspring, using the name or title of the father (more often than that of the mother) as the base.

māi	<i>king</i>	māirām	<i>princess</i>
Mūsā	<i>Musa</i>	Mūsārām	<i>daughter of Musa</i>
bēlāmā	<i>village head</i>	bēlāmārām	<i>daughter of village head</i>

Nominals derived in this way may be used independently either as names like proper nouns, or for the purpose of identification to describe or distinguish perhaps a child. They may also occur in noun modifier position as an originally appositive modifier of a proper noun indicating someone's given first name, thus Fānā Mūsārām *Fanna daughter of Musa*. Subsequently, either the independent head noun or the nominal in the modifier position may be used to designate the girl in question. This modifier use is similar to the use of nominals formed through the suffixation of +mā to describe and modify (see p. 56).

As is clear in the above examples, in this basic use the suffix retains its tone and does not alter the tone pattern of the noun to which it is affixed.

7.1. The Suffix +ram in Instrumental and Locative Nominals. When applied to other kinds of nouns and to verbal nouns, the suffix +ram plays an important role in the formation of nominals describing instruments, places, and other nominals less directly related to their formative stem. All nominals described here bear some abstract relation to the noun or verbal noun to which the suffix is applied, and can be said to represent extensions of the basic *daughter of* relation between noun and derived nominal described above in 7. It is likely that an extension of this filial relationship results in the derivation of the names of certain body parts included in the following examples. There the suffix is applied to nouns and even to onomatopoeic stems describing something typical of that area of the body, and the derived nominal becoming the noun describing that body part.

As was observed above with regard to the suffix +ma, here also there seems to be considerable variation among Kanuri speakers with regard to the tone pattern of these derived nominals. Some of the variation in acceptable tone patterns is probably due to the interplay of tone-changing morphological processes with the suffixation of +ram. The tone of the suffix

nevertheless is not fixed, and changes in relation to the tone pattern of the word to which it is affixed. In general (cf Lukas, 1937: 11-12) the suffix is low tone after low tone syllables, and after words in which one or two high tones follow low tone syllables. Elsewhere nominals derived in this way are of the characteristic abstract tone pattern L₀H. As is apparent, there are many exceptions.

álin	indigo	álinrám	dyer's work site
bálté	mid-morning period	báltèrám	breakfast
bá	razor	bèlìrám	penis head after circumcision
bílǵè	foam	bílǵèrám	crotch of person/animal
bínà	chaff	bìnàrám	chaff container
bìnèm	cold season	bìnèmràám	tax assessed in cold season
bòwùl	urine	bòwùlrám/bòwùllám	bladder
bùn/bunà	lying down	bùnàrám	way/place of sleeping
cíǵè	fly	cíǵèrám	horse's facial fly chaser
cím	bitter	cìmrám	gall bladder
cǎntá	wiping	cǎntàrám	duster, sth for wiping
círà	gravel	cìràrám	gizzard
còlló	urine	còllòrám	urethra
dà+	stop, end, stand	dàngèrám	the highest/greatest/biggest
dátá	stopping, ending, etc.	dàtèrám	standing position; tying-post
II	stopping at	dàtǵèràám	end, stopping point
dáwú	neck	dàwùrám	decorative rope for horse's neck
dábdò	spending the day	dàbdòrám	
dámbe	blow of butt-side of hand with closed fist	dàmbèràám	protruding flesh at side of hand when making a dambe fist
fàntǵé	making hear	fàntǵèràám	truthful way of expression
fátómà	host, head of house	fátómàràám	gift from one's host
félí	side of face	fèlìrám	horse's facial decoration
fér+	lay out, unfold	fèrrám	carpet spread for sitting
fèrò	girl	fèrdràám	polite for vagina; money paid by groom for bride's virginity
férté	laying out, unfolding	fèrtèràám	blanket, spread
fèràtá	sweeping	fèràtèràám	broom
fèràs+	escape, run away	fèràskèràám	open outdoor space; parade-ground
ǵàwò	entering	ǵàwòràám	entrance, way of entering
ǵàwàttá	stepping	ǵàwàttèràám	step, stair
ǵùlté	saying	ǵùltèràám	way of saying sth
II	saying to, teaching	ǵùltǵèràám	best way of verbal expression
kàjà	circumcision	kàjàràám	foreskin
kám-tá	cutting	kàm-tèràám	narrowest cutting point; waist
kàsám	breeze	kàsàm-rám	wind-hole, window
kàmbù	eating	kàmbèràám	right (hand)
kèndégà	living	kèndèǵèràám	living place; way of life
kìngiyám	messenger to give sth to	kìngiyàm-rám	gift to kingiyam messenger
kóló	small drum	kòlòràám	hoof
kòrò	asking	kòròràám	bride asking price paid to parents
kùntùshí	rest	kùntùshìràám	resting place
kùrà	big, important	kùràràám	money paid to a wife upon taking another wife
kùrù	seeing	kùrùràám	eye; sth to see with
kùsùsù	female groom's represent.	kùsùsùràám	place of kùsùsù during wedding
kwàngá	man	kwàngàràám	penis
kwányí	my husband	kwányìràám	characteristic male behavior
lâtá	digging	lâtèràám	digging implement
lètégé	making go	lètèǵèràám	behavior, way it works, procedure
líwà	dead unslaughtered animal	líwàràám	bad rotten egg

līwú	pocket	līwūrám	malam's prayer case
lòglògmà	one that goes	lòglògmàrám	pulse hole at throat base
lói	up high	lòilòirám	pinnacle, highest point
lúá+	weave	sààrám	loom
sálà	prayer	sàlàrám	callous/sandy spot on forehead
sèlláté	sharpening	sèllàtèrám	sharpeners
sényé	herding, grazing	sényèrám	pasturage
shàràkté	= sèlláté	shàràktèrám	= sèllàtèrám
shímálo	tear	shímáldrám	point of tears/crying
súk+	pierce, penetrate	súwúrám	key
tàmòté	finish, complete	tàmòtèrám	end
wàsté	igniting, turning on	wàstèrám	switch etc. for turning on
wàstá	pounding, in mortar	wàstèrám	mortar for pounding grain heads
wòlò+	perform ablution	wòlòrám	forearm
wúl	shiny, flashing	wúllèrám	firefly
wùlwùlá+	shine, reflect	yàngèrám	waist where pants are belted
yàngé	pants, trousers	yèzòrám	turning off place/instrument
yèzò	turning off place/instrument	zàktèrám	lid, top, cover
zàkté	lid, top, cover	zèptèrám	place to stay, temporary lodging
zèpté	descend, alight		

8. The Suffix +rí. The high tone suffix +rí is applied to nouns in the derivation of nouns of place, and is most often used to describe the residence or the home of the noun to which it is applied. Many geographical names, especially of towns and villages, in Borno State were derived through the application of this suffix. Within the bigger towns like Maiduguri (Yerwa) and Bama for example, many of the quarters or wards of the town are also formed in this way. The wards may be named after an important person whose residence is in the neighborhood, such as the ward in which the Shehu of Borno resides, where his palace is, is referred to as Shèhùrí, which may be used to refer either to the Shehu's palace or to the ward where it is located. Wards may also be named in this way for a non-Kanuri ethnic group which has settled there, or for the artisans practicing a given craft which have settled together in a ward.

The suffix +rí is a tone changing suffix since it always retains its high tone, and since its application results in the change to low tone of all of the tones in the word to which it is suffixed. The resulting tone pattern is once again the characteristic abstract tone pattern L₀H. When it is applied to a word final nasal consonant, it becomes +rí and is written as it is pronounced according to the SKO.

àlínmà	dyer	àlínmàrí	dyer's residence/ward
àjjá	district head	àjjàrí	district head's residence
àlháji/áji	pilgrim/pilgrimage	àlhàjírí/àjírí	pilgrim's registration area
Afúnó	Hausa	Afùndrí	Hausa ward
bàlámà	village head	bàlámàrí	village head's residence
kàgàlmà	smith	kàgàlmàrí	smith's residence/ward
kèmbù	blind person	kèmbùrí	blind people's ward
làwán	ward/village head	làwántí	ward/village head's residence
lìtá	doctor	lìtárí/lìtárí	dispensary, hospital
lìmán	imam	lìmántí	imam's residence/ward
máí	king	màrrí	king's residence
màidùwú	son of prince	Màidùwùrí	prince's son's residence; village
Shèhù	Shehu of Borno	Shèhùrí	Shehu's residence/ward
tàndà	delinquent	tàndàrí	juvenile delinquent home

CHAPTER 9: WORD FORMATION THROUGH TONE CHANGE, EPENTHESIS AND REDUPLICATION

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe all of the word formation processes rooted in phonological processes, whether they be segmental or suprasegmental. Though most of the processes described here are synchronically productive, certain of them are documented here with only very scanty data since they have only recently been recognized as part of Kanuri word morphology. Others only mentioned here are no longer productive in the language.

The discussion will center on three major areas which will be treated in the order in which they are presented here: 1) words derived through altering the tone pattern of other words, including the process of compounding, through which new compound words are formed by combining words and altering their tone when combined, 2) words formed through the epenthesis of a vowel or an entire CV syllable to stems and other lexical items, and 3) words formed through the reduplication of the syllables of a stem or other lexical item, sometimes accompanied by vowel epenthesis for phonological reasons.

2. Words Derived from Other Words through Tone Change. Tone and tone change play a very important role in the derivational morphology of Kanuri. This is true not only with regard to the nouns, but also with regard to the verb. The role of tone in the language was described briefly in ch. 4, and the subject of tone change was briefly introduced there. In this section, the morphological role played by tone change in word formation will be delimited and fully elaborated.

In ch. 8, some of the productive word formative affixes were described there as tone changing affixes. There it was noted that when applied, certain of the affixes result in the derived tone pattern L₀H, an abbreviation used to indicate a high tone on the final syllable of a word, preceded by one or more low tone syllables. This L₀H pattern will be repeatedly observed in the present section, as being typical of many of the words derived from other words through tone change. Words derived in this way normally bear some kind of abstract semantic relationship to the basic unaltered form from which they were derived. Thus this characteristic derived tone pattern will be referred to as the abstract nominal L₀H tone pattern.

2.1. Diachronic Evidence of Tone Change as a Word Formation Process. In ch. 4 it was suggested that many of the pairs of words differing only in tone which we regard simply as minimal pairs of Kanuri, may in fact have originally been derived one from the other, at a time in the history of the language when tone change was a productive morphological process. There is evidence for this among lexical items, and as well very strong support is provided by evidence from the stems of class 2 verbs. Because of the morphemic structure of the class 2 verb (see p. 96) we know that all of the stems functioning as roots for this class, originally came from elsewhere in the language or from outside of the language. For many of these class 2 roots, their source is easily traceable. However one of the distinctive subgroups of class 2 roots is that one made up of monosyllabic roots which have no apparent Kanuri or non-Kanuri source. The small sample of this subgroup presented here involves minimal pairs of these roots differing only in tone. This sample suggests that a low tone root of this subgroup may have at some point been derived from a high tone root of the subgroup, or vice-versa. There is also some evidence from this subgroup as well as from elsewhere in the class 2 roots which

provides some support for the hypothesis that low tone may be associated with intransitivity and high tone with transitivity, in this verb class.

dám+	become crowded, fill up	dám+	seep, ooze
fù+	blow	fú+	swell
kā+	avoid, escape	kā+	open, uncover, reveal
kār+	thicken, solidify	kār+	wrap up
kòk+	peck at	kòk+	plant, stick in ground
sām+	distribute, give out	sām+	rib on
tār+	spread out, lay out	tār+	scatter, disperse
yèn+	fish out, scoop out	yèn+	stretch
yì+	dissolve, melt	yì+	undo
yìn+	breathe	yìn+	smell, sniff
zèk+	scrape, grate, shake	zèk+	annoy, pester, irritate

Since this represents a closed subgroup of the class 2 roots, this data is clearly representative of a process which is no longer productive.

2.2. Deriving Language Names from Ethnic Group Names. The L-H-L word Kànùrì refers to *the Kanuri people, a Kanuri person*. The L₀H word Kànùrì refers to *the Kanuri language*. The language may also be referred with the reduplicated version of the same L₀H word, i.e. Kànùrikànùrì. Clearly the language name does bear a semantically abstract relationship to the people. Thus through tone change involving the application of the characteristically abstract L₀H tone pattern to the underlying L-H-L pattern, the name of the language is derived from the name of the people. In this way many, though not all, language names are derived. It is the derived nominal describing the language which also lends itself readily to the modifier function within the noun phrase and thus one can express the notion *Kanuri medicine*, either with a genitive modifier involving the name of the people, as in kùrwùn Kànùribè *Kanuri medicine, medicine of the Kanuri*, or with the derived language/modifier occurring alone in the modifier position, as in kùrwùn Kànùrì *Kanuri medicine*. As modifiers or as predicate adjectives, the derived forms are often used to describe something which is typical of the ethnic group, e.g. an object or some kind of behavior. In this descriptive use again, it is apparent that the derived form bears an abstract relation to the underlying form. The reduplicated L₀H form may as well be used in the descriptive modifier function.

ethnic group		language and modifier	
Afùno	Hausa person/people	Afùno/Afùndàfùno	Hausa
Fàrànsà	French person/people	Fàrànsà/Fàrànsàfàrànsà	French
Fàlātà	Fulfulde person/people	Fàlātá/Fàlātáfàlātá	Fulfulde
Kànèmbù	Kanembu person/people	Kànèmbù/Kànèmbùkànèmbù	Kanembu
Kànùrì	Kanuri person/people	Kànùrì/Kànùrikànùrì	Kanuri
nàsàrà	European, important person	nàsàrà/nàsàrànàsàrà	English
Yàràwá	Yoruba person/people	Yàràwá/Yàràwáyàràwá	Yoruba

For other ethnic groups and nationalities which do not have a trisyllabic structure, this process may not apply. For example the German language may be referred to as tálàm Jámùsbè *the tongue of Germany*. In the case of Shùwá *Shuwa Arab person/people*, the reduplicated L₀H derived form is most often used exclusively in the language/modifier role, i.e.:
 Shùwàshùwá.

2.3. Deriving Abstract Forms from Lexical Nouns. For the examples treated here it is again the case that the derived L₀H tone pattern corresponds with the abstract meaning of the derived form in relation to its underlying lexical source.

ing lexical source. The process captured by the examples presented here is identical to that described above with regard to ethnic groups and languages, though the reduplicated form is not normally produced for these tonally derived forms.

lexical noun

fátò	house
fèrò	girl
fùfù	lungs
kámú	woman
kènám	sleep
kwàngá	man
méndè	last year
ngánjì	chest
shímáìò	tear (of eyes)
tádà	child, boy
zánò	sth stabbed, lanced

derived abstract form

fátó	of the household
fèró	typical of girls, girlish
fùfú	lung disease of cattle
kámú	typical of women
kènám	sleeping sickness
kwàngá	typical of men
méndé	former times, in the past
ngánjí	permanent cough, TB
shímáìó	cattle disease with tearing of eyes as one symptom
tádá/tádà	childish
zánó	cattle disease believed caused by shooting of poison dart

The following examples are apparently representative of this same process though they all share the feature of an underlying L-H tone pattern on their lexical source. It is perhaps for this reason that their only derived form is the reduplicated L_0H form.

bàttí	useless, undesirable	bàttìbàttí	useless undesirable collection of things
còlló	urine	còllócòlló	urine-like
zòlí	insane person, mad, crazy	zòlìzòlí	typical of insane person

2.4. Derived L_0H Abstract Forms with Suffixes. Semantically, these examples are identical to those presented in 2.2 and 2.3, with a derived form abstractly related to its underlying source. Structurally however, these examples involve some form of suffixation, the suffix very likely being applied before the tone change in some cases, and after the tone change in others.

The following derived forms all end with a high tone, final consonant geminating suffix +á. Thus for example, the word kádáwù means *dirt*, and the derived form with suffix is the L_0H patterned kádáwùá meaning *permanently dirty*. According to the analysis to be presented here, the underlying source of this suffix is the low tone, final consonant geminating suffix +á, which is the associative postposition (see p. 199). According to this analysis therefore, the associative postposition would first be applied to the underlying lexical source kádáwù *dirt*, giving kádáwù+á 'kádáwùá *dirty*. To this then the L_0H tone changing process would apply, giving the surface derived form kádáwùá *permanently dirty*. Whether or not this is the correct source for such derived forms cannot be verified at the present time. It is important to point out that these derived forms when coming from a lexical noun plus suffix alone are in fact homophonous with what would be the plural forms of the lexical nouns, even though they are written differently according to the SKO. Thus if kádáwù were a count noun its plural would be written kádáwùá according to the SKO, though it would be pronounced exactly as the derived kádáwùá *permanently dirty* is written and pronounced. It may therefore be possible that the process by which count nouns of Kanuri are pluralized (described on p. 43), and the derived tone changing process being described here are instances of the same process. According to this hypothesis therefore, pluralization would semantically qualify as an abstract form with the L_0H tone pattern

because of the semantic relation between the more abstract plural form and the more concrete singular form. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that nearly all of the nouns presented below as examples of the tone changing process are in fact non-count nouns. Nevertheless, the following examples are presented as described above, through the application first of the associative postposition, and then the tone changing process.

bərbàr	dust	bərbèrrá	permanently dusty, filthy
bərbèrrà	dusty		
kádáwù	dirt	kádàwùá	permanently dirty
kádáwùà	dirty		
kàttí	earth, mud, soil	kàttíá	very dirty; sexual experimentation by children on the ground; insult referring to parents' private parts
kàttíà	having earth, mud, soil		
kèlì		kèlìá	
kèlìà			
kúngénà	money	kúngénàá	having to do with money, a money matter
kúngénàà	having money, rich		

In the following two examples, it is apparent that this same process has been applied to a compound. In both cases the derived form is usually pronounced with the contraction of the final syllable as indicated.

kàrэгè	heart	kàrэгèkùttùá	sadness
kúttù	unpleasant, bad	kàrэгèkùttá	
kàrэгè kúttùà	being unhappy		
mùskò	hand, arm	mùskòcìbbùá	avarice
cìbbù	hard	mùskòcìbbá	
mùskò cìbbùà	tight-fisted, miserly		

In the next set of examples, the nominalizing suffix +ram has been applied to words derived through the same process as already described to this point. This suffix was described on page 60 as a formative of instrumental and locative nominals. However when it is here applied to these abstract forms, the resulting nominals are abstract, describing the *matter* or the *issue pertaining to* the basic lexical noun from which they are formed. Other treatments of Kanuri grammar have analyzed examples of this type as instances of the application of a tone changing suffix +árám (cf Lukas, 1937:12; Cyffer, 1977:64). The tone pattern of these derived forms however, plus the normal tonal behavior of the suffix +ram (which is always low tone when applied to words of the L₀H pattern), would support the present analysis.

bàdì+	begin	bàdìàrà̀m	beginning
bàrè	farming, hoeing	bàrèàrà̀m	a farming matter
bàrèà	there is farming		
bìské	game, amusement, play	bìskéàrà̀m	amusing or entertaining event or matter
bìskéà	having a game, etc.		
kàkkádà	paper, book	kàkkádààrà̀m	matter pertaining to books, writing, etc.
kàkkádàà	having paper, etc.		
kámú	woman, wife	kámúàrà̀m	things belonging to or pertaining to a woman
kámúà	having a woman, wife		

kérà	<i>study, learning, reading</i>	kèrààrà̀m	<i>matter of learning</i>
kéràà	<i>having study, etc.</i>		
kùlò	<i>field, farm</i>	kùlòàrà̀m	<i>matter pertaining to the field</i>
kùlòà	<i>having a field, farm</i>		
lòrúsà	<i>bride, groom</i>	lòrúsààrà̀m	<i>matters/preparations relating to a wedding</i>
lòrúsàà	<i>having a bride, groom</i>		
ngémérì	<i>festival</i>	ngémèrìàrà̀m	<i>a festival matter</i>
ngémèrìà	<i>there is a festival</i>		

In the following examples an adjectival noun of color is involved as the lexical source of the derived abstract form. For these examples however the abstract L₀H tone pattern apparently does not apply.

bùl	<i>white</i>	bùllàrà̀m	<i>whitish; type of horse with white spots</i>
cìmè	<i>red</i>	cìmèàrà̀m	<i>reddish</i>
kèlì	<i>green</i>	kèlìàrà̀m	<i>greenish</i>
sélém	<i>black</i>	sélémmàrà̀m	<i>blackish</i>

In the following final example the L₀H tone pattern does apply to a compounded abstract form which is used idiomatically as indicated below.

kànyí	<i>goat</i>		<i>lit: the matter of the kid</i>
kèlì	<i>newborn</i>	kànyìkèlìàrà̀m	<i>goat; used idiomatically when sth has another unspoken reason behind it</i>
kànyì kèlì	<i>kid goat</i>		

2.5. Deriving Nominals from Verbal Nouns. The nominals presented here are derived by tone change alone and again demonstrate a derived semantic abstraction from the underlying source, which is here a verbal noun. These examples are not instances of the abstract L₀H tone pattern. It represents thus far a rather limited class of derived nominals and thus it does not seem to be a very productive morphological process. It is only certain class 2 verbal nouns which participate in this process. It is worth noting that most of the source verbal nouns are those with low tone roots and intransitive meanings.

bèmté	<i>living in luxury</i>	bèmtè	<i>luxury, opulence</i>
dàté	<i>standing, stopping</i>	dàtè	<i>height</i>
kàté	<i>escaping</i>	kàtè	<i>escape; avoidance</i>
kàrté	<i>thickening, freezing</i>	kàrtè	<i>pile, stack</i>
kàrté	<i>wrapping/tying up</i>		
màrté	<i>becoming humid</i>	màrtè	<i>humidity</i>
ngàkté	<i>envying</i>	ngàktè	<i>jealousy, envy</i>
nòté	<i>knowing</i>	nòtè	<i>knowledge</i>
rété/rètà	<i>halving, splitting</i>	rètè	<i>half</i>
yínté	<i>breathing</i>	yíntè	<i>breath</i>

3. Deriving Nominals by Combining Words. The process of forming new words through the combination of words is extremely productive in Kanuri, just as it is in English and many other languages. In English, by combining the words *sleep* and *walk*, or *wind* and *mill*, and by changing their stress or accent pattern in combining them, the derived words *sleepwalk* and *windmill* respectively, are formed. Such combinations are referred to as *compounds* by linguists, and the process *compounding*. The process of compounding is indicated in Kanuri by tone change of the source words, rather than by stress or accent change. All Kanuri compounds, the derivation of which involves some tone alteration of the component parts, are written as one word according to the SKO, without hyphenation. The

tone changes and the resulting tone pattern of the derived form are not always predictable. The abstract L₀H tone pattern is however quite prevalent among the derived compounds.

3.1. Compounds Made up of Nouns. All of the compounds presented here involve the combination of a noun usually with another noun, and less often with a verb root. It will be noticed that many of the lexical nouns involved in these compounds are the names for body parts.

<i>source</i>		<i>compound</i>	
cí	mouth		
kùndùlì	hair	cìkùndùlì	moustache
kánnú	fire	cìkánnú	piece of burnt firewood
tádà	boy, son, child	cítádà	lid, cover (usu of granary)
gál+	sharpen by pounding	cìngál	tin, corrugated iron
dáwú	neck	dàwùngàshò	dyed gown with dark indigo at top, light below
ngáshò	stork		
dáwù	middle, center	dàwùdè	macaroni, noodles
dē	empty		
bū	blood	bùkèrì	dark red, maroon
kèrì	dog		
dágèl	monkey	dàgèlbùlóngú	baboon
bùlóngú	tree type		
kám	person, man		
bā	there is/are not	kám-bā	widow
tándò	building	kám-tándò	artificial, man-made
kàngádì	horn (animal)	kàngádìtìlò	rhinoceros
tìlò	one		
kàrэгè	heart	kàrэгèwár	heartburn
wár+	burn		
kèlā	head		
búl	white	kèlābúl	impetigo of scalp
bìlgè	foam	kèlābìlgè	white flowering shrub
dèrì+	circle around, avoid	kèlādèrì/kèmādèrì	dizziness, vertigo
fèrém	open	kèlāfèrém	enlightenment, awareness
kā	stick, cane	kèlākāa	head of the bed
sáwādè	local sugar cane	kèlāsáwādè	horse's bridle decoration
sérèn	pain, ache	kèlāsèrèn	headache
yàkké/yàské	three	kèlāyàkké/kèlāyàské	young unmarried girl with 3-sectioned hair style
zāwá	man's round cap	kèlāzāwá	top edged part of man's cap
térém	crowded, in quantity	kèlātèrém/kèmátèrèn	type of head cold
kènā	hunger	kènākènèm	sleepy feeling when hungry
kènēm	sleep		
kènzà	nose		
bū	blood	kènzāmbù/kènzāmù	bloody nose
ìndí	two	kènzāndí	fork in a road or branch
yàkké	three	kènzāyàkké	3-branched fork
kwá	man	kwánà	guy, little man
gáná	small, little		

kùndùlì	hair	kùndùlìnjìwí	pepper corn hair
njìwí	burr grass, burr		
njì	water	njìgòrò	orangish kola color
gòrò	kola nut		
ngùdì	poor destitute person	ngùdikám	bum, rogue
kám	person		
rò	soul, life	ròkùrà	conceit
kùrà	big, important		
sémò	ear	sémòlì	wild cat with long pointed ears
lì+	grow		
shí	foot, leg		
gál+	sharpen by pounding	shíyál	shin, shinbone
kā	stick, cane	shíkāā	foot of the bed
kātè	space, interval	shíkātè	space between thighs
shím	eye		
kàlì	green	shìmkàlì	hepatitis, jaundice
kùrét	short narrow scratch	shìmkùrét	cheek marking below eyes
kurni	?	shìmkurní	novice, beginner
kùwù	chicken	shìmkùwù	sorghum variety
kawu	?	kàwùshím	eyelashes
zāu	painful, difficult	shímzāu	conjunctivitis
shū	iron, metal		
bí	male (of animal)	shūbì	magnet
tádà	boy, son, child		
súnyì	herdsman	tādàsúnyì	infant death
tádà	boy, son, child		
ngénye	without	tādàngényé	barren
télám	tongue, language		
tùt+	stop up, stuff	tèlám-tùtú	lisp-like speech defect

3.2. Compounds Made up of Verbs. Compounds made up of one or more finite or nonfinite verbal components are quite common. Such compounds are more predictable tonally than their counterparts derived from other lexical sources. They are quite consistently of the abstract L₀H tone pattern. In the Kanuri verb system, it is the 2S verb form which is used as the neutral finite form for giving directions, telling someone how to get somewhere or how to do something, etc., just as is the case in English. Further, it is also the 2S form of the conjunctive conjugation of the verb which Kanuri uses impersonally to conjoin verbal nouns, and in other impersonal environments (see ch. 35). Therefore, wáltám bàktà does not mean *you return and beating/printing, but rather literally means *returning and beating/printing*, even though the first finite verb form is fully marked for 2S in the conjunctive conjugation. Together the pair may be used to mean *reprinting* or *retyping*. It is this impersonal 2S conjunctive verb form which participates in a great many of the verb-based compounds introduced in this section. In many cases it is followed within the compound by a 2S imperative verb form, which has also apparently taken on the impersonal connotation in this environment.

verbal source

compound

bònám 2S CNJ you lie down and
dègái 2S IMP live!

bònám-dègái woman's jumper type

bònəm	2S CNJ you lie down and	bònəmwàné	passage of time, time, day in and day out
wàné	2S IMP spend the night!		
dànəm	2S CNJ you stop and	dànəmwállé	retreat, sudden turning back
wállé	2S IMP become/return!		
dərínəm	2S CNJ you go around and	dərínəmkàllé	perimeter, circumference
kállé	2S IMP join together!		
dùtəm	2S CNJ you sew and	dùtəmfèté	sth done uselessly e.g. sewing without thread
fèté	2S IMP undo it!		
gám	2S CNJ you follow and	gàmàré	bamboo (formerly used for policeman's night-stick)
àré	2S IMP come!		
lènəm	2S CNJ you go and	lènəmàré	round trip, to and fro
àré	2S IMP come!		
mánəm	2S CNJ you look for and	mànəmbúí	daily bread, livelihood
búí	2S IMP eat!		
shìlləm	2S CNJ you skin/peel and	shìlləmbúí	unskinned peanuts
búí	2S IMP eat!		
yádəm	2S CNJ you carry away and	yádəmkùdé	gossip, rumors
kùdé	2S IMP bring back!		

The remaining examples to be presented here represent a potpourri of compounds in which at least one finite or nonfinite verb form occurs as one of the combined words. Several of the examples involve the reduplication of a finite verb form. Not all of them involve tone change.

Alà	Ala	Alàngòrò	asking God
kòrò	asking		
gàmbà	you will not follow	gàmbà	tired old cow
gàwí	you (pl) did not follow	gàwí	stray, lost domestic animal
kàlf	green, raw	kəlìzùwó	raw green vegetables
zúwò	he ate it		
kúlwú	man's gown	kəlmàské	sleeve
múké/múské	I should put it on	kùlwùmàskè+	conceal in gown sleeve
kòlgátà	left, abandoned	kòlgatàgò	money etc found unexpectedly
gò+	take		
gàdà	they said	gádàgádà	rumors, gossip
ngáidò	jaw	ngàidògáigái	mumps
gái	2S follow!		
ngàwò	back, behind	ngàwòsúrú	stealing from one's husband's house for one's relatives
súrú	s/he should see		
màtà	looking for	màtàfèrəm	medicine against weapons
fèrəm+	open		
nzàtà	it seized you	nzédàlèwò	diarrhea
lèwòndò	s/he went		
súrò	stomach, insides	súròmbùlò	nickname of a festival involving feasting
mbùlò	filling up		
wòndò	s/he said	wòndòwòndò	sth heard thru grapevine
rúwà	you (pl) won't see	rúwàsà/wúrùsà	pimple, blemish
sà	s/he thought		
gèré	2S chew!	gèrègèré	snacks

3.3. Compounds and Other Nominals Derived from Verb Emphasis Completive Forms. According to the present analysis, all of the derived nominals presented here have been derived from finite verb forms in the verb emphasis completive aspect (see p. 125). In the cases cited here, it is normally the 3S form which is adapted to this derivative use. Some of the examples presented represent compounds, though most of them are simply nominals derived in this way through usually some kind of tone change. The verb emphasis completive is easily recognized by the tone pattern on the final syllable: it always ends in a high tone +í syllable. This is recognizable here, and as well, it appears that the abstract L₀H tone pattern is sometimes relevant.

<i>source verb root</i>		<i>derived nominal</i>	
còk+	walk tiptoed due to stiffness in ankle/foot	còkci	limp person with stiff foot at the ankle
dà+	stop, end	dājīrām	end
dí+	do	sédí/cídí	earth, ground
dūnyā	world, nature	dūnyātí	worldly person
gāp+	remain, be left over	gāpci	remainder, leftovers
gūl+	say	gūljīgūljí	idle talk
kākās+	peel bark from	kāskāshí	bark (tree); scales (fish)
kūlās+	investigate	kūlāshí	research, investigation
kwāā+	become married (woman)	kwāājí	persistent spinster
ngərməs+	break in, wear in	ngərməshí	goal
kələ+	win	kələjí	winner
rú+	see	njimsūrí	girl divorced after very short marriage
njīm	hut	sátki/sáttí	goatskin water bag
sāk+	drip, filter, leak	təmājí	fiancé
təmā+	hope, expect	tūshīrām	resting place
tūs+	rest, spend time	kāmcèjí	murderer
yèz+	kill		
kām	person		

4. Word Formation through Final Vowel/Syllable Epenthesis. According to the present analysis, the examples presented here are derived from the indicated underlying sources for spontaneous phonological reasons. It has been observed (see p. 15) that the possible forms of the Kanuri syllable are CV, CVC, and V, the latter V usually resulting from borrowing where it occurs in word initial position. Excluding the specific adverb, every word in the lexicon terminates either with a vowel final CV syllable, or with a sonorant consonant final CVC syllable. Thus the phonological structure of the Kanuri syllable may be predictable on the basis of its position within the word, as well as on the lexical category of the word within which it occurs. It is therefore likely that many of the following derived nominals have been formed from underlying CV and CVC roots by either final vowel epenthesis or final CV syllable epenthesis, in order to qualify as bisyllabic words of the lexicon and as a result of the constraints on syllable structure, final consonant quality, etc., inherent to the phonology of the language.

In the examples presented in this section it will be noted that many are included which do not strictly reflect the phonological constraints described above. The H-L tone pattern of bisyllabic words for example is more often violated than not. Also, final vowel epenthesis often applies not only to final obstruents, but as well to final sonorant consonants, again in violation of the above. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness and documentation, all words that could possibly have been derived through this process have been included here.

4.1. Epenthesis Applied to Underlying Class 2 Verb Roots. For nearly all

of the examples presented here, a class 2 verb root is indicated as the proposed underlying source. It is apparent that the examples presented do not represent a semantically unified group of derived nominals. In some cases the relation between the proposed source and its derived form may not be readily apparent and may even be questionable.

<i>source</i>		<i>derived nominal</i>
bákt	beat, hit	bágè stumbling block
bàlèk+	interrupt, confuse, mix up	bàlégè/bàlgè uncouth fool
bærtətə	bumpy gourd	bàrtətégè large toad
bærtəka	large bumpy gourd	
fál+	break in two at natural division; ford, wade across	fàlí section or lobe of sth
fát+	need	fàlá flood
fù+	blow, stoke	fàtkè needy person
fú+	swell	fúwò/fúkkò cooking tripod
gák+	skin (animal)	gàngáu dried untanned cowhide
gál+	sharpen edge by pounding	gàlí trimmed, sealed edge
gár+	build, construct	gàré shadow of wall, hedge
gèr+ VC 1	chew, munch	gàrú wall
gúr+	whip, flog, cane	magèri craving for salty meat, etc.
		gúrú raised welts, corrugation, waistband charm under e.g. dress
gùrùp+	poke, butt	gùrúí butting
kàláp+	anoint hands during marriage ceremony; knock down from above	kàláwà anointing of hands during marriage ceremony; fruit etc. knocked down from e.g. tree
kàráp+	scrape, strike together	kàráwù knock-kneed
kàsàt+	agree, accept	kàsáda agreement, consent
kénd+ VC 1	bind child on back	kéndégè woman who recently gave birth
kó+	pass, surpass; II echo	kówò voice, echo
kók+	plant or stick in ground	kógè/kówù sth holding sth in position
kūr	wooden mortar	kúrú pestle, grinder
kùsùl+	disappear from disuse (e.g. a path)	kùsùlù wild plant with edible fruit
lí+	grow	lígè Chadian guinea corn variety
lór+ VC 1	gather up and remove	lòrí undesirable meat gristle
mát+	press down and pull strongly	màngù nasal bone, sceptum
		mànngè nickname for monkey, referring to noseless flatfaced appearance
mèk+	apply heat e.g. to body	mэгè/mэгè warm closed container, underground oven
		electric fish
mìlmìlá+	ferment	bìlgè foam
ndép+	tie, knot	ndéwù knòt
ngés+	try	ngésé hard tumor on body
ngèshí	elbow	
nzét+	wring or squeeze out	nzétkè ignoramus
shík+	scrape off, grate	cígè teeth-cleaning chew stick
sùlìt+	slip	sùlùdí slipping, skidding
súk+	pierce, penetrate, vaccinate	súwù grass for zana mats
wàr+	snatch; II take sides in argument	súwùràmm key
wàwàk+	become one's fate	wàrí partiality, taking sides
wòwóp+ = V of wóp+	overwhelm	wàwáá destiny, fate
yés+	deviate, turn off	wòwòwà luck, chance
yíp+	stack, line or bind up	yésè power to escape thrown objects
		yíwù bound up in quantity
		yíwù yíwù yípkàtā all bound up

zâ+ stab, poke, beat, tap	zâwù arrow quiver
zâk+ close, cover	zââ woven basket used as lid
zêk+ grate, scrape, kindle	zâgâ cover, blanket
	zêgê ball of charcoal plus gum arabic used as ink
zûr+ scoop up, skid to a halt when stopping	zûrí one scooped up handful, one skid

4.2. Class 2 Roots and Corresponding Nominals from Arabic Sources.

All of the examples presented here share the common feature of entering Kanuri from the Arabic language. They are separated here because in many cases it is impossible to tell or to know whether the stems involved originally entered Kanuri as class 2 verb roots, or as nominals. Thus while many of them appear to be cases of the final syllable epenthesis described in 4.1 above, the derivational order may in fact be reversed, with the class 2 verb root being derived from the nominal. It is very likely that both derivational orders are involved among the examples presented.

<i>class 2 verb root</i>	<i>nominal</i>
âdâr+/hâdâr+ attend, witness, be present at	âdârî/hâdâr testimony, bearing witness, being present
âmâr+ will, let, allow, permit	âmârî permission, agreement
ârdî+ be grateful for, recognize	ârdîâ appreciation
âskêr+ thank	âskêrà gratitude, thanks
âsar+ lose, abort	âsarâ miscarriage
âlâk create	âlôgâ creation
bâyên+ explain	âlêgê creature
dâwâr+ prepare, plan	bâyên explanation
dîgêr+ say the shahada	dâwârî foresight, plan, ingenuity
fâsar+ translate, explain	dîgêr/dîgêrà words la illaha illa llahu
gâfâr+ forgive, pardon	fâsarâ translation, explanation
gûl+ say; II teach	gâfêrà forgiveness
hâiyâ+ verify, ascertain truth of	gûlû exaggeration
hûrmô+ favor	hâiyâ truth, fact
jâáp+ answer	hûrmô good deed, favor
jârâp+ tempt, test, try	jâápû answer
jûmlâ+ gather, sum up, total up	jârâwâ/jârâwû temptation, addiction, test
kâdâr+ preordain	jûmlâ sentence, total
kâsâl+ bathe	kâdârâ predestiny
gâsâl+ bathe dead corpse	kâsâlâ bath, bathing
isâp+ count	gâsâlâ bathing dead corpse
mânâ+ talk	isâwû counting
mâkkâr+ mock, imitate mockingly	mânâ talk, speech
kêrà+ read, study	mâkkâr imitation, play
nyâ+ intend, plan	kêrà reading, study
sâlâm+ dismiss, release	nyâ intention, plan
sâlâm+ say salamu aleikum in prayer	sâlâm greeting
sâdâk+ give alms	sâdââ alms for the poor
shâk+ III doubt	sâdâkâ bride to groom marriage gift
sôwôr+ consult	shêgê doubt
tâwâk+ III pl agree with, reconcile one another	sôwôrî meeting, consultation
wôlô+ perform ablution	tâwââ seal, agreement
ziyârâ+visit	wôlô ablution
	ziyârâ visit

5. Word Formation through Reduplication. In certain sections of the present chapter, examples exhibiting the various phonological processes under consideration, have in some cases also shown evidence of phonological reduplication (e.g. 2.2, 2.3, and 3.3). Reduplication is simply the process of repeating a syllable for semantic or syntactic reasons. In the examples presented here, reduplication is shown to be a productive morphological process in Kanuri, through which nominals are derived from the indicated underlying class 2 root sources. Many of the class 2 roots which are proposed as sources also have derived V reduplicated forms (see p.152) which in some cases may be more closely related to the derived nominals shown here. Nevertheless, only the basic non-derived form of the root is indicated. Derived form V of the finite verb form for CVC class 2 roots usually results in a reduplicated CVCVC form, in which the root final consonant is excluded from the reduplicated, prefixed syllable. However here, it is apparent that the entire CVC root structure is involved in the prefixed reduplicated syllable in such cases, i.e. complete repetition. The derived nominals presented here also represent another instance of final vowel/syllable epenthesis, as it was discussed in section 4 above. Note the frequent occurrence of the L₀H tone pattern.

<i>class 2 verb root</i>		<i>derived nominal</i>
fál+	<i>break or split in two</i>	fálfáli <i>split wood, kindling</i>
fér+	<i>lay/roll/spread out</i>	fèrfèrí <i>name of boy's hair pattern</i>
fú+	<i>blow</i>	fúfú (<i>cf Mande huhu</i>) <i>lungs</i>
fù+	<i>swell</i>	fùfù <i>puffy bundle of kola nuts</i>
		gàrgàrí <i>fence for farm or field; boy's pattern of hair tufts. either in cross or oval corral shape</i>
gár+	<i>build, construct</i>	gàrgàrá <i>enclosed area</i>
		gàrgàrí <i>slowness of action</i>
gár+	<i>drag, pull on ground, delay</i>	kánkányì/kánkànì <i>hard palate</i>
káng	<i>firmly planted in ground</i>	kámkámì
kòm+	<i>count, include, cite, reckon</i>	kòmkömmí <i>calculations, pondering</i>
kór+	<i>head off, round up</i>	kòrkòrí <i>any circular structure</i>
kórkór+	<i>rotate, circle</i>	mèrmèrí <i>dark tiers of clouds announcing the coming of rain</i>
mèrám	<i>witch, devil</i>	sàbsàwí <i>collection</i>
sáp+	<i>collect</i>	sàbsàwá <i>dung beetle's dung burying mound</i>
sàp+	<i>shovel up</i>	sùrsùrí <i>obscure little used foot path</i>
súrìn	<i>s/he sees</i>	shìpshìwú <i>crevice in huts, buildings</i>
kúsùr	<i>path</i>	tàptàwí <i>secret whispering conversation</i>
shìp+	<i>?</i>	wàrwàrí <i>theft by snatching</i>
tátáp+	<i>gossip by whispering in front of others</i>	
wàr+	<i>snatch, grab</i>	

CHAPTER 10: WORD FORMATION: HISTORICAL WORD FORMATIVES

1. Introduction. It has been observed that one important subpart of the Kanuri lexicon is made up of historically derived words that are now recognizable as composed of word formatives which are no longer productive in the language (page 27). With regard to these formatives, Lukas wrote:

18. The noun in Kanuri is, in most cases, composed of the root surrounded by affixes. These are called 'formative' affixes, and must be distinguished from the 'derivative' affixes mentioned below. Only in a very few instances can the formative affix be separated from the root; it is possible to recognize the root only by comparison with other dialects or with related languages.

19. Two prefixes (k,n) are very common in Kanuri: this accounts for the fact that so many words start with k and n, and also ng (ng resulting from the combination of n with k); (Lukas, 1937: 9)

The 'derivative' affixes are thus separable, and synchronically productive affixes (see ch. 9) clearly distinct from the 'formative' affixes to be treated in this chapter. Statistically speaking, using Lukas' vocabulary as a sample, it is apparent that of the 71 pages of vocabulary nearly 16 (22.4%) are taken up by the letter k, 9 (12.7%) by the letter n of which 4 (5.6%) are taken up by the combination ng. Nearly 5 (7%) pages are taken up by entries beginning with g; which I believe also plays a formative role historically. Thus 42.1% of his vocabulary is taken up by the letters g, k, and n.

This chapter will deal with all of the lexical formative affixes of the language which are no longer productive 'derivative' affixes. The role that each plays in the lexicon will be described, and in each case all presently available examples which were formed through these affixes will be presented in order to document their role.

2. The Formative Prefix k+. kV/C+ prefixation is no longer a productive derivational process in Kanuri since one cannot apply it synchronically to produce or create new words of the language. It was clearly a very productive process historically since today nearly 25% of Kanuri words begin with k, and since a high percentage of those can be shown to be derived through prefixation. Because it is apparently a process which took various forms in the history of the language and probably occurred at different times, one today finds that in some cases the prefix k+ alone has been applied to stems, and that in other cases prefixes of the form kV+ and kVC+ have been applied.

The Saharan language Kanembu shows an even higher instance of k-prefixation. It is more paradigmatically complete in its application to the roots of the older class 1 verbs in the Kanembu language than is the case in the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri on which the present study is based. It is not apparently as widespread in the Tubu group of Saharan languages, composed of Teda, Daza, etc. In fact a number of vowel-initial Tubu words have come into Kanuri and undergone k-prefixation before entering the Kanuri lexicon. The noticeable falling tone on the Kanuri word *kām* person for example, is the result of k-prefixation to an originally Tubu word, *amo* person.

In the example sets that follow, this formative prefix is shown in its application to what are believed to be the oldest words in the language, i.e. the class 1 verb root. It is also shown in its application to what are believed to be more recently acquired roots, including those borrowed

from Arabic, as well as the class 2 verb roots. In the examples cited here it is clear that the prefix *k* is made up of *k* plus in some cases an apparently epenthetic vowel which may harmonize with the vowels of the stem to which it is applied; in other cases the prefix may be of the structure CVC, made up of *k* plus a vowel followed by a sonorant consonant, either *g* or a homorganic nasal. Since *n* (a homorganic nasal) is recognized as another important formative prefix in the lexicon, the picture is clouded with regard to the exact structure of the *k*+ prefixing syllable. As mentioned above, there may have historically been several different prefixes with initial *k*. In the majority of cases, the prefix applies to underlying stems of the structure CVC/V. It has been observed (see p. 27) that words formed in this way are characteristically trisyllabic, and the most natural tone pattern which they assume is the L-H-L pattern. This characteristic tone pattern is clearly not realized in many of the examples cited here. Nevertheless, since so little evidence has been provided of this process, whenever there is a clear or even a slight semantic relation between a stem and a *k*+ prefixed nominal, it has been included here for the purpose of documentation of this process.

2.1. The Formation of the Possessive Pronouns. The possessive pronouns of Kanuri are clearly derived from the possessive suffixes through the process of *k*+ prefixation, and represent perhaps the most consistent, paradigmatically complete application of the process that can be documented in the language today. The possessive suffixes are clearly monosyllabic, and bear an underlying high tone. In the following possessive pronoun derivations, the medial high tone syllable may be the result of epenthesis for the purpose of attaining the characteristic trisyllabic pattern, or it could be the applied extension morpheme *+kə+* which has totally weakened in this intervocalic environment. The stem of the first person singular form is suppletive, and probably represents the occurrence of the first person singular subject morpheme *+k*+, which is apparent in all 1S finite verb forms.

	possessive suffix		possessive pronoun	
1S	+nyí	my	*kâ+gâ+kè	kâkkè mine
2S	+nâm	your	*kâ+gâ+nâm	kâânâm yours
3S	+nzâ	his/her	*kâ+gâ+nzâ	kâânzâ his/hers
1P	+ndé	our	*kâ+gâ+ndé	kâândé ours
2P	+nqô	your	*kâ+gâ+ndô	kâândô yours
3P	+nzâ	their	*kâ+gâ+nzâ	kâânzâ theirs

It is important to note that the final low tone of the characteristic L-H-L tone pattern alters the underlying high tone of the possessive suffix.

2.2. The Formation of the Ordinal Numbers. The ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinal numbers through the prefixation of *kân*+ and the suffixation of *+mî*. This certainly represents an environment in which *k*+ prefixation is productive, since it can be applied infinitely. Perhaps due to its cooccurrence in this process with the derivative suffix *+mî*, the characteristic tone pattern is not apparent in the derived ordinal numbers which of course vary greatly in number of syllables as well. With regard to lexical category, the derived ordinal numbers are nouns.

cardinal number		ordinal number	
tîló	one	kântîlómî	the first
îndí	two	kânândímî	the second
yâkkâ	three	kânyâkkâmî	the third
dégâ	four	kândégâmî	the fourth
úwù	five	kânúwùmî	the fifth

àràkkǎ	six	kǎnàrákkámì	the sixth
tùlùr	seven	kǎntùlùrmì	the seventh
wùskú	eight	kǎnwùskúmì	the eighth
lǎgár	nine	kǎnlǎgármì	the ninth
mèwú	ten	kǎnmèwúmì	the tenth

2.3. Nominals Derived from Class 1 Verb Roots. It has been observed that all class 1 verbs have a low tone verbal noun composed of the root and sometimes a final vowel, and that some class 1 verbs also have a k+ prefixed derived nominal form which in most cases bears the L-H-L tone pattern (see p. 27). Though recent treatments of Kanuri grammar have considered the two forms of the verbal noun to be of the same lexical category, it is likely that given our knowledge of k+ prefixation as a nominalizing process, there are in fact major lexical and syntactic differences between the two forms (see ch. 15: The Nonfinite Forms of the Verb). The prefixed form for the class 1 verb whose root is bù+ eat for example (kǎmbù) has both a gerundive-like verbal noun meaning (eating) and has also a deverbal nominal meaning (food). In no observed case has the non-prefixed form of a class 1 verbal noun taken on the deverbal nominal meaning in this way.

Of the slightly more than one hundred class 1 verbs known to us in the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri, approximately one fifth of them have attested, k-prefixed derived noun forms (see ch. 15; appendix 1 (p. 327)). Nearly one quarter of them (some of which overlap with the first fifth) have additional attested k-prefixed nominals which are semantically deverbal and which contain the class 1 root. The members of this latter class of derived nominals have varying tone patterns and morphological structures, no consistent final syllable structure, and thus are clearly not, for both morphological and semantic reasons, instances of the regular k-prefixed nominal with characteristic L-H-L tone pattern.

In some of these deverbal derived nominals, another formative affix (+sǎ+/+zǎ+) also plays a role in their structure. This affix occurs as the medial syllable in trisyllabic nominals, between the k+ prefix and the final verb root. When this morpheme does occur in nominals derived from a CVC/V root, it appears that in some cases the trisyllabic constraint may essentially take priority over the complete manifestation of the verb root in the derived nominal, and the final C or CV of the verb root may be dropped to guard the trisyllabic structure. It is possible that the formative affix +sǎ+ sometimes voiced to +zǎ+, may be related to the third person subject morpheme s, which is apparent in all third person verb forms of the language. Its role as a formative prefix in its own right is examined on p. 83.

In the following examples, only those class 1 verb roots are represented that have either the k-prefixed derived nominal usually with L-H-L tone pattern (indicated by a), or the more irregular k-prefixed deverbal nominal (indicated by b).

class 1 verb root

bǎ+	mount
bù+	eat
dí+	do
gǎ+	follow
lì+	learn, get used to
mù+	put on, wear
rù+	see
tǎ+	grab, seize

k-prefixed nominals (a/b)

a kǎmbǎ	mounting; horseback festival
a kǎmbù	eating; food
a kǎndó	doing; deed
a kǎngǎ	following
a kǎlǎ	learning
a kǎmù	putting on; b kǎzǎmù clothes
a kǎrù	seeing
a kǎntǎ	grabbing, seizing
ǎntǎ	possession, belonging

tí+	<i>be equal/sufficient</i>	a kəntō <i>being equal to/sufficient</i>
búr+	<i>migrate</i>	b kəzúwúró <i>migration</i>
dúr+	<i>fall (of rain)</i>	b kúndúró <i>rainfall</i>
fár+	<i>slander</i>	b kəsúwá <i>gossip</i>
gánt+	<i>possess, acquire</i>	b kəngántì <i>possession, acquisition</i>
kàs+	<i>run</i>	b kəsō <i>running; flight, escape (-prefix)</i>
kənd+	<i>tie baby on back</i>	a kəgəndō <i>tying baby on back</i>
lānd+	<i>shake, churn</i>	a kəlāndō <i>shaking, churning</i>
mēr+	<i>recover</i>	b kəsémé <i>recovery</i>
nót+	<i>commission, wield</i>	b kətùnó <i>message kəntúwō power</i>
rāg+	<i>like, love</i>	b kərāwó <i>love</i>
rənd+	<i>hurt, ache</i>	b kəsərəndō <i>pain</i>
rīnd+	<i>get tired waiting</i>	b kəsīrīndō <i>fatigue from waiting</i>
sāw+	<i>winnow</i>	b kəsāwō <i>winnowing</i>
yā+	<i>drink</i>	a kənzā <i>drinking</i>
yí+	<i>give</i>	a kənjō <i>giving; gift</i>
yāmb+	<i>hear, give birth to</i>	b kənyāmbí/kənzāmbí <i>giving birth</i>
tāmb+	<i>(III of yāmb+)</i>	b kətāmbí/kəntāmbí <i>birth, being born</i>
yāsārā+	<i>cough</i>	b kəsāgā <i>cough</i>
yīmbār+	<i>get tired</i>	b kəsəmbā <i>fatigue</i>
bāf+	<i>ripen</i>	b kəmbāfí <i>invulnerability</i>
dəgā+	<i>live</i>	a kəndəgā <i>living</i>
		b kəndəgāi <i>royal reception room</i>
ís+	<i>come</i>	a kənshē/kənshō, kəndē <i>coming; arrival</i>
nú+	<i>die</i>	a kərmū <i>dying; death</i>
tād+	<i>meet one another</i>	a kətādō <i>meeting one another</i>
tīyēr+	<i>fail to do</i>	b kəntérí <i>failure</i>

2.4. k+ Prefixed Nominals Derived from Class 2 Verb Roots. It is commonly agreed that verb class 2 is the younger of the verb classes of Kanuri. It is the open class of verbs into which borrowed roots have entered, and through which new verbs may be created for new needs (see p.102). According to the present analysis, all of the examples presented here represent instances of k+ prefixation to underlying class 2 verb roots. It will be observed that the resulting derived nominals vary greatly with regard to their phonological and morphological relation to the proposed underlying source. Semantically as well, there is considerable variation in the relations between source and derived nominal. This variance is perhaps a reflection of the fact that k+ prefixation applied over a long period of time at different stages in the growth and development of verb class 2.

class 2 verb root

k+ prefixed nominal

bè+	<i>instruct, guide</i>	kāwé <i>advice to girl getting married</i>
bəbət+	<i>smell good</i>	kāwúdi/kāwədúdi <i>perfume</i>
bəlé+	<i>get s.o. drunk, lead astray</i>	kāwələ <i>ecstasy; going astray of religion</i>
dál+	<i>dye, soak</i>	kádál <i>water for soaking millet to whiten</i>
dám+	<i>flow, trickle</i>	kádám <i>water from spring or well source</i>
		kádú+ <i>chase, pursue</i>
dú+	<i>drive/chase away</i>	kádú <i>path</i>
		kádúwù <i>descendants</i>
		kádui <i>tail</i>
kāl	<i>node of stalk/reed</i>	kāngələ <i>corn/millet stalk</i>
kól+/kólkól+	<i>tap sharply</i>	kōngólì <i>insolent person; sharp tap on</i>
		<i>head with knuckles of clenched fist</i>

kúl+	get fat	kùngùl	gaining weight
kùrnò+/kùnnò+	III be happy	kàngurnò	pleasure, joy
lálá+	winnow by pouring	kàlálà/kállà	noise
lāwù+	comb, preen, rake	kālāwù	gleanings
lāwú+	pick, pluck	kālélè	happy event
lélé+	be sweet	kàlméskè	darkness
lēm+	become late at night	kālīwù	bad odor
lèk+	rot	kùlùm	ring
lèp+	thread, string, create	kèlī	green, raw, fresh, wet
lī+	grow	kèlīwú	mold, rust, moisture, mildew
līlīm+	itch	kùlò	farm, field
mār+	II+III 2S/P please! (polite insistence)	kàlīmīlīmī	an itch
mbá+	float	kèmar	restraint, patient courage
mbél+	struggle, wrestle	kàmbái	light (in weight)
mèk+	apply heat (e.g. to body)	kàmbèlī	wrestling
nāshīn+	dream	kèmagè	humidity
ndép+	knot, tie	kènáshīn	dream
nèk+	fill shaduf basket or leather bucket by shaking at bottom of well	kèndéwú	joint, node
ngék+/ngúk+	hate, despise	kènégè	low spot, valley/dip where water collects in rainy season
njík+	rip/tear off piece of	kàngúí	hatred
njès+	forget	kènjígè	recently acquired possession
núk+	utter/make a sound	kàngésé	forgetfulness
núnúk+	talk secretly	kúnúkkúnúk	hidden meaning
njímál+	sympathize with	kènjímálī	sympathy, pity
nzét+	wring/squeeze/press out	kènzén	fat oily part of anything
nzók+	pick/chip/snap off	küzók	small chip or bit of kola nut
njúno+	pity	kènjúnò	pity
rè+	split, divide, halve	kàrèrè	spine
rèk+	prepare and tie 2-sided load	kàrégè	rope for tying 2-sided load
rèk+	flex, tighten (a muscle); III bear down, grunt	kàrégè	heart
sār+	line up, order	kàsár	room-dividing curtain
sār+	step aside	kúsùr	lane or foot path
shimò+	guide, direct	kàshimò	guide, instructions, directions
sótò+	receive a guest	kùsótò	guest, stranger, foreigner
tùs+	rest, spent/pass time	kùntúshī	rest
yé+	sing	kàiyá	song
yìn+	breathe	kàinò	odor, smell
yín+	smell, sniff	kàzāā	spear
zā+	beat, tap, pound, beat	kèzā	dance in which dangling metal and leather is worn on waist and legs
zék+	annoy, worry, rush, provoke	kázákazà	gourd rattle
zò+	decorate by engraving	kázégí	rush, urgent matter
zú+	push	kázò	burned calabash decoration
		kàzù	load of beast of burden; pack animal; sth to boast of

2.5. k+ Prefixed Nominals Derived from Lexical Sources. Most of the prefixed nominals presented here are derived from lexical nouns. As was the case with the nominals presented in 2.4 above, here also the form — and meaning of the relations proposed here vary greatly.

<i>lexical source</i>		<i>k+ prefixed nominal</i>
bígà- sin		kàmbígà quarrel
bígélá harvest		kèmbígélà harvest time
bíské game, amusement, play		kàwéské celebration, dance
bènè trouble		kàwènè sorrow, suffering
dùwùlí buttocks		kúdùwùlí bone at back above buttocks
ìndí two		kènándì title of Talba, 2nd to king
lámbo/lámbí concern, need		kèlámbo need for food
+máskí neighboring		kèmáskí neighbor
bèlámáskí neighboring town		
ngùròmáskí neighboring ward		
mbérshè strength, solidity		kàmbérshè trust
nádì purpose, expressness		kànádí patience
nádìn on purpose		
nágè nut of desert date fruit;		kènágé/kènáwú pregnancy; woman who
kérnel, cruz (proverbial)		has recently conceived
néngà cunning, alertness		kènéngà state of good health/alertness
ngéli penis		kéngél milk of animal that has
		given birth; semen
ngérlwù bastard		kèngérl miser
ngérln KBU poor		
+nyí (neg suffix)		gènyí it is not
sàngí shaking/wiggling legs		gàsàng/gàsàngí shaking top foot (crossed legs)
súsù stead, replacement		kùsúsù groom's female rep. at wedding
tígè body		kàttígè skin
búnè night		kèmbúnè night-time
dóndì sick		kùndóndì sickness

2.6. k+ Prefixed Nominals from Arabic Borrowings. The following derived nominals contain originally Arabic stems to which k+ prefixing has applied either as they originally entered the language, or as they occur elsewhere in Kanuri. Thus some of the sources indicated are transliterations of the original Arabic word, and others are Kanuricized versions of originally Arabic stems.

<i>Arabic/Kanuri-Arabic source</i>		<i>k+ prefixed nominal</i>
(al)' adu enemy		kèládò enemy
afia well		kèléfà/kèléwà well
lèfà+ greet		
àsàl+ hurry, rush		kàsàlì impatience, rush
gàlá+ advise, counsel		kàálà advice; royal title
gálìwù rich		kèngálìwù wealth
gùl+ say		?kàwùlì speech, talk
nàsàr+ III be victorious		kènàsàr victory
(al)naum sleep		kènəm sleep; KBU= night
(al)nur fire		kànnú fire
(al)gamal camel		kàlìmò camel
(al)suq market		kàsúwù market
(al)zina fornication, adultery		kènzènà fornication, adultery

2.7. k+ Prefixed Nominals with Tubu Cognates. The following small set of examples represent those k+ prefixed nominals of Kanuri which have a non-prefixed cognate counterpart in the sister Saharan languages Teda and Daza (often referred to as Tubu). It is likely that these examples represent only the tip of the iceberg. It is likely that this is an area which will be fruitful for future research.

Tubu

ágəli/egəli *anvil*
 alé/elé *thorn*
 amo/amma *person*
 érdí/írdí *devil, pagan*
 medú/meti *this year*

k+ prefixed nominal

kágól *anvil*
 kàlgí/kàlíí *thorn*
 kām *person*
 kērdī *pagan, non-Muslim*
 kēméndè *this year*

3. The Formative Prefix n+. n+ prefixation is another of the historical word formative processes of Kanuri which is no longer productive in the language. As is the case with words formed through k+ prefixation, similarly with n+ prefixation, the n+ prefix is no longer separable from the underlying stem to which it has been applied in many of its occurrences.

In the first set of examples considered here, the inseparable prefix n+ carries with it a high tone on whatever vowel follows. Words of this structure all have abstract meanings, and also have a counterpart which is derived through the inseparable k+ prefix. In the second set of examples, the prefix n+ is shown to have been applied to a great variety of proposed underlying forms resulting in a great variety of derived n+ prefixed forms. In the latter subsection there are many questionable pairs presented since this is a process which has yet to be fully documented and substantiated.

3.1. Abstract Nominals Derived through n+ Prefixation. On p. 55, the synchronically productive prefix nēm+ was shown to be a consistently productive formative of abstract nominals, usually derived through application to an adjectival noun. In its application, the prefix nēm+ was shown not to affect the tone pattern of the noun to which it is applied.

Within the Kanuri lexicon there exists another much smaller group of abstract nominals apparently formed through n+ prefixation, and representative of a no longer productive morphological process. It appears to be related semantically to the synchronically productive nēm+, and yet phonologically it does seem to carry a high tone with it, affecting the first vowel or epenthetic vowel resulting from its application.

When the prefix n+ was productive as a word formative in Kanuri, it must have functioned as the counterpart in word formation of k+ prefixation. Many of the abstract nominals with the n+ prefix have a counterpart noun or adjectival noun which bears the k+ prefix as a formative. A good example of this is the originally Arabic lēfā *greet*, with the k+ prefixed kəlēfā/kəlēwā *well, healthy*, and the abstract nominal nəlēfā *health*. The synchronically derived counterpart involves nēm+ prefixation to the k+ prefixed form, and produces nēm̄kəlēwā *wellness, being in good health*, also abstract in meaning and nearly synonymous to the n+ prefixed form.

k+ prefixed counterpart

áshì *Ar obstinate*
 kām *person*

kámú *woman, wife*
 káawù *stupid*
 kəjí *sweet, delicious*
 kəlēwā/kəlēfā *well, healthy*
 kəlī *wet, green, raw, fresh*
 ngəlī *year (by rainy season)*
 kəndəlī *jealous*

n+ prefixed nominal

náshì *obstinacy*
 nām *being a person; LUK: tractableness of woman of good character*

námú *womanhood*
 náawù *stupidity*
 nəjí *sweetness, delight*
 nəlēfā *health*
 nāngəlī *rainy season*
 nəndəlī *jealousy*

kénjì	slave	nénjì	slavery
kèmbàrshè	trust	námàrshè	trustworthiness
kémbù	blind	némbù	blindness
kárdì	non-Muslim, pagan	nárdì	being a non-Muslim
kèskè	unimportant, easy	nèskè	relief, improved health
kèrè	generous	nèrè	generosity
kówúná/kógéná	courtier, servant	nówúná/nógéná	servile behavior
káigà/káiwù	fearful, cowardly	náigà/náiwù	fear, cowardice
kwángá	man	nángà	manhood

3.2. Other Examples of the n+ Prefix as a Lexical Formative. Much of the material presented here is admittedly speculative, and provided mainly for the linguist who may be interested in historical morphological processes. In some cases the proposed relations are quite clear and traceable; in others which have been arrived at mainly through intuition, the relations may be quite questionable. The body of data presented here does however document the hypothesis that the prefix n+ has played a very important role in the formation of Kanuri words. In certain of the examples it appears that a prefix ng+(V)+ has been applied. It is likely that this represents a combination of the n+ prefix and the k+ prefix. In some examples it appears that the n+ prefix is the counterpart of the k+ prefix as in 3.1 above, though the same semantic relationship does not apply.

<i>proposed source</i>		<i>n+ prefixed form</i>	
+gāi	like, as	ngái	thus
gál+	sharpen edge by pounding	ngálngái	collar bone
gèp+	throw out	ngébdó/ngèbdòlá	garbage heap
gèwát+	step on		
gèwádè	step, foot (length)	ngèwádò	scar
gèwado	bunion, callous		
gùl+	say	ngùl	payment to a malam
gùlú	exaggeration	ngùlú	professional talker who heaps flattering praise
káji	he has opened it	ngájì	coarse flour of grains cracked open on stone
kàájì	incense	ngàjjiyà	incense burner
kémés+	squeeze, knead, wring	ngáyà	earthen baking container
		ngímés+	wink
kúl+	get fat	ngúl+	hide, conceal
kùr	wooden mortar	ngùr	testicles, scrotum
kólò	small round clay pot	ngólò	sexual organs
kár+	wrap up	ngárgè	leather bag
kárgè	leather grain sack	ngàrègè	excrement of camel, sheep, goat; LUK ngárgè dung of camel, goat, sheep
rák+	flex (muscle); III grunt, bear down		
télàm	tongue	ndélàm	desire, craving
kàjím	grass	njím	grass hut
kúm+	chave	ngùm	forehead
yi TUB	water	nji	water
sámùn	alike, similar	nzámùn	alive, similar
wúl+	scrape/pick off		
kúwúl+	shell, peel, skin	ngéwél	egg

4. The Formative Prefi. s+. s+ prefixation appears to represent another of the historical word formative processes of Kanuri which is no longer productive in the language. Most of the examples of this process which are presented here involve application of this process to class 1 verb roots. Earlier, in discussing nominals derived from class 1 verb roots through k+ prefixation, it was noted on page 77 that a formative affix (+sə+ / +zə+) often accompanied the k+ prefix in the formation of certain of the non-verbal (b) nominals presented there. It was there speculated that this affix may be related to the 3S subject morpheme s+. It is possible that these may be instances of the occurrence of the same formative affix, occurring here as a prefix, and that the two processes are in fact related. On page 71, a group of nominals were presented with the finite 3S verb emphasis completive form as their proposed source. If the proposed source is correct, then by definition all such nominals incorporate the 3S subject morpheme s+. Among the examples presented here are those which resemble these examples proposed as coming from verb emphasis completive forms on page 71 where most of the examples came from class 2 verb roots. The process described here may therefore represent an older version of the same process, as it applied to the roots of verb class 1.

Among the examples presented here are again those that are quite speculative, included here for the purpose of thoroughness and documentation.

source

bù+ eat
 búr+ move, migrate
 gáná small, little
 gánt+ possess, acquire
 gèdí source, east
 gèp+ cl 1 throw

lìw+ protect
 mánà talk, speech
 mbàr+/yìmbàr+ get tired
 mèr+ recover, get well
 gáré+ cl 1 compare, put side by side
 nàt+ sow, plant
 nyè+ herd, pasture (animals)
 rəmb+ pay back, reimburse
 rənd+ hurt, ache
 yàrgàl+ breed, raise
 yìrgà+ increase
 wùr+ cl 1 break/knock down

s+ prefixed nominal, etc.

zəwú mastery of entire Holy Koran
 zùwùrò migration
 sənàná pl small, little
 səgánti possession
 sэгdí zana -mat fence
 sэгəp+ cl 1 adjust or shift a load
 up on one's back
 səlifo protection
 səmánà chatting, conversation
 səmbà+ cl 1 become weak
 səmérò recovery
 səgəri+ cl 1 move to back or edge
 sənátò first millet shoots
 sənyé/sənyí herder's profession
 sərəm reimbursement
 sərən pain -
 sargalo/sargali raising, bringing up
 sərgà/sərgài increment, increase
 sùwùr+ cl 1 partially break down

SECTION IV: THE VERB

Chapter 11: Introduction to the Verb System	89
1. Introduction	89
2. The Syntax of the Verbal Sentence	89
3. The Two Verb Classes	90
4. Morphemes Making up the Basic Finite Verb Form	91
4.1. Basic and Derived Finite Verb Forms	91
4.2. Object Morphemes as Affixes to the Finite Verb Form	92
5. The Nonfinite Verb Forms	93
Chapter 12: The Composition of the Verb Classes	95
1. Introduction	95
2. The Differences between Class 1 and Class 2	95
2.1. The Position of Subject Morphemes in Class 1 and Class 2 Verb Forms	96
2.2. Comparative Summary of Verb Class Characteristics	97
3. The Class 1 Verbs (in kin)	97
3.1. Group 1	98
3.2. Group 2	98
3.3. Group 3	100
3.4. Group 4	100
3.5. Group 5	101
3.6. Group 6	101
4. The Class 2 Verbs (in ngin)	101
4.1. On Becoming a Class 2 Verb Root	102
4.2. Speculations with regard to the Original Members of Verb Class 2	102
5. Groups Making up Verb Class 2	104
5.1. Group 1: Bound Roots	105
5.1.1. Tonal Minimal Pairs in Group 1	106
5.1.2. Group 1 Roots with Historical Lexical Formative	106
5.2. Group 2: Class 2 Roots from Specific Adverb Sources	107
5.3. Group 3: Class 2 Roots from Lexical Items	108
5.4. Group 4: Class 2 Roots from Compounds and other Derived Forms	109
5.5. Group 5: Class 2 Roots from Arabic	110
5.6. Group 6: Class 2 Roots from Hausa	111
5.7. Group 7: Class 2 Roots from English	111
Chapter 13: The Structure of the Basic Verb Form and the Verb Aspects	113
1. Introduction	113
2. The Structure of the Verbal Complex of the Basic (I) Finite Verb Form	113

3. The Incompletive Aspects	115
3.1. The (Negative) Imperfect (Lukas' (Negative) Continuous)	115
3.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Imperfect Aspect	115
3.1.2. Using the (Negative) Imperfect Aspect	117
3.2. The Future	117
3.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Future	117
3.2.2. Using the Future Aspect	118
3.3. The Negative Future Aspect	119
3.3.1. Deriving and Writing the Negative Future Aspect	119
3.3.2. Using the Negative Future Aspect	120
4. The Completive Aspects	120
4.1. The Perfect	120
4.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Perfect	120
4.1.2. Using the Perfect	121
4.2. The Past	122
4.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Past	122
4.2.2. Using the Past	124
4.3. The Verb Emphasis Completive (Lukas' Predicative)	125
4.3.1. Deriving and Writing the Verb Emphasis Completive	125
4.3.2. Using the Verb Emphasis Completive	125
4.4. The Noun Emphasis Completive (Lukas' Relative Past)	126
4.4.1. Deriving and Writing the Noun Emphasis Completive	126
4.4.2. Using the Noun Emphasis Completive	126
4.5. The Negative Completive (Lukas' Negative Past)	127
4.5.1. Deriving and Writing the Negative Completive	127
4.5.2. Using the Negative Completive	128
5. The Non-Aspects	128
5.1. The Conjunctive	128
5.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Conjunctive	128
5.1.2. Using the Conjunctive	129
5.2. The Imperative and the Subjunctive (Lukas' Optative)	129
5.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Imperative/Subjunctive	130
5.2.2. Using the Imperative/Subjunctive	130
5.2.2.1. Using the Imperative/Subjunctive for Insistence	131
5.2.3. The Negative Imperative/Subjunctive	131
Chapter 14: The Derived Forms of the Verb	133
1. Introduction	133
2. Morpheme Positions in the Verbal Complex of the Derived Verb Form	133
3. The Object Affixes in the Verbal Complex	134
3.1. Deriving and Writing the Verb Form with Affixed Object	135
3.2. Using the Verb Form with Affixed Object	138
4. The Applied (II) Derivation of the Verb	139
4.1. Deriving and Writing the Applied (II) Derivation	139
4.2. Using the Applied (II) Derivation	141
4.3. Defective Class 2 Verbs in the Applied (II) Derivation	143
5. The Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation of the Verb	145
5.1. Deriving and Writing the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation	145
5.2. Using the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation	146

5.3. Defective Class 2 Verbs in the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation	148
6. The Causative (IV) Derivation of the Verb	148
6.1. Lukas' Class 1 Causative (IV) Verb Forms	149
6.2. Deriving and Writing the Causative (IV) Derivation of Class 2 Verbs	150
6.3. Using the Causative (IV) Derivation of Class 2 Verbs	151
7. The Reduplicated/Intensive (V) Derivation of the Verb	152
7.1. Using the Reduplicated/Intensive (V) Derivation	153
7.2. Nonderived Reduplicated Class 2 Verbs	153
8. Combined Derived Verb Forms	154
8.1. Derived Verb Forms with the Object Affixes	154
8.2. Applied (II) Derivation plus Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation	154
8.3. Applied (II) Derivation plus Reduplicated (V) Derivation	155
8.4. Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation plus Causative (IV) Derivation	155
8.5. Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation plus Reduplicated (V) Derivation	155
8.6. II+III+V	155
 Chapter 15: The Nonfinite Forms of the Verb	 157
1. Introduction	157
2. The Nonfinite Forms of Class 1 Verbs	157
2.1. Distinguishing and Using the Nonfinite Forms of Class 1 Verbs	158
3. The Nonfinite Forms of Class 2 Verbs	160
3.1. Distinguishing and Using Class 2 Verbal Nouns	160
3.2. The Past Participle of Class 2 Verbs	163

CHAPTER 11: INTRODUCTION TO THE VERB SYSTEM

1. Introduction. The typology of the finite verb form of Kanuri was introduced in chapter 2. There the synthetic or agglutinative quality of the verb form was demonstrated with the example Nzəkkələdəkinbā. *I will not sell (it) to you.*, showing that the finite verb form carries all of the required inflectional morphemes like person, number, tense/aspect, and as well, the optional derivational morphemes like those of causation, negation, and reflexivization. The structure of the finite verb form, combined with the SOV typological order of the language as a whole, combine as perhaps the most difficult aspects of the language for the student. The speaker of English and most other Indo-European languages will always want to include a sentence initial personal pronoun when speaking Kanuri. Under most circumstances this is wrong since the subject pronoun is always carried inflectively in the finite verb form. Similarly, one will always want to put objects and adverbials after the finite verb form. This too is typologically impossible since the verb is always in final position in the Kanuri sentence. It is for reasons like these and others that so much importance is given to the treatment of the verb and the verb system in the present work.

It is the purpose of this chapter to acquaint both the student of spoken Kanuri and the linguist with the basic aspects of the verb system, all of which will be fully elaborated in the various chapters of this unit. The entire unit is designed basically to deal with all of the morphological aspects of the verb form and the verb system. Thus great emphasis is placed on the order and arrangement of the inflectional morphemes. The derivational morphology of the verb form which may even include the affixation of objects within the verb, dictates that certain aspects of the syntax of the verb system also be introduced at various points in this unit.

2. The Syntax of the Verbal Sentence. The typological categorization of Kanuri as an SOV language (see ch. 2) is made in recognition of the basic order of the major constituents in the verbal sentence. SOV represents the most natural and commonly occurring order of the declarative sentence.

S O V
Ali Mūsāà lèfawónò.

Ali greeted Musa.

*S V O
*Ali lèfawónò Mūsāà.

*V S O
*Lèfawónò Ali Mūsāà.

In the following acceptable variant of the above example, notice that the order of the elements preceding the verb has been reversed so that the direct object precedes the subject. It is apparent that in this variant the subject is obligatorily marked by a postposition indicating its status and function. Postpositional marking of major constituents is the subject of Ch. 22, of oblique constituents, ch. 29. These examples, like those only introduced here, are considered in detail there.

O S V
Mūsāà Aliyè lèfawónò.

ALI greeted Musā.

*O V S
*Mūsāà lèfawónò Aliyè.

*V O S
*Lèfawónò Mūsāà Aliyè.

As this example demonstrates and as will be seen elsewhere, there is a great deal of freedom in the language with regard to the order of the elements preceding the sentence final verb form. However, as clearly shown above, in most environments nothing may follow the finite verb form. Violations of the SOV order do sometimes occur when the action of the verb is in some way emphasized in the semantic context of the utterance. For example in imperative sentences it is frequently the case that the verb form precedes all other constituents.

The order of the elements preceding the verb, i.e. the subject, the direct and indirect objects, adverbs, etc., is determined by the meaning intended by the speaker. All variations on the typologically predicted orders will be reflected in a change in meaning. For example the variant form of the above example *Mūsàà Aliyè lèfawòndò* may also be translated into English by the passive translation *Musa was greeted by Ali*. Oblique adverbial constituents vary in position more freely than any other of the constituents preceding the verb. All of the meaning variations resulting from order changes like those depicted below are not always easily reflected in translation into English.

O ADV V
Shià kàsùwùlàn cùrúkò.

I saw him/her in the market.

ADV O V
Kàsùwùlàn shià cùrúkò.

I saw him/her in the market.
or In the market I saw him/her.

The most natural position for oblique constituents is that represented in the first form of the above sentence, i.e. (S)-O-ADV-V.

3. The Two Verb Classes. Kanuri essentially has two verb classes which correspond to similar verb groupings in other Saharan languages. What are here referred to as class 1 and class 2 of Kanuri verbs, correspond to Lukas' (1953) class 2 and class 3 of Tubu verbs. Within verb class 1 of Kanuri, there remain several verbs which do not have the same characteristics of the rest of the class and these can be shown to be the Kanuri correspondents of certain of the class 1 verbs of Tubu. For the purposes of this work however, we will only refer to class 1 and class 2 of Kanuri verbs, and will single out those idiosyncratic verbs within the class when appropriate.

Kanuri verb classes 1 and 2 differ with regard to morphological makeup. The verb form of the older class 1 is actually made up of fewer morphemes than that of its class 2 counterpart. Compare the following 1S forms in the imperfect aspect.

verb class 1
*bù+k+ìn 'búkìn I eat

verb class 2
*lè+n+k+ìn 'lèngìn I go

It is apparent that the class 1 form is made up of three morphemes, and the class 2 form, of four morphemes. In the comparable 3S forms, note that the verb forms differ not only with regard to number of morphemes, but also with regard to the order of the morphemes.

verb class 1
*s+bù+ìn 'zâwìn s/he eats

verb class 2
*lè+s+n+ìn 'lèjìn s/he goes

The morpheme +n+ in the class 2 forms is in fact a class 1 verb root of a verb meaning *say, think*. It is this class 1 verb which inflects of conjugates all of the verbs of class 2. Therefore all of the roots of class 2 were not originally verbal, but have become verbs of Kanuri through juxtaposition to and accretion with the finite verb forms of this class 1

verb. Thus though *lè+* is for all practical purposes to be considered a class 2 verb root in synchronic Kanuri, it originally came to this function from a non-verbal origin. In the 1S forms above, it is apparent that the class 1 roots *bù+* and *n+* precede the 1S subject morpheme *+k+*. In the 3S forms however, the 3S subject morpheme *s* precedes the verb root in the class 1 form, and precedes the class 1 verb root *n+* for the class 2 verb form, but does not precede the class 2 verb root *lè+* in this latter form. This explains the apparent difference in the order of the morphemes between the 3S forms of each class. Thus the extra morpheme in the class 2 verb form is the originally non-verbal stem which has become a class 2 root.

Once the student of Kanuri is aware of these basic differences between the two verb classes, then all other differences will be readily understandable. Verb class 1 is a fixed class of verbs numbering less than 150. Thus the Kanuri verb system has grown historically through class 2 where almost any lexical item can take on the role of class 2 verb root. No new verbs may be added to class 1. In ch. 12 the stems functioning as class 2 roots will be grouped according to proposed source, to demonstrate the kinds of elements that have taken on this verbal function.

4. Morphemes Making up the Basic Finite Verb Form. The word *basic* is here used to refer to a finite verb form containing only those morphemes which are obligatorily part of every autonomous finite verb form, thus excluding all derivational morphemes and others indicating various syntactic relations in a sentence. Every finite verb form must contain a verb root, and must be fully inflected for 1) person of the subject, 2) number of the subject, and 3) tense/aspect. The inflection for the person of the subject is not simply a morpheme indicating person agreement, but rather is a subject pronoun carried within the finite verb form. When the subject of any sentence is a pronoun and is in no way questioned, focused or emphasized, then it is only manifested inside of the verb form and not independently in the typologically predicted sentence initial position of the SOV language. Therefore the 1S imperfect form of the verb *lè+ go*, which is *lèngin* constitutes a complete sentence meaning *I go/am going/will go*. Likewise *lèngàná*, the 1S perfect form of the same verb constitutes a sentence meaning *I have gone*.

The basic finite verb form carries at least the following morphemes.

root	subject	tense/aspect	surface	meaning	person
*bù+	+k+	+in	>búkìn	I eat	1S
*bù+	+m+	+in	>búmìn	you eat	2S
*bù+	+y+	+in	>búiyèn	we eat	1P
*bù+	+w+	+i	>búwì	you (pl) eat	2P

subject	root	tense/aspect	surface	meaning	person
PRS NUM					
*s+	Ø	+in	>zəwìn	s/he eats	3S
*s+	a	+in	>záwìn	they eat	3P

Therefore for the above class 1 verb, there are at least three different morpheme positions in every finite verb form, and in certain cases four, as in the 3P form above where person and number morphemes are distinct. From the earlier discussion in 3 of the verb classes, it is evident that for the class 2 basic verb form there is one additional morpheme position.

4.1. Basic and Derived Finite Verb Forms. There are nine different tense/aspects of the verb in Kanuri, and in addition, five other moods and non-aspects of the verb. Thus a Basic finite verb form may potentially occur in fourteen different forms, in each person. In addition to the obligatory

inflectional morphemes that make up the basic finite verb form as described above, there are other derivational morphemes which may be incorporated in and carried by the synthetic verb form. Considering the basic form. (à la Lukas, 1937) as I, then the four derived-forms are: II applied form, III passive-reflexive form, IV causative form, and V reduplicated form. While not every verb has complete paradigms that are used for every possible derived form, most verbs occur commonly in more than one of the derivational forms, and some even in all four. This means for example that for the 1S of any verb there are potentially seventy different forms, one for the basic form and for each of the four derived forms in the fourteen different aspects etc. of the language. This figure excludes the possible compound derived forms where more than one of these derivational processes combine in a finite verb form.

The formation, meaning and use of the various derived forms are discussed in detail in ch. 14. Nevertheless, the many possible forms of the class 2 verb *fàlé+* point out, indicate, show in the 3S are shown here.

aspect etc.	I point out, indicate	II show to	III be shown	IV have shown	V show repeatedly
imperfect	fàléjìn	fàlézàgìn	fàlétìn	yità+II	fàlè+I.
neg imperfect	fàléjìnbà	fàlézàgìnbà	fàlétìnbà	yità+II	fàlè+I
future	fàlézòndò	fàléjìwò	fàlétàtə	yità+II	fàlè+I
neg future	fàlézànní	fàléjìgànní	fàlétàtənní	yità+II	fàlè+I
perfect	fàlézənà	fàlézàgənà	fàlétənà	yità+II	fàlè+I
past	fàléwòndò	fàlézəwò	fàlégàtə	yità+II	fàlè+I
noun emph	fàlézò	fàlézəwò	fàlétò/ə	yità+II	fàlè+I
verb emph	fàléjí	fàlézàgí	fàlétí	yità+II	fàlè+I
neg completive	fàlézənní	fàlézàgənní	fàlétənní	yità+II	fàlè+I
subjunctive	fàlézə	fàlézàgə	fàlétə	yità+II	fàlè+I
neg subjunctive	wàndé	wàndé	wàndé	wàndé	wàndé
imperative	fàlézənní	fàlézàgənní	fàlétənní	yità+II	fàlè+I
neg imperative	= subj	= subj	= subj	= subj	= subj
conjunctive	= neg subj	= neg subj	= neg subj	= neg	= neg subj
	fàlézə	fàlézàgə	fàlétə	yità+II	fàlè+I

The relation between the subjunctive and the imperative moods is discussed on page 129. Of the compound derived forms of the verb, a number are possible with the verb *fàlé+*. For example *II+III fàlétəgìn be shown to*, and even *II+III+IV yitàfàlétəgìn have oneself shown to*, is also conceivable.

4.2. Object Morphemes as Affixes to the Finite Verb Form. In addition to the derivational morphemes which may be added to the basic finite verb form, morphemes indicating syntactic objects may also be incorporated in and carried by the verb. When these affixed morphemes are applied to the basic I form, a direct object is indicated. When they are applied to the applied II form, an indirect object is indicated. Explicit object morphemes exist for the first and second persons, singular and plural. The comparable third person forms are indicated by no overt morpheme, thus null. The morphemes involved are represented here.

	sing	plur		
1st person	s+	s+a+	'sa+	me/we, us
2nd person	nz+	nz+a+	'nza+	you
3rd person	∅	∅		

Thus the derivational schema can be represented as follows for examples of these forms involving the verb *fàlé+*. Here the object morphemes are applied to the II applied form:

root	object	II	aspect		
fálé+	+s+	+gè+	+ìn	>fálésègìn	S/he shows (it) to me.
fálé+	+sa+	+gè+	+ìn	>fálésàyìn	S/he shows (it) to us.
fálé+	+nz+	+gè+	+ìn	>fálénzègìn	S/he shows (it) to you.
fálé+	+nza+	+gè+	+ìn	>fálénzàyìn	S/he shows (it) to you (pl).

The phonology and morphology of these verb forms carrying objects are discussed on p. 134. Their meaning and use are discussed in chapter 22.

5. The Nonfinite Verb Forms. A nonfinite verb form may be referred to as one which is not conjugated, or is not inflected with morphemes of person, number, and tense/aspect. The most common nonfinite verb form of Kanuri is the verbal noun, and it is shared by all of the verbs of the language. Some verbs have only one verbal noun, the majority have two, and a few verbs have as many as three. In the following examples, the first two verbs are class 1 verbs, the last two are class 2 verbs.

root	verbal noun/s	
bù+	bù, kàmbù	eating
yá+	yà, nzà, kànzà	drinking
lè+	lètá	going
lé+	lètá, lètà	touching

The number of possible verbal nouns derivable from a given verb root is a function first, of the verb class to which the verb belongs, and second, of the phonological shape of the verb stem itself. At some point in the history of the language, whether a verb was transitive or intransitive may also have played a role in the number of verbal nouns possible for a given root.

The only other nonfinite verb form is unique to the verbs of class 2. It is an past participle form which is used very often as a modifier in the noun phrase. It is formed through the application of the suffix +kata to the class 2 verb root, as in the following examples.

root		past participle	
náp+	sit down	*náp+kàtà	>nápkàtà seated
bò+	lie down	*bò+kàtà	>bòwàtà lying down

CHAPTER 12: THE COMPOSITION OF THE VERB CLASSES

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe in detail the differences between the two classes of Kanuri verbs. Then, taking the classes one at a time, class 1 and class 2 will be broken down into proposed subgroupings according to phonological, morphological and in some cases semantic criteria. Different ways of breaking down the members of each group will be considered. Speculations on the origin and evolution of verb class 2 will be presented.

2. The Differences between Class 1 and Class 2. Of the two verb classes, class 1 has been referred to as the *irregular* class, and class 2 as the *regular* class. The classes are clearly distinct with regard to the order in which the inflectional morphemes occur within their respective finite verb forms, as described on page 90. They also differ greatly in size, class 1 being a closed class and class 2 an open class. They cannot however be distinguished on the basis of any general semantic or syntactic considerations, though certain of the subgroups within each class may be based on such considerations. Lukas (1937) and others that followed him, have come to refer to the two classes according to the characteristic 1S imperfect verb form of each class. In this way the class 1 verbs have come to be referred to as the verbs in *skin* or *kin*, and the class 2 verbs as the verbs in *ngin* [nin]. This is apparent in the following imperfect paradigms.

	cl 1/skin: eat	cl 1/skin: say, think	cl 2/ngin: go
1S	búkìn	ngìn	lěngìn
2S	búmìn	nēmìn	lènēmìn
3S	zēwìn	shìn	lējìn
1P	búiyèn	nyèn	lènyèn
2P	búwì	nùwì	lènùwì
3P	zàwìn	sàì	lèzài

The class 1 verb whose root is the consonant + *say, think* above, and which will hereafter be referred to as the verb *ngin*, is synchronically defective in this its independent use, since it does not today occur in all of the aspects of the verb. It is clear however in the above paradigm of its attested imperfect aspect forms, that all correspond exactly except for minor predictable phonological changes, with the inflectional endings of the imperfect aspect forms of the verb *go*, the inflectional endings being applied to its root *lè+*. Thus all of the class 2 verbs are in fact inflected or conjugated by the class 1 verb *ngin*, which in this its inflectional or bound morphological function does occur in all of the verbal aspects of the language, complete in every paradigm. In the first two of the above paradigms, the class 1 roots *bù+* and *n+* remain intact and phonologically unaltered throughout the first and second person forms. Because of the change in the order of the obligatory inflectional morphemes in the third person forms where the subject morphemes precede the class 1 root, there the roots are phonologically altered, even disappearing in the case of the root *n+*. This is not apparent in the class 2 paradigm since it is carried out within the inflectional suffixed forms of the verb *ngin*, and thus the class 2 root *lè+* remains in initial position in all persons in the paradigm.

In class 2, the assignment of polar tone to the inflectional endings and consistently predictable phonological assimilation across the morpheme boundary between the class 2 root and the *ngin* inflections provide evidence that these elements have combined in totally accreted forms constituting

words, i.e. finite verb forms, of equivalent status with their class 1 counterparts. This is verified semantically as well since the verb ngin as inflector, no longer carries its original meaning *say, think*.

Given this situation where a class 1 verb inflects all of the verbs of class 2, then it can be said that historically, class 1 verbs represent the only true verbs of the language. In this light, all the members of class 2 would represent compounds, made up of a formerly non-verbal element to which the forms of the verb ngin are affixed. Thus for the 2S form *lènəmìn*, *lèn+* would be the non-verbal stem of the verb or the meaning bearer (cf Cyffer, 1974), *n+* would be the true verb stem, *+m+* the subject pronoun morpheme, and *+in* the imperfect aspect marker. However because the orientation of the present work is neither historical nor comparative, but rather pedagogical, and because of the total accretion described above, and in order to avoid any potential complication of an already complex situation, morphemes like class 2 *lèn+*, will be referred to throughout the present work as *class 2 verb roots*. The citation form for class 2 roots will therefore not include the true root *n+*, as in e.g. *lèn+n+*, but rather will always be written simply as e.g. *lèn+*.

Class 2 is always growing. Borrowed stems and new verbs responding to modern needs all become class 2 verbs. Since virtually any lexical item can be altered to the function of class 2 root, the class is literally infinite. Class 1 on the other hand is fixed. One cannot make up a new class 1 verb. There can be little doubt that class 1 represents the older of the two classes. Today the members of class 1 number less than 50. Evidence from other Saharan languages shows that verb class 1 is closely related to and limited to certain verb classes in those languages, which are also fixed in size.

2.1. The Position of Subject Morphemes in Class 1 and Class 2 Verb Forms.

The subject pronoun morphemes and the position in which they occur vis-a-vis the verb root for each class are represented schematically below. Remember that in relation to class 2, the position of the class 1 root represents the position of the root *n+*.

1S (cl 2 root)	+cl 1 root+k+	1P (cl 2 root)	+cl 1 root+y+
2S (cl 2 root)	+cl 1 root+m+	2P (cl 2 root)	+cl 1 root+w+
3S (cl 2 root)+s+cl 1 root		3P (cl 2 root)+s+a+cl 1 root	

It is these morphemes which not only inflect the finite verb form for person and number of the subject, but also function as subject pronouns. Subject morphemes characteristically follow the verb root in the first and second persons, and precede the true verb root in the third person. Because of its originally non-verbal status and thus its relatively late incorporation into the verbal complex, the class 2 root always maintains its initial position. It is never preceded by any of the inflectional morphemes.

In the following derivational paradigms observe the basic imperfect aspect conjugations of the verbs *eat, say, think, and show*. Note that in the third person forms where the subject morphemes precede the verb root, the verb root *n+* is deleted for the verbs *say, think and show*.

class 2 root	3S/P subject morpheme	class 1 root	1S/P & 2S/P subject morpheme	imperfect aspect morpheme	finite verb form
<i>cl 1: eat</i>					
1S	-	bù+	+k+	+ìn	búkìn
2S	-	bù+	+m+	+ìn	búmìn
3S	s+	bù+	-	+ìn	zəwìn
1P	-	bù+	+y+	+ìn	búiyèn
2P	-	bù+	+w+	+ì	búwì
3P	s+a+	bù+	-	+ìn	zàwìn
<i>cl 1: say, think</i>					
1S	-	n+	+k+	+ìn	ngìn
2S	-	n+	+m+	+ìn	nəmìn
3S	s+	+n+∅	-	+ìn	shìn
1P	-	n+	+y+	+ìn	nyèn
2P	-	n+	+w+	+ì	nùwì
3P	s+a+	+n+∅	-	+ì	sài
<i>cl 2: show, point out</i>					
1S	fəlé+	+n+	+k+	+ìn	fələngìn
2S	fəlé+	+n+	+m+	+ìn	fələnəmìn
3S	fəlé+	+s+	+n+∅	+ìn	fəlējìn
1P	fəlé+	-	+n+	+ìn	fəlényèn
2P	fəlé+	-	+n+	+ì	fələnùwì
3P	fəlé+	+s+a+	+n+∅	+ì	fəlézài

The elaborated structure of the verbal complex for both verb classes is examined in detail in ch. 13. There the positions of all inflectional and derivational morphemes are fully explained.

2.2. Comparative Summary of Verb Class Characteristics.

class 1: kin verbs	class 2: ngin verbs
fixed class of less than 150 verbs	unlimited class
no past participle	past participle which functions as modifier formed through suffixation of +kata to class 2 root
inflected by the subject pronoun morphemes and the tense/aspect prefixes and suffixes of class 1	inflected by the finite forms of the class 1 verb ngin, characteristic 1S imperfect aspect ending
third person subject morphemes precede verb root, as do certain of the aspect affixes	class 2 root precedes all inflectional morphemes which are contained in the inflectional forms of the verb ngin
all derivational morphemes precede the verb root	only the causative derivational morpheme precedes the class 2 root
verbal nouns formed from verb root alone, verb root plus +ð; deverbal noun formed through k-prefixation	verbal noun formed through suffixation of +tə to class 2 verb root
seem irregular because of complex phonological and morphological idiosyncrasies	seem regular because of the productive application of the same consistent affixes for inflection, i.e. the finite forms of the verb ngin

3. The Class 1 Verbs (in kin). In the following lists of verbs have been

grouped all of the class 1 verbs yet attested in the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri. There are just over one hundred verbs presented, and thus the smallness of the class is readily apparent. Outside of the Yerwa dialect, perhaps as many as fifty other class 1 verbs have been attested in addition to those presented here. A relative concentration of such non-Yerwa class 1 verbs has been attested in the Kanembu dialects spoken to the north and to the east of Lake Chad. A significant number of the class 1 verbs of Kanuri and Kanembu have been found to have direct cognates in other Saharan languages. Certain of the subgroupings of class 1 verbs presented in the following lists in fact may correspond closely to distinct verb classes in other Saharan languages. For example verbs from the first and second verb classes of the Teda language (cf Lukas, 1953) can be found in distinct subgroupings of the class 1 verbs of Kanuri. Some of this linguistic evidence may be used to demonstrate that the Kanuri are the most influenced by non-Saharan languages of any of the Saharan language groups. For example, the greater number of class 1 verbs in Kanembu than in Kanuri might be due to closer geographical proximity and contact with other Saharan groups on the part of the Kanembu.

The class 1 verbs of Yerwa Kanuri are here divided into groups, largely on the basis of the phonological shape not only of the verb root, but also of the verbal noun and the finite verb form as well. Interestingly enough, these groupings based on phonological considerations resulted in subgroup 1 which is made up of nothing but transitive verbs, and in subgroup 5 which is made up of nothing but intransitive verbs. Here they are presented in alphabetical order, group by group. In appendix 1 (p. 327), the entire class is presented in alphabetical order. Lukas (1937), using stricter phonological, tonal, and morphological criteria, divided up the verbs of class 1 into 24 distinct classes. Though he never fully elaborated his criteria in establishing his "twenty-four principal classes of skin verbs" (1937:49), I have indicated the numbers for his classes beside those verbs which have been classified, according to his system, with an *L* followed by the number.

3.1. Group 1. Group 1 is made up of class 1 verbs having a monosyllabic CV verb root. Every member of the group has two de/verbal nouns, one of which is made up of the verb root alone with a low tone, and the other formed through the application of the nominalizing prefix *k+(V+n)* (this nominalizing process is described fully on page 77. The roots of this class may be either obstruent initial or sonorant initial. In the finite verb forms of the imperfect and other nonprefixed aspects, the 3S and 3P subject pronouns are overtly manifested.

Here and in all of the following groups, the finite verb forms presented are the 1S, 3S and 3P forms of the imperfect aspect.

<i>root</i>	<i>de/verbal nouns</i>	<i>imperfect aspect forms</i>	<i>meaning</i>
bãt	L3 bã, kãmbã	bãkìn, zãwãi, zãwãi	mount, ride
bùt	L6 bù, kãmbù	bùkìn, zãwìn, zãwìn	eat
dít	L1 dìò, kãndò	dìkìn, sãdìn, sãdìn	do
gãt	L3 gã, kãngã	gãkìn, zãgãi, zããi	follow
lìt	L2 lìò, kãlìó, nzãlìò	lìkìn, sãlìn, sãlìn	learn
mùt	L6 mù, kãmù	mùkìn, sãmìn, sãmìn	put on (clothes)
rùt	L5 rù, kùrù	rùkìn, sùrìn, sùrìn	see
tãt	L3 tã, kãntã	tãkìn, sãtãi, sãtãi	seize, grab
tít	L1 tìò, kãntò	tìkìn, sãtìn, sãtìn	equal, suffice

3.2. Group 2. The verbs of group 2 have monosyllabic verb roots of the structure CVC/C. Most of the members of the group have only one

verbal noun formed through suffixation of +ò to the verb root on a low tone. Some of the verbs of this group may have a second verbal noun or derived nominal formed through the prefixation of nzə+ to the first form of the verbal noun. Initial consonants of the roots of this group may be either obstruents or sonorants. In the nonprefixed aspects, the prefixed third person subject morphemes are overtly manifested in both the singular and the plural forms.

root	de/verbal nouns	imperfect aspect forms	meaning
bòt+ L8	bòtò	bòtəkìn, zùwòtìn, zòwòtìn	tell (story)
búr+	bürò	búrəkìn, zəwúrìn, zəwúrìn	move, migrate
dór+	dòrò	dórəkìn, súdòrìn, sódòrìn	gather up
dùr+	dùrò	dùrəkìn, sùdùrìn, sòdùrìn	fall (of rain)
(dùr+ = derived form IV of *yùr+ according to Lukas, 1937:251)			
dùt+	dùtò	dùtəkìn, sùdùtìn, sòdùtìn	sew
fànd+	fàndò	fàndəkìn, səwàndìn, sàwàndìn	find, get
fár+	fàrò	fàrəkìn, səwàrìn, sàwàrìn	slander
fét+ L13	fètò, nzəwètò	fètəkìn, səwétìn, sàwétìn	undo, unplait
fàrt+ L8	fàrtò	fàrtəkìn, səwərtìn, sàwərtìn	pluck, pick
gád+	gádò	gádəkìn, zəgádìn, zàádìn	argue (usu pl)
gám+ L13	gámò	gáməkìn, zəgámìn, zàámìn	scratch
gánd+	gándò	gándəkìn, zəgándìn, zàándìn	lick
gánt+	gántò	gántəkìn, zəgántìn, zàántìn	acquire
gènd+ L8	gèndò	gèndəkìn, zəgèndìn, zàgèndìn	move, shake up
gèr+ L8	gèrò	gèrəkìn, zəgèrìn, zàgèrìn	chew, masticate
güt+/	gütò/, nzùwütò	gütəkìn, zùwütìn/, zòwütìn/	warm o.s. in sun;
güd+	güdò	sùwütìn sòwütìn	draw water
jér+ L16	jèrò	jérəkìn, sàryérìn/, sèryérìn/	tie up
		sìyérìn sèérìn	
kált+	káltò	káltəkìn, səgáltìn, sàáltìn	'break fast; tie ropes
kàr+ L8	kàrò, nzəkàrò	kàrəkìn, səgàrìn, sààrìn	forge, carve, cast
kàs+ L8	kàsò	kàsəkìn/kàskìn, səgàshìn, sààsài	run
kénd+ L13	kèndò, nzəgèndò	kéndəkìn, səgèndìn, sàgèndìn	tie baby to back
kór+ L14	kòrò	kórəkìn, súwòrìn, sówòrìn	ask
kúd+	kùdò	kúdəkìn/kùkkìn, súwùdìn, sówùdìn	bring
küt+	kütò	kütəkìn, sùwütìn, sòwütìn	stir food
läd+ L8	lädò, nzəlädò	lädəkìn, səlädìn, sàlädìn	sell
lánd+	lándò, nzəlándò	lándəkìn, səlándìn, sàlándìn	churn, shake
lär+	lärò, nzəlärò	lärəkìn, səlärìn, sàlärìn	live in luxury
liw+	liwò, nzəlìwò	liwúkìn, səllìwìn, sàllìwìn	protect
lòr+ L13	lòrò, nzəlòrò	lòrəkìn, sùlòrìn, sòlòrìn	boil (usu 3S)
lúw+	lúwò	lórəkìn, sùlórìn, sòlórìn	collect & take away
mèr+	mèrò	lúwúkìn, sùlúyìn, sòlúyìn	go out, leave
mìnt+	mìntò	mèrəkìn, səmèrìn, sàmèrìn	recover
mów+ L14	mówò, nzəmówò	mìntəkìn, səmìntìn, sàmìntìn	remove grains from millet
nánd+ L13	nándò, nzənándò	mówòkìn, səmóyìn, sàmóyìn	take, get
nát+	nátò, nzənátò	nándəkìn, sənándìn, sànándìn	bite
nót+	nótò, nzənótò	nátəkìn, sənátìn, sànátìn	cow, plant
nyè+	nyè	nótəkìn, sùnótìn, sònótìn	commission e.o.
*ràg+	ràwò, nzèràwò	nyègəkìn, sànyèyìn, sànyèyìn	herd, pasture
rəmb+	rəmbò, nzèrəmbò	ràákìn, sàràyìn, sàràyìn	like, want, love
rənd+	rəndò, nzèrəndò	rəmbəkìn, sèrəmbìn, sàrəmbìn	reimburse
rəpt+	rəptò (cf cl 2 rəp+)	rəndəkìn, sèrəndìn, sàrəndìn	hurt (usu 3S)
rínd+	ríndò	rəptəkìn, sèrəptìn, sàrəptìn	bury
ság+	sàwò	ríndəkìn, sèríndìn, sàríndìn	tire of waiting
sàw+	sàwò, nzəsàwò	ságəkìn, səsáyìn, sàsáyìn	lower, bring down
		sàwúkìn, sàsàwìn, sàsàwìn	winnow, sift

sàng+	sàngò, nzèsàngò	sàngəkìn, sèsàngìn, sàsàngìn	lift up, start
tám+	támò, nzètámò	táməkìn, sètámìn, sátámìn	taste
tánd+	tándò, nzètándò	tándəkìn, sètándìn, sátándìn	build
tèr+	tèrò	tèrəkìn, sètètìn, sàtèrìn/sètèrìn	remove, carry away
wár+	wàrò, nzèwàrò	wàrəkìn, sèwàrìn, sàwàrìn	recover from long illness

3.3. Group 3. Group 3 is made up of only two verbs which have monosyllabic CV roots beginning with the semivowel y+. Both of the members of this group have three de/verbal nouns, one consisting of the root alone, and two prefixed forms. In the nonprefixed aspects, the third person subject pronouns contract across the morpheme boundary with the verb root.

root	de/verbal nouns	imperfect aspect forms	meaning
yá+ L18	yà, nzà, kènzá	yákìn, sái, sásái	drink
yí+ L17	yò, njò, kènjó	yíkìn, cín, sádìn	give

3.4. Group 4. Group 4 is also made up of verbs with roots in initial semivowel y+. The monosyllabic roots of this group are of the structure CVC/C. Most of the verbs of this group have two de/verbal nouns, one formed through the application of the suffix +ò to the verb root on a low tone, and another through nz+ prefixation. In the nonprefixed aspects, it is apparently the case that the 3P subject pronoun morpheme is prefixed to the 3S form of the verb to produce the 3P form for most members of the group. There are a number of CVCCVC bisyllabic roots as well.

root	de/verbal nouns	imperfect aspect forms	meaning
yád+ L19	yàdò, nzàdò	yádəkìn/, sádìn, sáadìn/ yákkìn sásádìn	carry away, take to
yál+	yàlà, yòlò	yáləkìn/, sálái, sásálái/ yólòkìn sùlòyìn	amuse child
yàmb+	yàmbò, nzàmbò	yàmbəkìn, sàmbìn, sàsàmbìn	bear, give birth
tàmb+ III	tàmbò	tàmbəkìn, sàmbìn, tàsàmbìn	be born
yàmb+	yàmbò, nzàmbò	yàmbəkìn, sàmbìn, sòsòmbìn	burn (usu 3S)
yàmbàt+	yàmbàtá	yàmbàtəkìn, sàmbàtái, sàsàmbàtái	find out, check on
yàmbùt+	yàmbùtò, nzàmbùtò	yàmbùtəkìn, sàmbùtìn, sàsàmbùtìn	bark (usu 3S/P)
yàngàng+	yàngàngà, nzàngàngà	yàngàngəkìn, sàngàngái, sàsàngàngái	imitate, ape
yàrgàl+L21	yàrgàlò, hzàrgàlò	yàrgàləkìn, sàrgàlìn, sàsàrgàlìn	raise, breed
yàrùw+	yàrò, nzàrò	yàrùwəkìn, sàrùyìn, sàsàrùyìn	redeem
yàs+ L20	yàsà, nzàsà	yàsəkìn, sàsái, sàsàsái/sàsàsái	repair
yàsèrà+	yàsèrà, nzàsèrà	yàsèràkìn, sàsèràí, sàsèràí	believe
yàsèrà+	yàsèrà, nzàsèrà	yàsèràkìn, sàsèràí, sàsèràí	cough
yàtt+	yàttò, nzàttò	yàttəkìn, sàttìn, sàsàttìn	plait, braid
yàwùt+	yàwùtò, nzàwùtò	yàwùtəkìn, sàwùtìn, sàsàwùtìn	fan
yènd+	yèndò	yèndəkìn, sèndìn, sádèndìn	tolerate
yètt+	yèttò, nzèttò	yèttəkìn, sèttìn, sàsèttìn	water (animal)
yèz+ L22	yèzò, njèzò	yèzəkìn/yèskìn, cèjìn, cèshènin	kill, destroy
yìmbàr+	yìmbàrò, nzèmbàrò	yìmbàrəkìn, sèmbàrìn, sàsàmbàrìn	be tired
yìmbèl+L24	yìmbèlò, nzèmbèlò	yìmbèləkìn, sèmbèlìn, sàsàmbèlìn	fill
yìmb+	yìmbò, nzèmbò	yìmbəkìn, sèmbìn, sàmbìn/sàsàmbìn	nurse, milk
yìnd+	yìndò, nzèndò	yìndəkìn, sèndìn, sàsàndìn	swallow
yír+	yìrò, sò, nzèrò	yìrəkìn, cìrìn, cásàrìn	cry, weep
yíw+	yíwò, njíwò	yíwəkìn, cíwìn, cèshèwìn/cásàwìn	buy
yìrgàt+	yìrgàtò, nzèrgàtò	yìrgàtəkìn, sèrgàtìn, sàsàrgàtìn	mention
yòrd+	yòrdò, nzòrdò	yòrdùgàkìn, sòrdùyìn, sòsòrdùyìn	accompany
?	?	yòwògàkìn, sàwòyìn, sàwòyìn	reflect over
*yùr+	*yùrò	*yùrùkìn, sùrìn, sòrìn	(see dùr+, group 2 above)
yùkkùr+	yùkkùrò, nzùkkùrò	yùkkùrùkìn, sùkkùrìn, sòkkùrìn	fall down

3.5. Group 5. This group represents perhaps the most irregular and idiosyncratic of the groups of class 1 verbs. The roots represented here are for the most part monosyllabic CV and CVC roots, though there are exceptions. Most of the members have at least one *de*/verbal noun formed through the suffixation of +*ò* to the low tone root, and some have prefixed forms as well. The most exceptional characteristic of this group is that none of the members have subject pronoun prefix on the 3S form of the nonprefixed aspects. For many of them the 3P form in such aspects appears to be a reduplicated form of the 3S form, or, of the same form as the 3S form but with the root vowel changed to the plural morpheme +*a*. Still others do have the regular 3P subject pronoun prefix. A number of the verbs of this group are those that have very likely entered Kanuri from other Saharan languages, since a number of them have cognates in verb class 1 of Teda and other Saharan languages.

root	<i>de</i> /verbal nouns	imperfect aspect forms	meaning
bāf+ L10	bāfò	bāfúkìn, bāfìn, bāwāfìn	ripen
dāg+ L12	dāgà, kàndāgà	dāgákìn, dāgái, dāwìn	live, stay, exist
?	?	*fālāngākìn, fālāngìn, fālāngìn	appear (e.g. new moon)
*gāg+L11	gāwò	gāákìn, gāyìn, gāgāyìn/gāsāyìn	enter
?	gēlāwò	gēlāgākìn, gēlāyìn, gēlāyìn	spend a year
ís+ L15	ísò, kànshē, kànshò, kàndē	ísākìn/ískìn, íshìn, ísài	come, arrive
nù+ L7	nù, kèrmò	núkìn, sūi, sònìn	die
tād+	tādò	tādiyèn, tādìn (pl only)	meet each other
tiyèr+	tiyèrò	tiyèrākìn/, tiyèrìn/, ?tiyèrāin	fail to do
tòm+	tòmò	tègèrākìn tègèrìn. tòmìn (3P only)	enter in group

3.6. Group 6. This does not really constitute a distinct group since it is made up only of a single verb, the independent verb *ngìn*, meaning *say, think* in its independent use. It is separated from the rest of the class 1 verbs because it is defective when used independently and does not occur in all of the aspects etc. of the language. In its inflectional use however, it does occur in all aspects. It is apparent that in the nonprefixed aspects, the third person subject morpheme prefixes result in the deletion of the verb root *n+* in those finite forms.

<i>n+</i>	<i>ngìn, shìn, sài</i>	<i>say, think</i>
-----------	------------------------	-------------------

4. The Class 2 Verbs (in *ngìn*). Because of the very large and potentially unlimited size of verb class 2, and its diachronic origin in what are really composite accreted forms, it is apparent that its members come from a great many sources historically, both from within and from outside of the Kanuri language. For these reasons, class 2 verbs lend themselves to groupings based not only on phonological considerations as was the case with class 1. It is the purpose of this section to present the various kinds of criteria which can be used to break down the members of the class in a meaningful and useful way. Various groups and subgroups will then be proposed using relevant phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic criteria. The phonological criteria used are based on such factors as syllable structure and tone pattern of the class 2 root. Morphologically, composite, accreted verb roots will be distinguished from those that are not. Syntactically, class 2 roots which are bound, dependent morphemes with no other lexical function will be distinguished from those with other lexical and syntactic functions in the language, and the latter will be grouped according to those functions. Semantically, the value of grouping class 2 roots according to their transitivity will also be considered. All of these criteria will be applied to class 2 roots with other language

sources as well.

4.1. On Becoming a Class 2 Verb Root. It has been said that class 2 is literally unlimited. When a verb is borrowed, or when a new verb is needed in response to a modern requirement, they are coined as class 2 verbs: Because of the inflection by the verb *ngin*, almost any lexical item of the language may be tonally altered to take on the function of a class 2 root describing the process of becoming that lexical item. All such intransitive process verbs have low tone roots, as shown in the following examples.

<i>lexical source</i>	<i>class 2 root</i>
kām kūrā important person	kāmkūrā+ become an important person
kūrā big, important	kūrā+ become big, important
mālām malam, religious teacher	mālām+ become a malam
ngāwū many, a lot, much	ngāwū+ become plentiful
zāu difficult, expensive	zāu+ become difficult, expensive

Class 2 verbs like the above are created every day and their sources are easily identifiable. For other class 2 roots however, it is not as easy to discover the original source.

It has been suggested in regard to all of the verbs of Kanuri that the verbs of class 1 are the older verbs of the language, for the reasons given. It would seem that there is an even more elaborate time-based hierarchy among the class 2 roots, that correlates with when a word became a class 2 root and how long it has performed that function. Since in every finite class 2 verb form the finite forms of the class 1 verb *ngin* are always visibly intact as inflections, there can be no doubt that at one time or another every class 2 verb was essentially *made up*.

In making up new class 2 verbs today, as above, regardless of the original tone of the lexical source, it takes on low tone as a class 2 root and is inflected like every other low tone verb of the class. The only verbs that can be productively fabricated in this way are the process verbs, which are always intransitive. This evidence can be used to associate intransitivity with low tone class 2 roots.

In exception to this generalization, a recently borrowed transitive verb of English meaning *bail s.o. out* has entered Kanuri as the low tone class 2 verb *bēlīn+*. It seems that it is synchronically impossible to make up a high tone class 2 verb, whether it be transitive or intransitive. Evidence from elsewhere in the class would seem to indicate that at some point in the evolution of class 2, among the roots for which today there is no evident lexical source, that tone and transitivity were in fact correlated in the way described above. Examples supporting this hypothesis will be examined subsequently. Thus the tone pattern of a root may be used in determining how long it has functioned in that role, in relation to other members of the class. In determining the degree to which a class 2 root has assumed its verbal function, it is also necessary to assess the relative importance of its nonverbal functions elsewhere in the language.

4.2. Speculations with regard to the Original Members of Verb Class 2.

The major group of class 2 verb roots (described on page 105) excluding the unlimited group of inventable process verbs, is made up of largely monosyllabic roots, with some bisyllabic as well, which have no recognizable source either within Kanuri or from another language. These monomorphemic roots have no independent function in language, other than the bound morpheme function of the class 2 root. All of the members of this group

have roots with a level tone. For the reason that they have no other function in the language, and for other reasons to be elaborated here, I would suggest that these represent the original members of verb class 2. Another smaller group of class 2 roots is that which has as its source a specific adverb or ideophone which is used independently in that role. It will be the purpose of this section to relate these two groups of class 2 verb roots and to demonstrate that the process through which today a specific adverb becomes a class 2 root is the same as that through which the proposed original members of class 2 became class 2 roots.

To momentarily digress, Aranoff (1976:8) distinguishes between those minimal meaningful units of a language which are *arbitrary*, and those which are *motivated*. English *dog* he says, is a sign involving totally "arbitrary union of the semantic and the phonetic ... because there is nothing in the sound which dictates its meaning, and vice versa, except social convention." He contrasts *dog* with other "signs whose sounds, we feel, have some intrinsic connections with their meanings. Onomatopoeic words, and those which involve phonetic symbolism like *slurp* and *quack*, are said to be partially *motivated* (nonarbitrary) because of this intrinsic connection."

Specific adverbs/ideophones, and other nonarbitrary (motivated or partially motivated) lexical items have traditionally been left to the end of the grammar book in the treatments of many languages - a sort of weird subsidiary phenomenon with which we are not so familiar vis-a-vis Indo-European languages, characteristic of many African languages and often isolated from the rest of the grammar. Apart from Lukas' collection of nearly 200 specific adverbs nothing has appeared in the literature on the topic of onomatopoeic words and specific adverbs of Kanuri. Perhaps because motivated lexical items have always been set apart from the rest of the lexicon, as marginal members, few have related them to the traditional lexical categories like noun and verb. According to the presently proposed analysis, Kanuri is a language in which specific adverbs and other motivated lexical items are important both in their purely independent usage, and also in their role as roots in a variety of the derived components of the lexicon.

We have seen (ch. 3) that the possible forms in which the syllable is constructed in Kanuri are CV and CVC. The phonological makeup of the syllable may be predictable on the basis of the position in which it occurs in the word, and as well on the basis of the lexical category of the word in which it occurs. Likewise in some cases, the suprasegmental feature of tone may be predictable as a function of the same criteria. The following is a comparison of the phonological structure of the class 2 verb root (with no recognizable lexical source) and the specific adverb.

class 2 verb root

CV/C and less often CVCV/C, the latter in some cases being derived from a monosyllabic root through application of formatives

root final C may be any C of the language

all syllables bear level tones, high and low, no contour tones

may be repeated/reduplicated (V)

unlimited

specific adverb

CV/C, CVV, and less often CVCV/C, CVCVV, the latter bisyllabic forms often being derived from or related to a monosyllabic counterpart

final C may be any C of the language

all syllables bear level tones, often high, no contour tones

may be repeated/reduplicated

virtually unlimited

The similarities are remarkable. Both categories are immune to the phonological stipulation that prevents lexical nouns from ending in any consonant other than the sonorant series of liquids and nasals.

In English, the verb *go* is used to describe ideophonic processes and onomatopoeia, as in *the gun went boom*; in Hausa, the verb *yi do* is used, as in constructions like *Gida ya yi kaca-kaca* *The house was in complete disorder*. In Kanuri, the verb used in this way is the verb *ngin*, the same verb noted as the class 1 verb used to inflect all class 2 verbs. The speculation therefore that the origins of the entire verb class 2 lie in this process is inevitable. It is likely that the verb *ngin* was used in its independent form to describe actions, sounds, processes, etc., which through usage eventually produced verbal meanings for which no class 1 verb was available due to its limited size. Given: 1) the synchronic independent meanings of *ngin* i.e. *say, think*, 2) the synchronic independent use of *ngin* to describe ideophonic and onomatopoeic processes, 3) the earlier described phonological similarities between specific adverbs and class 2 verb roots, I hypothesize that the first and original class 2 verb roots were perhaps motivated, specific adverbs which became fused to the verb *ngin* through constant usage as juxtaposed objects of the finite forms of the verb *ngin*.

A significant number of the apparently non-derived class 2 verb roots can in fact be shown to be related to certain specific adverbs. The situation is not, however, so simple and clearcut that one can take all of the synchronic class 2 roots and find an ideophone from which they were originally derived. Thus the hypothesis cannot be either substantiated or refuted. It is likely that the inventory of specific adverbs of any language fluctuates perhaps more than any other lexical category. The hypothesis is espoused here for its explanatory value and for pedagogical purposes.

In Kanuri then, the gun does not *go boom* but rather *says boom*. Using the specific adverb *bàdák*, which represents the sound of a beating heart, one can describe the beating of a heart either as an ideophonic process using the forms of the verb *ngin* independently as in the first example below, or using *bàdák* as a class 2 verb root, fused to the finite forms of the verb *ngin* for inflection as in the second example below.

Kàrégènzé *bàdák* (*bàdák*) *shìn*.

His heart is going badak badak.

Kàrégènzé (*bàdák*)*bàdák*cìn.

His heart is beating (distinctly).

Another class 2 root used to describe the beating of the heart is *dəgdəgá+*, which is also clearly a non-arbitrary sign, though it today has no independent use as a specific adverb. It occurs only as a fused class 2 verb root.

The nouns *jàm* and *sàm* are also probably originally motivated signs, and both have come to mean *a short time, a little while, the wink of an eye*. Neither has become a class 2 root, though both may occur independently as objects of *ngin*.

Jàm/sàm shià isékìn.

I will be back in the wink of an eye.

lit: When it says jam/sam I will come.

For a description of certain other independent uses of the verb *ngin* see page 235. For a presentation of a group of class 2 verb roots derived from specific adverbs see 5.2 below. For a complete inventory of the specific adverbs of Kanuri see appendix 7 (page 347).

5. Groups Making up Verb Class 2. In the lists that are organized in this section are presented the major groups which constitute verb class 2. In

5.1, group 1 is presented as the large group of class 2 roots which have no lexical source. There only a small number of examples are presented and discussed since the entire group 1 is presented in appendix 2 (p. 329). For all of the other proposed groups, the entire group of attested class 2 roots is presented here.

5.1. Group 1: Bound Roots. This group was introduced in 4.2 above and is presented in its entirety in appendix 2 (p. 329). It represents the largest group of class 2 roots, numbering around 700 attested members. The verbs of this group are the most commonly used and therefore the most important of the class. Some group 1 roots do have bound cognates in other Saharan languages, though the original source language cannot be presently determined. Nearly all of the roots included function uniquely as class 2 roots in synchronic Kanari, with no other independent nonverbal function.

It was proposed in 4.2 that the original class 2 roots are among this group 1, and that because of the process described there, many may have come originally from specific adverb or other motivated sources. Therefore a number of the members of group 1 can be shown to be related to synchronically attested specific adverbs (see appendix 7 (p. 347)). Others may not be related to a specific adverb, but are undoubtedly motivated signs coming from onomatopoeitic sources which are no longer attested in the language. Most of the group 1 roots are monosyllabic, and it is these which I would suggest represent the older more original members of the group. Among the bisyllabic roots are those which can be shown to be composed of lexical formatives like those discussed in ch. 10, which are no longer productive. The most suspect as being derived among the bisyllabic roots are those for which the two syllables do not agree in tone. Examples of these various subgroups of group 1 will be presented below.

A selection of the monosyllabic roots of group 1 are presented here.

bák+	beat, hit	kók+	peck at
bò+	lie down	kòl+	leave, quit
cè+	move, remove	lá+	dig
cét+	scrape away	lé+	touch
cì+	get up, stand up	lám+	become late at night
cín+	rub, wipe	láp+	string, create, immerse
cíp+	lance, pop	lí+	grow
còl+	poke, stick	lím+	shrivel up, wilt
dà+	stop, stand	má+	look for, fetch
dák+	fear, be in awe of	mát+	pull strongly, scrunch
dám+	fill up, crowd	nək+	shake bucket at well bottom
dáp+	prevent, refuse	rák+	be able to, can
dét+	cook, boil	rí+	fear
dép+	reject, divorce	rù+	scorn
dì+	mix up, prepare	sà+	start for first time
dú+	drive away, chase	sək+	drip, leak, filter
fá+	wake up, melt	sál+	chop
fâl+	change	sò+	be still damp, not dried
fál+	cross, break	sú+	stiffen, become rigid
fàn+	hear, sense, feel	súk+	pierce, penetrate
fâr+	jump, fly	táp+	pour down
fér+	spread out, lay out	târ+	spread out, lay out
fí+	pour out	tùs+	rest, spend time
fù+	blow	wá+	dislike
gá+	catch fire	wà+	spend the night
gál+	sharpen by pounding edge	wí+	loosen, untie
kà+	escape, avoid	yés+	deviate, branch off
kár+	choose, select	zú+	push

5.1.1. Tonal Minimal Pairs in Group 1. As discussed earlier in this work, (see pp. 26 and 63), tone change may have at some point in the history of the language functioned as a process by which one class 2 root was derived from another. All of the pairs cited in these earlier discussions of the role of tone are members of group 1 of the class 2 roots. For example, the relation between the verb yin+ *breathe* and the verb yin+ *smell, sniff* was cited, among other examples, as indicative of this no longer productive process. If tone change did play this role historically then evidence from group 1 and from elsewhere among the class 2 roots would suggest that low tone among class 2 roots may have been associated with intransitivity, and high tone with transitivity.

5.1.2. Group 1 Roots with Historical Lexical Formatives. In chapter 10 the role played by the formative prefixes k+ and n+ was presented. These lexical formatives were apparently productive at some point in the history of the language, but are not synchronically productive. Among the class 2 roots of group 1 there appear to be those roots which were derived from other class 2 roots through the application of one or the other of these historical formative prefixes. Since such processes have not been documented before, a number of admittedly speculative pairs of examples are presented.

The following examples may represent class 2 root derivation through n+ prefixation. In one case the n+ prefix appears to have been applied to a k+ prefixed form.

gál+	sharpen edge by pounding	ngál+	measure, buy in measured amount
kúrnó+	III be happy	ngúrnó+	favor
gèrmés+	waste away, eat away at	ngèrmés+	break in, wear in
rák+	flex, tighten	ngèrāk+	sprain
	III bear down, grunt		
kémés+	squeeze, knead, wring	ngímés+	wink

The following examples may represent class 2 root derivation through g+ or k+ prefixation.

bād+	KBU cl 1 step on	gəwát+	step on
bák+	beat, hit	kāwák+	dish/shovel food out quickly
dál+	dye, soak	kádál+	commit infanticide
dú+	drive off, chase away	kádú+	pursue
dəp+	reject, divorce	gəsdəp+	beat violently
jál+	rinse e.g. rice	gəjál+	handle roughly, rough up
kál+	break (shell), hatch (egg)	kūwál+	pick (pimple, scab)
wúl+	scrape/pick off	kūwúl+	shell, peel, skin
		kwál+	pop (blister)
lās+	I hang up on, affix, attach	gəlās+	I roll up (sleeves), hitch up
lè+	go	kúlās+	research, investigate
lé+	touch	kələ+	wrap around (turban)
lòlòk+	pick nose, knock down	kúlòk+	lance (boil)
mbá+	float	kùlòlòk+	knock down (mango from tree)
nā	place	kāmbé+/kāmbí+	swim
nā+	I reach, attain	gənā+	place, put down
nak+	TBU place		
nyè+	grind	gərnnyè+	crush (with implement)
ré+	halve, split	gərə+	put side by side, compare
		kərə+	sort out, select
lét+	sleep	kúlét+	touch with scratch of finger
sār+	line up, order, arrange	kásār+	summarize, make short work of
sāt+	bear witness before court	kāsāt+	accept, agree to

wí+/yí+	untie, undo	kài+	skin, expose private parts
wùr+	break/knock down, destroy	gèwùr+	pound, pulverize in mortar
zá+	tap/beat/pound repeatedly	kèzàkèzà+	shake up, mix grain with/liquid
zèk+	grate charcoal; shake at	gèzèk+	shake/mix up well; shake in hand
zák+	annoy, irritate, persist	zégàrén+	ponder over
zèrèn+	unravel	gùzùgùzù+	knock down from above with missile
zú+	push		

5.2. Group 2: Class 2 Roots from Specific Adverb Sources. Group 2 is made up of class 2 roots that have synchronically attested specific adverbs as their recognizable sources. Some other class 2 roots that probably originated from some other onomatopoeic source are also presented here. In 4.2. above it was suggested that verb class 2 may have evolved as a result of the description of ideophonic processes involving the juxtaposition of a specific adverb and the finite forms of the verb ngin. If this hypothesis is correct, then all of the verbs of group 1 as well as those presented here in group 2, came originally from some motivated specific adverb or other onomatopoeic source. Thus, some of the examples presented here are also members of group 1. Furthermore, additional research will reveal a great many more members of this group 2. Here are presented some of the more transparent roots, in the sense that a specific adverb source can be easily recognized. With regard to group 1, though there is no synchronic specific adverb fù, there can be little doubt that the two group 1 verbs fù+ *blow up*, and fù+ *swell* were originally derived from onomatopoeic sources.

<i>specific adverb source</i>	<i>class 2 root</i>
bádák describes loud heartbeat	bádák+ beat (of the heart)
bèk/bùk describes blow of fist	bák+ beat, hit
fés clean, neat, well done, well arranged	dègùdègá+ beat (of the heart)
gáa describes glowing hot coals	fés+ separate, sort out by shaking on round flat winnowing mat; fan out tail (e.g. of turkey)
gágá describes strongly emitted odor	gá+ catch fire
fálálá describes flow of spilling or running water; growth of a creeping plant	gàgà+ make known by emitting a smell (e.g. presence of a skunk)
gájál describes sloppy reckless walking gait	fálálá+ flow or spill over; creep (of a plant)
kòk sound of chicken's pecking	gàjál+ handle roughly, rough up
kól sound of beating with stick, pounding with hammer; describes small head	kòk+ peck at
káp describes act of catching sth thrown	kólkól+ tap sharply on a hard surface; prod, provoke, urge to irrational act
kép/képkép small, crowded	káp+ meet, catch up; go and meet s.o. before they reach destination to accompany to destination
kúl sth entirely concealed	kép+ be crowded, tight
ngúl describes hiding behind	kúl+ get fat
sálít slippery, slimy	kérém+ harvest (by cutting heads off stalks)
wái excl of pain	ngúl+ hide behind
	táp+ clap (hands); pour (water)
	sùt+ slip, slide
	wáiwái+ sting (of painful wound)
	tèrèp+ trot (of a donkey)
	tárèp+ cut (with scissors)

5.3. Group 3: Class 2 Roots from Lexical Items. This group of class 2 roots is potentially unlimited since as described earlier, any word, whether lexical or derived, can in fact become a class 2 process verb root when changed to a low tone. Thus the entire lexicon could be grouped here. In the examples presented here I have tried to present the most commonly used class 2 roots that are derived from other lexical items. Both transitive and intransitive examples are presented, and the varying tone patterns which different lexical items have taken on as class 2 roots will be apparent. Some of the intransitive process verbs are included among these commonly used verbs. This is only a sample.

<i>lexical source</i>		<i>class 2 root</i>	
bánà	help	báná+	help, assist
bàrà	hunting	bàrà+	search for, hunt
bàrè	farming, hoeing	bàré+	farm, hoe
bàrgà	congratulations, blessing	bàrgà+	congratulate, bless
bā/bāwò	there is/are not	bā+/bāwò	die, pass away
bíské	game, amusement, playing	bíské+	play
bèràm	spun cotton twine	bèràm+	spin/twist into string/twine
bèlāwùrò	trip, voyage, travels	bèlāwùrò+	travel
bāyè	nostalgia	bāyè+	III seek jealously to remarry former mate
bèlāānà	one knowing town well	bèlāānà+	getting to know town well
dèbdò	one day, spending one day	dèbdò+	spend the day
dàrtè	middle of the night	dàrtè+	become middle of the night
dèrṽà	muddy color of striped dog	dèrṽà+	stir or mix up bottom sediment
dìn	worn out, old, used	dìn+	wear out
fèté	clear, obvious	fètè+	become clear, obvious
dòndì	sick	dòndì+	get sick
dàryé	last	dàryè+	finally happen at last minute
fùlù	reduction	fùlù+	reduce
fùwù	front	fùwù+	move ahead, advance
fìfì	fertilizing with manure	fìfì+	manure a farm; dust bath a horse
bòwùl	urine	bòwùl+	urinate
còllò	urine	còllò+	urinate
bùrwò	first	bùrwò+	do first, precede, anticipate
cìdà	work	cìdà+	work
fèrèm	inside out	fèrèm+	open, uncover, reveal
gàná	little, small	gàná+	be meek, humble; show respect
gàrláp	galloping horse race	gàrláp+	gallop (on a horse)
jè	rope	jé+	wait for; lead by a rope
jìgàn	experience	jìgàn+	undergo, experience
jìtkè	expert	jìtkè+	become an expert
kàjā	circumcision	kàjā+	circumcize
kàjírì	evening, late afternoon	kàjírì+	become evening/late afternoon
kàrèngè	near, close	kàrèn+	approach, draw near
kàrègè	heart	kàrègè+	III take personally/to heart
kàmbìgè	argument, quarrel	kàmbìgè+	III pl argue with one another
kàmbà	widow	kàmbà+	become a widow
kòdòwù	preparing farm first time	kòdòwù+	prepare farm first time
kòkkò	padlock	kòkkò+	lock up
kèjì	sweet, delicious	kèjì+	become pleasant, agreeable
kèlì	wet, green, raw etc.	kèlì+	become wet, green, raw etc.
lám-bí	need, concern	lám-bí+	III need
lòrù	harm	lòrù+	harm, hurt, damage
màttàwù	horse's hobble	màttàwù+	hobble (horse)
ngà	healthy	ngà+	get well, recover
ngèràm	galloping horse race	ngèràm+	gallop (on a horse)

nyimé	chatting, conversation	nyimé+	chat, conversation
nóngù	shame, timidity	nóngù+	feel timid/shy; be humble
máskálá	slap	máskàlá+	slap
rúwò	writing	rúwò+	write
kàrà	reading, studying	kàrà+	read, study
sámùn	alike, similar	sámùn+	resemble
sótò	hospitality	sótò+	receive (guest)
súlí	joke	súlí+	make fun of
sáwà	friend	sáwà+ II	befriend
şòlò	reconciliation	şòlò+	conciliate, reconcile
tádì	waste	tádì+	waste, ruin, wreck
támàn	price	támàn+	price, check price
tárwá	envy	tárwá+	prevent/hold back out of envy
tárwù	flattery	tárwù+	flatter; talk into
tòskù	market commission	tòskù+	commission s.o.
télák	drop, drip	télák+	drip (of water)
wásám	yawn	wásám+	yawn
wùshè	friendly greeting	wùshè+	say <i>wushe</i> to s.o.
wòsé	better, recovered (illness)	wòs+	get/feel better
wàyé	short while	wàyé+	become a little later
zà	traditional measurement	zà+	measure off with <i>za</i>
záyè	decorative clothing	záyè+	dress decoratively
záwà	path, road	záwà+	accompany, see off
zègí	crooked	zègí+	bend, make crooked

5.4. Group 4: Class 2 Roots from Compounds and other Derived Forms.

Some class 2 roots are formed from two or more words, or a word and another morpheme, which have combined and become a class 2 root in response to some semantic need. Some involve the change to low tone that is characteristic of the intransitive class 2 process verb.

source	class 2 root
cf	
ngál+ mouth, edge	
ngál+ measure off	cìngál+ chop up, slice up
cìngál+ tin	
dú+ drive/chase away	
kòl+ leave, quit, desist	dùngòl+ veer off, change course
kām person	
bā there is not	kāmbà+ become a widow
kāmbā widow	
kām person	
kūrā big, important	kāmkūrā+ become an important person
dāwùn in the middle	
bā there is not	dāwùnbā+ I exclude
kèlā head	
kòr+ fence off/in	kèlākòr+ head off, herd by circling
ngáwò back, behind	
njól+ squat	ngàwònjòl+ tie hands behind back
kúlwú gown, robe	
múké I should put on	kúlwùmàskè+ conceal in gown sleeve

The following examples are derived through the application of the associative postposition to a lexical noun.

fúnò	loin cloth	
fúnòà	having a loin cloth	fúnà+ II tuck tail/private parts between legs

gədi	east, origin, source	gədiā+	move eastward
gədiā	eastward		
kānnū	fire	kānnūā+	become hot
kānnūā	hot		
kāūsū	heat of day	kāūsūā+	become hot part of day
kāūsūā	it is hot out		
sūrō	stomach	sūrōā+	become pregnant
sūrōā	having a stomach; pregnant		

5.5. Group 5: Class 2 Roots from Arabic. The following class 2 roots represent those that have come into Kanuri from Arabic. All those that have thus far been collected are presented here. Many of the roots presented here have corresponding nominals in Kanuri that are of course also from Arabic. Many of these examples were presented on page 73.

ābāt+	worship	jārāp+	test, try out; addict
ādār+/hādār+	witness, attend	jāap+/jāawū+/jūwāp+	answer
āgəri+	rent	jēgər+	II verify, confirm
ājī+/jī+	make pilgrimage	jī+	= ājī+
ājāp+	be amazed, astonished	jūmlā+	gather, total up
ālāk+	create	kādār+	redeem, pay in kind; preordain
ālāp+	swear on Holy Koran	kāsāl+	bathe, wash
āllām+/hāllām+	train, discipline, form	kāsār+	buy bit by bit
āman+	entrust, confide	kātāl+	mutually divide sth
āmar+	agree, will, allow	kērā+	read, study
āmbā+	raise, bring up, rear	lāmīn+	vouch for, bail
ārđī+	recognize, appreciate	lāwār+	observe
āsār+	lose, abort	lāyā+	burden, tax, overwork
āsēmā+	consume, finish off	jēfā+	greet
āskər+	thank	lōskū+	bury deceased infant
āwās+	discredit	lūwālā+	fight, argue with
āwllāk+	mature, reach puberty	lūwāp+	desire, covet, long for
āwllām+	become senile	lūsūrān+	cause loss by theft
āzāwā+	torture, punish severely	mākkār+	mock, imitate mockingly
bādī+	begin, start	mānā+	speak, talk
bāsār+	squander	māyī+/māgi+	implore, adjure, plead
bāyān+/bāyēn+	explain	mīskīl+	III pl misunderstand one another
dāwār+	prepare	mīzān+	measure, weigh, aim
dīgər+	say diger prayer	nādīm+	doubt, regret
dūwā+	slaughter	nāsār+	III be victorious
fājār+	become early morning	ngādār+	slander
fājārrā+	say goodnight to	nyā+	intend, plan
fāidā+	be useful; II use	nyryā+	marry
fāsār+	translate, explain	rāi+	persuade with one's opinion
fāsāl+	design, plan	rāmā+	pardon, forgive (by God)
gālā+	advise, counsel; install	rātāl+	compare, measure against
gāsāl+	wash dead before burial	rābbū+	bow down with hands on knees
gāfər+	forgive, pardon	rīzāp+	try out, test
gūl+	say	rūkkū+	bow down with hands on knees
gūrūs+	poke	sālām+	dismiss, release; break in
hāiyā+/!	verify, ascertain truth	sālām+	say assalamu aleikum
hālāl+	own, possess lawfully	sālī+	pray
hālām+	fold	sāarān+	make drunk; III be drunk
hāllām+	= āllām+	sār+/sārā+	line up in row
hāwārā+	inform	sādāk+	give alms
hōwūm+	judge, sentence	sāt+	call to prayer
hūrmo+	appreciate	sāwər+	be trader
isāp+	count	shāddā+	testify to innocence

shât+	testify to innocence	tâwâwâ+	die, pass away (of prophet)
shâk+	doubt	tâyêt+	pray for with ritual spitting
shîkêl+	mark vowels of	wâa+/wâkâ+	happen
shîtêrà+	bury, inter	wâhâr+	not show up
sêbbû+	review rapidly (Holy Koran)	wâdê+	promise
sûjît+	prostrate o.s. in prayer	wâjîp+	become obligatory
sûwânâ+	say subhana lai	wâtî+	have sex with (polite)
tâjî+	condole upon death	wârâtâ+	inherit; pass on to
tâmîs+	count (usu on prayer beads)	wârdâk+	roast, barbecue
tâhîr+	be clean, pure	wôlô+	perform ablution
tânjî+/tânjîwâr+	wash after toilet	zârâp+	barely miss, narrowly escape
tâmô+	finish, complete	zân+	suspect
târtîp+	arrange, organize, order	zânîé+	discuss, talk about
tâwâk+	III pl agree with each other	zâ+	fast
tâwât+	be loyal, uphold word	ziyârâ+	visit

5.6. Group 6: Class 2 Roots from Hausa.

âurê+	graft (plants)	gôdê+	thank
cîkâ+	fill out (a form)	shâfê+	smooth
fâlâsâ+	reveal, expose, uncover	tâllâ+	hawk, sell on streets

5.7. Group 7: Class 2 Roots from English.

bêlîn+	bail out (s.o. arrested)	kêmpên+	go all out for. (e.g. woman's favor)
cânjî+	transfer, repost	wâinâ+	wind (watch, clock)

CHAPTER 13: THE STRUCTURE OF THE BASIC VERB FORM AND THE VERB ASPECTS

1. Introduction. The present chapter deals with the structure of the nonderived, basic finite verb form (I), and all of the possible forms that it takes on in the different aspects of the Kanuri verb. This topic was briefly introduced on p. 91 in the chapter which introduced this entire unit. The morphological structure of the verbal complex as a whole will be reexamined here. Then the morphological structure of each aspect will be discussed, together with a presentation of any phonological or morphophonemic processes relevant to the formation of the aspect. The discussion of each aspect will necessarily lead to a treatment of the semantic and syntactic characteristics of each aspect, and example sentences will be presented in each case.

The term *aspect* is here being used globally to refer to all of the categories or conjugations traditionally used to describe verb tenses, aspects, and moods. With regard to the term *aspect*, Comrie (1976:3) stated that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation". Later Comrie (1976:5) points out that although both aspect and tense are concerned with time, they are concerned with time in different ways. "... tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense)."

In this light, most of the categories or conjugations of the Kanuri verb might best be described as *verb aspects* and the system an *aspect system*. Some however might refer to it as a *tense-aspect system* since certain of the completive aspects function more like the tenses with which we are familiar in languages like English. The terms used to describe the aspects are not however as important as an understanding of how they are used and function in the language. This will hopefully be made clear by the following explanations. In each case, the term being used for the purposes of the present work is presented first. When this term differs from that coined by Lukas (1937), then Lukas' term is indicated in parentheses.

2. The Structure of the Verbal Complex of the Basic (I) Finite Verb Form. The term *verbal complex* is here used to refer to the verb root and all of the accompanying inflectional morphemes which combine to make up the basic finite verb form (Lukas' I). The basic verbal complex which is presented here will be elaborated on in the following chapter 14, where the positions for all of the derivational morphemes (Lukas' II, III, IV, and V) are added to the basic schema. Thus we are here dealing with all of the obligatory morphemes, elementary to the formation of the finite verb form.

As has been introduced earlier, the finite verb form is made up of the morpheme of the class 1 verb root, plus or minus the class 2 verb root, and inflectional morphemes indicating aspect and subject pronoun. Of the morphemes indicating aspect, some are prefixed to the verb root and some are suffixed to the verb root. With regard to the subject pronoun morphemes, some are broken down into two separate morphemes, one indicating person, and one indicating number. Thus an elaborated version of the basic verbal complex contains the following possible morpheme positions, indicated here in the order in which they may be filled.

1. class 2 verb root'
2. aspect prefix morpheme
3. 3rd person subject pronoun morpheme
4. 3rd person number morpheme
5. class 1 verb root (filled by n+ for class 2 verbs)
6. 1st and 2nd person subject pronoun morphemes
7. aspect suffix morpheme

The derivation of the class 1 verb form *cilädáskò* *I sold (it)*, and the class 2 verb form *lëngin* *I am going*, can therefore be represented schematically as follows, using the above described morpheme position analysis.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	finite verb form
-	ki+	-	-	läd+	+k+	+ò	cilädáskò
lè+	-	-	-	n+	+k+	+ìn	lëngin

Thus the numbered morpheme positions and the scheme can be readily used for both class 1 and class 2 verb forms. As will be seen in ch. 14 where the derived forms of the verb are treated, all derivational morphemes or verb extensions occur in the verbal complex schema preceding position 5, the class 1 verb root position. For class 1 verbs, position 5 is always taken by a class 1 verb root, and for all class 2 verbs, position 5 is always taken by the root consonant n+ of the class 1 verb ngin. In the formation of class 2 verb forms, it should be noted that whenever any morpheme other than the class 2 root precedes the root consonant n+ of ngin, (i.e. when an aspect prefix morpheme or a third person subject precedes) then the n+ is deleted and is not overtly manifested in the finite verb form. Note that within the verbal complex, the third person subject morpheme in position 3 is separated from the third person number in position 4. This split into two morphemes is not crucial to the basic forms examined here, but its relevance will become clear when certain of the derived forms of the verb are examined in the next chapter. Similarly, it will be noted that for class 1 verb forms in the past and the future, that the aspect prefixes ki+ and ti+ appear to be the same for the basic finite form of many verbs, though in the third person the past prefix is apparently not applied. Here again, their differences will become clearer in relation to the derived forms of the verb.

For most of the verb aspects of Kanuri, aspect indicating morphemes are applied to the verb root-subject complex as suffixes. For only three of the verb aspects, aspect marking involves both a prefix and a suffix, as shown below in the following inventory of the verb aspects.

aspect	2 (prefix)	3-4-5-6	7 (suffix)
<u>incomplete aspects</u>			
(negative) imperfect (continuous)	-	x	+ìn(bā)
future	ti+/ta+	x	+ò
negative future	ti+/ta+	x	+nyí
<u>completive aspects</u>			
past	ki+/ka+	x	+ò
perfect	-	x	(+v)+nā
noun emphasis (relative past)	-	x	+ò
verb emphasis (predicative)	-	x	+í
negative completive (negative past)	-	x	+nyí
<u>non-aspects</u>			
conjunctive	-	x	+ò
imperative	-	x	+ò
subjunctive (optative)	-	x	+ò
negative imperative/subjunctive = negative completive	-	x	+ò

3. The Incompletive Aspects.

3.1. The (Negative) Imperfect (Lukas' (Negative) Continuous). The imperfect and the negative imperfect are treated together as one because the latter is derived from the former through the simple suffixation of the negative *bâ*, which when used independently means *there is/are not*. The imperfect, as will be shown subsequently, is used to describe incomplete or imperfect actions in the past, present, progressive, and future.

3.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Imperfect Aspect. Imperfect aspect verb forms characteristically end in *+n* preceded by a low tone vowel in all, but the 2P form. The ending in *+n* may also be omitted in the 3P forms of certain class 1 verbs, and optional in the 3P forms of all class 2 verbs. It is possible that this ending is historically derived from the postposition *+(lâ)n*. There are no prefixed aspect morphemes in the imperfect.

Class-1. As is apparent in some of the following class 1 imperfect paradigms, various forms of phonological assimilation are reflected in the writing of these forms. These observations apply to other aspects also, where aspect morphemes are not prefixed. The prefixed 3S and 3P subject pronoun morphemes are always low tone before a low tone root, but may be high or low tone before a high tone root. All verbs whose roots begin with a voiceless consonant, *d+*, a liquid consonant, or a nasal consonant, will appear and be pronounced with the voiceless forms of the 3S and 3P subject pronoun morphemes *sə+ / sa+*. All other verbs (i.e. with roots beginning with a voiced consonant other than *d+* will occur with the voiced forms of the 3S and 3P subject prefixes *zə+ / za+*. The vowels of the third person subject prefixes will harmonize to the root vowels *o/u* of CVC (group 2) roots.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (neg) imperfect aspect	
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ìn	búkìn I eat
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+ìn	búmìn
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+ìn	zéwìn
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+ìn	búiyèn
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+ì	búwì
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ìn	záwìn
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ìn+bâ	búkìn bâ I don't eat
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+ìn+bâ	búmìn bâ /búmbâ
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+ìn+bâ	zéwìn bâ
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+ìn+bâ	búiyèn bâ
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+ì +bâ	búwâ
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ìn+bâ	záwìn bâ
1S	-	-	-	-	kór+	+k+	+ìn	kórèkìn I ask
2S	-	-	-	-	kór+	+m+	+ìn	kórèmìn
3S	-	-	s+	-	kór+	-	+ìn	súwòrìn
1P	-	-	-	-	kór+	+y+	+ìn	kórìyèn
2P	-	-	-	-	kór+	+w+	+ì	kórùwì
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	kór+	-	+ìn	sówòrìn
1S	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+k+	+ìn+bâ	gándèkìn bâ I don't lick
2S	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+m+	+ìn+bâ	gándèmìn bâ /gándèm bâ
3S	-	-	s+	-	gánd+	-	+ìn+bâ	zègándìn bâ
1P	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+y+	+ìn+bâ	gándìyèn bâ
2P	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+w+	+ì +bâ	gándùwâ
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	gánd+	-	+ìn+bâ	zàándìn bâ
1S	-	-	-	-	làd+	+k+	+ìn	làdèkìn I sell
3S	-	-	s+	-	làd+	-	+ìn	sèlàdìn
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	làd+	-	+ìn	sàlàdìn

Class 2. As described, class 2 roots are inflected by the finite forms of the class 1 verb *ngin*, shown here in the (negative) imperfect aspect.

1S	<i>ngin</i> (bā)	1P	<i>nyèn</i> (bā)
2S	<i>nəmìn</i> (bā)/(nəmbā)	2P	<i>nùwì</i> (wā)/(nūwā)
3S	<i>shìn</i> (bā)	3P	<i>sài</i> (wā)

The tone pattern taken on by these imperfect aspect forms of *ngin* in its inflectional role will be apparent from the derivational paradigms presented below. Their tone as affixes is always predictable.

The 3S form *shin*, becomes +jin after class 2 roots ending in: 1) a vowel (*lè+*/*lèjìn*), 2) a sonorant consonant (*fàn+*/*fànjin*; *səm+*/*səmjin*; *fəl+*/*fəljin*; *fár+*/*fárcin*), and becomes +cin after a class 2 root ending in a voiceless obstruent (*rák+*/*rákcin*; *lét+*/*létcin*; *náp+*/*nápcin*). Similarly, the 3P form *sai* retains its form after class 2 roots ending in voiceless consonants (*rák+*/*ráksai*; *lét+*/*létsai*; *tùs+*/*tùssai*), and voices to +zai after all class 2 roots ending in sonorant consonants (*fəl+*/*fəlzai*; *fár+*/*fárczai*; *səm+*/*səmczai*).

In the 1S/P and 2S/P forms, an epenthetic vowel +ə+ is inserted between the class 2 root and the *ngin* inflection for class 2 roots ending in +s (*tùs+*/*tùsəngin*/*tùsənəmìn*/*tùsənyèn*/*tùsənúwì*). In the 2S/P forms, the root *n+* of the *ngin* inflection assimilates phonetically to a class 2 root ending in the liquid consonant +l (*fəl+*/*fəlləmìn*/*fəllúwì*).

The final consonant of class 2 roots ending in an obstruent assimilates homorganically to the root *n+* of the *ngin* inflection (*sáp+*/*sámngin*/*sámməmìn*/*sámnyèn*; *lét+*/*lénngin*/*lénmə̀mìn*/*lénnyèn*; *bák+*/*báγγin* [*báγγìn*]/*báγγnəmìn*/*báγγnyèn*).

All of these alternations are predictable and reflected in the SKO.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (neg) imperfect aspect
1S	<i>lè+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn <i>lěngin I go</i>
2S	<i>lè+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn <i>lěnmìn</i>
3S	<i>lè+</i>	-	s+	-	∅	-	+ìn <i>lějìn</i>
1P	<i>lè+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ìn <i>lěnyèn</i>
2P	<i>lè+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì <i>lěnúwì</i>
3P	<i>lè+</i>	-	s+	+a+	∅	-	+ì <i>lězài</i>
1S	<i>fəl+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn+bā <i>fəlnginbā I don't change</i>
2S	<i>fəl+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn+bā <i>fəlləmìnbā/fəlləmbā</i>
3S	<i>fəl+</i>	-	s+	-	∅	-	+ìn+bā <i>fəljinbā</i>
1P	<i>fəl+</i>	-	-	-	+h+	+y+	+ìn+bā <i>fəlnyèn</i>
2P	<i>fəl+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì +bā <i>fəllúwā</i>
3P	<i>fəl+</i>	-	s+	+a+	∅	-	+ì +bā <i>fəlzəiwā</i>
1S	<i>tùs+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn <i>tùsəngin I rest</i>
2S	<i>tùs+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn <i>tùsənəmìn</i>
3S	<i>tùs+</i>	-	s+	-	∅	-	+ìn <i>tùsshìn</i>
1P	<i>tùs+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ìn <i>tùsənyèn</i>
2P	<i>tùs+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì <i>tùsənúwì</i>
3P	<i>tùs+</i>	-	s+	+a+	∅	-	+ì <i>tùssài</i>
1S	<i>bák+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn <i>báγγin I beat</i>
2S	<i>bák+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn <i>báγγnəmìn</i>
3S	<i>bák+</i>	-	s+	-	∅	-	+ìn <i>bákcìn</i>
1P	<i>bák+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ìn <i>báγγnyèn</i>
2P	<i>bák+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì <i>báγγúwì</i>
3P	<i>bák+</i>	-	s+	+a+	∅	-	+ì <i>báksài</i>
1S	<i>lét+</i>	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn+bā <i>lénnginbā I don't sleep</i>
3S	<i>lét+</i>	-	s+	-	∅	-	+ìn+bā <i>létcìn</i>
3P	<i>lét+</i>	-	s+	+a+	∅	-	+ì <i>létsài</i>

3.1.2. Using the (Negative) Imperfect Aspect. As mentioned above, imperfect aspect verb forms are used to describe incomplete or imperfect actions in the past, present, progressive, and future. It is used far more than the future (3.2 below) to describe future events. It functions also as the continuous or habitual aspect of the language. The imperfect also occurs productively in relative clause constructions. It may be used with the associative postposition suffixed to it to form a finite present participle form of the verb.

progressive

Kàsúwùrò lèngín.
Kèrmá létcìnbá.
Kèrmámá íshìn.
Cìdàjínbá.

*I am going to the market.
S/He is not sleeping now.
S/He is coming right now.
S/He is not working.*

future

Tùsshíà lèngín.
Báìlì túrúiyèn.
Lèngé shírd gùlngín.
Báìlì lènyènbá.

*I will go in a little while.
We will see each other tomorrow.
I will go and tell him/her.
We are not going tomorrow.*

habitual

Sàbísó ná ádèn b́erì búiyèn.
Wájísó wúa lèràjín.
Kámód mbál sái.
Ngéwùsórò ná ádèlàn námnyèn.

*We always eat here.
S/He greets me every day.
The man drinks alcohol.
We normally sit here.*

past interpretation in relative clause (see p. 227)

Bískà sá íshìnlàdèn shíà cùrukò.

I saw him yesterday as he was arriving.

with the associative postposition as a participle (see p. 292)

Kám ádè b́erì zéwinnà dèbdòjín.
Sàasáinnà lèyáda.

*This man spends the whole day eating.
They went away running.*

3.2. The Future. The future is one of the least used of the verb aspects of Kanuri. It is formed through the prefixation and the suffixation of aspect morphemes.

3.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Future. The future is formed through the application of the prefix *ti+*, and a final suffixed low tone vowel in most persons.

Class 1. For the basic nonderived forms of the verb being considered here, the future and the past aspects of the verb very often coincide. The fact that different morphemes are involved in the derivation of these two very different aspects is documented by the clear differences in their finite derived verb forms, and also clearly among class 2 verbs. The underlying prefix *ti+* appears to cause the deletion of the 3S/P subject pronoun morphemes, but not the subject number morpheme of the 3P form. It becomes *ci+* when applied to class 1 roots beginning in a voiceless or a sonorant consonant, or in *d+*, and it voices to become *ji+* before all roots beginning in a voiced consonant (obstruent) other than *d+*.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	future aspect
1S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ò	jíwúkò I shall eat
2S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+m+	-	jíwùm
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	bù+	-	+ò	jíwò
4P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+y+	+é	jíwiyè/jíwè
2P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+w+	+ò	jíwàù
3P	-	ti+	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ò	jáwò

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	future aspect
1S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+k+	+ò	cìkò I shall do
2S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+m+	-	cìdēm
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	dí+	-	+ò	cìdò
1P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+y+	+è	cìdíyè
2P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+w+	+ò	cìdšū
3P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	-	+ò	càdò

For certain of the groups of class 1 verbs the future aspect is irregular. Examples of the paradigms of such verbs are presented in appendix 3 (p. 337).

Class 2. The verb *ngin* is defective in that it does not occur independently in synchronic Kanuri in the future aspect. Its future forms, now apparently obsolete, used to inflect the future for class 2 verbs are:

1S	+coko	1P	+caiye
2S	+cam	2P	+cau
3S	+ceno	3P	+cada

Note that in the above paradigm the root consonant *n+* of *ngin* is never overtly manifested in these forms. Similarly the 3S/P subject pronoun morphemes are not manifested, though the 3P number morpheme *+a+* is. The application of the prefix *ti+* apparently causes the deletion of these morphemes. Note also that in the third person forms new morphemes occur to indicate person and number. In the 3S form *+n+* occurs, and in the 3P form *+d+* occurs. These morphemes were introduced as third person morphemes on page 11. They are perhaps required in the future and the past aspects, the only aspects with prefixed aspect morphemes, due to the resultant deletion of other subject pronoun morphemes. They are in position 6 below.

The initial voiceless palatal affricate *c+* in the above inflections, is fricativized after class 2 roots ending in *+s* (*njès+/njèsshòkò*) and is voiced after class 2 roots ending in sonorant consonants (*fàl+/fàljònd*). After vowel final class 2 roots they are voiced and may also be fricativized (*lè+/lèjòkò* or *lèzòkò*).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	future aspect
1S	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ò	létòkò I, etc. shall
2S	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	létcām sleep
3S	lét+	ti+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+ò	létcònd
1P	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	létcāiyè
2P	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ù	létcāu
3P	lét+	ti+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+	+à	létcādà
1S	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ò	wùrjòkò I, etc. shall
2S	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	wùrjām push down
3S	wùr+	ti+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+ò	wùrjònd (wall, etc.)
1P	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	wùrjāiyè
2P	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ù	wùrjāu
3P	wùr+	ti+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+	+à	wùrjādà

3.2.2. Using the Future Aspect. The future is most often used to predict and its use often lends itself to translation with *shall* in English. After *wánèè* perhaps it may be used with a certain degree of semantic uncertainty to refer to something that *may* happen. In this latter and in other uses, the occurrence of the future may be in a situation which requires politeness and diplomacy. For regular future meanings the imperfect aspect is nearly always preferred over the future aspect. It does seem to pop up rather frequently in proverbs and other commonly used pat expressions. In Yerwa Kanuri the future and its negative counterpart the negative future (3.3 below) are certainly the least commonly

occurring of the aspects of the language.

The future forms *fànjànò s/he shall/will hear it* and *fànjàdà they shall/will hear it* are formulaic and required during leavetaking in response to *shíà lèfàné greet him/her* and *sàndià lèfàné greet them*, respectively.

Làirà wàajíà kèlàném nòjám.

When judgement day comes you shall know yourself.

Kám tàwàjía káusùrò kàzónò.

The early riser shall avoid the heat.

Kám súnò wárátàbè jétsmàdè

The man who waits to inherit shoes

shí dèà ngéwùrò fòmjànò.

shall walk barefoot for a long time.

Wáí, wánèè cìràám ngè dé

Thinking maybe you would like them

kóljídè cívúdukò.

I brought the groundnuts.

"Áwò gónèm jíwùmmá báwò," wòndò,

"There is nothing that I could get

kùwáí ngáwò kúdúkàrèá kòksè.

my teeth into," said the chicken

pecking at the turtle's shell.

3.3. The Negative Future Aspect. Like its affirmative counterpart, the negative future is rather infrequently used.

3.3.1. Deriving and Writing the Negative Future Aspect. The negative future is formed through the application of the same aspect prefix *ti+* which is used to form the regular future, together with the negative aspect morpheme *+nyí*, which is also used in the formation of the negative completive aspect of the verb. In some persons, for both verb classes, the negative suffix is applied directly to the subject pronoun morpheme, and in others is separated from it by an epenthetic vowel.

The supplementary person morphemes, described above in 3.2.1 for class 2 verbs in the future, also occur in the negative future paradigms. Here however, the third person morpheme *+n+* occurs in the 3S and the 3P forms for both class 1 and class 2 verbs. In third person morpheme *+d+*, occurs only in the 3P forms of class 2 verbs in the negative future.

In the following derivational paradigms, sample derivations of the negative future aspect are presented for both class 1 and class 2 verbs. The supplementary person morphemes are again presented in position 6, the normal position for first and second person morphemes, normally unoccupied in the third person form in all of the aspects with no prefixed aspect morpheme.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	negative future aspect
1S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+k+	+nyí	cìdékènyí I shall not
2S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+m+	+nyí	cìdémímí do
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	dí+	+n+	+nyí	cìzènyí
1P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+y+	+ndé	cìdíyèndé
2P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+w+	+nyí	cìdèwí
3P	-	ti+	s+	+a+	dí+	+n+	+nyí	càdènyí
1S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+k+	+nyí	jíwúkènyí I shall not
2S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+m+	+nyí	jíwùmmí eat
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	bù+	+n+	+nyí	jíwùnní
1P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+y+	+ndé	jíwìyèndé
2P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+w+	+nyí	jíwùwí
3P	-	ti+	s+	+a+	bù+	+n+	+nyí	jáwùnní
1S	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nyí	lèjàkènyí I shall not
2S	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nyí	lèjàmmí go
3S	lè+	ti+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+nyí	lèjànní
1P	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ndé	lèjàiyèndé
2P	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+nyí	lèjàuwí
3P	lè+	ti+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+n+	+nyí	lèjàdànní

3.3.2. Using the Negative Future Aspect. As indicated in the above derivational paradigms, the negative future may lend itself to translation in English with *shall not*. It is perhaps even less used than its affirmative counterpart, the future. It does appear in proverbs, as in one of the examples below.

Kókó súró yàngèbè nzégàrènyí
yàyé létsàmnyí.

*Though the frog inside the trousers
has not bitten you, you shall not
sleep.*

Cìlādákènyí.

I shall not sell it.

4. The Completive Aspects. Kanuri has four affirmative completive aspects and one negative completive aspect, thus in all, five completive aspects. The richness and intricacy of the completive aspects is unmatched in the incompletive aspects where basically one aspect, the (negative) imperfect, is the incompletive counterpart of all five completive aspects. Each of the completive aspects has its own syntactic and semantic realm in which its use is most appropriate. For the student of spoken Kanuri, it would be advisable to master the perfect, the past, and the negative completive, since they are the most important and most frequently used, before attempting the verb emphasis and noun emphasis completive aspects.

4.1. The Perfect. The perfect is the most neutral of the completive aspects in that its use does not entail the semantic emphasis of any other element in the sentence, nor does it require that any other constituent in the sentence even occur. The perfect verb form very often stands alone, sententially.

4.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Perfect. The formation of the perfect, like that of the imperfect, is relatively simple involving only the application of an aspect suffix, and no aspect prefix. In most persons, the suffix +nà (the +n+ of which is an assimilating homorganic nasal) is applied to the root-subject pronoun complex (positions 3-6), for both verb classes. If the suffix of the imperfect is the postposition +(lā)n, as speculated earlier, then it is possible that the suffix of the perfect is made up of that same postposition plus the associative postposition. As was the case with the imperfect paradigm, here also the 2P form is idiosyncratic in that the +n+ of the suffix does not occur there.

For the inflection of class 2 verbs in the perfect, the following paradigm of the independent forms of the verb ngin in the perfect are relevant.

1S	ngènà	1P	nyènà
2S	nèmmà	2P	nùwà
3S	sènà	3P	sànà

The tone pattern taken on by these verb forms in their inflectional role is always a predictable reflex of the tone of the class 2 root, as shown in the following derivational paradigms. For class 1 verbs, regardless of the basic tone of the root, the syllable immediately preceding the perfect suffix is always a high tone syllable.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	perfect aspect
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+nà	búkónà <i>I have eaten</i>
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+nà	búmmà
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+nà	zàwúnà
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+nà	búiyénà
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+à	búwà
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+nà	zàwúnà

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	perfect aspect
1S	-	-	-	-	lād+	+k+	+nà	lādškónà I etc. have
2S	-	-	-	-	lād+	+m+	+nà	lādšmmà sold (sth)
3S	-	-	s+	-	lād+	-	+nà	səlādšnà
1P	-	-	-	-	lād+	+y+	+nà	lādšyénà
2P	-	-	-	-	lād	+w+	+à	lādšwà
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	lād+	-	+nà	səlādšnà
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nà	lèngónà I etc. have
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nà	lèšmmà gone
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+nà	lèžnà
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+nà	lènyénà
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+à	lènywà
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+nà	lèžánà
1S	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nà	mángónà I etc. have
2S	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nà	mánšmmà looked for
3S	má+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+nà	mázónà (sth)
1P	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+nà	mányénà
2P	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+à	mánúwà
3P	má+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+nà	mázánà

The same processes of assimilation, vowel harmony, etc. apply to the formation of the perfect as were described with regard to the formation of the imperfect on p. 115.

4.1.2. Using the Perfect. The perfect is the completive aspect used to neutrally describe actions completed in the past, as completed facts, when no specific element in the sentence is in any way emphasized or qualified. It entails that the action of the verb has been completed normally. In simple sentences, main verbs in the perfect seldom occur with qualifying adverbs. Because its use obviates the possibility of emphasizing a major constituent, a pronoun subject is normally not independently expressed since the subject pronoun morpheme carried in the verb is sufficient under these neutral conditions. In certain contexts, its use typically implies the achievement of a permanent or lasting state, as opposed to the more tenuous state which may be implied by the use of the past. It is preferred over the imperfect to describe present states with verbs of cognition and sensation.

If emphasis of any constituent through negation, questioning, or focus occurs, other completive aspects are used. The past, the verb emphasis completive, and the noun emphasis completive, are the more specialized of the completive aspects, with less general syntactic and semantic functions than the perfect. Completive yes-no questions in which the entire predicate is questioned through the occurrence of the yes-no question marker wá, in sentence final position (or by interrogative intonation), must be formed using the perfect aspect verb form. The affirmative answer to such a question must also contain a perfect aspect verb form.

The only affirmative completive aspect which occurs in relative clauses is the perfect. In certain focus constructions, where an underlying relative clause is required, again the perfect is the only permissible affirmative completive aspect. The perfect also occurs productively in counterfactual clauses. It is the most general and neutral completive aspect.

normal unqualified neutral environments

Shí bá, lèžnà.

Túrúiyénà.

Módù ísónà.

Shíà rúkónà.

Ísánà.

S/He is not here, s/he has gone.

We have seen each other./We have met.

Modu has arrived.

I have seen him.

They have arrived/come.

completive statives

Nōngēnā.
 Fāngēnā.
 Nyīrō àskērngēnā.
 Lèzēnārō tēmāngēnā.
 Tēmāngēnā.
 Rīngēnā.
 Ardīzēnā.
 Búkiā rāákēnā.
 Shīā rāákēnā.
 Rāákēnā.
 Gārgázēnā.

I know.
 I understand/hear.
 Thank you./I thank you.
 I think he has gone.
 I think so.
 I am afraid.
 They are grateful/appreciative.
 I want to eat.
 I like him/her.
 I want to./I like it.
 S/He is angry.

completive processes

Kām kūràzēnā.
 Kārēnzēnā.
 Dīnzēnā.
 Gālīwùzēnā.

He has become/is an important person.
 It is near.
 It has/is worn out.
 S/He has become/is rich.

yes-no questions and answers

Lèzēnā wā? Àā lèzēnā.
 Túrúwā wā? Àā tūrúiyēnā.
 Cídānēm tāmōnēmā wā?
 Kāsúwùlān ísānā wā?

Has s/he gone? Yes s/he has gone.
 Did you meet each other? Yes we did.
 Have you finished your work?
 Have they come from the market?

in relative clauses

Kām rúmmādē sāvāndē.
 Adē bāndō shīlān kúlōnyí sámmā
 bārēngēnādē.
 Fēr cíwúnādē fáidā bā.

The person that you saw is our friend.
 This is the hoe with which I hoed my
 entire field.
 The horse that s/he bought is worthless.

in focus constructions with wō

Shīmā kām rúkēnā(dē) wō.

It is he who is the person that I saw.

in counterfactual conditional clause constructions

Cā ísēnāā kúngēnādē shīrdō yíkēnā.

If he had come I would have given
 him the money.

4.2. The Past.

4.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Past. The past is formed through the application of the prefix *ki+*, and a final suffixed low tone vowel in most persons. The past, the future, and the negative future are the only aspects of Kanuri formed through the application of an aspect prefix to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex.

Class 1. As mentioned in 3.2.1 above, the past finite verb form and the future finite verb form may coincide and be homophonous for many class 1 verbs in the basic nonderived forms being considered in this chapter. The reason for this is that both the prefix *ki+* (sometimes *ka+*) of the past and the prefix *ti+* (sometimes *ta+*) of the future, are palatalized to *ci+* before roots beginning in a voiceless obstruent, *d+*, or sonorant, and palatalized and voiced to *ji+* before class 1 roots beginning with the other voiced obstruents. One distinctive difference between the paradigms of the past and the future however occurs in the third person, singular and plural. There (as is shown in the derivational paradigms below) two forms are produced for most class 1 verbs, i.e. one prefixed form which is homophonous with the future, and one form in which the 3S and 3P subject pronoun morphemes are intact due to the apparent absence of the prefix. This latter form is therefore homophonous with the third person forms of the noun emphasis completive, an aspect with no aspect prefix.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	past
1S	-	ki+	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ò	jíwúkò I ate (it)
2S	-	ki+	-	-	bù+	+m+	-	jíwùm
3S	-	ki+	s+	-	bù+	-	+ò	zéwò/jíwò
1P	-	ki+	-	-	bù+	+y+	+è	jíwìyè
2P	-	ki+	-	-	bù+	+w+	+ò	jíwèu
3P	-	ki+	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ò	záwò/jáwò
1S	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+k+	+ò	cìdékò I did (it)
2S	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+m+	-	cìdèm
3S	-	ki+	s+	-	dí+	-	+ò	sàdò/cìdò
1P	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+y+	+è	cìdíyè
2P	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+w+	+ò	cìdèu
3P	-	ki+	s+	+a+	dí+	-	+ò	sàdò/càdò

For certain of the groups of class 1 verbs the past paradigm is irregular, and for other groups, the forms are distinct from the future even in these basic nonderived paradigms. Examples of paradigms of important verbs from each group are presented in appendix 3 (p. 337).

Class 2. The verb *ngin* occurs independently in the past. These forms are productively used in direct and indirect quotation in the language. Their pronunciation when used independently which is shown in the following paradigm, differs somewhat from that of their inflectional use.

1S	wòkò	pronounced	{òkò}	I said
2S	gàm	pronounced	[àm/yàm]	you said
3S	wòndò	pronounced	[òndò]	s/he said
1P	gàiyè	pronounced	[àiyè/yàiyè]	we said
2P	gàù	pronounced	[àù/yàù]	you said
3P	gàdà	pronounced	[àdà/yàdà]	they said

Even in these independent forms, the phonological shape of the prefix applied in the formation of the past of *ngin* is clearly different from its shape as observed above when applied to the other class 1 roots. Here it is apparently *ka+* which has been prefixed. The absence of the vowel *i+* would explain the lack of palatalization in these forms. The prefix has apparently harmonized with the final vowel in the 1S and 3S forms. The root consonant *n+* of the verb *ngin* has clearly been deleted in all forms due to prefixation, just as was the case with the prefixed future. The subject number morpheme *+a+* has again been retained in the 3P form, and likewise, the third person subject pronoun prefixes have been deleted, again due to prefixing. The supplementary person morphemes in the third person occur again here, exactly as they did in the future, with *+n+* apparently replacing the deleted 3S subject pronoun/morpheme, and *+d+* performing the same function in the 3P form (together with the number morpheme in the latter case). These supplementary person morphemes are again shown in position 6 in the following derivational paradigms.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	past
1S	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ò	lèwòkò
2S	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	lèyàm
3S	lè+	ka+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+ò	lèwòndò
1P	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	lèyàiyè
2P	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ò	lèyàù
3P	lè+	ka+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+	+ò	lèyàdà

Although the past and the future are sometimes homophonous for class 1 verbs, it is apparent that this is never the case with class 2 verbs. Here there can be no doubt that two different prefixes are involved in

in the formation of these aspects. The pronunciation and writing of the ngin inflection of the past are determined by the phonological shape of the class 2 root preceding them. The major possible variations are shown here as they are written according to the SKO. It should be remembered that the velar consonant +g+ is weakened and essentially fricativized when it occurs after a liquid consonant.

	má+	fâr+	fâl+	lét+	bák+	kám+	tùs+	fú+
1S	máwòkò	fârwòkò	fâlwòkò	létkòkò	bákkòkò	kámgòkò	tùskòkò	fúwòkò
2S	máàm	fârgám	fâlgám	létkám	bákkám	kámgám	tùskám	fúwám
3S	máwònò	fârwònò	fâlwònò	létkònò	bákkònò	kámgònò	tùskònò	fúwònò
1P	máàiyè	fârgáiyè	fâlgáiyè	létkáiyè	bákkáiyè	kámgáiyè	tùskáiyè	fúwáiyè
2P	máàu	fârgáu	fâlgáu	létkáu	bákkáu	kámgáu	tùskáu	fúwáu
3P	máàdà	fârgádà	fâlgádà	létkádà	bákkádà	kámgádà	tùskádà	fúwádà
	<i>fetch</i>	<i>jump</i>	<i>change</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>beat</i>	<i>cut</i>	<i>rest</i>	<i>swell</i>

4.2.2. Using the Past. The Kanuri past differs from the perfect in many of the same ways that the English past differs from the English present perfect. For this reason it might better be classified as a tense than as an aspect. A past verb form rarely occurs alone sententially, without some other sentence material preceding it. The use of the past entails there being some other major (nominal) or oblique (adverbial) constituent which semantically bears prominence over the action of the verb in a given utterance. It is the only one of the completive aspects which freely occurs with obliquely marked constituents and other adverbials. The most common oblique postpositions are the locative +(là+)n and the indirect postposition +rò. Likewise when any such oblique constituent is in any way emphasized, questioned, or negated, no other affirmative completive aspect may occur but the past. The past may also occur when major nominal constituents (i.e. subject and object noun phrases) are in any way focused, negated, or questioned, though the noun emphasis completive is normally preferred to it under such conditions.

The past may also occur in certain conditional clauses. In a past narrative context, it is the most commonly occurring affirmative completive aspect, both in its independent form and in subordinated forms.

with oblique (adverbial) constituents

Ndará lèyám?

Where did you go?

Kàsúwùlàn shià cùrúkò.

I saw him/her in the market.

Kérmámé kádìo.

S/He just arrived/came.

Sàbí kádìm?

When did you get here/come?

subordinated conditional clauses

Kádìoà, lúwúkèná gùllé.

If s/he should happen to come tell him/her that I have gone out.

Ngáirò wálwònòà wú lènginbá.

If that's how it is I won't go.

narrative

Kémówùn lèzè ná béndìbèrò lùwálà bàdiyáà. Sà lùwálà sàdínlādèn kènyérì báláà kùrà làzè dāwùdèn kèská kùrúwù kòksè kèlādérò lámbo férzègò kàttflàn lámboòsà ràpsè kòlwònò. Béndì-à kémówùn-à mbèbèltài dùwò kémówùnnà bèlāyè gòzè cùkkùrúwò. Sādèn béndì sègàsè kàràanzérò kàrgáwò.

The elephant went to the lion's place and they started fighting. While they were fighting, the squirrel dug a big hole and planted a big stake in the center, and covered it with leaves and left it. The lion and the elephant were struggling though when the elephant was taken by the hole and fell into it. At that time the lion ran off into his wilderness.

tádà kùwùibè eiz itò ngàmfatúbèrò
lèwòndò. Lèzè ngàmfatúá lèfàátànyá
"Abí kúdèm?" sè tádà kùwùibèà
cìwòrò.

The child of the chicken got up and
went to the cat's house. He went
and when he and the cat had greeted
each other, "What did you bring?"
the cat said, asking the baby chicken.

4.3. The Verb Emphasis Completive (Lukas' Predicative).

4.3.1. Deriving and Writing the Verb Emphasis Completive. The characteristic high tone vowel +í ending of the verb emphasis completive seems to corroborate its meaning and use to describe the sudden completion of the action of the verb. No aspect prefixes are involved, only this vowel suffix which is applied directly to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex. The suffix is consistently applied to all persons for both classes as shown in the following derivational paradigms. Because there are no morphophonemic changes involved in the formation of this aspect, only one sample derivation is shown for each verb class.

The verb ngin is defective in the verb emphasis completive since it does not occur independently in this aspect. It does however occur independently in this aspect when subordinated by the associative postposition in what Lukas (1937:71) referred to as the *dependent future*. The verb emphasis completive forms of the verb ngin which are used to inflect class 2 roots in this aspect are shown here.

1S	+ngí	1P	+nyéi
2S	+némí	2P	+núwí
3S	+shí	3P	+sáí

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	verb emphasis completive
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+í	búkí I just ate it
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+í	búmí
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+í	zéwí
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+í	búiyéi
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+í	búwí
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+í	záwí
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+í	lèngí I've gone/I'm off
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+í	lènémí
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+í	lèjí
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+í	lènyéi
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+í	lènúwí
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+í	lèzáí

4.3.2. Using the Verb Emphasis Completive. As its name implies, the use of the verb emphasis completive entails emphasis of some kind upon the achievement of the action of the verb. In its use, the verb has semantic prominence and thus a finite verb form in this aspect often stands alone sententially. When the action of the verb was achieved very recently, suddenly, surprisingly, after some difficulty or after a previous failure, then the verb emphasis completive may be used. Its use in comparison to the other affirmative completive aspects is shown in the first set of examples below.

Hàwàr máibè fàngí.	VEC	I just heard some news about the king./ Have I got some news about the king.
Hàwàr máibè fàngókò.	past	I heard news of the king.
Hàwàr máibè fàngénà.	perfect	I have heard news of the king.
Hàwàr máibè(má) fàngò.	NEC	I heard NEWS OF THE KING...

Sá shóró kàtanzá kállàn bēndià sóri. *Right when they opened the room they saw the lion.*

Bá, cinyí íshí.

That's it/all, my turn has come.

Ná málámnyibèn cingí kërànyí njèsèngí.

I get up from my teacher's place, I forget my studies.

Sáà kámtià nengi kámtí.

When the visiting stops the friendship ends.

'Rúki'dé, 'féléségèné'-súwúdin.

The 'I see it' brings only the 'show it to me'.

Fàngí.

I get it./I understand.

Kèjí fàngí.

I'm happy./I feel good.

Dìná kámjià kàfyà gápí.

When night falls there is leftover shade.

Néngánémye bultúnzégí.

Your cleverness made you into a hyena.

Cígè bélémbro sùkkùrúyí.

A fly just fell into the porridge.

La'illa, nyià háwàryè kòlji.

Goodness, did you miss something.

(= the news left you)

4.4. The Noun Emphasis Completive (Lukas' Relative Past).

4.4.1. Deriving and Writing the Noun Emphasis Completive. The formation of the noun emphasis completive is identical to that of the future and of the past were they to have no aspect prefix. Thus it involves no prefix, and only a final low tone vowel in most persons. Where no vowel is suffixed, the final syllable takes the low tone. These observations apply to both verb classes.

The verb *ngin* does not normally occur in the noun emphasis completive in its independent use. Therefore, the inflectional forms for this aspect are presented here.

1S +ngò

1P +nyè

2S +nèm

2P +nùw

3S +sè

3P +sà

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

In the following derivational paradigms note that none of the 3S/P forms have the supplementary person morphemes in either verb class. This is probably due to the lack of a prefix in the noun emphasis completive, which therefore leaves the regular prefixed 3S/P subject pronoun morphemes intact. One paradigm is shown below for each verb class.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	noun emphasis completive
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ò	búkò see 4.4.2
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	-	bùm
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+ò	zèwò
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+è	búiyè
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	-	búw
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ò	zèwò
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ò	lèngò see 4.4.2
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	lènəm
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+ò	lèzò
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	lènyè
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	-	lènùw
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	-	lèzà

4.4.2. Using the Noun Emphasis Completive. The use of the noun emphasis completive entails the implication of semantic prominence for one of the

major constituent noun phrases, i.e. either the subject or the object noun phrase. Thus one of the major nominal constituents is always manifested independently in the sentence, and the finite noun emphasis completive verb form can never occur alone sententially. Thus the paradigm alone is untranslatable. It cannot occur either with obliquely marked constituents (adverbials). Its use requires the questioning, focus, or constituent negation of a nominal subject or object.

Nyí gènyí mánàrò mánzà.
 Ndúmá gènyí lèzò.
 Wúmá nzúrúkò./Wúmá nyíà rúkò.
 Ndú lèzò?
 Shí wá lèzò?
 Á'á, shí gènyí lèzò.
 Fántà(má) lèzò.

It is not YOU they wanted to argue with.
NO ONE went.
I saw you.
WHO went?
Did S/HE go?
No, S/HE didn't go./Not S/HE went.
FANTA went.

In the above examples major constituents are negated with the negative of identification gènyí *it is not*, questioned with the yes-no question marker wá?, and emphasized with the adjoined emphasis marker +má.

4.5. The Negative Completive (Lukas' Negative Past).

4.5.1. Deriving and Writing the Negative Completive. The negative completive has no aspect prefix, and is thus formed through the suffixation of the negative aspect morpheme +nyí to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex. Since there are no aspect prefixes, the 3S/P subject pronoun morpheme prefixes remain intact throughout the derivation and thus none of the supplementary person morphemes occur. The negative suffix assimilates homorganically to the 2S subject pronoun morpheme, and apparently loses its nasal consonant when applied to the 2P form. A suppletive form resembling the 1P suffixed possessive pronoun +ndé occurs in the 1P form. All of these unexplainable idiosyncracies also occur in the application of this suffix to the negative future, for both verb classes.

The verb ngin does not occur independently in the negative completive. Its negative completive forms used to inflect class 2 roots are shown here.

1S	+ngenyí	1P	+nyendé
2S	+nəmí	2P	+nuwí
3S	+sənyí	3P	+sanyí

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

One derivational paradigm is presented here for each verb class.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	negative completive
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+nyí	búkənyí <i>I haven't eaten/</i>
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+nyí	bəmí <i>didn't eat</i>
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+nyí	zəwənyí
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+ndé	bəiyəndé
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+nyí	bəwí
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+nyí	zəwənyí
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nyí	lèngənyí <i>I haven't gone/</i>
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nyí	lènəmí <i>didn't go</i>
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+nyí	lèzənyí
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ndé	lènyəndé
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+nyí	lènəwí
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+nyí	lèzənyí

4.5.2. Using the Negative Completive. The four affirmative completive aspects share one negative aspect, i.e. the negative completive. The same range of subtle syntactic and semantic distinctions made by the affirmative completive aspects is not replicated in the negative, since the occurrence of negation in itself represents a syntactic and semantic distinction which is exclusive in many environments. Nevertheless, what distinctions can be made are made by other sentence material and not by the varying of the verb form. In the first two examples below, the negative completive is used with the negative indefinite pronouns.

Aḃimá búkənyí.

I haven't eaten/didn't eat anything.

Ndúmá lèzənyí.

No one has gone/went.

Lèzənyí.

S/He hasn't gone/didn't go.

Wúmá lèngənyí.

Even I haven't gone/didn't go.

Mákkàrò lènyèndé.

We haven't gone/didn't go to Mecca.

Lènúwí wá?

Haven't/Didn't you go?

Bískà túwiyèndé.

We didn't see each other yesterday.

Álímá lèzənyí wò.

Ali is the one who didn't go.

Álì wá lèzənyí wò?

Is it Ali who didn't go?

5. The Non-Aspects. Among the non-aspects are those categories of the verb which have been referred to as *moods* of the verb. Traditionally referred to as moods of the verb are the subjunctive and the imperative, and their shared negative form. Moods are non-aspects of the verb which may function sententially but which make no reference to time, completive or incompletive, imperfectivity or perfectivity. Also included in the non-aspects of Kanuri is the conjunctive, treated first below, which does not qualify as a mood since it may never occur alone sententially.

5.1. The Conjunctive. The conjunctive form of the verb has also been referred to as the *sequential* or the *consecutive*. It represents a finite form of the verb which carries no aspect, tense, or mood. Verb forms in this category are fully inflected for person and number only. The conjunctive has been cited by some as the most neutral and unmarked form of the Kanuri verb.

5.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Conjunctive. The conjunctive qualifies as the most neutral and unmarked form of the verb because it is the least complex derivationally. No prefix is involved in the formation of the conjunctive. In some persons a low tone vowel is applied as a suffix to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex, and in other persons simply a low tone is applied. Thus in many persons it is homophonous with the forms of the noun emphasis completive. The conjunctive paradigm is distinct from the noun emphasis completive paradigm in the 1S, 3S, and 3P forms where the final low tone vowels are different. The supplementary person morphemes do not occur since no prefix is involved in its formation.

Independent forms of the verb *ngin* do occur synchronically as shown in the following paradigm. These represent the basic conjunctive forms of *ngin* which are used to inflect class 2 roots in the conjunctive.

1S ngè

1P nyè

2S nəm

2P nūw

3S sà

3P sà

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

One derivational paradigm is presented here for each verb class. Since the conjunctive is not inflected for aspect, tense, or mood, it can never stand alone sententially and thus is untranslatable in isolation.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	conjunctive
1S	-	-	-	-	dí+	+k+	+è	díkè see 5.1.2
2S	-	-	-	-	dí+	+m+	+`	dím
3S	-	-	s+	-	dí+	-	+`	sədē
1P	-	-	-	-	dí+	+y+	+è	díyè
2P	-	-	-	-	dí+	+w+	+`	díw
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	dí+	-	+`	sādē
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+è	lèngē see 5.1.2
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+`	lènēm
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+`	lèzē
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	lènyè
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+`	lènōw
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+`	lèzā

Additional paradigms of class 1 verbs are presented in appendix 3 (p. 337).

5.1.2. Using the Conjunctive. The conjunctive verb form is a totally dependent finite verb form. Uninflected for aspect or mood, and unable to bear a negative morpheme, the conjunctive must be followed by another finite verb form which is fully inflected. It is often used to conjoin a series of verb phrases describing actions in the same aspect, and its use thereby reflects the order or sequence in which the actions occur/red. The aspect of the last, construction final verb form of the series determines the aspect of all preceding verb forms in the conjunctive. Similarly it gets its affirmative/negative reading from the final finite verb form. In many of its uses the same subject pronoun is carried by each verb of the conjoined series, though this is not obligatory. It is important to note that though the conjunctive does relate the order in which conjoined events occur, it imparts no prominence to any one of the events conjoined in this way (cf Jarrett, 1979:17-18). The conjunctive is also used in a variety of semi-idiomatic ways, some of which border on being serial constructions, and which often correspond to the modal auxiliaries of languages like English.

The conjunctive carries a great functional load in Kanuri. Only a small group of examples is presented here since the uses of the conjunctive are fully elaborated in chapter 35.

Lèngē rúkè ísékìn.
 Lèngē cídānyí díkè ísékìn.
 Sálā súwābērò zəpsə nápkòndò.
 Kárènzə gózə bìskérò lèwónò.
 Lèngē cídānyí díkìnbā.

*I will go and see and come back.
 I will go and do my work and come back.
 He came down for the morning prayer and sat.
 He took his things and went to the dance.
 I will not go and do my work.*

serial and idiomatic uses

Tái dāngē nōngēnā.
 Wáltè Mákkārò lèwónò.
 Ráksə rùwòjínbā.
 Bérì dézə ɓáfənyí.

*I know it perfectly.
 S/He went to Mecca again.
 S/He cannot write.
 S/He did not completely cook the food.*

5.2. The Imperative and the Subjunctive (Lukas' Optative). The imperative and the subjunctive moods of the verb are presented together here since they represent an overlap in the language, with their paradigms coinciding in many persons. To separate the imperative from the subjunctive is to establish an artificial distinction, since all of the imperative forms may as well be interpreted as subjunctives and do complete the subjunctive paradigm. For pedagogical purposes and based on languages which do make a distinction between the two paradigms, one could separate the two 1P forms and the 2S/P forms as imperatives. These artificially delimited imperative forms would then also occur in the corresponding person positions

of the full subjunctive paradigm. This is made clear below.

5.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Imperative/Subjunctive. No prefixes are involved in the formation of the imperative/subjunctive. Tone bearing vowel suffixes occur in most persons as formatives of the imperative/subjunctive mood. There are two forms for the imperative/subjunctive of the 1P form, one being a dual form which includes the speaker and one other person, the other, the speaker and two or more other people. The dual form is identical to the 1P form of the conjunctive. Third person forms differ from the corresponding conjunctive forms in that the final syllable is high tone rather than falling. The 1S form is homophonous with the 1S conjunctive form. Second person imperative/subjunctives are formed through the application of high-tone suffixes.

The verb *ngin* does not occur independently in the imperative/subjunctive. Its imperative/subjunctive forms used to inflect class 2 roots are shown here.

1S	+ngè	dual 1P	+nyè
		1P	+nyówó
2S	+né	2P	+nówó
3S	+sè	3P	+sá

Forms corresponding to imperatives in other languages are presented below for the class 1 verb *bù+ eat*, and the class 2 verb *lè+ go*.

dual 1P	búiyè	let's eat	lènyè	let's go
1P	búiyówó	let's eat	lènyówó	let's go
2S	búi	eat	lèné	go
2P	búiyó	eat	lènowó	go

These same forms are included with a subjunctive interpretation in the following complete imperative/subjunctive paradigm for the same two verbs.

1S	búkè	I should eat	lèngè	I should go
2S	búi	you should eat/eat	lèné	you should go/go
3S	zèwú	s/he should eat	lèzè	s/he should go
1P	búiyè	we (2) should eat/let's eat	lènyè	we (2) should go/let's go
1P	búiyówó	we should eat/let's eat	lènyówó	we should go/let's go
2P	búiyó	you should eat/eat	lènowó	you should go/go
3P	zàwú	they should eat	lèzá	they should go

5.2.2. Using the Imperative/Subjunctive. As in other languages, the imperative/subjunctive forms of the verb are used in expressing orders, commands, wishes, desires, blessings, etc. Almost any number of imperative/subjunctive verb forms may occur in a series.

Nágàdèrò tàmóné àré.

Finish quickly and come back.

Fèngné shé.

Pour it out and give it to me.

Yíwé dùwó rúiyè.

Buy it first and let's see.

Dè yàyé dàmbáném gándé.

Even though its empty, lick your calabash.

Gártágóné.

Scoot over.

Kashi-à sàwà-à fátòn góné.

Get your provisions and your companion at home (i.e. before going on trip).

Námmé.

Sit down.

Gùllé ísá.

Tell him/her to come.

Gùllé lèzè.

Tell him/her to go.

Álà kàwú lèzè.

May God bring us to that time.

Álà kàttínzè kàmbaìrò sèdè.

May God make the earth light on him/her.

Álà nàskè súwúdè.

May God bring relief.

Fátò lèfàné.

Greet your family (= house).

Kúdè.

Bring it here.

5.2.2.1. Using the Imperative/Subjunctive for Insistence. The affirmative forms of the imperative/subjunctive may be extended in use through the suffixation of +yé, pronounced by some speakers in certain environments as +bè, when the speaker wants to insist that the action of the verb be carried out. In the examples that follow, it is recorded as the suffix +yé, though it has not been assigned a prescribed spelling by the SKO. It is stronger in meaning than a simple imperative or subjunctive, and connotes insistence the need for which may have resulted from the speaker's prior expression of a command or wish which was not carried out. Thus the suffix is applied to a command or wish which has to be repeated. It may also be used to contradict when one disagrees, thus marking the verb indicating what should have been done or said in a given situation. Since the forms lend themselves to this contradictory or counterfactual use, they may also occur preceded by the adverb cá indicating a former or unrealized state, to indicate counterfactually the way things should have been done or carried out.

Gùlléyé.

Kèrànéyé.

Shfà fànéyé.

Àwó l'áá t'èd'èyé.

Màrtég'èné wúró búú úwù s'ad'èyé.

Gùlz'èyé.

Fàndék'ènyí wò gùlléyé.

Kérdiyè, "l'èny'èyé, wán'èè àwó l'áá wàájín yáwò?" w'òndò.

Cá àr'èyé.

Cá ád'è y'èyé g'òz'èyé.

Cá Àlìd'è b'ów'èz'è gùlz'èyé wò.

You should say it.

You should read it.

You should listen to him/her.

Something really should be done.

Please, you must bring me five bags.

He should (go ahead and) say it.

(The truth is that)/You should say that I didn't get one.

The non-Moslem said, "We really should go, what if something were to happen?"

(Hey) you should have come.

It would have been better if he had/ he should have taken this one.

Ali should have called her and told her.

5.2.3. The Negative Imperative/Subjunctive. The negative imperative/subjunctive is formed through the use of the negative completive form of the verb (cf 4.5 above) preceded by the word w'andé. Thus derivational paradigms for this mood of the verb are not presented here since they coincide with those of the negative completive. Some speakers still use a plural form of the preceding word w'andé which is w'and'ówó, and is used uniquely in the 2P form of the negative imperative/subjunctive. For most speakers however, the form w'andé is used regardless of person or number. The negative imperative/subjunctive may be interpreted in English with either an imperative command interpretation (*don't*) or a more polite subjunctive interpretation (*shouldn't*).

1S w'andé búk'ènyí/l'èng'ènyí

2S w'andé búmí/l'èñ'èmí

3S w'andé z'èw'ùnyí/l'èz'ènyí

1P w'andé p'ùiy'èndé/l'èny'èndé

2P w'andé/w'and'ówó búwí/l'èñ'ùwí

3P w'andé z'áw'ùnyí/l'èz'ènyí

I shouldn't eat/go; don't let me eat/go

you shouldn't eat/go; don't eat/go

s/he shouldn't eat/go

wè shouldn't eat/go; let's not eat/go

you shouldn't eat/go; don't eat/go

they shouldn't eat/go

W'andé k'ùttù gùll'èmí.

W'and'ówó à'ámá n'òñ'ùwíró w'á'z'ènyí.

B'èrì n'úw'àn'èm b'á'arò w'andé k'ánnú

z'úg'èmí.

K'àng'ádì d'á g'ènyí, w'andé m'ánd'án'èm

b'ánn'án'èmí.

W'and'ówó l'èñ'ùwí.

Don't say that its a problem for you.

Don't let it be that you know nothing.

Don't stoke the fire cooking the

meal in which you have no share.

The horns are not meat, don't waste

your salt.

Don't (you) go.

CHAPTER 14: THE DERIVED FORMS OF THE VERB

1. Introduction. Building on the description of the structure of the verbal complex of the basic finite verb form presented in the preceding chapter, this chapter will elaborate that structure, adding the necessary positions for derivational morphemes. The obligatory inflectional morphemes were shown to be, in addition to the verb root, the subject pronoun morpheme and the aspect prefixes and suffixes. Derivational morphemes are those which may occur in addition to the obligatory inflectional morphemes.

If the basic finite verb form is considered (à la Lukas, 1937) as form I of the verb, then the four extended or derived forms (as introduced on page 91) are: II applied form, III passive-reflexive form, IV causative form, and V reduplicated form. In addition, the derivational morphemes indicating a syntactic object may also occur within the finite verb form. In general, the application of derivational morphemes to the synthetic verbal complex represents an extension of the basic meaning and function of the verb for syntactic and semantic reasons. For example, derivational morphemes can render a transitive verb intransitive, or even an intransitive verb transitive.

This chapter will present the four derived forms of the verb, as well as the affixed object forms of the verb. Each of the derived forms of the verb will be examined in detail, first morphologically, and then syntactically and semantically. The possible combinations of the derived forms will then be discussed with relevant examples. The chapter begins with an elaborated schema of the morpheme positions within the derived verbal complex, including those for the object morphemes.

2. Morpheme Positions in the Verbal Complex of the Derived Verb Form. In the preceding chapter, every aspect of the verb in its basic form (I) was described in relation to the seven possible morpheme positions of the verbal complex for class 1 and class 2. These seven positions and the morphemes occupying them are reproduced here, in the order in which they may occur in the verb form.

1. class 2 verb root
2. aspect prefix morpheme.
3. 3rd person subject pronoun morpheme
4. 3rd person number morpheme
5. class 1 verb root (filled by n+ for class 2 verbs)
6. 1st and 2nd person subject pronoun morpheme
7. aspect suffix morpheme

When the possible derivational and object morphemes are added to this schema, nine new potential morpheme positions are added, resulting in a total of sixteen possible morpheme positions. Though this might at first glance seem overwhelmingly complex, in actual practice one is normally dealing with the derivational morpheme/s of only one of the derived forms (II, III, IV, and V) at one time in a given verb form. The entire elaborated schema with its sixteen positions is presented here for the purpose of showing the relative positions of the various derivational morphemes, in relation to the above basic (I) inflectional morphemes. This elaborated schema may serve as a reference for when one is producing a finite verb form involving more than one of the derived forms of the verb. Since the various derivational morphemes have not yet been introduced, they are referred to in the following schema according to verb class by the numbers 1 and 2, and according to derived form, using I to mark the basic seven inflectional positions, and II, III, IV, and V to refer to the derivational

morphemes for the applied, passive-reflexive, causative, and reduplicated derivations of the verb, respectively.

possible morpheme positions in the elaborated verbal complex

6 possible
morpheme positions

7 basic (I)
morpheme positions

9 derivational (II,
III, IV, V) morpheme
positions

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. | | 1. 2.III+IV |
| 2. | | 2. 2.IV 3rd person subject |
| 3. | | 3. 2.IV 3rd person number |
| 4. | | 4. 2.IV |
| 5. | | 5. 2.V |
| 6. | 1. 2 verb root | |
| 7. | | 6. 1/2 object affixes |
| 8. | 2. 1/2 aspect prefix | |
| 9. | | 7. 1/2.III |
| 10. | 3. 1/2 3rd person subject | |
| 11. | 4. 1/2 3rd person number | |
| 12. | | 8. 1/2.II |
| 13. | | 9. 1.V |
| 14. | 5. 1 verb root | |
| 15. | 6. 1/2 1st & 2nd person subject | |
| 16. | 7. 1/2 aspect suffix | |

The intricacies of the above schema will be elaborated as each derived form of the verb is treated below. It should be noted that all of the derivational morphemes in the verbal complex precede the position of the basic class 1 verb root.

3. The Object Affixes in the Verbal Complex. The object affixes are presented first here because they frequently occur together with other of the derivational morphemes, and because their position in the verbal complex is crucial and often relatable to other derivational morphemes. In section 4 below, it will be shown that object affixes occur as indirect objects in verb forms carrying the applied (II) derivational morpheme. For present purposes however, we are only dealing with direct objects, since if the object affixes occur alone as derivational morphemes within the basic verb form of a transitive verb they function as direct objects.

Like many other languages with a complex synthetic verb form, Kanuri can express the syntactic relationship referred to as NP of VP, i.e. that of direct object, by incorporating object affixes in the finite verb form. Overt object affix morphemes exist for objects in the first and second persons only, matched in the third person by no overt object morpheme, i.e. null. The morphemes involved, as indicated here, are apparently suppletive in relation to the other person morpheme paradigms of the language, though it is apparent that the plural morpheme +a+ does occur to distinguish plural objects from singular objects.

	singular	plural	meaning
1st person	s+	s+a+ 'sa+	me/we, us
2nd person	nz+	nz+a+ 'nza+	you
3rd person	∅	∅	him, her, it/them

It is apparent that the overt object affixes only represent human objects, whereas the non-overt third person may be human or non-human. This will be clarified below.

3.1. Deriving and Writing the Verb Form with Affixed Object. Let us begin by observing an imperfect aspect paradigm of a class 1 verb in comparison with a class 2 verb, both with affixed objects. Note that the objects appear to be prefixed in class 1, and infixes in class 2.

class 1		class 2	
rúkìn	I see (him/her/it/them)	lèfàngìn	I greet (him/her/it/them)
nzúrukìn	I see you-2S	lèfànzòkìn	I greet you-2S
nzórúkìn	I see you-2P	lèfànzákìn	I greet you-2P
rúmìn	you see (him/her/it/them)	lèfànómìn	you greet (him/her/it/them)
súrúmìn	you see me	lèfàsómìn	you greet me
sórúmìn	you see us	lèfàsámìn	you greet us
súrìn	s/he sees (him/her/it/them)	lèfàjìn	s/he greets (him/her/it/them)
súrìn	s/he sees me	lèfàshìn	s/he greets me
sórìn	s/he sees us	lèfàsái	s/he greets us
nzúrìn	s/he sees you-2S	lèfànjin	s/he greets you-2S
nzórìn	s/he sees you-2P	lèfànzái	s/he greets you-2P
rúiyèn	we see (him/her/it/them)	lèfànyèn	we greet (him/her/it/them)
nzúrúiyèn	we see you-2S	lèfànjiyèn	we greet you-2S
nzórúiyèn	we see you-2P	lèfànzáiyèn	we greet you-2P
rúwì	you-2P see (him/her/etc)	lèfànúwì	you-2P greet (him/her/etc)
súrúwì	you-2P see me	lèfàsúwì	you-2P greet me
sórúwì	you-2P see us	lèfàsáwì	you-2P greet us
sórìn	they see (him/her/etc)	lèfàzái	they greet (him/her/etc)
nzórìn	they see you-2S	lèfànzái	they greet you-2S
nzórìn	they see you-2P	lèfànzái	they greet you-2P
sórìn	they greet me	lèfàsái	they greet me
sórìn	they greet us	lèfàsái	they greet us

It is clear from many of the examples that the singular and plural distinctions made between the subject morphemes and the object affixes are not always clearly distinct. In the third person, the position of the 3S/P subject pronoun morpheme, and its adjacent 3P plural morpheme come to coincide with the position of the object affixes, and, in certain cases may also coincide in form. But before examining such problems in detail, let us look at these same paradigms in the past tense/aspect.

cúrukò	I saw (him/her/etc)	lèfàwókò	I greeted (him/her/etc)
njúrukò	I saw you-2S	lèfàngókò	I greeted you-2S
njórúkò	I saw you-2P	lèfàngádákò	I greeted you-2P
cúrùm	you saw (him/her/etc)	lèfàám	you greeted (him/her/etc)
shúrùm	you saw me	lèfàskám	you greeted me
shórùm	you saw us	lèfàskádám	you greeted us
cúrò	s/he saw (him/her/etc)	lèfàwónò	s/he greeted (him/her/etc)
shúrò	s/he saw me	lèfàskónò	s/he greeted me
shórò	s/he saw us	lèfàskónò/lèfàskádà	s/he greeted us
njúrò	s/he saw you-2S	lèfàngónò	s/he saw you-2S
njórò	s/he saw you-2P	lèfàngónò/lèfàngádà	s/he saw you-2P
cúrúiyè	we saw (him/her/etc)	lèfàáiyè	we greeted (him/her/etc)
njúrúiyè	we saw you-2S	lèfàngáiyè	we greeted you-2S
njórúiyè	we saw you-2P	lèfàngáiyè	we greeted you-2P

cúrùw	you-2P saw (him/her/etc)	lèfàáu	you-2P greeted (him/her/etc)
shúrùw	you-2P saw me	lèfàskáu	you-2P greeted me
shórùw	you-2P saw us	lèfàskádàu	you-2P greeted us
córò	they saw (him/her/etc)	lèfàáà	they greeted (him/her/etc)
shórò	they saw me	lèfàskáà	they greeted me
shòrò	they saw us	lèfàskáà	they greeted us
njòrò	they saw you-2S	lèfàngáà	they greeted you-2S
njòrò	they saw you-2P	lèfàngáà	they greeted you-2P

In the past paradigm for the class 2 verb, it is apparent that the supplementary number marker +d+, which normally occurs only in the 3P form of the prefixed aspects for class 2 verbs, is used here as a plural marker in certain of the object affixes. Note its occurrence especially in the object affixes of the 2S and 2P past class 2 forms.

In the earlier schema, it was shown that the object affixes occur in the position 7 of the 16 possible positions, immediately following the class 2 verb root and immediately preceding the class 1/2 aspect prefix position. They thereby constitute prefixes to class 2 verb root position (14), and in class 2 paradigms, like all other prefixes, they result in the deletion of the class 1 root +n+ of the verb ngin in its inflectional role. Thus in both prefixed and nonprefixed aspects, it is apparent that when an object affix occurs, the root consonant +n+ of ngin is not manifested. It is apparent that the object affix assimilates and contracts with the prefixed third person subject pronoun morphemes in the nonprefixed aspects, e.g. *lèfà+s+s+ìn >lèfàshìn-s/he greets me; *lèfà+nz+s+ìn >lèfànjin s/he greets you-2S. In the prefixed aspects, like the past above, it is apparent that the object affix assimilates and contracts with the aspect prefix in the first and second persons, e.g. *nz+ki+rú+k+ò >njúrúkò I saw you-2S; *lèfà+nz+ki+k+ò >lèfàngókò I greeted you-2S. It also assimilates and contracts with the aspect prefix and the 3S/P subject pronoun morpheme in the third person, e.g. *s+ki+s+ru+ò >shúrò s/he saw me, for class 1 verb forms, and only with the aspect prefix for class 2 verb forms since the auxiliary person markers are used there when the 3S/P subject pronoun morpheme is apparently deleted by the aspect prefix (as described on page 122), e.g. *lèfà+nz+ki+s+n+ò >lèfàngónò s/he greeted you-2S.

Some of these processes and idiosyncracies are made clearer in the following derivational paradigms which include the seven basic positions of the verb form plus the object affix position (7). The positions are numbered here according to the sixteen position schema of section 2 above. It is impossible to present all of the possible variations of these forms which result from the application of the object affixes to the various kinds of class 1 and class 2 verbs. Therefore only a few examples are presented here, always with derivations in the non-prefixed imperfect aspect and the prefixed past.

Class 1. The verb yí+ give (group 3 of class 1 verbs) is very commonly used with the object affixes applied to its basic form (I). In this use it is a bit irregular since one would expect the object affixes to indicate direct objects. For this verb however they indicate the indirect objects or recipients of the action of the verb, even though the verb is not also marked with the applied (II) derivational morpheme. In addition, the supplementary number (plural +d+) is used in the object affixes to indicate plural indirect objects. The class 2 root position (position 6) is excluded from the following derivational paradigms.

	7	8	10	11	14	15	16	object affixed verb
1S	nz+	-	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ìn	njìkìn I give you
1S	nza	-	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ìn	nzádàkìn I give you-2P

	7	8	10	11	14	15	16	object affixed form
2S	s+	-	-	-	yí+	+m+	+ìn	shímìn you give me
2S	sa+d+	-	-	-	yí+	+m+	+ìn	sàdémìn you give us
3S	s+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	shín s/he gives me
3S	sa+d+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	sádìn s/he gives us
3S	nz+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	njìn s/he gives you-2S
3S	nza+d+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	nzádìn s/he gives you-2P
1P	nz+	-	-	-	yí+	+y+	+ìn	njíyèn we give you-2S
1P	nza+d+	-	-	-	yí+	+y+	+ìn	nzádiyèn we give you-2P
2P	s+	-	-	-	yí+	+w+	+ì	shíwì you give me
2P	sa+d+	-	-	-	yí+	+w+	+ì	sàdúwì you give us
3P	s+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	sádìn they give me
3P	sa+d+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	sádìn they give us
3P	nz+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	nzádìn they give you-2S
3P	nza+d+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	nzádìn they give you-2P
1S	nz+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ò	njòkò I gave you-2S
1S	nza+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ò	njàdòkò I gave you-2P
2S	s+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+m+	-	shám you gave me
2S	sa+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+m+	-	shádèm you gave us
3S	s+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	+n+	+ò	sháinò s/he gave me
3S	sa+d+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	-	+ò	shádò s/he gave us
3S	nz+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	+n+	+ò	njáinò s/he gave you-2S
3S	nza+d+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	-	+ò	njàdò s/he gave you-2P
1P	nz+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+y+	+è	njáiyè we gave you-2S
1P	nza+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+y+	+è	njádiyè we gave you-2P
2P	s+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+w+	-	sháu you gave me
2P	sa+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+w+	-	shádùw you gave us
3P	s+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	shádò they gave me
3P	sa+d+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	shádò they gave us
3P	nz+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	njàdò they gave you-2S
3P	nza+d+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	njàdò they gave you-2P

Here it is apparent that the 3S forms are clearly distinct, one from the other for both aspects. The 3S forms with plural objects however coincide with the 3P form when the latter has either a singular or a plural object. This overlap clearly arises in these persons and numbers for both verb classes, whether the objects are pluralized through the supplementary 3P; number morpheme +d+ as in these paradigms, or simply through the 3P number morpheme +a+, as was the case with the verb *see*, the earlier observed class 1 verb.

Class 2. In the following derivational paradigms, the position 6 is added to incorporate the class 2 verb root. Position 14 has been eliminated here since the class 1 root n+ of *ngin* is always deleted in presence of the prefixed object affix.

	6	7	8	10	11	15	16	object affixed form
1S	má+	nz+	-	-	-	+k+	+ìn	mánzàkìn I look for you-2S
1S	má+	nza+	-	-	-	+k+	+ìn	mánzàkìn I look for you-2P
2S	má+	s+	-	-	-	+m+	+ìn	másèmìn you look for me
2S	má+	sa+	-	-	-	+m+	+ìn	másàmìn you look for us
3S	má+	s+	-	s+	-	-	+ìn	máshìn s/he looks for me
3S	má+	sa+	-	s+	-	-	+ì	másài s/he looks for us
3S	má+	nz+	-	s+	-	-	+ìn	mánjìn s/he looks for you-2S
3S	má+	nza+	-	s+	-	-	+ì	mánzài s/he looks for you-2P
1P	má+	nz+	-	-	-	+y+	+ìn	mánjìyèn we look for you-2S
1P	má+	nza+	-	-	-	+y+	+ìn	mánjáyèn we look for you-2P
2P	má+	s+	-	-	-	+w+	+ì	másùwì you look for me

	6	7	8	10	11	15	16	object affixed form
2P	má+	sa+	-	-	-	+w+	+ì	másawì you look for us
3P	má+	s+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	másài they look for me
3P	má+	sa+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	másài they look for us
3P	má+	nz+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	mánzài they look for you-2S
3P	má+	nza+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	mánzài they look for you-2P

In the above imperfect aspect derivations, it is apparent that the plural form of the object is consistently distinguished from the singular by the the plural morpheme +a+ and that the supplementary number morpheme +d+ does not occur. The same overlaps in the third person forms that were described earlier, again occur in this paradigm.

In the basic nonderived (I) form of the past of class 2 verbs, the supplementary person/number morphemes occur in the 3S (+n+) and the 3P (+d+), to indicate the subject pronoun. The same was observed with regard to the other prefixed aspects as well. In the following derivational paradigms of the past of verb class 2 with object affixes, it is apparent that in certain persons the plural (sometimes 3P) morpheme +d+ is used to distinguish the plural form of the object pronoun from the singular. This is apparent in all of the forms with the exception of the 3P form. If it is also used in the 3P, then it apparently collapses with that same morpheme being used as the 3P subject pronoun morpheme. The second person forms provide evidence that the composite plural object affix morphemes (i.e. made up of a person element, s+/nz+ and number elements +a+d+) of position 7 may be discontinuous in the prefixed aspects, their elements being disjoined one from the other by the past aspect prefix of position 8 (ka+). This is captured in the following paradigms by showing such disjoined number morphemes as occurring after the aspect prefix, and thus essentially creating a supplementary morpheme position indicated by the (+7) next to position 8.

	6	7	8(+7)	10	11	15	16	object affixed form
1S	má+	nz+	ka+	-	-	+k+	+ò	mángòkò I looked for you-2S
1S	má+	nz+	ka+d+	-	-	+k+	+ò	mángàdàkò I looked for you-2P
2S	má+	s+	ka+	-	-	+m+	-	máskàm you looked for me
2S	má+	s+	ka+d+	-	-	+m+	-	máskàdàm you looked for us
3S	má+	s+	ka+	s+	-	+n+	+ò	máskòndò s/he looked for me
3S	má+	s+	ka+d+	s+	-	+à	+ò	máskàdà s/he looked for us
3S	má+	nz+	ka+	s+	-	+n+	+ò	mángòndò s/he looked for you-2S
3S	má+	nz+	ka+d+	s+	-	+à	+ò	mángàdà s/he looked for you-2P
1P	má+	nz+	ka+	-	-	+y+	+è	mángàiyè we looked for you-2S
1P	má+	nz+	ka+d+	-	-	+y+	+è	mángàdiyè we looked for you-2P
2P	má+	s+	ka+	-	-	+w+	-	máskàu you looked for me
2P	má+	s+	ka+d+	-	-	+w+	-	máskàdàu you looked for us
3P	má+	s+	ka+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	máskàdà they looked for me
3P	má+	s+	ka+d+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	máskàdà they looked for us
3P	má+	nz+	ka+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	mángàdà they looked for you-2S
3P	má+	nz+	ka+d+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	mángàdà they looked for you-2P

Additional paradigms of the object affixed verb forms of both class 1 and class 2 in all verb aspects are presented in appendix 4 (p. 341).

3.2. Using the Verb Form with Affixed Object. In Kanuri, sentences with first and second person objects occur in three different forms: 1) object affixed to the verb form, 2) object pronoun manifested independently and marked with the associative postposition and no marking on the verb, and 3) object pronoun both affixed to the verb form and manifested independently. Thus the following three forms of the sentence *I saw/have seen you* in the perfect aspect have been considered in most treatments of Kanuri grammar as synonymous versions of the same sentence.

- 1) Nzúrúkónà.
- 2) Nyíà rúkónà.
- 3) Nyíà nzúrúkónà.

I saw/have seen you.

Sentences with third person objects have two possible forms: 1) null marking of the verb and no independent object pronoun and 2) null marking of the verb with expressed independent object pronoun.

- 1) Rúkónà.

I saw/have seen it/him/her.

- 2) Shíà rúkónà.

I saw/have seen it/him/her.

According to the present analysis, the above variants of these sentences are not all synonymous versions, the overt syntactic differences in fact reflecting semantic differences. In certain environments I would however agree that certain of them may be essentially synonymous.

It is possible that these various ways of expressing objects have evolved at different stages in the history of the language. Nevertheless, according to the present analysis, the affixed object marking in the first and second persons, and the null marking in the third person represent the most neutral unmarked way of expressing pronoun objects in verbal sentences. The semantic differences between these and the forms with independent pronoun-object marked by the associative postposition, are discussed in detail on page 211.

4. The Applied (II) Derivation of the Verb. The application of the object affixes as described in section 3 above, in no way affects the basic (I) function and meaning of the verb. However the applied form (II) of the verb, and the other derived forms of the verb (III, IV, and V) can be said to alter the syntactic function of the basic form of the verb, thus extending it semantically. The applied form of the verb is used more than any of the other derived forms of the verb, rivaled perhaps only by the passive-reflexive form (III). It is also used frequently in combination with the derivational morphemes of other derived forms, as well as with the affixed objects. In the formation of the causative derived form (IV) the applied morphemes occur as formatives of that extension (see section 6 below).

The applied derivation is much more consistent and productive in its application to class 2 verbs than to class 1 verbs. Its phonological form also varies for class 1 verbs, but not for class 2. It will be apparent that the applied derivational morpheme has varying semantic effects in its extension of the basic verb, some of which may be predictable on the basis of inherent transitivity, and other factors. Some class 2 verbs will be presented which have no basic (I) form, but only an applied (II) form.

4.1. Deriving and Writing the Applied (II) Derivation. The following derivational paradigms present the applied derivation of class 1 and class 2 verbs in the non-prefixed imperfect aspect and the prefixed past. Complete paradigms for these and other verbs in all aspects are presented in appendix 5 (p. 343).

Class 1. The applied derivational morpheme +kə+ (allomorph +gə+), is used consistently to produce the class 2 applied form in position 12 (between the third person subject morphemes and the class 1 root). Analogously, for a very few class 1 verbs, this same morpheme may occur between the class 1 root and the first and second person subject pronoun (positions 14 and 15), a position not recorded in our original sixteen position schema since it is rarely used. This represents the only case of a derivational morpheme following the class 1 verb root, and is very likely a relatively recent development, made perhaps by analogy with the younger class 2

structure. For most class 1 verbs the applied derivation is formed by prefixing (à la Lukas, 1937:80), *yir+*, or *yirgə+/yikkə+* (assimilation), to the class 1 verb root, in the position 12 of our schema (the same position as for the class 2 applied morpheme). Lukas (1937:80) adds that "It is probable that *yir+* (*yirgə+/yikkə+*) is made up of an old auxiliary verb *yi* and *r*, or *rgə* (*kkə*) which are the signs of the applied form."

The applied derivation of the class 1 verb *tá+* *grab*, *seize* in the imperfect and the past is shown in the following derivational paradigms. This is one of the more regular of the class 1 applied forms. The prefix *yir+* alone is used, and no additional applied morpheme occurs in the post-class 1 root position as described above. No assimilation of the prefix to the initial voiceless obstruent of the root occurs. The meaning of the applied form may be benefactive meaning *grab/seize for s.o.*, or it may be interpreted causatively, meaning to *have/make grabbed/seized*. It is used most often with a dative postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition *+rò*. It occurs frequently in the following environment: *Nyirò kəlān yirtákìn*. *I will remind you.* (lit: *I will grab it in head for you*).

	8	10	11	12	14	15	16	applied verb form
1S	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+k+	+ìn	yirtákìn <i>I grab/seize for</i>
2S	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+m+	+ìn	yirtámìn
3S	-	s+	-	yir+	tá+	-	+ì	sərtái
1P	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+y+	+ìn	yirtáiyèn
2P	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+w+	+ì	yirtáwì
3P	-	s+	+a+	yir+	tá+	-	+ì	sərtái
1S	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+k+	+ò	cirtákò <i>I grabbed/seized for</i>
2S	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+m+	-	cirtám
3S	ki+	s+	-	yir+	tá+	-	+ò	cirtá
1P	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+y+	+è	cirtáiyè
2P	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+w+	-	cirtáw
3P	ki+	s+	+a+	yir+	tá+	-	+ò	cirtá

Class 2. As indicated above, the applied morpheme *+kə+/+gə+* occurs very consistently as the indicator of the applied form of the verb for all class 2 verbs. It occurs in position 12 of the 16 position schema. It often occurs intervocally and there is pronounced and written according to the obstruent weakening processes described on page 19. Position 6, the position of the class 2 verb root, is of course revived in the following derivational paradigms. Position 14 is not shown here since the occurrence of the prefixed applied morpheme again results in the deletion of the class 1 root *n+* of the verb *ngiŋ*.

	6	8	10	11	12	15	16	applied verb form
1S	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+k+	+ìn	mànəgəkìn <i>I speak to</i>
2S	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+m+	+ìn	mànəgəmìn
3S	mànà+	-	s+	-	+kə+	-	+ìn	mànəzəgìn
1P	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+y+	+ìn	mànəgəiyèn
2P	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+w+	+ì	mànəgəwì
3P	mànà+	-	s+	+a+	+kə+	-	+ì	mànəzəaì
1S	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+k+	+ò	mànəjígəkò <i>I spoke to</i>
2S	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+m+	-	mànəjígəm
3S	mànà+	ki+	s+	-	+kə+	-	+ò	mànəjìwò/mànəzəwò
1P	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+y+	+è	mànəjígəiyè
2P	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+w+	-	mànəjígəw
3P	mànà+	ki+	s+	+a+	+kə+	-	+à	mànəjìáà/mànəzəáà

4.2. Using the Applied (II) Derivation. A common feature of nearly all of the applied forms of the verb for both classes is that they generally extend the basic (I) form of the verb by adding another potential noun phrase position syntactically. For example a basic intransitive verb normally has only the subject noun phrase position within the finite verb form. This applied form of such a verb may become transitive and therefore able to accept a direct object noun phrase, or it may remain intransitive and become able to accept an oblique benefactive/dative/indirect object noun phrase. A verb which is transitive in its basic form may in its applied form become able to accept a benefactive/dative/indirect object noun phrase. For some verbs the applied form may have a causative interpretation and be synonymous with the causative form (IV) of the verb. The syntactic changes effected by the applied form in relation to the basic form are matched by an even greater range of semantic changes, some of which are easily predictable, others of which may seem totally without foundation, and idiomatically unpredictable. Many of the semantic changes can in fact be related to the syntactic phenomenon, expressed here, that an additional noun phrase position has been added. This can be related to the different semantic subgroups of applied verb forms which were proposed by Lukas (1937:80-83). These are: 1) direction, i.e. carrying out the action described by the basic form of the verb *to* or *towards*, or in some other locational or directional relation to the new noun phrase position, e.g. *bānggìn I beat/hit* becomes *bākkəkìn I beat/pound in/into*, 2) extension of the action in a certain direction (very similar to the previous group), where the new noun phrase is often a container, e.g. *fīngìn I pour out/throw away* becomes *fīgəkìn I pour into*, 3) reference to another person or thing, where the new noun phrase may be the recipient or beneficiary of the action, or the thing in reference to which the action is carried out, as in e.g. *nāmngìn I sit down* which becomes *nāpkəkìn I enter the employ of s.o.*, 4) restriction, localization, where the new noun phrase, is the location to which the action of the verb is restricted, or to which the object of the verb is confined, e.g. *sāmngìn I collect/gather up* which becomes *sāpkəkìn I gather/pile up in one place*, 5) relation to another, implying an action for the interests of some one else, or an action of *helping* another, where the new noun phrase is the beneficiary, e.g. *hāmngìn I lift* which becomes *hāpkəkìn I lift for s.o./I help s.o. lift*. Lukas' remaining categories were 6) reference to a base, 7) accompaniment, 8) imitation, 9) effort, 10) intensity, and 11) causative action. He very helpfully pointed out that all intransitive class 2 verbs derived from nouns and adjectival nouns can be made into transitive causative verbs in the applied form and would fall into his group 11.

I think that these various groupings are extremely relevant and I would suggest that both the student of spoken Kanuri, and of Kanuri grammar refer to the citation from Lukas. Though helpful, I would suggest that many applied forms might fall into more than one of the suggested groups, and thus a rather large sample of class 1 and class 2 forms are presented here with their meaning, and the meaning of the basic (I) form. They are shown in alphabetical order, ungrouped. Many are from Lukas, 1937.

I	II
<i>ājāmngìn vi be surprised/amazed</i>	<i>ājāpkəkìn vt amaze, surprise</i>
<i>bānggìn beat, hit</i>	<i>bākkəkìn beat/pound/drive in</i>
<i>bārēngìn hoe, farm</i>	<i>bārégəkìn hoe towards</i>
<i>bōtəkìn tell story</i>	<i>yīrwōtəkìn tell story about s.o.</i>
<i>bākìn pound (in mortar)</i>	<i>yīrwākìn/yīrgəwākìn pound for, help pound</i>
<i>būkìn eat</i>	<i>yīrgəwūkìn cheat</i>
<i>bāfūkìn vi ripen</i>	<i>yīrbāfūkìn/yīrgəbāfūkìn vt ripen, make mature</i>
<i>bāyēnggìn explain</i>	<i>bāyēngəkìn explain to s.o.</i>

I

bōngin lie down
 cīngin stand/get up; take off
 dāngin stop, stand
 dālngin steal
 dālngin dye
 dūngin drive/chase away
 dāwūnbāngin vi be excluded
 dōndīngin get sick
 dāmngin prevent, refuse
 dīngin mix
 dōrəkīn pluck
 dūtəkīn sew
 dīkīn do
 dərīngin become weak
 dēgākīn, dēgāi live, exist
 fūngin blow
 fērngin spread/lay out
 fīngin pour out
 fēlēngin point out, indicate
 fōnggīn meet, come together
 fūwūngin vi move forward
 fārəkīn slander
 fārngin jump, fly
 fērēsəngin escape
 fēfēngin unwind
 fālngin divide, split; ford
 fərtəkīn pluck
 fərəmngin open
 gōngin take
 gāndəkīn lick
 gāgəkīn, gāyin vi enter
 gūlngin say
 gākīn, zēgāi follow
 gādēngin become different
 hāmngin vi cool off
 hāmngin lift up
 jērəkīn tie

kārāngin read, study
 kālānggīn turn over, return
 kōngin pass, surpass
 kārəkīn carve, forge
 kāsəkīn run
 kēndəkīn tie baby on back
 kōrəkīn ask
 kēlngin join
 kōkkōngin lock up, padlock
 kūrūmgīn scoop out
 kāmngin cut, cut off
 kāmānngin knead
 kāsəngin saddle horse; wean
 kāmngin meet, catch/gather
 līkīn learn, get used to
 lārəkīn live in luxury
 lōrəkīn, sūlōrīn gather up
 lūwūkīn, sūlūyīn go out
 lādəkīn, sēlādīn sell

II

bōgəkīn make love to, lie on; make lie down
 cīngəkīn assault, confront abruptly
 dāgəkīn stop in on, visit
 dālgəkīn steal for s.o.
 dālgəkīn dip into
 dūgəkīn drive/chase into/towards
 dāwūnbāgəkīn vt exclude
 dōndīgəkīn make sick
 dāpkəkīn confine to (space), shut s.o. in
 dīgəkīn mix and put into
 yīrdōrəkīn pluck and put into
 yīrdūtəkīn sew at/towards; lead to
 yīrdīkīn do as s.o. does, imitate s.o.
 dərīgəkīn make weak
 yīrdēgākīn, yīrdēgāi 3S be left up to s.o.
 fūgəkīn blow at/into; stoke fire up
 fērgəkīn spread out on/over
 fīgəkīn pour into
 fēlēgəkīn show to
 fōkkəkīn make meet, introduce to, add onto
 fūwūgəkīn vt advance, move forward
 yīrfārəkīn slander about
 fārngəkīn fly into/towards
 fērēsəgəkīn escape from/to
 fēfēgəkīn unwind over/onto
 fālgəkīn take s.o. across a river; divide for s.o.
 fərtēgəkīn/yīwərtəkīn pluck and put into
 fərəmgəkīn open towards
 gōgəkīn = I; marry off, take (bride) in marriage for
 yīrgāndəkīn/yīrgēgāndəkīn lick for; help lick
 yīkkəkīn, səkkin insert, penetrate
 gūlēgəkīn say to, teach (to)
 yīrgākīn, sērgāi increase, augment
 yīrzēgākīn, sērzēgāi follow after, send after
 gādēgəkīn make different
 hāmngəkīn vt cool off
 hāpkəkīn lift up for s.o.; help lift up
 yīrgējērəkīn/yīrjērəkīn, sērgējērīn/sērjērīn
 tie/bind to
 kārāgəkīn read to s.o.
 kālākkəkīn give back to s.o.
 kōgəkīn 3S/echo in the ears
 yīkkārəkīn carve/forge in the likeness of
 yīrgāsəkīn run after, run along with
 yīrgēndəkīn tie baby on s.o.'s back
 yīkkōrəkīn ask about
 kēlgəkīn add on to, put on more of
 kōkkōgəkīn lock into
 kūrūpkəkīn scoop out and pour into
 kāmngəkīn cut off according to/in relation to; patch
 kāmātkəkīn knead and put into
 kāsēgəkīn give child to s.o. during weaning
 kāpkəkīn go and meet and accompany to destination
 yīkkālīkīn teach, make learn
 yīkkālārəkīn make live in luxury
 yīrgəlōrəkīn, səkkelōrīn gather and take away to
 yīrgəlūwūkīn/yīkkəlūwūkīn, səkkelūyīn/sērgəlūyīn rush
 yīkkəlādəkīn, səkkelādīn sell to; make buy

I

lénngìn *sleep*
 lálángìn *winnow*
 mánángìn *speak, talk*
 mówòkìn *take; marry divorce*
 múkìn *put on (clothes)*
 mèrèkìn *recover, get well*
 námngìn *sit down*

ndémngìn *tie*
 nàtèkìn *sow, plant*
 ràákìn *like, love*
 ràmbèkìn *reimburse*
 ságèkìn *lower, bring down*
 sàwúkìn *winnow*
 sámngìn *rub*
 sàrngìn *vi slide, move over*
 sàlìngìn *pray*
 tǎnggìn *recall, remember*
 tàlǎrngìn *dangle*
 tákìn *grab, seize*
 tàndèkìn *build, construct*
 tìkìn, sètìn *vi equal/suffice*
 tèrèkìn *remove, carry away*
 túlìngìn *wash*
 tàrngìn *vt scatter, disperse*
 túnnngìn *stuff*
 tùsèngìn *rest, spend time*
 tèrèmmngìn *hobble along*
 tàmmngìn *pour*
 wǎrngìn *grab, snatch*
 wúngìn *look at, watch*
 wángìn *dislike*
 *yùrúkìn
 yìmbèlèkìn *fill*
 yèzèkìn *kill*

yírèkìn *cry, weep*
 yònggìn *drive away*
 zúngìn *push*
 zàngìn *beat, pound, tap*

II

létkèkìn *put to sleep*
 lálágèkìn *winnow and let fall into*
 mánágèkìn *speak/talk to*
 yìkkèmówòkìn/yìrgèmówòkìn *arrange divorce marriage*
 yìkkèmúkìn/yìrgèmúkìn *dress s.o.*
 yìkkèmèrèkìn *cure, make well*
 nàpkèkìn *become dependent on, enter employ of; concentrate on (of one's mind)*
 ndèpkèkìn *tie up to, tie onto*
 yìkkènàtèkìn *have sown*
 yìkkèràákìn *make s.o. love s.o.*
 yìkkèràmbèkìn *reimburse creditor's creditor*
 yìrságèkìn *help bring down*
 yìrsàwúkìn *winnow into*
 sámngèkìn *rub onto/into*
 sàrgèkìn *vt push, slide over*
 sàlìgèkìn *pray in direction of/towards*
 tàkkèkìn *remind*
 tàlǎrgèkìn *dangle at/towards*
 yìrtákìn/yìrtágèkìn *make/help grab; bring (to mind)*
 yìrtàndèkìn *build according to e.g. along a line*
 yìrtíkìn, sèrtìn *vt complete, make up balance*
 yìktèrèkìn *remove/transport to*
 túlgèkìn *wash again*
 tàrgèkìn *vt scatter/disperse towards*
 tùtkèkìn *stuff into*
 tùskèkìn *stop in and spend time with sick person*
 tèrèpkèkìn *hobble/hop over*
 tàpkèkìn *pour into/for*
 wàrgèkìn *side with s.o. in argument*
 wúgèkìn *expect, watch out for*
 wágèkìn *ignore*
 yùkkùrúkìn/yùkkùrúgèkìn, sùkkùrìn *fall, fall down*
 yìkkèmbèlèkìn *fill completely, top up*
 yìryèzèkìn/yìrgàyèzèkìn, sàrcèjìn/sàrgècèjìn *overkill, kill again*
 yìkkèrèkìn *cry/weep about*
 yókkèkìn *drive towards*
 zúgèkìn *push into/towards (e.g. wood into fire)*
 zágèkìn *beat (e.g. drum) for/in honor of*

4.3. Defective Class 2 Verbs in the Applied (II) Derivation. The fact that class 2 verbs have entered Kanuri in so many stages has resulted in certain irregularities within the derivational system. In certain cases verbs may have come from another language or from elsewhere within Kanuri to fulfill a specific need or lack. Hypothetically, it is possible that such a need might lend itself particularly well to the general syntactic and semantic characteristics associated with one of the derived forms of the verb. Thus such a recently conceived class 2 root might enter the class 2 system as a derived form carrying the derivational morphemes, and might only occur in this derived role. Such a verb would therefore not have a basic (I) nonderived form. Such defective verbs may have as their most basic form, the applied (II) derivation, or e.g. the passive-reflexive (III) derivation, and either could then have the combined II+III form.

In the following list, the verbs presented represent a considerable number of defective class 2 verbs that have been attested in the Yerwa dialect as

normally occurring only in the applied (II) derivation. It was observed that the applied derivation of a verb normally adds an additional noun phrase position to the verbal sentence, and that the new noun phrase may be a direct object for example in the applied forms that have a causative meaning; but that more often the new noun phrase position is oblique or indirect, and when manifested independently it is marked by the indirect postposition +rò. Many of the defective class 2 verbs cited here require (syntactically and semantically) a noun phrase with this oblique relation to subject or subject and direct object, which is also marked by +rò when manifested independently.

One such defective verb included here is the verb whose root is ná+ (*I *nāngìn, *nājìn, II nāgèkìn, nāzègìn) which means *catch up to, attain, reach, meet*. With a direct object, the meaning is *meet, run into*. With a +rò marked object the meaning is *catch up to/with*. This verb provides an example of how confusion may exist between the verb classes, since for some speakers this verb is a class 1 verb, for others a class 2 verb. It should be noted that when a class 2 verb has only an applied (II) form, that the applied morpheme +kə+/+gə+ results in the deletion of the class 1 root consonant n+ of ngin. Thus for this verb the familiar *nāngìn, *nānəmìn with +n+ do not occur in the 1S and 2S forms, but rather only the applied nāgèkìn, nāgəmìn. Because the n+ is deleted, these first and second person forms appear more like class 1 verb forms than class 2 verb forms, since in the class 1 1S form, the 1S subject pronoun morpheme +k+ is always apparent. In some Kanuri dialects, and perhaps in some entire dialects as well, this verb is conjugated as a class 1 verb in the basic (I) form, and thus they produce the 3S/P imperfect forms with prefixed subject pronoun morphemes as sənáyìn, sənáyìn, rather than the class 2 applied forms nāzègìn, nāzààì. Such speakers also produce a class 1 verbal noun for this verb, i.e. nāwò, rather than the class 2 applied verbal noun nātégè. Some speakers might accept both the class 1 and the class 2 applied forms of this verb, and use them interchangeably, or differentiate them in some way. The sources of this apparent confusion suggested here, may provide insight into how this came about, and how other such cases might be unraveled when encountered in the study of Kanuri. In Tubu, in the verb class corresponding to Kanuri verb class 1, the root nak+ means either *reach* or *put, place*. It is possible that the Kanuri noun nā *place*, is a nominal derived from this root, and it is possible that this derived nominal became the root of the defective class 2 verb ná+ under consideration here. Therefore this cross class confusion may have resulted from the similarity of the e.g. 1S form of the class 2 applied verb form with the same form of a class 1 verb, plus a possible other language source from a different verb class. Other cases of this type will be cited at various points in the rest of this chapter.

The following are class 2 verbs attested only in the applied (II) derivation.

bārigèkìn, bārizègìn *warn*

cískèkìn/njískèkìn, císsègìn/njíssègìn *take care of, look after*

dāwūrāgèkìn, dāwūrāzègìn *string arrow on bow; load pack animal; nearly hit*

fātkèkìn, fātsègìn *lean up against*

(fātkèkìn,) fātsègìn *vi be lost, get lost (IV = vt lose)*

fūnāgèkìn, fūnāzègìn *tuck (tail/private parts) between legs*

gəlāskèkìn, gəlāssègìn *roll up sleeves*

gəmgèkìn, gəmpzègìn *reach, attain, go so far as to ...*

jègərgèkìn, jègərzègìn *verify, confirm*

jālāpkèkìn, jālāpsègìn *load (sack) onto animal*

kāskèkìn, kāssègìn *settle up debts*

kūlītèkìn, kūlītsègìn *feed (newborn)*

lâtkəkîn, lâtsəgîn	conceal against body
lâskəkîn, lâssəgîn	hang up on, dangle from
lîmbərgəkîn, lîmbərzəgîn	stick/paste on
lûgəkîn, lûzəgîn	string up on/through
mîtkəkîn, mîtsəgîn	stifle, suppress, hold back
mûnûkkəkîn, mûnûksəgîn	dent in
nâgəkîn, nâzəgîn/sənâyîn	catch up with, meet
nânâgəkîn, nânâzəgîn	emphasize, reiterate
nûrtkəkîn, ngûrtsəgîn	strangle
râzâgəkîn, râzâzəgîn	lean against
rəpkəkîn, rəpsəgîn	reach, go as far as; nōngî -- visit a friend
rîskəkîn, rîssəgîn	mock, make fun of
sâwâgəkîn, sâwâzəgîn	befriend
sûrûtkəkîn, sûrûtsəgîn	loop through
tâyêtkəkîn, tâyêtsəgîn A	pray for s.o.
təngâgəkîn, təngâzəgîn	lean up against
têrmâskəkîn, têrmâsəgîn	massage (usu legs)
wûngəkîn, wûnzəgîn	go along with
zâmzâmgəkîn, zâmzâmsəgîn	sprinkle out onto
zêmêrgəkîn, zêmêrsəgîn	insert quickly into

The defective class 2 verb *fât+* get lost, and the class 2 verb *bô+* lie down, both have idiosyncratic applied forms derived in the way that class 1 applied forms are derived, through the prefix *yir+*. These are shown here with their meanings.

bōngîn, bōjîn lie down *yîrwōgəkîn, sêrwōyîn*
(fâtkəkîn, fâtsəgîn) vi get lost, *yîrwâtəkîn, sêrwâtîn* vt get s.o. lost

The uses of the applied (II) derivation of the verb in combination with other derived forms of the verb will be presented subsequently.

5. The Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation of the Verb. As its name implies, the passive-reflexive (III) derivation is used to produce (from the basic (I) nonderived form) verb forms that lend themselves to translation as passive and/or reflexive verb forms in other languages. Plural verb forms with a reciprocal interpretation are also formed with this derivation. It was noted that the applied (II) derivation essentially extends a verb by adding another noun phrase position to those possible in its basic form. The passive-reflexive, in many cases, changes the meaning of a verb so that a noun phrase position is essentially eliminated, since the action of e.g. a transitive verb is carried out on its syntactic subject in the passive-reflexive form, making it the semantic object of the action of the verb. These and other uses of this derived form are examined in 5.2, below.

5.1. Deriving and Writing the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation. The derivational morpheme which indicates the passive-reflexive derivation is *+t+*, which in the verbal complex of the derived verb form, occurs in position 9 of the 16 possible positions. Perhaps due to its phonological shape as a voiceless obstruent, it never assimilates or contracts with the aspect prefixes *ki+/ka+* and *ti+/ta+*, which always occur as distinct prefixes (from their position 8) to the passive-reflexive morpheme. In the schema, it immediately precedes the third person subject morpheme *+s+* (position 10) which is followed by the third person number morpheme *+a+* (position 11). In third person forms, positions 9 and 10 contract, and the passive-reflexive morpheme *+t+* occurs in place of the third person subject morpheme. For class 2 verb forms in the first and second person, the occurrence of the passive-reflexive morpheme results in the deletion of the root consonant *n* of the verb *ngin* (class 1 verb root position 14).

Because the derivation of passive-reflexive verb forms is clear and rela-

tively straightforward for verb classes 1 and 2, the derivational paradigms for both verb classes are presented here, with a paradigm for one verb from each class in the non-prefixed imperfect aspect, and in the prefixed past.

cl 1:	8	9	10	11	14	15	16	passive-reflexive verb form
1S	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+k+	+ìn	túrúkin I am seen; I see myself
2S	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+m+	+ìn	túrúmìn
3S	-	t+	s+	-	rù+	-	+ìn	túrìn it is seen/visible
1P	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+y+	+ìn	túrùiyèn we see each other
2P	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+w+	+ì	túrúwì
3P	-	t+	s+	+a+	rù+	-	+ìn	tórìn
1S	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+k+	+ò	kátúrúkò I was seen; I saw myself
2S	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+m+	-	kátúrùm
3S	ka+	t+	s+	-	rù+	-	+ò	kátúrò it was seen/visible
1P	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+y+	+è	kátúrùiyè we saw each other
2P	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+w+	-	kátúrùw
3P	ka+	t+	s+	+a+	rù+	-	+ò	kátórò

cl 2:	6	8	9	10	11	15	16	passive-reflexive verb form
1S	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+k+	+ìn	báktàkin I am beaten; I beat myself
2S	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+m+	+ìn	báktàmìn
3S	bák+	-	t+	s+	-	-	+ìn	báktìn it is beaten/beatable
1P	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+y+	+ìn	báktiyèn we beat each other
2P	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+w+	+ì	báktùwì
3P	bák+	-	t+	s+	+a+	-	+ì	báktài
1S	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+k+	+ò	bákkàtèkò I was beaten; I beat myself
2S	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+m+	-	bákkàtèm
3S	bák+	ka+	t+	s+	-	-	-	bákkàtè it was beaten/beatable
1P	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+y+	+è	bákkàtiyè we beat each other
2P	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+w+	-	bákkàtùw
3P	bák+	ka+	t+	s+	+a+	-	-	bákkàtà

On page 113, it was noted that for class 1 verbs in the basic (I) form, the prefixed past and future aspect may be homophonous for many verbs, but that the proof that different prefixed aspect morphemes were involved in their derivation became clear when one looked at the derived forms of the verbs. In the passive-reflexive derivation, these prefixed affix morphemes are clearly distinguished, for both verb classes. Compare the following future aspect paradigms for these verbs, to the above past paradigms, in the passive-reflexive derivation.

cl 1	cl 2
1S tátúrúkò I shall be seen/see	báktàtèkò I shall-be beaten/beat myself
2S tátúrùm myself	báktàtèm
3S tátúrò it shall be seen/visible	báktàtè it shall be beaten/beatable
1P tátúrùiyè we shall see each	báktàtiyè we shall beat each other
2P tátúrùw other	báktàtùw
3P tátórò	báktàtà

Additional passive-reflexive paradigms in all verb aspects are presented in appendix 6 (p. 345).

5.2. Using the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation. Undoubtedly every transitive verb of Kanuri has at one time or another been used in the passive-reflexive derivation. Even if a transitive verb does not lend itself semantically to a passive-reflexive derived form in every person, it is always possible in the 3S form. For example, the class 1 verb dí+ does not lend itself to this derivation in first and second persons, where

the 1S imperfect form would be the rather meaningless ?tádákìn *I am, done; *I do myself; *I am doable. The 3S form is however very frequently produced and used, i.e. tédín *it is done/practiced; it is doable/feasible*. This 3S passive-reflexive form is thus possible for any transitive verb, and can always be rendered in English with a translation having a predicate adjective in *-able/-ible*. This represents the most common and productive use of the passive-reflexive derivation, which in this and in all of its other uses, is always much more semantically predictable than for example the applied (II) derivation.

Transitive verbs that take human objects in their basic (I) form will potentially have complete passive-reflexive paradigms in all aspects with both a reflexive and a passive interpretation possible into languages like English. Thus the class 1 gám+ may occur in all persons singular and plural to mean *scratch oneself* reflexively, or *be scratched* passively. The class 2 transitive verb kàsàl+ *bathe s.o.* becomes in the III form the intransitive *bathe (oneself)* or *be bathed*. The 3S forms of both of these verbs in the passive-reflexive would have in addition to the possible human passive and reflexive readings, also an *-able* reading as described above, interpretable in English with something like *it is scratchable/can be scratched* and *it is bathable/can be bathed*, respectively.

The plural forms of such transitive verbs that take human objects in their basic forms, may lend themselves to a reciprocal interpretation in the passive-reflexive derivation. There is nothing but the context and the semantics of the verb however which will determine whether the interpretation in English will best be reciprocal, passive, or reflexive. For example, from the class 1 verb rù+ *see* the 1P form túrúiyèn will nearly always be used to imply *we will see one another* reciprocally, and almost never be used to imply *we see ourselves* reflexively or *we're seen* passively. On the other hand, the passive-reflexive 1P kàsàltiyèn will normally be interpreted as the intransitive *we bathe (ourselves)* and rarely as *we bathe each other*.

In 5 above it was observed that the passive-reflexive derivation essentially removes a noun phrase position from the basic (I) nonderived form of a transitive verb. The two noun phrase positions (subject and object) of every basic transitive verb, are reduced to one (subject=semantic object) in the passive-reflexive derivation. Thus it is important to remember that when we do refer to some of these derived forms as *passives*, that they can only be *agentless passives* since there is only one noun phrase position, taken by the subject noun phrase syntactically, which is the semantic object of the action of the derived (now) intransitive verb. One cannot use the passive-reflexive derivation to produce sentences comparable to the English (passive with agent): *I was beaten by John*. The Kanuri equivalent of such passives with expressed agents is proposed and discussed on page 214.

Because the meaning of derived passive-reflexive verb forms is so consistently predictable, only a small set of examples is presented here.

I

shìwòl+ *trouble, bother*
lèfà+ *greet*
wàl+ *vi become*

rù+ *see*nò+ *know*

III

Wàndé shìwòltámí. *Don't trouble yourself.*
Lèfàtiyèná.

Sái wàltákíà. *Until I return. (meaning of III not predictable from I)*

Sái túrúiyéià. *Until we see each other/meet.*
Túrìnḡà. *It is not visible.*

Nòtányí. *It is not known.*

Nòtiyèndé. *We don't know one another.*

I

yàsá+ repair
 háp+ lift up, raise up
 fàl+ change
 làd+ sell
 lîw+ protect
 kàsàl+ bathe s.o.
 bù+ eat
 yá+ drink

III

Tàasàì. They will be repaired.
 Háptînbà. It cannot be lifted up.
 Hápkàtè. S/He got up and left. (idiom)
 Fàltàà. S/He/It has changed.
 Kámúnzè gādèminnàrò fàlgátè. His wife
 got pregnant again. (idiom)
 Tèlàdînbà. It does not sell/is not marketable.
 Shírò tîlîwé. Protect yourself from him/hers
 Kàsàltènè. Bathe (yourself).
 Tèwînbà. It is not eaten/edible.
 Tàì. It is potable/drun~~k~~.

5.3. Defective Class 2 Verbs in the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation.

As described with regard to the applied (II) derivation (4.3 above), similarly there are class 2 verbs which normally occur only in the passive-reflexive forms. It is likely that this is again due to the fact that class 2 has development in so many different stages, in response to lacks and needs felt at different times in the history of the language.

ásémtàkîn, ásémtîn	resolve, vow
àwùlòtákin, àwùlòtîn	be-boastful, be a braggard
bàyètákin, báyètîn	feel extreme jealousy, seek to remarry former spouse
càlìptákin, càlìptîn	overdress
fégélátákin, fégélátîn	writhe in pain
gàjáltákin, gàjáltîn	be shaken up
gàmíntákin, gàmíntîn	take charge of
hàrtákin, hàrtîn	wash oneself without undressing by tying up clothes
hàrámtákin, hàrámtîn	cover oneself
kàrègètákin, kàrègètîn	take personally
kùrnòtákin, kùrnòtîn	be happy
kùshèkùshètákin, kùshèkùshètîn	show off
kwàstákin, kwàstîn	sit conceitedly
làmbìtákin, làmbìtîn	need, be troubled over
mármértákin, mármértîn	fidget
nàsàrtákin, nàsàrtîn	A be victorious, win
nàktíyèn, nàktài	avert/avoid contact, not touch one another (pl only)
ràzègètákin, ràzègètîn	A get rich
rùrùtákin, rùrùtîn	doubt oneself
shèktákin, shèktîn	doubt oneself
tàntákin, tàntîn	stretch one's body
tàskàtákin, tàskàtîn	prepare oneself
tàwàktíyèn, tàwàktài	agree with one another (pl only)
tòkùmtài	copulate (of insects; 3P only)
yílétákin, yílétîn	flirt
yíllótákin, yíllótîn	jump up and down in excitement.

6. The Causative (IV) Derivation of the Verb. The causative (IV) derivation of the verb in Kanuri carries perhaps the lightest functional load of all of the derived forms. Its status as a productive derived form might thus be referred to as tenuous, at best. The reason for this is that it is not even recognizable for verb class 1 as a productive derivational process, since Lukas has described only about five class 1 verbs which have the causative derivation. It is because of this lack of productivity that any reference to a causative morpheme for class 1 (1.IV) was excluded from the verbal complex schema of section 2 above. For verb class 2, the status of the causative derivation is tenuous for different reasons. Its formation is not relatable to that described for class 1 by Lukas. Rather, it is

only in this class that an affixed derivational morpheme may precede the class 2 verb root (in positions 1-4 in the 16 position schema). These prefixes to the class 2 root are accompanied by the occurrence of the applied (II) morpheme +kə+, in its normal applied derivation position as described above in section 4. The fact that it is formed from the derivational morpheme of another derived form, coupled with the aberrant prefixes, would suggest that it may represent a relatively recent development in the history of verb class 2. In support of this, we already know that the applied (II) form for many class 2 verbs has a causative interpretation, which may obviate the occurrence of derived form IV, or simply be synonymous with it. Furthermore, Kanuri has a variety of other ways of expressing causatives through the use of conjoined verb forms in the basic (I) form of the verb, without the use of any causative (IV) verb form. This will be described in 6.3 below.

6.1. Lukas' Class 1 Causative (IV) Verb Forms. Were it not for Lukas' work (1937) we would not even be describing the class 1 causative since the examples he has gathered are extremely difficult to discover, and might easily be mistaken for autonomous basic (I) form verbs. The position of the causative morpheme for these verbs (+t+) would be position 12 in our schema, mutually exclusive with the class 1/2 applied (II) derivational morpheme which is in the same position. The four class 1 verbs which have this derivation and can be explained in this way are shown below, fully conjugated in the imperfect aspect next to their respective basic (I) forms.

I		IV		
1S	lúwùkìn	<i>I go out/leave</i>	tùlúwùkìn	<i>I bring/take out</i>
2S	lúwùmìn		tùlúwùmìn	
3S	sùlúyìn		sùtùlúyìn	
1P	lúwùyèn		tùlúwùyèn	
2P	lúwùwì		tùlúwùwì	
3P	sòlúyìn		sòtùlúyìn	
1S	ríndəkìn	<i>I tire from/get fed up with waiting</i>	təríndəkìn	<i>I make s.o. wait</i>
2S	ríndəmìn		təríndəmìn	
3S	səríndìn		sətəríndìn	
1P	ríndiyèn		təríndiyèn	
2P	ríndùwì		təríndùwì	
3P	səríndìn		sətəríndìn	
1S	yákìn	<i>I drink</i>	yàttəkìn	<i>I water (e.g. an animal)</i>
2S	yámìn		yàttəmìn	
3S	sái		sàttìn	
1P	yáiyèn		yàttiyèn	
2P	yáwì		yàttúwì	
3P	sásài		sàsàttìn	
1S	*yùrúkìn	(II=fall, fall on)	(dùrəkìn)	
2S	*yùrúmìn		(dùrəmìn)	
3S	*sùrín		sùdùrín	<i>vi fall (rain only); njí -- 'it is raining</i>
1P	*yùrúiyèn		(dùrúiyèn)	
2P	*yùrúwì		(dùrúwì)	
3P	*sòrín		(sòdùrín)	

The schematic position of this morpheme +t+ is clearly distinct from that of the passive-reflexive (III) morpheme +t+, since here the 3S/P subject morphemes clearly precede it, rather than collapsing with it as in the passive-reflexive derivation. Also, as a prefix in the first and second person forms it is on a low tone rather than the high tone of the passive-reflexive.

The derived forms *yikkəlārəkīn* I cause (s.o.) to live in luxury, and *yikkəràākīn* I cause (s.o.) to like/love, are also introduced by Lukas (1937) as class 1 causative (IV) forms. However because they appear to be derived through application of the applied (II) morpheme for class 1, I have presented them in section 4 above, where the applied derivation is treated. This is justified since applied forms of both class 1 and class 2 often have such causative interpretations.

6.2. Deriving and Writing the Causative (IV) Derivation of Class 2 Verbs.

As Lukas (1937:101) states, "form IV (the causative form) of verbs in ngin is made up by prefixing *yità+* to the applied form II." He suggests also that another causative prefix *yikkə+* is found, and that it can be explained as coming from *yìtkè*, as distinct from the applied prefix *yikkə+* which he explained elsewhere as an allomorph of *yìrgə+*. In support of this, a few aberrant class 2 verbs which appear to have causatives formed through the prefixation of *yikkə+* (i.e. like class 1 applied (II) forms) will be cited. His proposal however that *yikkə+* may have two different sources (one causative and one applied) cannot presently be verified.

As suggested in 6 above, the position of the class 2 causative prefix would suggest that it is a later development, perhaps an old verb form in the conjunctive form (of the verb which through continuous use in an auxiliary function eventually became fused to the class 2 verb root as a prefix. One might suggest that it is an old causative form of the class 1 verb ngin, derived as per Lukas' class 1 causatives as presented in 6.1 above. Regardless of its origin, it is best simply treated as a prefix when analyzing the derived forms of spoken Kanuri today. This prefix is now written according to the SKO as *yità+*.

In the following paradigms, compare the basic (I) form of the class 2 verb *nə+* know with the applied (II) form, and the causative (IV) form, derived through the prefixation of *yità+* to the II form. In this case both the applied and the causative derivations share the causative meaning *inform*.

I	II	IV
1S <i>nəngīn</i> know	<i>nəgəkīn</i> inform	<i>yitànəgəkīn</i> inform
2S <i>nənəmīn</i>	<i>nəgəmīn</i>	<i>yitànəgəmīn</i>
3S <i>nəjīn</i>	<i>nəzəgīn</i>	<i>yitànəzəgīn/sətəndəyīn</i>
1P <i>nənyən</i>	<i>nəgəiyən</i>	<i>yitànəgəiyən</i>
2P <i>nənūwī</i>	<i>nəgəwī</i>	<i>yitànəgəwī</i>
3P <i>nəzāi</i>	<i>nəzāai</i>	<i>yitànəzāai/sətəndəyīn</i>

It is the alternative third person forms in the IV derivation column which explain the rather complex looking morpheme positions 1-4 in the 16 position schema (section 2 above). In the first third person forms, the prefix is simply applied to the applied form as in all other persons. In the alternative third person forms, the third person subject and number morphemes (normally in positions 10 and 11) have been prefixed to the causative prefix *yità+*, contracting with and replacing the *y+* in the initial syllable of the prefix, thus moving to their alternative positions 2 and 3. These alternative forms lend support to the hypothesis that the prefix *yità+* was originally a class 1 verb form, since it is possible for the third person subject pronoun morphemes to be prefixed to it, as is always the case with class 1 verbs. When prefixed, these subject pronoun morphemes may clearly not occur in their normal positions 10 and 11. The reason therefore for position 1 (indicated by 2.III+IV) in the schema is that in these alternative third person forms, if the passive-reflexive morpheme *+t+* is also applied to produce the combined III+IV derivation, then it follows the subject pronoun morphemes to the

front of the verb form, leaving its normal position 9 for position 1. In positions 1, 2, and 3, these morphemes function exactly as they do in their normal positions 9, 10, and 11. This is shown below:

	4	6	9	10	11	12	16	
								IV(+III) derived verb form
3S	yità+	nò+	-	s+	-	+kə+	+ìn	yitàndzəgìn inform (III)
3P	yità+	nò+	-	s+	+a+	+kə+	+ì	yitàndzāāi
3S	yità+	nò+	t+	s+	-	+kə+	+ìn	yitàndtəgìn make oneself known (III+IV)
3P	yità+	nò+	t+	s+	+a+	+kə+	+ì	yitàndtāāi

	1/9	2/10	3/11	4	6	12	16	
								alternative IV(+III) derived verb form
3S	-	s+	-	yità+	nò+	+kə+	+ìn	sətāndyìn inform (III)
3P	-	s+	+a+	yità+	nò+	+kə+	+ìn	sātāndyìn
3S	t+	s+	-	yità+	nò+	+kə+	+ìn	tətāndyìn make oneself known (III+IV)
3P	t+	s+	+a+	yità+	nò+	+kə+	+ìn	tātāndyìn

With the exception of these alternative third person forms therefore, the derivation and writing of the causative (IV) derivation of class 2 verbs can be done simply by prefixing the position 4 causative morpheme yità+ to the applied (II) derivation of any class 2 verb. For the derivation and writing of the applied (II) derivation, the reader is referred to section 4.1 above. Complete paradigms in all aspects of the verb are presented together with the applied (II) paradigms in appendix 5 (p. 343).

6.3. Using the Causative (IV) Derivation of Class 2 Verbs. Three of the class 1 causative verbs cited in 6.1 above are very frequently used in spoken Kanuri, i.e. tūlūwìkìn *bring/take/get out*, yàttáskin *water*, and sūdūrfìn *falls (of rain)*; as in the following examples.

- Kúngónà tūlūwùmbá wá? *Won't you get some money out/spend some money?*
- Kámds sòtūlūwùná. *They got rid of/removed/took out the man.*
- Nāḍān fārwanzá sāsattìn. *They water their horses there.*
- Njī sūdūrfìn. *It is raining.*

For the first and second of these verbs, the basic intransitive form is rendered transitive causative in the IV form, though for the second verb the morphophonemics is not as straightforward. In the third case, the verb is used only in the 3S form, and is apparently intransitive in meaning. The only subject that can occur with it is *water/rain* as in the above example, and this constituent can never be marked for function by one of the postpositions. Because this process is so limited, it is unlikely that most speakers would recognize it as such. It is likely that the second and third verbs have been reanalyzed as autonomous basic form verbs, rather than derived from the sources proposed by Lukas that have been presented here.

Thus in discussing the causative (IV) derivation in Kanuri, we are really only dealing with verb class 2. There also, though the causative is extremely productive morphologically, it is not used nearly as frequently as the other derived verb forms. Causative meanings involving both transitive and intransitive verbs are more frequently and productively expressed using the 3S form of the verb yikkákin, sákkìn (=II of fákìn, *áyìn enter*) *know, forewarn*, in the conjunctive, i.e. sákká. The reason/cause of something is therefore the subject of this verb, and the 3S conjunctive form is followed by the verb in any person expressing the result, as in the following examples. The 3P form is sákká.

- Áyíyá sákká sákkáwànd. *They made him mad.*
- Áyíyá sákká sákkáwànd. *They made their mother mad for her to be mad.*
- Áyíyá sákká sákkáwànd. *These are the reasons that we don't see our mother any more.*

The following are examples of the causative (IV) derivation of class 2 verbs. The last two examples are from Lukas (1937:105).

Fáládá kánnúlân yitáfágàkìn.	<i>I will melt the butter on the fire.</i>
Alà sàndíró kàndògà hērbē yitáfírzágá.	<i>May God reserve a peaceful life for them.</i>
Jílì lórúsà ádàbèdà zaurò jāmā ngāwūà yitāàjāpságànà.	<i>A marriage like this one truly amazed a great many people.</i>
Àndíró búrwúndé nā māibèrò yitāgāmngāné.	<i>Please transmit (make reach) our complaint to the king.</i>
Adà gānyā tāmman ráksà àbímáyè shíà sātàngāzégìnbā.	<i>Except/if not for this, nothing can ever make him/her well again.</i>
Kānā kāmna yitàngānzágìn.	<i>Hunger will make a person thin.</i>
Wāndé àshírnām sāmā shíró yitānògāmí.	<i>Don't make all of your secrets known to him/her.</i>

It is apparent from the above examples that the causative (IV) derivation is most frequently formed from verbs that are intransitive in their basic (I) form. Such causatives are very often synonymous with the comparable applied (II) forms, since as was observed above, applied (II) verb forms derived from verbs which are intransitive in their basic form often have a causative (transitive) interpretation in the applied form. It is often the case that the shorter and less cumbersome applied form is preferred in such cases to express causative meanings.

The class 2 verb whose root is kà+ *escape, avoid*, has evolved its own slightly idiosyncratic form of the causative (IV) derivation. The class 2 causative prefix has been contracted to yit+, and the only third person forms are the alternative forms in which the subject pronoun morpheme is prefixed to the causative prefix, as shown in the following imperfect aspect paradigm. The prefix may assimilate to the root initial consonant.

1S yitkàgàkìn/yikkàgàkìn	1P yitkàgāiyèn/yikkàgāiyèn
2S yitkàgāmìn/yikkàgāmìn	2P yitkàgāwì/yikkàgāwì
3S sàtkāyìn/sàkkāyìn	3P sàtkāyìn/sàkkāyìn

Because of the idiosyncracies, the paradigm looks more like that of a class 1 verb, than like that of a class 2 verb. The meaning is *protect, save from*.

7. The Reduplicated/Intensive (V) Derivation of the Verb. Unlike the other derived forms of the verb, the reduplicated derivation does not involve the application of any supplementary derivative morpheme/s. Instead it is formed from within the basic (I) form through the reduplication or doubling of the initial syllable of the basic finite verb form. Lukas (1937:105) has termed this the intensive form, since its use normally implies repetition or intensity in carrying out the action of the verb. Normally this process involves reduplication of the verb root, and thus, as indicated in the 16 position schéma, is carried out for class 1 verbs in position 13, and for class 2 verbs in position 5, both immediately preceding their respective roots. As Lukas states, "the root may be wholly or partially reduplicated. Monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel are wholly reduplicated; those ending in a consonant often lose this consonant when reduplicated. Thus wūwūngìn from wūngìn *I look at*, kākāmngìn from kāmngìn *I cut*. ... The reduplicated verb root is always on a low tone, no matter if the verb root is a high tone or a low tone one."

In the third person forms of class 1 verbs for the non-prefixed aspects, the subject pronoun morphemes are in initial position. In such cases the prefixed subject as well as the initial syllable of the root may be reduplicated, as in e.g. sàwūsàwūndìn from sàwūndìn *he is ill*. In such cases, morphemes from positions 10, 11, and 14 of our schema, would be

essentially repeated as a prefix to themselves. This has not been shown in the schema since such examples are not very commonly produced. Derivational paradigms for this derived form are not presented here since it can be so easily produced from the basic (I) form of any verb. For paradigms of verbs in all aspects of the basic (I) form, see appendix 3 (p. 337).

7.1. Using the Reduplicated/Intensive (V) Derivation. The meaning of derived form V is generally directly predictable from the basic (I) nonderived form of the verb. Form V usually implies that the action of the verb was repeatedly, often, or continuously carried out. For transitive verbs, form V may imply that the action was carried out on many objects. In some cases form V may simply imply the rapid or intensive carrying out of the verb's action. In many instances, the best way to render these forms in English is by phrases like *keep on doing X*, or *do and do X*, as is apparent in the examples presented here.

It will be noticed that the majority of the examples presented here are of class 2 verbs in derived form V. This is true in spoken Kanuri as well. This may be due not only to the strength in numbers of verb class 2, but may also be relatable to the origins of verb class 2 in specific adverbs adapted for this use, as proposed on page 102. As noted there, specific adverbs lend themselves to repetition or reduplication in use, as do class 2 verb roots.

I	V
bák+ beat, hit	bábák+ keep on beating/hitting, hit/beat continuously
dà+ stop, stand	dàdà+ hesitate, stand around, loiter
fànd+ find, get	fàfànd+ keep on finding, find many
fâr+ jump, fly, dance	fâfâr+ keep on jumping, etc.; jump etc. intensively
gèrgà+ become angry	gèrgèrgà+ keep on becoming angry
jàràp+ A try	jàràjàràp+ keep on trying
kàs+ run	kàkàs+ keep on running, run hard
kám+ cut	kàkám+ keep on cutting, cut many
kâr+ tie/wrap up	kàkâr+ tie/wrap up repeatedly
fí+ pour out	fífí+ keep on pouring/spilling out
kòk+ peck	kòkòk+ keep on pecking
kók+ plant, stick in	kòkók+ plant in several places, keep planting
lâwú+ pick, pluck	lâlâwú+ touch/fondle carefully
mâ+ look for, fetch	mâmâ+ keep on looking for; look and look for
mànâ+ talk	Mâmârò mawòkòsò ... Though I looked and looked for it
mbâl+ struggle, wrestle	mànàmànâ+/màmànâ+ keep on talking; all talk; talk & talk
nyimé+ chat, converse	mbâbâl+ keep on wrestling/struggling
shík+ scrape, grate	nyimènyimé+ keep on chatting, chat and chat
lân+ A insult	shîshík+ keep on scraping/grating
wóp+ throw over	lâlân+ insult repeatedly
túl+ wash	wòwóp+ luck or chance into sth
	tùtúl+ keep on washing, wash alot of things
	Múskònzà tùtúlzài. They all are washing their hands.
zâk+ close	zâzâk+ keep on closing, close all of them
tâk+ recall, ponder	tâtâk+ keep on thinking about/remembering, etc.
	Awò àdà ngâwùrò tàtànggínsò kâlányírò ísânyí.
	Though I keep on pondering this thing, it won't
	come to me.

7.2. Nonderived Reduplicated Class 2 Verbs. The class 2 verb roots presented here have clearly been formed, or have evolved through some form of reduplication. That they are reduplicated may reflect a meaning that involves some kind of repeated or intensive action, and thus the reduplication may be onomatopoeically based. However, unlike the form V

derivations presented above, these class 2 verbs are today basic (I) forms, since there exists no other more basic, unreduplicated form I. Many of the verbs presented here appear to be onomatopoeic not only because of the reduplication, but also because of their phonological shape. Such verbs would therefore qualify for the proposed group 2 of class 2 verbs roots (see page 107) i.e. those which have specific adverb or onomatopoeic sources. Some of the members of the sample of that group presented there were also in some way reduplicated. Some of the examples presented here appear to be in derived form V but do not have the characteristic low tone first syllable of form V.

gèrgèr+	<i>vi 3S thunder</i>	fəfət+	<i>flap wings; convulse</i>
gələgələ+	<i>shout non-stop praises</i>	fáfár+	<i>unravel, unroll</i>
bòlòlò+	<i>bleat (of he-goat)</i>	fəfəs+	<i>crumble, break up</i>
lailài+	<i>flatter</i>	fətət+	<i>fan (with straw mat)</i>
tèrètèrè+	<i>hover in uncertainty</i>	fáfát+	<i>grope, feel around for</i>
gùzùgùzù+	<i>knock down from above</i>	fúrúfúrú+	<i>touch and drag (of tail)</i>
láláp+	<i>daub, pat</i>	fírífírí+	<i>drill, bore</i>
shìshì+	<i>inquire about, research</i>	míní+	<i>study with the eyes</i>
ngùrùngùrù+	<i>kneel, crawl</i>	mímí+	<i>whinny, neigh</i>
lílím+	<i>itch</i>	tátáp+	<i>whisper secret gossip</i>
tótól+	<i>blister (of skin)</i>	sàsà+	<i>calm down/lullaby a child</i>
lálá+	<i>winnow in wind</i>	fífi+	<i>fertilize with manure</i>
sàsáp+	<i>III shrivel/dry up</i>		

8. Combined Derived Verb Forms. In the examples presented here, more than one of the derived forms of the verb combine within a given finite verb form to produce compound or combined derived forms. Virtually any combination of the derived forms II, III, IV, and V is possible. Likewise, all of the derived forms may combine with the application of the object pronoun affixes, with the exception of the passive-reflexive form III, which is intransitive with only a subject pronoun position as described above. A number of examples are taken from Lukas (1937:107-112).

8.1. Derived Verb Forms with the Object Affixes.

Nzəkkəlìkìn/Nzəkkəlígəkìn.	(II+OBJ) I will teach you.
Nzəkkəlädəkìn.	(II+OBJ) I will sell to you.
Nyírò njàrdəgà.	(II+OBJ) It is left up to you.
Mànànzəgəkìn.	I will speak/am speaking to you.
Zùwàsəgəmbá wá?	Won't you send it to me?

In the causative (IV) derivation for class 2 verbs, the object affixes normally occur in their expected position 9, though some speakers may optionally front them to position 1 as prefixes to the causative prefix.

Yítàngànzəgəkìn./Nzətàngəgəkìn.	(IV+OBJ) I will make you well.
Nzùtùlúwùkìn.	(IV+OBJ) I will remove/exclude you

Ləfələfənzài.	(V+OBJ) They keep on greeting you.
Mànàmànànzəgìn.	(II+V+OBJ) S/He keeps on talking to you.

8.2. Applied (IV) Derivation plus Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation.

Cídìrò fítəgìn.	It is rouring onto the ground.
Nyírò tàmàtəpənyí.	It was not expected of you.
ǂárətəgəmíà, yùkkùrùmìn.	If you get to close to it you will fall.
Tàwàktəgədiyèn.	We will argue with one another.
Kùmbìgətəgìyèn.	We argue with one another.
ǂòwəntəpùwá wá?	Won't you consult one another?
ǂrótəgədiyènà.	We passed/poked/piced each other on the road.

Káàtà kòllémíà, cígè sáptègìn. *If you leave it open flies will gather on it.*
 Nòtégèmmà wá? *Did you make yourself known/introduce yourself?*
 Kádírò fàltégèná. *S/He changed him/herself into a snake.*

8.3. Applied (II) Derivation plus Reduplicated (V) Derivation.

Shírò zùwàzùwàgékìn. *I will keep sending (it) to him/her.*
 Kèládérò nǝ ngéwù fífígèné. *Keep pouring a lot of water on top of it.*

8.4. Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation plus Causative (IV) Derivation.

Tètkàgékìn. *I will save/protect myself.*
 Tètèlúwùkìnbá. *I will not be able to get myself out.*
 Fèrnzè tàtténà. *His/Her horse has been watered.*
 Tètànápsègèná. *S/He was helped to sit down.*

8.5. Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation plus Reduplicated (V) Derivation.

Ngéwùrò kàkámìn. *It keeps breaking off/being cut off.*
 Tègètègèndémìndé, àbírò? *You keep on moving, why?*
 Ròrótìnbá. *S/he cannot restrain him/herself.*

8.6. II+III+V.

Mààràdè nǝ ròrótègìn. *The boat keeps on taking on/holding water (i.e. leaking).*

CHAPTER 15: THE NONFINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

1. Introduction. Up to this point, the discussion of the Kanuri verb has been concentrated on the finite form of the verb, which is the form fully inflected for subject pronoun (person and number) and also for tense, aspect or mood. A nonfinite verb form is neutral in that it is not inflected for subject or aspect, but contains the verb root and may normally be used to describe the act or action described by the verb. In English, what is referred to as an *infinitive* can be formed for any verb in the language simply by applying the preposition *to* to the basic uninflected form of the verb, as in *to eat*, *to drink*, etc. Grammarians of English distinguish other nonfinite forms of the verb such as the *deverbal noun* (e.g.: *quarrel*, *arrival*, *suggestion*, *painting*) which always has a corresponding *verbal noun* or *gerund* in *-ing*, the latter being a nominal describing the process of the action of the verb.

The most common nonfinite form of the Kanuri verb is the verbal noun, a form shared by all of the verbs of the language regardless of verb class. According to the analysis presented here, certain Kanuri verbs also have derived deverbal nouns. Though there is no form comparable to the English infinitive, the verbal noun together with a postposition is often translatable into English by the infinitive form. The only other nonfinite form of the Kanuri verb is a past participle form, which may be produced for the verbs of class 2 only. This form is most commonly used attributively as a modifier, though it may as well be used as a predicate adjective.

Though all verbs of Kanuri share the common nonfinite verbal noun, it is formed in different ways for different verbs, depending on the verb class of the root, and on the tone pattern of the root. It will be the purpose of this chapter to not only introduce the various forms of the verbal and deverbal nouns, but also to try to show their semantic and syntactic differences. Previous treatments of this subject have analyzed for example the two or three different nonfinite verb forms for a given verb as being synonymous and all verbal nouns. Ways of distinguishing these forms will be presented here.

2. The Nonfinite Forms of Class 1 Verbs. A given class 1 verb may have as many as three different nonfinite verb forms. All class 1 verbs share what is here analyzed as the verbal noun for that class, which is formed for verbs with monosyllabic CV roots for which V=i simply from the verb root on a low tone, as in *tà* from *tá+*, *bù* from *bù+*, etc. For CV roots in which V=i, for CVC root, and for polysyllabic roots, the suffix *+ò* is applied to the root and the tone is low throughout, as in *làdò* from *làd+*, *gàmbò* from *gàmb+*, *dìdò* from *dí+*, etc. For the few polysyllabic roots ending in a vowel of group 4 (see page 100), the *+ò* is not suffixed to form the verbal noun, and the final vowel is the final syllable of the verbal noun, as in *yàngàngà* from *yàngàngà+*, etc. This nonfinite verb form, the basic class 1 verbal noun, is the most productive nonfinite form for verb class 1, and as mentioned, is the only one shared by all verbs in the class. These verbal nouns are the first nonfinite forms presented in the column marked *de/verbal nouns*, in the groups of class 1 verbs presented on page 97, and in appendix 1 (p. 327).

According to the present analysis, all other nonfinite forms derived from class 1 verb roots are derived nominals or deverbal nouns in derivation, though in use some may seem to be synonymous with the verbal nouns described above. The two most common deverbal nouns formed from class 1 roots are apparently derived through the application of the historical

formative morphemes (described in ch. 10) to the verb root. About 20% of class 1 verbs have a deverbal noun formed through the process of k-prefixation that has been attested. Most of these have the L-H-L tone pattern which is associated with this process (as described on pp. 75 ff. (Other k-prefixed nominals formed from class 1 verb roots with irregular tone patterns and involving other formatives as well are presented on page 77. The other commonly produced, regular deverbal noun formed from class 1 verb roots is that formed apparently through the prefixation of nz+, which as a formative prefix may be composed of the historical formative nt+, together with the formative st+, though this cannot be verified. About half of the class 1 verbs share this derived deverbal noun, though the production of this form is quite irregular and may vary from speaker to speaker. It is apparent that this form is extremely rare in group 1 of the class 1 verbs (see page 97), more common in group 2, and essentially universal in groups 3 and 4, the latter two being made up of class 1 roots in initial y+. The two verbs making up the proposed group 3 each have all three possible nonfinite verb forms, as shown below. Each has the verbal noun and the two deverbal nouns.

yá+	yà, kènzà, nzà	yákìn, sài, sásài	drink
yí+	yò, kènjò, njò	yíkìn, cín, sádìn	give

2.1. Distinguishing and Using the Nonfinite Forms of Class 1 Verbs.

Lukas (1937:76) suggests that all class 1 verbs originally had two "verbal nouns", one without a prefix and another with the prefix k+ (kənt+, kər+). According to Lukas, evidence from other dialects indicates that "the difference in usage between these two Verbal Nouns is that the Verbal Noun with k-prefix is used with a direct object, the simple Verbal Noun without an object. ... In the Yerwa dialect this difference is no longer made. Only a few verbs have two forms of Verbal Nouns still, without difference in usage." Thus Lukas distinguishes between a *simple verbal noun* without prefix, and a *verbal noun with prefix*.

Koelle (1854:21) proposed an even greater difference between the two forms in his treatment of substantives derived from class 1 verbs. He stated that k-prefixed substantives are to be treated as "nouns of action, or abstract substantives, because they are derived from the common infinitive in the same or a similar way, as the above abstract nouns from concrete nouns or adjectives". Thus Koelle referred to our basic verbal noun (Lukas' simple verbal noun) as an *infinitive*, and to our deverbal noun (Lukas' verbal noun with prefix) as an *abstract substantive*. It will be the purpose of this subsection to show that there does still exist in Yerwa Kanuri a difference in usage between these various nonfinite forms of class 1 verbs, and that the terms and categories proposed by Koelle may more adequately capture the actual situation than those of Lukas.

As described on page 77, the deverbal noun for the verb whose root is bù+, normally takes on the deverbal meaning *food*, but may also in certain environments be interpretable in English with a gerundive verbal noun meaning like *eating*. The basic (non-prefixed) verbal noun bù for this verb, never takes on the deverbal meaning and can only be translated as meaning *eating*, or in some constructions as *to eat*. This is to be expected given our knowledge of the process of k-prefixation as a derived nominal formation process (see page 75). Other such commonly used deverbal nouns formed in this way are: kəmbà *horseback ride, horseback riding festival*; kəndó *deed, act*; kəngà *pursuit, following*; kùrú *seeing*; kəngántì *possession, acquisition*; kəsò *flight, escape, running*; kərəwó *love*; kənjó *gift*; kəndégà *life*; kərmú *death*; and kətádò *meeting (one another)*. It is never the case that a basic (nonprefixed) verbal noun has such a deverbal meaning.

In the first example below, the possessive suffix on the nonfinite form of the verb may be interpreted either as the subject of the verbal action or the owner of the food. In the second example, the possessive suffix may be interpreted either as the subject or the object of the verbal action.

Kəmbūnzé rāákənyí.

I don't like his/her food.

Būnzé rāákənyí.

I don't like how s/he eats.

Kəmbū/*bū) ádè shírò yádé.

I don't like his/her having eaten the food.

Kəmbū/*bū) ádè shírò yádé.

I don't like to eat it.

Take this food to him/her.

In the environment of the preposition *sái* which is here used to introduce something that is needed or required, the semantic difference between the verbal and the deverbal nouns is quite clear.

Sái bū.

It is necessary/time to eat (it)./

Sái kəmbū.

There remains only to eat (it).

Food is needed/necessary (e.g. for s.o. who is sick).

For the verb *dəgá+ live, stay, exist*, it is only the *k*-prefixed deverbal noun which may occur in the following question used frequently as part of the greetings exchange. The verbal noun is untranslatable in this context.

Ndā kəndəgà?/*dəgà?

How is life?

3. The Nonfinite Forms of Class 2 Verbs. With regard to the feature of tone, the verb roots of verb class 2 may be divided into two groups: 1) high tone roots, having high tone on the root-final vowel, and 2) low tone roots. Group one is thus made up of L₀H and H roots, and group two of L roots. There are no H₀L roots. Class 2 verbs of both tone groups share the common feature of having a nonfinite verbal noun formed through the suffixation of the high tone +t̄s to the verb root on its own inherent tone, as in lèt̄s *going* from lè+, lét̄s *touching* from lé+. This process is totally productive for the entire verb class. It has been suggested that the suffix +t̄s originates from the determiner (definite article) +d̄s (Tucker and Bryan, 1956:175; Cyffer, 1974:58-9), though it would seem more likely that +t̄s, like all other inflections of class 2 verb roots, is probably an obsolete nonfinite form of the verb *ngin* which no longer occurs independently. It is likely that its formation involved the formative morpheme of the passive-reflexive derivation of the verb, i.e. +t+. If this alternative etymology could be documented, then one might be able to show that the determiner (definite article) +d̄s was derived from it, rather than the vice-versa which has been proposed.

Class 2 verbs do not have the variety of derived deverbal nominals that was described with regard to class 1. Instead, the complication that arises is in relation to tone group one, the high tone roots, since this set of class 2 verbs has two nonfinite verbal noun forms for each verb, for an as yet unexplained reason. They have the verbal noun which is common to all class 2 verbs (as described above) where the high tone suffix +t̄s is applied to the root on its root tone. The second verbal noun is formed through a tone changing suffix +t̄à, which when applied changes all the tones of the root to low, as in lèt̄à, lét̄à *touching* from lé+. Its low tone counterpart lè+ *go* has only the one verbal noun, in +t̄s, i.e. lèt̄s *going*. The vowels ə:a may be singular and plural, respectively.

Lukas (1937:76) claims that in the Yerwa dialect, the two forms of the verbal noun for high tone class 2 verbs are "no longer distinguished in usage, ... But there is no doubt that such a difference existed at one time, and even exists today in other dialects, and it may be concluded from them that the Verbal Noun in +t̄à had a general meaning, whereas the meaning of the form in +t̄s is confined to a specialized happening: wùt̄s *the looking at (a special thing)*, wùt̄à *the looking at (in general)*."

In 3.1 below, we will test the value of Lukas' claim in discussing the uses of the class 2 verbal noun, and especially the difference between the two forms for high tone roots. In 3.2 below, the other class 2 nonfinite verb form, the past participle, will be examined with regard to formation and use.

3.1. Distinguishing and Using Class 2 Verbal Nouns. The discussion and the examples presented here will concentrate on high tone class 2 verbs in an effort to establish a difference between the two forms of the verbal noun for that group. The evidence does demonstrate that certain semantic and syntactic distinctions are still made in spoken Yerwa Kanuri today through the alternation of these two forms of the verbal noun. In some specifiable environments, one of the forms is totally unacceptable. The evidence provides some support for Lukas' suggestion that the high tone form is more specific, and the low tone form more general. Since the low tone form is produced through a tone changing process lowering the basic high tone of the root, this evidence correlates with other tone changing morphological processes that have been observed, where the tone altered form bears some kind of abstract semantic relationship to the basic unaltered form.

At several points in this work (see page 26, page 63, and page 106)

it has been suggested with regard to class 2 roots that at some point in the history of the verb class low tone may have been associated with intransitivity, and high tone with transitivity. Thus the development of two verbal nouns for the high tone (transitive) roots may at some point have been in response to the more complex syntax of the transitive verb as opposed to the less complex of the intransitive verb. Further research may show that the selection of the form of the verbal noun may be related in some way to the syntax of the verb phrase.

In an unpublished Kanuri dictionary which did not include tone markings, the Kanuri author Mustafa Lantewa (1976?) used only verbal nouns for citing Kanuri verbs, rather than presenting finite verb forms. It is interesting to note that for most of the high tone class 2 verbs that he cited, he presented the (low tone) verbal noun with the +tâ suffix for his citation form, and normally excluded the high tone form with the +tê suffix for such verbs. This evidence may be used to support Lukas' suggestion that the low tone form in +tâ is the more general one since Lantewa quite consistently chose that form for the general citation of the verb. These he often translated as English infinitives. When both verbal nouns were presented, he usually translated the high tone form in +tê as a nominal, usually beginning with the words *the act of*. Because the difference between the two forms has yet to be adequately documented, even evidence of this kind must be used in an attempt to clarify the differences.

The verb *gô+* take, take away is today being used to describe the mathematical process of *taking away, subtracting*. In referring to the process of subtraction in general, the more general low tone form of the verbal noun *gôtâ subtraction*, is always preferred over the more specific high tone form of the verbal noun *gôtê*. Further evidence from this same verb occurs when the verbal noun is used in the environment of the agentive nominal suffix +ma. A professional porter, loader, load carrier, a common marketplace occupation, is a *gôtâmâ* with the general form, and never a *gôtêâmâ*. When a *gôtâmâ* is looking for work, he may cry out *Ndâ (âwô) gôtâbê? Where is something to be carried?*, using the low tone form. He will never cry out with the high tone form **Ndâ (âwô) gôtêbê*. In this environment, the high tone verbal noun has a different connotation. The sentence *Shî gôtâmânyî* means *he is my porter (i.e. the professional porter that regularly carries my loads)*. The sentence *Shî gôtêâmânyî* means *He is the person (nonprofessional) carrying my loads* or it might also mean *He is the person carrying me*. Thus the high tone form, as Lukas suggested, refers to a specific event, rather than the general, habitual action of the professional. Because the verb *gô+* is also used in the marriage context to mean *take a young girl in marriage*, the high tone verbal noun may be used to refer to *taking a young girl in marriage*, as in the following examples where its tone has been changed morphologically: *Shî gôtêâmânyî* *he is the one who will marry me/ married me as a young girl*. (*fêrô*) *gôtêbêlînmî* *recently married girl*. *Fêrô gôtênzâ sâtêná*. *The time of his wedding has arrived (in reference to a specific wedding for which the date has been previously set)*. If in the last example the more general *gôtâ* is used (*Fêrô gôtânzâ sâtêná*), then the meaning is not specific in relation to a previously arranged marriage, but would instead mean something like *He is old enough to take a bride./It is about time he got married*. This elaborate documentation of only one verb does provide evidence in support of Lukas' suggestion. This evidence also indicates that with the low tone +tâ form in the environment of a possessive suffix, the possessive suffix is not interpretable as the object of the action, whereas this is possible with the high tone +tê form.

Other evidence of this type both contradicts and supplements the observations made thus far. It has to do with the possible interpretation of the possessive suffixes occurring on these class 2 verbal nouns. In the

following examples the verb *ká+ open, uncover, reveal* with its two verbal nouns *káté/kàtà* occurs. In the environment of these sentences, one is dealing with the description of a specific event which has occurred, and thus the specific/general distinction observed above is not relevant. It is apparent that here the low tone form of the verbal noun is used when the object precedes the verbal noun, and the possessive suffix is to be interpreted as the subject of the action of the verbal noun. The high tone form is used when the subject/agent of the action of the verbal noun is not expressed, and this transitive verb is apparently used intransitively with the preceding noun phrase functioning as the syntactic subject of the verbal noun (semantic object). The possessive suffix is a coreferent noun phrase with that syntactic subject.

Sá shóró kàtánzá kállàdàn, ... *Right at the time of his/her opening the room,*
 Sá shóró kàtánzá kállàdàn, ... *Right at the time of their opening the room,*
 Sá shóró kátánzá kállàdàn, ... *Right at the time of the room's opening,*
 Sá káté shóróbè kállàdàn, ... *Right at the time of the opening of the room,*
 ?Sá kàtà shóróbè kállàdàn, ...

If this evidence is generalizable, then it would suggest that the high tone unaltered verbal noun formed with *+té* in such environments is related to intransitivity and requires that only one syntactic noun phrase position (that of subject) be filled in its use, as is the case with all low tone class 2 verbs which are intransitive, having only the *+té* verbal noun. The low tone verbal noun in *+tà* on the other hand, in such non-general environments allows for the filling of both the subject and object noun phrase positions for a transitive verb.

The following derived nominals, phrases, and sentences are presented to demonstrate how class 2 verbal nouns are used in spoken Kanuri. Some of the examples provide additional support for Lukas' specific/general hypothesis. In each case the preferred, natural form is presented.

Yàsò ábbàsò bàràtà wájìb.	<i>Helping mother and father is obligatory.</i>
Nàndíró njí shíndó túltàbè sòwúds.	<i>Let them bring you water for washing your feet.</i>
Kúngónà màtārò lēngín.	<i>I am going looking for money.</i>
Gàdé màtà ngálwó.	<i>It is better to look for another one.</i>
Áwó nánémín bá màtālàn,	<i>When looking for something you don't have,</i>
sábísòrò ná sáwánèmbèn máné.	<i>always look at your friend's place.</i>
Kàlímáwá nàsàrá Yìngálìsbèn gòtá	<i>We always avoid (stay far from) taking</i>
sábísòrò cìntànyèn.	<i>words from English.</i>
Dàjí dágèllà kàdùtà bàdìwónò.	<i>Then he started pursuing the monkey.</i>
Lēngē kánnú dá wàrtàbè fūngín.	<i>I will go and start a fire for roasting meat.</i>
Kàndòrò lèwónò kántí fèràmtàrò.	<i>S/He went to Kano to open a shop.</i>
Rábídé shí kám lárdà gèdìbè, kùrú	<i>This Rabi, he was a man from the eastern</i>
ngáwùrò lárdà Bòrnòbèrò ísèná,	<i>country, and he came very often to Borno</i>
kèlā sáfùr-à kánjì màtà-àbèn.	<i>country on commerce and slave gathering.</i>
Fútù bēri ádè dètàbè nònámà wá?	<i>Do you know how to cook this food?</i>
Nyíró kázémùnēm túllé ngènáds;	<i>I told you to wash your clothes; you</i>
túltàrò njèskám.	<i>forgot to wash them.</i>
Nèmsáwàndé dínmá ádè kám rásè	<i>There is no person that can cut off our</i>
kámámá bá, sáí Álá.	<i>longlasting friendship, only God.</i>
Nyí dèpté wá mánémín?	<i>Is it separation/divorce that you want?</i>
Ábí kú fèrò ngáwùrò gòtàbè áttà	<i>What happened that there are so many</i>
wáázó?	<i>marriages today?</i>
Shí zaurò fòmà ngáwùà.	<i>S/He really wanders around a lot.</i>
Kùrú fàskà fìtá yé zaurò nòzónà.	<i>What is more, he really knows how to</i>
	<i>sew on embroidery too.</i>
Lètándé zaurò támtámà.	<i>Our trip was/is very enjoyable.</i>

Kòskòlídé mbú gènyí dúwì básyè yétédá.	<i>For the koskoli song, the singing is not necessarily done only by the duwu.</i>
Káiyà yètà bàdìwónò.	<i>S/He started singing.</i>
Búné gāngá zātà bàdìzái.	<i>At night they start beating drums.</i>
Bàktà rózàná.	<i>They have ceased printing (it).</i>
Shí kítáwù lètámà.	<i>She is a book publisher/editor/writer.</i>
Shí kítáwù àdébè lèptémànzá.	<i>He is the writer/editor of this book.</i>
Fè gèrúwí yàyé kàngádì yàktélàn gádùwì.	<i>Even if you've eaten a whole cow, you will argue over the sharing of the horns.</i>
náptóném dìnábè	<i>your situation in the world/lifestyle</i>
mánà gòtáram	<i>tape recorder</i>
fótò gòtáram	<i>camera</i>
àwó bàktàbè	<i>thing of beating (describes a hammer)</i>
àwó mánà gòtábè	<i>a thing for recording/taking speech</i>
shín lètésò kèlàn àwó gòtàsòdè,	<i>going on foot and carrying things on the head, ...</i>

3.2. The Past Participle of Class 2 Verbs. The past participle is a non-finite verb form that is unique to verb class 2. The past participle form of class 2 verbs may be used as a predicate adjective describing a completive state, but is most often used as a descriptive, adjectival modifier in the noun phrase. Its modifier function is elaborated on page 197.

The past participle is formed through the suffixation to the root of the morpheme +kata, in its basic form. Its allomorphs +gata, +ata, +wata, etc. are recorded in the SKO as they are pronounced and are predictable on the basis of the phonological description of the changes in g/k in different environments, as presented on page 19, The Velar Consonants. The tone of the suffix is predictably polar to the tone of the class 2 verb root to which it is applied, thus nápkàtá *seated*, dàátà *standing*, etc. It should be noted that the form if the past participle is identical to the 3P past form of the verb in the passive-reflexive derivation, which is a finite verb form from which it may have originated. A small sample of examples showing the use of the past participle are presented here.

Àwó kām kúrà nápkàtàyè sùrìndé,	<i>Even when standing, the young boy cannot</i>
tádà gánà dàátámáyè sùrìnbà.	<i>see when the seated old man can see.</i>
Àdè nówàtá.	<i>That is well known.</i>
Kām wàzàgàlérò bòwàtàrò shíllówù	<i>You don't have to show the stars to the</i>
fáilégbàmbà.	<i>person lying on his back.</i>

SECTION V: NONVERBAL PREDICATE TYPES	PAGE
Chapter 16: Nonverbal Predicates of Presentation and Existence	167
1. Introduction	167
2. Nonverbal Predicates of Presentation	167
3. Nonverbal Predicates Expressing Existence	168
3.1. The Nonverbal Predicate mbéjǐ/mbézái	168
3.2. The Associative Postposition as a Nonverbal Predicate	169
3.3. The Nonverbal Negative Predicate of Existence bā/báwò	171
Chapter 17: Nonverbal Predicates of Identification, Description, Location, and the Postpositions	173
1. Introduction	173
2. Identification and Description Through the Juxtaposition of Constituents	173
3. Identifying and Describing with Sentences Made up of a Single Constituent	174
4. Postpositional Phrases as Nonverbal Predicates	176
4.1. The Locative/Meaning Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates	176
4.2. The Genitive Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates	177
4.3. The Indirect Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates	177
5. Negating Nonverbal Predicates of Identification, Description and Location	178
Chapter 18: Nonverbal Predicates of Comparison	179
1. Introduction	179
2. The Role of the Predicating Particle wò in Comparative Sentences	179
3. Making Comparisons	181
4. Ways of Expressing Grades of Comparison and Superlatives	182
5. Using Verbs and Abstract Nominals to Make Comparisons	183



CHAPTER 16: NONVERBAL PREDICATES OF PRESENTATION AND EXISTENCE

1. Introduction. The predicates treated in this chapter have been referred to in relation to other languages as *non-aspect verbals*. They are verb-like, in that they function as sentential predicates, and yet they have only one basic unchanging form which carries no inflectional morphemes. They cannot be specified for person or subject, nor for verbal aspect. Nonverbal predicates that are used to present something to someone, or to point out something (as in the English *Here's your pen*) are preposed in Kanuri, and thus occur in sentence initial position. Nonverbal predicates expressing existence, either affirmative or negative, (as in *there is/are/not*) are postposed, and thus occur in sentence final position. In a language like English where such predicates are formed with the verb *be*, tense and aspect can be expressed through the inflection of the verb *be*. In Kanuri where there is no overt verb *be*, such nonverbal predicates are marked for time reference through the inclusion of adverbial nouns and oblique adverbial phrases.

2. Nonverbal Predicates of Presentation. The nonverbal predicates *ngô* and *túwò* may occur alone sententially to mean *here it is* and *there it is*, respectively, in reference to something that is understood by both participants to the utterance. Elsewhere, they are normally followed by a noun phrase referring to a person or an object. In these and in other uses, either predicate may be accompanied by a gesture of indication on the part of the speaker. This gesture is most often made with the face, whether with the eyes looking in the direction of the object being indicated or presented, or by pointing with the lips in the direction of the object. Such gestures are preferred over pointing with the hand and fingers.

The particle *wò* (←*gò), which Lukas (1937:143) describes as what is left of an obsolete verb *to be*, is apparently a formative of both of these nonverbal predicates. The historical formative prefix *n+* with its characteristic high tone may have been prefixed to this in the formation of *ngô*. The prefix *tú+*, which is a formative of the demonstratives *túù* *that* and *túnyì* *those*, appears to have originally been applied to *wò* in the formation of *túwò*.

In general, the use of *ngô* may be said to occur when the object referred to is close to the speaker, and the use of *túwò*, to something further from the speaker. Though they may be used in this way to distinguish near objects from far objects, the normal accompaniment of each with a gesture often removes the need for this verbal distinction. Therefore, the near form *ngô* is often preferred in relation to both near and far objects/people. Both of these predicates are somewhat exclamatory in many of their uses, and often occur in reference to an object that has been misplaced or is hard to find and suddenly discovered. It is perhaps due to this exclamatory role, and their effect in immediately capturing the attention of the listener that they are the only nonverbal predicates which occur sentence initially, in violation of the expected sentence final position according to the SOV typology of the language. Neither has a corresponding negative form. Neither may occur with time adverbials. In their basic use for presentation and indication, they are naturally always used in relation to visible objects/people. The following examples are typical of their basic use.

Ngô.
Túwò.
Ngô shí.
Túwò shí.

Here./Here it is./Behold.
There./There it is./Over there.
Here s/he/it is.
There s/he/it is.

Ngô fãrnyí.	<i>Here is my horse.</i>
Túwò fãrnyí.	<i>There is my house.</i>
Túwò fãnzá túkkùàn.	<i>There is their house, over there.</i>
Ngô shí, nã ádèlàn.	<i>Here s/he/it is, right here/in this place.</i>
Túwò sàndí, fãrlàn lèzãisòdè.	<i>There they are, the ones going on horseback.</i>

Ngô is frequently used to present things to people physically, whether gifts or not, and its use naturally draws the attention of the recipient. When giving a gift, the giver does not normally want to cite the name of the gift and it is common practice to belittle it modestly as is shown in some of the following examples. When paper money is given, its value is very often hidden by folding it up, and may be tucked into the recipient's hand. In this and in other contexts as well, ngô may be used without necessary reference to an understood or expressed object, but simply alone, in order to get someone's attention.

Ngô kúngènaném	<i>Here is your money.</i>
Ngô àwó gáná láá.	<i>Here is some small thing.</i>
Ngô àwó gòròbè.	<i>Here is something for (buying) kola.</i>
Ngô gòrò.	<i>Here is some kola/money.</i>
Ngô bírònyém	<i>Here is your pen.</i>
Ngô shí, gónè.	<i>Here it is, take it.</i>
Ngô àwó kèskè ádè nyíró cíwúðèkò.	<i>Here, I brought you this unimportant thing.</i>
Ngô, ádèlàn tàdàwàró míntì yíwé.	<i>Here, buy candy for the children with this.</i>

The object following ngô may also be marked by the associative postposition in certain environments to make the distinction shown in the following pair of examples.

Ngô' shí.	<i>Here it is (when holding out the object).</i>
Ngô shíà.	<i>Here it is (when pointing towards the object).</i>

One may also hear ngô and túwò used appositively, almost as an afterthought following the object being presented or indicated. Here the preceding object is followed by a slight pause, as shown below.

Kúngènaném, ngô.	<i>Your money, here it is.</i>
Mátòndé, túwò.	<i>Our car, there it is.</i>

Túwò also occurs in the exclamation túwò fàné, which might be translated as the English *imagine that*. This exclamation is used to show one's interest or enthusiasm upon hearing an interesting piece of gossip or information, in order to encourage the speaker to continue.

3. Nonverbal Predicates Expressing Existence. In this section, two different ways of expressing existence affirmatively are presented. The nonverbal predicate mbéjì/mbézái, is one of the forms used, and the other is the associative postposition +(C+)à. Both of these forms share the same negative form bā, which is also described here.

3.1. The Nonverbal Predicate mbéjì/mbézái. This nonverbal predicate is used to affirm the existence of a person or thing. The person or thing occurs as a noun phrase, always preceding this sentence final predicate. When it is also preceded by a locative adverbial expression, mbéjì/mbézái may also be used to locate objects and people. The singular form mbéjì is most commonly used and may occur with both singular and plural objects. The plural form mbézái, may be used with plural objects for those speakers who make the singular/plural distinction.

The nonverbal predicate mbéjì, less commonly mbézái, appears to have

originated from a class 2 verb whose root was mbé+. The singular/plural distinction made by mbéjǐ vs. mbézáí is identical to that made in third person class 2 verb forms. Tone pattern and form would suggest that they are originally 3S and 3P verb emphasis completive verb forms, although today they exist only in these apparently third person forms, and in no other verb aspect in Yerwa Kanuri. The verb whose root is mbé+ with this same meaning was however discovered as a complete, fully inflected class 2 verb in all persons and aspects in the Manga dialect of Machina, in northern Borno State.

The nonverbal predicate mbéjǐ may also occur alone to indicate that something that is understood in the utterance context *exists* or *is there*. mbéjǐ occurs formulaically in greetings exchanges. Whenever a greetings question is asked using the interrogative ndá? *what about/how is?*, the pat answer that is required in the language almost always includes mbéjǐ (or in some cases its negative counterpart bā). In the greetings context, as elsewhere, the object of the nonverbal predicate may or may not be included in the response, where it is understood.

Ndā cídà?	<i>How is work?</i>
(Cídà) mbéjǐ, kèléwà.	<i>There is work, it is fine.</i>
Ndā kǎusù?	<i>How is the heat?</i>
(Kǎusù) mbéjǐ, kèléwà.	<i>There is heat.</i>
Ndā yálném?	<i>How is your family?</i>
(Yálnyí) mbéjǐ, kèléwà.	<i>My family is there, they are fine.</i>
Ndā ngónéwù?	<i>How is the struggle/fatigue.</i>
(Ngónéwù) mbéjǐ/bā.	<i>There is/is not fatigue.</i>

In the presence of a locative adverbial expression, mbéjǐ may be used to locate people or things. With certain such expressions, such sentences may imply ownership or location, as shown below.

Álì fátòn mbéjǐ wá?	<i>Is Ali at home?</i>
Álì mbéjǐ wá?	<i>Is Ali there?</i>
Fátòn njí mbéjǐ wá?	<i>Is there water in the house/at home?</i>
Nānzēn kúngēnà mbéjǐ.	<i>He has money/there is money at his place.</i>
Nānzēn mbéjǐ.	<i>He has some of it/there is some with him.</i>

Other examples of the use of mbéjǐ are presented here.

Sàndí mbéjǐ wá?	<i>Are they there?</i>
Njí mbéjǐ wá?	<i>Is there any water?/Do you have some water?</i>
Āā, mbéjǐ.	<i>Yes, there is.</i>
Mbéjǐ shé.	<i>Of course there is.</i>
Ābísó mbéjǐ nānzēn./nānzēn mbéjǐ.S/	<i>He has everything.</i>
Kām lèjín mbéjǐ wá?	<i>Is there anyone going?</i>
Awó rángnēmā mbéjǐ wá?	<i>Is there anything you can do?</i>
Shí mbéjǐ.	<i>S/He/It is there.</i>

3.2. The Associative Postposition as a Nonverbal Predicate. As a nonverbal predicate, the associative postposition in some way predicates the existence of the noun phrase that it marks, and may relate the predicated constituent to the entire context of the utterance, or to some other constituent preceding it in the sentence. The basic phonological structure of the associative postposition can be depicted as +(C+)à, but the phonetic realization of this basic form is conditioned by the final element of the morpheme preceding it. After a final consonant, the (C+) of the associative +(C+)à assimilates to the consonant preceding it, as in: Kŭ kāsāmmā. *It is breezy today.* After a front vowel, the (C+) is realized in pronunciation as the semivowel y, though this is not recorded according to the SKO, as in: njǐà [njíyà]. *It is raining.* After a back vowel, the (C+)

is realized in pronunciation (not in the SKO) as the semivowel w, as in Kámúnzə súròà [súròwà]. *His wife is pregnant.* After a central vowel, (C+) has no phonetic realization.

In the following examples, the associative postposition occurs as a nonverbal predicate, applied to a noun. Here the noun is the apparent subject of such examples, and the associative postposition, the predicate. The existence is asserted in relation to nature or the universe, since no other constituent precedes this postpositional phrase. This unencumbered environment clearly reveals the existential nature of the associative.

Təmāà./Təmā mbéjǐ.

There is hope.

Njǎà.

There is water./It is raining.

Dàlǐllà./Dàlǐl mbéjǐ.

There is a reason.

Kāusùà.

There is heat./It is hot out.

Njǎà; rānggè ísǎkènyǐ.

It was raining; I couldn't come.

In the greetings exchange environment described in 3.1 above, the nonverbal predicate mbéjǐ is the only acceptable predicate for such utterances. In examples like the above cited here however, where greetings are not involved, sentences with mbéjǐ and with the associative postposition may be synonymous. In relation to climatic conditions, the mbéjǐ form is used only in the greetings context formulaically, whereas the associative form is used to describe prevalent climatic conditions.

When preceded by an adverbial expression of time or place, associative predicates like those cited above are thereby qualified, and the existence of the associative marked noun is therefore asserted in relation to that qualifier. Thus the time or the place is characterized by the associative marked noun. Preceded by a time adverbial, this construction is often used to describe the weather at a given time, or any other prevalent or existing condition, as in the following examples.

Kú kákùà.

It is cold out today.

Bískà kāusùà.

It was hot out yesterday.

Kéméndè kènàà.

There is hunger/famine this year.

Kú sálàà wá?

Is there prayer today?

Preceded by a locative expression, this same construction is used to describe something which characteristically exists in a place. Such constructions may have a possessive connotation as is demonstrated in the first example below.

Nānzēn kúngēnàà.

There is money at his/her place./

S/He has got money.

Ngàwùrēnzēn kǎnnùà.

Its tail is on fire.

Fānnzēn kǎlāmà.

It is breezy in his/her house.

Gèdí kǎnádíbelàn zǎnnàà.

There is paradise at the source of patience.

An autonomous noun phrase may also precede an associative nonverbal predicate as qualifier or modifier. This sentence initial noun phrase position may be matched within the associative postpositional phrase by a coreferent possessive pronoun suffix occurring between the noun and the associative postposition. Therefore, Shí kúngēnàà. *S/He has money.* may become with the possessive pronoun suffix Shí kúngēnānzǎà, and alternatively with the initial independent pronoun deleted, Kúngēnānzǎà. *S/He has money.* Here the associative nonverbal predicate asserts the existence of the noun that it marks either as a possession of or as a characteristic of the preceding noun phrase, which may be represented by the possessive pronoun suffix within the associative postpositional phrase. This type of construction produces sentences describing physical

sensations, pre/occupation, ownership, and possession, as is clear from the following examples.

Módù kènàà.	<i>Modu is hungry.</i>
Módù kènànzà.	<i>Modu is hungry.</i>
Shí kènànzà.	<i>S/He is hungry.</i>
Kènànzà.	<i>S/He is hungry.</i>
(WÚ) wújìrnyà.	<i>I am on business./I have business to do.</i>
Nyànzà.	<i>S/He has his/her plans/intends to do so.</i>
Cídàndéà.	<i>We are busy/have work to do.</i>
Tàmànzà.	<i>They have their hopes/hope so.</i>

In environments like the above involving a noun of physical sensation or pre/occupation, the form in which the possessive suffix occurs is apparently synonymous with that in which it does not occur.

In describing ownership and possession, the associative postposition predicates the existence of the noun it marks together with its owner, i.e. the sentence-initial noun phrase. The occurrence of the possessive suffix which is coreferent to that initial noun phrase, with or without its cooccurring with the initial noun phrase, implies that noun phrase's title to or ownership of the associative marked noun. The absence of the coreferent possessive pronoun suffix may imply only temporary possession rather than ownership, as shown here.

(KÚ) Módù kèkéà.	<i>Modu has a bicycle (today).</i>
Módù kèkénzà.	<i>Modu has/owns a bicycle.</i>
KÚ Módù kèkénzà.	<i>Modu has his bicycle with him today.</i>

When the coreferent, sentence initial noun phrase antecedent is a personal pronoun, the independent pronoun is normally omitted in neutral environments. Thus the owner is then represented only by the possessive pronoun suffix.

Kèkénzà.	<i>S/He has/owns a bicycle.</i>
Fèrnàmmà wá?	<i>Do you have/own a horse?</i>
Awónàmmà.	<i>You own things./You are well off.</i>
Férò ádè kwánzà.	<i>This girl is married/has her husband.</i>
Kám ádè díminzà mỳsà.	<i>This person owns one hundred sheep.</i>

This same construction type may be used for simple description, when no question of ownership is involved. In such cases, the coreferent possessive pronoun suffix is normally omitted.

Dálá yámga búltùbèà.	<i>The jackal has the audacity of the hyena.</i>
Kámúnzà sùròà.	<i>His wife is pregnant/has a stomach.</i>

The uses of the associative postposition in other environments where it does not function as a nonverbal predicate are discussed in detail on pages 199 ff.

3.3. The Nonverbal Negative Predicate of Existence bā/báwò. The affirmative predicates of existence mbéjì and the associative postposition, both share the same negative form, i.e. bā, which is alternatively pronounced and written as báwò. It may be translated into English as *it does/they do not exist* or *there is/are not/none*. The form bā represents a contracted form of báwò, and it is the shorter form which is normally preferred and more frequently used. Báwò is apparently originally derived through the incorporation of a negative particle something like *bá+, and the predicating particle wò (which Lukas, 1937:143 referred to as an obsolete verb to be). In certain environments, the longer form may be preferred in order to imply emphasis, or to reinforce the negative meaning. As was the case

with the affirmative nonverbal predicates of existence, likewise with *bā/báwò* ownership or here non-ownership or possession may be implied.

<i>Cidā bá.</i>	<i>There is no work.</i>
<i>Cidānyí bá.</i>	<i>I have no work/nothing to do.</i>
<i>Kú kǎusù bá.</i>	<i>It is not hot out today.</i>
<i>Shí fátòn bá.</i>	<i>S/He is not at home.</i>
<i>Nānzēn kúngénà bá.</i>	<i>S/He has no money.</i>
<i>Kúngénà bá nānzēn.</i>	<i>S/He has no money.</i>
<i>Mátòndé bá.</i>	<i>We don't have a car./Our car is not there.</i>
<i>Fèrwánzá bá.</i>	<i>They don't have any horses./Their horses are not there.</i>
<i>Nānzān njí bá.</i>	<i>They have no water./They have had no rain in their area.</i>
<i>Fānnzēn shí bá.</i>	<i>S/He is not at home.</i>
<i>Bā shál.</i>	<i>There is none at all./S/He is nowhere to be seen.</i>
<i>Báwò.</i>	<i>There is none./S/He/It is not there.</i>
<i>Nyílàn nyìyányí báwò.</i>	<i>My marriage with you is absolved./I have no marriage with you.</i>
<i>Górdlàn mērādēnyí bá.</i>	<i>I have no desire for kola.</i>

Bā/Báwò occurs frequently with the negative indefinite pronouns formed from the interrogative pronouns through the suffixation of *+má* (see p. 52) as shown in the following examples.

<i>Sādēn, ndúmá bá.</i>	<i>At that time there was noone there.</i>
<i>Abímá bá.</i>	<i>There is nothing./It is/was nothing./It doesn't matter./You're welcome.</i>
<i>Ndárámān shí bá.</i>	<i>S/He was nowhere at all.</i>
<i>Kām fálmá bá.</i>	<i>There is not a single person.</i>
<i>Kāmmà wá? Á'á, ndúmá báwò.</i>	<i>Is someone there? No, noone at all.</i>

Negative questions of existence may be asked with the nonverbal predicate *bā* plus the yes-no question marker *wá*. The two may be contracted, or the latter may be omitted, asking the question simply by interrogative intonation.

<i>Ndúmá bá (wá)?</i>	<i>Is there noone there?</i>
<i>Kāánēm bá (wá)?</i>	<i>Don't you have one?</i>

One very important use of this nonverbal predicate is its morphological role in the derivation of the negative imperfect aspect of the verb. Because the negative imperfect is formed through the simple suffixation of *bā/báwò* to the imperfect aspect forms of the verb (see pp. 115 ff), many authors have not recognized the negative imperfect as an autonomous aspect of the Kanuri verb.

CHAPTER 17: NONVERBAL PREDICATES OF IDENTIFICATION, DESCRIPTION, LOCATION, AND THE POSTPOSITIONS

1. Introduction: This chapter will describe in detail all of the simple sentence types used to identify, describe, and locate in Kanuri, without the use of a verbal predicate. Both affirmative and negative forms of these sentences will be introduced. The sentence types described here are syntactically and semantically distinct from the nonverbal predicates of existence described in the preceding ch.16. There an overt nonverbal functioned as the predicate of the existential sentence. For many of the sentence types described in the present chapter there is no overt nonverbal predicate, and the nonverbal sentences are formed through the simple juxtaposition of constituents (words and phrases). As mentioned on page 10., and elsewhere, there is no overt verb *to be* in Kanuri. Thus sentences formed in this way carry no inherent inflectional marking for aspect, etc. Time may be indicated in such sentence by the inclusion of adverbial expressions. When two nominal constituents are juxtaposed, identificational and equational sentences are formed. Sentences of description and location are formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal constituent and an adjectival noun, or a nominal constituent and a postpositional phrase. As will be shown, not all of the postpositions may occur productively in nonverbal environments.

2. Identification and Description Through the Juxtaposition of Constituents. Because Kanuri has no overt verb *to be*, a great many sentences are formed through the simple juxtaposition of constituents. Sentences of this type are very commonly used for identification and description, and thus it is perhaps the most productive of the nonverbal predicates of the language. When nominal constituents are juxtaposed, as in the following examples, sentences of identification are produced. Such sentences may be described as equational.

Ali bārēmā.
Fántà Kānūrī.
Módù sāvānyī.
Bórno lārdāndé.
Sādè nji kūrā.
Ikó bēlā kūrā.
Yērwa bēlānzā.
Mūsā tādā māindēbē.
Hāwā yāndé.
Adè kērāmīnyī.
Sānzā Fānnā.
Tūdù fārnzā.
Shī mālām mōwōntībē.
Sāndī fūwūrāwā.

Ali is a farmer.
Fanta is a Kanuri.
Modu is my friend.
Borno is our country.
Lake Chad is a large body of water.
Lagos is a big city.
Yerwa is his/her town.
Musa is a son of our king.
Hawa is our mother.
This is my younger brother/sister.
Her name is Fanna.
That is their horse.
He is a school teacher.
They are Koranic students.

When a nominal constituent in subject position is followed by an adjectival noun in predicate position, then sentences of description are produced. The adjectival noun thus constitutes a predicate adjective, as shown in the following examples.

Mūsā dīwī.
Rābī zāū.
Bēlānzā kūrā.
Wādāi cīntā.
Bārām bālā. Adēbē njinzā gānā.
Njī-inām būzūzū.
Fānnā kālēwā.

Musa is bad/mean.
Rabi is difficult/harsh/severe.
Their town is big.
Wadai is far away.
This town's well has very little water.
Your beard is growing wild/not well trimmed.
Fanna is fine/well.

Adè ngélà.

That's good.

Fàrnzè shàwà.

His/Her horse is beautiful/pretty.

Njì ádè kèjí.

This water is good/pleasant.

Mátòndé búl.

Our car is white.

Kámúnzè ìndí.

His wives are two./He has two wives.

The order of the juxtaposed constituents as represented in these examples is the most normal order in which they occur in such sentences. In most cases it is possible to postpose the subject noun phrase appositively when the speaker assumes that the subject of the sentence is understood. When the subject is added appositively in this way, there is a pause (indicated by a comma) in the utterance after the predicate (adjectival) nominal.

Kúrà, bəlānzá.

It's big, their town.

Sháwà, fàrnzà.

It's beautiful, his/her horse.

Díwì, Músà.

He's bad, Musa.

Fánnà súnzè.

Fanna is her name.

Bəlānzé Yèrwà.

His/Her town is Yerwa.

Málám wòwòntíbé, shí.

He's a school teacher, him.

Kèjí, njì ádè.

It's good, this water.

When semantically appropriate, adverbs of time may occur in such sentences to indicate the time at which the stative relation between the juxtaposed constituents was/is relevant.

Sádè Fánnà dóndì.

At that time Fanna was sick.

Bískà shí ngà.

Yesterday s/he was healthy.

Kèrmá sàndí kèléwà.

Now they are well.

Méndè kámúnzè ìndí.

Last year he had two wives.

When one of the nominal constituent positions is occupied by an interrogative pronoun, the order in which the juxtaposed constituents may occur is free. The variations in order may reflect subtle semantic distinctions dependent on the context of the utterance.

Kùsúném ndáwù?

Your debt is how much?

Ndáwù kùsúném?

How much is your debt?

Nyí ndú?

Who are you?

Adè àbí?

What is this?

Abí ádè?

What is this?/What is going on?

Ndáwù kúngsànám?

How much money do you have?

Any of the affirmative juxtapositional sentences of identification and description can be turned into yes-no questions without any change in the order of the constituents, simply by adding the yes-no question marker wá in sentence final position. Without the yes-no question marker, yes-no questions may be produced through the application of an interrogative intonation. Both ways of asking yes-no questions are quite commonly used, and students of spoken Kanuri should be able to produce both forms.

Alì bàrèmə (wá)?

Is Ali a farmer?

Súnzè Fánnà (wá)?

Is her name Fanna?

Fánnà kèléwà (wá)?

Is Fanna well?

Bəlānzá kúrà (wá)?

Is their town big?

Adè ngélà (wá)?

Is that good/O.K.?

3. Identifying and Describing with Sentences Made up of a Single Constituent.

When the subject of a juxtaposed nonverbal predicate is a pronoun which is identified or described by the predicate, then that subject noun phrase may be omitted, leaving the predicate to stand alone sententially. Similarly, the interrogative pronouns frequently occur alone in this way, with the subject being asked about understood in the context. This process of

omitting the part of a sentence that goes without saying because it is commonly understood by the parties to the utterance is referred to by linguists as ellipsis, and has been described in relation to many languages.

Ngólà.	(It/That's) good.
Sháwà.	(S/He/It's) beautiful/pretty.
Zòlì.	(S/He/It's) crazy.
Dìwì.	(S/He/It's) bad.
Málàm mōwòntìbè.	(He's) a school teacher.
Kàánzà.	It is theirs.
Kàléwà.	(S/He/they/everything is/are) well/fine.
Abí?	What (is it)?
Ndú?	Who (is it)?
Ndá?	Where is it?/What about it?
Sàbí?	When (is it)?
Ndáwù?	How many/much (is it/are they)?
Abígáí?	How (is everything)?

In the preceding chapter (page 169) it was observed that in some contexts where the associative postposition functions as nonverbal predicate of existence, a subject pronoun could be matched within the predicate of the sentence by a suffixed possessive pronoun, and the independent subject pronoun even omitted when the possessive occurred. There sentences like Mòdù/Shí kènàà. *Modu/S/He is hungry.* were shown to be paraphrasable by Mòdù/Shí kènánzà, or in the latter case, even by simply Kènánzà. *S/He is hungry.* Such sentences have no independently manifested subject noun phrase, this function apparently being carried by the copied possessive pronoun suffix. The same is possible with certain of the descriptive nonverbal predicates under consideration here, as shown below. As was the case with regard to the associative postposition, here also, the form in which the independent pronoun subject is omitted is very often preferred.

Nyí kàléwà (wá)?	Are you well?/How are you?
Nyí kàléwànóm (wá)?	Are you well?/How are you?
Kàléwànóm?	Are you well?/How are you?
Kàléwànó shé?	I hope s/he is well?
Nyí ngá (wá)?	Are you fit/healthy?
Ngánóm (wá)?	Are you fit/healthy?
Ngányí sár.	I am in perfect health.
Ngánó.	S/He is healthy.
Shí tìlò.	S/He is alone/by himself/herself/single.
Shí tìlónzó.	S/He is alone/by himself/herself.
Tìlónzó.	S/He is alone/by himself/herself.

Below are presented another small set of examples involving a single noun phrase made up of a noun and a possessive pronoun suffix. They appear to be identical syntactically to the preceding set of examples but they cannot be derived in the same way. They do not have a counterpart form or paraphrase in which the subject pronoun is manifested independently. The possessive pronoun suffix is again interpretable as subject when such examples are translated into English. They are presented here because of their apparent similarity to the preceding examples. They however might best be classified as idioms.

jírè	true, correct, right
Jírèndó.	You (pl) are right.
Jírènzá.	They are right.
kàttúwù	lie
Kàttúwìnóm.	You are lying.

bǎli	excrement, feces, shit
Bǎlǐnzǎ.	S/He is lying.
kǎji	sweet, pleasant, enjoyable
Kǎjǐnǎm.	You are lucky./You have all the luck.
Kǎjǐnzǎ.	They are lucky./They have all the luck.
kǔttù	bad, unpleasant, disagreeable
Kǔttùnzǎ.	Too bad for them./They are unfortunate.
dǎlè	obligatory, necessary
Dǎlèndǎ.	We must/have to.
Dǎlènzǎm.	You must/have to.
mǎrtǎwǎ	never; impossible; unheard of
Mǎrtǎwǎnzǎm.	You could never (do it)./Impossible for you.

4. Postpositional Phrases as Nonverbal Predicates. Of the six postpositions of Kanuri that were introduced on page 8, only the agent postposition +yè, and the directional 'via' postposition +mbèn, never occur in the type of nonverbal predicates under consideration in this chapter. The role of the associative postposition +(C+)à as a nonverbal predicate of existence was explained in the preceding chapter (page 169). Thus though semantically different from the sentence types under consideration in the present chapter, associative postpositional phrases do fit into the juxtapositional syntactic frame being described here. As will be observed subsequently, the associative postpositional phrase takes on very different semantic roles in different environments: 1) it can modify a head noun within the noun phrase as seen on p. 199, 2) it can be the sign of a direct object in verbal sentences as seen on p. 214, and 3) it can indicate an adverbial clause as seen in ch. 31. It will be the purpose of this section to examine the roles played by the three other postpositions when they occur in postpositional phrases in juxtapositional nonverbal environments. These are: 1) the locative/means postposition +(lǎ+)n, 2) the genitive postposition +bè, and 3) the indirect postposition +rò. Like the associative postposition, the functions of these three postpositions in nonverbal predicates are somewhat limited. They take on different roles both syntactically and semantically in the environment of the verbal sentence, and as well in adverbial clauses.

4.1. The Locative/Means Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates. The locative/means postposition +(lǎ+)n functions only in its locative role in nonverbal predicates. When such a postpositional phrase occurs as the predicate of a sentence, it functions semantically to locate the preceding subject noun phrase, as in the following examples.

Músà kǎsúwǎlǎn.	Musa is in/at the market.
Shǎ, cǐ bǎrǎmbèlǎn.	Here, he is at the water's edge.
Shǐ ndǎn?	Where is s/he?
Sǎndǐ ndǎrǎn?	Where are they?
Sǎndǐ fǎtǎn.	They are at home.
Kǎudǎ díwǎllǐn yǎlǎn.	The rock is to the north of the path.
Músà yé qǎwǎn.	Musa too is included/in the middle.
Fǎnnǎ fǎnnzǎn.	Fanna is at her house.

The selection of the variant forms of this postposition has yet to be explained. In many environments both the +lǎn and the +n form are possible, with no apparent semantic difference. Another less common form +nyǐn, which assimilates to any preceding consonant, also occurs, again with no apparent semantic distinction being made. For some speakers, the use of this postposition to indicate phrases of means and instrumentals, consistently correlates with the +lǎn form. They allow freer selection of the form of this postposition in other semantic environments. Though instru-

mental and means phrases occur most often in verbal environments, it is possible to produce this interpretation in a nonverbal predicate as well.

Sàndí àbílàn?

What are they on?

Sàndí fàrlàn.

They are on horseback.

Shí kàlímòlàn.

S/He is on a camel/camelback.

In the following examples, a locative postpositional phrase occurs in sentence initial position, followed by an associative postpositional phrase. As described in the preceding chapter (V.16:3.2), the associative functions to predicate the existence of the noun it marks in relation to or as characteristic of the place described in the preceding locative postpositional phrase. Possession may be implied by such constructions.

Múskònémmìn gòrdà wá?

Do you have some kola in your hand?

Nánémmìn kèkéà wá?

Have you got a bicycle?

Fànnzēn fèrrà.

There's a horse at his/her house.

Fátòn àmmà.

There are people at home/in the house.

Músàlàn kúngénàà.

Musa has money.

4.2. The Genitive Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates. Genitive postpositional phrases occur most productively in Kanuri in noun phrases as modifiers of a head noun. The modifier role of the genitive phrase is examined in detail on p. 197. In nonverbal predicates, genitive postpositional phrases function as descriptive predicates, like predicate adjectives. There the noun marked by the genitive postposition +bè, refers to the owner of the preceding subject noun phrase. Such sentences are thus formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal constituent in sentence initial position, followed by the genitive phrase.

By most Kanuri speakers, the genitive postposition is fully pronounced as +bè only when it is applied to a word with a final nasal consonant. Elsewhere it is completely weakened and is often impossible to distinguish from the agent postposition +yè. Some speakers pronounce it like the agent postposition even after nasal consonants, making the two postpositions virtually indistinguishable in all occurrences.

Fátò àdè Músàbè.

This house is Musa's/belongs to Musa.

Fār àdè Àlìbè.

This horse is Ali's/belongs to Ali.

Àdè ndúbè?

Whose is this?

Àdè fátòbè.

This is of/from the house.

Àdè làdòbè/làwáyàbè.

This is for selling/sale.

Àdè ndáwùbè?

This is for how much/how much worth?

4.3. The Indirect Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates. The indirect postposition +rò carries a great functional load in Kanuri. The postpositions +rò and +(là+)n are the most important oblique (adverbial) postpositions of the language, and they naturally occur most often in verbal environments. In the majority of its uses the postposition +rò entails some kind of movement or direction, whether it be direct and physical, or abstract (e.g. intentional). Therefore, it rarely occurs in nonverbal predicates of the type being considered here. In the examples below, its use results in a dative interpretation.

The postposition +rò is always written as +rò according to the SKO, regardless of its pronunciation. For some speakers it assimilates in pronunciation to any final sonorant consonant.

Àdè nyírò nónguà.

That is shameful for you.

Àdè shírò kùrà.

This is big for you.

Àdè àndírò fáidàà.

That/This is useful for us.

Cídàà ñdúsúró wájìb.

Work is obligatory for everyone.

The adverbial intensifier *zāurò* *very, really*, which is formed through the application of the indirect postposition *trò* to the adjectival noun *zāu* *difficult, severe, harsh*, does occur in nonverbal predicates to intensify a constituent. Its position may vary quite freely.

Adè zāurò ngélà.	<i>That is very good.</i>
Adè ngélà zāurò.	<i>That is very good.</i>
Zāurò adè ngélà.	<i>That is really good.</i>
Zāurò ngélà adè.	<i>That is really good.</i>
Fānnzá kúrà zāurò.	<i>Their house is very big.</i>
Fānnzá zāurò kúrà.	<i>Their house is very big.</i>
Zāurò fānnzá kúrà.	<i>Their house is really big.</i>
Shí zāurò cidámá.	<i>S/He is a very hard worker.</i>

5. Negating Nonverbal Predicates of Identification, Description and Location. All of the nonverbal predicates formed through the juxtaposition of constituents that have been described in this chapter are negated in the same way. The negative nonverbal predicate *gènyí* is used in sentence final position to negate the nonverbal predicate of juxtaposition which precedes it. A selection of examples from the various sections of this chapter are shown here in their negative forms.

Alì bàrè má gènyí.	<i>Ali is not a farmer.</i>
Súnzè Fānnà gènyí.	<i>Her name is not Fanna.</i>
Shí málám mòwòntíbè gènyí.	<i>He is not a school teacher.</i>
Bélànzá kúrà gènyí.	<i>Their town is not big.</i>
Adè ngélà gènyí	<i>That is not good.</i>
Njí adè kèjí gènyí. Kúttù.	<i>This water is not good. It is unpleasant.</i>
Sádèn Fānnà dǒndì gènyí.	<i>At that time Fanna was not sick.</i>
Músà kàsúwùlàn gènyí. Shí fátòn.	<i>Musa is not in the market. He's at home.</i>
Fānnà fānnzèn gènyí.	<i>Fanna is not at her house.</i>

It is clear that the negative nonverbal predicate *gènyí* is always postposed, occurring after the element that it negates. In the above examples from sentence final position it functions to negate the entire predication. When postposed after a given constituent within the sentence, it may be used to negate only that constituent, as was observed for example in relation to the noun emphasis completive aspect (page 126) where it negated subject and object noun phrases. As will be observed in chapter 18, it may also be used to negate a constituent within a nonverbal predicate. With regard to its pronunciation, the initial *g+* is never fully pronounced. It is weakened to a fricative form, or even not pronounced at all by some speakers, just as though it were occurring intervocalically. It is possible that *gènyí* was originally formed through the process of *k*-prefixation, the *k/g* prefix having been applied to the negative morpheme *+nyí*, which occurs alone as the negative formative of the negative completive aspect of the verb (see p. 127).

Negative yes-no questions may be formed through the use of the negative *gènyí* followed by the yes-no question marker *wá*.

Módù gènyí wá?	<i>Isn't it Modu?</i>
A'á, shí gènyí.	<i>No, it isn't him/her.</i>
Shí bàrè má gènyí wá?	<i>Isn't s/he a farmer?</i>
Fānnà kàsúwùlàn gènyí wá?	<i>Isn't Fanna in the market?</i>

CHAPTER 18: NONVERBAL PREDICATES OF COMPARISON

1. Introduction. Comparative sentences of Kanuri are structurally rooted in the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence type, as described in relation to nonverbal predicates of identification and description in the preceding chapter 17. These sentences like the following formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal and an adjectival noun were discussed.

Bélànzá kùrà.

Their town is big.

In Kanuri, the comparative form of an adjectival noun is not formed morphologically like it is in English where for example *bigger* is derived from *big*. Only the absolute form of the adjectival noun exists with no grades of comparison being reflected in a comparative and a superlative form. In the above juxtapositional sentence, the structure is essentially that of two juxtaposed noun phrase positions. Kanuri comparatives are formed through syntactic variation of the above structure involving the two noun phrase positions. A third noun phrase position is added to the structure in a postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition +rò, and the predicating particle wò is added in sentence final position, after the predicate adjectival noun, as shown below.

Bélànzá Bámàrò kùrà wò.

Their town is bigger than Bama.

Thus, Kanuri comparatives are expressed relationally through juxtaposition and syntactic marking of noun phrases. It will be the purpose of this chapter to discuss this sentence type in detail, and to present and explain all of the possible variants of it that are used in spoken Kanuri.

2. The Role of the Predicating Particle wò in Comparative Sentences.

Lukas (1937:143) described our predicating particle wò (his gò) as "what is left of an obsolete verb *to be*". Evidence based on the use of this particle in focus constructions (see p. 249) would corroborate Lukas' suggestion, given the way focus constructions translate into English and other languages. Koelle (1854:277) referred to this particle as a "predicative suffix", which he said occurs frequently after the predicate of a proposition "with the purpose ... of marking it as such, thus answering in a measure, to the copula of other languages. But probably it is expressive, at the same time, of some emphasis or distinction."

In simple, nonverbal environments, the predicating particle wò is used to focus a preceding constituent in some way. This may occur when the semantics requires insistence perhaps due to repetition, emphasis, or contrast. Constituents focused by wò may be contrasted in opposition to a preceding constituent negated by the negative gènyí.

Ndú?

Who?

Ndú wò?

WHO is it?

Abí?

What?

Abí wò?

WHAT is it?

Ndásò kàanzà?

Which one is his/hers?

Ndásò kàanzà wò?

WHICH ONE is it that is his/hers?

Kám ádè gènyí; kám túdù.

It is not this person, that person.

Kám ádè gènyí; kám túdù wò.

It is not this person, it is THAT person.

For more examples of the use of wò in these and other related environments see chapter 26.

It is clear from the above examples that the predicating particle wò is used to syntactically mark a constituent or an entire predicate for some form of semantic focus, often best rendered in English by the verb *to be*.

In another type of focus construction, the Kanuri equivalent of the cleft sentence, the predicating particle *wò* is consistently required to occur in predicate-final position. The use of *wò* to focus the predicate in this way is matched in such constructions by the focusing of the subject noun phrase, either through emphasis (emphasis marker/adjunct *+má*), through questioning (yes-no question marker *wá*), or through constituent negation (negative of identification, etc. *gènyí*), or through a combination of the latter two (see pp. 250-1).

Shí kùrà.	<i>S/He is big/important.</i>
Shímá kùrà wò.	<i>It is s/he who is big/important.</i>
Shí wá kùrà wò?	<i>Is it s/he who is big/important?</i>
Shí gènyí kùrà wò.	<i>It is not s/he who is big/important.</i>
Shí gènyí wá kùrà wò?	<i>Isn't it s/he who is big/important?</i>

It is clear that the predicating particle functions to single out or focus the predicate in the above examples of cleft sentences of Kanuri, in a way that matches the focus of the subject noun phrase constituent effected by the various markers. In the first of the above examples, the basic juxtaposed nonverbal structure which functions as the skeleton of all of the following variations on that structure is shown. Thus it is apparent that cleft sentences represent another variation of this basic sentence type, formed through the juxtaposition of two noun phrase constituents. In the above examples, the predicate noun phrase position is filled by an adjectival noun *kùrà big*. The same possibilities exist when it is filled by a noun, as shown below.

Shí bàrè má.	<i>S/He is a farmer.</i>
Shímá bàrè má wò.	<i>It is s/he who is a farmer.</i>
Shí wá bàrè má wò?	<i>Is it s/he who is a farmer?</i>
Shí gènyí bàrè má wò.	<i>It is not s/he who is a farmer.</i>
Shí gènyí wá bàrè má wò?	<i>Isn't it s/he who is a farmer?</i>

As is observed in ch.26, even when a verbal predicate occupies the predicate position in such constructions, it occurs there as the modifier of an understood head noun, and thus the juxtapositional structure always underlies such constructions.

It was noted in the introduction (p. 179) above, that comparative sentences are structurally rooted in the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence type. The fact that focus (cleft) constructions and comparative sentences are both formed in this way, and that the predicating particle *wò* is required in both construction types, is not merely coincidental. In both construction types, the predicate is singled out by the predicating particle either as that which is distinctive about the subject in the focus construction, or as the criterion upon which the comparison is being made in the comparative sentence. The subject of the comparative sentence is the constituent being compared and is not in any way focused unless some kind of contrastive focus is desired. When the constituent to which the subject is being compared occurs, it is presented in a postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition *+rò*, normally in medial position between the two juxtaposed noun phrase positions. It is the occurrence of this noun phrase plus postposition which distinguishes the comparative sentence from the focus construction, since that position does not exist in the focus construction. Whereas the subject of the focus construction is singled out to the exclusion of all other possible members of a given class of noun phrases as being that which is described by the focused predicate, the subject of the comparative sentence is not exclusively singled out. The latter is only related or compared to a standard noun phrase in the *+rò* marked postpositional phrase, with regard to the criterion expressed in the focused predicate.

<i>focus:</i>	<i>NP+focus</i>	<i>NP wò.</i>
<i>comparative:</i>	<i>NP</i>	<i>NP+rò</i> <i>NP wò.</i>

Thus it is possible to analyze the comparative sentence of Kanuri is a modified variant of the focus construction of Kanuri, both being syntactically rooted in the juxtapositional, nonverbal predicate of identification and description introduced in chapter 17.

3. Making Comparisons. Because focus constructions and comparative sentences are so closely related syntactically, there are naturally environments in which a given sentence is open to more than one interpretation. This is especially true when the subject of comparative sentence is marked by one of the focus markers (referred to in later chapters as *noun phrase status markers*), as is apparent in certain of the following examples. In making comparisons, the standard of the comparison (i.e. the noun phrase object of the postposition +rò) may be either overtly expressed or implied in the context of the utterance. When it is not overtly expressed and the subject of the comparison is marked by one of the noun phrase status markers, then the resulting sentence is identical to a focus construction, and thus open to more than one interpretation when translated into English. This is also shown in certain of the examples below. The apparent ambiguities reflected in the translations below only reflect their possible translation into English when taken out of utterance context. The Kanuri speaker clearly has no problem interpreting them when they occur in context. Note the meaning difference when the particle wò is omitted.

<i>Shí kùrà.</i>	<i>S/He is big.</i>
<i>Shí kùrà wò.</i>	<i>S/He is bigger/biggest.</i>
<i>Shí Àlìrò kùrà wò.</i>	<i>S/He is bigger than Ali.</i>
<i>Shí Àlìrò kùrà.</i>	<i>S/He is big for Ali.</i>
<i>Shímá kùrà wò.</i>	<i>It is s/he that is bigger/biggest.</i>
	<i>It is s/he that is big.</i>
<i>Shímá Àlìrò kùrà wò.</i>	<i>It is s/he that is bigger than Ali.</i>
<i>Mùsà Fànnàrò kàfúwù.</i>	<i>Musa is short for Fanna.</i>
<i>Mùsà Fànnàrò kàfúwù wò.</i>	<i>Musa is shorter than Fanna.</i>
<i>Yàngènzé shírò kùrúwù.</i>	<i>His/Her pants are (too) long for him/her.</i>
<i>Yàngènzé shírò kùrúwù wò.</i>	<i>His/Her pants are longer than s/he is.</i>

In the above examples, the predicate position is filled by an adjectival noun and the result is a construction comparable to the adjectival comparison of English. When a noun occurs in this position, comparisons may be made using that noun as the criterion for comparison, as shown here.

<i>Àlì bàrè má wò.</i>	<i>Ali is really a farmer/is a better farmer.</i>
<i>Àlì Músàrò bàrè má wò.</i>	<i>Ali is a better farmer than Musa.</i>
<i>Àlì má bàrè má wò.</i>	<i>Ali is the best farmer./It is Ali who is a farmer.</i>
<i>Àlì má Músàrò bàrè má wò.</i>	<i>It is Ali who is a better farmer than Musa.</i>

In making comparisons, though the indirect postpositional phrase most naturally occurs medially, between the two juxtaposed noun phrase positions, it is also possible for the +rò phrase incorporating the standard for comparison to occur in sentence initial position, as shown here.

<i>Àlìrò(,) Músà gáná wò.</i>	<i>In comparison to Ali(,) Musa is big/bigger.</i>
<i>Àlìrò(,) Músámá gáná wò.</i>	<i>In comparison to Ali(,) it is Musa who is big/bigger.</i>

4. Ways of Expressing Grades of Comparison and Superlatives. As noted earlier, because the Kanuri adjectival noun may not be inflected for use in making different kinds of comparisons, it is not gradable and occurs only in its absolute form. Comparisons are made through the juxtaposition and the relation of the noun phrase positions with regard to the criterion of comparison in the predicate. Grades of comparison therefore depend on the relation between the subject noun phrase and the noun phrase occurring as the standard of comparison. Through the selection of an exhaustive noun phrase such as an indefinite pronoun as the standard, then this same structure may be used to express the superlative, as shown below.

Fánnà Aisàrò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than Aisa.</i>
Fánnà fèròwá gàpsénàsòrò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than the rest of the girls.</i>
Fánnà àndí yàkkésòrò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than the three of us.</i>
Fánnà sàndíró kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than they are.</i>
Fánnà àndí sámmásòrò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than any of us./Fanna is the tallest of all of us.</i>
Fánnà ndúsòrò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than everyone./Fanna is the tallest of all.</i>

It is clear that comparatives interpretable as superlatives are formed within this structure through the raising of the standard by increasing its scope or exhaustiveness so that the subject of the comparison is singled out among a group as unique. The cleft sentence is used to perform this same semantic function, and thus it is clear why the same construction type is used for the two sentence types. Cleft sentences in which the subject noun phrase is marked by the emphasis marker +má may also have a superlative interpretation when translated into English, as shown in some of the following examples (and also in some of the examples in section 3 above). Also shown here are examples in which the standard for comparison is presented in a postpositional phrase marked by the locative/means postposition +(là+)n.

Fánnàdémá kùrà wò.	<i>It's Fanna who is big./Fanna is the biggest.</i>
Súròndèn Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is the tallest among us.</i>
Àndí yàkkálàn Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is the tallest of the three of us.</i>
Ndúsòrò shímá kùrúwù wò.	<i>In relation to everyone, it's s/he that is the tallest./S/he is the tallest of all.</i>

The nonverbal negative predicate of existence may also be used to express the superlative, as shown in the following examples.

Kám shíró kùrà wò bá.	<i>There is no one bigger than him/her.</i>
Àdèrò sháwà wò báwò.	<i>There is not one prettier than this one.</i>
Sàndí yàkkálàn Fánnàrò kùrúwù wò bá.	<i>Of the three of them there is none taller than Fanna.</i>

The nonverbal predicates of existence also occur in examples like the following.

Àdèrò gáá wò bá wá?	<i>Isn't there one smaller than this one?</i>
Fèr àdèrò sháwà wò mbéjí.	<i>There is a horse prettier than this one.</i>
Shí túdùrò kùrà wò ngáwù bá.	<i>There are not many bigger than that one there.</i>

The following are nonverbal expressions of likeness or similarity.

Àlì-à Músà-à zàurò sàmùn.	<i>Ali and Musa are very much alike.</i>
Kám Fámagái ngáwù bá.	<i>There are not many people like Fanna.</i>
Kám Fámagái mǎngìn.	<i>I am looking for someone like Fanna.</i>
Kám Fámagái sàmùn mǎngìn.	<i>I am looking for someone similar to Fanna.</i>

focus:	NP+focus	NP wò.
comparative:	NP NP+rò	NP wò.

Thus it is possible to analyze the comparative sentence of Kanuri as a modified variant of the focus construction of Kanuri, both being syntactically rooted in the juxtapositional, nonverbal predicate of identification and description introduced in chapter 17.

3. Making Comparisons. Because focus constructions and comparative sentences are so closely related syntactically, there are naturally environments in which a given sentence is open to more than one interpretation. This is especially true when the subject of comparative sentence is marked by one of the focus markers (referred to in later chapters as *noun phrase status markers*), as is apparent in certain of the following examples. In making comparisons, the standard of the comparison (i.e. the noun phrase object of the postposition +rò) may be either overtly expressed or implied in the context of the utterance. When it is not overtly expressed and the subject of the comparison is marked by one of the noun phrase status markers, then the resulting sentence is identical to a focus construction, and thus open to more than one interpretation when translated into English. This is also shown in certain of the examples below. The apparent ambiguities reflected in the translations below only reflect their possible translation into English when taken out of utterance context. The Kanuri speaker clearly has no problem interpreting them when they occur in context. Note the meaning difference when the particle wò is omitted.

Shí kùrà.	<i>S/He is big.</i>
Shí kùrà wò.	<i>S/He is bigger/biggest.</i>
Shí Àlìrò kùrà wò.	<i>S/He is bigger than Ali.</i>
Shí Àlìrò kùrà.	<i>S/He is big for Ali.</i>
Shímá kùrà wò.	<i>It is s/he that is bigger/biggest.</i>
	<i>It is s/he that is big.</i>
Shímá Àlìrò kùrà wò.	<i>It is s/he that is bigger than Ali.</i>
Mùsà Fànnàrò kàfúwù.	<i>Musa is short for Fanna.</i>
Mùsà Fànnàrò kàfúwù wò.	<i>Musa is shorter than Fanna.</i>
Yàngènzé shírò kùrúwù.	<i>His/Her pants are (too) long for him/her.</i>
Yàngènzé shírò kùrúwù wò.	<i>His/Her pants are longer than s/he is.</i>

In the above examples, the predicate position is filled by an adjectival noun and the result is a construction comparable to the adjectival comparison of English. When a noun occurs in this position, comparisons may be made using that noun as the criterion for comparison, as shown here.

Àlì bàrè má wò.	<i>Ali is really a farmer/is a better farmer.</i>
Àlì Mùsàrò bàrè má wò.	<i>Ali is a better farmer than Musa.</i>
Àlì má bàrè má wò.	<i>Ali is the best farmer./It is Ali who is a farmer.</i>
Àlì má Mùsàrò bàrè má wò.	<i>It is Ali who is a better farmer than Musa.</i>

In making comparisons, though the indirect postpositional phrase most naturally occurs medially, between the two juxtaposed noun phrase positions, it is also possible for the +rò phrase incorporating the standard for comparison to occur in sentence initial position, as shown here.

Àlìrò(,) Mùsà gáná wò.	<i>In comparison to Ali(,) Musa is big/bigger.</i>
Àlìrò(,) Mùsámá gáná wò.	<i>In comparison to Ali(,) it is Musa who is big/bigger.</i>

4. Ways of Expressing Grades of Comparison and Superlatives. As noted earlier, because the Kanuri adjectival noun may not be inflected for use in making different kinds of comparisons, it is not gradable and occurs only in its absolute form. Comparisons are made through the juxtaposition and the relation of the noun phrase positions with regard to the criterion of comparison in the predicate. Grades of comparison therefore depend on the relation between the subject noun phrase and the noun phrase occurring as the standard of comparison. Through the selection of an exhaustive noun phrase such as an indefinite pronoun as the standard, then this same structure may be used to express the superlative, as shown below.

Fánnà Aisàrò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than Aisa.</i>
Fánnà fèròwá gápsénàsórò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than the rest of the girls.</i>
Fánnà àndí yàkkésórò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than the three of us.</i>
Fánnà sàndírò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than they are.</i>
Fánnà àndí sámmásórò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than any of us./Fanna is the tallest of all of us.</i>
Fánnà ndúsórò kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is taller than everyone./Fanna is the tallest of all.</i>

It is clear that comparatives interpretable as superlatives are formed within this structure through the raising of the standard by increasing its scope or exhaustiveness so that the subject of the comparison is singled out among a group as unique. The cleft sentence is used to perform this same semantic function, and thus it is clear why the same construction type is used for the two sentence types. Cleft sentences in which the subject noun phrase is marked by the emphasis marker +má may also have a superlative interpretation when translated into English, as shown in some of the following examples (and also in some of the examples in section 3 above). Also shown here are examples in which the standard for comparison is presented in a postpositional phrase marked by the locative/means postposition +(là+)n.

Fánnàdémá kùrà wò.	<i>It's Fanna who is big./Fanna is the biggest.</i>
Súròndèn Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is the tallest among us.</i>
Àndí yàkkélàn Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	<i>Fanna is the tallest of the three of us.</i>
Ndúsórò shímá kùrúwù wò.	<i>In relation to everyone, it's s/he that is the tallest./S/he is the tallest of all.</i>

The nonverbal negative predicate of existence may also be used to express the superlative, as shown in the following examples.

Kám shírò kùrà wò bá.	<i>There is no one bigger than him/her.</i>
Ádèrò sháwà wò báwò.	<i>There is not one prettier than this one.</i>
Sàndí yàkkélàn Fánnàrò kùrúwù wò bá.	<i>Of the three of them there is none taller than Fanna.</i>

The nonverbal predicates of existence also occur in examples like the following.

Ádèrò gáná wò bá wá?	<i>Isn't there one smaller than this one?</i>
Fàr ádèrò sháwà wò mbéjí.	<i>There is a horse prettier than this one.</i>
Shí túdùrò kùrà wò ngáwù bá.	<i>There are not many bigger than that one there.</i>

The following are nonverbal expressions of likeness or similarity.

Àlì-à Músà-à zâyùrò sàmùn.	<i>Ali and Musa are very much alike.</i>
Kám Fánnàgái ngáwù bá.	<i>There are not many people like Fanna.</i>
Kám Fánnàgái mǎngìn.	<i>I am looking for someone like Fanna.</i>
Kám Fánnàà sàmùn mǎngìn.	<i>I am looking for someone similar to Fanna.</i>

5. Using Verbs and Abstract Nominals to Make Comparisons. In addition to the nonverbal comparative sentence, certain verbs may also be used to make comparisons in Kanuri. This is often done with the criterion for comparison presented in a locative/means postpositional phrase as an abstract nominal (of the type described on page 55) and formed through the prefixation of *nəm+* to an adjectival noun). In the following examples the class 2 verb *kó+* *pass, surpass, exceed* is shown as it is used in this way to make comparisons.

Wúà nəm̀kúràn kózénà.

S/He surpasses me in bigness/importance./

Mátò kèrítélàn nyià kóngénà.

S/He is bigger/more important than me.

I surpass you at driving./I am a better driver than you.

Fàr ádè kàánəm̀ nèmdòin kózénà.

This horse surpasses yours in quickness./

This horse is faster than yours.

An idiomatic adverbial expression based on this use of the verb *kó+* has evolved and is used to mean *exceedingly, extremely*. The expression is *nàà kózénà(rò)*, literally *it has surpassed the place*, and it may be used with or without the postposition, depending upon the context, as shown.

Kènnánèmmà wá? Áá, nàà kózénà.

Are you hungry? Yes, extremely.

Nàà kózénàrò kèjfi fãngín.

I feel extremely well/happy.

The class 2 verb *ná+* (*II only*) meaning *reach, attain* is also used in this way to make comparative statements, as shown here.

Nyià nèngàlàn názégènyí.

S/He doesn't compare to you/touch you with regard to cunning.

The class 1 verb *tí+* *be equal to, be sufficient* is also used in this way to express comparisons. It occurs only in the 3S form.

Músà nəm̀kùrúwùn sètènyí.

S/He doesn't reach/equal Musa in height./

S/He is not as tall as Musa.

Búltùyè kènyérià búrwòn sètènyí.

The hyena is not the equal of the squirrel in cleverness.

SECTION VI: THE NOUN PHRASE: FORM AND FUNCTIONS	PAGE
Chapter 19: Introduction to the Structure of the Noun Phrase	189
1. Introduction	189
2. Language Typology and Noun Phrase Structure	190
2.1. Modifier Position and the Adjectival Noun	190
2.2. Pronouns and Determiners in Restrictive Modification	192
3. The Relation of the Head Noun to the Modifier (Relative) Clause	193
Chapter 20: Modifier Types in the Noun Phrase	195
1. Introduction	195
2. Adjectival Nouns as Modifiers	195
2.1. Repeated Adjectival Nouns as Modifiers	195
3. Nouns as Modifiers	196
4. The Past Participle as a Modifier	197
5. Postpositional Phrases as Modifiers	197
5.1. Genitive Postpositional Phrases as Modifiers	197
5.1.1. Genitive Ordering in Expressing Family Relationships, etc.	198
5.1.2. Genitive PPs in (Partitive) Expressions of Quantity	199
5.2. Locative/Means PPs as Modifiers	199
5.3. Associative PPs as Modifiers	199
5.3.1. Associative PPs as Modifiers of Counting and Measuring	200
5.3.2. Associative PPs in <i>someone else</i> Constructions	201
5.3.3. Associative PPs as Constituents in Conjoined NPs	201
5.3.4. Associative PPs in NPs Expressing Direction	201
5.4. <i>like +gāi</i> PPs as Modifiers	202
6. Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers as Modifiers	202
6.1. Using the Cardinal Numbers to Tell Time	203
Chapter 21: The Determiners of the Noun Phrase	205
1. Introduction	205
2. Indefinite Noun Phrases and the Use of <i>lāá</i>	205
3. <i>+dē</i> and the Demonstratives as Determiners	207
4. The Collective Plural Marker <i>+sō</i>	208
5. The Nonspecific Indefinite Determiners	208
6. The Suffixed Possessive Pronouns as Determiners	209
Chapter 22: Subject and Object Noun Phrases: Status and Order	211
1. Introduction	211
2. Pronoun Direct Object Noun Phrases: Independent and Affixed to the Verb Form	211

2.1. Associative-Marked Direct Object Pronouns	214
2.2. Associative Marking of Nonpronominal Direct Objects	214
3. The Agent Postposition +yè	215
Chapter 23: The Complex Noun Phrase (Relative Clause Construction)	217
1. Introduction	217
2. The Aspect of the Verb in the Verbal Relative Clause	217
3. The Role and Position of Determiners in the Complex NP	218
4. Forms in Which Rel NP Occurs within the RRC (Patterns of Pronoun Retention within the RRC)	220
4.1. Retained Pronoun as Ant NP	222
4.2. Patterns of Pronoun Retention for Rel NPs in Oblique Functions in RRC	222
5. Rel NP as Subject of the RRC	223
5.1. Rel NP as Subject of RRC in Complex NP from which Ant NP is Omitted	224
6. Rel NP as the Object of the RRC	224
6.1. Rel NP as the Object of RRC in Complex NP from which Ant NP is Omitted	225
7. Rel NPs which Occur as Oblique NPs in the RRC	226
8. Rel NP as the Object of a Genitive Phrase	226
9. Complex NPs Headed by Ant NPs of Time, Place and Manner	227
9.1. Temporal Complex NPs with no Ant NP	228
Chapter 24: Nominal Clauses as Subject, Object and Oblique NP Constituents	229
1. Introduction	229
2. Structural Characteristics of Constructions Containing Nominal Clauses	229
3. Nominal Clauses Characterized by a Nonfinite Verb Form (Verbal Noun)	230
3.1. Nonfinite Nominal Clauses Marked by the Postposition +(lâ+)n and Followed by a Nonverbal Main Clause Predicate	231
4. Nominal Clauses Characterized by a Finite Verb Form	231
4.1. Nominal Clauses with a Finite Verb Form Marked by the Postposition +rò	231
4.2. Finite and Nonfinite Nominal Clauses Marked by the Determiner Element +dó	233
5. The Role of the Conjunctive Forms of the Verb ngin in Nominal Clause-Final Position	235
Chapter 25: Noun Phrase (NP) Status Marking	239
1. Introduction	239

2. The Role of the Determiner Elements in NP Status Marking	240
2.1. Nominalized Clauses as Topics Marked by Determiners.	242
3. The Emphasis Marker +má as a NP Status Marker	243
3.1. The Uses of the Emphasis Marker +má	243
3.2. NP Status Marking by the Emphasis Marker +má	244
4. Other Adverbial Adjuncts to the NP that Function as NP Status Markers	245
4.1. The NP Status Marker nyí	245
4.2. The Additive Adjunct +yé as a NP Status Marker	246
4.3. The Concessive/Conditional Adjunct yáyé as a NP Status Marker	247
5. The Associative Postposition as a NP Status Marker	247
Chapter 26: The Cleft NP Construction	249
1. Introduction	249
2. Verb Aspect in the Predicate of the Cleft NP Construction	250
3. Person Agreement in Cleft NP Constructions	251
4. The Occurrence of the Determiner in Cleft NP Construction Predicates	252
5. Indirect Postpositional Phrases in Cleft NP Constructions	252
6. Cleft NP Construction Data from Textual and Literary Sources	252
7. The Uses of the Predicating Particle wò in other Focusing Environments	253

CHAPTER 19: INTRODUCTION TO THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE

1. Introduction. A noun phrase (hereafter NP) is any nominal constituent which may occur as the subject of a sentence (NP of S), the direct object of the verb (NP of VP), the object of a postposition (NP of PP). These NP positions may be filled by a simple noun, a pronoun, or a noun and its modifiers. It will be the purpose of this chapter to introduce the possible structural forms of the noun-modifier noun phrase in Kanuri, and to show the underlying differences between simple and complex NPs.

All Kanuri NPs are structured so that the head noun occurs initially, followed by its modifiers. All of the modifiers, including the determiners, may be followed by a postposition indicating the function of the entire NP in the matrix sentence. Thus the basic order of the elements making up the Kanuri NP is: head noun + modifier/s (+ function-marking postposition).

In Kanuri, all noun phrases consisting of more than just a noun or pronoun, are formed through the juxtaposition of the head noun and the modifiers. The possible modifier elements which may be juxtaposed to the head noun, may include the following items, according to syntactic type:

- a) adjectival nouns (adjectives) possibly followed by ideophones
- b) nouns: lexical, verbal, derived
- c) postpositional phrases: genitive, locative, associative, *like* phrase
- d) nonfinite verb forms: past participle of class 2 verbs
- e) numerals: cardinal, ordinal
- f) sentences (relative clauses)
- g) determiners: demonstratives, articles, possessives
- h) post-determiner quantifiers
- i) (function-marking postposition)

Of course not all of these modifier types will occur after a given head noun. Modifiers are selected by a speaker for the purpose of clarifying the status of the head noun and the semantic role of the entire NP in the matrix sentence. Modifiers may restrict, delimit, definitize, recall, etc. to the hearer the identity of the referent to which the head noun refers. On the other hand, a modifier might do none of these things, but rather make the reference to an indefinite or exhaustive class of referents. The selection of the head noun is of course crucial in determining the possible modifier types which may follow it. For example, a proper noun like *Ali* will not normally have a restrictive modifier since it already has a specific and definite referent, without further modification. Proper nouns may, however be modified nonrestrictively, as can any noun in the language, e.g. *Ali, who is a friend of mine, ...* A more generic noun like *kām person*, may occur alone to refer to any person, or to mankind in general, but must be restrictively modified in order to have a definite and specific referent. There is a small set of such generic nouns which may be pronominalized or even deleted when modified by a restrictive sentence modifier, as in: *kām lèzñàdè the person that went*, which may become either *shí lèzñàdè s/he/the one that went*, or simply *lèzñàdè the one that went*. All of the possible forms of the various modifier types are examined in detail in ch. 20.

A complex noun phrase is a nominal construction occupying one of the NP positions in a sentence, where a sentence either follows the head noun in modifier position, or solely occupies the NP position and thus functions as a nominal constituent. A sentence may occur as the juxtaposed modifier describing the head noun of a NP, as in *the man I saw*, where the sentence *I saw* describes the head noun *the man*. Their relationship may be overtly indicated by the relative *that*, as in *the man that I saw*. In Kanuri the

canonical SOV order of constituents applies also within sentences in complex NPs.

Kām rúkénà.
kām rúkénàdè ...

*I saw someone/a person.
the person that I saw*

It is this type of complex NP which will be examined in detail in chapter 23. On the other hand, nominalized clauses like e.g. *that he arrived* which may function as the subject NP of a sentence like *That he arrived amazed me*, where an embedded sentence functions as a NP argument, will be treated in chapter 24 which centers on nominal clauses.

According to the present analysis, the sentence (relative clause) which modifies a head noun is an adjunct to the head noun, just as are all other modifier types (see Jespersen, 1954:77-78). Such complex NPs are formed through conjunction and are structurally distinct from the embedded sentence complements (as proposed by Thompson, 1971:79-80).

2. Language Typology and Noun Phrase Structure. It is important to relate the order and structure of the constituents of the NP to the typology of the language. When the head noun of a NP is modified by a sentence, the resultant syntactic structure is known as a relative clause construction. In a relative or modifier clause containing a verb, the verb is the final element in the entire NP, followed only by determiners (an independent or suffixed demonstrative, or the indefinite Ø or *lãá*) and possibly also marked by one of the postpositions for function within the main predicate of the sentence. In such constructions therefore; the head noun maintains its order vis-à-vis the verb to which it relates as a constituent, just as it would in the corresponding nonrelative construction. Thus the SOV order relationship is reproduced in the NP. The same is true for all other nominal and oblique constituents of the sentence conjoined as modifier clause, i.e. they occur in preverb position.

Unlike other languages, even other SOV languages, Kanuri does not have either a finite or a nonfinite verb form which can premodify a noun. The only nonfinite participle in the language is the past participle of class 2 verbs which may only occur in the postmodifying position. Only those verb forms which may function as finite verb forms in main predicates are available for use in the modifying clause of the relative construction. This perhaps explains the order and the typological structure of the Kanuri noun phrase, both simple and complex. No simple or complex modifier may precede its head noun, i.e. the head noun must be the antecedent.

The only case that might be considered an exception to this would be the freedom of order that applies to genitival modifiers, where a genitive postpositional phrase (+*bè*) modifies the head noun.

Certain verb-based nominals like the verbal noun which retain their verbal quality when occurring alone or within other derived nominals, may appear also to be premodified. However the fact that nominal and oblique constituents precede such nominals simply confirms that they have retained their verbal status, and thus apparent premodification reflects simply the canonical SOV order of the language, as in *shílàn lètëmá* (*by foot traveler*) *one who goes on foot*, *górò gārómá kola chewer*, *one who chews kola*. Thus the order of the constituents in the NP consistently remains that required by the SOV structure of the language (see Hutchison, 1976:63 ff., Langdon, 1977:255-284).

2.1. Modifier Position and the Adjectival Noun. If (as suggested on page 36) the lexical category *adjective* does not in fact exist, this observation

may have implications with regard to the order and structure of the NP.

English is a language that distinguishes NP structure through changes in the order and syntactic configuration of the elements of the NP. In English adjectival modifiers precede head nouns as in *the fat man*; sentential modifiers follow head nouns as in *the man who is fat*. For genitives, there may exist as many as three order variants, as in *John's book*, *the book of John's*, and *the book that is John's*. Since Kanuri has only one possible modifier position, when certain NPs of the language are examined in isolation, out of context, they may be ambiguous in two or three ways when translated into a language like English.

If Kanuri has no adjectives, then the fact that Kanuri has no premodifier position may be explained. The exigency that the modifier role is defined by its position ordered after the head noun, and not by its lexical category would perhaps have evolved because of the lack of the lexical category *adjective*. This strict ordering of head noun and modifier thus obviates the possibility of any ambiguity when two nouns are juxtaposed, as in e.g. *bàrèmé lètèmadé the farmer who is a traveler* and *lètèmá bàrèmadé the traveler who is a farmer*.

The problem of interpretation does not occur when the modifier is a verbal sentence. The occurrence of the finite verb form makes the sentential, relative clause reading the only possible interpretation. When nonverbal equational and descriptive predicates of identification occur as modifiers, Kanuri may have no overt syntactic sign distinguishing the simple modifier reading from the more restrictive modifier clause reading. Thus the noun phrase *kām kūrà* may in certain environments be interpretable as *a big/important person* and elsewhere as *a person who is big/important*. Here the structure of the noun phrase is again identical to the structure of the sentence, whether the sentence be verbal or a predicate of identification.

<i>Fèròndé kūrà.</i>	<i>Our daughter is big/important.</i>
<i>fèròndé kūrà ...</i>	<i>our big/important daughter ...</i>
<i>fèròndé kūrà(dé) ...</i>	<i>our daughter that is big/important ...</i>
<i>Fèròndé bàrèmá.</i>	<i>Our daughter is a farmer.</i>
<i>fèròndé bàrèmá ...</i>	<i>our farmer daughter/daughter the farmer</i>
<i>fèròndé bàrèmá(dé)</i>	<i>our daughter that is a farmer ...</i>

The difference between *our big daughter* and *our daughter that is big* is a subtle semantic difference which may be made overtly in Kanuri through the use of a determiner element. In English, "modification" at its *most restrictive* tends to come after the head: that is, our decision to use an item as a premodifier (such as *silly* in *The silly boy got lost*) often reflects our wish that it be taken for granted and not be interpreted as a specific identifier. Secondly, restrictive modification tends to be given more prosodic emphasis than the head; non-restrictive modification, on the other hand, tends to be unstressed in pre-head position, while in post-head position, its *parenthetical* relation is endorsed by being given a separate tone unit ..., or - in writing - by being enclosed in commas." (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1975:377).

Like English, Kanuri may also separate a postmodifying adjectival noun or other predicate parenthetically, as an appositive afterthought modifier, commonly referred to as the non-restrictive relative clause. Such constructions are examined in detail in ch. 23. Also like English, Kanuri may use prosodic emphasis to make a postmodifying element more restrictive, thus distinguishing it from its less restrictive unstressed counterpart, also in the postmodifying position. Other ways of making a modifier clause more restrictive are discussed below. It is clear that with only the postmodifying

position, the Kanuri noun phrase makes all of the distinctions with regard to restrictive and non-restrictive modification that are possible in a language like English, which has both modifier positions.

2.2. Pronouns and Determiners in Restrictive Modification. In the case of nonverbal modifiers, restrictive modification may be indicated through the stressing of the nonverbal modifier. With both verbal and nonverbal modifiers, more restrictive modification may as well be indicated through either 1) manifestation of a pronoun copy of the head noun within the modifying clause, or 2) use of certain elements in the determiner area, or both. Stress is indicated in the following examples by underlining.

fèròndé kùrà	<i>our big/important/eldest daughter</i>
fèròndé kùràdés	<i>that big etc. daughter of ours</i>
fèròndé <u>kùrà</u>	<i>our <u>big</u> daughter/daughter that is big</i>
fèròndé <u>kùràdés</u>	<i>our <u>daughter</u> that is big etc.</i>
fèròndé shí kùràdés	<i>our daughter that is big etc.</i>

The emphatic adjunct +má may also be applied to the modifier, immediately preceding the determiner. It has an even more restrictive effect, clearly singling out the head noun for having the attribute described by the modifier.

fèròndé <u>kùrà</u> mádés	<i>our daughter (the one) that is big etc.</i>
fèròndé shí <u>kùrà</u> mádés	<i>our daughter (the one) that is big etc.</i>

The verbal counterparts of such modifier clauses will be discussed in detail in chapter 23.

The role of the determiner element +dés in Kanuri, is one that would warrant an entire separate volume. An inkling of its importances emerges already from examples like the above. It is basically the suffixed form of a Kanuri demonstrative which carries a very great functional load in the nominal system of the language. It has context and discourse specific semantic roles as well as syntactic roles. Some of its functions are elaborated in chapters 21, 23 and 26. As will be seen, it can be used for reference purposes, having an entire NP within its syntactic scope to identify and mark that noun phrase as a resumptive topic, i.e. as *the aforementioned*. In that role it can mark any kind of NP, even for example a proper noun with a unique referent, or even a pronoun. In the utterance context therefore the referent is both definite and specific for speaker and hearer. It has been observed that +dés is closely related to the demonstratives, and is in fact a formative of the singular forms of the demonstratives. In use, it differs from them only in that a noun phrase which it marks is not normally physically indicated or shown, but rather only anaphorically referred to. The singular demonstratives ádè and túdù, though basically physical demonstratives, may also perform the anaphoric function. +dés has no plural form and thus number agreement with the head noun is never carried out. In the use of the other demonstratives, number agreement with the head noun is optional when the head noun is plural, obligatory when the head noun is singular.

Elsewhere, +dés may be used deictically, again for identification purposes, to particularize a NP or any other structure as an identified topic, marking it as definite and given, though not necessarily as a resumptive topic. Thus the referent in this use may be either specific or generic, but must be definite. +dés establishes the NP as a recognized definite topic, which the speaker in the utterance context assumes to be common and recognizable for both speaker and hearer, subsequently followed by the comment with regard to it. It is therefore anaphoric in that it is common to both speaker and hearer, deictic in the sense that it is not discourse dependent.

That this same determiner element is used to mark both anaphoric and deictic relative clause constructions is therefore not surprising. It is the role of the demonstrative to set off and single out or unmistakably identify a given noun phrase; it is the role of the restrictive relative clause to specify its noun antecedent, restrict it, singling it out from the other members of the same class of nouns.

3. The Relation of the Head Noun to the Modifier (Relative) Clause. The nouns of any language can be divided into semantic classes according to specificity. The spectrum would range from the most generic of referents at one end, to the most specific of referents at the other. These classes or groupings of nouns can be shown to be relevant to the structure of the complex noun phrase, and the notions of restrictive vs. non-restrictive modification of the head noun. Modification is restrictive when "the head can be viewed as a member of a class which can be linguistically identified only through the modification that has been supplied." (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1975:376) This would explain why restrictive relative clauses are rarely used to identify nouns from classes at the more specific end of the semantic spectrum. Restrictive modification is required for nouns from the more generic end of the spectrum. In non-restrictive modification, "the head can be viewed as unique or as a member of a class that has been independently identified (for example, in a preceding sentence); any modification given to such a head is additional information which is not essential for identifying the head ..." (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1975:376). Non-restrictive modification in Kanuri may thus involve a head noun from the more specific end of the semantic spectrum, and may have a unique referent. There the modifier clause is not restrictively identifying the head noun since it carries its own restrictive identity. The opposite is true in restrictive modification, since the head noun is more generic.

CHAPTER 20: MODIFIER TYPES IN THE NOUN PHRASE

1. Introduction. As described in the preceding chapter, the Kanuri noun phrase is formed through the juxtaposition of constituents. The initial constituent of the noun phrase is always the head noun. Following the head noun is the juxtaposed modifier, whether it be a simple modifier, e.g. a noun or a postpositional phrase; or a complex modifier, i.e. a sentence. It will be the purpose of this chapter to describe all of the possible syntactic structures which may occur in the role of modifier in the simple noun phrase. Complex noun phrases in which the modifier position is filled with a juxtaposed sentence, will be examined in detail in chapter 17.

In chapter 17, juxtapositional nonverbal predicates of identification, etc. were described. It will be seen here that many of those juxtaposed predicates are identical with constituents juxtaposed as modifiers in the simple noun phrase. The major groupings of modifier types to be described here are: 1) nominal modifiers, including adjectival nouns and nouns, 2) postpositional phrases as modifiers, and 3) modifier types 1 and 2 in conjoined noun phrase structures.

It is not the purpose of the present chapter to deal with the determiner elements in the noun phrase. The various constituents functioning as determiners, such as the noun phrase status marker +dá, are dealt with in detail in the following chapter 21. Nevertheless, the determiner elements will occur frequently in post-modifier position in the modifier examples cited here.

2. Adjectival Nouns as Modifiers. Simple noun phrases in which a head noun is modified by an adjectival noun are perhaps the most frequently occurring of the language. The structure involved in such noun phrases may be basically represented schematically as: NP = N AN. Noun phrases of this type have occurred in examples prior to this point in the book. They are extremely simple to form and produce, and thus only a few examples are presented here. When cardinal numbers also occur as modifiers in such noun phrases they obligatorily follow the adjectival noun.

Kúngānà bēlín sùlúwúnà.	(The) New money has come out/been released.
Férò shāwā rúkēnà.	I saw a beautiful girl.
Kām kūrā láá ísēnà.	Some big/old/important person has arrived.
Am wūrāwā bā.	There are no old/important people.
Tādā gānā fálmá rúkányí.	I didn't see even one small child.
Kām gādé mbéjí.	There is another person.
Kērāmīnyí dōndirò kūrūwūn māngīn.	I am looking for medicine for my sick younger brother/sister.
Shí kām zāurò ngólà.	S/He is a very good person.
Fānnzá fátò kūrā.	Their house is a big house.
Kām ádè tādā díwìà.	This person has a bad child/son.
Kāsúwù kūrārò lēwōnò.	S/He went to the central market.
Àlì kām gānā.	Ali is a small/unimportant person.

2.1. Repeated Adjectival Nouns as Modifiers. For reasons of emphasis and also to express plurality in certain semantic environments, a modifying adjectival noun may be repeated after a head noun. As is apparent in certain of the following examples, this may occur to express plurality either with the singular or the derived plural form of the head noun. The marker of the collective plural +sò (presented on page 208 as a determiner element) may be added to noun phrases of this type, as shown below. The repeated adjectival noun may also function to

Intensify the adjectival meaning in certain cases. The intensification of adjectival meanings is however more frequently carried out by ideophones (see appendix 7 (p. 347)).

ám wúrà wúrà	very important people
bári jílì jílì	all kinds of food
jílì kàskábè gádé gádé ngəwù	many different kinds of trees
awó gádé gádé ngəwù	many different things
jílì gádé gádé ngəwù	many different kinds
káu kúruwù kúruwù	high high mountains
Nánzən káwúdi ngəlá ngəlá mbéjì.	At his place, there is (lots of) very good perfume.
Díwálwá kúrá kúrá kásúwù Yérwàbèrò	There are big/important roads that lead to the Yerwa market.
ísənà mbézái.	
Kúngənàwá shúbè sàndí gádé gádé	Business will be carried out with these five different kinds of coins.
úwúlàn wújìr tādín.	
Kúngənà dúngùr dúngùr ányì yé sàndímá.	These rough-edged coins are they (the very ones).
ám wúrà wúràsò	all the very important people

The repetition of numbers after monetary units is used to connote the notion of price per/each.

súlè úwù úwù	five shillings each
nàirà fál fál	one naira each

3. Nouns as Modifiers. There are a variety of ways in which both lexical and derived nouns function in the modifier position, to describe a preceding head noun. The closeness of the relation between the head noun and the modifier clearly varies, depending on the type of head noun and the type of modifier noun. In general it may be observed that when the head noun is more generic than the modifier noun, that the modification is more restrictive; when that order is reversed, the modification may be less restrictive and more appositive and apparently redundant.

sáwányí mǎinádé	my friend maina (son of the king)
sáwányí yé amányí yé Tijánirò	greetings to my friend and trusted
sálám . . .	confidant Tijani
férondé bàrémá	our daughter the farmer
férondé súrómá	our daughter the midwife
kám kámányí	my fellow person/my counterpart/peer
Kanúri kámányí láá	a certain one of my fellow Kanuris
Tádà kámánzəá kójìnbá.	S/He won't surpass his fellow child.
kám fərmá	a person owning a horse
kám ngəlámá.	a good person
kám tàrwámá	a jealous person:
sù káryèndébé Nijériyádé	the name of our country this Nigeria
shí kálmá nàirádé	that the word naira
sáwá kákké	my friend
kúngənà Ingəlámáramdó	money that is of England
Alì kəlānzádé	Ali himself
shí kəlānzádé	he himself
kwá fátómá	head of the household
kwá kámumá	man with a wife
kám kəmbù	blind person
ám kəmbùwá	blind people
kúwù bí	male chicken/rooster
kúwù kúrkúri	female chicken/hen
dáló bəlān	strong full-grown bull

Māi Mādzínāmā

king of Maghina

Māi Bērnyimā

king of Birnin Gazargamu.

In the following examples, a head noun is modified essentially by a verb phrase which occurs in the expected OV order, the verb occurring as a verbal noun in a derived nominal noun of agency formed through the suffixation of *ɲma* as introduced on page 56. In each case the verbal noun retains its verbal function within the modifying clause, even though they are nonfinite verb forms within derived nominals. Nominal and oblique constituents which precede them in these constructions are therefore not adjectival modifiers, but rather are there to satisfy the SOV order of Kanuri.

Kām súnó wárátábè jètámádè ngéwùrò
shí deà fómzòndò.

The man who waits to inherit a pair of shoes will go barefoot for a long time.

Kām súwàrò lètámádè, yím láān
sàràṁ çèjín.

The person who goes regularly to the well will one day break the water jar.

Nāsàrà-ílmù kāmúwábè kùrúmadé
shímá sàndírò kòs ádèà sèdò.

The European who is the overseer of women's education, S/HE gave them this course.

Dàlíl kàsúwùbèdè, nā kām àwò
nǵiwómá-à lādómá-à sàptáidémá.

The reason for the market, its a place where buyers and sellers gather.

Kām gādè sàndírò kùdómá yé báwò,
wùn kájíyà.

There's no other person to bring it to them, except for me.

hówùm lámàr kúngèná bèlínrò
fàltégèbè tàrtiptámádè

the committee in charge of the affair of the change over to the new money

4. The Past Participle as a Modifier. As introduced on page 163, the nonfinite past participle is a verb form which exists only for class 2 verbs. The past participle may stand alone as the independent predicate of a nonverbal sentence, or as a modifier following a lexical noun or NP, as in the following examples.

Kām bəwátádè sáwányí.

The person lying down is my friend.

Shí kām zaurò nówatà.

S/He is a very well known person.

Awó kām kúrá nápkátáyè súrìndè,

What the seated adult sees, the young

tádà gánà dàátámáyè súrìnbà.

child cannot see even if he is standing up.

Tádà fáatádè kàanzè.

The child that is awake is hers/his.

Though there is no comparable form for the class 1 verb, similar notions can be expressed with class 1 verbs through the use of a finite verb form in the perfect aspect. As stative modifiers, these finite verb forms will be in the basic nonderived form for intransitive verbs and in the III passive-reflexive form for transitive verbs. In this role they constitute sentential modifiers or relative clauses (see ch. 23).

5. Postpositional Phrases as Modifiers. The postpositions which most productively occur in postpositional phrases that modify head nouns are: the genitive postposition +bè, the locative postposition +(là+)n, the associative postposition +(C+)à, and the *like* postposition +gái. These modifier types will be examined individually in this section.

5.1. Genitive Postpositional Phrases as Modifiers. The normal order of a NP with a modifying genitive postposition phrase is head noun, followed by genitive postpositional phrase. For semantic reasons however, the order of the genitive NP may be altered so that the modifying genitive PP precedes the head noun. This is perhaps the only case of a NP where the modifier regularly precedes the head noun. This order change is frequently accompanied by the application of the corresponding possessive pronoun suffix to the following head noun, thus: NP_x NP_y +bè y's x becomes NP_y +bè NP_x +POS_y
literally: of y his x.

fər Alìbè

Ali's horse

Alìbè fərnzè

ALI's horse

The latter of the above two forms would be used to emphasize the possessor rather than the possessed head noun, as shown by the capital letters. In some cases the possessive may be added to the head noun even when the NP elements are in the head noun-modifier order.

fərnzè Alìbè

Ali's horse

shìnzè Músàbè

Musa's leg/foot

For a description of the pronunciation of the genitive postposition see page 177. The role of the genitive PP in the formation of adverbial phrases of location, etc. is discussed on pages 258-9.

When genitive PPs are stacked within a given NP then the final modifier phrase is marked by only one occurrence of the genitive postposition, as in the first example below. Both of the genitive postpositions in such a stacked NP will be indicated however in the event that a determiner element intervenes between the two, as in the second example below.

fótò bānkì kùrà Nìjèrìyàbè

the photo of the central Bank of Nigeria

fótò bānkì kùrà Nìgèrìyàbè Ikkóbèdésbè

the photo of that central Bank of Nigeria of Lagos

The genitive PP may be used for description and to express possession in the modifier position, as shown in the following examples.

Cìdà líítàbèdés búnémān dàjìnbā.

The work of the doctor is not finished even at night.

sā kùlò bārèbè

the time of farming of the field

kàryèndé Nìjèrìyàbè ádà

this our country Nigeria

kàryè Nìjèrìyàbè ádà

this country Nigeria

gārgām jíllì kúngsàbè fàltàbèdés

the history of changing money systems

kwānà ádèbè rúwò ngólànzédés

the beautiful writing of THIS GUY

Lāi músù kèmbùràmbèdés góné.

Take the path to your left.

Fótó kèmbùràmbèn dèríné.

Go around to the right side.

nā yàkkèràmbèrò nágómíà

when you reach the 3-branched fork

kèrmù àbànzébé

his father's death

kàrà Kānùrìbè

the study of Kamuri (language)

bàrà kàshìngòbè

hunting of the camoleon

r àdèbè nèmshàwànzédés

the beauty of THAT HORSE

kām Yèrwàbè

a person of/from Yerwa

kèmbù àm nādésbèdés

the food of the people of that place

When dealing with the names of ethnic groups, the derived language and modifier form of the group (see page 64) with the LH tone pattern may be freely substituted for the genitive PP, as in the following examples.

kùrwùn Kānùrìbè

the medicine of the Kamuri

kùrwùn Kānùrì

Kamuri medicine

kàrè Shùwábè?

the things/implements of the Shuwa

kàrè Shùwàshùwà

the typically Shuwa things/implements

kàiyàwá Afùndàwàbè-à Màngàwàbè-à

the songs of the Hausas and the Mangas

kàiyàwá Afùndàfùno-à Màngàmàngá-à

Hausa and Manga songs

5.1.1. Genitive Ordering in Expressing Family Relationships, etc. In expressing kinship relationships there is a definite tendency to prefer the basic genitive ordering of head-modifier, but the head noun is normally marked by the possessive pronoun suffix. The basic order without the possessive is rarely produced. The possible forms are presented here in their order of frequency.

yānzé Alìbè	Ali's mother
Alìbè yānzé	Ali's mother
?yā Alìbè	
kúlò yānzé Alìbè	Ali's mother's field
Alìbè yānzé kúlònzé	ALI's mother's field
?kúlò yā Alìbè	
*kúlò yānzé Alìbèbè	
*kúlò Alìbè yānzé	
*kúlò yā Alìbèbè	

When the genitive PP is being used for description and not for a kinship relationship or possession, then the basic order is the only acceptable one.

kèská kánnúbè	firewood
béwò kèská kánnúbè	axe for (chopping) firewood

5.1.2. Genitive PPs in (Partitive) Expressions of Quantity. In partitive expressions, the NP order with the preposed genitive PP is often preferred over the basic form, though both are acceptable and heard. When the genitive PP is preposed, the possessive pronoun suffix is required, as shown below.

fàlì gòrò ádèbè	a section of this kola nut
gòrò ádèbè fàlínzá	a section of this kola nut
shí ádèbè fàlínzá	a section of this one
fèrwá ányìbè fàlínzá	one of these horses
ngénèwùnzébé gánánzá	the least of his trouble
ám ányìbè sámmánzá	all of these people
ám ányìbè láánzá	some of these people
cídà ádèbè ngéwùnzé	most of this work

5.2. Locative/Means PPs as Modifiers. The locative/means postposition +(lá+)_n (introduced on page 176) may mark modifiers for their role as modifiers of place or means. As modifiers, these postpositional phrases may only follow the head noun and never precede it.

kām kāsúwùfàn	a/the person (who is) in the market
kām fārlàn	a/the person (who is) on horseback
kām fānnzēn	a/the person at home

5.3. Associative PPs as Modifiers. On pp. 169-71, the role of the associative postposition as a predicate of existence was described in a variety of contexts, and the variety of its meanings was explained. In the modifier position, associative PPs are shown here to have not only the earlier described uses and meanings, but a number of others as well. Here again, the modifying associative PP must always follow the head noun, and may never precede it, as shown below.

tádà kànàà	a hungry child
lāshá hērrà	a peaceful evening meal
shíllòwù ngáwùréà	a shooting star (star with a tail)
nā njí dūrò/kèskèà	a place with light rain
kām kámúnzá dégésò kúngónàà	a man all of whose wives have money
màarà sùròn àmmà	a plane with people in it
kām yāà	a person with a mother
fátò dààlàn	in a house that has meat
kām kèlàn búduà	a man with grass on his head
jánà tímià	a sharp knife (knife with teeth)
bélà ngím míyàà	a village of 100 huts
shí ìndià	2-footed

shí dēà *bare-footed*
kádí ngáwùrě kùrúwùàdē *the snake with the long tail*

In the following examples observe such associative modified NPs in complete sentences.

Kērì nā shílààbē. *The dog belongs to the place with bones.*
Búltùdē nā túnòà nòzēnyí. *The hyena does not recognize the place with a wound.*
Díyéí bérmetààdē kēmānzé nòzē. *The owner of the bed with fleas in it knows it.*
Ngáwòdémá nānzé ínjìnnà wò. *It's the back that is the place with the engine (of a VW Beetle).*
Nā tēmāmáàlàn tīgèném gám̀bembà. *One doesn't scratch oneself when around an expectant person (e.g. beggar).*
Ngò shí kām sùró zàujinnàdē. *There s/he is, the person with the aching stomach.*

When the associative postposition is applied within the NP to the negative predicate of existence *bà there is/are not*, the meaning of the modifying PP phrase becomes *without, not having*.

kām kēnāà bāādē *the man without hunger (well off)*
kām àwò bāādē *the man who has nothing*
shí bāādē *the one without any*
bérì núwànēm bāādē *the meat in which you have no share*

5.3.1. Associative PPs as Modifiers of Counting and Measuring. The structure of the NPs presented here is identical to that of the NPs in the preceding section. Here however, the head noun is a number or a counted noun describing money, telling time, or a measured quantity. The associative marked modifier is a number of units which exists in addition to the head noun. Thus the head noun is used here to describe whole measurable units, and the modifier phrase to describe fractions or additional uneven parts of whole units.

nàirà fál kówò fyúwà *1 naira and 50 kobo*
nàirà úwù súlè índià *5 naira and 2 shillings*
fām índí súlè súlè mēwùn wùskùnna *2 pounds and 12 shillings*
sā mēwú mīntì mēwùn wùskùnna *10.18*
sā mēwú rētāà *10:30*
áwà fál rētāà *an hour and a half*
sā dēgē kwatāà *4:15*
súlè índí shíshìà *2 shillings and a sixpence*
súlè-à shíshì-à *a shilling and a sixpence*
súlè-à tórò-à *a shilling and a threepence*
tóròà shín kówòà *a threepence (it) and a kobo*

In a marketing situation, this same structure is used to express the notion of *worth*, in measuring piled quantities of produce, etc. As a modifier, the associative PP describes the worth of the measured quantity, which is the head noun antecedent.

súlèà *a shilling's worth*
Adè súlèà *This is a shilling's worth.*
Adè kértà súlè ndàwúà? *How many shilling's is this pile worth?*
kértà súlèà *a 1 shilling pile*
kértà súlè índià *a 2 shilling pile*
súlè júwú nàirà fállà *a naira's worth of shilling change*
súlè mēwúádē *10 shilling/1 naira note's worth*

It should be noted here that with the genitive +bè, kértè sùlè ìndíbè would mean literally *2 shilling coins in a pile*. With the associative, on the other hand, kértè sùlè ìndià means *a 2 shilling's worth pile*. One can however use the genitive to connote *worth* if the number is repeated, as in: kértè sùlè ìndí ìndíbè.

5.3.2. Associative PPs in someone else Constructions. Here, in the modifier position, the object of the associative phrase is always one of the generic human nouns: *kām person* or *ām people*. The resulting PP has a genitive-like meaning, and refers to something that either belongs to another person, or is an inalienable body part, in the generic sense, belonging to all people. Thus, inside of the NP, the associative predicates a person or people to be co-existing with the head noun, and thus the implication that the head noun has a person associated with it, i.e. belongs to or is part of someone.

fátò kām̀m̀à
shím kām̀m̀alàn

*someone's/someone else's house
in the presence of others/in
someone else's eyes*

Because of the generic sense and application of such associative PPs, they occur frequently in the context of the Kapuri proverb.

Shím kām̀m̀adé, kázáà.

Other people's eyes, they have spears.

Múskò kām̀m̀ayè nà ràám̀m̀à zègám̀bìnà.

*Another person's/someone else's hand
never scratches the place you want.*

If the head noun does not occur, then the associative PP may take on the function of the entire NP.

kām̀m̀à/ám̀m̀à

Kām̀m̀à ngáwùrò m̀aǹaǹém̀in.

Adè kām̀m̀à.

*someone else's/other people's
You talk a lot about other people.
That belongs to someone/some other
people.*

5.3.3. Associative PPs as Constituents in Conjoined NPs. A conjoined NP may be formed through the marking of each of the conjoined NP constituents with the associative postposition. In such NPs there is no head noun-modifier relationship since all are associative-marked and therefore equal co-existence is implied. This is indicated by a hyphen according to the SKO.

Módù-à káshím-à kásúwùrò lèyádà.

Modu and Kashim went to the market.

Alì-à Shèttím̀a-à rók̀k̀ó lèzài.

Ali and Shettima will go together.

Mátòlàn lèt̀s̀-à m̀aàrálàn lèt̀s̀-à gádé.

*Traveling by car and traveling by
plane are quite different.*

Two or more members of an associative-conjoined series may occur together with a plural verb form in the III passive-reflexive derivation. Thus in the following examples, the structure involves the conjoined subjects of an intransitive proposition, even though the meanings are reciprocal. If one of the NPs is a pronoun, it is normally omitted.

Músà-à Fántà-à lèfátànà.

Musa and Fanta greeted each other.

Músà-à túrúiyèná.

*Musa and I saw each other./We and
Musa saw each other.*

Bálì túrúiyèn.

We will see each other tomorrow.

In verbless environments, the conjoined NPs may be used to express relationships of similarity and difference between two NPs.

Káánzà-à kàkkè-à gádègádé.

His/Hers and mine are different.

5.3.4. Associative PPs in NPs Expressing Direction. These are idiomatic NPs involving the occurrence of the head noun *head* followed by a locative

PP which is marked by the associative postposition. The noun in such modifier phrases is normally a place noun, and the implication is one of movement *to* or *toward*. Some speakers apply the associative twice in such constructions, once to the place noun, and again to the locative postposition.

Kèlā-ndānnà?	<i>Where are you heading?/Where to?</i>
kèlā sāmì(à)nnà	<i>upwards/towards the sky</i>
kèlā kèmbùràmmìnnà	<i>to the right/rightwards</i>
Kèlā kàsúwù(à)nnà lèngín.	<i>I am going toward the market.</i>

The nouns *sédí* and *cídí* which both mean *earth, ground* have each derived accreted noun forms through the affixation of the associative. Therefore the nouns *sédíà* and *cídíà* have come to mean *bottom, underneath*.

kèlā sédíà(à)nnà	<i>downwards/toward the bottom</i>
kèlā cídíà(à)nnà	

The directionality implied by this construction type may also be applied temporally, connoting direction in time.

súwàn tái kèlā fúwùnnàsó	<i>from morning onwards</i>
--------------------------	-----------------------------

5.4. Like +gǎi PPs as Modifiers. The postposition +gǎi is used to form PPs expressing likeness, similarity, or approximation. Such PPs may fill the modifier position following a head noun.

kām shígǎi	<i>a person like him/her</i>
kām Alígǎi	<i>a person like Ali</i>
kérwù mèwùgǎi	<i>about 10 years</i>
Nā míl fállàgǎirò lèwónò.	<i>S/He went to a place about 10 miles away.</i>
kū kàwú àràkkégǎi	<i>about 6 days from today</i>
Kàwú ndáwùgǎi?	<i>About how many days?</i>
fútù ádègǎilàn.	<i>in a way like this (way)</i>
kāusù bèbègǎi	<i>heat like that of the hot season</i>

Sentential modifiers may also be marked by this postposition.

Hàlámá lèjǐngǎi félézénà.	<i>He pretended to go./He showed an appearance like he was going.</i>
Fátòbè yé. jǐlì gādègàdé ngéwù mbézái, kàrààn dàwúnàdégǎi.	<i>Of houses too there are many different kinds, like those that are in the bush.</i>

This postposition may be used to list modifying PPs after an expressed or understood head noun.

Argèmgǎi, ngàwùlìgǎidé, césàlàn tènàtín.	<i>(Crops) like millet and guinea corn are planted in the sand.</i>
--	---

6. Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers as Modifiers. Both the cardinal and the ordinal numbers (see page 76) may be used as head noun modifiers, or independently as pronouns of number when the head noun is understood in the context, as in: *Indídé kàkkè. The two/two of them are mine.* and *Kénándímìdè kàkkè. The second one is mine.* When plural numbers function as modifiers, the preceding head noun may either be in the singular or the plural form. The number *tìlò* *one* is today normally preferred over *fál* in counting environments, though *fál* is also sometimes used to count. As a modifier, *fál* is preferred over *tìlò*, as in *kām fál one person.*

In order to separate tens from units, *lúkkò* may occur between the tens figure and the ones figure for any number above 10 for which the ones integer position is also occupied, thus e.g. 11-19, 21-29, etc. The use of *lúkkò* may be required to clarify particularly long numbers, or it may

be used simply to emphasize a number, and preferred over the shorter form in emphatic environments. When *lúkkò* is used, both the tens figure and the units figure must be marked with the postposition *ñ*. Therefore *mèwú tùlùrì 17*, may also be expressed *mèwùn lúkkò tùlùrrìn 17*.

<i>tìlò</i>	1	<i>mìyàn (lúkkò) tìlòn</i>	101
<i>fál</i>	1	<i>mìyàn fyákkèn</i>	130
<i>ìndí</i>	2	<i>yèr ìndí</i>	200
<i>yákké/yáské</i>	3	<i>yèr ìndín fyúwùn</i>	250
<i>dégé/déwú</i>	4	<i>yèr yákké</i>	300
<i>úwù</i>	5	<i>yèr yákkèn fyákkèn</i>	
<i>àràkké/àràské</i>	6	<i>(lúkkò) yákkèn</i>	333
<i>tùlùr</i>	7	<i>yèr dégé/déwú</i>	400
<i>wùskú</i>	8	<i>yèr úwù</i>	500
<i>lègár</i>	9	<i>yèr úwùn (lúkkò) úwùn</i>	505
<i>mèwú</i>	10	<i>yèr àràkké/àràské</i>	600
<i>mèwùn (lúkkò) tìlòn</i>	11	<i>yèr àràkkèn fíràkkèn</i>	660
<i>mèwùn (lúkkò) ìndín</i>	12	<i>yèr tùlùr</i>	700
<i>mèwùn (lúkkò) yákkèn</i>	13	<i>yèr tùlùrrìn (lúkkò)</i>	
<i>(mèwú) dèrì</i>	14	<i>tùlùrrìn</i>	707
<i>mèwùn lúkkò déwùn</i>	14	<i>yèr wùskú</i>	800
<i>(mèwú) úwùrì</i>	15	<i>yèr wùskùn fyúskùn</i>	880
<i>mèwùn lúkkò úwùn</i>	15	<i>yèr lègár</i>	900
<i>mèwùn (lúkkò) àràkkèn</i>	16	<i>yèr lègàrrìn fílègàrrìn</i>	
<i>(mèwú) tùlùrì</i>	17	<i>(lúkkò) lègàrrìn</i>	999
<i>mèwùn (lúkkò) tùlùrrìn</i>	17	<i>déwú</i>	1000
<i>mèwùn (lúkkò) wùskùn</i>	18	<i>déwùn yèr úwùn fíndín (lúkkò)</i>	
<i>(mèwú) lègàrì</i>	19	<i>tìlòn</i>	1521
<i>mèwùn (lúkkò) lègàrrìn</i>	19	<i>déwú ìndí</i>	2000
<i>fíndí</i>	20	<i>déwú yákké/yáské</i>	3000
<i>fyákké/fyáské</i>	30	<i>déwú dégé/déwú</i>	4000
<i>fídàgè</i>	40	<i>déwú àràkké/àràské</i>	6000
<i>fyúwù</i>	50	<i>déwú tùlùr</i>	7000
<i>fíràkké/fíràské</i>	60	<i>déwú tùlùrrìn yèr lègàrrìn</i>	7900
<i>fítùlùr</i>	70	<i>déwú wùskú</i>	8000
<i>fyúskú/fískú</i>	80	<i>déwú lègár</i>	9000
<i>fílègàr</i>	90	<i>déwú mèwú</i>	10000
<i>mìyà/yèr fál/tìlò</i>	100	<i>déwú mèwùn lúkkò ìndín</i>	10002

In general, it can be stated that the cardinal numbers normally follow all other modifiers, except for the determiners and the postdeterminers. They share this position with other modifiers expressing quantity. Exceptions occur.

sàndúwù kùrwòwù yákké

three heavy trunks

àwó gādègādè ngèwù

many different things

àwó gādègādè yákké

three different things

Ammà fàidà njíbè ngèwù gādè mbéjì.

But/However there are many other uses of water.

Ammà fàidà njíbè gādè ngèwù mbéjì.

But/However there are many other uses of water.

Jílì gādègādè yákké nòngèná.

I know three different kinds.

Fátòwà kùrà yé shàwà yé yákké

I gave him three big and beautiful

shírò yíkèná.

houses.

6.1. Using the Cardinal Numbers to Tell Time. In telling time, the cardinal numbers are used attributively to modify the head noun *sà* meaning *time*, *hour*. In using the numbers to tell time (as well as in the money system), the associative postposition is introduced to connote *plus, with*, in marking fractions or parts of whole units (as described in

5.3.1 above).

Sā ndāwú?

What time is it?

Sā úwù.

It is 5:00.

Sā úwù míntì úwà.

It is 5 minutes after 5:00.

Sā àràkké kwátà.

It is a quarter past 6:00.

Sā mēwùn índìn rétà.

It is half past 12:00.

Sā mēwùn míntì fyákkè.

It is 10:30.

From the half hour on to the next full hour the time may be expressed by subtracting from the next full hour by using the negative predicate of existence *bā there is/are not*. In this environment the associative postposition is not required. The indirect postposition *rò* may follow the hour.

Sā úwù(rò) míntì fíndì *bā*.

It is 20 minutes to 5:00.

Sā índì(rò) kwátà *bā*.

It is quarter to 2:00.

Sā úwù(rò) míntì fíndì ùwùrí *bā*/

It is 25 minutes to 5:00.

fíndìn (lúkkò) úwùn *bā*.

The remaining modifier elements are treated in subsequent chapters. The determiners and postdeterminer elements are treated in ch. 21. The role of the sentence as a modifier in relative clause constructions (as introduced in ch. 19) is treated in depth in chapter 23.

CHAPTER 21. THE DETERMINERS OF THE NOUN PHRASE

1. Introduction. Determiners are the elements within the NP which identify it, regardless of how it has been modified by attributive modifiers of the type described in ch. 20. This identification of the NP entails the application (or non-application) of one of the determiner elements to classify the type of reference the NP makes, i.e. whether the referent is specific, unique, generic, definite/indefinite, visible, previously mentioned, etc. In short, determiners are one way in which languages indicate the cognitive status of the noun. As will be seen, some of the determiners introduced here also play a role in NP status marking (as described in ch. 25).

With regard to English, the most commonly cited determiner elements are the definite article (*the*), and the indefinite article (*a/an*). The elements presented in this chapter as the determiner elements of Kanuri often show little or no similarity to their counterparts in English and other languages with regard to distribution. Thus the student of Kanuri must try to gain a feel for the Kanuri determiner elements from their distribution and use in Kanuri, and not through the translation and application of them based on intuitions from other languages. As will be observed, it is often the case that the best determiner in Kanuri is no determiner -- that the status of a given NP may be totally determined by head noun type plus the context in which it occurs, without the use of any overt determiner element.

One of the roles played by the determiner elements to be described in this chapter is the syntactic function of delimiting the final boundary of the NP constituent. In performing the above-cited semantic roles, this syntactic function is one that is crucial in the formation of the complex NP (see ch. 23), sentential subjects and objects (see ch. 24), and also certain adverbial clause types (see pages 262-3 and pages 291-3). In these uses the determiner element +dǎ marks an entire sentence for its status as a NP. Elements singled out for their role as determiners in this chapter, regardless of whether they have other functions in the language or not, are those that may be used to determine e.g. a simple NP made up of a lexical head with or without attributive modifiers, when such a NP has not been moved for semantic reasons (status) and thus occurs in its typologically predicted position.

Elements discussed here for their role in the determination of NPs are: láá *some/a certain*, +dǎ, the demonstratives, +só *all*, wòsó *each/every*, and +sò which marks a noun as a collective, generic plural. All of these elements occur in NP-final position in the determiner area. Also included here for their role as determiner elements are the suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns.

2. Indefinite Noun Phrases and the Use of láá. Whether or not an indefinite NP is modified by a following indefinite láá, is determined by semantic reasons. Occurring independently as a NP, láá usually refers back to an understood nominal antecedent and often has a partitive interpretation, as shown below.

láá : one, a certain one, certain ones; some ... others; one ... the other;
 sometimes ... other times
 láádǎ some of it/them; part of it/them
 láánzá some of them
 ǎm ǎnyìbè láánzá some of these people

As a modifier, láá may attributively modify generic head nouns as in the following examples.

kám láá	someone, some person
ám láá	some people
áwó láá	something, some thing
ná láá	somewhere, some place
sá láá	sometime, at some time, once
yím láá	some day, one day

Although the cognitive semantic function of láá may sometimes lend itself to translation into English by the indefinite article *a/an*, it is best not equated. The Kanuri counterpart of the English indefinite article is best described as null \emptyset . The indefinite láá is more comparable to the English *some*, which similarly has both independent and modifying functions. Given its partitive interpretation in both its independent and modifying functions, láá is perhaps better classified as an attributive quantifier that occurs after the adjectives in the predeterminer quantifier position, rather than being classified as a determiner. This does not mean that will not lead itself to translation as an indefinite article at times.

In discourse, láá marking of a NP is indicative of the first mention of that NP in the utterance context. Thereafter, reference back to that initial occurrence of the NP may take the form of the same NP marked by the determiner +dó; or as a pronoun with or without +dó as a status marker. After its conversation- or episode-initial occurrence, reference back to it cannot be made through the use of láá, only by +dó. In this environment one could say that the distribution of láá marking a NP is complementary to that of the determiner +dó marking the same NP. Thus láá is used to mark a NP for its not having been already mentioned, and (as its partitive meaning might predict) to single out, specify, or mark a particular NP. Not every NP is marked with láá in its initial occurrence in the discourse context. To warrant this kind of indefinite specific reference, noun phrases particularized by láá must be of some degree of importance to the context (see Skinner, 1971:252-3). A rule of thumb that might be proposed is that a NP will be marked by láá if its importance to the context is such that it will occur subsequently in the context, either as a NP marked by +dó, or as a pronoun, i.e. if its indefinite specific occurrence is to be followed by a definite specific occurrence. It is often used to introduce characters in a narrative.

The following examples represent some of the uses of indefinite láá.

Láá bálábè, láá kàrààbè.

Some are from the town, some from the bush.

Bàrè láá ná césààlàn sànátsà bàrèzài;

Some crops they plant and farm in a sandy place; and some crops they plant and farm in a low spot with idle water.

kùrú bàrè láá zàrgè njí bójínlàn

sànátsà bàrèzài.

Some of them will kill a person when they see one.

Láánzáyè kámmà sóríà cèsànín.

so and so, such and such

kám láámá, áwó láámá

Tádà bəlādēyàbè zólì ángàl bàà láá

kádío.

Some crazy stupid child from a village came.

3. +dɛ and the Demonstratives as Determiners. The determiner element is morphologically related to the demonstratives. It is clear in the following paradigm that the morpheme +dɛ is a formative of both of the singular demonstratives.

	<i>near speaker</i>	<i>away from speaker</i>
<i>determiner</i>	+dɛ <i>the, that</i>	+dɛ <i>the, those</i>
<i>singular demonstrative</i>	ádè <i>this</i>	túdù <i>that (there)</i>
<i>plural demonstrative</i>	ányì <i>these</i>	túnyì <i>those</i>

The formatives of the plural demonstratives are not readily apparent. túdù and túnyì are relatable to the nonverbal predicate tówò *over there* (see p. 167). The determiner +dɛ and the demonstratives differ distributionally in that the latter may occur either independently as pronouns, or dependently as modifiers (see page 49) whereas +dɛ occurs only dependently, as a determiner. As modifiers, the demonstratives are used to delimit the NP, and to indicate that the NP is deictic and visible, or has an anaphoric NP referent in some cases. Thus the demonstratives in their role as modifiers are here being analyzed as determiners.

Unlike the demonstratives, +dɛ may not be used deictically to mark a NP that is visible or that has been perceived for the first time in the context. As a determiner, +dɛ is used to mark a NP anaphorically as *the aforementioned*. It back-references within the discourse, and thus may mark any kind of NP as resumptive. In many of its uses as a determiner, +dɛ may be translatable into English by the definite article. For +dɛ, its roles as determiner and NP status marker (see ch. 25) may sometimes overlap.

In its determiner role, the demonstrative ádè is distinguishable from the other three demonstratives in that it may occur in all of the anaphoric environments in the place of +dɛ. Thus +dɛ and ádè form an anaphoric subset of the group of five demonstratives/determiners. They are further distinguished in that number agreement is not required in their anaphoric uses.

In nonanaphoric environments, ádè joins túdù, ányì, and túnyì, the deictics. As such they function to point out visible things, and to indicate the physical location of a given NP.

Some of the uses of these determiner elements are represented in the following examples.

Awòwá yàské ányì fàné.

Listen to these 3 things.

Nádè n shià rúkèná.

I saw him there.

Nà ádèlàn shià rúkèná.

I saw him there/here.

Gùmnátídéyè cótrò kúngèná dè fàl zèná.

The government changed the money completely.

Kátè ádèlàn bá.

There is none around here (this area).

Kúsùr fál lóng kátèdèn.

There is only one street around there.

Am lárdè ádèbè nòngèná.

I know the people of this country.

Awòwá túnyì kàánzà.

Those things there are theirs.

4. The Collective Plural Marker +sò. The collective plural marker may be applied to both singular and plural nouns, either common or proper, to refer to the entire collective group of nouns of the class associated with the head noun. When applied to a person's name the resulting NP refers to that person and all of the friends or family that are characteristically associated with that person, as in the following example.

Alisò kàsúwùlàn rúkèná.

I saw Ali and friends in the market.

It is often applied to the plural form of nouns referring to people or ethnic groups, especially in reference to traditional wisdom or opinions which are typical of that group. Thus the group is referred to generically.

Kànùriwàsò ngái 'sàì.

That is what the Kamuris say.

Amsòyè ngái gádà.

That is what people said.

When it is applied to the singular form of a noun, reference may be to all of the things in that class or to collectively to things related to that class.

Fàrsò kàsúwùlàn rúkèná.

I saw horses, etc. in the market.

Bájisò cúwúddò.

He brought mats and all.

For the use of the collective plural marker in the coordination of a series of NPs, see chapter 33.

5. The Nonspecific Indefinite Determiners. The determiners +sò/sámmásò, wòsò, and yàyé are all inherently nonspecific and indefinite, referring to indefinite NPs, or to all-inclusive classes or groups of NPs whether the members be definite or indefinite.

The determiner +sò is used in the formation of the indefinite pronouns from the interrogative pronouns, as was presented on page 52. It also plays a role in the formation of concessive adverbial clauses, as described in ch. 30. In other environments, when it is used to mark a pair of conjoined NPs its meaning will be *both*, and for a series of more than two NPs its meaning will be *all*. When it is applied to *sámmá all*, the meaning is more complete and all-inclusive.

Alìà Músààsò ísánà.

Both Ali and Musa came.

Amnzó sámmásò lèzài.

All of his people are going.

Fátò Alìbèà Músàbèàsò njìyè. lèksèná.

The houses of both Ali and Musa were drenched by the rain.

Andí sámmásò lènyèn.

We are all going.

The determiner wòsò means simply *each* or *every*, and always occurs in the same NP-final position.

Kám wòsò lèfàjín.

He greets every person.

Kám lèzánà wòsò nòngénà.

I know every person who went.

Sá ísèná wòsò shíà rúkèná.

I saw him every time he came.

The determiner element yàyé is treated as a NP status marker in ch. 25, and is only presented here because of certain similarities it has with wòsò which are described below.

NPs marked by the determiner elements introduced here exhibit interesting ordering characteristics when further modified by associative postpositional phrases - both those containing NPs as well as those containing a verbal associative-subordinated clause. As observed on page 297, whatever is dominated by the associative postposition i.e. is within its scope, is asserted to exist in relation to a preceding NP. When it occurs as the subordinator of a verbal clause in the VEP, the interpretation can only be semantically nonspecific and indefinite referring to a precedent based

(generic) predictable activity, or one that is presupposed or anticipated to happen in the foreseeable future. Since such verbal constituents (in the NP position with the associative postposition) are never interpretable as factive completed actions, they can never be marked in any way by the determiner +dā. This is not because they are not nominal, but rather because they are nonspecific and indefinite. Such associative-subordinated verbal clauses are, like associative-marked NPs, always relatable to a preceding NP, whether overt or not. Thus it is being suggested that a NP+determiner can be modified by sentence+ASSOC. Associative subordination of the VEP is often interpreted temporally either overtly with the head noun *sā time* expressed, or with it simply being understood.

6. The Suffixed Possessive Pronouns as Determiners. The suffixed possessive pronouns may also be classed among the noun phrase determiners of the language. In much the same way as the determiner element +dā, the suffixed possessives function to definitize a given noun phrase, anaphorically referring back to its owner, a previously mentioned noun phrase that is therefore understood in the context of a given utterance. Similarly when the independent possessive pronouns are used in a modifier role they may be said to be performing this determinative function. For examples of the uses of both the independent and suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns see pages 47-9.

CHAPTER 22: SUBJECT AND OBJECT NOUN PHRASES: STATUS AND ORDER

1. Introduction. The term *major constituent* is used in reference only to verbal sentences to describe the major noun phrases of a sentence. In an intransitive sentence, the subject noun phrase is the only major constituent. A transitive sentence is normally characterized by two major constituents, i.e., a subject noun phrase and an object or direct object noun phrase.

In Kanuri, major constituent noun phrases are manifested in the verbal sentence in a great variety of syntactic forms. Major constituents may occur as pronouns, nouns, or as noun phrases. Pronoun subject and object noun phrases may occur independently, or may be incorporated in the finite verb form as affixes to the verb. The Kanuri finite verb form always carries its pronoun subject morpheme. In some cases major constituents are manifested both independently and as affixes to the finite verb form. When manifested independently, subjects and objects may or may not be marked by postpositions indicating their syntactic and semantic status. According to the present analysis, direct object pronouns are always marked by the associative postposition when they occur independently, as will be explained below.

In earlier treatments of Kanuri grammar, there has been considerable disagreement over the role played by the postpositions in marking major constituents, and the syntactic and semantic role of the major constituents marked by them. This chapter will provide an at least understandable explanation of the postpositional marking of major constituents.

It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe and explain all of the possible forms in which major constituents are manifested in the verbal sentence. All of the above cited forms which major constituents take will be presented.

2. Pronoun Direct Object Noun Phrases: Independent and Affixed to the Verb Form. A number of earlier treatments of Kanuri grammar have recognized an autonomous accusative case marker, or direct object function marking morpheme (cf Lukas, 1937:17, Cyffer, 1974:108-110). This morpheme has been recognized as distinct from the associative postposition, and has been distinguished orthographically as +gà, even though it is in fact homophonous with the associative postposition +(C+)à (see page 169 for a description of the phonology of this assimilating postposition).

It has been shown (see p.169) that in nonverbal environments, the associative postposition may function as a predicate of existence. Within the noun phrase, it was shown (see p.199) how the existential character of the associative may be applied to a noun to produce a modifying postpositional phrase which characterizes or exists with the head noun of the noun phrase. In chapter 25 and in chapter 31, the roles of the associative in marking sentence-initial noun phrases for semantic status, and in subordinating adverbial clauses, respectively, are examined. According to the present analysis it is this same associative postposition which is used to mark direct object noun phrases in certain predictable circumstances, and there is no autonomous direct object postposition or accusative case marker.

In neutral, unmarked environments, where both major constituents are pronominal and neither has special status in the sentence, then the synthetic Kanuri verb form is sentential, carrying all of the noun phrase

arguments of the sentence. In such environments with a transitive verb, first and second person pronoun objects (as described on pp. 134-38) are normally manifested as affixes to the verb form, and the comparable third person object forms are manifested as null.

Nzúrúkénà. I saw you.
 Súrúmmà. You saw me.
 Rúkénà. I saw it/him/her.

Any syntactic alteration of these most neutral forms will result in a semantic change in the status of the noun phrases involved. Thus the independent occurrence of the pronoun object noun phrases in these same examples represents a dislocation of them from their neutral and normally expected typological position as shown above. Pronoun objects dislocated and independently manifested in this way are obligatorily marked by the associative postposition, as shown below.

Nyíà rúkénà. You I saw. / I saw you.
 Wúà rúmmà. Me you saw. / You saw me.
 Shíà rúkénà. It/Him/Her I saw. / I saw it/him/her.

It is common also for such pronoun objects to be manifested both independently and as affixes to the verb form, as shown here.

Nyíà nzúrúkénà. You I saw (you).
 Wúà súrúmmà. Me you saw (me).
 Shíà rúkénà. It/Him/Her I saw (it/him/her).

The associative postposition is applied here to constituents which for semantic reasons are moved leftward out of their neutral position. This is not because the associative postposition is an accusative case marker, but because the normally neutral pronouns are being given special semantic status. Similarly, dislocated subject pronouns may as well be marked for this status by the associative, though it is not obligatory in this case.

Nòngənyí. I don't know.
 Wú nòngənyí. Me I don't know (and e.g. don't ask me).
 Wúà nòngənyí. (As for) Me I don't know.

The role of the associative postposition in indicating noun phrase status is further examined in chapter 25.

In the following examples pronoun direct objects are manifested in their most neutral form, only as affixes to the finite verb form.

Dàné, mánànyí tìlò mbéjì; Wait, I have one thing to say; listen
 gùlnzágáké fàné! while I tell you.
 Férònyí kámúró njíkìn. I will give you my daughter as a wife.
 Àbbànyí, nònzákənyí. My father, I don't know you.
 Shí jíré fànzə gùlŋgádà. S/He heard the truth and told you (pl).
 Nyí ngáwòn sэгà. You followed me from behind.
 Sùwúddə shò wáltə fànnzérò S/He brought it and gave it to me and
 lèwónò. then went back to his/her house.
 (Wúró) gánásэгəná. That does not give me enough time (deadline).
 Nzétənà wá? Is that enough for you?/Are you
 satisfied?/Have you had enough?
 Wóptэгə fər ngərmàbè-à 'wánzékí' Being thrown by a strong horse, and the
 kámúbè-à, təmmán àwó nongùbè bā. 'I dislike you' of a woman, are never
 a thing of shame.
 Kəmówùnyè dúnjí yàyé, kàsò Even if it is by the elephant you are
 dúnònəmbèdémàrò kàsəmin. being chased; you will run for your life.

'Rúkēnyí, fàngēnyí, nòngēnyí'dé,
fúwù māibèn yàyé nzəsàngín.

*That I didn't see it, I hadn't heard,
I don't know', will save you, even in
the judgement of a king.*

In the following examples pronoun direct objects are manifested twice; once independently and once as affixes to the finite verb form. In many environments this repetition will connote some kind of emphasis of the object, somewhat comparable to contrastive stress in English. It should be pointed out that the yes-no question marker wá, is always pronounced as bá when it follows a nasal consonant. Some of the objects are indirect.

Wúà nòsēm wá?

Do you know me?

Wú nyià nzùwórèkìn, wúà nòsēm wá?

I am asking you, do you know me?

nyí wúrò jírè yàkké gùlségémíà ...

when you have told me three truths ...

Àndià shèshènin sà.

They expected to kill us.

Tádānyí, tìlóném kēmāndé àndíró

My son, you alone God gave us; I

sádò; wú yé nyià kòlnzékànà.

have abandoned you.

Am ísà wúà kówósà.

People came and beat me.

Wúà sèràám wá kèráwó àshírbèrò?

*Will you love me in a secret love
affair?*

A'á, wúdé nyià nzèràákìnbáwò.

No, me I will not love you.

'Wúà sèràám wá?' nèm kórémíà,

When you have asked 'will you love

wándè nyià nzèràgènáde àré wúrò
gùllé.

*me?' then come and tell me which one
loves you.*

Wú nyíró búrwò tìlò nzèkkèlíkìn.

I am going to teach you one thing.

Wú gádérò 'nyià nà ádèlàn nzùrúkià

If I see you again in this place I'll

nyià yèzèkìn dìyè!

kill you!

Shí nyià nzùríà nzèráyí.

When s/he sees you s/he will like you.

Wúrò àmàrségéné gáákè njí kèjí ádèà

Allow me to enter so that I too may

wú yé yáké.

drink this delicious water.

Àré nyià kàsúdùlàn njèzèkìn.

*Come here and I will kill you with
laughter./you will die laughing.*

Kám nyià nzèràgènaà ràámmà mbéjià

If there is a man who you love that

lènéwó rókkó námmówó.

loves you, go and stay together.

Abí nànkàrò ísèm àndíró làllèsáámde?

Why is it that you come and condole us?

In the following sequences of sentences and text segments, observe the use of the different possible forms of pronoun objects. It is frequently the pattern that when an object is first introduced, it is expressed both in its independent and in its affixed form. In subsequent sentences it is expressed only in its affixed form.

Wú nyíró búrwò tìlò nzèkkèlíkìn.

*I am going to teach you one thing. When
I teach it to you don't tell anyone.*

Nzèkkèlíkià wándé ndúmáró gùllémí.

Dályè, "Yaa búltù, nyià nònzékèná

*The goat said, "Brother hyena, I knew
you before I came and met you just now.*

dùwò ísèké nyià nánjìwúkò. Ísèké nà

Now that I have come and met you here,

ádèlàn nyià nánzégékènáde, nyí búltù

and though you are a hyena, you restrain

yé dùwò kēmār gónèm wúà dànèm jírè

yourself and stop me and ask 3 truths

yàkkèrò sùwórámmà ádè, yaa búltù nyí

of me; goodness brother hyena, you must

ádè kènanèm báwò nyà, kènanám mbéjià

not be hungry if you were hungry it

ádègái gènyí.

Kámú kúràyè, "Wúrò 'wúà sèràám wá?'

*The senior wife said, "You say to me
'will you love me?'; you and my husband
became friends in your youth; you grew
up and reached the marrying age, you
got married; as I see you, today my*

nèmindé, nyí-à kwānyí-à gānāndōn

séwà díwì; wùrānūw nā kāmúbè tíú

kāmúārò wāllūw wú nāndià nzárúkìn

kú kwānyí fātōn bā nānkā, nyí cīnēm

búné ísēm wúà sèràámìn nēmìn, wúds *husband is away and you come in*
 nyià nzèràákényí. Nyí sáwà kwányíbè. *the night and tell me that you love*
 Nzèràákíà, wáyèyá fúwú kèmandébèn *me; me I don't love you. You are a*
 ngélà gènyí. *friend of my husband's. Were I to*
love you, it would be very bad in the
sight of God.

2.1. Associative-Marked Direct Object Pronouns. In the most natural and neutral form of the unmarked transitive sentence (as introduced in 2 above), the finite verb form carries object pronouns. In such environments, first and second person objects are affixed to the verb form. Third person objects are manifested as null, as in: Rummà wá? *Did you see it/him/her?* Aã, rúkèná. *Yes, I saw it/him/her.* The use of these utterances transitively implies perfect and unambiguous understanding on the part of the speaker and the hearer of the object referent that is understood. If this understanding is not complete, and the noun phrase refers back to a previously mentioned NP, then independent manifestation of the coreferent pronoun object may be required. Such independent pronoun objects are always marked by the associative postposition, just as is the case with their first and second person counterparts when independent. Therefore, there is a spectrum of reasons for expressing pronoun objects independently, with each point on the spectrum representing a more marked form than the affixed/null form. All are marked by the associative postposition in its role as a NP status marker. At the most extreme end of the spectrum might be the dislocated, contrastive topic marked by the associative (see VI.25.), and at the less marked end might be the 3P pronoun used to indicate the plurality of a third person object, as in Sàndià lèfàné. *Greet them.*, in which the independent object is so nearly redundant that it is often placed after the verb, in violation of SOV order, as an afterthought to avoid any risk of ambiguity, i.e. Lèfàné sàndià. Somewhere in between these two extremes on the spectrum would be the associative-marked object that is followed by its agent-marked subject, as described in 3 below.

When a verb form begins in s+, and occurs with a first person object, expression of the independent pronoun object may be required even in neutral environments since the basic form and the affixed object form coincide, as in: Wúà súrúnà. *S/he saw me.* and Wúà sèténà. *I have had enough.*

When the determiner +dè marks such a pronoun object for its givenness (see VI.25.), then associative marking may not be required when there is no risk of ambiguity, as in: Shíà rúkèná. *I saw him/her.* and Shídé rúkèná. *I saw that one/(the aforementioned) him/her.* If in no way marked then an independent pronoun can only be interpreted as a subject; as in:

Shí súrúnà.	<i>Him he saw (it).</i>
Shíà súrúnà.	<i>S/He saw it/him/her.</i>
Shídé súrúnà.	<i>That one s/he saw (it)./S/He saw that one.</i>

The following example shows that subject-object relations are different in Kanuri than in other languages, and that one should not apply one's English intuitions to figuring out such relations.

Shíà kúngénàrdò tàmàzánà. *They expect money of him.*

2.2. Associative Marking of Nonpronominal Direct Objects. Whether or not an independent nonpronoun direct object is marked by the associative postposition is a function of a great variety of factors, among them: 1) degree of semantic dislocation, 2) the order of the major constituents, 3) position of adverbial constituents, 4) risk of ambiguity and respective

semantic classes of major constituent NPs. Some of these factors bear on the associative marking (or nonmarking) of the direct object in the following examples.

Tádànzéà cùrò.

S/He saw her/his child.

Wàndé njímmà fèrémnèm kàntàná gágənyí.

Don't open your room and let the mosquitoes get in.

Wúà mǎi súnótè nānəm̀rò.

I was sent by the king to your place.

Njí ngéwùrò lāmbíténzédé kèská gādésòà kózénà.

Its need for a lot of water is greater than that of other trees.

Njí sāmìbè dūròlàn lárdè gādéà kózénà.

In rainfall it surpasses other areas.

3. The Agent Postposition +yè. Kanuri does not have a case marking system according to the present analysis. Therefore +yè is not a nominative case marker (as suggested by Lukas, 1937:17 and others). It will be shown here that +yè can be best understood and explained when analyzed as a postposition indicating that the subject NP is the agent or source of the action of the verb, as in: Wúà kə̀nāyè cītà. *Hunger seized me./I was seized by hunger.* In this example, the subject is kə̀nā *hunger*, an unlikely subject of a verb, an even more unlikely agent of an action. In addition, the subject/agent is preceded by its object NP, and thus the major constituents are out of their typologically predicted SOV order. Factors such as these make it obligatory to mark the subject with the agent postposition in this example. It seems that this type of example is the Kanuri equivalent of a passive construction with expressed agent, and there is no doubt that the passive interpretation is one of the possible interpretations. Thus the agent postpositional phrase functions very much like the *by*-phrase in an English passive construction. Agentless passives are produced in Kanuri through the use of the III passive-reflexive form of the verb, as in e.g. Tèdín. *It is done/doable/feasible.* In such constructions however an expressed agent is impossible. Thus passive-like constructions are produced in Kanuri through the fronting of the direct object NP and agent marking of the subject NP, accompanied by no morphological alteration of the verb form. As would be predicted by the present analysis of the postposition +yè as an agent marker, its occurrence is almost totally restricted to transitive sentences.

Agent marking of the subject NP is required in all of the following examples because of the inverse order of subject and object. It is this OS order accompanied by the agent marking which makes the passive interpretation possible. Some of the following examples are from Lukas, 1937.

Shià mǎtòyè zàràpkónò.

He was nearly killed by a car.

Fānnzédé njiyè wùrzenà.

His house was destroyed by the rain.

Lényówó nā ndúmá kāmānzéyè zéwìnbān gənányówó.

Let's go and set it up where no one will be destroyed/eaten by his colleague.

Kə̀nyérì bōwátàà kókó fályè sùrí.

The reclined squirrel was seen suddenly by one frog.

Shià Aliyè cèzò.

S/He was killed by Ali.

Alì shià cèzò.

Ali killed him.

Kāisè kùlwúyè gərəjìnbā.

Corpulence is not concealed by the gown.

Lárdəwá dāwù Afrikābèn wúyè ziyārāngənà sāmāsōn lárdə shíró kə̀mbù bútuà wò ziyārəngənyí.

Of all the countries in Africa visited by me/that I've visited, I haven't visited one with cheaper produce.

Tígānzé sāmá kúndúli kùrúwù kùrúwúyè zāksənà.

Its whole body is covered with/by long long hair.

In certain environments in which a direct object NP is not expressed, a

passive-like interpretation with the subject as agent results from the marking of the subject with this postposition.

Kām lááyè sàrùzēnyíà mbéjí.

If it hasn't been borrowed by someone it is there.

Kùrú àm láásòyè tēmàzàná ...
Alàyè sèdià ...

*Furthermore, it is thought by some people
If God is willing/God be willing ...*

In making direct quotations, the agent/source normally occurs initially marked by the agent postposition. It may be followed by the listener marked by the indirect postposition +rò. The relevant form of the verb ngìn say, or whatever quotation verb is being used may then occur either before or after the direct quote. The following represent possible forms.

Alìyè shírò, " ... " wòndò.

Ali said to him, "...".

Shírò Alìyè, " ... " wòndò.

To him Ali said, "...".

Alìyè shírò wòndò, " ... "

Ali said to him, "...".

Shírò Alìyè wòndò, " ... "

To him Ali said, "...".

In other environments where the subject is in its expected initial position, the agent postposition may nevertheless be used to mark the subject for semantic reasons. The result implies that the subject is the agent or source of the action and may in some cases relate to the agent's ability or inability. Some of the following examples are from Lukas, 1937:167, 169).

Mbéltaì mbéltaì·dùwò kāmzná fályè
kámānzèà dúnòn kójíà dàjí faldèà
wòpsègìn.

They wrestle and wrestle until when one of them surpasses his partner in strength and then throws him over.

Kām fályè àm yàskégāi zātātārò
wòpségíà dàjí yím àdèn shí gādérò
mbéltìnbà.

If one person throws over about 3 opponents consecutively then he doesn't wrestle again on that day.

Méwòndòsò kāmdeyè kèngésèà sùrūnyí.

Look for it though he might, the man could not see the flea.

Yím wàjíà ngòaa sàdindé búné
gàngámàsòyè gàngá zàtà bàdizài.

At night on the eve of the day they are to wrestle, the drummers start drumming.

Kúngónāyè mbówóshíà nàndílàn;
kàsúduyè mbówónzáià wúlàn.

If I fall short of money it is your fault; if you fall short of laughter it is my fault (said by a professional storyteller to his audience).

Adènàngārò àmsòyè shílàn kàráwù
zàwòtín.

That is why people have a saying about him.

fútù ngòawúyè ngòaa mbélzàidé ...

the way wrestlers wrestle ...

Kāmyè nyíró hérbà sèdià àbí dímin?

When a person is cruel to you what do you do?

CHAPTER 23: THE COMPLEX NOUN PHRASE (RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION)

1. Introduction. As has been clearly established in chapters 19 and 20, the Kanuri NP is characterized by the head-modifier order. Likewise within the complex NP, the head NP precedes its sentential modifier, i.e. the relative clause. The relative clause is related to the head NP because one of the nominal elements of this modifying sentence has identity of reference with the head NP. In the following example, the same *kámúnzé his wife* is the subject of the relative clause and the direct object of the main clause.

Kámúnzé gòrò sàlàdínḍá lèfàwòkò. I greeted his wife that sells kola.

In the preceding chapters of this section it has been observed that the elements which modify and specify in the NP are adjectival nouns, quantifiers, and determiners, occurring normally in that order in the basic NP. In the basic structure of the complex NP in which a sentence is used to describe a head noun, the modifying sentence occurs in the adjective position in the NP schema. If the head NP is a noun modified by an adjective, then the modifying relative clause would follow that adjective. In the above example, the head or antecedent NP (hereafter *ant NP*) *kámúnzé* is represented within the relative clause by the morpheme *sə+*, the affixed subject pronoun morpheme on the finite verb form. One might therefore literally translate that example as: *I greeted his wife that she sells kola*. That pronoun within the relative clause is the relative NP (hereafter *rel NP*), and it is coreferent with and represents the position and role of the *ant NP* within the relative clause.

Most of the present chapter will be devoted to a description of what is known as the *restrictive relative clause* (hereafter *RRC*). The properties of RRCs in the languages of the world have been described in terms of their semantic function as follows: "coreference between terms inside and outside the clause (Rel NP and Ant NP); the notion that the RC is an assertion about Rel NP (that Rel NP is its theme); and the relation of modification which holds between a restrictive relative clause (RRC) and its antecedent." (Downing, 1978:378-80). It will be assumed in the ensuing discussion that the link of coreference between the *ant NP* and the *rel NP* represents one of the forms of anaphoric pronominalization in all languages, and that therefore (à la Kuroda, 1968) a rule of definitization applies to the second of two coreferential NPs as one stage in that process of anaphoric pronominalization and as a precondition to relativization. In the Kanuri RRC, it is normally the complex NP-final occurrence of the anaphoric determiner *+ḍá* which effects this definitization process, as in the above example. In addition, an anaphoric pronoun referring back to *ant NP* also occurs within the RRC to indicate the syntactic function of *rel NP* within the RRC. In Kanuri therefore, determiner elements together with personal pronouns combine in the formation of RRCs. Personal pronouns occurring within the Kanuri RRC as *rel NP*, occur in their canonical typological position and thereby indicate the syntactic function of the *rel NP* within the RRC. The determiner element functions to definitize the NP position of *rel NP* and also to delimit the boundaries of the complex NP. Kanuri does not have what we commonly refer to as *relative pronouns*, when discussing the grammar of English. This chapter will also present a brief description of nonrestrictive or appositive relative clause constructions.

2. The Aspect of the Verb in the Verbal Relative Clause. The occurrence of a finite verb form within the relative clause is not characterized by any morphological alteration as is characteristic of certain SOV languages with a modifier-noun structure. The form of the verb is thus syntactically

isolated, not a special subordinated form, since it is always an independent verb form which could as well occur alone in a main clause, as is clear in the following example.

Kāmdō rúkēnā.

I saw the person.

Kām rúkēnādō sāvānēm.

The person that I saw is your friend.

Nevertheless, it is not all of the independent finite verb aspects which may occur within the verbal relative clause. The only affirmative aspects which occur in the relative clause are the imperfect and the perfect. Also manifested are their negative counterparts, the negative imperfect and the negative completive aspects. None of the other affirmative completive aspects may occur within a relative clause. As is shown below, neither past, the NEP, nor the VEP (respectively) may occur therein.

Kām kāsūwūlān rúkēnādō sāvānēm.

The person that I saw in the market

*Kām kāsūwūlān cūrúkōdō sāvānēm.

is your friend.

*Kām kāsūwūlān rúkōdō sāvānēm.

*Kām kāsūwūlān rúkídō sāvānēm.

This restriction on the use of the affirmative completive aspects in the relative clause is corroborated elsewhere in Kanuri grammar. As is observed in chapter 24 with regard to nominalized sentential subjects and objects, and again in chapter 26 with regard to the predicate NPs of cleft NP constructions, the perfect verb aspect is in both of these other cases the only affirmative completive verb aspect which may occur in a nominal constituent with a finite verb form. The perfect is the only affirmative completive aspect to which the determiner element +dō may be applied, thereby effecting nominalization.

3. The Role and Position of Determiners in the Complex NP. It has been observed that the postposed definitizer +dō functions uniquely throughout Kanuri as an anaphoric determiner, whose indefinite counterpart is either \emptyset , or for NPs which are specific but not definite, the postposed láá *some, a certain*. The determiner +dō is used throughout the language to delimit the NP, and in its every occurrence a NP boundary, i.e. constituent break, is indicated. It can never be used deictically, only anaphorically, to recapitulate or refer back to a previous occurrence of a coreferent NP. Within the complex NP, from its NP-final position, the determiner +dō is performing both of these functions, i.e. constituent delimitation and effecting the anaphoric relation between the rel NP and the ant NP. Thus it functions to bind the entire complex NP and to indicate the definiteness of rel NP within the relative clause, the latter being a universal prerequisite to anaphoric pronominalization.

Compare the Kanuri and the English forms of the following sentence, as well as the accompanying phrase structure schema.

Kām lēzēnā+dō sāvānēm.

The person that went is your friend.

ant NP (DET) RRC DET

DET ant NP REL PRO RRC

In both English and Kanuri it is clear that the ant NP and the rel NP are undoubtedly coreferent, and here agree in both being definite and specific. As might be predicted typologically, in English, the DET position and the REL PRO position are both preposed, whereas in Kanuri, the two proposed DET positions are both postposed. In Kanuri the total agreement in definiteness and specificity between the ant NP and the rel NP is shown by the unique occurrence of the determiner element +dō in RRC-final (complex NP-final) position. As long as this complete agreement in definiteness and specificity exists in the complex NP, then the determiner position ((DET) in the above

schema) between ant NP and the modifying RRC may not be filled and is always \emptyset . Because a word-final occurrence of the determiner +d \acute{e} indicates a constituent break, if +d \acute{e} were to occur in that DET position the following appositive, or non-restrictive relative clause construction would result. The commas indicate pauses in speech.

Kāmd \acute{e} , lèz \acute{e} nàd \acute{e} , sáw \acute{a} n \acute{e} m.

~~The person, the one that went, is your friend.~~

If the ant NP of the complex NP does not agree in definiteness with the (always definite) anaphoric rel NP, then this may be shown through the use of the post-ant NP determiner position, filling it with the specific and indefinite determiner element láá as shown in the following example set.

Fátò kām láá sūnz \acute{e} Jíbrín sáid \acute{e} bèn z \acute{e} pcín. He would stay at the home of a certain/some person whose name they say is Jibrin.

Kām láá sūnz \acute{e} nj \acute{e} s \acute{e} ng \acute{e} nàd \acute{e} kádìò. Some person whose name I have forgotten came.

Kām láá kàsúwùlàn rúk \acute{e} nàd \acute{e} kádìò. Some person that I saw in the market came.

It is examples of this type which document the fact that there are two distinct determiner positions in the Kanuri complex NP, one after the ant NP, and another in complex NP-final position.

As mentioned, the post-ant NP determiner position is one that is filled in non-restrictive relative clause constructions, even when both the ant and rel NPs agree in definiteness and specificity. In the above three examples, the indefinite láá in that position may also indicate a constituent break. Therefore these same examples may be interpreted as non-restrictive relative clauses if the appropriate pauses are added.

Kām láá, sūnz \acute{e} ng \acute{e} s \acute{e} ng \acute{e} nàd \acute{e} , kádìò. Some person, whose name I have forgotten, came.

In a relative clause construction therefore, if the post-ant NP determiner position is empty, the structure is a RRC. If that position is filled by the determiner +d \acute{e} then the pauses are obligatory and the structure is a non-restrictive relative clause. If that position is filled by the indefinite láá, then the structure may occur without pauses as an RRC, or with pauses as a non-restrictive relative clause.

Very often when the ant NP and the rel NP do not agree in definiteness, the NP-final occurrence of the determiner +d \acute{e} becomes optional, and is frequently dropped. If the indefinite láá is overtly manifested in such a construction, then it may occur in either of the determiner positions in the complex NP.

Kām láá kàsúwùlàn rúk \acute{e} nà, ...

Kām kàsúwùlàn rúk \acute{e} nà láá, ...

Some person (that) I saw in the market, ..

More examples of this type are presented below. The occurrence or the non-occurrence of +d \acute{e} in these and other complex NP constructions is not always easily explainable. Its use is determined on the basis of very subtle semantic considerations which are very much dependent on the discourse context. This same observation applies to its use in anaphorically marking the simple NP, and also to its use in marking sentential subjects and objects, as observed in chapter 24. In attempting to understand +d \acute{e} , one is very often reminded of the same unpredictability of its (sometimes) English counterpart *that*, which has been so thoroughly documented in the literature (see e.g. Bolinger:1972).

Awó láá Amérikálàn mánémìn mbéjírò wálwònòà, gùllé.	If there is something that you are looking for from America, say.
Awò Amérikálàn mánémìn láá mbéjírò wálwònòà, gùllé.	If there is something that you are looking for from America, say.
Tádà láá kèlàn jé njíbè gózénà cùruiyè.	We saw some boy who was carrying a pot of water on his head.
Kàm láá nánzèn àrgèmmà dùwò mándà sètányí, dàjí àdè nànkàrò àrgèmmzè gáná gózè kàsúwùrò sádìn mándàà njìwòrò.	There was some person who though he had millet at his place had not gotten hold of any salt; therefore he took a little of his millet to the market in order to buy some salt.
Wú-à málàm-à fómnyèn kàsám kènzà nànkàrò dùwò tádà láá círìnnà kèlā fókkaiyè díwàllìn.	The malam and I were out for a walk to get some air when we ran into a boy who was crying on the road/path.
Kàm láá cizénà fànnzérò lèjìn dùwò dàjí càrì láá sèmbàrénà ráksà ànzánzémá gójìnbáwòà díwàllìn kèlā fókkaà.	There was a certain man who had gotten up and was on his way home though when he met up with an old man on the road who was worn out and could not even manage to carry his load.
Rá nyí yàyé, àwó láá kèmbùbè wùrò kàsànnèm shímìn má mbéjì wá?	And what about you, is there something to eat that you might agree to give me?
Kàm wòsò lèzénà, ...	
Kàm lèzénà wòsò, ...	Each/Every person who went, ...

4. Forms in Which Rel NP Occurs Within the RRC (Patterns of Pronoun Retention Within the RRC). It was observed in chapter 22 in relation to the Kanuri sentence that in normal, unmarked environments, when a major NP constituent (i.e. subject or object NP) is pronominal, that it will not occur in the sentence in the form of an independent pronoun. Instead it is manifested only as a clitic subject/object morpheme as carried within the finite verb form. Therefore the sentence *Lèzénà. S/He has gone.* represents a more neutral and unmarked form than the sentence *Shí lèzénà.* In the latter form in which the subject pronoun is manifested both independently and as a clitic on the verb, some kind of emphasis of the subject pronoun is implied. There (ch 22) it was also observed that since the clitic object morpheme for the third person is \emptyset , then the most neutral and unmarked form for the third person object pronoun was also \emptyset , being manifested neither independently nor inside the finite verb form. These same observations may also be applied to the major NP constituents when they occur as rel NP within the RRC, as will be shown.

From its place in NP-final position, the determiner +dè performs the functions described in 3 above, but cannot also show the function of rel NP within the RRC. The only function-marking postpositions which may occur on the NP-final determiner, are those indicating the function of the entire complex NP in the main or matrix sentence. It is the personal pronouns (whether in their clitic or their independent form) which indicate the function of rel NP within the RRC, by occurring in the typological position of that rel NP. In the first example below, rel NP is the subject NP of the RRC, and it occurs within the RRC only as the clitic 3S subject pronoun +zèf. In the second example, rel NP is the object NP of the RRC, and as described above, it occurs within the RRC as \emptyset . In the alternative forms of these two examples which follow them, a redundant independent personal pronoun is retained to indicate the function of rel NP within the RRC.

Kàm lèzénàdè sàwàném.	The person that went is your friend.
Kàm kàsúwùlàn rúkénàdè sàwàném.	The person that I saw in the market is your friend.

Kām shí lèzénàdés sáwàném.

The man that went is your friend.

Kām shià kàsúwùlàn rúkénàdés sáwàném. *The man I saw in the market is your friend.*

The independent pronominal rel NPs in these examples would almost never be retained in this way.

There are however environments in which the retention of independent pronominal rel NPs for major NP constituents such as these is required. Such pronouns would have to be retained when there exists some non-canonical functional relationship between the major constituents of the finite verb form within the RRC. This is comparable to the same environments within the simple sentence (see VI.22) where function-marked (by postpositions) independent pronouns are required. In the following examples, the occurrence of the non-canonical OSV order within the RRC creates environments in which function-marked copies of rel subject NP and rel object NP, respectively are required. As in main clauses, this aberrant typological order results in marking of the left-dislocated direct object NP with the associative postposition, and the related (concurrent) marking of the subject NP with the agent postposition +yè. This formation of the major constituents in a Kanuri sentence was referred to as the Kanuri equivalent of a passive-agent construction in VI.22.

Kām Alià shiyè súrúnàdés àbímá
gùlzènyí.

The person who Ali was seen by didn't say anything.

Kām shià Aliyè súrúnàdés sáwànyí. *The person who was seen by Ali is my friend.*

Elsewhere, such copies of major NP constituents are completely redundant, unless the speaker wishes to semantically single out and uniquely identify rel NP, that is, more than to the degree that is already done so by the RRC. This is done through the application of the emphatic particle +má to the retained independent pronoun, as shown in the first two examples below. It is much more common however for these independent pronouns to not occur, and for the emphatic particle +má to occur in post-RRC position, immediately preceding the determiner as shown in the alternative forms below.

Kām shímá lèzénàdés, ...

?The person who HE went, ...

Kām shímá rúkénàdés, ...

?The person who I saw HIM, ...

Kām lèzénàmádés, ...

The very/one person who went, ...

Kām rúkénàmádés, ...

The very/one person that I saw, ...

Such emphasis of a rel NP may not occur in English as is indicated by the awkward translations above. In the more common alternative forms, the same degree of emphasis is not implied as indicated by the translations above. The intermediate stage between these two forms, which as well occurs in Kanuri, is represented by the following forms of these same two complex NPs.

Kām shí lèzénàmádés, ...

Kām shià rúkénàmádés, ...

Similar emphasis or intensification of a plural rel/ant NP may also entail pronoun retention and optional movement of a quantifier to post-RRC position immediately preceding the determiner element, as shown here with the quantifiers sámmá, sámmásó, só all.

Am sàndí sámmá(só) lèzánàdés, ...

The people who all went/all of whom went,

?Am sàndísó lèzánàdés, ...

Am sámmásó lèzánàdés, ...

All the people who went, ...

Am lèzánà sámmá (sódá), ...

All the people who went, ...

Am lèzánàsó(dé), ...

All the people who went, ...

Am lèzánàdés sámmá(só), ...

The people who went, all of them, ...

It is clear from examples such as these that the various patterns of pronoun

retention interact with the various quantifier and determiner positions to effect subtle meaning differences.

4.1. Retained Pronoun as Ant NP. There is a tendency for the retained pronoun copy of a major constituent NP to supersede the ant NP syntactically, and to move from the status of rel NP to ant NP. In this way it comes to function as ant NP, with the preceding lexical non-pronoun head functioning as a sort of topicalized NP. This makes the RRC with its new pronominal ant NP very much like an appositive nonrestrictive relative clause, as if the speaker began by thinking he would not have to identify the head noun with anything more than a determiner, but then decided to add an entire relative clause construction. When such a retained pronoun takes on the role of ant NP, it may not be marked in any way by a postposition indicating function.

kām(,) shí kāsúwùlàn rúkónàdó, ... *the person(,) the one that I saw in the mkt.*

As will be observed at a number of points throughout the subsequent data sections, Kanuri has a variety of forms of headless relative clauses, i.e. complex NPs without an ant NP. This is especially true of RRCs for which the ant NP is a generic noun, of the type thus far examined in this chapter, e.g. headed by nouns like kām *person*, àwó *thing*, etc. Therefore all of the possible forms of the above example are quite possible and to be expected.

kām kāsúwùlàn rúkónàdó, ...	<i>the person that I saw in the market, ...</i>
kām shí kāsúwùlàn rúkónàdó, ...	<i>the person that I saw (him) in the market,</i>
shí kāsúwùlàn rúkónàdó, ...	<i>him/the one that I saw in the market, ...</i>
kāsúwùlàn rúkónàdó, ...	<i>the one I saw in the market, ...</i>
kām shímá kāsúwùlàn rúkónàdó, ...	<i>?the person who I saw him in the market, ...</i>
kām shí kāsúwùlàn rúkónámádó, ...	<i>the very/one person that I saw in the market,</i>
shí kāsúwùlàn rúkónámádó, ...	<i>the very one that I saw in the market, ...</i>
kām kāsúwùlàn rúkónámádó, ...	<i>the very person that I saw in the market, ...</i>
kāsúwùlàn rúkónámádó, ...	<i>the very one that I saw in the market, ...</i>

The interpretation of headless relatives is of course dependent on a discourse context clearly understood by both speaker and hearer. A given headless RRC will take on a wide range of meanings when translated, according to the context in which it occurs.

4.2. Patterns of Pronoun Retention for Rel NPs in Oblique Functions in RRC.

In general it may be stated with regard to verbal RRCs, that retention of an independent pronoun in the RRC is often required for those rel NPs which are not normally incorporated in the finite verb form as clitic pronouns. Thus pronoun retention in the RRC is more common for rel NPs in oblique functions, rather than those in major functions, i.e. subject and object NP as discussed above. In RRCs of this type, all of the other aspects of relative clause formation (e.g. aspect restrictions, role of determiners, etc.) as described thus far still apply.

For a rel NP which is the indirect object NP of the RRC, there is normally obligatory independent pronoun retention with function-marking by the indirect postposition +rò, as shown below.

Kām shírò mātònyí yìkkèlādèkénàdó	<i>The person that I sold my car to has</i>
kúngónànzèà.	<i>money.</i>
Kām mātònyí shírò yìkkèlādèkénàdó	<i>The person that I sold my car to has</i>
kúngónànzèà.	<i>money.</i>

Such retained pronouns will normally occur in their canonical typological position within the RRC. In the case of the indirect object, there is considerable freedom with regard to its order in the RRC, as is shown by the two alternate forms of the above sentence. The retained pronoun may however be excluded, as shown below, when there is no risk of ambiguity.

Also with the verb *give*, the retained pronoun is frequently omitted.

Kām mātònyí yìkkèlādèkénàdè
kúngénànzàà.

The person to whom I sold my car has money.

Kámú kúngénàdè (shírò) yíkénàdè
kàsúwùrò lèwónò.

The woman I gave the money to went to the market.

For a rel NP which is an instrumental NP within the RRC, there is obligatory pronoun retention. Without it; misinterpretation of the type indicated below may result.

Jánà kányí shílàn dùwàzénàdè-
tímià.

The knife with which I slaughtered the goat is sharp.

?Jánà kányí dùwàzénàdè, ...

?*The knife that slaughtered the goat, ...*

For a rel NP which is a genitive NP within the RRC, there is again obligatory pronoun retention. In such cases, the retained pronoun is normally in the form of a possessive pronoun suffix.

Kām fèrnzè ndàlténàdè zàurò
kàrégènzè kúttù.

The person whose horse was stolen is very sad.

Additional examples of these and other relative clause types will be examined in the sections which follow.

5. Rel NP as Subject of the RRC. In the following three examples, the coreferent rel NP of the RRC is the subject of the RRC. The entire complex NP functions as the subject of the main verb in the first, as its direct object in the second, and as its indirect object in the third. Notice that there is no independent retained pronoun in any of these examples.

Kām kú Yèrwàrò lèzénàdè bálì
wàltìn.

The person that went to Yerwa today will return tomorrow.

Kām shià líwùlā dùtòn kózénàdè(à)
ngáltémá rúkènyí.

I have never seen a person who is better at sewing than s/he.

Am isàidèrò gòrò yé.

Give kola to the people who are coming.

In the following examples of rel NP as subject of the RRC, the ant NP is not a noun in isolation, but is modified in the first two by a genitive phrase, and in the last example by a possessive pronoun suffix.

Kùrwùlì kàrààbè sùró kàrààbèn
dègánàdè kām cèjìnbà.

The lion of the bush who lives in the bush does not kill people.

Díwàl yàlàbè kàsúwù Màidùwùribèrò
ísónàdè zàurò fàrák.

The northern road which came to the Maiduguri market was very wide.

Sàwàwàndé nā fállàn námnyénàsòdè
sámmá kèléwà sélái.

Our friends that we stayed in the same place with are all very well.

In the following examples, the ant NP is a negative indefinite pronoun. In each case the matching negative required to give the negative indefinite meaning occurs in the main clause predicate, and not within the RRC.

Ndúmá nèksénà fàngénà bā.

There was no one who I heard who made a sound.

Ndúmá ísèpà rúkènyí.

I saw no one who came.

In the following examples, note the variety of possible determiner elements, including the determiner +dè, which may occur in RRC-final position.

Kām líitá súrià sèràgèná wòsòrò
míntì úwù yìkìn.

I give five minutes to every person who wants to see the doctor.

Màlámwá kòs sàdèná ànyí, láanzá cā
bùrwó dáràjà kèrmálàmbè sàwàndènyí;
ámámá kòs kùbè sàdèná àdèlàn dáràjà
kèrmálàmbè kèndégèmi sàwàndèná.

These teachers who did the course, some of them had not formerly attained the level of teacher; but now that they have completed the present course, they have become grade four teachers.

Abí yáyé àdìnnà bànnàjìnbā díwì
 gènyí, kàanzèwúdsà.
 Kùrú, òiwàlwá kàsúwù Màidùwùribèrò,
 gādín ísàidé ngéwù.
 Kánú hòktúnzè sètányí wánéè
 àsaràgàirò mājìnrò kùrwùn cín.
 Ngò díyè àwó wààzèzèndé wò.
 Àwó gāpsèná bá.

*No matter what that does not violate
 the religion is not bad, in his opinion.
 Furthermore, the roads that lead to the
 Maiduguri market from the east are many.
 He gives medicine to any woman whose
 term is not up and who might abort.
 Hey here is what it is that happened.
 There is nothing left/not a thing that
 remains.*

5.1. Rel NP as Subject of RRC in Complex NP from which Ant NP is Omitted.
 As mentioned earlier, if ant NP is a semantically generic noun occurring
 as ant NP without modifiers (e.g. *kām person*), or is completely understood
 in the utterance context, then it may be omitted, resulting in apparently
 headless RRCs like the following.

Dòndìzèzèndé ngàzèná.
 Kójìnmádémá kākè wò.
 Kàlìimò gènyà, ráksè Sàhàràn
 lèjìndé bá.
 Délá gènyà, lèzè shià lèfàzènyídé
 bá.
 Fànzèná fànnzèn.

*The one that got sick has recovered.
 It is the one that is passing that is
 mine.
 Except for the camel, there is not one
 that can travel in the Sahara.
 Except for the jackal, there was not
 one of them that did not go and greet
 him.
 The one that heard it is in his house.*

6. Rel NP as the Object of the RRC. In all of the examples presented in this
 section the function of the rel NP is as the direct object of the RRC. The
 variant forms on this basic theme will be presented in separate groups.

Kām ràammà mèmètáyè súwúdinbā.
 Àwó tàmbúmmàmán fànémí kù fànèmin.
 Kámúnzè zàwàrlàn sémówúnàdé
 bówòwòndò.
 Àwó nyià gálàngíndé fàné!
 Kām Tijani wàláu Kúlìlàn bówózàidé
 nòngèná.
 Àwòwá báli díkìnsòdé kàdá.
 Fèr Àlibè ndàlzènamádé jílinzé
 shígáí ngéwù bá.
 Wúyè àwó dùwónyí Àlàyè àlàksènalàn
 kāmro ngálwò wò bá.
 Àwó nàndírò gùlngín àdèrò
 njískénówó!
 Àwó nyirò bìskántò gùlzèzèndé
 zàurò ngélà.
 Súró sàwawànzèbè ngámán kām dùwò
 màirià (ètányí fálmá báwò).
 Díyél fèránèm fèrnèmmádé bunnàdé
 kátè bá.
 Bèlànzé Yèrwà gènáazèzèndé
 kàsúwúnzè lètèlín gènáwòndò.
 Dágèlyè àwó sùrúnàdé, búltù àdè
 shià kòljìnbā.

*Looking out will never bring the person
 that you want (to see).
 Today you will hear something that you
 have not heard since you were born.
 He called his wife that he had married as
 a divorcé.
 Listen to what/the thing I am advising you.
 I know the person that they call by Tijani
 or Kuli.
 All the things I will do tomorrow are many.
 There are not many horses like Ali's horse
 that they stole.
 In my opinion; among all the things that
 God created, there is none more noble than
 man.
 Pay attention to this thing that I am
 telling all of you.
 What/the thing that s/he said to you the
 day before yesterday is very good.
 Among his friends there was not one person
 who was not somehow related to the King's
 palace.
 There is no avoiding sleep in a bed that
 has been cleaned and is all made up.
 For his town Yerwa that he set up, he
 established the market on Monday.
 What the monkey saw was that this hyena
 was not going to let him go.*

Awó dímìn(dé). nònémà wá?

Do you know what you are doing/should do?

In the following examples, the subject NP of the RRC is marked by the agent postposition, indicating that within the RRC, the direct object NP precedes the subject/agent. As described in section 4 above, this type of construction may require an independent retained pronoun, function-marked with the associative postposition, and preceding the subject/agent.

Adè awó dūwōnyí kànūrīwáyè gūlzāidés. *This is the thing though that is said by the Kamuris.*

Awó dūwōnyí, hōwūmyè gènáśégónámádés kāsānggēnā. *I accept the thing which was decided for me by the committee.*

Awó fēryè sādīā fārdás kējī sāinnādés, dālōyè cidōrō wālwōndā dūwāzāi. *The thing that when a horse does it they say that that horse is a great horse, if it were to be done by an ox they would slaughter it.*

Kitāwū adā, shímá kàkkādēwá Hōwūm Lāmār Kúngēnā Bəlīnrò Fàltógébè Tàrtiptámádáyè lēpsè bákšēnāsòdóbè kēntīlómīnzá wò. Tāfakkār bādīwōnd, *This book, it is the first of the books (though) that were written and printed by the Decimal Currency Board.*

kēlā kāálā dūwō abānzōyè shīrò cínābēdēn. Kām (shīā) Alīyè kāsūwūlān lēfāzēnādésā nōngēnyí. *He began thinking, about the the advice that had been given him by his father. I do not know the person that was greeted by Ali in the market.*

Awó kām lāayè sādē kēlēwā bōjīndés kām lāayè sādīā nā būnābēdēmā sēwāndīnbā. *What can be done by one person and he can sleep perfectly well, when done by another person, that person might not even find a place to lie down.*

Awó kām kūrā nāpkātāyè sūrīndés tādā gānā dāatāmāyè sūrīnbā. *What can be seen by the old man when seated, will not be seen by the young boy even if he is standing up.*

Awó nāsārāwāsōyè āndīrō lārdē ādēlān sādēnādés zāurō āndīrō fāidāa. *What has been done to us in this country by the Europeans is very useful to us.*

Awó abānēmyè nyīrō sādēnādés zāurō ngélā. *The thing that your father did to you is very good.*

It should be pointed out that in many of the above examples, the initial complex NP functions as a sort of topic, and is very much like what have been referred to with regard to other languages as *pseudo-cleft constructions*, as is indicated in some of their translations, e.g. *What has been done to you by your father is very good*, for the last example.

In the following example there is no agent-marked subject NP in the RRC, but a function-marked pronoun for the direct object rel NP is nevertheless retained in the RRC. This form of independent pronoun retention for the direct object is rare, as described in section 4 earlier.

Kāmūwā kēlā kēntāmbībēn sādīā rōngēnāmádés lēngē rúkīn. *I will go and see the women who for maternity reasons I have retained (them) (i.e. in the hospital).*

6.1. Rel NP as the Object of RRC in Complex NP from which Ant NP is Omitted. As was the case with rel NP as the subject of the RRC, when a semantically generic and anaphorically understood NP occurs as ant NP to an object rel NP, it may be omitted and result in headless relative clauses like the following.

Dágēlyè kēskā ādēlān fārzē tūdū sētīā zāzērmā yé fārzē isē dágēlyè kōlžēnādērō nāpsēgīn. *The monkey jumps from this tree and when he reaches that one, the leopard too jumps and comes and sits on the one that the monkey left.*

Nyíyè nándémmádé ròà lèwónò.
 Wúyè nándékénámádé kónù.
 Nyíyè rúmìn ànyí sàndí gènyí.

Adè kèlányinnà dùwò, wúà
 sémòwomià, nyíró hērbà dīkīndé
 ndúsòà àjàpcín.

*The one that you bit went away alive.
 The one that I bit died.
 These you see are not they.
 The one that I finished I took to him.
 That is still in my head, but if you
 do not save me the evil that I do to
 you will amaze everyone.*

7. Rel NPs which Occur as Oblique NPs in the RRC. In the following examples, the rel NP performs an oblique function as the object of a postpositional phrase within the RRC. As will be seen, in some cases, an independent pronoun plus postposition is retained to represent this rel NP in the RRC. Included here are those oblique phrases involving an indirect object and an instrumental. Those involving expressions of time, place and manner, are treated in a subsequent section since in such cases there is rarely if ever the possibility of independent pronoun retention.

In the first set of examples, a function-marked pronoun copy is retained.

Férò shíró kúngénà yíkénàdèà Àlìyè
 sùrùnyí.
 Kām shíró Tìjānì sàidé zāurò
 kām ngélāmá.
 Nàsàrà dùwò shíró Jōn sàimá shiá
 Tújālān bówónyènmádèà rúkénà.
 Bèlā shíró Bèlāmārì gūlzāi kermá
 nā kūrò Shèhūrì dègánádé.

Kèlā kèská kūrā shíró tarmù.
 gūlzāibèlān nāpkatà.
 Adè bánò shílān kúlònyí sámmá
 bàrèngénádé.
 Jānā (shílān) kányí dùwàngīndéslān
 fēà dùwawónò.
 Adè mātò shílān cidārò lèngīndé..

*The girl to whom I gave the money was
 not seen by Ali.
 The person to whom they refer as Tijani
 is a very good person.
 I saw the European though that they refer
 to as John and that we call Tijani.
 The town they call Belamari is the place
 where the Shehu's palace is up until
 today.
 S/He is seated on the big tree which
 they refer to as the tarmu.
 This is the hoe with which I hoed my
 entire field.
 He slaughtered a cow with the knife with
 which I slaughter goats.
 This is the car in which I go to work.*

The following are examples of this same type, in which an anaphorically understood ant NP is anaphorically understood and has been omitted.

Shíró kùrwūn yíkénámádé ngàzēnyí.

*The one to whom I gave the medicine
 has not gotten well.*

Shílān kùrwūlì yèzékénádé ndālzānà.

*They stole the one that I killed the
 lion with.*

8. Rel NP as the Object of a Genitive Phrase. In the following examples, rel NP functions in a genitive role in the RRC, and in most cases, is represented in the RRC by a usually obligatory suffixed possessive pronoun. The singular +nzé *his/her* and the plural +nzá *their* therefore become the retained pronoun form of the rel NP in such RRCs.

Adémá mārā sūrōnzēn Mākkārò
 lènyénádé wò.
 Bàrémá fērnzē ndālzānádé fār gādé
 káiwo.
 Kúwāwā fátò kām lāa sūnzé Jíbrīn
 sàidé zèpcín.
 Wāndé fátò sūrōnzé rúmí àgèrīnēmí.

*It is this that is the plane in which
 we went to Mecca.
 The farmer whose horse they stole bought
 another horse.
 In Kukawa, he would stay at the home of
 some person whose name is Jibrin.
 Don't rent a house whose insides you
 have not seen.*

Kámú lāa hóktūnzé sèténà àmmá
 kèntāmbīrò tìyèrià, nāshà kām
 rètābèrò yākkín.

*A woman whose time has arrived but who
 fails to give birth, I take her to the
 operating room.*

Kámú hòktúnzè sètényí wánèè
àsàragàirò májinnà, shí yé róngè
kùrwùn shìrò díkìn.

*A woman whose time has not arrived but
maybe if she is about to abort, I retain
her also and give her medicine.*

In the following pair of examples, either the suffixed possessive pronoun or the determiner element +dó may occur in the rel NP position within the RRC. In the latter case it would seem that the locative interpretation (as shown in the translation) is appropriate, rather than the genitive interpretation of the former.

Fátò sùródèn/sùrónzèn shià rúkénàdó
kàanzè gènyí.

*The house wherein/in which I saw him/her
is not his/hers.*

Fótò bánkìbè gùllyénàdó yé, fótò
fátò sùródèn/sùrónzèn bánkìdó
dègánàdébè rááiyè.

*And the photo of the bank that we men-
tioned, we meant the photo of the building
wherein/in which the bank is located.*

9. Complex NPs Headed by Ant NPs of Time, Place and Manner. The most generic and commonly occurring ant NPs in complex NPs of the type here under consideration are the following: *sā time, nā place, fútù/délfù way, manner.* Another ant NP which might also be included in this set is *dəlíl reason*, though it is much less commonly produced. All of these oblique ant NPs and their RRCs are grouped together in this section because it is extremely rare in Kanuri for a rel NP for such ant NPs to be retained within the RRC. One reason that might be used to explain this is that they are certainly the most generic nouns of their respective classes semantically.

Another factor which might contribute to there being no need for a retained rel NP is that the entire complex NP in which they occur is also used obliquely, adverbially. It is relevant to repeat the following example of a rel NP as instrumental from section 7, in which the retained pronoun is optional, almost totally redundant and normally excluded.

Jána (shílàn) kányí dùwàngíndélàn
fèà dùwáwòndò.

*He slaughtered a cow with the knife with
which I slaughter goats.*

In other environments when the entire complex NP does not function as an instrumental within the main clause, then the retained instrumental rel NP is not optional but obligatory. It would seem that when ant NP and rel NP agree in grammatical function (case function) within the main clause and the RRC respectively, then the function-marked pronoun copy of ant NP within the RRC becomes redundant. This is an observation that may apply to similar constructions in languages other than Kanuri. If this is true then it could be used to explain why rel NPs in pronominal form are never retained in RRCs headed by the ant NPs cited earlier in this section, i.e. because the case function of the ant NP always agrees with the rel NP, and is clearly marked in complex NP-final position for the main or matrix clause.

Nā ràammàlàn nàmné!
Sā ísónàdèn shià cùrukò.
Ndú yàyé nā sèràgènnàn njóljìn.

*Sit down where you want!
I saw him when/at the time he came.
No matter who will squat down where
s/he wants.*

Fútùndúsóyè nòzénàdégàilàn
cìdàjìn.

S/He works in a way that everyone knows.

Fútù sédiàn àrgèm fínyénàdégàirò
wáljìn

*It will become like the way that we have
spilled millet on the ground.*

Shí tìlónzè nánzè sèràgènnàrò lèjìn.

All by himself he goes where he wants.

Ndá fútù kúrwú ádèà cìdàzénàdésà rúí!

Múskò kámmayè nā ràammà zègámbìnbà.

*Look at the way he has worked this gown!
Another person's hand will not scratch
the place you want.*

Kám kèlāà nánzèndó, nā sèràgènnàlàn
kòyò gènájìn.

*The person with a head in his place, can
place the hair tufts where he wants (of
father of a child).*

Kàsúwùdés, shímá nà ámsòyè sáptà
áwò fànnzán bàà céséfíndé.

*The market, it is the place where people
gather and buy things that they are out
of at home.*

Sá kúlò bārèbè sèténádèn, kúlò
bélìn mázè cítà.

*When the time of farming arrived, he went
and got a new farm/field.*

Fútù ábànzòyè gálàzénádégáirò
ábísó cídó.

*He did everything in exactly the way that
his father had advised.*

On the basis of the available data, it is apparent that each of the generic head nouns of this class of oblique complex NPs is generally associated with a characteristic postposition, which typically follows the post-RRC determiner position. It is this postposition which indicates the oblique function of the entire NP in the main clause, and which obviates the necessity of a retained pronoun plus postpositional phrase in the RRC. The postpositions which are typically associated with each of the ant NPs under consideration here are as follows:

sá	DET +(là)n	at, the time that, when, while
ná	DET +(là)n/+rò	the place that/where/in/to which, where
fútù/délfù	DET +gáì(+rò)	the way in which, as

9.1. Temporal Complex NPs with no Ant NP. Of the complex NP types under consideration in this section, it is only those with a temporal interpretation for which the head noun *sá time* may be omitted and anaphorically understood. Such headless relative clauses are nearly always followed by a form of the postposition +(là)n in post-RRC determiner position. A function-marked retained pronoun never occurs in the RRC. When such RRCs have a perfect verb form as the finite verb in the RRC, the interpretation is usually that of a fixed point in time with no reference to the sequence of events. When characterized by an imperfect aspect finite verb form, then the interpretation is durational, as shown in the following examples.

Súró fátòbèrò gàyínládèn, shiá
cúrukò.

I saw him while he was entering the house.

Shiá rúiyená wòsòn kèjí fànjínbá.

*Every time that we saw him, he was not
feeling well.*

Mátò kúrädé táshàlàn líndèn
ámsòdè kàsàrgáwò.

*While the truck was stopping at the
station people entered it.*

Lèngénáládèn shiá fàndékènyí.

When I went I did not meet him.

Awòwá Kànùríbè ngéwù Yèrwàn
dègánàn kèlìòn tèmànzéà.

*He has hope of learning a lot of things
about Kamuri while he lives in Yerwa.*

Ngáwò nyíró wú-à nyí-à Mákkàrò
íshiyènbá gùlngénàbèn ngámá úá
shiyám?

*After I told you that you and I would
not come to Mecca (together), why did
you follow me?*

CHAPTER 24: NOMINAL CLAUSES AS SUBJECT, OBJECT AND OBLIQUE NP CONSTITUENTS

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of the present chapter to systematically describe and present all of the forms and functions of sentences occurring in NP positions, which will here be referred to as *nominal clauses*. The syntactic form of the various nominal clause types will be presented, and the clause types will be grouped according to the internal structure of the clause, the role that the nominal clause constituent plays in the main or matrix clause, and the role played by determiner and postpositional elements marking the clause-final position within the entire construction. It will be seen that the determiner element +dã again plays an important role in the formation of nominal clauses, a role which can be related to its role in the structure of the complex NP described in the preceding chapter 23. It will also be observed that the indirect postposition +rò, in much the same way as its counterpart English prepositions *to* and *for*, functions as an apparent subordinator (or in this case a *complementizer of verb phrase complement nominal clauses*). The role of the conjunctive forms of the verb ngin, which in certain verb phrase complement constructions may replace the complementizer +rò, will also be presented and analyzed.

2. Structural Characteristics of Constructions Containing Nominal Clauses. As would be expected, the canonical arrangement and position of nominal clauses in a matrix sentence follows naturally from the typological SOV characteristics of the language. Whether a nominal clause occurs as subject NP (as in the first example below), as object NP (as in the second example below), or as the object of the postposition (complementizer) (as in the third example below), it will normally precede the verbal or nonverbal predicate of the matrix clause.

Mándè fānndérò ísènáǎsýè wúà
àjǎpkòndò.

*That he came to our house last year
amazed me.*

Àlì Mǎkkàrò lèjǎndé kàsànggēnyí.

*I don't accept/agree that Ali is going
to Mecca.*

Ammá búltù dǎdǎ bārò súrùnyí.

*But the hyena did not see that the meat
was not there.*

For certain matrix clause verbs which take nominal clauses marked by the indirect postposition +rò, one will frequently hear utterances in which the matrix verb is in construction-initial position, with the nominal clause postposed as in the following example. This is of course in violation of the SOV structure of the language. The same observation is made in chapter 27 with regard to clauses of reason and purpose, also subordinated by +rò.

Tēmāngēnà kǎléwà sǎlǎilàn
zèmmémmārò.

*I hope/expect that you landed/arrived
perfectly safely.*

Kǎléwà sǎlǎilàn zèmmémmārò
tēmāngēnà.

*I hope/expect that you landed/arrived
perfectly safely.*

Since the verbal noun is the only nonfinite form of the verb which is common to all of the verbs of the language, it occurs in a variety of nominal clause types, including both those which correspond to infinitival NP complements in English, and those which correspond to gerundive NP complements, as shown in the following examples.

Nyíà mǎtòném lǎdòrò gǎlǎwòndò.

S/He advised you to sell your car.

Mǎkkàrò lèténzédé àndià shìwòlžēnyí.

His going to Mecca did not bother us.

All of the nominal clause types thus far introduced, and others, are introduced and analyzed in the following sections.

3. Nominal Clauses Characterized by a Nonfinite Verb Form (Verbal Noun).

Most of the nominal clauses treated in this section are characterized by a verbal noun functioning as the verb form of the nominal clause, followed by the indirect postposition +rò. Most of them will lend themselves to interpretation in English by infinitival clauses introduced by *to*, such as *I hope to go*. In such constructions, the subject of the matrix clause may be identical to the subject of the nominal clause, as in the following examples.

Músà àndià lèfàtérò njéskòndò. *Musa forgot to greet us.*
 Àlì Mákàràrò lètérò májìn. *Àli is trying/wants to go to Mecca.*
 Wàjísó shià kùrùrò ngènètákèná. *I made an effort to see him every day.*

For different types of main clause verbs which do not occur in the above type of construction, a subject or object NP from the nominal clause may also function as the direct object of the matrix clause, as in the following examples.

Nyíà mátònsm lādòrò gālāwòndò. *S/He advised you to sell your car.*
 Shià líítáyè ngáltérò kòlwókò. *I left/allowed him to be examined by the doctor.*

For a few of the main clause verbs, the postposition +rò may be optional, as in the following example.

Béris kèmbù(rò) bàdìwòndò. *S/He started to eat food.*

The verb rák+ *be able, can* must also be included in this section since it takes nonfinite verb forms in nominal clauses. In this case however, the postposition may not occur on the nominal clause.

Kámyè lété rákcìnbá. *He cannot tolerate being touched by people.*

The syntactic structure of the nominal clause is very often dictated by the type of verb occurring as the main verb in the matrix clause. Verbs that productively occur with nominal clauses having a nonfinite verb form marked by the indirect postposition are very often verbs of intention, purpose, and emotion. All of the following main verbs may productively occur with the nominal clause type here under consideration.

<i>verb root</i>	<i>meaning</i>
ángàl gèná+	<i>be careful (to)</i>
bàdì+	<i>begin, start (to)</i>
báná+	<i>help (to)</i>
cís+ II	<i>take care of, worry about</i>
gàlà+	<i>advise, counsel (to)</i>
dámè+ III	<i>take the trouble (to)</i>
dàp+	<i>refuse, not allow (to)</i>
kàsàt+	<i>accept, agree (to)</i>
kòl+	<i>leave, let, allow (to)</i>
làmbì+ III	<i>be concerned about, have a desire (to)</i>
má+	<i>look for, try, want (to)</i>
màngèr+	<i>desire, strive (to)</i>
mòwònd+	<i>be possible (to) (+neg = impossible)</i>
náp+ I	<i>decide (to)</i>
njés+	<i>forget (to)</i>
nò+	<i>know how (to)</i>
ngódó+	<i>implore (to)</i>
ngènèp+ III	<i>take the trouble (to)</i>
nyà+	<i>intend, plan (to)</i>
rài+, fài+, lèilèi+	<i>convince, persuade (to)</i>

verb root

rāk+

rī+

shiwōl+ III

tāk+

tāmā+

wā+

wādè+, wādè gó+

zàk+ III

meaning

be able (to)

be afraid (to)

take the trouble, bother (to)

remember (to)

hope, think, expect (to)

dislike, not want (to)

promise, vow (to)

try, attempt, trouble o.s. (to)

Nonfinite nominal clauses of the gerundive type, in which the verbal noun may be followed by a genitival nominal of some kind plus the determiner element +dè, are treated together with other nominal clauses marked by this determiner element in section 4.2 below.

It should be pointed out that infinitival nominal clauses with the matrix verb *want* are not always best expressed by the construction type here under consideration. The matrix verb *má+* literally *look for* but translated in the above list as *try, want* also, may be used for this purpose (as was shown in an earlier example repeated here).

Mákkàrò lètèrò májìn.

He is trying/wants to go to Mecca.

Most Kanuri speakers would however prefer a totally different kind of construction to express this notion. Therefore one will more often hear this expressed with the matrix verb *rāv+* *want, like, love* preceded by an associative-subordinated clause in the VEC verb aspect. Subordinate clauses of this type are described in detail in chapter 31.

Bèrì búkià ràákèná.

I want to eat.

Mákkàrò lèjíà sèràgèná.

He wants to go to Mecca.

3.1. Nonfinite Nominal Clauses Marked by the Postposition +(là+)n and Followed by a Nonverbal Main Clause Predicate. In constructions of this type the verbal noun or a closely related lexical noun occurs in the nominal clause and is marked by the locative/means/instrument postposition +(là+)n. Here the main clause is nonverbal and consists of a NP marked by the associative postposition, and constitutes a nonverbal predicate of existence of the type presented in chapter V.16. This construction type contains a nominal clause which functions in a nonverbal environment and therefore does not fill any of the roles of major or oblique NP constituent in a verbal sentence. The following are typical examples.

Awòwá ngéwù kèlìon tàmánzèà.

He has hope of/in learning many things.

Awòwá ngéwù kèlìon tàmàà.

There is hope in learning many things.

Yèrwán cìdàtèn nyánzèà.

He has the intention of working in Yerwa.

Sàndià kùrùn tàmámnyà.

I take pleasure in seeing them.

4. Nominal Clauses Characterized by a Finite Verb Form. All of the nominal clause types treated in this section are characterized by a verb phrase bearing a finite verb form. Those nominal clauses of this type functioning as subject NPs may be marked by the agent postposition +yè in certain occurrences; those functioning as object NPs may be marked by the associative postposition in certain occurrences; those verb phrase complement NPs which are not syntactic direct objects are marked by the oblique postposition +rò, which marking may be a function of the form of the lexical entry of the verbs occurring as main clause predicates, i.e. that they require marking of complements by the indirect postposition +rò.

4.1. Nominal Clauses with a Finite Verb Form Marked by the Postposition +rò. For constructions of the type here under consideration, the finite verb form

of the nominal clause is followed obligatorily and uniquely by the post-position +rò. In general it can be said that the main clause verbs which are characteristic of this construction type are verbs of cognition, emotion, and expectation, etc. A significant percentage of the verbs observed here are the same as those observed with a nonfinite nominal clause in section 3 above. The following are typical examples.

Kúngénànyí ndàlžánàrò zànggónà.	<i>I suspect that he stole my money.</i>
Ishìnrò tèmàngónà.	<i>I think he is coming.</i>
Tèmàngónà ishìnrò.	<i>I think he is coming.</i>
Awòwá sàndènyí ànyí sámmásórò nyímá	<i>I think that you are asking yourself</i>
túwòrèminrò tèmàngónà.	<i>about all of these inappropriate things.</i>
Kéméndè cidà àdè tàmòzàirò tèmàzánà.	<i>They think that they will finish this</i>
	<i>work this year.</i>
Tájírwàn bàwòjìnrò tèmàwónò.	<i>He thought he would die in the accident.</i>
Kéméndè Mákkàrò lèjìnrò nápségónà.	<i>He decided he will go to Mecca this year.</i>
Ráksè Kànùrí mànàjìnrò yàsàràkàná.	<i>I believe he can speak Kamuri.</i>
Alì kām ásúžénàrò tèmàžènyí.	<i>Ali didn't think anyone had noticed.</i>
Ndúmá ásúžènyíró tèmàžénà.	<i>He thought no one had noticed.</i>
Cidà májìnrò tànggónà.	<i>I recalled he was looking for work.</i>
Tèmàngónà Yèrwàrò lèngià wúrò	<i>I think they will send it to me when</i>
zùwàžàirò.	<i>I go to Yerwa.</i>
Tèmàngónà díminnà kàrgàm̀rò.	<i>I think you are in the process of doing it.</i>
Wú kèlányín ísémìnrò góngónà.	<i>I took it into my mind that you were coming.</i>
Dùlìwàsò bérì sàwàndánàrò cískékò.	<i>I took care to see that the children got food.</i>
Lèngénàrò tèmàžénà.	<i>He thinks that I went/have gone.</i>
Àmmá sàndí sààsàirò yíkènyí.	<i>But I didn't think they would flee/escape.</i>
Dágèlyè zàžèrmá shímá kádúžèrò	<i>The monkey noticed that it was the leopard</i>
ásújí.	<i>who was following.</i>
Ndàrá lèjìnrò shià cúwòrùkò.	<i>I asked him where he was going.</i>
Lèjìn lá lèjìnbàrò shià cúwòrùkò.	<i>I asked him whether he was going or not.</i>
Shìrò yíkèná lá yíkènyíró	<i>I am not sure whether I gave it to him</i>
kàrùrùtèkèná.	<i>or not.</i>
yíwùkìn rá yíwùkìnbàrò shià	<i>I consulted him as to whether I should</i>
shàwàròkò.	<i>buy it or not.</i>

Among the main verbs taking finite nominal clauses plus +rò is a small group which regularly are produced with such finite clauses in the subjunctive. It includes verbs of insistence, persuasion, and warning, as is apparent in the following examples.

Shià ràingónà wàndé Mákkàrò	<i>I convinced him that he should not go to</i>
lèžènyíró.	<i>Mecca.</i>
Màiyè jàmánzè bàrìtégónà wàndé	<i>The king warned his people that they</i>
kwàrà kòlžànyíró.	<i>should not leave bush fires.</i>
Kàžàllàyè kúngénàdè ndàlžàrò	<i>The official advised them that they</i>
sàndià gàl̀àwónò.	<i>should steal the money.</i>

The following is a list of main clause verbs which have been observed in this role governing nominal clauses characterized by a finite verb form, and followed by the indirect postposition +rò. It will be noted that a number of them have already been observed as main clause verbs to nonfinite nominal clauses marked by +rò.

verb root

meaning

àngèr+

deny

ású+ III

notice, realize, recognize

bàrì+

urge, demand

bàyèn+

explain

<i>verb root</i>	<i>meaning</i>
cís+ II	take care
félé+	show
gálà+	advise, counsel
hàiyà+	figure out, verify, ascertain
kèlàn gó+	get it into one's head
kór+	ask
màgì+	implore
mbérsá+	complain
náp+	decide
nàshín+	dream
ngódó+	beg
nò+	know, find out
yàsàrà+	believe
rài+, fài+, lèilèi+	convince, persuade
rí+	fear
rùrù+ III	be unsure, be in doubt
shàk+ III	doubt
shàwàr+	consult
tàk+	remember, recall
tàwàt+	confirm, verify, be sure
tàmà+	think, expect, hope
tàmà yikkò	express hope
wàdè+, wádè gó+	promise
yáá+	worry
zàn+	suspect

4.2. Finite and Nonfinite Nominal Clauses Marked by the Determiner Element +dè. There is a relatively small group of main clause verbs whose nominal clause complements with finite verb forms, whether followed by the oblique postposition +rò or by a major constituent postposition (i.e. the agent or the associative (direct object) postposition), all allow the occurrence of the determiner element +dè (and sometimes also the demonstrative determiner ádè) in nominal clause-final position. The same class of main clause verbs, and some nonverbal predicates as well, may also take nonfinite nominal clauses also marked by the same determiner elements. For this reason, the latter group of nonfinite nominal clause types is also presented in this section.

The role played by the determiner element +dè in nominal clauses of the type here under consideration is significant in that it is related to its similar occurrence in NP- and complex NP-final position (as observed in chapters 19 and 23), its occurrence in the cleft NP construction (as observed in chapter 26), and its occurrence in certain reason adverbial clauses (chapter 27) as well as in certain associative-subordinated adverbial clauses (chapter 31). With regard to the complex-NP, it was observed that this anaphoric determiner element functions to definitize the second occurrence of an NP, i.e. rel NP, within the restrictive relative clause and to delimit the boundary of the entire complex NP. When it occurs in the same position after a nominal clause, it does not have the same anaphoric definitizing function in relation to an ant NP, but rather in relation to an entire situation within the utterance context. Its interpretation in this role is normally relatable to what some classifiers have referred to as *factive*, i.e. that the action described by such a nominal clause actually happened, and is a fact, and that the underlying structure of such a nominal clause might even have its own ant NP which would be the equivalent of the noun *the fact*. Compare the following complex NP with the nominal clause

construction which follows it.

Kām lèzénàdés(à) ásúwòkò.
Lèzénàdérò ásúwòkò.

*I recognized the person who had gone.
I realized that s/he had gone.*

It is clear that the determiner element is performing the anaphoric definitizing function in both of these examples, and that the latter, with no overt or omitted ant NP, is interpreted factually in the context. As will be observed, certain of the main clause verbs occurring in nominal clause constructions of this type have also been observed as occurring in those which do not take the determiner element. According to the present analysis, the nominal clauses occurring as complements to such verbs must be interpreted factively when followed by this determiner element. Observe the semantic difference between the following two examples.

Kámúnzè sùlùwúnàdérò njèskónò.
Lùwòrò njèskónò.

*He forgot that his wife had gone out.
He forgot to go out.*

The first of these examples can only be interpreted factively, and the second only nonfactively. In the latter example, the determiner element +dés may not occur.

The following are examples of finite nominal clauses marked by the determiner element +dés. In some cases the clauses function as major constituents (i.e. as subject or object NPs), and in others they are marked by the indirect (oblique) postposition +rò.

Fántà sèràgènyídérò ndúsóyè nòzèná. *That he does not like Fanta is known by everyone.*

Tádà máibè zòlìzénàdés fètèzèná. *That the king's son had gone crazy became obvious.*

Tádà máibè zòlìzénàdés fèté. *That the king's son has gone crazy is obvious.*

Wúà sèràgènyídés shégè bá. *There is no doubt that s/he doesn't like me.*

Aliyè Fántà ísénàdérò njèskónò. *Ali forgot that Fanta had arrived.*

Am bówózánàdébè láánzàdés káusùà zàwìnbàdérò njèskádà. *They forgot that some of the people that they had invited do not eat during the day (i.e. were fasting).*

Ishìnbàdérò tàwàtségèná. *He confirmed that he was not coming.*

Búltù kèngàl yùkkùrùwòrò májìndéè cùrúnnyà, kènyérìrò, "Dàndérò *When the hyena saw that the sun was about to go down, he said to the squirrel,*

cískégèné dùwò lèngé kánnú rúkin *"Take care of the meat while I go and get that fire that I see over there."*

In the following examples the nominal clause is similarly marked by the determiner, though the nominal clause contains a nonfinite verb form.

Tábà kènzánzédés wángèná. *I dislike his smoking cigarettes,*

Mánàndérò cí yìkkònzédés àngàlnyí *His butting into our conversation really upset me/burned me up.*

zázèná/wúà wársèná. *His going to Kano yesterday was not necessary.*

Kánòrò lètènzés bískàbèdés mbù *The hyena went and threw over one of the big men. That his throwing him over did not frighten the big man in the least.*

gènyí. *Ali's not running away amazed his mother.*

Búltù lèzè gùrzám fáI tégòndò. *The hyena went and threw over one of the big men. That his throwing him over did not frighten the big man in the least.*

Témtènzés àdè gánámàrò gùrzàmmà *Ali's not running away amazed his mother.*

yítàyáázégènyí.

Alìbè kàsò bānzédáyè yānzèà àjàpsò.

The following is a list of main clause verbs which have been observed as typical of those governing nominal clauses with either a finite or a nonfinite verb form, and marked by the determiner element +dés in nominal clause-final position, whether the clause constitutes a major or an oblique NP.

constituent. A small group of nonverbal main clause predicates that also occur in constructions of this type are included.

verb

àjâp+
 ású+
 ángàl+POS zá+
 dàmè+
 shìwòl+
 fètè+
 kàsàt+
 kùrnò+ III
 làmbì+ III
 nàdìm+ III
 nò+
 kàrégè+POS kùttù+
 njès+
 tàk+
 tàwàt+
 wá+
 wár+
 zèk+

meaning

amaze, astound, surprise,
 realize, recognize
 be upset, irritated
 bother, irritate, trouble
 bother, irritate, trouble
 become clear or obvious
 accept, agree
 rejoice, be glad
 be concerned
 be sorry, regret
 know, find out
 become sad, regret
 forget
 remember, recall
 confirm
 reject, dislike
 irritate, burn up
 worry, annoy, bother

nonverbal predicate

shègè bā
 fèté
 kàrégè+POS kùttù
 kàrégè+POS kèjí
 kàrùrùtí+POS bā
 zàurò ngélà
 zàurò díwì

meaning

there is no doubt
 it is clear
 be sad
 be happy
 have no doubt
 be very good
 be very bad

5. The Role of the Conjunctive Forms of the Verb ngìn in Nominal Clause-Final Position. As a main clause verb in its own right, the verb ngìn *say, think* may govern finite nominal clauses including both direct and indirect quotations. In this role nothing occurs in nominal clause-final position, neither determiner nor postposition, as shown here.

"Ískìnbá", wònò.

He said, "I will not come."

Íshìnbá wònò.

He said he isn't coming.

Sàndírò "Fátòrò lènéwó!", wònò.

He said to them, "Go home!"

Sàndírò fátòrò lèzà wònò.

He told them they should go home.

Ísémìnbá ngènà.

I did not think you were coming.

Nàndí sámmá bā ngè.

I did not think any of you were there.

Kúngénàné m fàndémmà ngè.

I hope you have found your money.

Shí zàurò cìdámá gādà.

They say, 'It is said he is a very good worker.'

It is frequently the case in quotation environments, like in some of the above examples, that a matrix verb of quotation other than the verb ngìn occurs in construction-final position. In such direct quotation environments, such a main verb is always (apparently) redundantly preceded by the conjunctive form of the verb ngìn which agrees with that finite main verb in identity of subject reference. The paradigm of the conjunctive forms of this verb are presented here for reference purposes.

1S ngè
 2S nèm
 3S sè

1P nyè
 2P nèu
 3P sà

Observe the following variants of one example in which the main clause verb is *gùl+ say*.

Jìlwáyè kókórò, "Adè rángèṁ dímbā." *The rat said to the frog, "You cannot do this."*
 sè gùlwónò.
 Kókórò, "Adè rángnèṁ dímbā." sè same
 jìlwáyè gùlwónò.
 Jìlwáyè kókórò gùlwónà, "Adè same
 rángnèṁ dímbā" sè.

In each of the possible variant orders for the above example, it is always the case that the conjunctive form of the verb *ngìn* occurs immediately after the quotational nominal clause complement sentence. The indirect postposition *+rò* as subordinator and complementizer has these same characteristics, even when non-SOV order variation is possible.

In section 4.1 above, the verb *kór+ ask* was cited as one of the main clause verbs governing finite nominal clauses marked by the indirect postposition *+rò*. When *kór+* functions as the main verb to a nominal clause that is a direct quotation, then only the conjunctive form of the verb *ngìn* may occur in nominal clause-final position. In other than direct quotation environments, as with those environments described in 4.1 above, either the postposition *+rò* or the conjunctive form of the verb *ngìn* may occur in nominal clause-final position, as shown here.

"Abí díṁìn?"	ngè Alìà cúwórùkò.	<i>I asked Ali, "What are you doing?"</i>
	nèṁ Alìà cúwórèṁ.	<i>You asked Ali, "What are you doing?"</i>
	sè Alìà cúwórò.	<i>S/He asked Ali, "What are you doing?"</i>
	nyè Alìà cúwóriyè.	<i>We asked Ali, "What are you doing?"</i>
	nèu Alìà cúwórèu.	<i>You asked Ali, "What are you doing?"</i>
	sà Alìà cówórò.	<i>They asked Ali, "What are you doing?"</i>
Ndàrá lèjìn ngè shià cúwórùkò.	<i>I asked him where he was/is going.</i>	
Ndàrá lèjìnrò shià cúwórùkò.	<i>I asked him where he was/is going.</i>	
Nà lèjìnrò shià cúwórùkò.	<i>I asked him (as to) the place/where he</i>	
*Nà lèjìn ngè shià cúwórùkò.	<i>was/is going.</i>	

It is clear from the last example above that the conjunctive form of the verb *ngìn* and the indirect postposition *+rò* are freely interchangeable in this position with the verb *kór+* as long as the nominal clause is an indirect question.

Lukas (1936:48) observed that the conjunctive forms of the verb *ngìn* may function as "a means of subordination" and cited the following pair of examples.

Wúà wápsègìn ngè zaurò yáángánà.	<i>I was very much afraid that it would throw me down.</i>
Kèmbúnyí mǎngìn ngè fǎnyín cùlúwùkò.	<i>I went out of my house with the intention of looking for food.</i>

If the conjunctive verb form in these examples were to be literally translated on the basis of its normally documented uses, then the above examples would be translated as *I thought it would throw me down and I was afraid* and *I thought I would look for food and I went out of my house*, respectively. For examples like this, it is likely that either the literal conjunctive interpretation or the nominal clause type of interpretation is appropriate. The postposition *+rò* may not be freely substituted for the conjunctive verb form in such examples. The interpretation would seem to contradict the truth value of the nominal clause complement since both examples seem to imply intentions which were unrealized, fears that were unwarranted. The later example has the following purpose clause counterpart with a nonfinite

verb form plus the indirect postposition. Here the interpretation is noncommittal as to whether the intention was realized or not.

Kèmbūnyí mâtérò fānyīn cūlūwùkò. *I left my house in order to look for food.*

The following set of examples are presented in order to show the various ways in which the conjunctive forms of the verb ngìn may function as apparent subordinators or complementizers in the final position after adverbial and nominal clauses. The literal conjunctive translations for these examples are not given. Whenever a counterpart construction with the indirect postposition is possible, it is shown with its appropriate translation.

- Cā nyírò gùlḡḡnà ngè/*rò kàrgákò. *I kept on thinking that I had told you before.*
- Ngái ngè kàrgákò. *I kept on thinking it was that way.*
- Ishīnbā sè kàrgā yāyé, dólènzé íshīn. *Even if she goes on thinking she won't come, she has to come.*
- Ndará lèjīn sè kàrgā? *Where does he think he is going?*
- Mákkàrò lèngīn ngè tíkètīnyí káiwùkò. *I bought my ticket thinking I was going to Mecca.*
- Mákkàrò lèngīn nānkàrò tíkètīnyí káiwùkò. *I bought my ticket because I was going to Mecca.*
- Mákkàrò lètérò tíkètīnyí káiwùkò. *I bought my ticket in order to go to Mecca.*
- Ngò, àwó ádè wánèè cīrāām ngè dé cūwúdukò. *Here is this thing I brought thinking maybe you would like it.*
- Nūin sè bārāmro cūkkūrò. *He fell into the well thinking he would die.*
- Cídà ádè wāḡḡnà ngè lèwókò. *I went away saying/thinking that I hated this work.*
- Cídà ádè wāḡḡnà nānkàrò lèwókò. *I went away because I hated this work.*
- Mátōnyí túllèkiā bēlīn ngè lādékīn. *When I have washed my car I will say/pretend it is new and sell it.*
- Mátōnyí túllèkiā bēlīnrò lādékīn. *When I have washed by car I will sell it as new.*
- Kānānzēr sà gózài. *They will think it is kerosene and take it.*
- Kānānzērò gózài. *They will take it for/as kerosene.*

In a nominal clause complement construction, the conditions which must prevail in order for a conjunctive form of the verb ngìn to occur in nominal clause-final position are: 1) the verb form of the nominal clause must be finite, 2) there can be no determiner element in nominal clause-final position, i.e. the clause may not have a factive interpretation, 3) there must be identity of reference between the subject of the conjunctive ngìn verb form and the subject of the main clause verb, and 4) very often the interpretation of such constructions must be one that contradicts the action of the nominal clause, or implies that it is not realized. The application of these conditions is apparent in the following examples.

- Līftāyè shiā ngāltérò/*ngè shiā ḡālāwókò. *I advised him to be checked by the doctor.*
- Līftāyè shiā ngālzérò/ngè shiā ḡālāwókò. *I advised him that he should be checked by the doctor.*
- Fántà ísēnādérò/*sè njèskónò. *He forgot that Fanta had arrived.*
- Fántà ísēnārò/sè tēmāwónò. *He thought that Fanta had arrived.*
- Fārnzélān íshīnrò/ngè tēmāwókò. *I thought he was coming on his horse.*

In such constructions, when +rò occurs, the imperfect aspect of the verb in the nominal clause is best interpreted as future. When the conjunctive ngìn verb form occurs, the same verb form is best interpreted as conditional. Thus the latter form is used to contradict fact, and the former is neutral in this regard.

Wúà wápsègìn rò zāurò yáángénà.
Wúà wápsègìn ngè zāurò yáángénà.

*I am afraid that he will throw me down.
I had feared that he would throw me down.*

Fārnzélàn íshìn rò tēmāwókò.
Fārnzélàn íshìn ngè tēmāwókò.

*I expect he will come on his horse.
I (had) thought he would come on his horse.*

CHAPTER 25: NOUN PHRASE (NP) STATUS MARKING

1. Introduction. According to the present analysis, a NP has neutral or unmarked semantic and syntactic status when it occurs in its canonical position according to the SOV typology of the language, with no marking other than that required by its function within a sentence (e.g. oblique postpositional marking of an oblique NP). This neutral unmarked status is evidenced in different ways for different NP types, and may also be a function of sentence type. For example, in a verbal sentence like e.g. *Lèzàná. They have gone.*, the neutral status of the subject NP is indicated by there being no independent occurrence of the subject pronoun. The subject pronoun of *lèzàná* is carried within the finite verb form in its enclitic pronoun form. The neutral status of the same pronoun subject in a nonverbal sentence like e.g. *Sàndí bàrèwú. They are farmers.*, is apparent from the independent occurrence of the subject pronoun *sàndí*, with no further postpositional marking of that pronoun for its status in the sentence. Proper nouns as subjects in the same two sentences, like *sàndí* in the nonverbal sentence, have neutral unmarked status when they occur alone, with no postposed marking for status, i.e. *Àlì-à Músà-à lèzàná. Ali and Musa have gone.* and *Àlì-à Músà-à bàrèwú. Ali and Musa are farmers.* NPs occurring in oblique postpositional phrases are obligatorily marked for function by one of the postpositions, e.g. the locative, the instrumental, etc., and their neutral unmarked status in that function is made clear by their occurring in their canonical typological position, and by there being no postposed marking of the NP for status, only the oblique postposition. Like postpositions, markers of NP status are similarly postposed constituents which follow their governing head NP. Unlike postpositions however, these markers do not mark NPs for grammatical function and therefore cannot change the syntactic status of a NP constituent.

The terms *NP status* and *NP status marker* (see Chafe, 1976:27) are here being used in order to clarify the variety of cognitive roles played by the Kanuri NP. As a reflection of their statistical occurrence, the present chapter will center on the major constituent NPs, i.e. subject and object NPs. The semantic roles played by these NPs when marked by the various status markers are examined with regard to their relative prominence in the sentence; reference to the discourse context will often be necessary to clarify these roles.

Kanuri has basically three different ways in which it can alter the status of a major constituent NP from the neutral unmarked status described above. The three are by no means mutually exclusive and frequently two or more of them may function together to alter the cognitive status of a NP. The three different ways are: 1) marking with a NP status marker, 2) NP movement, usually leftward and frequently to construction-initial position (which may be accompanied by postpositional marking of major NP constituents as already described on pp. 211-16), and 3) prosodic marking through the use of accentual stress and/or a pause. A speaker uses these three ways to mark a given NP for special semantic status in a sentence, a semantic status which may or may not be corroborated by syntactic change in other parts of the sentence. Such corroboration may be indicated by the occurrence of certain verb aspects which are required to match the status of the NP, or by marking of the predicate of a sentence to match the status of the subject NP, as is the case with the cleft NP construction fully described in chapter 26. As described there, the status of the subject NP of a cleft NP construction is indicated through the application of the emphatic particle *+má*, the yes-no question marker *wá*, the

negative of identification gènyí, or a combination of the last two to produce negative questioning of that subject NP. Any of these may function as status markers to create the environment for the cleft NP construction, and require that the clefted predicate corroborate this semantic status through the occurrence of the predicating particle wò.

A rather broad spectrum of NP markers affecting NP status is treated in the present chapter. Among those treated are the determiner elements (both +dè and the demonstratives), and a group of adverbial adjuncts to the noun. One postposition, the associative postposition, is also treated here for its role as a NP status marker. All share the common characteristic that when applied to the subject NP of a verbal sentence, they result in the independent pronominal manifestation of that subject NP, thus clearly distinguishing it in status from its normal unmarked occurrence as an enclitic pronoun within the finite verb form, as described above.

2. The Role of the Determiner Elements in NP Status Marking. In both anaphoric and deictic functions, the determiner +dè and the four demonstratives (ádè, túdù, ányì, túnyì) may be used in the role of NP status markers. In this role they may mark construction-initial NPs, or left shifted/fronted NPs as topics. Those that function anaphorically may indicate a resumptive topic NP, recalled from an earlier point in the discourse or conversational context. NPs marked in this way for topic status, may be followed by a pause as shown in the following examples. One can be sure that the determiner elements are playing this status marking role when they are applied to an already fully-specified NP so that their interpretation as determiners in either a deictic or anaphoric function would seem redundant. For example when a determiner is applied to a proper noun or to a noun already fully specified with a suffixed possessive pronoun, then that determiner is functioning as a status marker according to the analysis presented here. The determiner element +dè is certainly the most common determiner to function in this role, as is attested in the examples.

Cínyídè(,) lílímjìn.

This mouth of mine, it is itching.

Álìdè(,) kám ngélámá gènyí.

That Ali, he is not a good person.

Wúdè(,) kèjì fàngínbá.

Me, I don't feel good.

Am lárèdè ádèbèdè(,) zaurò sòtò nòzánà.

The people of this country, they really know hospitality.

Fáidà áwónzè sèdénàdèbèdè(,) tái dàzè fèlàngónò.

The use of his thing that he did, it really became apparent.

Kèrmádè súi.

For right now that's enough.

Kúdè cìdàngínbá.

As for today I won't work.

Fáidànzèdè(,) lámònzèlàn kàrgá.

(That) it's useful part, is in its leaves.

Fífítàdè(,) cídíà dúndàrò sèdín.

This fertilizing with manure, it makes the soil strong.

Wú ádè-lèngí bā.

As for me I am not going.

"Ngò tái"dé, zaurò fàntèrò kèjì.

That "Here go ahead and take it", it is very nice to hear. (refers to s.o. giving sth to s.o.)

Díwàl'ádinbè kòltédè, zaurò ngéla gènyí.

The leaving of the path of religion, it is not very good.

The determiner element +dè has been described as an anaphoric determiner. While its role in setting off the topic of a proverb does not clearly fit into this description, it is nevertheless clear that proverbs are used in appropriate situations within the discourse context where their meaning appropriately applies to something already mentioned. Therefore in proverbs whether or not the NPs marked for topic status with +dè have been previously referred to, the +dè is apparently anaphoric to the discourse context which produced the appropriate environment for the use of the proverb. The following proverbs exhibit the same structure that is here under consideration, though they are unfortunately presented in isolation.

Kèmagèndé, kéminémbè yàyé, wàndé ngúludémá gùllé wò nyá, wàndé kùttùdè gùllémí.

When it comes to honey, even if it belongs to your co-wife, you should only say that it is not a full pot, but never that it is bad.

Káshí-à sáwà-àdè, fátòn góné.

Provisions and a companion, get them before you travel.

Nàjásà sùròn kòltádé, kùrwùn kènàbèrò wáljìnbá.

The holding back of a bowel movement, it does nothing to ease one's hunger.

Kèlánjídé, kùlì tádàbè gènyí.

The scorpion, it is not a child's insect.

In the following proverb the main clause-initial topic is preceded by a subordinate adverbial clause.

Dìnádémá dìnáyí yàyé, kàlìimòdè tèmárò njè tilóyè déjìnbá.

No matter how worldly this very world may become, the camel will never be cooked by a single cooking pot.

In some of the above examples and proverbs, the initial topic may be represented in the following clause by an enclitic pronoun on a finite verb form, or simply resumptively understood in the context. In the following examples and proverbs, the dislocation of the topic is even more explicitly expressed since there is an overt resumptive pronoun copy of the topic (i.e. either an independent personal pronoun or a suffixed possessive pronoun) in the clause which follows.

Kwàngádé, wàndé àshírnzè kámúyè nòzènyí.

The husband, his secrets should not become known by his wife.

Kámú túdù, shímá cārìrò mánà gùlzò.

That woman, SHE said some talk to the old man.

Kámrò 'àwó láá njékò' gùltádé, shímá wádè Àlàbè gòtá wò.

That saying to someone 'I will give you something', it is that that is taking a promise to God.

Nú yàyé kám ángàlládé, shí dòndìjìá lilitàbèrò lèté cìrāwò.

No matter who that is a person who is smart, when he gets sick he wants to go to the doctor's.

Gàrgám jílì kúngónàbè fàltébèdè, shíà kóryèndé Nìjéríyàbè àdèlàn gámìn gámmá, àwó kádá fòdùnémìn.

This the history of changing money systems, if you pursue it in this our country of Nigeria, you will discover many many things.

The following are proverbs, of the same construction type.

Jírèdè, shí kùlwú kàlìibè.

The truth, it is a gown of thorns.

Kèládé, shí kálwò gènyí.

The head, it does not make a good container.

Kànádídé, shímá kàlém kùwìbèà ngátìn.

(That) patience, it alone cleans out the chicken's intestines.

Bélà kèmbùwábèn, kám shím fállàdé, *In the village of the blind, the man with one eye, it is he who is king.*
 Fè sènséngèdé, sábí yàyé rò tólò *The choosy cow, no matter what (when) the muddy water will be it's lot in life.*

In the following examples again, a determiner element marks a NP for topic status. Here however a pronoun copy of the topicalized NP precedes the NP plus determiner. Thus both pronoun and NP are together dislocated from the following clause. This pattern is essentially the reverse of that observed in the preceding example set.

Shí kámúdé, ndúsóyè nòzénà. *She that woman, is known by everyone.*
 Shí Rábìdé, zámá rò nòwátà. *He that Rabi, he is very well known.*
 Sádémán shí tādà táláábèdé, *Right then he the son of the poor man,*
 sègàshínnà gózè càrìbèrò súwú dò. *running he took it and brought it to the old man's.*
 Shí kú lì bér mètè ádè(,) kàngè *It this insect the flea, can give people*
 tólúmmà kám rò súwú dìn. *recurrent fevers.*
 Nyí cí fá l rò yìkkònyímá tímídé yé, *And you who aren't even a mouthful for*
 wúà kèmbú ngèwùn kóném m à n è m *me, you are saying that you can eat more*
 m à n à n è m ì n ? *than I can?*

2.1. Nominalized Clauses as Topics Marked by Determiners. As will be shown in this section, entire sentences with either finite or nonfinite verb forms may be dislocated by the determiner elements when in construction-initial position. They essentially function the same as the NP topics set off in this way, that have been observed thus far. They set the scene for the information which is to follow and often anaphorically refer to an ongoing action or situation. One is reminded very much of the nominal clauses which were described in the preceding chapter 24. These nominalized clauses differ from them in that they are not syntactically integrated into the structure of the following main clause; they are dislocated and function neither as major nor as oblique constituents in that clause.

Àbà n è m b è l à n b à d é , s à m b í k á d i o ? *(You say) that your father is not in town, well when did he come back?*
 Dòndizénà nà rò lèjín bádé, kú *(Since) that he became ill and has not*
 sáanzé. *been able to go anywhere, today it has been about a year.*
 Bú t ù s ú r ì n s ò n , à m à n y ì shí à *Each time the hyena looked, (given) that*
 kòl z à i w á d é , r ù n z é s à w á r t è . b è r t è *these people would not let him go, he*
 k à r á a r ò k à r g à w è . *ran off into the bush all alone.*
 Kámúyè shí rò, wú rò 'n jí k é r m á m á *The wife said to him, "(Given) that you*
 kú dé ' n è m ì n d é , w ú c í r n è m w á ? W ú *keep saying to me 'bring me water right*
 y é k à m b è n y í g à i , w ú r ò *now', am I your slave? I too am a free*
 y í l s è g è m ì n d é . " w ò n ò . *person like you, that you keep on yelling*
at me."

In the following example, such a nominalized clause occurs in final position but nevertheless seems to set the scene for the remark within the quotes from that position

Dà jí, wúyè shí rò, "Tádámà, àbí *And then I said to him, "Young boy, what*
 nyíà sèwàndò, yírè mìn d é ?" wòkò. *happened to you, that you are crying?"*

In the following example the nominalized clause has a nonfinite verbal noun. It is clearly separated though and functioning as a topic to set the scene for the following main clause.

Yèrwà kòllémìn nòtényídé, zàurò *(That) my finding out that you are*
 kà r è g è n y í k ú t t ù . *leaving Yerwà, I am very sad.*

3. The Emphasis Marker +má as a NP Status Marker. The emphasis marker +má could as well be referred to as an emphatic adverbial adjunct, since this captures its wide range of functions in the language. A number of its uses have already been observed at various points in the present work and thus the present section will constitute an attempt to summarize all of its uses in the language, and to describe in detail those uses which qualify it as a NP status marker, for the purposes of the present chapter. All of its uses share the common feature of some form of emphasis on a given constituent or clause. Like many of the postpositions, markers, and particles of the language, the emphasis marker also takes on a wide range of meanings in translation, all of which are a function of the syntactic environment in which it occurs. It occurs in a broad range of environments, marking nouns and complete NPs, both when they occur as major constituents and when they occur obliquely within postpositional phrases. It may also be applied after oblique constituents, verb phrases, and subordinated adverbial clauses. The emphatic adverbial adjunct +má carries a great functional load in the language,

3.1. The Uses of the Emphasis Marker +má. The emphasis marker functions as an apparent nonaspect verbal (as described in chapter 16) in elliptical answers to questions like the following, emphasizing and singling out a NP.

Shí wá lèzò?	<i>Was it he who went?</i>
Aá, shímá.	<i>Yes, it was he.</i>
Náí?	<i>Who?</i>
Sàndímá.	<i>It's them.</i>
Wú gènyí, Alímá.	<i>It is not me, it is Ali.</i>
Ndásó káánèm?	<i>Which one is yours?</i>
Adémá (shí wò).	<i>It's this (that is it)./That's it.</i>
Shídémá.	<i>It's that one./That's the one.</i>

As an adjunct to the interrogative pronouns, the emphasis marker produced negative indefinite pronouns in negative environments (as described in chapter III.7).

Ndúmá bá/báwò.	<i>There is no one at all.</i>
Shí ndúmá gènyí.	<i>He is no one at all.</i>
Abímá rúkènyí.	<i>I didn't see anything at all.</i>
Ndárámá lèzányí.	<i>They did not go anywhere.</i>

As an adjunct to adverbial nouns, the emphasis marker is very frequently used to emphasize them, especially with regard to the immediacy of temporal adverbial nouns.

Kérmámá kádìo.	<i>He just now came.</i>
Kérmádémá lèngín.	<i>I am going at this very moment/right now.</i>
Kúmá shíà cùrúkò.	<i>Just today I saw him.</i>

It functions similarly to emphasize other adverbial expressions and phrases like the following:

sádémàn	<i>right then/right at that time</i>
ádémárò	<i>THAT is why</i>
nádémàn	<i>right there/right at that place</i>
kàwú ádémárò	<i>even before that</i>
hàttà kàwú nǎngélì kójìnmàn	<i>until even the rainy season passes</i>

The emphasis marker may also be used to emphasize certain adverbial clause types. This is especially true of those subordinated by the associative postposition, as observed in chapter 31.

Cìngiámá lèngín.	<i>As soon as/right when I get up, I will go.</i>
------------------	---

Lèngónámá shià fàndékènyí. Kádìnnnyámá shià ásúwòkò.	Even when went I did not meet him. As soon as/right when he came I recognized him.
wái wàjíámá ...	the first thing in the morning (as soon as the night has passed ...
Lèzónámá ákkáimá. Lèngínmáà fàndékìnbá. Shí bāmáà lèngín.	Even when he went that is how it was. Even if I do go I won't find any. Even without him/Even if he is not there I will go.

In the following example, the emphasis marker occurs after a conjunctive verb form and adds a concessive interpretation to this negative sentence.

Nòngémá dàzènyí.	I haven't even finished learning it./ I don't even know it all yet.
------------------	--

3.2. NP Status Marking by the Emphasis Marker +má. In some of the environments that have already been cited, the emphasis marker may be interpreted concessively and often be translatable by *even*. Similarly, as a NP status marker, it may be interpreted concessively in certain environments, or as a NP focus marker in other environments. Syntactic environment is always crucial to how it is to be interpreted. Sentence structure and verb aspect play very important roles. In the first example below, it concessively emphasizes the subject of a juxtapositional predicate of identification. In the second example, it focuses the subject of a cleft NP construction.

Shímá bàrémá. Shímá bàrémá wò.	Even he is a farmer. It is he who is a farmer.
-----------------------------------	---

In the following example set the verb aspect is changed from perfect, to NEC, to past, and the various changes in status of the subject are reflected in the translations.

Shímá lèzèná. Shímá lèzò. Shímá lèwónò.	Even he went. HE went./It is he who went. Even he went./HE went.
---	--

In the counterpart cleft NP construction, only the focused interpretation is of course possible.

Shímá (kām) lèzèná(dé) wò.	It is he who is the one who went.
----------------------------	-----------------------------------

The following examples show additional cases of the role of the emphasis marker to mark NPs concessively. In some cases this may be reinforced by the application of the additive adjunct *yé also*, as shown.

Alímá ísèná. Alímá yé ísèná. Alímá rúkènyí. Kām fálímá rúkènyí.	Even Ali came. Even Ali too came. I didn't see even Ali. I didn't see even a single person./ I didn't see anyone at all.
--	--

Fálàì búrwòadémá yé sèsàfí yàyé dèmbá zólìdémárò súwùdù bàksègìn.	The winnowing mat in spite of/even with its cleverness, no matter how much it winnows it still has to bring the flour and bang it into the crazy calabash.
--	--

Kàsúwùmárò lèwónò. Bèlà ádèmán shià rúkèná. Nèmkúrànzò ádèmáà kózánà. Sádèn wúmá kùrà.	He went even to the market. I have seen him right/even in this (very) town. Its size surpasses even that. At the time/then, even I/I was big/important.
---	--

Cidànyímá tàmòngēnyí wá lèngín? *Should I go when I haven't finished even my work?*

As a status marker focusing a NP constituent, the emphasis marker normally connotes contrastive focus, singling out the focused NP as distinct from the set of possible candidates that share a common background framework that is contextually provided. Thus it marks an NP as unique. As has been demonstrated, in this role it interacts with the aspect system and the structure of the sentence in which it occurs. It focuses subject and object NPs in sentences characterized by a finite verb form in the NEC.

Ndú rúm? Àlímá (rúkò).

WHO did you see? It is Ali (I saw).

Ndú ísò? Àlímá (ísò).

WHO came? It is Ali (who came).

It also contrastively focuses the subjects of cleft NP constructions, as is described in chapter 26.

Àlímá (kām) rúkēnà(dé) wò.

It is Ali who (is the person that) I saw.

Àlímá (kām) lèzēnà(dé) wò.

It is Ali who (is the person who) went.

This restrictive role in singling out a NP constituent is also apparent in the position that it may take within the restrictive relative clause construction, as described in chapter 23. When +má follows the RRC in pre-determiner position, it apparently intensifies the restrictiveness of the relative clause.

Kām lèzēnāmádé ...

The very person that went ...

Sáwānyí kúrāmádé ...

My friend the very one that is big/important ...

4. Other Adverbial Adjuncts to the NP that Function as NP Status Markers.

4.1. The NP Status Marker nyí. The adverbial adjunct/status marker nyí normally occurs after nominals and is used in a variety of ways to emphasize and insist. Its use is often anaphoric to a given situation, in the sense that one can use it to re-ask a question one has gotten an unbelievable or unacceptable answer to, and wants therefore to hear the answer again. Thus some sarcasm may be involved in its use. Because its use is so dependent on an utterance context, it is often difficult to capture all the subtleties of that situation in an English translation. It would seem that this nyí bears some relation to the constituents of the negative nonverbal predicate gēnyí (see page 178), which is used as a negative of identification. This cannot however be documented.

The NP status marker nyí is usually pronounced very quickly, and though it is written the same as the 2S personal pronoun nyí *you*, it is clearly distinguishable from it in speech. The initial consonant is not always clearly articulated, and the pronunciation becomes more like a very nasalized [yí].

Abí nyí sèdín?

What (in the world) is it (you said) he is doing?

Nyí shí-à ndú-à bískà káshò?

He and who was it that came yesterday?

Shí àbitérò nyí májìn?

He is trying to WHAT?

Nyí àbísó kùlāskkúlāsshìn?

What is it (that you said) he keeps searching for?

Abí wààzò nyí zìyàrànzé Mákkàbèdè dāwàrzénà?

What in the world happened that he has cancelled his visit to Mecca?

Abí wò nyí wààzò?

What in the world has happened?

Abí wò nyí sèdín ràām?

What is it that you really want him to do?

Abí nyí shí májìn dùnyān?

What ever is he looking for on this earth?

Awó nyí rúkò nǒngǎnyí.

I don't know exactly what it was that I saw.

Ná nyí lèzénámá nǒngǎnyí dìyè.

But I don't even know where in the world he went.

Abí nyí wúrò' dímìn?

What exactly are you doing to me?

Abí nyí wònò?

What exactly did he say?

Ádè nyí kàrò Njaménàbè wá?

Why that is the work of Njamena isn't it?

Ndúrò nyí bìskégèmln?

Who do you think you are playing with?

Shí àbí nyí májìn dùwò sèwàndènyí wò?

What was it though that (it was) he was looking for and did not find?

Abí wò nyí wàázónà nǒngǎnyí wò.

What exactly it was that happened I don't know.

✓ Abí wàázò nyí tǎmmàrò tàdàwánzè sámmá ángäl kúttùádá?

I wonder what it was that happened that all of his children have bad dispositions?

Ádè nànkàrò nyí cidànyí ádè díkìn.

That then is why it is I do my work.

Nyí shí tǎmmàrò fátòdémá

You know he never even liked the house.

sèràgènyí dé/diyé.

Nyí áwóndé ádè wàyèjía kàlándémá sàmnyènbà diyé.

You know if we are not careful we will not even save our skins at this rate.

Málèm nyí wá shí?

But he is a malam isn't he?

Abísò àbísò nyí kúdèm?

What all and what all is it that you brought?

*Kám nyírò nǒngǎnyí.

I don't know exactly which person it was.

Awó nyísòdérò nǒngǎnyí.

I don't know exactly which things they were.

In the following examples, *nyí* occurs in construction-final position and again functions somewhat rhetorically, to posit or question something that one already believes to be true but wants verified when unsure.

Ndú nyí?

Who was it (that you just said)?

Shí ádè mbéjì nyí?

But surely this one must exist/be available?

Mbéjì nyí tǎmàngèná.

I am quite sure that it exists.

Sùlúwúnà nyí.

I am quite sure that he has gone out.

Jírèmàn nyí rá gènyí?

I am quite sure it is true, or isn't it?

Bélà ádèn nyí rá gènyí?

It is in this town, or isn't it?

Bískà búné shíà rúkèná nyí?

I could swear/ but didn't I see him last night?

Ndú ísènáde nyí?

Who is it who is the one that came?

Lámànzè ndáwù nyí?

How much did you say its number was?

Ndú mbál káiwò nyí?

Who did you say that bought the drinks?

Kàsúwùlàn lènèm kádìm nyí?

I guess you have already gone and come back from the market?

Kàwú lèngènamàn lúwùmí wò nyí?

It seems that you haven't even gone out since I went away?

Abí ádè nyí?

What was it that it is?/What's up?

Ndú ádè nyí?

Who was it that it is?

Ndú wò nyí?

Who was it that it is?

4.2. The Additive Adjunct *yé* as a NP Status Marker. The additive adjunct *yé* is in almost all of its uses interpretable in English by *also, too*.

It may also be used to conjoin NPs, as is discussed in chapter 33. On the basis of the description of a NP status marker from section 1 above, *yé* also qualifies as a NP status marker since its application to the subject NP of a finite verbal sentence results in the independent manifestation of that subject NP when it is a pronoun, from the enclitic to the personal pronoun form.

Shí. *yé* zàurò kám ngélà.

He too is a very good person.

Shí *yé* kùrú zàurò cìdàjín.

He too, furthermore, works very hard.

Súnó yé kàráwìlàn cìdà:fn.
 Sháidé yé cúwúðènyí.
 Wú ádè kálmá yé shírò bàktàrò
 kàttèrákò.
 Wúmá yé fàngókò.
 Sádèdè yérò, kérwíà wá lèzài?

*Shoes too are worked from leather.
 And the tea too he did not bring.
 And even little old me (too) escaped
 being beaten by him.
 Even I too heard it.
 To Lake Chad too, is it with buckets
 that they go?
 Even when it came to fingers, God
 created both long and short.
 It is also done in America.
 What came today will also come tomorrow.
 I too am going.*

Ngùlùndómá yé Kèmayè kùrúwùn
 káfúwùnrò àlàkkòndò.
 Amèrikà yèlàn tèdín.
 Awó kú ísèná báli yé íshìn.
 Wú yé lèngín.

4.3. The Concessive/Conditional Adjunct yàyé as a NP Status Marker. For the same reasons that yé qualifies as a NP status marker, similarly the application of yàyé to a pronoun subject NP results in the requirement that it be manifested independently, rather than simply as an enclitic pronoun in its neutral unmarked form. The role of yàyé as a subordinator of concessive clauses is examined in detail in chapter 30.

Shí yàyé ráksè lèjín.
 Sàndí yàyé sàdè.
 Nyá sáàbè yàyerò cìdà bálté fálbè
 ngálwó.

*Even he/Even if it is he he can go.
 Even they should do it.
 In comparison to a year's worth of good
 intentions, the work of morning is
 better.
 Maybe you will bring us some kind of
 thing to eat.*

Wánèè àwó láá yàyé kèmbúbè àndíró
 kúdémín.

5. The Associative Postposition as a NP Status Marker. In Chapter 22, the role of the associative postposition in marking direct objects, especially those that were pronominal, was explained as an instance of its role in marking left dislocated NPs for a special status. There it was shown how NPs dislocated in this way were essentially either topicalized, or otherwise emphasized. There the independent occurrence of pronoun objects was explained as an instance of left dislocation from their canonical position within the finite verb form (i.e. from enclitic to independent personal pronoun) - marking with the associative postposition being therefore required to indicate clearly their somehow emphasized status. It was shown how that when a direct object was fronted in that way, the then following subject NP (in its non-canonical position) was marked by the agent position, the result being the Kanuri equivalent of a passive construction with expressed agent. According to the present analysis, both the associative marking of the direct object, and the agent marking of the subject represent instances of NP status marking. The reader is referred to chapter 22 for a thorough treatment of that process.

Similarly, a subject NP or for that matter any NP may be marked as a topic through the application of the associative postposition to set it off, usually in construction-initial position. NP status marking by the associative postposition may or may not be accompanied by separation from the remainder of the sentence by a prosodic pause.

Shíà, cí bāràmbèlādèn.
 Wúà nòngènyí íshìn àu íshìnbàrò.
 Álià lèjínbá.

*As for him, he is down at the water's/
 well's edge.
 Me I don't know whether he is coming
 or not.
 As for Ali, he won't go.*

Sà ísénàdèà; wú bà.

As for the time he came, I wasn't there.

Kùà lèngínbà.

As for today I am not going.

Gèlé, nyià, àbí dímin?

Say, as for you, what will you do?

Nyià(,) nzúrukénà.

You, I saw you.

Módùdèà, cidànzé sèdò.

As for that Modu, he did his job.

The above example Gèlé, nyià, àbí dímin? could as well be translated by *Well, if it were you, what would you do?* The fact that this, and many other associative postpositional phrases, may have either a conditional or a topicalized interpretation from Kanuri into English demonstrates the close relationship between the two in Kanuri, and suggests that the two may be more closely related than many would suspect in other languages of the world. This important relation between the topicalized associative-marked NP (which by definition also constitutes an adverbial postpositional phrase), and the conditional etc. adverbial clauses subordinated by the associative postposition, is explored and explained in chapter 31. The reader is also referred to Hutchison, 1980, for further discussion of this relationship.

CHAPTER 26: THE CLEFT NP CONSTRUCTION

1. Introduction. As introduced in chapter 18, the present analysis treats the cleft NP construction as being structurally identical to the non-verbal predicate of comparison. Both are structurally rooted in the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence type, as described in relation to nonverbal predicates of identification and description in chapter 17. The cleft NP construction is formed through the juxtaposition of two NP positions, with the latter or predicate NP position always filled by a complex NP or relative clause construction, very often with the ant NP deleted leaving a headless relative clause. Unlike the nonverbal predicate of comparison, the cleft NP construction does not contain the third NP position in a postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition +rò, the position of the NP which is the standard of comparison in a nonverbal predicate of comparison. The relation among these various construction types is apparent from the following examples. As noted on page 181, it should be remembered that when the predicate NP position of a cleft NP construction is filled by an adjectival noun without its ant NP, then the construction may be open to either the superlative comparative interpretation, or the cleft NP interpretation.

Alì kùrà.	<i>Ali is big.</i>
Alì kùrà wò.	<i>Ali is bigger/biggest.</i>
Alì má wùrò kùrà wò.	<i>ALI is/It is Ali who is bigger than me.</i>
Alì wùrò kùrà wò.	<i>Ali is bigger than me.</i>
Alì má kùrà wò.	<i>ALI is/It is Ali who is bigger.</i>
	<i>It is Ali who is the one who is big.</i>
Alì má (kām) kùrà(dé) wò.	<i>It is Ali who is the (person) one who is big.</i>

When a verbal sentential modifier occurs in the predicate NP position, with or without its ant NP, the cleft NP interpretation is the only one possible, as in the following examples.

Túdù má rāákénà(dé) wò.	<i>THAT is what/the one that I want.</i>
Túdù má áwò rāákénà(dé) wò.	<i>THAT is the thing that I want.</i>

In the cleft NP constructions thus far observed in this introduction, it is apparent that the emphatic particle +má is being used to single out and focus the construction-initial NP, i.e. to cleft it. The uses of this emphatic particle as a NP status marker were presented in the preceding chapter 25. Its use to mark the focused NP of a cleft NP construction represents a mere extension of its use in a different syntactic environment. As will be observed below, both the negative gènyí and the yes-no question marker wá, may also be used (as is the emphatic particle) to focus or cleft the construction-initial subject NP of the cleft NP construction, as is shown in the following variations of the above-cited example.

Alì má kùrà wò.	<i>It is Ali who is big.</i>
Alì gènyí kùrà wò.	<i>It is not Ali who is big.</i>
Alì wá kùrà wò?	<i>Is it Ali who is big?</i>
Alì gènyí wá kùrà wò?	<i>Isn't it Ali who is big?</i>

Regardless of whether it is emphasized, questioned, or negated, in all of the above cleft NP constructions the subject NP is in some way singled out and focused as being the only NP which is definable by restrictive relative clause construction which occupies the juxtaposed predicate NP position.

In all of the cleft NP constructions to be examined and described in this chapter, the predicate NP position is always marked finally by the predi-

cating particle wò, which has sometimes been described as an obsolete verb *to be* in Kanuri. In the cleft NP construction, this predicating particle appears to function in very much the same way as the second occurrence of the verb *to be* in certain cleft NP constructions of English, e.g. *It is John who is the one who went*. The initial occurrence of the copula in this English example then corresponds to the Kanuri emphatic, negative, and yes-no question particles. It is apparent then that in Kanuri cleft NP constructions, the use of one of the focus particles to cleft the subject NP is matched in predicate-final position by the use of the predicating particle wò. The predicating particle plays a very similar role in nonverbal predicates of comparison and the introduction to its use (with a brief description of other analyses) which is presented in V.18:2, also applies to the cleft NP construction.

2. Verb Aspect in the Predicate of the Cleft NP Construction. According to the present analysis, the cleft NP construction of Kanuri represents another instance of the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence formed through the juxtaposition of two NP constituents. Such sentences represent the Kanuri equivalent of a copula of identification. Only non-oblique independent NPs may occur in either the subject or the predicate NP position of the cleft NP construction. NP constituents marked by postpositions may not occur in this restrictive identificational environment, as is borne out by the following examples.

Láráwádémá yím lèzénàdè wò.

It is Wednesday that is the day that s/he went.

*Láráwádémá yím lèzénàdèp wò.

**It is on Wednesday that is on the day that s/he went.*

This is further borne out by the observation that when the focused subject of the cleft NP construction bears an apparent functional relation (i.e. is the agent or the direct object) to the finite verb form in the predicate which is focused by the predicating particle, this functional relation cannot be overtly marked by functional postpositional marking. This shows that the cleft NP construction consists of the two autonomous, equational NP positions, divided by the major constituent break between subject and predicate. In the environment of the true verbal sentence, it is always possible to mark such NPs with functional postpositional marking. In the following verbal sentence in the NEC, the focused subject NP is also marked with the agent postposition. This may not occur in the comparable cleft NP construction.

Shímáyè sèdò.

HE did it.

Shímá sèdénà wò.

It is he (it is) who did it.

*Shímáyè sèdénà wò.

It is apparent that the focused NP in the subject position is not within the scope of and therefore is not an immediate constituent of the verb form occurring in the predicate NP position in the cleft NP construction. Whatever sentence material follows the cleft NP in subject position, falls within the scope of the predicating particle wò, and is a syntactic NP. This is verified by the fact the verb form of the predicate may be preceded by its ant NP as is characteristic of the restrictive relative clause construction. Furthermore, whether the ant NP occurs or not, the same restrictions on the aspect of the verb form which may occur within the relative clause, also apply to the aspect of the verb form within the predicate of the cleft NP construction. Therefore, of the four affirmative completive verb aspects of the language, the perfect is the only aspect which may occur in the focused predicate of the cleft NP construction, as shown below.

Alimá rúkèná wò.

It is Ali (it is) that I saw.

*Alimá rúkò wò.

*Alimá rúkí wò.

*Alimá cùrúkò wò.

It is clear that neither the NEC, the VEC, nor the past may occur in the cleft NP construction.

The similarity in structure between the cleft NP construction and the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence of identity is now clearly established. Whether it be a verbal or a nonverbal cleft NP construction, the underlying structure always involves the simple juxtaposition of two NPs.

Shimá sàwànyí wò.

It is he (it is) who is my friend.

Shí wá sàwànyí wò?

Is it he (it is) who is my friend?

Shí gènyí sàwànyí wò.

It isn't he (it is) who is my friend.

Shí gènyí wá sàwànyí wò?

Isn't it he (it is) who is my friend?

Ndú sàwànyí wò?

Who is it (it is) who is my friend?

Shimá (kām) rúkèná wò.

It is he who (it) is (the person) that I saw.

Shí wá (kām) rúkèná wò?

Is it he who (it) is (the person) that I saw?

Shí gènyí (kām) rúkèná wò.

It isn't he who (it) is (the person) that I saw.

Shí gènyí wá (kām) rúkèná wò?

Isn't it he who (it) is (the person) that I saw?

Ndú (kām) rúkèná wò?

Who is it who (it) is (the person) that I saw?

Other verb aspects which may occur in the focused predicate of the cleft NP construction are the negative completive, the imperfect, and the negative imperfect.

3. Person Agreement in Cleft NP Constructions. As long as the ant NP of the complex NP in the predicate NP position is manifested, then regardless of the person of the focused NP of the subject position, the verb form in the predicate will always be in the third person, corresponding in number to the number of the antecedent.

Wúmá kām lèzánà(dé) wò.

It is I who is the person who went.

Nyímá kām lèzánà(dá) wò.

It is you who is the person who went.

Shimá kām lèzánà(dé) wò.

It is s/he who is the person who went.

Andímá âm lèzánà(dé) wò.

It is we who are the people who went.

Nàndímá âm lèzánà(dé) wò.

It is you who are the people who went.

Sàndímá âm lèzánà(dé) wò.

It is they who are the people who went.

However, as would not be predicted by the present analysis, when the nominal predicate of the cleft NP construction occurs without its ant NP, then person and number agreement between the subject and the predicate NP positions is obligatory.

Wúmá lèngèná wò.

It is I who went.

?Wúmá lèzánà wò.

Nyímá lèngèná wò.

It is you who went.

?Nyímá lèzánà wò.

Shimá lèzánà wò.

It is s/he who went.

Andímá lèngèná wò.

It is we who went.

?Andímá lèzánà wò.

Nàndímá lèngèná wò.

It is you who went.

?Nàndímá lèzánà wò.

Sàndímá lèzánà wò.

It is they who went.

The first and second person examples of the above set in which no ant NP is manifested would perhaps best be derived from an underlying verbal sentence so that e.g. Wúmá lèngèná wò would be derived from Lèngèná *I went/have gone*, rather than from the juxtaposition of two NPs.

4. The Occurrence of the Determiner in Cleft NP Construction Predicates.

The observation that the predicate of the cleft NP construction is a NP position focused by wò is further substantiated by the possible occurrence of the determiner in a NP-final position, immediately preceding the predicating particle wò. In the cleft NP construction it seems that the determiner +dè occurs less consistently than is the case for its occurrence in the normal complex NP in non-cleft environments. The use of +dè in both of these environments cannot however be easily explained without a detailed investigation of the semantics of all of the contexts in which it does or does not occur. It is therefore reminiscent of the seemingly unpredictable use or non-use of the English *that* in comparable environments (see Bolinger: 1972). Nevertheless, regardless of whether the ant NP is manifested, the determiner may occur as evidenced by the following examples.

Shímá (kām) lèzèná wò. *It is he who is the one that went.*
 Shímá kām nyiá kózèná gùngèná wò. *It is he who is the person that I told you was better than you/surpassed you.*
 Adè má dàlìl dùwò jìlwá fānzé bēlāārò *It is this that is the reason (it is) though that the rat came to live in a hole. (lit.: his house became a hole)*
 wálzèná wò.

5. Indirect Postpositional Phrases in Cleft NP Constructions. The occurrence of an indirect postpositional phrase marked by rò in a cleft NP construction may play a role similar to that which it plays in the comparative construction as described in chapter 18. With a standard for comparison introduced in such a postpositional phrase, the meaning of the verb form in the predicate NP position may take on a relative or comparative shade of meaning, as shown in the following examples. For example when the verb meaning *like, want* is focused by the predicating particle in relation to an indirect postpositional phrase containing a standard of comparison, it is then interpretable as *like more, prefer*.

Adèrò túdù má rāákèná wò. *Over this it is that that I prefer.*
 Túdù má adèrò rāákèná wò. *It is that that I prefer over this.*
 Alirò Músámá nòngèná wò. *In comparison to Ali it is Musa that I know better.*
 Mátòdèrò mààrān lètémá kārngèná wò. *Over travel by car it is travel by plane that I chose.*
 Nyídèrò wúmá kārèngèrò Yèrwá rúkèná wò. *In comparison to you it is I that have seen Yerwa more recently.*

In the absence of such a phrase bearing the standard of comparison, certain cleft NP constructions may lend themselves to a superlative interpretation in addition to their normal cleft interpretation.

Wúmá kām Alìà ngèlārò nòzèná wò. *It is I that is the person who knows Ali best/that is the person who knows Ali well.*

6. Cleft NP Construction Data from Textual and Literary Sources. The examples of cleft NP constructions collected here are designed to document some of the environments in which this construction-type is used.

Adè má wādè wú-à shí-à gótíyèná wò. *This is the promise (it is) that s/he and I made to each other.*
 Ndú sùròndón kàngùlèrò dōi wò? *Who is it among you that (it is who) is fast/est at running?*
 Dā dúnòbè yàyerò shílà ángàlbemá dāwúlàn kójìn wò. *In comparison to the meat that is forced upon someone it is the bone that is eaten by choice that is more easily swallowed.*

Wàjìyámá lóktùnzə wò.

It is tomorrow that is its time.

In the following four examples note that a noun or proper noun, sometimes in the context of direct address, precedes the cleft NP construction. In each a coreferent pronoun then follows each noun or proper noun and it is that pronoun which is marked (in these examples) with emphatic particle +má.

*Yáá Kírúwílì, nyímá àndí dàbbàwá kàráábe sámmábè kúràndé wò.

Sir Lion, it is you who is the senior of all of us animals of the wilds.

Àdè nànkàdérò kámsòdè, sàndímá álàgèsòbè búrwòanzá yé kúrànzá yé wò.

Because of that, these humans, it is they of all creatures who are the most cunning and the most powerful.

Yáá Kèryégè, nyímá ngúdòsòbè kúrànzá wò.

Sir Ostrich, it is you who is the senior of all the birds.

Ngó dàbbàwá ányì, sàndímá zàurò díwì wò kàráàlàn.

Here these animals, it is they who are the meanest/worst in the wilds.

In the following three examples, a cleft NP construction is embedded within a larger complex sentence construction.

Kám shímá bélámàndé wò(dě) isèná.

The man who (it is who) is our village chief has arrived.

Kémówàh-à kùwí-à kèlâ ndúnzá kèmbù ngéwù zéwìn wòbèlàn kàmbigègátá.

The elephant and the chicken argued over who of them (it is who) could eat the most food.

Wàjìyá súwà ní-à nyí-à kàráarò lènyè rìzámnyè ndúndé shíá kèmbúyè sètínbá.

Tomorrow morning let's you and I go to the bush and see who of us it is that will not get enough food/can't be satisfied.

In the following two examples, the predicate adjectival noun ngálwò better occurs, and the predicating particle wò does not occur independently in this cleft NP environment. It is likely that ngálwò represents an accreted form made up of ngálà good and the predicating particle wò.

Bádérò bánòamá ngálwò.

In comparison to nothing, it is having a hoe that is better.

Lùwáyà kúttùrò kàráwì kánnúyè zéwúnámá ngálwò.

In comparison to a bad deal/sale, it is having one's leather robe burned-that is better.

7. The Uses of the Predicating Particle wò in other Focusing Environments.

The predicating particle wò is used in a variety of other emphasis and focusing environments, differing from its use to focus the predicate NP position in the cleft NP construction. It functions very much like the copula (English *to be*) in other languages, to essentially nominalize entire sentential predicates in order to emphasize or contrast them, i.e. to say *X is not true, it is (instead/rather) the case that Y is true*. The use of wò to set off information that a speaker presents as fact in a contradictory or surprising way is apparent in the following examples.

Kám ádè gènyí, kám túdù wò.

It is not this man, it is that man that it is.

Ciládékò gènyí, ndàlténà wò.

It is not the case that I sold it, it is that it was stolen.

Kám bérì fànnzèbè rúzénàdè, bèlàwùròzènyí wò.

The man that rejects the meal of his own home, it is (the case) that he hasn't traveled.

Kām sūrō kēmádúwùbèrō kárè
 a ríyìn rúmíyà, nā ngāmdù
 òdùwèná wò.
 Kènzógè kègómìà, nā nómà
 kárè.

*When you see a man packing up his goods/
 belongings and going into the river, it
 is the case that he has found a dry spot.
 When s/he throws sand at you and you do
 not throw back at him/her, it is the case
 that you have a hard floor (i.e. you do
 not have sand to throw back).*

In the following examples, some of which contain two occurrences of the predicating particle, the context for the utterance may be sarcastic or involve criticism of the listener by the speaker.

Sèdín sèná. Sèdónà wò wá wò?

*He said he would do it. Well (dammit)
 is it the case (that it is the case)
 that he has done it?*

Nónómà wá wò?

Is it the case that you know it (or not)?

Tàmónómà (wò) wá wò?

Is it the case that you have finished?

SECTION VII: ADVERBIAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES.	PAGE
Chapter 27: Postpositions in Adverbial Postpositional Phrases and Clauses	257
1. Introduction	257
2. The Locative/Means/Instrument Postposition +(lâ+)n/+nyîn	257
2.1. The Postposition +(lâ+)n in Simple Postpositional Phrases	257
2.2. The Postposition +(lâ+)n as a Clause Subordinator	259
3. The Indirect Postposition +rò	259
3.1. The Indirect Postposition in Simple Postpositional Phrases	260
3.2. The Indirect Postposition as a Manner Adverbial Formative	261
3.3. The Indirect Postposition as Purpose and Reason Clause Subordinator	262
4. The Directional Postposition +mbèn	263
Chapter 28: Adverbials Linking Sentences and Clauses	265
1. Introduction	265
2. Adverbials (Conjuncts) Performing a Connective Function	265
3. Adverbial Disjuncts	267
Chapter 29: Temporal and Locative Adverbial Clauses and Expressions	269
1. Introduction	269
2. Temporal Adverbials Subordinated by the Postposition +(lâ+)n	270
3. Temporal Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition	272
3.1. The Role of the Indefinite Temporal Head Noun before Associative-Subordinated Clauses	273
4. Temporal Adverbial Clauses and Expressions Headed by kâwú	274
4.1. The Forms and Functions of the Verbal kâwú-Clause	276
4.2. Adverbial Expressions Involving kâwú	279
4.3. Other Adverbial Expressions of Time and Duration	280
5. Adverbial Clauses of Place Involving an Indefinite Pro Head	280
Chapter 30: Concessive Adverbial Clauses	283
1. Introduction	283
2. Concessive Clauses Subordinated by +só(+n̄)	283
2.1. Alternative Concessive-Conditionals Subordinate by +sôn	285
3. Concessive Clauses Subordinated by +má(+n̄)	286
4. Concessive-Conditional Clauses Subordinated by yâyé	286
4.1. yâyé as Subordinator of Nonfinite and Nonverbal Clauses	286
4.2. yâyé as Subordinator of Finite Verbal Clauses	287

4.3. Universal Concessive-Conditional Clauses	287
4.4. Alternative Concessive-Conditional Clauses	288
 Chapter 31: Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition	 289
1. Introduction	289
2. Associative Subordination of Nonverbal Clauses	290
2.1. Associative Subordination of the Nonaspect-Verbal <i>gènyí</i>	290
2.2. The Determiner <i>+dǎ</i> in Associative-Subordinated Nonverbal Clauses	291
3. Associative Subordination of the Imperfect Verb Aspect	291
3.1. Using the Associative-Subordinated Imperfect Aspect Clause	291
3.2. The Imperfect Aspect and the Associative in Participle Formation	292
4. Associative Subordination of the Perfect and Negative Completive Aspects	293
5. Associative Subordination of the Verb Emphasis Completive Aspect (VEC)	294
5.1. Associative-Subordinated VEC Clauses as Time Adverbs	296
5.2. Emphatic <i>+má</i> -marking of Associative-Subordinated VEC Clauses	297
5.3. Other Uses of Associative-Subordinated VEC Clauses	297
6. Associative Subordination of the Past Aspect of the Verb	298
6.1. Simple Associative Subordination of the Past	299
6.2. <i>+nyí+associative</i> Subordination of the Past.	300
6.2.1. Emphatic <i>+má</i> -marking of <i>+nyí+associative</i> Subordination of the Past	302
7. Associative Subordination of the Noun Emphasis Completive	302
 Chapter 32: The Functions of the Adverbial Adjunct <i>dùwǒ</i>	 303
1. Introduction	303
2. <i>dùwǒ</i> Setting off the Ant NP of a Complex NP Construction	304
3. <i>dùwǒ</i> Marking a Conjunct in a Narrative.	304
4. <i>dùwǒ</i> Marking a State and Setting a Scene	304
5. <i>dùwǒ</i> Marking a Statement as an Objection or Contradiction	305
6. <i>dùwǒ</i> Marking Adverbials and Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition.	305
7. <i>dùwǒ</i> as a Subordinator of Concessive Clauses	305
8. <i>dùwǒ</i> After a Conjunctive Verb Form	306
9. <i>dùwǒ</i> After Recapitulative Clauses in a Narrative	307

CHAPTER 27: POSTPOSITIONS IN ADVERBIAL POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES

1. Introduction. With regard to lexical category, it has been proposed that Kanuri has no true category *adverb* (see ch. 6). Words in the lexicon functioning in this capacity have been described as *adverbial nouns*. All other constituents functioning as adverbs are composite (oblique) postpositional phrases formed through the application of a postposition to a lexical noun, a noun phrase, or even an entire clause. Most of the composite adverbials described in the present chapter are formed through the application of the two major oblique postpositions of the language, i.e. the locative/means/instrument postposition $+(l\grave{a}+)n$, and the indirect postposition $+r\grave{o}$. Those adverbials formed through the application of the directional postposition $+mb\grave{e}n$ are also presented in this chapter.

With regard to semantic function (and sometimes correlating with syntactic position), adverbials may be divided into three groups: adjuncts, conjuncts, and disjuncts. Adjuncts are what we commonly refer to as *adverbs*, i.e. those adverbials which are an integrated part of the clause or sentence in which they occur. Included there are the common adverbs of manner, means, location, instrument, and time, all of which are treated in this chapter. Both conjuncts and disjuncts are peripheral to the structure of the clause or sentence. The conjunct $\acute{a}d\acute{e}s\acute{o}n$ 'in spite of all that', and the disjunct $w\acute{u}mb\acute{e}n\acute{n}\acute{a}$ 'in my opinion', are used to introduce a following sentence but are not integrated within the sentence. Conjuncts show the connection between what is being said and what was said before, whereas disjuncts in some way express an evaluation of what is being said. Conjuncts and disjuncts are treated in chapter 28.

2. The Locative/Means/Instrument Postposition $+(l\grave{a}+)n/+ny\grave{i}n$. The postposition $+(l\grave{a}+)n$, and its less frequently used assimilating form $+ny\grave{i}n$, takes on a variety of different meanings, and therefore apparently different functions, in definable syntactic environments. The variety of the phonological forms in which it occurs are not syntactically or semantically predictable in all uses, though in certain uses one form is at least preferred over another. In certain uses the form it takes may be phonologically conditioned. It has been termed the *ablative case marker* by Lukas, who cited the three forms $+n$, $+ny\grave{i}n$, $+l\grave{a}n$ (Lukas, 1937:17).

If a basic meaning could be proposed for it, in English the locative *at* or *in* would be the most appropriate. It locates not only in the sense of place but also in the sense of time. Thus it describes the state, either temporal or locational in which its object occurs. In apparent incongruity with this basic meaning, is its use to mark postpositional phrases containing nouns of instrument or means. One might expect that the associative $+(C+)a$ postposition would be used to mark instrumental and means phrases. The difference between the two postpositions in this context is apparent from the following examples:

F\grave{e}rl\grave{a}n k\acute{a}d\grave{i}o.	He came by/on horse.
F\grave{e}rr\grave{a} k\acute{a}d\grave{i}o.	He came with a horse.
*J\acute{a}n\acute{a}l\grave{a}n k\acute{a}m\acute{g}\acute{o}n\acute{o}.	He cut it with a knife.
?J\acute{a}n\acute{a}\grave{a} k\acute{a}m\acute{g}\acute{o}n\acute{o}.	?He cut it together with a knife.

In ch. 17 it was shown that $+l\grave{a}n$ in nonverbal sentences normally marks locative adverbials connoting *at*, *in*, or *from*. In verbal sentences, it marks adverbials of location, means, instrument, material, manner, time, state, and also a variety of adverbial clause types.

2.1. The Postposition $+(l\grave{a}+)n$ in Simple Postpositional Phrases.

a) Locative Adverbials

Alì kàsúwùlàn kádìo.	Ali came from the market.
Fántà kàsúwùlàn cìdàjìn.	Fanta works in the market.
Kèskàlàn zèpcìn.	He is coming down from the tree.
Ndàn cùrùm?	Where did you see it?
Ndàràn kàshò?	Where did they come from?
Mákkàn cìwàndéskò.	I got it in Mecca.
Kàsúwùlàn cìzài.	They will take off/leave from the market.
Shílàn àbímá mǎngìnbá.	I want nothing to do with him.
Ndàn kàrgám?	Where do you live?
Shí Yèrwàn kàrgá.	He lives in Yerwa.

b) Means, Instrument, and Material, Adverbials

Jánàlàn kámgàdà.	They cut it with a knife.
Mátòlàn káshè.	We came by car.
Shímìn cùrò.	He saw it with (his) eyes.
Kóródé dà ngámdeñ lǎpsài.	They loaded the donkey with dried meat.
Kálámìn sèrné.	Sift it with the sand sifter.
Fèrlàn bèlǎwùrònyèn.	We are traveling by horse.
Ngónsùllàn rǎmbùmìn.	You will pay with toil/sweat.
Kàttflàn sàtándìn.	They are building it with mud.

c) Manner Adverbials

Àngàllàn lèné.	Go carefully.
Ílǎílàn cìdànyèn.	We work slowly.
Rókkòndèn cìdàjìn.	He works together with us.
Kúlúwúném dátènémmìn kámné.	Cut/tailor your robe according to your height.
Kèlèwà séláinyìn fátòrò nágèmmàdérò	I am very happy that you reached home
zàurò kùrnòtèkèná.	safely.
Dàtèn kádìo.	He came early.
Àngàlnezàn cìdò.	He did it deliberately/intentionally.
Nádìn cìdò.	He did it on purpose.

d) Other Adverbials

Yèrwàn bòwózàirò wálwòndò.	It came to be called Yerwa. ^a
gǎnánzèn	in his youth
édèn bùrwòn kàwú yàkkèà	three days before that
Wùn bùrwònrò kádìo.	He came before me.
Alì kèntágè fállàn wáltìn.	Ali will return in one month.

e) Locative Adverbials with a Genitive Modified Noun Phrase

head noun with example

bótówò	proximity	bótówò fannyíbèdèn	next to my house
		bótówònzé kállàdèn	right next to him/her/it
cí	mouth, door	cí bǎràmbèlàn	at the edge/mouth of the well/water
		cí kúlòbèlàn	at the edge of the farm/field
dàryé	end, last	bínèmbè dàryélàn	at the end of the cold season
dáwù	middle, center	dáwù fátòbèlàn	in the middle of the house
		Shídé dáwù kànùriwàbèn kàrgá.	him he lives right among (in the middle of) the Kamuris.
		Àndí dáwù kàrààbèn dùwò	We were in the middle of
		fánkèà cáiyè.	nowhere when we suffered a puncture.
fúwù	front	fúwù fànnzábèlèdèn	there in front of their house

fártè <i>root, base</i>	fártè kèskàbèlàn	at the base/foot of the tree
	fártè kàubèdèn	at the base of the rock
géré <i>juxtaposition</i>	gérénzèn	right next to him
	géré fānndébèlàn	right next to our house
kátè	Njím kàanzèà kàkkèà kátènzàn	There is a zana mat between his room and mine.
kátèkátè/ <i>interval,</i>	kátè Yèrwàà Bágààbèlàn	between Yerwa and Baga
ìndìkátè <i>space between</i>		
kèlā <i>head, top</i>	kèlā kúrìsbèn	on top of the chair
	kèlā kúngénányìbèn	about/with regard to my money
	Fàndínzèbè kèlàn kàttúwù	By lying about his hearings
	kámtèn hárájìrò kàwòndò.	he avoided paying taxes.
	Sáwànzé kèrdìbè ádè	His friend the non-Moslem was
	zámáarò kàrégènzé kèjí	very happy about/that a malam
	kèlā málèm ádègái shiá	like him, knowing he is a non-
	kèrdì sè rùzènyìrò	Moslem, and not despising him
	nānzèrò íshìndébèn.	and still coming to visit him.
nā <i>place</i>	Nā Málàbèn kúngénàà.	Mala has money.
	Nāndèn njí bā.	We have no water.
	Nā Alìbèrò lèwòndò.	He went to Alì's (place).
ngáwò <i>back</i>	ngáwò fānnzábèn	, behind their house
	lèzènábbè ngáwòn	after he had gone
	ngáwò ádèbèn	after that
	ádèbè ngáwòn kàwú yàkkàá	3 days after that
sédiá/cídiá <i>underside</i>	sédiá kúrìsbèn	underneath the chair
súró <i>stomach, insides</i>	súró kèntágè ádèbèn	during this month
	súró fānnzèbèn	inside his/her house

2.2. The Postposition +(là+)n as a Clause Subordinator. The postposition +(là+)n functions as the subordinator of a variety of adverbial clauses. It is crucial to the formation of temporal adverbial clauses (see ch. 29), and to concessive adverbial clauses (see ch. 30). The following examples are intended to introduce it as a subordinator.

Wàzènamàn shiá rúkènyí.	I haven't seen him since morning.
Ngáwòn, Yèrwàrò lèngénàdàn, ...	Before, when I went to Yerwa, ...
Túrúiyèndèn lènémiá kúttù.	If you go without our having seen each other it would be sad.
Lènyènlàdèn kádá rúiyénà.	While we were going we saw many of them.
Lèngínmán shiá fàndèkìnbà.	Even when I go I don't meet him.
Sùkkùrúnàsòn wáltè cìwòndò.	Every time he fell down he got up again.

3. The Indirect Postposition +rò. The indirect postposition +rò carries a great functional load in the language. The term *indirect* is used to refer to +rò because it is a neutral descriptive term which can be understood to cover all of its oblique uses. To call it simply the *dative* postposition, as others have, does not adequately reflect its great versatility (see Lukas, 1937:17). The functions of +rò in Kanuri cover approximately the same syntactic and semantic range as covered by both of the prepositions *to* and *for* in English. Nearly all of its functions are relatable back to its basic phrase level characteristics as a postposition. The indirect postposition is obligatory, never optional, in all of its occurrences.

According to the SKO, regardless of the environment in which it occurs, the

indirect postposition is to be always written as +rò. Nevertheless, with regard to pronunciation, +rò does assimilate to a final liquid l, and homorganically to a final nasal consonant. Thus from fál one, fálrò *once* may be heard as fállò. Similarly kámrò *to someone* may be heard as kámmò. Such assimilations may vary depending upon the speaker and his dialect.

As explained on page 177, the indirect postposition rarely occurs in nonverbal predicates. In simple verbal sentences, +rò occurs as a postposition to mark noun phrases as indirect objects, datives, benefactives, adverbs, and as directional locatives. In complex constructions, +rò may function as a subordinator to clauses of reason and purpose.

3.1. The Indirect Postposition in Simple Postpositional Phrases.

a) Indirect Object Phrases

Shírò yíkìn.	<i>I will give it to him.</i>
Shírò fálégàkìn.	<i>I will show it to her.</i>
Kám kúngənààrò àbímá yíkìnbá.	<i>I will give nothing to the person who has money.</i>
Kám shírò Tújá gúlzáidé sáwànyí.	<i>The man they call (to whom they say) Tuja is my friend.</i>

b) Benefactive Adverbial Phrases

Wúrò shíà lèfàné.	<i>Greet him for me.</i>
Alìrò cídà ádè díkìn.	<i>I am doing this work for Ali.</i>
Kàlányíró cídàngín.	<i>I work for myself (my head).</i>
Nyíró yíwùkìn.	<i>I will buy it for you.</i>

c) Directional Locative Adverbial Phrases

Kàsúwùró lèwónò.	<i>He went to the market.</i>
Fánnzèró kádìkò.	<i>I came to his house.</i>
Fátò kámúnzè kùrà Músàbèrò lèwòkò.	<i>I went to Musa's senior wife's house.</i>

c) Comparative Adverbial Phrases (see page 181)

Alì Músàrò kùrà wò.	<i>Ali is bigger than Musa.</i>
Bèrò ádèrò Fánnaà kárzò.	<i>He chose Fanna over this girl.</i>

d) Adverbials with a Genitive Modified Noun Phrase

head noun with example

súsù/cìcì. <i>stead</i>	súsù Alìbèrò Súsù Amírkàrò lètébèrò, Kánádàrò lèwónò. Cìcì Alìbèrò Módù kárzà.	<i>instead of Ali</i> <i>Instead of going to America,</i> <i>he went to Canada.</i> <i>They chose Modu instead of Ali.</i>
sáawù <i>reason, cause</i>	sáawù cídàbèrò Nìjèrìyàlàn kù Shúwàsò mbéjírò wàltàdámá sáawù nèmkám Àràbìwáà Kànùrìwábèrò. Támtám nyàribèdè bārò wáljìnbè sáawùdèrò, ... Kùrúmàn sáawù ádèbèrò jìlwá tšmmárò káusù shím kàmbè sùrìnlàn déyàrò sùlúyìnbá.	<i>because of work</i> <i>There are Shuwa Arabs in Nigeria</i> <i>today because of the friendship</i> <i>between the Arabs and the</i> <i>Kanuris.</i> <i>Because of the story perhaps</i> <i>becoming uninteresting, ...</i> <i>And furthermore, because of</i> <i>this, the rat never goes outside</i> <i>in daylight when people can</i> <i>see it.</i>

(as in 2.1 above with Súrò fátòbèrò kàrgàwò. *She went into the house.*
locative adverbials) Ngáwò kàsúwùbèrò lèwónò. *He went behind the market.*

3.2. The Indirect Postposition as a Manner Adverbial Formative. The indirect postposition may function very much like the English derivational suffix *-ly* in the formation of adverbials from adjectival nouns, as shown in the following examples. Variant forms and their meanings are also shown.

<i>lexical source</i>	<i>adverbial</i>
zāu <i>hard, expensive</i>	zāurò <i>expensively; very</i>
dōi <i>quick</i>	dōirò <i>quickly</i>
ngəlā <i>good</i>	ngəlārò <i>well</i>
dīwī <i>bad</i>	dīwīrò <i>badly, terribly; completely</i>
gānā <i>little, small</i>	gānārò/gānāgānārò <i>little by little, slowly, a little</i>
Gānāmārò shià rāākənyí. Gānāmārò cìdājīnbā.	I don't like him at all. He does not work at all.
kādā <i>very many, too many</i>	kādārò <i>very often</i>
Kādārò nānzərəò lèngənā. ngəwū <i>a lot, many, much</i>	I went very often (many times) too his place. ngəwūrò <i>a lot, often, very much, for a long time</i>
Ngəwūrò lèjīn. ngəwūsó <i>most</i>	+neg <i>not very much, not very often</i> He goes very often. ngəwūsórò <i>mostly, normally usually, in most cases</i>
Ngəwūsórò shià fātòn fāndəsmīn.	+neg <i>not usually</i> Normally you will find him at home.
fúwū <i>front</i>	fúwūrò <i>forward, ahead</i>
ngáwò <i>back</i>	ngáwòrò <i>backward</i>
jírè <i>truth</i>	jírèrò <i>in truth, truthfully</i>
hāiyā <i>truth</i>	hāiyārò <i>honestly, truthfully, in fact</i>
wúrā <i>pl big</i>	wúrārò <i>heartily</i>
nāādè <i>quick</i>	nāādərò <i>quickly, immediately</i>
ngái <i>thus</i>	ngáirò <i>in this way</i>
kál <i>same</i>	kálrò <i>at once, together, simultaneously</i>
kálkál <i>just right</i>	kálkálrò <i>correctly</i>
kārəngə <i>nearness, proximity</i>	kārəngərò <i>recently</i>
bəlīn/bəlīn <i>new</i>	kārəngən <i>near</i>
Bəlīnrò bādīyādā.	bəlīnrò <i>anew, afresh</i>
cót <i>total, complete</i>	They started over/anew.
Cót dāwónò.	cótrò <i>completely, for good</i>
Cótrò lèzənyí.	It's all gone.
Cótrò lèwónò, wáltīnbā.	He has not gone for good.
fál <i>one (non-counting)</i>	He has gone for good, he will not return.
Kəntágə fálrò cìdāngīn.	fálrò <i>once, one time</i>
Fálmārò lèzənyí.	fálfálrò <i>one at a time</i>
gadə <i>other, different</i>	I will work for one month.
Gadərò shià lèfāngīnbā.	fálmārò +neg <i>not even once</i>
gadəmīnnā <i>another time</i>	He didn't go even once.
dúnòà <i>strong</i>	gadərò <i>again, another time; + neg not again, never again</i>
dē <i>empty, void</i>	I will never greet him again.
dē súl <i>completely empty</i>	gadəmīnnārò <i>once again, one more time</i>
tìlò <i>one (counting)</i>	dúnòārò <i>strongly</i>
īndí <i>two</i>	dərò <i>free, for nothing; for no reason, with no provocation, just to be mean</i>
ābí? <i>what?</i>	dē súlrò <i>completely empty; completely free, for absolutely nothing</i>
	tìlòrò =fálrò <i>once, one time</i>
	tìlòmīnrò <i>entirely, completely</i>
	īndírò <i>twice</i>
	ābírò? <i>for what? why?</i>

source

adverbial

ndàwú? *how much/many?*ndàwúrò? *for how much; for what price; how many times*ndàrá? *where?*ndàráró? *to where?*

The role played by the indirect postposition in forming adverbials from noun phrases and other sentence material is represented in examples like the following.

Ndúma nyià kàttùwumárò nòzənyí.

No one knows you as a liar.

Fannyíró yikkékè kámúnyíró mówòkìn.

I will put her into my house and take her as my wife.

Súlè úwùrò làdákìn.

I will sell it for five shillings.

Kám kənsàgáirò bəri jiwùkò.

I ate like a famished person.

Ndú shíró nòzə?

Who knows anything about him?

Dálwù fanyénàrò rùwòjígəyè.

We wrote them down just as we heard them.

Fənnəm njíró kələwà shé?

I hope your house survived the rain?

Sàndí sámmá nùnkəsáí, Alàyè sàndíró dā cí sàinnàrò.

They all muttered, thinking that God had given them meat.

Shégè bààrò shímá sədò.

It is undoubtedly he that did it.

Kàrэгè kəjfiàrò kàsúwùrò lèwónò.

He went happily (sweet-heartedly) off to the market.

Gàná gənyíró nā ádèn cìdàwókò.

I worked in this place for no small amount of time.

Ilàílàn lèné ndúma ásújìnbàrò.

Go carefully without anyone noticing.

Ləmán bànnàzái àbímá gəpsənyíró.

They waste wealth to the point that nothing remains.

3.3. The Indirect Postposition as Purpose and Reason Clause Subordinator.

The indirect postposition +rò functions as the subordinator of clauses of purpose and reason. Clauses of this type represent instances in which violation of the canonical SOV order of the language is permissible, since they very often and freely occur after the main clause, as well as in their predicted position before the main clause. In some of the following examples both orders will be presented.

Purpose clauses are very frequently characterized by a nonfinite verb form, usually the verbal noun. They describe unrealized actions representing the intention or purpose for which the subject undertook the action of the main clause.

Bəri kəmbùrò kádìò.

He came in order to eat.

Mákkàrò lètérò mǎngìn.

I am trying to go to Mecca.

Kúngənà mātàrò fátòlàn cùlúwò.

He left the house to look for money.

Cìdàrò lètérò àndià kòlwónò.

He left us to go to work.

Amnzé kùrùrò Amírkàrò lèwónò.

He went to America to see his people.

Amírkàrò lèwónò amnzé kùrùrò.

He went to America to see his people.

Nānzé láárò lèwónò kámú mātàrò.

He went off somewhere looking for a woman.

Gəràtənè wàndé ndúma ásúzənyíró.

Hide yourself so that no one notices.

Njímzá təmtàrò àmsàà bówójí.

He called people to put a roof on their house.

Shíró kúngənà yíkənà mātò yìwòrò.

I gave him money to buy a car.

In reason clause environments, the indirect postposition may be preceded in its subordinator position by nǎngà because of.

Abí nǎngàrò/Abíró kádìm?

Why did you come?

Abí nǎngàrò?

Because why?

Cìdà nǎngàrò kádìkò.

I came because of work.

Bískà Kánòrò lètə nǎngàrò tàwàngé cìwókò.

Yesterday I got up early because of going to Kano.

Bískà tãwàngè.cìwókò Káhòrò lèté nãngàrò. *Yesterday I got up early because of going to Kano.*

In the above examples, as was the case with the earlier purpose clauses, the verbal clauses are characterized by nonfinite verbal nouns and may be interpreted as purpose clauses as well. All are basically *because of*, *for the purpose of*, or *on account of* clauses describing intentions to carry out actions. When finite verbal clauses are subordinated by the indirect postposition with or without *nàngà*, the causal reason reading may be reinforced by the occurrence of the determiner element +*dé* in the subordinator area. Such clauses might be termed factive clauses of reason. There is considerable freedom of form for such examples, as shown below.

Mátò kèríté límídérò nyírò mátò dápkaçà. *They refused you a car because you have not learned to drive.*

dérò
nàngádérò
Mátò kèríté límí ^{nàngàrò} _{nàngádé} nyírò mátò dápkaçà.
nàngà
dé nãngàrò

Kámúnzè bàwòzénádérò zaurò kàrégènzé kúttù. *He is very sad because his wife died.*

Shí, sàlìjìndérò zànnàrò gàyín sè. *Just because he prays he thinks that he will enter heaven.*

Sáwàném ádè nyíà kèngàrò dàmnémádérò nyíà kòlngè máshídì, ádèlàn sàlìnèmbá. *Because you did not allow this friend of yours to follow you I will not let you pray in this mosque.*

Additional examples of reason clauses are shown below.

Yím láá ngám Mákkàrò lèjí bígènzé fítà nãngàrò. *One day the cat went to Mecca because of /in order to purify his sins.*
Ndará yàyé fómjìn, wánèè àwó láá kèmbùbè sèwàndín nãngàrò. *He wanders around everywhere because he might find something to eat.*
Aràbílàn sàrùtánámá ngélà wò, dàlìlwá ányì nãngàrò. *Borrowing it from Arabic is better, because of these reasons.*
Búltùbè zàumàrò kàrégènzé kèjìwónò, dà sèwàndè sè nãngàrò. *The hyena became very happy because he thought he had found some meat.*

Other uses of the indirect postposition in the subordination of temporal adverbial clauses are described in chapter 29.

4. The Directional Postposition +mbèn. In many of its uses the directional postposition +*mbèn* lends itself to translation in English by *through*, *via* or *towards*, when applied to a location. When applied for example to a body part, it is used to express *by* as in *shìmbèn by the foot*. Because of its meanings, uses, and its phonological shape, one might suggest that it is actually a composite form, derived from some combination of the genitive postposition +*bè* and the locative/instrumental/means postposition +(lâ+)n. This speculation is encouraged by the following example (from Cyffer, 1974: 52) in which this postposition is broken up by the syllable +lâ+, which is a part of the locative/instrumental/means postposition.

Shíà kàráàmbèlàn.yádé. *Carry him through/via the bush.*

The following examples are typical of the uses of the directional postposition.

Ngérídá índí kàtènzàmbèn kówòndò. *The gazelle passed right through between the two of them.*

Fánnzèmbèn lèwónò. *He went towards his house.*

Kām ádè Jòsmbèn kádìo.
 Ngáwòmbèn cùkkùrò.
 Ànsò kàrààmbèn lèzánà.
 Ndásòmbèn kónàmìn?
 Ndàràmbèn kádìm?
 Dóngòrdé kèlànzámbèn kówòndò.
 Yàlámmbèn lèwòndò.
 Kèrìdè sùwùlímmbèn kówòndò.
 Cínámmbèn lúyè.
 Cínámmbèn kàrgáwò.
 Cídíámmbèn sàkkòndò.
 Hāwàrdé kàsúwùmbèn fàngókò.
 Shíà dāmñé sùwùlímmbèn fàrtérò.
 Tágámmbèn fàrzè kówòndò.
 Bāmádé Kòndúgámmbèn létìn.
 Àlímmbèn gènyá àbímá tèwàndínbà.
 Kèmándéyè kèlámmbèn nyírò kùrwówù
 gènájìwò.
 Bùltùdè shímmbèn cítákò.
 Shíà shítímmbèn zàwòndò.
 Shítímmbèn kámgàdà.
 Cári káfúwùdè shímmbèn nām-gátè.
 Fértèmbèn kámgòndò.
 Shínzámmbèn ngúdòdè gèrtè bàdìyádà.

This man came via Jos.
He fell over backwards.
The people went through the bush.
Through which will you pass?
Through where did you come?
The stone passed right by his head.
He went northward.
The dog went through the hole.
Go out through the door.
He went in through the door.
It leaked out through the bottom.
I heard the news via the market.
Keep him from jumping out the hole.
It got out through the window.
Bana is reached via Yonduga.
If not through Ali, nothing will be gotten.
Our Master has placed this burden on
your head.
I grabbed the hyena by the foot.
He stabbed him through the side.
They cut it through the side/ribs.
The short old man broke his leg.
They cut it off at the roots.
They started dragging the bird by its
foot.

CHAPTER 28: ADVERBIALS LINKING SENTENCES AND CLAUSES

1. Introduction. As introduced in the preceding chapter (see p.257), with regard to semantic function (and sometimes in correlation with syntactic position), adverbials may be divided into three groups: adjuncts, which were the topic of chapter 27, and conjuncts and disjuncts, which are to be treated together in the present chapter. Adverbial conjuncts and disjuncts share the common feature that they are not integrated within the structure of the clause, both being peripheral and very often occurring disjoined from the rest of the construction, often in construction-initial position. Both conjuncts and disjuncts are normally somehow separated from the following clause by a pause. The conjunct *ádèsôn in spite of all that*, and the disjunct *wúmbènnà in my opinion*, are used to introduce a following sentence but are not integrated within an utterance. Conjuncts show the connection between what is being said and what was said before, whereas disjuncts in some way express an evaluation of what is being said (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973:207-250).

2. Adverbials (Conjuncts) Performing a Connective Function. 'Conjuncts' are adverbials which carry out a connective function in the discourse context. Somehow separated from the clause in which they occur, conjuncts in a variety of ways, either include, take into account, or allow for what preceded in the discourse context. They clarify the connection between what has preceded and what follows. In the following three sentences, observe the connective function of the conjuncts *sā ádè(à) (concerning)/at that time*, *sādēn/sā ádēn then, at that time*, and *ádègái in that way, thus it remained, it went on like that*, as shown.

Sā ádè(à), lárdèndélàn kènàà.

(Concerning)/at that time, there was a famine in our country.

Sādēn/Sā ádēn ʔbíáábíánàsórò kèndégà zaurò wálwònd.

At that time living became extremely difficult for everyone.

Ádègái súrò bàsàrínzábèn dùwò málám láa Alà ngòdòtè bádiwònd.

In that way they lived with their plight until a certain malam began pleading to God.

It is apparent that adverbial conjuncts very often function referentially, resumptively, and therefore anaphorically, to reset the context for an utterance based on something that has gone before. In this anaphoric function many conjuncts function like pronominals, or what others have referred to as *pro-forms* (see Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973:294-302). *Pro-forms* function as anaphoric substitutes for previously mentioned material, and are thus devices for abbreviating and for avoiding repetition. Some of the adverbial conjuncts presented in this section either are, or else double as *pro-forms* for adverbials. Because anaphora is involved in the use of these conjuncts and adverbial *pro-forms*, by definition therefore the determiner elements including the demonstratives (i.e. the definite anaphoric determiner *+dè*, and the anaphoric/deictic demonstrative *ádè*) are manifested in a great number of them. Therefore a conjunct like *sādēn at that time*, refers back to the time frame of the previous utterance, and marks it resumptively as the time frame for the new information to be provided in the following clause. Thus adverbial conjuncts are frequently formed from constituents that functioned as integrated adverbial adjuncts in a previous utterance.

Adverbial conjuncts may also function to connect and introduce a result or consequence clause related to a previous utterance. They may introduce

an alternative. They may introduce a clause that reinforces or strengthens a previous utterance. They may as well function concessively and transitionally.

The following list represents some of the most common adverbial conjuncts occurring in Kanuri discourse.

ádě̀	as for this; given this; if so; if that's the case
ádè̀bè ngáwòn; ngáwò ádè̀bèn;	after that
ádè̀bè ngáwòdèn; ngáwòdèn	because of that; that is why; therefore;
ádè̀ nánkà; ádè̀ nánkàrò;	for this reason
ádè̀ nánkàdè̀rò; ádè̀màrò	that is the reason why; because of this
ádè̀bè sáawùdè̀rò; sáawù ádè̀bèrò	this is what made/caused ...
ádè̀yè sèkkè	in that way; it was like that; it went on
ádè̀gái; ádè̀gáilàn; ádè̀gái dùwò;	like that though and then ...
ádè̀gáilàn dùwò; ádè̀gái dùwò dàjí	apart from that; in addition to that; beyond
ádèn ngùròn	that; other than that
ádèsòn	in spite of that; even so; nevertheless
ádèsòn bìá; bìá ádèsòn	anyway/well in spite of that/even so/nevertheless
ádè̀ gènyíà; ádè̀ gènyá; ádè̀ nyá	were it not for that; except for that; if
	not for that; apart from that; otherwise
ádè̀má wándè ...	that then is ...
ádè̀ dùwò; ádè̀ dùwònyí	that though is ...
ádè̀ yáyé; ádè̀sò yáyé	in spite of/regardless of this/that
ádè̀ sámmásòn	in spite of all that; even given all that
áttémá dámlámàn	even leaving that aside; forgetting that for
	the moment
ámá	but; however
ámá yáyé	but regardless/nevertheless
cá; càn	formerly; before
cámàn	even before
bùrwómàn	at first
bùrwò háwàllàn	at the very first
dàjí	then; and then; next
dàjí sádèn	then at that time
dé	(rarely alone) given all that; thus; therefore
dátè ádè̀làn; dátè ádè̀	as it now stands; at the present time
kàrèngè ádè̀màrò	very recently
káwùdè̀rò	before that/then
káwù ádè̀rò	before this/that
káwù ádè̀ wòsòrò	up until then; prior to that time
fùtù ádè̀làn; fùtù ádè̀gáilàn	in this way
fùtù ádè̀làn dùwò ...	it was in this way though (that) ...
káwù dùwè̀rò	for the time being; until then
kùrèn	in former times; long ago
kùrú	and also; and again; in addition
kùrúsòn	and what is more
kùrúmàn	furthermore; moreover
nádèn	there; in that place
nádémàn	right there; in that very place
ngái	thus; in that way
ngái dùwò/dùwònyí ...	it was that way though (until) ...
sádèn; sá ádèn	at that time; then
sádémàn; sá ádémàn	right at that time; at that very time;
	right then; just at that time
sá ádèsòn	during that whole time
súsù ádè̀bè̀rò = cìcì ádè̀bè̀rò	instead of that

súsúnzédérò, súsùdérò
ngéwùsórò
wándè
yàyé
yímdéà
yím ádèà
zámán kùrèbèlādèn
zámán ádèlàn

instead of it/that; in its stead/place
normally; mostly; usually
now; now then; and then after that
nevertheless; regardless; in any event
on that day
on that day
then in those former times
at this time/nowadays/these days

Included in the above list are only the basic elements which function as adverbial conjuncts in Kanuri, together with certain commonly encountered variants of them. However with regard to the resumptive and the recapitulative functions of adverbial conjuncts as introduced in section 2 above, it is very often the case in discourse that an entire subordinated adverbial clause will be employed to perform these functions, rather than one of the above conjuncts, isolated in construction-initial position. Parts of the above conjuncts, and certainly the anaphoric elements, very often play a role in such resumptive and recapitulative adverbial subordinated clauses. The following are typical of adverbial clauses functioning in this role.

Sà dàjí báládéà kòlzánādèn ... At the time then when they left the town ...
Tùssáí ádègáí dúwò ... They chatted on like that though until ...
Kùrú fútù ngáwómán bàyèntánádégáí ... Furthermore as previously explained ...
Sà ádè mánájínlādèn ... At this/that time while he was speaking ...
Fútù gúlgénádégáirò ... Just as I said ...
Wándè áwò gózèhá ádèlàn ... Well now with the thing that he took ...
Sà láá cítènyá ... When a certain amount of time had passed ...

It should be apparent that almost any of the adverbial clause types presented elsewhere in the present work can perform the resumptive and recapitulative role in discourse. The reader is referred to chapters 27, 29, and 31 for specific reference to the various adverbial clause types.

3. Adverbial Disjuncts. Adverbial disjuncts are similarly separated from the following main clause, usually by a pause. They do not however perform the anaphoric functions of connection, resumption and recapitulation as was the case with the adverbial conjuncts described above. Instead disjuncts are used to express an opinion or an evaluation of what is about to be said. Adverbials functioning as disjuncts may be phrases or clauses.

The following are a few of the elements which commonly function in the role of adverbial disjunct in Kanuri conversation and discourse.

wúmbènnà according to me
shímbènnà according to him
témá wúbèlādèn/témá kákkèlādèn in my own opinion/hope/expectation
háwàrò in fact
háiyámáwò in fact
háiyánzédé the fact of the matter is
kùrúnyídènnà with regard to the way I see it
wú kèlányídéà as for me myself
kùrúnyídèn in the way I see it
jírèrò/jírémán in truth; truthfully
ándí índí kátèlàn just between you and me
(mánà) ádè tók kòllémá leaving that matter completely aside
áwò dúwò ádèméá kózèhá nèmájáppàlàn something though that is even more
amazing than that is

CHAPTER 29: TEMPORAL AND LOCATIVE ADVERBIAL CLAUSES AND EXPRESSIONS

1. Introduction. The elements functioning as subordinators of adverbial clauses in Kanuri are simply the oblique postpositions, which also function at the level of the simple postpositional phrase. The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis especially of a variety of temporal adverbial clauses and expressions, and as well of certain locative adverbial clauses and expressions. Many of the clauses and expressions to be analyzed here have been introduced elsewhere in the present work, since their use in temporal and locative functions represents an additional role that they take on in the language.

The postpositions which will play a crucial role in the analysis of the present chapter are:

<i>locative/means/instrument postposition:</i>	+ (lã+) ñ
<i>indirect postposition:</i>	+ rò
<i>associative postposition:</i>	+ (C+) à

Among the temporal and locative adverbial clauses to be treated are included only those for which some kind of temporal or locative noun head in clause-initial position is either overtly manifested, or is contextually understood. The temporal nouns which may occur in this head position are the Kanuri equivalents of the word *time*, thus *sã*, *sókkù*, *lóktù*, *hóktù*, and *wóktù*. The most commonly occurring of these is *sã*, and it is the head noun which is most commonly omitted and contextually understood. Also to be analyzed in the head noun role of clauses of this type are the indefinite pronoun counterparts of these same nouns, formed through the application of the indefinite/concessive suffix *yâyé* to their interrogative form (as introduced on page 52). These include *sãbí yâyé*, *sãmbí yâyé*, *lóktùbí yâyé*, *hóktùbí yâyé*, and *wóktùbí yâyé*, and all may be rendered in English by e.g. *whenever*, *no matter when*, *any time*, etc. Among the temporal clauses to be treated, it will be shown that those subordinated by the locative/means/instrument postposition are based on the complex NP construction with ant noun *sã*, as introduced on pp. 227-8 (the basic structure of the NP and the complex NP being introduced in ch.19). It will be shown that those subordinated by the associative postposition most often involve associative subordination of the verb emphasis completive (VEC) aspect of the verb, as fully described on pages 294 through 297. According to the present analysis of such clauses, one of the temporal head nouns is either overtly expressed or contextually understood in all cases, thus explaining why they frequently lend themselves to a temporal interpretation. Thus these clause types would seem also to represent a form of noun phrase, of the phrase structure $NP = N \text{ MOD} + \text{ASSOC}$, where the modifier position is occupied by a verbal sentence, to which the associative postposition is applied. The possible variant forms of these clauses, and the role played in their structure by the various determiner and quantifier elements, lend credibility to their analysis as NPs.

Another type of temporal clause to be analyzed here is the type headed by *kãwú*. Clauses of this type usually involve durational time, and are best interpreted in English as headed by words like *until*, *before*, *(ever) since*, etc. Determiner and quantifier elements again play an important role in the structure of such clauses. As will be observed, both the locative/means/instrument postposition and the indirect postposition are used in the subordination of such clauses. They are, not however clearly analyzable as based in NP constructions, for reasons which will be explained.

The locative clauses and expressions to be treated in the present chapter are similar in structure to the temporals described above. All involve an indefinite locative pronoun head, heading a NP construction, as will be shown.

2. Temporal Adverbials Subordinated by the Postposition +(lâ+)ñ. All of the adverbial clauses treated here are formed simply through the application of the postposition +(lâ+)ñ to a complex NP (relative clause construction) whose ant NP is one of the Kanuri words for *time*. The ant NP may be either overtly expressed or contextually understood. Such constructions always have a temporal adverbial meaning, and may be formed from either a verbless or a verbal complex NP, as introduced on pages 227-28. As would be predicted by the description of the restrictive relative clause in ch. 23, the only affirmative aspects of the verb which may occur in verbal clauses within the complex NP are the imperfect and the perfect. Those in the imperfect most often have a durational interpretation, while those in the perfect most often have a fixed point in time interpretation.

Sâ kâsûwùrò lèzânàdân gòrò kâiwò. *At the time that/When s/he went to the market s/he bought kola.*
 Kâsûwùrò lèzânàdân gòrò kâiwò.
 Sâ kâsûwùrò lèjínlâdân shiâ cùrò. *During the time that/While s/he was going to the market, s/he saw him/her.*
 Kâsûwùrò lèjínlâdân shiâ cùrò.

It is apparent that there is little, if any, difference in the interpretation of such clauses whether the head is overtly manifested or contextually understood. In the above examples, the post-RRC determiner position is filled by the anaphoric determiner element +dê, resulting in the definite interpretation of factual past events. As shown in the following examples, a variety of determiner and quantifier elements may occur in that position, resulting in a wide range of meanings.

Sâ lèjín wòsò(ñ) ... *Every time s/he goes ...*
 Lèjín wòsò(ñ) ... *Every time s/he goes ...*
 Sâ lèzânà wòsò(ñ) ... *Every time s/he went ...*
 Lèzânà wòsò(ñ) ... *Every time s/he went ...*
 ?Sâ lèjínsôn ... *?In all the times s/he goes ...*
 Sâ lèzânâsôn ... *In all the times s/he went ...*
 (Sâ) lèjínmân shiâ sèwândînbâ. *Even when s/he goes he doesn't meet him.*
 (Sâ) lèzânâmân shiâ sèwândênyí. *Even when s/he went he didn't meet him.*

It should be pointed out that when the post-RRC determiner position of such clauses is filled by elements like +sò, and +mâ, if there is no ant NP then the concessive clause interpretation is possible. Such constructions are dealt with in detail in the following chapter 30.

The following are supplementary examples of this temporal adverbial construction type.

Bískamâ (sâ) ngúrò láárò lèngîndân *Just yesterday while I was going to some*
 cinnâ kâm láábèn nápsênâ mûskònzân *quarter of the town I saw him seated in*
 ànzánzâ cídàbèà shiâ cùrúkò. *someone's doorway with his work implements.*
 Sókkù gùmnátîndéyè kúngônâ *He got rich at the time that our govern-*
 Ingèlâmârámqâ cótrò fâlzânâdân *ment completely changed the English-based*
 gâlliwùwòndò. *money system.*
 Shiâ rúiyèná wòsôn kèjî fânjînbâ. *Every time we saw him he was not feeling*
 well.
 Ngáwò (sâ) nyírò wú-à nyí-à *After (the time) I told you you and I*
 Mákkàrò íshiyènbâ gùlngônâbèn *would not come to Mecca together, why*
 ngámâ wúà shiyâm? *did you follow me?*
 Kójin wòsôn shiâ lèfàngín. *Every time s/he passes I greet him/her.*
 Lèñmmâlâdân àbíró fânnýíró dàgâmí? *When you went why didn't you stop by my*
 house?
 Sâ ádè mànájínlâdân kènyèrì dá *This time while s/he was talking, the*
 sámmâ bèláárò sèrtérágèná. *squirrel bundled the meat up and into*
 the hole.

The following examples represent this same kind of construction only with a verbless RRC subordinated by +(là+)ñ.

(Sá) shí rōà(là)dēn sàmbísó
túrúiyèn.

When s/he was still alive we saw each other all the time.

(Sá) (shí) rōnzā(là)dēn
sàmbísó túrúiyèn.

When s/he was still alive we saw each other all the time.

Zāmān kūrè kūrèbè, (sá) lìitā
bāāladēn kām bārúyè sētáíà kàwú
fíndimān sēmèrinbā.

In former times, when there were no doctors, when a person got smallpox he would not recover even in 20 days.

Wú mbéjídēn ísó.

Let him come while I am present.

Kúngónānzāādēn Mákkārò lèzè.

He should go to Mecca while he has money.

kùdōnzé kállādēn ...

right at the time that it was brought ...

Múskōnōmmālādēn jē jīwínēmbèà
yàtté.

Braid the rope for your water gourd while you still have your hands.

Shūdó, kánnúādēmān nā rāāmmāderò
dùngòkkégēmìn.

Iron, while it is hot you can bend it where you want.

Some of the above examples which have no overt ant NP may not always readily permit the occurrence of an ant NP like *sā time*. In the last few examples of the above set, and in all of the following examples, it seems that the locative postposition is being used to locate the action or accomplishment of the subordinated clause in an abstract state without specific reference to fixed or durational time either in the past or generically. Thus the ant NP position is best unfilled in such clauses, and likewise the post-clause determiner position is best unfilled. In certain cases the abstract state is a hypothetical state. As is clear from the following examples, when the subordinate clause is negative, an interpretation of *without having done/doing something* is frequently appropriate.

Lèngónān kējí fānēmbā.

(lit.: You will not feel well in I have gone.) You will not be happy with me gone.

Awòwá Kánúribè ngéwú Yērwan
dègānān kèlìdōn tēmānzāà.

He has his hopes in learning a great deal about the Karuri while living in Yerwa.

Kèskádé, gānānzēn nā rāāmmāderò
dùngòkkégēmìn.

The tree, in its youth (when it is small) you can bend it where you want.

Kānēm tāmān kádíà yèjé.

Only try to kill the snake with your stick in your hand.

Lèñēmmālān lúwùkēnā wá?

Did I go out (at all) while you were gone?

Sáawù ádèbèrò jílwá tēmmārò kausù
shím kāmbe súrinlān déyārò
sùlúyìnbā.

That is why the rat never goes out during daylight where people can see him.

Njì ádàyè wúà léjìnbālān fānnyíró
lèngín.

I will get home without this water/rain ever touching me.

Fānzēnyīn kúngónānzé ndāngín.

(lit.: I will steal his money in the state of he didn't hear/feel.) I will steal his money without him feeling a thing.

Sā kúlònyí dīndérò gāákénādēn
ndáramá lèngēnyīn fārnyfà bēlāàye
gózè.

When I entered into my old field, without my having gone anywhere my horse fell into a hole.

Léntēnyīn kāsālgátè.

He bathed without undressing.

Túrúiyēndēn lēnēmíà kúttù.

It would be sad if you go without our having seen each other.

3. Temporal Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition. All of the temporal adverbial clauses to be treated here involve associative subordination of the verb emphasis completive (VEC) aspect of the verb, and may be schematically presented as VEC+ASSOC. As is shown on page 297, this construction may be preceded by an overt head noun of time, whether it be the lexical noun *sā time* or the indefinite pronoun *sāmbi yàyé anytime, whenever, no matter which time*. This elaborated structure may be schematically represented as N VEC+ASSOC. When the head noun is the lexical noun *sā*, it is very often omitted leaving a sentence with a finite verb form in the VEC, subordinated by the associative postposition. Such constructions most often lend themselves to interpretation in English by a temporal future (*When X happens/has happened then Y will happen*) interpretation, or by a generic (*When(ever) X happens Y happens*) interpretation. In certain cases a conditional (*if*) interpretation may be appropriate, as described on pages 294 ff.

Wàjià íshìn.

(lit.: *When the night has passed s/he will come.*) *S/He will come tomorrow.*
When the city laughs it is the village that has tickled it.

Bérnyídə kàsútù gójíà bə̀lādéyà shíà tàkùlkúlzò.

Kām bārèjínbā rúmíà, shímá kām bəlādéyàn dègánàsóbè lágènzá wò.

When you see a person who is not farming, it is he who is the most lazy of all the people in the village.

In the following pair of examples, one is tempted to interpret them as relative clause constructions (e.g. for the first *The man whose planting is late ...*), however the use of the associative to subordinate the VEC always entails a temporal interpretation, whether it be generic or future.

Kām nàtònzə dāryèjíà, árgəmnzə yé dāryèjín.

Kām súwə njírò lèjíà, kāsù dāwù dùwò sèwàndə íshìn.

When a man's planting (sowing) is late, his millet (harvest) will also be late.
When a person leaves to go for water in the morning, not until noon will he get to come back.

Because of the generic interpretation of such constructions, they are very often used in expressing proverbs in Kanuri. For additional examples see pages 294 ff. In the following examples in which the temporal head noun is overtly manifested, the interpretation is normally of the temporal future type described above.

Sā íshíà shíà rúkìn.

Yím kàwúnzə dájíà kórmürò kájínbā.

Sókkù kúngənà bəlín ádè sùlúyíà shí báslàn wújír tédín.

When s/he comes back I will see him/her.

When his days are done he will not be able to avoid death.

When the new money comes out business will be done uniquely with it (alone).

On the basis of the following variant forms of the associative subordinated VEC of the verb *wə+ to spend/pass the night*, it is apparent that in this environment where the temporal noun head is not normally overtly expressed, a variety of quantifier/determiner elements may possibly occur. This evidence may be used to confirm the analysis of these "subordinate adverbial clauses" as simply NPs of the type introduced in section 1 above, and described here. Therefore the overt or understood temporal head noun is the NP head, modified by an associative postpositional phrase in which a sentence is the object of the associative postposition, i.e. NP = NP S+ASSOC. All of the following are acceptable renditions of *every day*: wàjíà wòsò, wàjíà wòsòn, wàjíàsò, wàjíàsòn, wàjísò, wàjí wòsò, wáté wòsò. According to the present analysis the occurrence of these determiner elements does not indicate that wàjíà is being reanalyzed as a noun, but rather that in

the absence of the (omitted) temporal head noun, the determiner elements are then shifted to the post-associative postposition position.

3.1. The Role of the Indefinite Temporal Head Noun before Associative-Subordinated Clauses. When clauses of the type here under consideration are headed by a temporal noun like *sâ* determined by one of the indefinite or exhaustive quantifiers, or by an indefinite pronoun formed through the affixation of the indefinite/concessive suffix *yâyé*, then the construction will have two possible forms, as long as the head nominal is overt.

Sâ wôsôn íshíà kúngónà shín. *Every time when he comes he gives me money.*

Sâ íshíà wôsôn kúngónà shín. *Every time when he comes he gives me money.*

In the first of the above examples the determiner/quantifier element immediately follows the temporal head noun, and in the second it follows the entire associative-subordinated clause. There is according to our present knowledge, no semantic difference between these two variant forms. If the head noun is contextually understood, then only the determiner/quantifier position of the latter example is possible, as was the case with the examples in 3 involving *wájíà*.

When the head is an indefinite pronoun in this type of clause then the same two positions are open. A slight difference in meaning between the two forms is suggested by the following translations. In this case it seems that the head of the indefinite pronoun is obligatory in order to retain the same interpretation. In its absence, as shown, the interpretation of the clause becomes concessive conditional, of the type described in chapter 30.

Sàmbí yâyé íshíà kúngónà shín. *No matter when when he comes he gives me money.*

Sàmbí íshíà yâyé kúngónà shín. *At any time/No matter when he comes he gives me money.*

Ishíà yâyé kúngónà shín. *Even if he does come he will give me money.*

The following examples provide additional variations on the clause types here under consideration. In examples involving the indefinite pronoun as head, if the indefinite/concessive suffix follows the associative postposition, then it is apparent that the associative postposition becomes redundant and therefore optional.

Wóktúbí íshí(à) yâyé shíà rúkìn. *No matter when he comes I will see him.*

Sàbí yâyé íshíà shíà rúkìn. *No matter when when he comes I will see him.*

Sàbí yâyé íshíà wúà sèwàndínbà. *No matter when when he comes he will not find me.*

Sàbí yâyé súnýèrò lèzáià, yānzé-à kāmānzé-à sāmá kòlzē shí tìlónzē kàrààrò lèjín. *No matter when when they would go to graze the animals, he would abandon his mother and his companions and go off into the bush alone.*

Cìdàrámmìn cìjía máshídià kàdújín; sàlizē sàlámjía wôsôn kèpāndérò àdùzégìn hēr ngéwùn shíà bàrgàzénàdérò. *When he leaves work he goes to the mosque; every time when he has prayed and said his final salam, he would express his faith to God because he had blessed him with so much peace.*

Sâ wôsôn íshíà zègé sàmjín. *Whenever/Every time when he comes he gives out presents.*

(Sâ) íshíà wôsôn zègé sàmjín. *Whenever/Every time when he comes he gives out presents.*

Sàmbí yâyé Yèrwàrò íshíà zègé súwúdin. *No matter when when he comes he brings presents.*

Sàmbí Yêrwàrò íshíà yàyé zègé sùwúðìn.

Any time/No matter when he comes to Yerwa he brings gifts.

Sàmbí yàyé kām tàwàjíà kausùrò kàjín/kàjónò.

No matter when when a person gets up early he avoids/will avoid the heat.

Sàmbí kām tàwàjí(à) yàyé kausùrò kàjín/kàjónò.

Any time /No matter when a person gets up early he avoids/will avoid the heat.

It is clear from these examples and from the relative temporal adverbials examined earlier that the associative is used to apparently subordinate the VEC aspect of the verb in generic and future temporal adverbial clauses. For completive temporal adverbial clauses, the postposition +(là+)ñ is used to apparently subordinate the perfect aspect of the verb. These observations are captured in the following examples.

Méndè (sà) Yêrwàrò ísánà wòsòn zègé sàmgóñò.

Whenever/Every time he came to Yerwa last year he gave out gifts.

*Méndè (sà) Yêrwàrò íshíà wòsòn zègé sàmjín.

Sàmbí Yêrwàrò íshíà yàyé zègé sàmjín.

Any time/No matter when he comes to Yerwa he brings gifts.

*Sàmbí Yêrwàrò ísánà yàyé zègé sàmjín.

4. Temporal Adverbial Clauses and Expressions Headed by kàwú. As introduced in section 1 above, clauses of durational time (e.g. *from point x on and up to/until point x*, etc.) are headed by kàwú. As a lexical item, the word kàwú means *day*, and is used when counting days but not to express a point in time as is apparent from the following examples. The Arabic borrowing yím *day* is preferred to express a point in time and thus is used to head such temporal relative clauses.

yímbí? kàsúwùbí? *kàwúbí?

which day? when?

yím lámísèà *kàwú lámísèà

on Thursday

Yím ísékánàdàn shíà cùrúkò.

I saw him/her on the day that I came.

*Kàwú ísékánàdàn shíà cùrúkò.

kàwú yàkké *yím yàkké

three days

In its other and more widespread use in the language, kàwú apparently heads a wide range of temporal adverbial clauses and expressions, and in this use its interpretation is determined by the tense and aspect of the subordinate clause which follows it, as well as by the determiner/quantifier elements and postpositions which follow that clause. In this latter role, kàwú sets a point in time, and durational reference is made to an activity that is carried out in relation to that point in time. It would seem to be related to its erstwhile counterparts in other languages like the Hausa *kāfin before*, and the Bambara *kabini since*, and it is possible that all may share a common other language source. In Kanuri it has nevertheless taken on a much wider range of interpretations than either of these counterparts in other languages. Whether kàwú is actually heading the clauses in which it occurs cannot be determined. It does not seem to function like the head noun of a normal relative clause construction, as is attested by the fact that the same restrictions on permissible aspects in the following clause do not apply (as will be observed): If it is the case that it was borrowed as a preposition from another language, then its rather enigmatic characteristics in Kanuri might be explained. It is sufficient to say that it has certain of the characteristics of a preposition, as well as certain of the characteristics of a noun heading a temporal relative clause construction. As is described in chapter 34, Kanuri has none of its own prepositions, only those that have been borrowed

into the language.

The following two examples are typical of the type here under consideration in that they show subordination of the *kàwú*-clause first by the indirect postposition +*rò*, and in the latter by the locative etc. postposition +*làn*.

Kàwú njí yákindárò bérì búkìn. *I will eat before I drink water./Before I drink water I will drink.*
Kàwú nà ádè kòlṅṅàdèṅ àwó lása kúttù wààzàná wá? *Has there been any trouble here since I left?/Since I left here has there been any trouble?*

Adverbial clauses of this type are among those, as is the case with certain reason clauses, which may violate the typological order of the language and occur postposed to their main clauses. Thus the above examples may also be produced in the following form with preceding main clause.

Bérì búkìn(,) kàwú njí yákindárò.
Àwó lása kúttù wààzàná wá, kàwú nà ádè kòlṅṅàdèṅ.

Clauses headed by *kàwú* lend themselves to interpretation in English as headed by words like: *before, up to/until, since (temporal), from now on, etc.* The use of the postposition +*rò* usually implies reference to the time period prior to the event described in the verb phrase of the subordinate clause, and can thus be referred to as durational directional time towards that point in time. Therefore in the first of the above examples, food will be eaten during a time period prior to the point in time at which the water will be drunk. The imperfect aspect occurs in clauses like this one to refer to present, future, and imperfect past time periods in this directional way. The perfect does not occur in clauses headed by *kàwú* which are subordinated by +*rò* since reference cannot be made to the period prior to the event when the perfect occurs. In general, the use of the postposition +*làn* in such clauses makes reference to the time period after the event described by the verb phrase in the subordinate clause, and thus it most often occurs after clauses in which the perfect aspect occurs. +*làn* is distinct from +*rò* in this use since it may subordinate imperfect as well as perfect clauses. Thus the first of the above examples may be subordinated by either postposition, the second, not.

Kàwú njí yákindárò bérì búkìn. *I will eat before I drink water./Before*
**Kàwú nà ádè kòlṅṅàdèṅ àwó lása kúttù wààzàná wá?* *I drink water I will eat.*

This type of clause may also be used to refer to space and distance, in much the same way that e.g. the English *up until* may be used both temporally and spatially, as in the following examples.

Kàwú nà ádèṅ sètá bélàrò sádèṅàsó kúlò Shéhùbè. *From here all the way to the town is the Shehu's farm.*
Lárdè ànámbe kàwú lárdè Júkùnsòbèrò sádèṅàsó cídíà Bórṅòbèlàn kàrgá. *The country in the south as far as the country of the Jukun was under Borno rule.*

The system of determiners, quantifiers and emphatics, together with the postpositions, make possible a wide range of semantic subtleties in clauses of this type. The structure and its possible forms are represented schematically below. If *kàwú* is analyzed as a preposition, then it is possible to analyze the clauses which follow as headless relative clauses, from which the temporal noun *sá* has been omitted as an NP. This would explain all but those clauses in the past tense of the verb, which may not occur in relative clauses and to which this analysis would therefore not apply.

HEAD/ PREPOSITION	OMITTED ANT NP	VERB ASPECTS	DET/ QUANT	EMPHATIC PARTICLE	POSTPOSITIONS/ SUBORDINATORS	MAIN CLAUSE
kàwú	(sā) (sā) *	imperfect perfect past neg comp	+dè +sò wòsò	+má	+rò +(là+)ñ	

4.1. The Forms and Functions of the Verbal kàwú-Clause. Each of the following data sets contains four examples, one with each of the four possible verb aspects which have been attested in kàwú-clauses. Each occurs with one of the possible combinations of the postposed elements represented in the above schema. In some cases kàwú is optional.

- Kàwú ísékìnrò nānzàrò lèngənà. *I went to him before I came/was about to come.*
 *Kàwú ísékénàrò ...
 *Kàwú kádíkòrò ...
 ?Kàwú ísékènyírò ...
- Kàwú ísékìnlàn shíró cákò, *I gave it to him before I came.*
 ?Kàwú ísékénàlàn ...
 ?Kàwú kádíkòlàn ...
 ?Kàwú ísékènyílàn ...
- Kàwú ísékìndàrò kàrà láa díkìn. *I will do some studying before I come.*
 *Kàwú ísékénàdàrò ...
 *Kàwú kádíkòdàrò ...
 *Kàwú ísékènyídàrò ...
- Kàwú ísékìndèn shíró mànàgèkènà. *I spoke to him before I came.*
 Kàwú ísékénàdèn fálró shià rúkènà. *I saw him once before I came.*
 *Kàwú kádíkòdèn ...
 *Kàwú ísékènyídèn ...
- Kàwú ísékìnmàrò háwàrnzè fàngènà. *I heard about him even before I came/started coming.*
 *Kàwú ísékénàmàrò ...
 *Kàwú kádíkòmàrò ...
 ?Kàwú ísékènyímàrò ...
- Kàwú ísékìnmān ngáltémá shíró *I haven't said word one to him since*
 wá gùlḡḡnyí. *I have been coming.*
 (Kàwú) ísékénāmān ndàrámá lèngḡnyí. *I haven't gone anywhere since I got here.*
 (Kàwú) kádíkòmān kèlānyímá *I haven't been out at all since I got here.*
 tūlūwúkḡnyí.
 Kàwú ísékènyímān háwàrnzè fàngènà. *I heard about him even before I had come here. (lit.: since I hadn't come here)*
- Kàwú ísékìndémàrò lèngè shià rúkènà. *I went and saw him even before I came.*
 *Kàwú ísékénàdémàrò ...
 *Kàwú kádíkòdémàrò ...
 *Kàwú ísékènyídémàrò ...
- Kàwú ísékìndēmān shíró mànàgèkènà. *I spoke to him even before (that) I came.*
 Kàwú ísékénàdēmān tēmàrò shià *I haven't seen him at all since (when) I came.*
 rúkḡnyí.
 *Kàwú kádíkòdēmān ...
 Kàwú ísékènyídēmān shíró mànàgèkènà. *I spoke to him even before I had ever come.*
- Kàwú ísékìnsòrò cidānyí díkìn. *I will do my work up until I come./I was doing my work up until I came.*
 ?Kàwú ísékénàsòrò ...
 ?Kàwú kádíkòsòrò ...
 ?Kàwú ísékènyísòrò ...

?Kāwú ísékìnsón ...

(Kāwú) ísékénàsón wúrò fèskà kèrzégèná.

(Kāwú) kádíkòsón wúrò fèskà kèrzégèná.

Kāwú ísékènyísó(má)n hálnzè àdè bàdizèná.

S/He has shown me an angry face ever since I came.

S/He has shown me an angry face ever since I came.

S/He started behaving this way from the time that/ever since I stopped coming.

?Kāwú ísékìnsó ...

Kāwú ísékénàsó ndáramá lèngènyí.

?Kāwú kádíkòsó ...

?Kāwú ísékènyísó ...

I haven't gone anywhere ever since I came here.

Kāwú ísékìn wòsórò cidà díkìnnà kàrgàkò.

?Kāwú ísékèná wòsórò ...

?Kāwú kádíkò wòsórò ...

?Kāwú ísékènyí wòsórò ...

All the time up until I came here I was busy working.

Kāwú ísékìn wòsòn ngáltémá shíró shúnù káwàr gùlìngènyí.

Kāwú ísékèná wòsòn ndáramá lùwúkènyí.

Kāwú kádíkò wòsòn shià shím yèzèkèná rúkìn.

?Kāwú ísékènyí wòsòn ...

All the time since I have been coming here I have never said anything wrong to him.

I haven't gone anywhere ever since I came here.

I have just been eyeing him ever since I came here.

?Kāwú ísékìn wòsò ...

(Kāwú) ísékèná wòsò dùwùlíní cól gènángènyí.

(Kāwú) kádíkò wòsò ndúmáye wúrò lálé gùlzènyí.

?Kāwú ísékènyí wòsò ...

Ever since I had arrived I hadn't rested for a minute.

Ever since I had gotten there no one had even said hello to me.

The following examples from a variety of attested sources are presented to show how constructions of this type are used in texts and in conversation. Some of them represent interesting variations on the types already described and presented.

Kāwú dùwò ísémìndérò shí bùrwòzè ísèná.

Ammá kāwú kèngàlrò názégìndérò kèngàl cùkkùrúwò.

Wúrò kāwú kèngàl sùkkùrìndérò kúlúwò-à gèmájè-à dùtówó.

Kāwú sòlúyìndérò kùrwúliyè sàndíró "Ndú sùróndòn kàngúlèrò dèi wò?" sè cùwòrò.

Kāwú dùwò nàdérò lènémindé wú dèringè lèngìn..

Kāwú ngúdò àdè gèrémìndérò àwó fál nyíró gùlìngìn àdè fàné.

Abí yàyé àwó tédìnmádé sámmá.díkìn, kāwú sàndiá kàjálàn sòtùlúyìndèn.

Before you came though he had already come.

But before he could reach the sun the sun had gone down.

Before the sun goes down, sew a gown and a shirt for me.

Before they came out, the lion asked them, "Who is the fastest runner among you?"

Before you go to that place though, I will circle around and go there.

Before you eat that bird listen to this one thing I am telling you.

No matter what it is that is done I will do it all before they come out of the circumcision ceremony.

If it happens that I see her next to the big one before I marry her and bring her to my house, I will slaughter her, he said.

When they do one stitch, before they get it (the needle) out again it takes a lot of time.

Kāwú shià lòrùsàngè fànyíró kùkkìnlàdèn bótówò kùràbèn shià. cùrúkòrò wálwònà shià dùwàngè gùlzèná.

Sùktà fál sùksáia, kāwú fìtsàidé lóktù kádá gójìn

- Lènyówó kàwú shìtèràzáidérò Alàyè sèdià shíró rónzè cábè yikkékìn. *Let's go and before they bury him I will put his (former) life back into him if God be willing.*
- Ammá kàwú wúà yèzúwíndérò dàjí wúró ízèné shówó. *But before you kill me give me some time.*
- Wúà rónówó màirín; lèzè; kàwú lèzè bəlānzān íshíndérò. *Keep me in the king's palace, let him go, up until he has gone and come back from his village.*
- Kàwú àmānzè gāpsēnā gēpāsānnzā fāldé tāmōzāindēn shí bérām túlurrā kózēnā tāmōzō. *Before his remaining counterparts could finish one string, he had finished 7 lengths of cotton string.*
- Kàwú súkkùrīndēn jánā fītsè ngélài shírzè bėjì dúwùr lāa sètāndē kəlādérò cùkkùrúwò. *Before he fell he unsheathed a knife and cut up the palm leaves into strips, made a small mat and fell onto it.*
- Kàwú lèngē ísékīndēn ndárò dādēá cìkkām? *Before/Since I went and came back where did you put the meat?*
- Ammá kàwú rēmgnīndēn sāvānyí māinā bówóngè shíró fəlējíwòkò. *But before I buried him I called my friend the prince and showed it to him.*
- Kùrwúllì sāndià kādùzè fál fálró sètā sēndò kàwú kúlúwùró názáyīnrò. *The lion followed them and grabbed and swallowed them one by one before they could reach the lake.*
- Wú yé kàwú zēmnmīndēn yāngēnēm fānēmílān līnngīn. *I will remove your pants without your realizing it before you come down.*
- Kàwú íshíndérò kùwísò tādā kādā sāsāmbí. *Before he came the chickens had had many chicks.*
- Kàwú Yèrwārò kádíkò wòsōn ndúmá wúró nēmkkām fəlézégè nōngēnyí. *Since I came to Yerwa I don't know anyone who has shown me a sign of friendship.*
- Kàwú shià lākkānēm kāsātēndé dīnāmá cījīn. *Before you can convince him and he agrees the world will end.*
- Kàwú tām̀b̀umímān cídā díkìn. *I was working even before you were born.*
- Kàwú tām̀b̀ukēnyídérò nādēn cídājīn. *He was working there before I was born.*
- Kàwú mairūjīnrò ísékìn. *Before dusk I will come.*
- Kàwú mairūjīn wòsórò cìdāngīn. *I will work up until dusk.*

In the following pair of examples, a kàwú-clause subordinated by +lān is followed by the occurrence of búr̀wò first, also marked by the same postposition. This somehow more explicitly shows that the action of the main clause happened before the action of the subordinate clause occurred. This is used only when the subordinated clause is in the negative completive.

- Kàwú ísékēnyīn búr̀wōnrò lèné shíró gùllé ísè wúà jézè. *Prior to when I return go and tell him he should come and wait for me.*
- Kàwú ísékēnyīn búr̀wōn lèngē shià fānnzélān rúkēnā. *Prior to when I came back I went and saw him at his house.*
- Kàwú wāzēnāmān shià rúkēnyí. *I haven't seen him all day/since morning.*

In +rò-subordinated kàwú-clauses with an imperfect aspect verb form, a morpheme which is apparently the predicating particle wò may occur following the clause and immediately preceding the determiner position, as shown in these examples.

- Kàwú hóktù zémàbèrò lètábè sètīn wòdérò àbímá wúà shìwòlzáná bāwò. *Up until the time of going to the Friday mosque there is nothing that is distracting/occupying me.*
- Kàwú sá dégé sètīn wòdérò íshīn. *He will come before it reaches 4 o'clock.*

In such constructions, the predicating particle is optional. When the predicating particle occurs, the verb sètīn reach may be omitted.

Kàwú hóktù zémàbèrò lètábè sètíndàrò *Until the time of going to the Friday*
 àbíma wúa shíwòlzánà báwò. *mosque there is nothing occupying me.*
 Kàwú hóktù zémàbèrò lètábè wòdàrò *Before the time of going to the Friday*
 àbíma wúa shíwòlzánà báwò. *mosque there is nothing occupying me.*
 Kàwú sà dégè sètíndàrò íshìn. *He will come before it reaches 4 o'clock.*
 Kàwú sà dégè wòdàrò íshìn. *He will come before it is 4 o'clock.*

Clauses of duration from one point in time to or towards another point in time may be formed by setting the starting point with the postposition +làn and marking the goal time with the postposition +rò. Such constructions may also refer to duration in space, as introduced in section 4-above.

Kàwú nà ádàn sètá bálàrò sádánàsò. *From here all the way to town is the*
 kúlò Shéhùbè. *Shehu's farm.*
 Lárdè ànèmbè kàwú lárdè Jukùnsòbèrò *The country in the south as far as Jukan*
 sádánàsò cídíá Bòrnòbèlàn kàrgà. *country was under Bornò rule.*
 Kàwú ádèlàn sètá kùrò kádìo wòsò *Taking from that all the way up until*
 ngólà. *today it has been good.*
 Kàwú yímdàn sètá kádìo wòsò *Starting from that day onward we never*
 gàdèrò túrúiyèndé. *saw each other again.*

When wòsò occurs in the determiner position and the subordinated clause is in one of the permissible completive aspects, then as was noted earlier, the kàwú may be omitted.

Bàrgànèmin, dòndìnèmmà wòsò wú nà *Your highness, ever since you got sick*
 fálnyìn fàndékè nàmgènyí. *I haven't had a chance to stay in one place.*
 Ammà yáyé kàtènzàn nèmsáwanzámá bá *But even so, there has been no friendship*
 hár kùrò káshò wòsò. *between them ever all the way up until*
 today.
 Isákèná wòsòrò kàjí fàngínbà. *Ever since I came I have been sick.*

When in the imperfect aspect, clauses of this type may not be interpreted as kàwú-clauses from which the kàwú has been omitted. They are instead amenable to interpretations like the following.

Sòrìn wòsò tàdàwá ngámè ngəwúzai, *The more they looked/every time they*
 tàdàwá kùwíbè-à jílwbè-à bārò *looked, the cat's children increased*
 wálzai. *and the chicken's and rat's children*
 became none.
 Isákin wòsòrò *The more often I come ...*
 Dòndìnèmin wòsòrò *The more often you get sick ...*
 Dòndìnèmin wòsò(ñ) *Every time you get sick ...*

4.2. Adverbial Expressions Involving kàwú. In the following examples, the same kàwú is used to head a variety of adverbial expressions which do not represent verbal subordinate clauses. Most represent adverbial adjuncts to the sentence.

Kàwú fájār wòsòrò cídá díkín. *I've been working ever since morning.*
 Kàwú fájār wòdàrò ísákin. *I will come before morning.*
 Kàwú sà yakké wòà/wòdàrò *Before 3 o'clock*
 Kàwú ádè wòsòrò yíwúkíá ngólà. *It is good for me to buy it up until*
 that time/then.
 (Kàwú) sà úwú ngáwò wòsòrò *All the time prior to 5 o'clock*
 Kàwú fúwúàsò wú yàananzé. *From that time/now on I was/am like*
 his brother.
 Kàwúdamáro *Even before that/then*
 Kàwúdmásòn *Right up until that time/then*
 Kàwúdan *Before then/that*
 Kàwú ádàrò *Before that/up until that*

4.3. Other Adverbial Expressions of Time and Duration. Here are included a variety of other temporal adverbial adjuncts which do not necessarily represent a distinct construction type but are nevertheless quite important to the student of the Kanuri language.

In order to express the notion *ago* in Kanuri, one simply states the event followed by the time period involved following a present time adverb, usually *kū today*, as shown here.

Isnà kū kàwúnzə dégə.

He came 4 days ago.

Shià rúkə̀nà kū kàwú indí.

I saw him 2 days ago.

Wánèè kū kàrwú mēwúgái.

Maybe about 10 days ago.

Kū kàwú mēwú.

10 days ago.

The following are adverbial adjuncts based in the adverb *kūwá at this time, by now, about now* which could be related to *kàwú* through metathesis. It is more likely somehow derived from *kū today* plus the associative postposition (Skinner, personal communication). The meanings will vary in different contexts.

<i>kūwá</i>	<i>at this time, by now, about now</i>
<i>kūwəsə(rə)</i>	<i>up until right now</i>
<i>kūwəsən</i>	<i>up until and including now</i>
<i>kūwámison</i>	<i>still</i>
<i>kūwá yáyé</i>	<i>still</i>
<i>kūwámí yáyé</i>	<i>still</i>
<i>kūwá ngái</i>	<i>about now, at a time like this</i>
<i>kūwágái</i>	<i>about now, at a time like this</i>
<i>kūwádə</i>	<i>right about this time</i>
<i>kūwádərò/kúwállò</i>	<i>at this time</i>
<i>kūwá yáyəman</i>	<i>even now</i>

Rànggè kūwádə gərənginbà.

I cannot wait any longer.

Kūwá ngái bonèrò dātèn.

At this time it is too early to sleep.

Bískà kūwá ngái àndí Yərwàn

Yesterday at this time we were in Yerwa.

Cà dātèn isəmmā kūwá ngái tāmōnyénà.

If you had come early/on time, we would have finished by now.

Bískà kūwágái wú fátò Tújàsòbèlàn.

Yesterday at this time I was in Tijani's (and his family's) house.

Kūwámí yáyé kàsəngənyí.

I still have not agreed.

Kūwámison ndúnzámáyé shià súrūnyí.

Not one of them has yet seen him.

Kūwəsən gəm yáminnà kərgəm rá nyiá sətənà?

Are you still there drinking milk, or have you had enough?

Kūwá yáyé wándé ašəmməmi.

Not yet, don't be amused yet.

Kūwámí yáyé àndirò nà lənyənmá gūlzənyí.

They still have not even told us where we are going.

5. Adverbial Clauses of Place Involving an Indefinite Pronoun Head. These clauses are included here because they represent the locative counterpart of the temporal adverbial clauses examined earlier in this chapter. Such clauses may not occur with verbs subordinated by the associative postposition, since such constructions can only be interpreted temporally as observed earlier. These examples are simply relative clause constructions headed by an indefinite pronoun involving the indefinite/concessive suffix *yáyé*. This suffix may occur either after the verb form of the relative clause, or after its interrogative pronoun head.

Ndará ləjin yáyé jánanzə múskonnà ləjin.

No matter where he goes he goes with his knife in his hand.

Ndará yáyé ləjin jánanzə múskonnà ləjin.

No matter where he goes he goes with his knife in his hand.

Ndará yáyé kəmsò sáptə rúmíá dāji nādən kəsúwú napsə rúmín.

No matter where when you see people gathered you will see a market set up there.

Adè nankàrò ndará .lèzài yàyé,
nóngólì sà bārèbè sètíà ísàì.

*That is why no matter where they go,
in the rainy season when the time to
farm arrives they come back.*

Ndará yàyé mbéjímáá, fàndèmin.

*No matter where if there are some,
you will find them.*

CHAPTER 30: CONCESSIVE ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

1. Introduction. Concessive adverbial clause constructions are used to express a contrast between two circumstances or situations, one contained in the antecedent subordinate adverbial clause and the other in the consequent main clause. The main clause in such constructions may be referred to as the *contraexpectation* clause since it very often goes against the intentions or efforts described in the concessive clause. Kanuri concessive clauses which are marked by any of the postposed elements which may function as concessive clause subordinators, are interpretable in English as being subordinate by e.g. *although, even though, even if, though*, etc. Treated together in this chapter are the normal concessive clause, and also the concessive-conditional clause (i.e. *even if ...*), or *potential* clause. All the clause-types treated in this chapter represent a subclass of the sentence adverbials or adverbial clauses of the language. In accordance with the SOV typology of the language, these subordinate clauses normally precede a main clause.

The concessive adverbial clause construction is therefore arranged according to the following phrase structure arrangement:

S = subordinate clause + subordinator PAUSE main clause

In the subordinator position of the above phrase structure arrangement, any of the following postposed elements may occur as subordinators of the concessive clause types indicated:

<i>subordinator</i>	<i>clause type</i>
+só(+n̄)	<i>concessive</i>
+má(+n̄)	<i>concessive (+negative main clause)</i>
yâyé	<i>concessive(-conditional); potential</i>
dùwō	<i>concessive</i>

Concessive clauses for which the adjunct *dùwō* functions as subordinator are examined in chapter 32, which is devoted to all of the uses of *dùwō*.

Some of the meaning differences which result from the use of the various subordinating elements are reflected in the following example set in which the subordinate clause is a nonverbal predicate of identification.

Shí táláàsōn, kàrэгènzé kèjî.	<i>Although he is poor, he is happy.</i>
Shí tálámān, shíró yíkìnbā.	<i>Even though he is poor, I won't give to him.</i>
Shí táláà yâyé, kàrэгènzé kèjî.	<i>Even if/though/although he is poor, he is happy.</i>
Shí táláà dùwō kàrэгènzé kèjî.	<i>Though he is poor, he is happy. He is poor but he is happy.</i>

2. Concessive Clauses Subordinated by +só(+n̄). In this form of concessive subordination, the morpheme +só may or may not be followed by the application of the locative/means etc. postposition in its short form as +n̄. This form of concessive subordination may be applied either to a nonverbal sentence, as shown above, or to a verbal sentence. When applied to a verbal clause, it is usually the case that the action described by the verb actually took place. The implication is that though the action took place, it did not achieve the desired results which are made clear in the subsequent main clause. The implication may also be that the action of the verb was either repeatedly or continuously attempted either in vain or followed by failure. Thus the

main clause presents a circumstance that is contradictory to or contrasted with the concessive antecedent, possibly describing the situation resulting from the non-realization of the concessive clause.

It is likely that this morpheme *+sò* is the same morpheme which also functions as an indefinite quantifier/determiner, which when modifying a NP is translatable by e.g. *all, every*, and other exhaustive indefinites. It was observed in the formation of indefinite pronouns from interrogative pronouns, e.g. *ndúsò everyone* from *ndú who?* (see chapter 7). These two uses may be correlated by the observation that when it does subordinate a verbal subordinate clause (with a concessive interpretation), the implication may be that the action was attempted repeatedly, as described above. Syntactically therefore, when it follows a NP the interpretation is that of an indefinite quantifier/determiner, and when it follows a subordinate clause, the interpretation is concessive. The relation between these two functions is apparent in the following examples. This morpheme *+sò* should not be confused with the collective plural marker *+sò*.

<i>ádèsòn</i>	<i>in spite of all that</i>
<i>sòn kál</i>	<i>even so; it doesn't matter; nevertheless</i>
<i>sámmásò</i>	<i>all; all of them</i>
<i>àbísò</i>	<i>everything</i>
<i>ndúàndúànàsò</i>	<i>each and every one of them (human)</i>

The two possible interpretations of the following nonverbal examples show rather conclusively that the quantifier/determiner morpheme and the concessive subordinator morpheme are in fact the same morpheme.

<i>Súrò bélànzábè sámmásòn(,) féro fáì lóng.</i>	<i>In their whole town/Even in their whole town(,) there was only one single girl.</i>
<i>Sàndí sámmásòn(,) kám ngèlà fálmá bá.</i>	<i>Among all of them/Even among all of them/In spite of all of them(,) there was not one single good person.</i>

In the following verbal examples, again the relation between the quantifier/determiner role and the concessive role are readily apparent.

<i>Abísò sàdò.</i>	<i>everything they did/though they did something ...</i>
<i>àwó sàdénàsò ...</i>	<i>whatever they did ...</i>
<i>àbí sàdòsò(ñ) ...</i>	<i>Everything they did was rejected by the king's son./Though they did something, the king's son rejected it.</i>
<i>Awó sàdénàsò(,) tádà màibèdáyè wáwòndò.</i>	<i>Whatever they did the king's son rejected it.</i>
<i>Abí sàdòsò tádà màibèdáyè wáwòndò.</i>	<i>Although it became morning/Ever since morning, it hasn't broken down.</i>

The following examples demonstrate the uses of concessive clauses subordinated by *+sò(+ñ)*. It is worth noting that the verbal clauses subordinated in this way are nearly always in the past tense. The following main clause may be affirmative or negative.

<i>Dàjí dámgà zèpsè ísè ngáwò kùdùkàrèábè kóksè kùrú wáltè kókkòndòsò, àbí má gózèná bá.</i>	<i>Then the hawk swept down and through he pecked and pecked at the turtle's shell, he got nothing at all.</i>
<i>Súwà-à kàjírí-à fómgonòsò, kèmbú sèwàndènyí.</i>	<i>Although he wandered around morning and night, he didn't find food.</i>
<i>Kàwú ìndírò lèwónòsòn, nàdè sèwàndènyí.</i>	<i>Although he walked for two days he did not find the place.</i>

Sã dägèlwàsò fátòrò lèzánàlädèp
mèmèyádàsò kámánzá fáí bā.

At the time that all the monkeys had gone home, look at each other though they might, one of their number was not there.

Wáltà isàpkádàsò kámánzá fáí bā.

Count and recount each other though they might, one of their number was not there.

Máinzáyè sàndià bówózè 'àbí
kámánzá fáíró wàázégò? ' sè
cúwòròsò, ndúmá àwó wàázénàdèà
nòzènyí.

Their king called them and though he asked and asked 'what happened to one of their number?', no one know what had happened.

Bówójìnsò, Àlì mánàtèrò wájí.

Though he kept on calling, Ali refused to speak.

Bú kájìbè cídíró fíténà(-à)
kàttínzé-àsón sùlórè sèndí.

Though the guinea fowl's blood which had spilled on the ground was very muddy, he gathered it up and swallowed it. / He gathered up and swallowed the guinea fowl's blood which had spilled on the ground together with the mud and all.

Nā kánnúbèrò lèwókòsò, kánnú
rúkènyí wáltèké kádíkò.
Shià māmámáwòkòsò, fàndékènyí.

Though I went to the place of the fire, I couldn't see the fire and I returned. Though I looked and looked for him I did not find him.

Isèm ndúmá rúmmà básò, nányíró
isèm súwòrèmidé ngámá?

Though you came and didn't see anyone, why is it that you didn't come and ask me?

Àwó díkènyí básò ngàzènyí.

Although there was nothing that I didn't do, he did not get well.

Am bèlábè sáptàà ngódowádàsò,
ngúdodé kòltèrò wáwòndò.

Though the townspeople gathered and pleaded; he refused to release the bird.

Málèmyè kàsàtsè dāmga shià
sàpkòndòsò, kádíà sùrúnyí.

The malam agreed and though the hawk searched him, he did not see the snake.

Lèwókò lèwókòsò, sàmbí yàyé
shí fátón sùlúwúnà.

Though I went and went, he had always gone out of the house.

Zéwèt télésrò cídàwòndòsón,
cídanzé tàmòzènyí.

Although he worked all day long, he did not finish his work.

2.1. Alternative Concessive-Conditional Clauses Subordinated by +sòn. Two verb phrases may be conjoined by marking each with the associative postposition and marking the combination with +sòn to produce an alternative concessive-conditional clause. Each of the verb phrases of course represents one of the alternatives, as shown in the following example:

Ràámmà-à wánèmmà-àsón, cídàdè
dínìn.

Whether you like it or not you will do the work.

Such clauses may also be formed through the application of yàyé, as will be observed below.

3. Concessive Clauses Subordinated by +má(+n). Concessive clauses of this type appear to be subordinated by the emphasis marker +má, which has a variety of emphatic and concessive uses, nearly always together with the short form of the locative/means/instrument postposition +n. Clauses of this type are always followed by a negative main clause. They seem to occur much less often as concessive clauses than do the clauses of section 2, and in form they very much resemble the káwú clauses with the same subordinator form which are described in chapter 29. These clauses

very often have some kind of a temporal reading as well as their concessive reading. They have been attested only in the perfect aspect, among the affirmative complete aspects. They may not be used to imply that the action of the verb was repeatedly attempted, followed by failure, as was the case with those in the past subordinated by +só(+n). Instead, when in the perfect aspect, the implication is that the action was carried out only once.

Wàzánámán shiá rúkənyí.

I haven't seen him since morning./Even though it became morning, I didn't see him.

Isénádémán, kəndənzə ráámí, shí kərdí nánkádəró.

Even when/Even though he came, you did not like his coming because he was a non-Muslim.

Ləngínmán, shiá, fəndəkínbā.

Even when/Even though I go, I don't find him.

4. Concessive-Conditional Clauses Subordinated by yàyé. Adverbial clauses referred to as *concessive-conditional* clauses are very often subordinated by *even if* in English. In such constructions, the main clause describes a state or an event which will exist or be carried out *even if* and regardless of whether or not the state or event described in the concessive-conditional clause holds. In Kanuri, such constructions contain clauses subordinated by yàyé, here a subordinator, which probably represents a fossilized combination of the associative postposition and the additive adjunct yé *also*. The two have apparently combined to form an indivisible unit for this concessive-conditional purpose, a unit that does not assimilate to preceding consonants and which is thus written autonomously according to the SKO.

Apart from its functions as a subordinator, yàyé also functions to 1) form indefinite or universal pronouns from interrogative pronouns as a concessive adjunct, 2) conjoin noun phrases as an alternative correlative conjunction, and 3) connect sentences in discourse as a construction-initial adverbial conjunct meaning *nevertheless*.

4.1. yàyé as Subordinator of Nonfinite and Nonverbal Clauses.

Wú bā yàyé àbí wò?

Even if I weren't here what difference would it make?

Cólcól yàyé dèmbərnəmlàn nəmné.

Even though it is very small, sit down on your buttocks.

Dē yàyé dèmbámá gándé.

Even though it is empty, lick the calabash gourd.

Dùwùlwùlimí yàyé kəmbúmanzəbèn dā.

Even if it is only a lizard, it is meat in the eyes of its predator.

Arzégimədə, sùró kəmadúwùbèn yàyé nji səlādín.

The favored (blessed) person, even if he is in the river, he will sell water.

Sémóném bəjí máláfəgāi yàyé kəsùwáném fənəmbā.

Even if your ears are large like the malafa mat, you will not hear people gossiping about you.

Dàátà yàyé sùrínbā.

Even though he is standing up, he doesn't see it.

Nji kəmkəmbè núwáném wò yàyé, yámí dùwò nūmbā.

Even if it is the water that has washed the poisonous kemkem fruit that is your lot in life, you won't die as long as you don't drink it.

4.2. yàyé as Subordinator of Finite Verbal Clauses. The following are concessive-conditional clauses in the VEC aspect. Many are proverbs.

Bárwù kàlìimòbèdés, dùwùdùwùjì yàyé, *The camel thief, sneak and crawl though*
 nā.zār yìkkòbèlādèn cìzè dātènzè *he may, he will have to stand up, to his*
 tàmòjìn. *full height when it comes to putting on*
the harness.

Zàzèrmàdés, càrìjì yàyé, jòlòjòlónzè *No matter how old the leopard may*
 gèròtìnbā. *become, it will not lose its spots.*

Ammá lènémí yàyé kàshàardé fàndò bā. *But even if you go, there will be*
no finding the sword.

Àwò díwì sàdí yàyé, shià fìsàtcìn. *Even if/when he does something bad,*
she will tell on him.

Kádì ngàwùrè kùrúwùàdés, dèrínémí *No matter how far you go around the*
 yàyé, dèrítìnbā. *long-tailed snake to avoid it, it*
cannot be avoided.

Dìnàdémá dìnàjì yàyé, kàlìimòdés *The world, no matter how worldly it*
 tэмmàrò nje tìlòyè déjìnbā. *may become, the camel will never be*
cooked in one cooking pot.

Kwàngádés, shià kùlwú ìndídémáyè *A man, even though he can put on double*
 sàndí yàyé, mánà ìndídéyè sàndìnbā. *gowns that will suit him, double talk*
will never suit him.

Tàwàjì yàyé, násègìnbā. *Even if he gets up early, he won't*
catch me.

The following are additional examples of this type of clause in other aspects of the verb. The first is in the imperfect, the others in the negative completive.

Kù bówónémíà bálì yéjìn yàyé, *When you call him today and even if*
 kammámá dègái wò. *he doesn't answer until tomorrow, you*
should always live/stay/be with people.

Wúà nòzányí yàyé, sàndí sámmásóà *Even if they don't know me, greet all*
 wúràrò wúrò lèfàné. *of them for me.*

Dáì bòlòròzè dūwò tādà sàmbìnnà; *The he-goat bleats first and then bears*
 ngèlárò bòlòròzènyí yàyé tādà *a child (impregnates the she-goat);*
 sàmbìn. *even if the ram doesn't bleat, he still*
bears a child (i.e. impregnates).

4.3. Universal Concessive-Conditional Clauses. The following set of examples may be referred to as *universal concessive-conditional clauses*. In each example, an interrogative pronoun plays its indefinite or universal role, in much the same way that it does in the formation of the indefinite or universal pronouns like e.g. ndú yàyé *whoever, no matter who*. The structure of these clauses is very similar to that of the NP. The reader is referred to the temporal adverbial clauses of chapter 29, some of which were of the following form: sàbí íshí yàyé ... *no matter when he comes/whenever he comes* ... Nearly all these examples are in the VEC.

Abí díkí yàyé, rānggè shià, *No matter what I do I cannot forget*
 njèssèngìnbā. *him.*

Abí sèdí yàyé, ngèlājìnbā. *No matter what he does he will not*
get any better/improve.

Abí shìrò dí mí yàyé, fānjìn *No matter what you do to him, he feels*
 kārégènzèn. *it in his heart.*

Abígáirò ngènéptéki yàyé, rānggè *No matter how hard I try, I cannot*
 mánànzè fāngìnbā. *understand his talk.*

Abí wúà sèwàndí yàyé, fútù kèlányià *No matter what happens to me, I know*
 mòwòbèdés nòngèná. *how to save my skin.*

Abí wàájín yàyé, kèskádérõ	No matter what happens I am going to
bákin.	climb the tree.
Ndárân kàrgám yàyé rángnèm fèrném	No matter where you live you can keep
rónèmin.	a horse.

4.4. Alternative-Concessive-Conditional Clauses.

Lènámìn yàyé, lènèmbà yàyé,	No matter whether you go or whether you
lámínyí, bá.	don't go, I don't care.

CHAPTER 31: ADVERBIAL CLAUSES SUBORDINATED BY THE ASSOCIATIVE POSTPOSITION

1. Introduction. It has been suggested that in certain languages a significant syntactic and semantic relation exists between adverbial clause constructions and topic/focus constructions. In his treatment of Ngizim syntax, Schuh (1972) justified treating topicalized noun phrases together with sentence level adverbs not only because of their syntactic similarity, but also their "semantic commonality", since both construction types "state antecedent conditions to the main clause, bring into the foreground some aspect of the main clause, or both" (323). Thompson (1977) wrote that in many languages both adverbial clauses and topics:

- 1) are sentence-initial
- 2) need not be an argument of the main predication
- 3) perform the discourse dependent role of linking an antecedent to a main clause
- 4) (à la Chafe, 1976) set a "spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (37-8).

Haiman (1978) demonstrated the relation between conditional clauses and topics through the following definitions of each:

A conditional clause is (perhaps only hypothetically) a part of the knowledge shared by the speaker and his listener. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse. (583)

The topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse. (585)

These sources are cited here because in Kanuri, not only are the two construction types related semantically, as these authors have described, but also they may be identical in syntactic formation. In chapter 25 it was shown that the associative postposition functions as a NP status marker which is used to left dislocate a NP, followed by a pause, and marking that NP as a contrastive topic. All conditional clauses of Kanuri both nonverbal and verbal, are formed in exactly the same way, thus providing strong support for the relationship proposed by Haiman (1978). In isolation out of the discourse context therefore, a NP marked by the associative plus a pause may be interpreted either conditionally or as a contrastive topic.

Alìà, ...

If it is Ali, ...
 ALI, .../As for ALI, ...

A left dislocated NP that is marked for this status by the associative, is not necessarily separated from a following finite verb form in which it is an argument by a pause. The pause is required however when such a NP is followed by a pronoun copy of itself. In conditional clauses, the pause is more consistently produced. Some of the range of possibilities are shown in the following examples, where the pause is indicated by a comma.

Nòngānyí.
 Wú nòngānyí.
 Wúà nòngānyí.
 Wúà, nòngānyí.

I don't know.
I don't know.
Me I don't know.
If it is me (e.g. that you are asking),
I don't know./As for me, I don't
know.

It will be the purpose of the present chapter to examine all of the clause types that are subordinated by the associative postposition. It will be shown that conditionals are not the only clauses subordinated in this way.

The reader should keep in mind the similarities between these associative-subordinated clauses and the associative-focussed NP: both are in initial position, marked by the associative postposition, and may be followed by a pause.

2. Associative Subordination of Nonverbal Clauses. Almost any nonverbal sentence may be subordinated by the associative postposition and occur in initial position as a conditional clause. Both juxtapositional and most nonaspect verbal sentences as well may be subordinated in this way.

Ali mbéjía, shiá lèfàné.

If Ali is there, greet him.

Nānzān bāā, kākē gōné.

If s/he doesn't have one, take mine.

Awò kēmbūbè bāā, kēnāā dēbdōnyēn.

If there is nothing to eat, we will spend the day hungry.

Shí rōnzāā, ālhāmdūlillāhī.

If s/he is alive, thank God.

Ali gēnyīā, shiá lèfāngīnā.

If it is not Ali, I won't greet him.

Fālimāā, sélām bā.

If it is watermelon (that you are talking about), there are no black ones.

Below observe associative subordination of a locative postpositional phrase with temporal interpretation.

(Sā) wūālādēnnā, ísēnyí,

(both =) If it is while I was there

(Sā) wú mbéjílādēnnā, ísēnyí,

(that you are talking about), s/he

wāndè wú bālādēn gēnyí kádìdò.

did not come; /As for while I was

there, s/he did not come;

that is unless s/he came while I

was not there.

In the above examples, the locative postposition marks a temporal adverbial clause, as described in detail on page 270.

2.1. Associative Subordination of the Nonaspect Verbal gēnyí. As introduced on page 178 gēnyí is the negative nonverbal predicate of identification, description, and location. When subordinated by the associative, the literal translation of the combination might be: *if it is/was/were not*. In usage, the combination lends itself to English translation by any of the following: *if not, except for, unless, apart from, other than, etc.* This combination may be pronounced and written in any of the following ways: gēnyīā, gēnyā, nyīā, nyā, and sometimes even nā.

Yērwan gēnyā bōngīnā.

Unless in Maiduguri, I won't sleep.

Shí gēnyā ndúmá lèfāngīnā.

Unless/apart from him, I won't greet anyone.

Adè gēnyā, rāákēnā bā.

Except for that/Otherwise, there are none that I like.

Alālān gēnyā, álègèlān kēndōwā bā.

Except through God, creatures can do nothing.

Ilmulān nyā, àbímá mōwōnjīnā.

Nothing is possible, except through wisdom.

Wāndè kúngēnā mōwōntíbè nyā, àwò gādè bā.

Now apart from money for school, there is nothing else.

Njīā nūnēm, fità gēnyā, kūrwnnzé bā.

Unless by pouring a lot of water on it, there is no medicine for it.

Délām kārā gēnyā dā dōwòl fālyè sētín.

Unless it is the craving of a witch, it will be satisfied by one piece of meat.

Ali gēnyā, ndúmá sērāgēnyí.

Except for Ali, s/he does not like anyone.

2.2. The Determiner *tdé* in Associative-Subordinated Nonverbal Clauses.

In any of the examples presented in 2 and 2.1 above, the determiner *tdé* may occur at the end of the clause, immediately preceding the associative postposition, effecting the semantic change reflected in the following examples.

Ali mbéjídásà, shià lèfàné.
Nānzān bādásà, kàkké góné.
Awó kēmbūbè bādásà, kēnāā dēbdōnyēn.

Shí rōnzēādásà, āhāmdūlillāhī.
Yērwān gēnyídásà, bōngīnbā.
Ali gēnyídásà, shià lēfāngīnbā.
Shí gēnyídásà, ndúmá lēfāngīnbā.

Since Ali is there, greet him.
Since he doesn't have one, take mine.
Since/given that there is nothing to eat, we will spend the day hungry.
Since his is alive, thank God.
Since it is not in Yerwa, I won't sleep.
Since it is not Ali, I won't greet him.
Since it is not him, I won't greet anyone.

It is clear from the translations of the above examples that the occurrence of the determiner element in such clauses, changes the meaning of the adverbial clause from that of a hypothetical conditional clause, to a factive, given (the fact) that clause. As might be expected, its occurrence there renders the preceding clause nominal, as will be readily apparent with regard to verbal clauses which are examined in detail below.

3. Associative Subordination of the Imperfect Verb Aspect. The associative postposition may occur as the subordinator of clauses in the imperfect and the negative imperfect by simply suffixing it to the finite verb form. Such clauses are conditional and lend themselves either to a present interpretation, or to a generic imperfect interpretation. When preceded by the former/unrealized adverb *ca formerly, had it been the case that*, such adverbial clauses produce counterfactual conditional clauses with a past imperfect interpretation.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb, in the affirmative and negative.

	class 1: bũ+ eat	class 2: lè+ go
1S	bũkinnā; bũkinnāā	lènginnā; lènginnāā.
2S	bũminnā; bũmbāā	lèñminnā; lèñmbāā
3S	zēwinnā; zēwinnāā	lējinnā; lējinnāā
1P	bũiyēnnā; bũiyēnnāā	lènyēnnā; lènyēnnāā
2P	bũwāā; bũwāā	lènúwāā; lènúwāā
3P	zāwinnā; zāwinnāā	lèzāiā; lèzāiāā

3.1. Using the Associative-Subordinated Imperfect Aspect Clause. Associative subordination of the imperfect verb form, due to the underlying character of this verbal aspect, is at the *most improbable* end of the spectrum of conditional clauses of Kanuri. Because of its very *iffy* nature, it does not lend itself to use in narrative contexts for the purpose of ordering events in time.

Mūsā rūminnā, wāndé shírō gūllēmī.
Ishinnā, shírō gūllé.
Hāldé shílā shítibē; sāngēmīnnā,
nāmtīn.
Isāiwāā, ābīmā bā.
Kāsūwūrō lēnēmbāā, bārīnēm
gēnāngīnbā.
Bālāā ngādārbē lānēmīnnā, kāfūwūrō
lāné.
Awódé díminnā, fērtēdsāmā dé.

If you do see Musa, don't tell him.
If he does come, tell him.
Character is a rib bone; if you lift it up it will break.
If they don't come, it doesn't matter.
If you will not go to the market, I will not fix your food.
If you are digging the hole of slander, dig it shallow.
If you are doing something, do it for a reason.

Rũnzé lóng tādà kóróbè sègàshinnà,
dámbéma ngèwù wòrò sègàshín.
Rànginnà, kàsúwùrò lèngín.

*If a baby donkey runs all alone,
it is because of a lot of kicking.
If I am able, I will go to the
market.*

Dálàyè rákcinnà, íshíà, fànnémrò
nyíà sáadìn.

*If Dala can, when he comes he will
take you home.*

The imperfect may occur in counterfactual conditional clauses like the following.

Cā lúwùminnà, nyíà yòrdúwùkìn.

*If you were leaving, I would
accompany you.*

When the determiner *+dè* occurs after the imperfect verb form and before the associative postposition, the associative is in effect foregrounding a sentential NP. Such constructions lend themselves to the *given that* or *since it is the case that* type of translation, as was the case with the same use of the determiner in the nonverbal sentences of section 2. One could refer to these as *clauses of circumstance*.

Ishinnà, shíà jèngín.

If he is coming, I will wait for him.

Ishinbàà, shíà jèngínbà.

If he isn't coming, I will not wait for him.

Ishindéà, shíà jèngín.

Since he is coming, I will wait for him.

Ishinbádéà, shíà jèngínbà.

*Since he is not coming, I will not wait
for him.*

Kànùrìwá létsàisòdèà, àndià
bànané sàndià sàngiyé.

*Since the Kamiris are all sleeping, help
us and let's wake them up.*

3.2. The Imperfect Aspect and the Associative in Participle Formation.

Identical in form to the above-cited associative subordination of the imperfect verb aspect, is the finite participle form which is made up of the very same elements. This derived participle form always occurs dependently and usually describes an action which is simultaneous with the action of the subsequent main verb of the sentence. The subject of the finite participle form and that of the matrix verb form are often identical. According to the present analysis, this kind of associative postpositional phrase containing a verb form, represents another form of NP modification. The head noun of such a NP is the subject of the finite verb form which has been rendered a participle, whether that subject has been independently expressed or not. As was the case with other forms of associative phrase modification (pages 199-201), here also the associative predicates the existence of the imperfect verbal action in relation to the subject. This action is thus going on simultaneously with the action of the following main verb, which may be completive or imperfect.

Though identical with the subordinated form in shape and pronunciation when taken in isolation, the two differ within the sentence. As observed, the subordinated form is distinguished by a pause immediately following the associative (as subordinator), whereas no pause is involved in the use of the participle form. The subordinate clause is always in sentence initial position, the participle form may be anywhere preceding the main verb. The difference is shown in the following pair of examples.

Sàasàia, wú yé kàsàkìn.

If they run away, I too will run away.

Sàasàia lèyádà.

They went away running.

Such 3P imperfect forms which do not terminate in *+n*, constitute therefore tonal minimal pairs with the verb emphasis completive 3P form of the verb (see 5 below), as shown below.

Sàasàia, wú yé kàsàkìn.

When they run away, I too will run away.

Other examples of the 'participle form' are shown here.

Isékinnà gógèkè kùkkan. *I'll bring it with me when I'm coming.*
 Tàdà kèskábè zéwinnà nàpkònd. *He sat down while eating a fruit.*
 Gòrò zègèrinnà dèbòdòjín. *He spends the day chewing kola.*

4. Associative Subordination of the Perfect and Negative Completive Aspects. The associative may occur as the subordinator of finite clauses in the perfect and the negative completive aspects, again, simply by suffixing it to the finite verb form. Such clauses are conditional and lend themselves to a past conditional interpretation. In the environment of those stative verbs which occur normally only in the perfect aspect, the interpretation in other languages may then be a present conditional one. The perfect is the Kanuri aspect preferred for the construction of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses. Such clauses may be produced both with and without the former/unrealized adverb of state *cā*, whereas when the past or the imperfect are used for such clauses this adverb is always required. The negative completive may also occur in the subordinate clause of hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals. The associative postposition is always required in such constructions,

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb, in the perfect and the negative completive.

	class 1: bù+ eat	class 2: lè+ go
1S	búkènnà; búkènyíà	lèngènnà; lèngènyíà
2S	búmmàà; búmíà	lènnèmmàà; lènnèmíà
3S	zèwunnà; zèwunnyíà	lèzènnà; lèzènyíà
1P	búiyènnà; búiyèndéà	lènyènnà; lènyèndéà
2P	búwàà; búwíà	lènúwàà; lènúwíà
3P	zàwunnà; zàwunnyíà	lèzànnà; lèzànyíà

The following examples represent the most important uses of associative subordinated clauses in the perfect and the negative completive aspects. As was the case with the imperfect, here also the determiner element may occur between verb form and the associative position to produce the clauses of circumstance (*given that, etc.*) introduced in 3 above.

Sùlúwunnà, wòtíyà ádè nànzèn kòllé.	<i>If he has gone out, leave this letter for him at his place.</i>
Sùlúwunnàdèà, wòtíyà ádè nànzèn kòllé.	<i>Since he has gone out, leave this letter for him at his place.</i>
Kàlímàdé Aràbílàn sàrùtènnà, àm Nìgèrbè ráksà fànzàí.	<i>If the word has been borrowed from Arabic, then the people of Niger will understand it.</i>
Hàmzènnà, búiyèn; hànzènyíà, búiyènbà.	<i>If it has cooled, we will eat; if it hasn't cooled, we won't eat.</i>
Hàmzènnàdèà, búiyówó.	<i>Since it has cooled, let's eat.</i>
Shíà rúkènyíà, tèmmàn kèjì fànginbà.	<i>If I haven't seen him/her, I never feel good.</i>
Kùwàdé ísànyíà, wàndé shiwòltèmf.	<i>If they haven't come yet, don't worry about it.</i>
Shí dìnzènyíà, tèmà yàngèbè dàjínbà.	<i>If/as long as the leg hasn't worn out, the expectation of the pants will not end.</i>

In the following counterfactual conditional constructions, it should be noted that when the counterfactual clause is introduced by *cā* *formerly, were it the case that*; this adverb may or may not be matched by the

occurrence of the comparable *kùwá by now, by this time*, at the beginning of the following main clause. *cā* is used again in the latter position by some speakers. It is impossible for the determiner element to occur in such subordinate clauses.

Cā isénàà, (kùwá) kúngénàdés shíró yíkénà.

If he had come, by now I would have given him the money.

Cā isénàà, (kùwá) kúngénàdés nánzên.

If he had come, the money would be with him by now.

Cā tawázénàà, kausùró kàjín.

If he had gotten up early, he would avoid the heat.

Cā ràámmàà, kùwá-lènyèná.

If you had wanted to, we could have gone.

Cā dātèn isénàà, kùwá ngái àndí Yèrwàn.

If he had come early, we would be in Yerwa by now.

Cā wúró kúngénàdés cínàà, kùwámísôn kátèndèn àmànnà.

If he had given me the money, I would still trust him.

Cā wúró bùrwôn gùllémmàà, kárènyí góngè isékin gènyí wá?

If you had told me before, wouldn't I have taken my things and come?

Cā fè áwányíbèdés yé ádègáirò bārànèmmàà, kùwá fàndémmà.

If you had also hunted for my father's cow in this way, you would have

kèndèném fányénàà, àndí yàyé nyíró àwó láá kúdiyènbà wá?

found it by now.

If we had heard about your arrival, wouldn't even we have brought you something.

Cā nyià yíllèmin fányèndèà, kù nyià tàdàwánèmmà ngámyè sèrwàttìn.

If we hadn't heard you screaming, today you and your children would have been lost to the cat.

5. Associative Subordination of the Verb Emphasis Completive Aspect (VEC).

Used independently, the VEC aspect entails the sudden or surprising realization of the action of the verb, and emphasizes that achievement. When the VEC aspect is subordinated by the associative postposition, that point at which the action of the subordinated verb has been realized is the given precedent in the subordinate clause, and it may be interpreted as the condition for the following superordinate clause. The relationship between the two clauses is one of order, and is temporal in the sense that the subordinate clause constitutes a prerequisite for the realization of the superordinate clause. The hierarchy of two events established by this type of associative subordination, may be interpreted temporally in the future, or generically, the latter describing what happens *whenever* the condition of the associative subordinated clause is realized. Constructions of this type with the generic interpretation occur very frequently in Kanuri proverbs.

Use of an associative subordinated VEC clause always entails the presupposition on the part of all parties to the utterance that the action of the subordinated verb phrase will be realized, or is normally realized. Clauses of this type are very definite in the sense that the achievement of the action of the subordinate clause is essentially taken as a given. The action of the superordinate clause thus happens *given that/when/whenever* the associative subordinated clause happens/has happened. They do not lend themselves to translation by *if* in English, but rather by *when/whenever*. When the generic interpretation is possible, it is normally the case that it is either a proverb, or that many historical precedents are involved so that there is no doubt that the action of the subordinate clause has been completed.

In the past narrative context, *nyi+associative* subordination of the past aspect (Lukas' dependent past) is used to order events factually as they

occurred in the past. There, the subordinate, past clause often picks up a verb contained in the immediately preceding utterance, to set the stage for the next event contained in the superordinate clause immediately following it (see 6 below). Similarly, in the future narrative context, associative subordination of the VEC aspect (Lukas, dependent future) is used to order events as they will occur in the future, as presupposed by the speaker and those party to the utterance. Here again the presupposition may be based on a previous utterance, and thus the associative subordinated VEC clause may pick up the same verb from the previous utterance and use it as the precondition for the subsequent superordinate clause. This is the general case, and there will be exceptions where such clauses may lend themselves to an *if* interpretation. It should be noted that in English one uses *if* not only conditionally, but also generically and proverbially.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb.

	class 1: bù+ eat	class 2: lè+ go
1S	búkíà	lèngíà
2S	búmíà	lènémià
3S	zówíà	lèjíà
1P	búiyéià	lènyéià
2P	búwíà	lènúwíà
3P	záwíà	lèzáià

In the first example below, the VEC aspect is preferred over the imperfect in the subordinate clause because the interpretation is generic. The condition of whether or not you go to a small village is not relevant to the utterance, and thus it is truly a *when/whenever* clause.

Bèlādèyàrò lènémià, ádègái ádè
sàdín yáyèrò wáájìn.
Ísémíà túrúiyèn,

When you go to a small village, it
may be that they do things like that.
When you arrive we will see each
other.

Mákkàrò lènémià wúrò rádiò kúdé.
Lítáridèrò lèngíà àbí wàájìn?

When you go to Mecca bring me a radio.
What will happen when I go to the
hospital?

Kàsúwùrò lènémià, wàndé àwó
gùlzánnàn yíwùmí; mànàtèrónówó dùwó.

When you go to the market, don't
buy at what they first say; discuss
it first.

Kúdémíà, shégé bààrò nyí yé wárátà
áwánèmbèà fàndémìn.

When you bring it, without a doubt
you too will get your father's
inheritance.

Fúwùn Yèrwàrò lèngíà, tás kírò
gàákènyí dùwó ísékìnbà.

Next time I go to Yerwa, I won't
come back without having ridden in
a taxi.

Bèrì búkíà lèngín.

When I have eaten I will go.

Bàrà dàjíà ngérwúwù dā.

When the hunt is finished, the owl
is meat.

Bírnyì kàsúdu gójíà, bèlādèyà shíà
tákùl kélzò.

When the town laughs, the village
has tickled it.

Kám kádiyè zègèrìà jè dínrò ríjìn.

When a snake bites you you will then
fear an old rope.

Kám tàwájíà kàusùrò kázòndò.

When you get up early you will avoid
the heat.

Dìná lèmjíà kàfyà gápčí.

When night falls, there is plenty of
shade.

Ammá túlúwúkíà wúrò àwó láá sá mín.

But when I take it out you will give
me something.

Kúttù nyírò wààzégíà wúró
wààzégí.

Sáa kámtià nēngì kámtí.

Wúà nā kwābēn rúmíà wúà dūwāné.

Ammá ísēm gāámíà dàjí Māidúgúrià
Yērwaàdē gādēgāderò ásúnēmín.

Láidē zaurò tàjírwa ngéwúà; kām
lèjià tēmmārò kèlèwān wáltínbā.
Bíà ngāwūrēnēm báláadārò tálārgēmíà
tākè fārngē lúwúkin.

Andí sāvāndā zāgērín.

Shí ádè lèzè Rábià zéwú íshíà,
ándià kòljínbā.

Kānyīnēm sámmá gērēm dàjià,
kēnānēm nūi.

Alāyē àmārjià, káwú dūwò Yērwarò
wáltēmíndē, wúró gúlšégēmíà
ngénēptèkè káwú fál yāyē íšèkè
nāndōn díkin.

Kām lárdè Wúfèbèlān shíró gálíwú
gúlzáià, lābúddā nānzèlān kálímò
mbéjí.

When something bad happens to you
it has happened to me.

When the visiting stops, the friend-
ship ends.

When you see me at a man's place,
slaughter me.

But when you come and enter you will
realize that Maiduguri and Yerwa are
different.

The way is very dangerous/ when one
goes, one never returns safely.

Well when you dangle your tail into
the hole, I will grab it and pull
myself out.

When they get us they will eat us.

When he goes and conquers Rabi and
comes back, he won't let us alone.

When you have finished eating your
goat, your hunger will be gone.

God willing, if before you return
to Yerwa you tell me, I will try to
come and spend even just one day
with you.

When they say of a man from Wufe
country that he is rich, there is
no doubt that he has a camel.

5.1. Associative-Subordinated VEC Clauses as Time Adverbs. In the environ-
ment of *sái until*, associative subordinated VEC clauses may occur autono-
mously, without a subsequent superordinate clause. Such constructions
occur very productively in leavetaking expressions referring to the passage
of time, *until when* the two parties to the leavetaking will meet again.

Sái wájíà. *Until tomorrow/when the night has passed.*

Today the word wájíà and the word bálì are used synonymously to mean
tomorrow. More examples of leavetaking expressions are shown below.

Sái tùsshíà. *Until later/when some time has passed.*

Sái ísēmíà. *Until you come back.*

Sái bùnèjíà. *Until tonight/when night has come.*

Sái túrúiyéià. *Until when we see each other.*

Sái nzúrúkià. *Until when I see you.*

It is in this way (i.e. through associative subordination of VEC clauses),
that many very commonly used adverbial expressions of Kanuri are constructed.
Any adverbial, adjectival, or nominal lexical item may be changed to low
tone and function as a class 2 verb stem, forming a process verb describing
the *becoming* of that lexical item. Thus any noun or adverbial noun of
time may play this role and occur in the 3S VEC subordinated by the
associative, and function as a process adverb of time. Thus for some of
the following examples, words like *biném cold season*, *bálté morning*, and
others function as the roots of these expressions.

wájíà	tomorrow
bálì kójíà	day after tomorrow/when tomorrow passes
lēmjíà	when it is dark/late tonight
wàyèjíà	in a short while
bìnēmjíà	when the cold season comes
báltèjíà	at mid-morning

nəngəlǐjǎ	when the rainy season comes
bəjǎ	when the hot season comes
bunəjǎ	tonight
mairǐjǎ	at dusk

5.2. Emphatic +má-marking of Associative Subordinated VEC Clauses. When an associative subordinated VEC clause is immediately followed by the emphatic +má (discussed in detail in ch. 25 as a NP status marker), then the interpretation is best rendered in English by *as soon as* or *right when*. For a completive narrative, +má performs this same function when applied to the nyí+associative subordinated form of the past (presented in 6.3 below).

Səwəndíámá bənhəjǐn.	As soon as he gets it he will ruin it.
Nádérò lənémíámá shíà rúmìn.	As soon as you get there you will see him
Wǎjǐámá nānzérò ləngǐn.	As soon as morning comes/first thing in the morning I will go to his place.
Súríámá sətài.	As soon as he sees it he will grab it.

5.3. Other Uses of Associative-Subordinated VEC Clauses. An associative subordinated VEC clause is often preferred over a nonfinite infinitival clause to express the desire to do something. This is true especially when the verb *rəwò* 'like' occurs as the main verb.

Búkíà rəákəná.	I want to eat.
Shíà rúkíà rəákí.	I want to see him/her.
Səwəndíà sərəgəná.	S/He wants to find/get it.

The VEC aspect can almost never occur in a hypothetical or counterfactual conditional construction - rarely as the subordinated verb in such a construction, never as the main verb. When the VEC is used independently, it implies that something did happen; when subordinated it implies that something will in fact happen. Neither use lends itself to hypothetical interpretation. These observations are captured in the following examples.

Wūrəngǐ.	I have (suddenly) grown up./I have (suddenly) gotten big.
Wūrəngəná.	I have grown up./I have gotten big.
Wūrəwókò.	I grew up.
Cǎ ləngənáà, kùwá ngái bá wūrəngəná/*wūrəngǐ.	If I had gone, by now I would have grown up completely.

Nor can the VEC occur productively in the subordinate clause of such constructions. The following interpretation of the example shown here is however possible, though quite rare.

Cǎ sùlúyǐà nānəm̀̀ò lèjǐn.	literally = Formerly/It was the case that when he goes out he will go to your place. approximate meaning = He was going to go out and go to your place.
----------------------------	--

With regard to these latter observations, the VEC aspect is distinct from all other completive aspects of Kanuri. All of the others can occur in hypothetical and counterfactual clauses easily and productively.

In a narrative context, the associative subordinated VEC clause (Lukas' dependent future) is the future counterpart of the nyí+associative subordinated past clause (Lukas' dependent past; see 6.4 below). Both of these subordinated clause types involve the use of the associative to present a given situation, which sets the stage for the following main clause. While both have to do with setting a scene in time and with ordering consecutive events where one does not take place until the

other has been completed, neither can however be used to fix a point in past or future time.

As would be expected on the basis of the observations made in ch. 23 with regard to the aspects of the verb that are permissible in the complex noun phrase, associative subordinated VEC clauses cannot be marked as nominals and be definitized through the use of the determiner between the verb form and the associative postposition. The same is true for both forms of associative subordination of the past aspect. It is only the imperfect and the perfect, and their negative aspects, which may occur with the determiner in the complex NP (whether it be a major constituent, an associative subordinated adverbial as in 4 and 5 above, or a temporal relative clause relating to a fixed point in time as in chapter 29. (see also pages 227-28)

In ch. 23, temporal relative clauses without a head noun like the following were presented.

Isénàlàdān ... *When/at the time that he came ...*

This example was shown to be the headless form of the following..

Sā isénàlàdān ... *When/at the time that he came ...*

Evidence indicates that associative subordinated VEC clauses are also essentially modifiers of the same deleted head noun *sā time*, since they too can only be interpreted temporally whether it be in the future or generically. Thus one will hear both forms of the following example, and can classify this syntactically as another instance of an associative postpositional phrase modifying a head noun.

Ishîà ... *When he comes/has come ...*

Sā ishîà ... *When he comes/has come ...*

Since the interpretation of such associative modified noun phrases can never be definite with regard to point in time or fact, then it is not surprising that the determiner element +dē cannot occur anywhere in such clauses. Other determiners can however occur as is shown in the following forms of these clauses. When the head noun is manifested the determiner may either immediately follow the head noun or the subordinate clause. When the head noun is not manifested, then the determiner element must follow the subordinate clause. The interpretation can only be generic.

Sā wòsōn ishîà ... *Every time when he comes ...*

Sā ishîà wòsōn ... *Every time when he comes ...*

Ishîà wòsōn ... *Every time when he comes ...*

The indefinite pronoun of time may also occur as the head noun of such constructions.

sāmbí yàyé ... *no matter when/whenever*

Sāmbí yàyé ishîà ... *Whenever he comes ...*

Sāmbí ishîà yàyé ... *Whenever he comes ...*

6. Associative Subordination of the Past Aspect of the Verb. The associative postposition functions in two different forms of subordination of the past. In one form the associative is suffixed directly to the past form of the verb, and in the other, the morpheme +nyí plus the associative postposition is suffixed to the past form of the verb. The former occurs mostly in conditional clauses, both present, past, and as

well hypothetical and counterfactual. The latter form of subordination of the past is reserved for the past narrative context (Lukas' dependent past), and constitutes the completive counterpart of the associative subordinated VEC aspect, as mentioned earlier (Lukas' dependent future).

6.1. Simple Associative Subordination of the Past. The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb.

	class 1: bù+ eat.		class 2: lè+ go
1S	jíwúkòà		lèwókòà
2S	jíwùmmà		lèyàmmà
3S	zèwòà		lèwòndà
1P	jíwiyèà		lèyáiyèà
2P	jíwùà		lèyàwà
3P	zàwòà		lèyàdàà

When the past is subordinated by the associative alone, the subordinate clause does not necessarily refer to a completed action. Just as associative subordination of the perfect aspect may be interpreted as a counterfactual conditional, here the interpretation is often that of a hypothetical conditional clause. Clauses of this type are used when there is doubt as to whether or not the action of the subordinate clause will be or has been carried out, and thus describe what may have happened, or what might happen. The superordinate clause then describes what should be done if the subordinate clause is realized. When preceded by the former/unrealized state adverb *cā*, such clauses may also be used to produce counterfactual conditionals, though the perfect verb aspect is normally preferred for such constructions. For some speakers (and in some contexts) the *nyí+associative* subordination of the past described in 6.2 below does not exist, and thus this simpler form of past subordination involving the associative alone, may be used in the past narrative context. The following examples are from non-narrative contexts.

Fètèmbèn kówòndà, ndà shínzè?	If he did go westwards, where are his footprints?
Dúnònmà kózénàrò wálwòndà, báná njíkìn.	If it were that it went beyond your capability, I would help you.
Wádè sáwánèmbèmá cìrèmbèmmà, ádè nyíládèn mánà bá mārè.	If you have fulfilled the promise to your friend, then you have no problem.
Nà ádèlàn nàpkòkòà, yím láán wúmáà cèjìn.	If I were to sit down here, one day he would kill even me.
Awó gúlzènmá ádè nyíró gúlwòndà, nùí.	If he told you this thing that he said, he will die.
Andímá dègáiyèrò wálwòndà, àbímá nyíró wàázègìnbà.	If we are here, nothing will happen to you.
Fértè dífínò kùrkùrìbèn mbèngnèm kókkàmmà, tádà gózài; fértè bìbèn mbèngnèm kókkàmmà, tádà gènázàiwà.	If you pull out and transplant a root from the female date tree, it will bear fruit; if you pull out and transplant from the male tree, it will not bear fruit.
Awónèm láá díwì mbéjì. Bàrò wálwòndà, ádègáirò tèmman wáljìnbà.	There is something bad about you. If there weren't, it would never be like this.
Bùrwòrò kádìkòà, nánzèlàn nyíà jèngìn.	If I should arrive first, I'll wait for you at his place.
Ngái gènyíró wálwònmáà, búràkìn.	If it doesn't work out that way, I will move.
Sègàsè cùlúwòà, tàdàwá shíà kádúwàdà.	(narrative) When he ran out, the children followed him.

Yerwālān kārgākōmāā, fātō ādēlān. As long as I live in Yerwa, I will
nāmngīn. stay in this house.

6.2. +nyā associative Subordination of the Past. This second form of subordination of the past is morphologically more complex. It involves the apparent suffixation of +nyī+ā which becomes +nyā, to the past form in every person and number except the 1P form to which +ndé+ā which becomes +ndēā is suffixed.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb.

class 1:	eat	class 2:	go
1S	jíwúkənyā		lèyákənyā/lèwókənyā
2S	jíwūmnyā		lèyāmnyā
3S	zəwənyā		lèyānyā/lèwóhənyā
1P	jíwīyēndēā		lèyāiyēndēā
2P	jíwūnyā		lèyāunyā
3P	zāwənyā		lèyādānyā

Before further explaining the form of these subordinated forms, it is important to compare them with the comparable paradigms for the negative completive and the negative future, which are shown here in that order.

1S	búkənyī; jíwúkənyī ^p	lèngənyī; lèjákənyī
2S	būmī; jíwūmmī	lènəmī; lèjāmīmī
3S	-zəwūnyī; jíwūnnyī	lèzənyī; lèjānnyī
1P	būiyēndé; jíwīyēndé	lènyēndé; lèjāuwī
2P	būwī; jíwūwī	lènūwī; lèjāuwī
3P	zāwūnyī; jāvūnnyī	lèzānyī; lèjānnyī

It is likely that the negative morpheme +nyā, which is used to form both the negative completive and the negative future, and its 1P variant +ndé, are the same morphemes used in the formation of this variant of the associative subordinated past, even though the latter is not interpreted negatively. The negative element +nyī also occur in the negative copula of identification gənyī *not be*, and is very likely the same morpheme as that described as a NP status marker (see p. 245). Whether this morpheme is originally and inherently negative cannot be presently determined. The extra n occurring in the 3S and 3P forms of the subordinated past (and of the future) paradigm is the supplementary third person subject morpheme, introduced first on page 11.

The independent usés of the nonaspect verbal (negative copula of identification) gənyī when subordinated by the associative, may provide some explanation for why the same morpheme is performing all of these functions. As introduced in 2.1 of the present chapter, gənyā/nyā has taken on many meanings, some of which carry little negative force. It is possible that its meanings like *apart from*, *other than*, etc. may have been adapted to this subordinating function, taking on a temporal meaning when applied to a past verb. One can only speculate on this.

With this type of subordination, a completive verb aspect is used to describe the hierarchy of and the order in which completed events occurred, always in the past. It asserts the completion of the action of the past verb form in the subordinate clause as a given, a sort of predication setting the scene, as the point from which the subsequent action of the superordinate clause was then carried out. Clauses subordinated in this way are nearly always followed by a superordinate clause which also bears a verb form in the past. Such subordinate clauses are never used conditionally, hypothetically, or counterfactually. They are widely used in

storytelling, and can only be used when the action of the subordinated verb phrase is presupposed by the speaker as a given fact in the narrative context.

The subordinated verb is established as the stage or plateau in the narrative context which directly or indirectly led to the realization of the action described in the following main clause. It reiterates the givens of the context, and may dramatically set the scene for the new information which is to follow where the next step in the plot is presented. Such clauses may be considered anaphoric in the narrative context, very often repeating the final past verb form from the immediately preceding main clause, documenting that it was completed, and then adding information. Earlier stated information is thus carried on. It is here contrasted with associative subordination of the VEC aspect, and with the series of verbs in the conjunctive mode.

Íwúkènyà, lèwókò.

When I had eaten, I went.

Búkíà lèngín.

When I eat/have eaten I will go.

Búkè lèngín.

I will eat and go.

Lèyákènyà, shià fàndákènyí.

When I went, I did not find him.

Lèngià shià fàndákìnbà.

When I go I don't/won't find him.

Lèngè shià fàndákìnbà.

I won't go and find him.

It is clear that the first example in each set functions in the past narrative context just as the second in each set functions in the future/generic context. In both cases, prominence is given to the subordinated event as the point in the narrative which makes possible the accomplishment of the subsequent superordinate clause. The third example in the first set is questionable for some speakers since this particular sequence of events normally requires some kind of hierarchical prominence as in the examples preceding it in the set. While the use of the conjunctive in the third example in each set does relate the order in which conjoined events occur, it imparts no prominence to any event conjoined in this way. The fact that the construction-final negative imperfect verb form also semantically negates the preceding aspectless conjunctive form lèngè, demonstrates that all the verb phrases in a conjunctive series are simply the equal components of a total event.

"The CONJUNCTIVE (sequential) is used only for actions regarded as merely parts of one comprehensive integral event and not as being individually significant events in themselves. Thus the CONJUNCTIVE (sequential) imparts unity to the actions depicted, and conversely, it enables these actions to be described without giving them unwanted prominence. ... A more exact term for this paradigm (based on its semantic function) might be 'Unificatory', ..." (Jarrett, 1979:18)

For more on the uses of the conjunctive form of the verb see chapter 35. The following examples demonstrate the uses of the subordinated past which is here under consideration in the narrative context.

Búltù mánà ádè fàngànyà, zàumàró *When the hyena had heard this talk, he was shocked.*

kàrégènzé kámgàtègè. *Once they had gone a little ways, the cat grabbed two of the chicks.*

Gàná lèyádànyà, ngànyè tádà *The hyena took him and they went to the edge of the lake. When they got there,*

kùwùibè ìndí sètà. *they hid themselves while the monkeys came and passed on their way to bathe.*

Búltuyè shià gòzè cí kùlúwùbèrò *When the husband had gone and told his friend,*

lèyádà. *the friend too became happy.*

Lèyádànyà, ngáwò *When the husband had gone and told his friend,*

kèskábèn gèrátánà dùwò dágèlsò *the friend too became happy.*

ísà kàsàlárò kówàdà. *the friend too became happy.*

Kwáyè lèzè sáwànzé rò gùlwónnyà, *the friend too became happy.*

sáwà yé kàrégènzé kèjírò wálwònd. *the friend too became happy.*

Ngáwò kòrkòrè d'aryébèlàn gùdòwùm After the final crow of the morning,
 cizè nà tàmájínzábèrò kádìnyà, the rooster got up and when he got to
 shá kèmwùnbèà sùrò. his fiance's place, he saw the
 elephant's footprints.

In the narrative context, such clauses are often used to set the stage for a quotation from one of the characters, in much the same way as they are shown in the preceding examples.

Yim láá ngám cizè fátò kùwùibèrò One day the cat got up and went to the
 lèwónò. Lèyannyà, kùwùirò, chicken's house. When he got there, he
 " ... " wònò. said to the chicken, " ... "
 Lèzè lèfàatannyà, kùwùiyè, "Ngá He went and after they had greeted each
 shé fannyirò kádìm?" sè cùwòrò. other, the chicken asked, "Is everything
 alright that you are coming to my house
 like this?"

6.2.1. Emphatic +má-marking of +nyí+associative Subordination of the Past.

As described in 5. above with regard to VEC clauses, similarly here +má may change the interpretation of one of the clauses under consideration from *when* to *as soon as/right when*. This is shown in the following examples.

Lèyádannyámá, kàsúwùlàn kádìo. Right after they had gone, he came from the
 market.
 Fàngannyámá, yiltà bàdìwónò. Right when he heard it, he started
 screaming.

7. Associative Subordination of the Noun Emphasis Completive (NEC). Though associative subordinated NEC aspect clauses do not occur very frequently, they are perfectly acceptable. In its independent use the NEC is used when a major NP constituent (subject or object) is focussed. Similarly when subordinated by the associative, it is always the case that either a subject or object NP is either contrastively focussed by +má, or negated by gènyí. Such a constituent can not be questioned by wá when the NEC clause in which it occurs is subordinated by the associative. Semantically, such clauses, like those in the past, may be interpreted either as hypothetical or counterfactual conditionals.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 verb and a class 2 verb.

class 1: bù+ eat	class 2: lè+ go
1S búkòà	lèngòà
2S búmmà	lènnèmmà
3S zéwòà	lèzòà
1P búiyèà	lènyèà
2P búwwà	lènúwà
3P záwòà	lèzàà

In the first example of the following set, the conditional clause in the NEC aspect, occurs after the superordinate clause, as an appositive afterthought.

Yèrwàrò lètényí wánèè, wándè As for my trip to Yerwa, maybe, that is if
 mèràdè láá gènyí cizòà. it's not for some business that has come up.
 Shímá dézòà, kèjìjìnbà. If HE cooked it, it won't be good.
 Shí gènyí dézòà, kèjìjìnbà. If HE didn't cook it, it won't be good.
 (Cà) Alà gènyí wúà zàksòà, kùwá If GOD hadn't protected me, by now they
 wúà lòrùsánà. would have harmed me.
 Alìmá ísòà, shírò kúngénàdè yé. If ALI comes, give the money to him.
 Kùrú hál ádè cā kām gádé dùwò Moreover, if SOMEONE ELSE though had done
 sèdòà, lèbúddàrò shíà fúwù shàrà something like this, there is no doubt that
 àjábèn sáadè gènájìn. he would be taken before the D.H. for judgement.

CHAPTER 32: THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ADVERBIAL ADJUNCT *dùwô*

1. Introduction. The adverbial adjunct *dùwô*, and its alternative forms *dùwônyí* and *dùwôno*, are postposed elements, in keeping with the general typology of the language. Evidence from totally unrelated languages would however indicate that this adjunct may have been originally borrowed into the Kanuri language (see Hutchison, 1976a). This adjunct is used to set off nominal and adverbial constituents, subordinate clauses, and even whole sentences, and its meaning in translation is always a reflex of the syntactic environment in which it occurs. It takes on a wide range of meanings in translation into English, no one of which can be said to capture its basic character. Its use is dependent on the discourse or utterance context. A speaker uses *dùwô* to emphasize, single out, contrast, mark concessively, etc. In the discourse context, it may be used to mark adverbial conjuncts, emphasizing their givenness, essentially dislocating them so as to set the scene for the following new information. Also in the discourse context, the final verb form from a preceding sentence may be recapitulated and marked by this adjunct at the beginning of the next sentence, so as to again set the scene for the new information. From this clause-final position *dùwô* occurs as the subordinator of a wide range of verbal clauses, both affirmative and negative, with its meaning being predictable as a function of the verb aspect of the preceding clause. Both subordinated adverbial clauses as well as verb phrases in the conjunctive which are not inherently prominent semantically may be marked as precedents or antecedents to a following consequent clause through the use of this adjunct. As a subordinator it may also indicate a temporal relation between clauses, and elsewhere a concessive relation.

The adjunct *dùwô* has been somewhat problematical for those describing Kanuri grammar. Lukas presented explanatory references to *dùwô* in six different sections of his book; i.e. under the Adverb, the Postposition, Simple Conjunctions, Relative Clauses, and as well in the Temporal Clause section and the Concessive Clause section (Lukas, 1937). This reflects the great variety of ways in which *dùwô* may be rendered in other languages. In his Adverb section, he defined *dùwô*: *first; then; only; in spite of* (Lukas, 1937:130). He then elaborated it as follows:

244. *dugô* *first*, ... is used very frequently in Kanuri. It connects sentences and clauses with one another. Whilst originally it belongs to the main sentence (... *first, (then) ...*), it is drawn as a conjunction into the dependent clause. (Lukas, 1937:132).

Under postpositions, he translated *dugô* as *after* (Lukas, 1937:142). Under Simple Conjunctions he referred to it as meaning *but* (Lukas, 1937:144). Under Relative Clauses he stated that "relative clauses may also be introduced by *dugô* (Lukas, 1937:157-8). Under Temporal Clauses, he stated:

310. *dugô* (lit. meaning *first*, see 244) at the end of a clause is often used to show that it is subordinate to the main sentence, corresponding to English *when, as, whilst, as long as ...* with the Negative Past it means *before; ...*

311. *dugô* at the beginning of the clause corresponds to *until*. ... Note I. If *dugô* stands at the beginning of a clause, the preceding verb is in the Conjunctive, thus showing by the coordination the original meaning of *dugô* (*first (then) ...*) (Lukas, 1937:162-3).

Under Concessive Clauses he observed that "*dugô* is also employed in the sense of *although*." (Lukas, 1937:165)

All of Lukas' observations are relevant, especially to the student of spoken Kanuri, in order to understand this very versatile adjunct. Some of the confusion surrounding *dùwò* is clearly a result of the fact that it is syntactically an adverbial adjunct which very often translates into other languages as a subordinating conjunction (see Ellison, 1937:98).

2. *dùwò* Setting off the Ant NP of a Complex NP Construction. In conversation, *dùwò* and its alternative forms are used frequently together with a following pause to set off the ant NP of a restrictive relative clause construction, or other NP construction. In relative clause constructions, this usually occurs when the ant NP is a generic noun like *àwó*, *thing*, and the speaker uses this to somewhat dramatically set the scene for the information which is to follow. This use of *dùwò* represents a form of NP dislocation, and it very often occurs at or near construction-initial position. In this light, *dùwò* might qualify as one of the NP status markers treated in chapter 25. In the following examples, this use of *dùwò* is translated into English using either the concessive *though* or *then*.

Wúyè àwó ùwònyí, Alàyè àlàksénàlàn kàmro ngálwò wò bá. *In my opinion of all the things though/then that God created, there is nothing better than man.*

Dàjí sá dùwò, àm ányì ísánàlādēn ndúmārò mánāzānyí. *And then at the time though/then that these people came, they didn't talk to anyone.*

Ammá dàlíl dùwò, ádè dímmà wúrò gùllé. *But tell me the reason though/then that you did this.*

Adēmá dàlíl dùwò, bēlāndérò íshinbādé. *It is that that is the reason though/then that he does not come to our town.*

Kúrú àwó ~~dùwò~~ nyírò gùlngíndé, ... *What is more, the thing though that I am telling you, ...*

Dàlíl dùwò, kàsúdù gónémà ádè wúrò gùllé. *Tell me the reason though/then that you laughed.*

In the following example this adjunct is used to set off the indefinite pronoun head of a NP.

Abí dùwò, mērādēnzāà mázài yàyé, .. *Whatever/No matter what it is though that they are looking for, ...*

3. *dùwò* Marking a Conjunct in a Narrative. Adverbial conjuncts, of the type analyzed in chapter 28, which are used to connect a previous utterance with new information in a following sentence, may be marked with *dùwò* so as to more dramatically set the scene for that new information. These occur very often in the telling of stories, and in other narrative contexts.

Dàjí ngāimá dùwò ... *So it was that way until ...*
 Ngāi kāsārūwù dùwò ... *They lived like that though until ...*
 Adēgāi dùwò mágè sètí. *It was that way though until a week passed.*
 Adēgāi dùwò dīnā wāwōnò. *It went on like that though until dawn.*

It is clear that using *dùwò* provides the speaker with a nice way to, as it were, 'hang' on a word, making sure that his audience is with him and preparing them for what is to follow.

4. *dùwò* Marking a State and Setting a Scene. Here again, as in many of its uses, *dùwò* is being used to set the scene for the new, interesting, or in this case contrastive or somewhat surprising information that is to follow.

In this function, *dùwô* is again being used in a role very similar to that of a NP status marker.

Shí Yérwàn dùwô yānzé Bámàn
bāwōwòndò.
Kāwú yàkké dùwô wáltèkìn.

He was in Yerwa though when his mother died in Bama.

(After) three days though and then I will return.

Tádà ádè ángàllà dùwô hāl díwìà.

Though this boy is intelligent he has a bad character.

Nà ádèn dùwô njínzá kènzábè
tápsài.

It is in this place though that they get their drinking water.

Abímá múskònémmin bāà dùwô
bélánémrò lènémíà ngélà gènyí.

If you have nothing at all in your hands though and you go to your village it is not good.

Wú mbéjì dùwô ísé kúlássé.

Let him come and search through in my presence. (let me be there first ...)

Lámín dùwô, shídé ísènyíró
wálwòndà dájí shià yèjìyèn.

But Lamin, if it is the case that he doesn't come we will kill him.

Shí gálíwù dùwô bāwòzè sàndià kòlwòndò. He was rich though and died and left them.

5. dùwô Marking a Statement as an Objection or Contradiction. In the following examples I have translated this use of *dùwô* with the English *but*.

Shià kòllówó dùwô!

But leave him alone!

Dané dùwô!

But wait (first)!

Kām ádè nòngènyí dùwô!

But I don't even know this man!

Cídanzé tàmòzènyí dùwô!

But he hasn't even finished his work!

Shídé sàmbúnà dùwô sámmá fèròwá
sàmbò.

That one has given birth but she has given birth to all girls.

6. dùwô Marking Adverbials and Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition. Adverbials and adverbial clauses with a VEC finite verb form which are subordinated by the associative postposition, take on the role of prerequisites or conditions when marked by the adverbial adjunct *dùwô*. Such constructions are perhaps best rendered in English by *only when*, *not until*, etc., as is shown in the following examples. This meaning is clearly dependent on the presence of the preposition *sái until*, in most cases.

Sái yím ádèà dùwô ...
Mátòdés rúkíà dùwònyí yíwúkìn.

It was not until that day though ...

I will buy the car only when/after/not until I have seen it.

Yàngè zájíà dùwònyí lèjín.

Only when he has put on his pants will he go.

Sái hámjía dùwò búiyèn.

Only when it has cooled off will we eat.

Ísémíà dùwò bérì búiyèn.

We will eat only when you have come back.

Sái ísémíà dùwò.

Until/only when you have come back.

7. dùwô as a Subordinator of Concessive Clauses. As has been observed, the adjunct *dùwô* is used in a great variety of contexts to mark sentence material in some way as a given, or as an antecedent prerequisite to following new information with which it may be contrasted. In some cases this contrast may be interpreted concessively, as is shown in the following examples, presented here with concessive interpretations.

As should be apparent, the use of *dùwô* is very often conditioned by the context. In each of the following examples the subordinate clause is in some way set up in contrast to the following main clause, and is often in

some way contradicted by it. The translations that are indicated cannot possibly be said to represent all of the innuendos that might relate to the context for each utterance. There are other possible interpretations. Similarly, there are examples from preceding sections of this chapter which may also have a possible concessive interpretation, which might as well be included here.

Shí kúngénànzé ngéwù bá dùwò
táláàsòrò cín.
Shímnmém fálrò nòngénà dùwò
nyíà nyíyàwókò.

Though he does not have much money he gives to the poor anyway.
Though I knew that you only have one eye I married you anyway. /or I married you even though I already knew you only had one eye.

Awó díkénà bá dùwò cimbàrèkò.

Though I have not done anything, I am tired.

Tèmàngényí dùwò bówówám.

Though I didn't expect it you called.

Ndá? Cídà ádè sèdényí dùwònyí
shíà kòlngé lèzè?

What? Though he hasn't even done the work I should let him go?

Cídànzé kádá dùwò kòlzá kàkké
sèdò.

Though he had a lot of work to do he dropped it and did mine.

Kérìdè bún nòzénà dùwò àwónzè
fèrnèm búnàbè báwò.

Though the dog knows perfectly well how to lie down it has nothing to spread out and lie on.

Jèrò kájìn tèmázénà dùwò shíà
càyèrò.

Though he thought he would escape the rope they tied him up. /or He thought he would escape the rope but they tied him up anyway.

Isènyí dùwò bəri dèwòdò.

Though he hadn't come (yet) she cooked the food. /or She cooked the food before he came.

Nòzénà dùwò cídò.

Though he knew he did it anyway. /or He did it deliberately. /or He did it even though he already knew.

8. dùwò After a Conjunctive Verb Form. It is observed in chapter 35 that the use of the conjunctive form of the verb is a way of unifying the sub-parts of a total event, indicating their equality within the total event and thus giving no semantic prominence to any of the conjoined verb phrases. The use of the adjunct dùwò after one of the conjoined verb phrases functions to break up that semantic unity, giving semantic prominence to the conjunctive verb phrase which is followed by dùwò. As with other of the already observed uses of dùwò, a verb phrase marked in this way is established as an antecedent prerequisite or condition, both temporally and logically, to actions described in the following verb phrase.

Lèngè dùwò isèkìn.

I will go first/and then/before I will come back.

Cídàn isè dùwò kámúnzè bəri
dèjìn.

After he comes from work then his wife cooks the meal.

Cídàn isè dùwò kámúnzè bəri
dèwòdò.

After he came from work then his wife cooked the meal.

Kitáwù ádè kèràzè dùwò nyíró
sàrúnzégèkìn.

He will read this book first and then I will lend it to you.

Ndú fànzè dùwò wú fàngìn.

Who is it that will hear (about it) before me. (lit.: Who will hear and then I will hear?)

A similar relation between two clauses or verb phrases is established in the following examples in which the adjunct dùwò follows an imperative

verb form.

Yáí dùwò lèné!

Drink first/and then go!/Drink before you go!

Dándèrò cískégóné dùwò lèngè
kánnú rúkìn túdù góngè kúkìn.

Take care of our meat (first) and then/ while I go and take and bring back that fire that I see.

9. dùwò After Recapitulative Clauses in a Narrative. This use of the adjunct dùwò is again very similar to and closely related to the uses already described. Most of the examples assembled here are from Kanuri folktales. The clauses marked by dùwò are recapitulative in the sense that they begin with the a form of the verb which ended the preceding clause, or with some material or thought from that preceding clause, as shown here.

Kènyèrì-à búltù-à sàwàrtá lèzà
kè àn nàpkàdà. Nàpsánà dùwò
yím láá búltù lèzà dábbà láá cèzè
gózè nà kènyèribèrò cùwúddò.

The squirrel and the hyena got together and went and settled in the wilds.

They were settled there when one day the hyena went and killed a wild animal and took it and brought it back to the squirrel's place.

Búltù kúttúnzò cí índià kàrààrò
kàrgàwò. Lèjín dùwò gùrzàmwá
índià kèlā fòksàì.

The hyena with his twofold sorrow went off into the wilds. While he was going he ran into two huge people.

The clauses marked by dùwò in the above texts are clearly recapitulative, and function very much like adverbial conjuncts linking sentences. Thus their function is the same as the dùwò-marked adverbial conjuncts for which several examples were presented in section 3 above. There some anaphoric pro-form elliptically represented an entire recapitulated clause, of the type here under consideration. (Here again dùwò is being used to set the scene for the next step in the narrative, and it therefore may signal some kind of a temporal relationship between two sentences. The relationship is one of relative time, or order in time. In all of the following examples the recapitulated clause is in the imperfect aspect of the verb, and frequently includes anaphoric adverbial conjuncts.

Dàjí ádègáì tüssáì dùwò kènèmyè
sàndià gówèndò.

Thus they were chatting/spending time together like that when they were overtaken by sleep.

Dàjí nàpsánà tüssáì ádègáì dùwò
hār bēlā sámmásó bōwádà.

So they were sitting there talking like that until the whole town had gone to bed.

Mánèmin dùwò máfiàrò cùdùrò.

You kept looking for it when it suddenly fell like hail.

Kèlānzá wájí; ndàlzái dùwò
sàndià cáta.

Poor them; they were stealing and got caught.

Kèràngín dùwò kòlwókò.

I was studying though and then I quit.

Dérizài; rízài ádègáì dùwò
gàngá, sàndià zázàì.

They keep on circling around like that and then they beat the drum for him.

létcìn dùwò kèmówùn ísè kàrgàwò.

He was sleeping when the elephant came and entered.

Tüssáì dùwò dùnyá lèmbónò.

They kept on talking until late into the night.

Lèzái dùwò sàndià kèryégàyè sùrí.

They were walking along when they were spotted by the ostrich.

Lèzái lèzái dùwò búltúdè shiá
kènyè sètá.

They sat on and on until the hyena was overcome by hunger.

Sàdín sàdín dùwò ndúsó shínzè
kélíwòndò.

Mànájín dùwò kəmúrsò láá cúwúró,
"Ndúma kúlònyí zéwìn rúmí?" wòndò,
kəmúrsòdérò.

Kəmówùn-à tàmàjínzè-à tüssái ñuwò
dùnyá fàjārzè cizè fānnzérò
wálgàtè.

Kəmówùn-à yàlwánzè-à ísàì dùwò
ísà cí bəlábè kārèngádànyá,
kùrwúliyè sàndiá rówòndò.

Am gùdówùmbè kèrígèlàn nàsàrtánà
wáltài dùwò sàndiá ngúdùyè sètà.

Kózài dùwò sémàná sàdín fàngónò.

Ádègáì yéjìn dùwò mái láá kójìndé
kám láárò; "Ndá àwó sùró ádèbè
gàyé tùlé yé." wòndò.

*They kept on doing it and then everyone
crossed their legs.*

*He talked on and then asked a certain
old woman, "Didn't you see anyone eating
my farm?" he said to the old woman.*

*The elephant and his fiancée kept on
talking until dawn approached and he
got up and went home.*

*The elephant and his family were coming
along until (when) they came near to
the edge of the town, the lion grabbed
them.*

*The rooster's people who had been
victorious in the war were returning
when they were overcome by thirst.
(It was) while they were passing that
he heard (that) they were talking.
He sung on like that when/and then
some king that was passing said to
someone, "Please go in and take out
what is inside of this."*

SECTION VIII: COORDINATION, ORDER AND SENTENCE CONNECTION	PAGE
Chapter 33: The Coordinating Conjunctions and Phrasal Coordination	311
1. Introduction	311
2. Coordinate Conjunction of a Series of Elements	311
2.1. The Associative Postposition as a Coordinating Conjunction	311
2.2. The Collective Plural Marker +sò as a Coordinating Conjunction	313
2.3. The Locative/Means/Instrument Postposition as a Coordinating Conjunction	313
2.4. The Additive Adjunct yé as a Coordinating Conjunction	313
3. Other Coordinating Conjunctions	314
3.1. The Use of the Conjunction àmmá <i>but</i>	314
3.2. Coordinating Conjunctions of Alternative or Choice	315
3.3. Coordination without Overt Coordinating Conjunctions	315
Chapter 34: Prepositions and Other Out of Order Elements	317
1. Introduction	317
2. Prepositions	
2.1. The Preposition sái <i>until, etc.</i>	317
2.2. The Preposition hár/háttá <i>up to, as far as, etc.</i>	318
2.3. Other Preposed Elements	318
3. Exceptions to the SOV Typology of Kanuri	319
Chapter 35: The Syntax and Semantics of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb	321
1. Introduction	321
2. Uses of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb	321
2.1. The Conjunction of the Components of an Integral Unit	321
2.2. Use of the 2S Conjunctive Form to Conjoin Verbal Nouns	322
2.3. Idiomatic and Serial-Type Uses of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb	323
2.4. Uses of the Conjunctive Forms of the Verb ngin	324

CHAPTER 33: THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS AND PHRASAL COORDINATION

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the various ways in which syntactic elements are conjoined. It centers on the use of the coordinating conjunctions in the language, all of which are postposed elements as would be predicted by the typology of the language. The only coordinating conjunctions that are preposed in Kanuri are those that have been borrowed into the language, such as *ammá but* from Arabic.

There are basically three different types of conjunction in Kanuri, two of which are dealt with in the present chapter. First is the coordinate conjunction of a series of two or more syntactic elements of the same category through the application of postposed elements to each of the conjoined elements. In this form of coordination the associative postposition is the most important conjunction. The second type is that involving the occurrence of a coordinating conjunction like *ammá but*, between syntactic elements. The third major coordination type is that which is treated in chapter 35, involving the morphology of the verb in coordination through the use of the conjunctive verb form.

2. Coordinate Conjunction of a Series of Elements. The postposed elements that may be used to conjoin a series of elements are the following:

<i>associative postposition</i>	... +(C+)à ... +(C+)à
<i>collective plural marker</i>	... +sò ... +sò
<i>nonspecific indefinite determiner</i>	... +só
<i>locative/means/instrument postposition</i>	... +ñ ... +ñ
<i>additive adjunct</i>	... +yé ... +yé

It is important that the student of Kanuri remember that unlike in a language like English where a conjunction like *and* is placed only once between the two conjoined elements, in Kanuri there must be two occurrences of the postposed conjunction. It should be remembered also that it is the postpositions of Kanuri which function as subordinating conjunctions or subordinators in the language. These are treated in chapters 27 through 32.

2.1. The Associative Postposition as a Coordinating Conjunction. The associative postposition is most commonly used to conjoin a series of NPs. When a series of only two NPs is conjoined in this way, the nonspecific indefinite determiner +só may be applied to the final occurrence of the associative postposition to yield the implication *both*. Similarly the indefinites *sámmá* and *sámmásó all*, may be applied in the same position to make the conjoined series all-inclusive. Such structures are apparent in the following examples.

Shí-à Àlì-à sàmùn.

S/He and Ali are similar/alike.

Shí-à Àlì-à gädègädé.

S/He and Ali are different.

Wúrò ngélàrò ànnám-à sàwànm-à sámmá lèfàné.

Greet all of your people and friends for me.

Kàsò-à dèmbér gàmbo-àdó, díwàl kál zàgáyìnbà.

Running and scratching the buttocks, they don't follow the same path.

Kányèrì-à kèmwùn-à kàngésè-à kóró-à àrgèm kùlòlàn ndàltèrò lèyádà.

The squirrel and the elephant and the flea and the donkey went to steal millet in the field.

Búltù ngáwò wùlgátàà-à kóró-à kèlâ fòksái.

The hyena with his skinned back and the donkey met.

Àdèmá wádè wú-à shí-à gótíyèná wò.

It is that that is the promise that s/he and I took to each other.

Àdè nànkàrò wái wájísó súwà-à kàjírì-àsón Àlàrò àskèrjín.

Because of that he thanks God every day, morning and evening.

Dā-à jánà-àsó múskònémmiñ.

Kèlā kèskábè-à bálà kàrààbè-à bürwòn
kèjì yàyé, dàryèjíà kùttùjìn.

Báyèn-à kàshímò-à kèlā kúngénà,
Nìjéríyàbè bəlín kòmkomí mēwúábèn
njìn.

*Both meat and knife are in your hand.
The top of a tree and a village in the
bush though both nice at first, become
unpleasant later.
He will give you an explanation and a
guide to the new Nigerian decimal-based
money system.*

In the following example, two head nouns of NPs share the same modifiers. As shown, in such cases the modifier may be either repeated after each head noun, or there may be only one occurrence of the modifier after the conjoined series of nouns.

Tādàwá bəlàbè-à fèròwá bəlàbè-à
sámmásó sàwàwánzè.

Tādàwá-à fèròwá-à bəlàbè sámmásó
sàwàwánzè.

*All the boys of the town and the girls
of the town were his friends.
All the boys and girls of the town
were his friends.*

In the following examples, identical head nouns have different modifiers and thus the common head noun may or may not be repeated in each member of the conjoined series as shown.

Kèmandé Alàyè kùrkùrìwá kàrààbè-à
(kùrkùrìwá) bəlàbè-à gādègādérò
yàksénà.

Jíwìnzé sùròn mbállà-à (sùròn)
kàshìnzè-à (sùròn) kólònzé
táfàbè-à gòzè díwàl Mákkàbè
kádúwòndò.

Nā njí fíténà-à (nā) kèndágè
fíténà-à gādègádé.

Télàmdé táidà; kàjím ràámmà-à
(kàjím) wánémmà-àsòà kámjìn.

*God our master divided up the animals
of the bush and (the animals) of the
town differently. (=domestic vs. wild
animals)*

*He took his bag with beer and his
provisions and his tobacco pipe in it
and started off on the road to Mecca.*

*The spot/place where water spilled and
(the spot/place) where oil spilled are
different.*

*The tongue is (like) a sickle; it cuts
both the grass you want and (the grass)
you don't want.*

In the following example, the associative-conjoined nouns all modify the same single occurrence of the head noun. However if separate occurrences of the same head noun are to be implied, then the series would be conjoined as shown in the second form of the following example.

hàwār búltù-à kènyérì-à dágèl-àbè

*the story of the hyena, the squirrel
and the monkey*

hàwār búltùbè-à kènyérìbè-à
dágèlbè-à

*the story of the hyena and (the story)
of the squirrel and (the story) of the
monkey*

The associative postposition is also less frequently used to conjoin entire sentences. In the following examples it is marking both conjoined members within an alternative concessive construction.

Dímmà-à dímí-àsòn sámmá tìlò/kál.

*Whether you did it or you didn't do
it it is all the same.*

Tádànyí lèjìn-à lèjìnbà-àsòn,
fèrònyí lèjìn.

*Whether my son goes or not, my daughter
is going.*

Wázénà-à sèràgèná-à ìndísòn, ...

Whether he dislikes it or likes it, ...

In the following example the associative conjoins two sentences, almost as if they were NPs.

Njìkò-à njèjìkò-à wàltà tэмmàn
kàrэгèlàn sòlúyìnà.

'I gave it to you' (giving) and 'I
killed you' (killing) keep coming
back and never leave the heart.

The uses of the associative presented here are introduced and discussed with many other uses of the associative on pages 199 through 201, and as well in chapter 31.

2.2. The Collective Plural Marker +sò as a Coordinating Conjunction. Nouns and NPs that are marked by the collective plural marker +sò can be conjoined in a series of any number of constituents, without the addition of any other postposed conjunction. This may be due to its collective interpretation as a determining element, as described on page 208.

Béjìsò kémòsò kàsúwùlàn rúkànà.
Béjìsò àwòwá gàpsénàsò/gàpsénànzàsò
cásáwìn.

I saw mats and calabashes in the market.
They buy mats and other remaining
things.

Am Yèrwàbèsò Njaménàbèsò Kánèmbèn
kùntèn hár Mágàrìrò yádé Wádàibèsò,
Dàrfùrbèsò, kùrúamá Kòrdòfànbèsò,
sámámá ísàì.

They all come, people from Yerwa and
Njamena, up to and including Kanem, and
even going all the way to Magari, from
Wadai, from Darfur, and even from
Kordofan (they all come).

Kùrúamá lámò yé ngélàrò shílàn
líjìnbáwò, sókkù tádá gènatàsò,
kàmbíl gòtàsò, àu kàlā fittàsò.
Kèmbù àm nàdèbèdés búnyìsò, dà
kàrààbè lárédèdèm dàwúnàsòdémá
kèmbúnzá wò.

And what is more, even leaves do not
grow well on it, let alone for it to
bear fruit, blossom flowers, of bud.
The food of the people of that place,
it is the fish and the meat of wild
animals that live in the area that is
their food.

Nàìràsò kówòsòlàn fàidàtíyèn; fámso
súlèsòlàn fàidàtíyènà.

We make use of the naira and the kobo;
we do not use the pound and the shilling.

Shí bèrmètèdés kèndègàràmmzè njìm dìnà
láàsò, hàngè gárùbè láàsò, kàtèkàtè
béjì ìndíbè láàsò.

This the bèrmete bug, its abode is in
places like an old hut, or some crack in a
wall, or between two mats.

2.3. The Locative/Means/Instrument Postposition as a Coordinating Conjunction. The short form of the locative/means/instrument position (i.e. +n) is not productively used as a coordinating conjunction. In other dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu, especially in most of the Kanembu dialects, it is used instead of the associative postposition as the major coordinating conjunction of NPs. In Yerwa Kanuri it is the only coordinating conjunction used in the number system, as shown in the following examples, and on pages 202-3.

mèwùn tìlòn	11
mèwùn ìndín	12
fíndín yàkkèn	23

Some speakers also use it in place of the associative postposition, though this is rarely heard in the Yerwa dialect. Here is one example.

Fòtó wùn Àlìnbè zùwàngín.

I will send a picture of Ali and I.

Elsewhere it seems to occur in certain older pat expressions, suggesting that it may have been the original coordinating conjunction of the language. Here is one such example.

kàán yèiyàn

precursors, those who went before

2.4. The Additive Adjunct yé as a Coordinating Conjunction. The additive adjunct is used after each member of a series of conjoined elements in a variety of contexts as is shown in the following examples.

Sáwànyí yé àmànyí yé Tìjánírò sàlám. *Greetings to my friend and confidant Tijani.*

Ngáwò sàlambèn, nyí yé kàléwàà wú yé kàléwà.

After greetings, if you (too) are well, I too am well.

Shí Mái Àlìdè, kámúnzà yé yàské, tádànzà yé yàské.

This King Ali, his wives were three and his children too were three.

Kádí yé kàrò ríznà, ká yé kádíró ríznà.

Both the snake is afraid of the stick and the stick is afraid of the snake.

Kèrì kálé gójí, nànzàbè yèn bā, nā kàmànzàbè yèn bā.

The dog has stolen the hoe blade, it is neither in his (the dog's) nor in his owner's place.

Lámàr àdè zàurò zāu yé kùrwòwù yé.

This affair is (both) very difficult and very heavy/important.

Shí lámboà yé tādàà yé.

It has (both) leaves and also fruit.

Shí yé cídín, kálí yé cídín.

The foot is on the ground and the thorn is on the ground also.

Kásúwá àdè zàurò díwì, kámà lágè yé dúndù bāà yérò sèdín.

This illness is very bad, it makes a person lazy and weak.

Shí kùrú zàurò kām bēlāànà yé nōngāà yé tāmōwādà líntá.

He furthermore was a very knowledgeable and clever person.

Nā málāmnyìbè yèn cìngí, kèrànyí yé njèsèngí.

I get up from my teacher's place, and I also forget my studies.

In the following examples, this adjunct is used to mark alternative NPs each followed by the same verb form.

Gàrájì yérò nōngēnyí, kàsúwù yérò nōngēnyí.

I don't know whether it is the motor park or the market.

Kùrú bí yérò nōngēnyí, kùrkùrì yérò nōngēnyí.

I don't know whether it is a male or a female.

In the following examples the additive adjunct is used to conjoin sentential verb phrases. It is this form of verb phrase conjunction which is used when there is to be no implication as to the order in which the conjoined events took place. The conjunctive form of the verb is preferred when the events took place in a certain order, as described in chapter 35.

Kánòn dēgānà yé cìdāzēnà yé. Tēmāzēnà shí málām yé sàlìjìn yé zēmjìn yédérò zānnàrò gāyìn sè.

He lived and worked in Kano.

He thinks that because he is a malam and he prays and he fasts that he will enter heaven.

Súró kàrààbèn lèjìn yé dīnā mēmèjìn yé dùwò fèrtè káu láábèrò kádìo.

While he was going through the bush and observing nature he came to the base of some stone.

Sàndí ìndísò kàwú fállàn kàsúwá kèrmùbè sètà yé kàwú fállàn Àlābēnzà càrēmbè yé.

Both of them were stricken by a fatal illness on the same day, and died on the same day.

Sàndí ànyì sànatìn yé bàrèzài yé kùrúmá jùwàzài yé.

These ones (people) sow and farm and also harrow.

3. Other Coordinating Conjunctions.

3.1. The Use of the Conjunction àmmá but. As already mentioned, àmmá is a preposed conjunction in Kanuri and has been borrowed into the language from Arabic. It may be used as a disjunct to start a sentence, or as a conjunction between sentences to conjoin them. Some speakers may even postpose it. In general however, it is not as frequently used as are other forms of conjunction, etc. in the language which fit in more consistently with the canonical typology of the language.

Some of its uses are shown in the following example set:

Shí kām ngólà àmmá.

But he is a good person.

Wádànzádé rózánà, àmmá fúwùn dùwò lòrúsàtái.

They kept that their promise, but only in the future will they marry.

Ammá yàye, shíà wángénà.

But nevertheless, I dislike him.

Ammá wúà lènginbá.

But me I am not going.

3.2. Coordinating Conjunctions of Alternative and Choice. Several different elements are used as coordinating conjunctions of alternative and choice in Kanuri. They may occur either in a single occurrence between the two conjoined choices or alternatives, or they may occur before each of the conjoined elements. They are for the most part borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic as evidenced by the fact that they are preposed rather than postposed. Some of the morphemes that are used in this way are: *áu*, *lá*, *rá*, *áu biá*, *biá*, *álà*, etc. as shown in the following examples.

Àu (biá) Alì áu (biá) Músámá māngìn.

I am looking for either Musa or Ali.

Yíwùkìn lá yíwùkìn bārò shíà shāwāròkò.

I consulted him over whether I should buy it or not.

Au kúrà áu gánámárò nòngēnyí.

I don't know whether it is big or little.

Alámá bálì lèngìn (álà) kú lèngìn nòngēnyí.

I don't know whether I will go today or tomorrow.

Alà cīmē álà lìwùlá nòngēnyí.

I don't know whether it is red or blue.

Lènámìn lá/rá/áu lènēmbá?

Are you going or not? —

3.3. Coordination without Overt Coordinating Conjunctions. Coordination of clauses may be indicated through the mere juxtaposition of clauses as is apparent in the following examples.

Múskò kánnú gójìn, shím kárè sápcìn.

The hand takes the fire (and/while) the eyes take in/gather the things/belongings. (refers to curious investigation of another's home when under pretext of only borrowing coals to start a fire)

Njí sásài dōyà zāwìn.

They drink water and eat yams.

Tádà kwā gēnyí, kwā tādà gēnyí.

A boy is not a man, a man is not a boy.

Fùjíwò lórù, kármù tāsà.

Risks may be dangerous/harmful (but/and) death is an interruption.

Kàsútù kèráwò gēnyí, tímì búlbè nèmzólìnzé nànkàrò.

Laughter is not (indicative of) liking/loving, (but is) because of the craziness of the white teeth.

CHAPTER 34: PREPOSITIONS AND OTHER OUT OF ORDER ELEMENTS

1. Introduction. At the end of the preceding chapter 33, it was noted that certain of the coordinating conjunctions were preposed in relation to their conjoined clauses and other constituents. There it was noted that these had been borrowed into the language from Arabic. All such preposed elements clearly violate the canonical typology of this SOV language, as it was introduced on pages 7 through 11. It is the purpose of the present chapter to present a number of prepositions which have similarly been borrowed into Kanuri. Unlike the conjunctions described in chapter 33 however, these prepositions are quite frequently used. Some are from Arabic, others have no known source. The chapter will also deal briefly with other violations of SOV typology which are frequent in Kanuri.

2. Prepositions.

2.1. The Preposition *sái until, etc.* This preposition occurs in many of the same uses in both Hausa and Kanuri. Linguists have yet to discover or agree on the source language from which it came into Kanuri. Its various uses and meanings are reflected in the following data sets. The translations are enough to show the differences in meaning and use.

Sái bálì.
Sái wàjí.
Sái iskià.
Sái iskià dùwò.

Until tomorrow.

Until tomorrow/the night has passed.

Until (when) I come back.

Not until when I come back,

Kù lèngínbà; sái bálì.
Kù lèngínbà; sái bálì dùwò.
Sái yím ádèà dùwò búltùdés yílté bàdìwòndò.
Sái kù dùwò cìwàndékò.
Sái dátégéràm Julybèà dùwò Yèrwàrò lèngín.
Yèrwàrò lèngín; sái dátégéràm Julybèà dùwò.
Yèrwàrò lèngínbà, sái dátégéràm Julybèà dùwò.
Sái wáltámíà dùwò kèlàn mànàtégíyèn.

I'm not going today, only tomorrow.

I'm not going today, not until tomorrow.

It wasn't until that day that the hyena started howling.

It wasn't until today that I got it.

Not until the end of July will I go to Yerwa.

I am going to Yerwa; but not until the end of July.

I am not going to Yerwa, not until the end of July.

Only when you have returned will we talk together about it.

It should be noted at this point that in most of the examples already cited, and also in most of the examples which follow, prepositions like this one that have come into Kanuri from foreign sources, very frequently occur together with the postpositions and other postposed elements which are more characteristic of the language. In some cases these elements render the occurrence of the borrowed preposition almost redundant.

Sái wúrò gùllèmià.

You have to tell me/Only when you tell me.

Sái cíptià.

It has to be lanced (of a wound).

Sái kàsútù kèjfi wò.

There is nothing but a nice laugh (of someone who doesn't answer but laughs).

Sái dé lúwúwí gènyà mòwònjínbà.

Unless you come out it will not be possible.

Sái lúwúwíà dùwò mòwònjín.

Only when you come out will it be possible.

Lúwúwí gènyà mòwònjínbà.

Unless you come out it won't be possible.

Sái rèmbúmià dùwò mànàtégíyèn.

Only when you have paid will we talk.

*Sái rèmbúmià gènyà mànàtégíyèn.

- Sáí rëmbúmìn gënyâ mànâtégíyènbâ. *Unless you pay we won't talk.*
- Kúngénànyí ngéwù bā, sáí nàirā fál. *I don't have much money, only 1 naira.*
 Ndúmá lèjínbā, sáí Alì. *No one is going, only Ali.*
- Kèrmádérò ndúmá fátòlàn bā, sáí wúmá. *Right now there is no one at home, save for me.*
- (Sáí) Alì gënyâ ndúmá lèjínbā. *Except for only Ali no one is going.*
 Tújā Yèrwàrò lèjínbā, sáí hāwār fátòbè fànjiā dùwò. *Tuja is not going to Maiduguri, except/ unless/not until he hears news from home.*

Examples similar to these are treated on page 305.

2.2. The Preposition hár/háttá up to, until, as far as, to the point that. This preposition was borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic, and may be used in reference to time, distance, and also abstract notions. This preposition performs an intensifying/emphasizing function in Kanuri. It is frequently the case that the postposed emphasis marker +má is used in its concessive use together with it to mark the emphasized element, be it a nominal, adjectival, or verbal element. Prepositional phrases and other adverbial phrases introduced by this preposition are relatively autonomous and are free to occur anywhere, and frequently violate the SOV typology of the language in occurring after a main clause. The same can be said with regard to adverbials introduced by the preposition sáí.

- Kànùrí cótrò sálinà, hár títímámá *He has completely learned Kanuri, so much so that he can even tell folktales.*
 zèwòtínrò wálwòndò.
- Njídé hár/háttá fānndémárò kádìò. *The water came up even as far as our house.*
- Shídé zāurò kúngénà sèràgèná, hár/ *Him he really loves money; so much that*
 háttá kàsúwùmarò lèwòndò, kówò fálrò. *he went all the way to the market just for one kobo.*
- Njì fízágìndé, hár/háttá ísè *He poured water in until it was*
 cùmbùlò. *completely filled up.*
- Dìná nèngèlìjiā tēmmárò sìnìmá *When the rainy season comes we never*
 fāndiyè shímndé súrìnbā, háttá *get to see a cinema, not until the*
 nèngálì kójìnmān. *rainy season passes.*
- Háttá rèrènzé kùrúwù kùrúwùsòdè *(To the point that) They even load*
 kóròsò làpsái yé. *the very long splittings on donkeys.*
- Mbálnzé sáí ngāi dùwò, hár zólímá- *He goes on drinking his beer like that,*
 gáirò wáljìn. *to the point that he becomes even*
crazy-like.

2.3. Other Preposed Elements. The preposed prepositional íllà except has been borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic. It is not as frequently used as the Kanuri gënyâ/nyâ/gënyíà if not/save for, to express this. The two may however be used together for emphasis.

- Íllà kùrwùn mányènmádé gënyâ, tēmmān *Except for/Unless it is the very*
 fāksè àbímáyè sètàngázègìnbā. *medicine that we are looking for,*
nothing can ever make him well.
- Kèrmálámnzédáyè shíà zānnàrò sèkkìnbā *His being a malam will not put him*
 íllà shí kàrégè búllà yé kàrégè kām *into heaven, unless he has a pure*
 sètáiwā yé gënyâ. *heart and does not hold grudges (lit.: grab people in his heart).*

Another preposed element is the word bállè which has been borrowed from Hausa and means *much less, let alone, etc.* The preposed sókkù is also used in this way, though its source is not readily apparent. The more Kanuri ways of expressing this notion are however much preferred over these borrowed elements.

3. Exceptions to the SOV typology of Kanuri. In part of chapter 33 and now in chapter 34, certain function words which have been borrowed into the language and which violate the canonical SOV typology of the language have been cited. These have been certain conjunctions, and a small group of quite important prepositions, most of which have been borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic.

Elsewhere in the language, certain other significant violations of the SOV typology seem to occur quite frequently. As in many languages, the violations of the canonical order in simple sentence usually involve an out of order constituent which is an afterthought in the context which is therefore appositional, and which the speaker originally took as a given in the context but then realized that his listener might need the appositive distinction, specification or elaboration. Elsewhere, although oblique constituents are consistently the most common violators of the SOV order, both major and oblique constituents may follow the verb under certain conditions. When the finite verb form is in any way emphasized in the Kanuri sentence, i.e. either through the use of the verb emphasis completive (VEC) or the imperative form of the verb, then any major or oblique constituent may follow that verb form. In other environments, where the characteristics of a given aspect of the verb are such that the use of that aspect makes awkward the occurrence of a given constituent in pre-verb position, then that constituent will be postposed. This occurs frequently when the noun emphasis completive (NEC) aspect is used. In this case a major constituent, either a subject or an object NP, is emphasized by the verb form, and any oblique constituents may be postposed after the verb. With other aspects of the verb when a given constituent is somehow emphasized, questioned or negated, then other major or oblique constituents may follow the verb form.

Adverbial nouns, and all oblique postpositional phrases are among the elements most commonly postposed in violation of the SOV order. Also falling into this category are subordinate adverbial clauses or sentence adverbs, most of which represent a form of postpositional phrase in Kanuri since it is normally the postpositions of the language which function as subordinators. In this area it is especially those adverbials and subordinate clauses marked by the indirect postposition +rò which may freely violate and follow the main verb in a sentence. Among the most common violators are the reason and purpose clauses, and also certain temporal adverbial clauses. Certain nominal clauses marked also by the indirect postposition frequently follow their main verb. The following set of examples is designed to familiarize the reader and the student of Kanuri with the kinds of commonly occurring SOV typology violations which have been described in this section.

Rúkónà(,) shià.	I saw him, him.
Lèzónà(,) shí.	He has gone, him.
Rúkí(,) àwó shímmàdèà.	I see it, what you gave me.
Wúmá lèngò kàsúwùdérò.	It was I who went, to the market.
Shímá lèjín Mákkàrò.	Even he is going, to Mecca.
Kùrà, shídè.	It is big, that one.
Kàràgè tèlámwá kàdábè sùródèn sàpsò,	He collected proverbs from many
shí málám rùwòmánzédéyè.	languages, he the writer.
Kám gádè sàndírò kùdómá yé bawò,	There is no one else who could
wún kàjíà.	bring it to them, except for me.
Ngò, lènowó dùwànowó sàwànyí ngàzè.	Here, go and slaughter it so that
	my friend will get better.
Lèjín, kúngèná màtārò.	He is going, to look for money.
Kùrú sàbísórò sàwàwánzèà shàwàrjín,	And what is more he always consulted.
jílì hàlwá-à àdàwá-à sùró lárdè	his friends, over the kinds of customs
Bòrnòbèn tédínmádé sámmásórò.	and traditions that were done in Borno
	country.

Dàjí, cǎrì sùró fátòbèrò gǎgè ngélárò
dùwázè, súsù tádà gǎnábédérò.

Ndúmá lèjǐnbà, sái wúmá.

Andí sámmá zólì, kàanzèwúdsà.

Àbí díkìn mbàldérò?

Àbí díkìn cǎrìrò?

Lá lá wángénà cǎrìà.

Kàjím kúdé wúrò.

Cá wúmá lèngín nánémrò.

Alà kòrò bàdìwónò, nā mālāmá

Yèrwàbèn.

Nándérò ngéwùrò ísénà, kèlā íámàr

ádèbèn.

Gùlzái, ìndísó.

Mànàgékénà, shírò.

So then the old man entered into the
house and slaughtered the ram, instead/
in the place of the small child.

No one is going, but me.

We are all crazy, in his opinion.

What would I do with alcohol?

What would I do with an old man?

No no, I dislike an old man.

Bring grass to me.

I had been planning to go to your place.

He started asking God, at the place
of the malams of Yerwa.

He came many times to our place, over
this matter.

They say it, both ways, both of them.

I spoke to him, to him.

CHAPTER 35: THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE CONJUNCTIVE FORM OF THE VERB

1. Introduction. Finite verb forms in the conjunctive form of the verb carry only clitic subject morphemes specific for person and number, and no aspect or tense morphemes. The conjunctive does not carry a negative morpheme either. Thus unlike any other finite paradigm of the Kanuri verb, the sequential may never occur independently. A conjunctive verb form is dependent on a subsequent verb form, i.e. the construction final verb form, for specification with regard to tense/aspect and affirmative/negative. For a complete description of the derivation and the writing of the conjunctive aspect, see p. 128.

The conjunctive is often used to conjoin a series of verb phrases describing actions in the same aspect, and the order of the conjoined verb phrases reflects the order or sequence in which the events occurred. In many of its uses the same subject is carried by each of the verbs in the conjoined series, though this is not required, as will be shown.

The conjunctive is "always found with a following verb, whether it be future, present, or past time. It ... therefore ... carries the action forward, it progresses sometimes through a number of verbs, to a final goal, and it is not till then that the time to which the verb or verbs in the Conjunctive refers can be ascertained." (Ellison, 1937:81). It is apparent that, though the conjunctive does relate the order in which conjoined events occur, it imparts no prominence to any of the events conjoined in this way. The "final goal" or finally fully specified verb form, signals that the entire preceding series of conjunctive verb phrases is to be combined with the final verb form to produce a composite meaning, made up of the equal components of a total event.

"The CONJUNCTIVE is used only for actions regarded as mere parts of one comprehensive integral event and not as being individually significant events in themselves. Thus the CONJUNCTIVE imparts unity to the actions depicted, and conversely, it enables these actions to be described without given them unwanted prominence. ... A more exact term for this paradigm might be 'Unificatory', ... (Jarrett, 1979:18). This "unity" imparted by the conjunctive to the series of actions depicted is apparent from the morphology and the dependent status of the paradigm. It is reflected in the way that the conjunctive carries the action forward to another action which, then carries the composite action forward, not to be united until the final verb form completes the composite picture morphologically, and therefore semantically also.

The interdependence of equal components of a "comprehensive integral event" that is implicit to these constructions, lends itself readily to certain idiomatic uses through the combination of verb phrases which do not reflect consecutive component parts. As will be seen, the verb *return* in the conjunctive may be used to connote *do over/again*, the verb *be first* to connote *already do*, and the verb *be capable* in the conjunctive, to connote the modal *can*. Similarly the verb *find* in the conjunctive may connote *to get to do*. Some of these constructions resemble the serial verb constructions which have been documented for other African languages, where more than one verb is used to communicate one verbal activity. The morphology and the semantics of the conjunctive lend themselves to this combinatory function.

2. Uses of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb.

2.1. The Conjunction of the Components of an Integral Event. In the following examples, the order of the subparts of an integral event is reflected in

the order of the conjunctive verb phrases.

Këmbünzá zàwù njínzá sásà dàányà,
múkkònzá tütúlzá nàpkàdà.

When they had finished eating their food
and drinking their water, they washed
their hands and sat down.

Kàràzè málèmrò wálwòndò.
Mágè wòsòn lèzè yánzè sùrìn.

He studied and became a malam.

Kúngsà sàmzè còt tamòtèrò gàná
gàpsò.

Every week he goes and sees his mother.

Kòssò sùwúdè gènzè àndià tèmàrò
sèkkìn.

She gave out the money and/until it was
almost completely gone.

Sà ngúdò ádè fàrjínlādèn, shím
kámúdèbè fál wàrzè fàrzè
dínànzèrò kàrgáwò.

He brought cups and put them down and
made us hopefully expectant.

Ngò, dànè lèngè nyíró àllónyí
góngè kúkkè rúi.

When the bird was taking off, it snatched
up one of the woman's eyes and flew off
and entered its own world.

Lèngè kèmbù mǎngè búkè ísèkìn.

Say, wait and I will go and get my
slate and bring it to you to see.

Cíngè lèngè nji mǎngè kúkkè bəri
dèngè búkìn.

I'll go and get some food and eat it and
come back.

Àlì lèzè kàrènzè gòzè kádìo.

I'll get up and go and get water and
bring it back and cook the meal and eat.

Lèngè ísèkènyí.

Ali went and picked up his things and came.

Wàndé njínmèm fèrènmèm kàntàná
gàgènyí.

I didn't go and come back.

Kàngádìlàn nànmèm wàndé fè fàrèmí.

Don't open your room and let the
mosquitoes enter.

Kàsúwùrò lènyè ànyè kányí káiwò.

Don't sit down on the horns and gossip
about the cattle.

Àrgèm lādèm kányí yíwùm búltùyè
gójìn.

We went to the market and Ali bought
a goat.

Bàgàn lèngè cìdàngìn.

You sell millet and buy a goat and the
hyena takes it.

Bàrèlàn lèngè kádíkò.

I will go and work in Baga.

Ísà bėjìsò àwòwá gápsénàsò
cásáwìn.

I went and came back from farming.

Yàngènyí ádè bískà nji kánnúàrò
yíkkèkè dùwò cùtùlùwúkò.

They come and buy mats and everything
else.

Cìzè lèzènyí, kàusùrò kàrgá.

Yesterday I put these pants of mine into
hot water and then took them out.

Bùnèzè fàrnzè kèlzè bəlàrò kádìo.

He didn't get up and go, he stayed
until noon.

It became night and he left his horse
and came into town.

2.2. Use of the 2S Conjunctive Form to Conjoin Verbal Nouns. The 2S conjunctive verb form is used for all but the final verbal noun when two or more verbal nouns are conjoined in a series. In this use the 2S form no longer carries second person meaning. Here the final nonfinite verbal noun gives a nonfinite reading to all preceding 2S conjunctive verb forms.

Mátò yíwùm Mákàrò lèté ràákèná.
Yíngsìlārò lènəm kèrārò ráwányíyè
wúa dápòndò.

I want to buy a car and go to Mecca.

Yèrwàn lènəm cídà fàndòrò wúró.
mòwònjínbá.

My uncle stopped me from going to
study in England.

Kèrì lādèm dágèl njiwò.

It will be impossible for me to go and
get work in Yerwa.

Ràngnèm lènəm kèrārò nyànyèná.

Selling the dog and buying a monkey.

Bámàrò lènəm kènshè záu.

We plan to be able to go and study.

Yánzè lènəm kùrùrò mágèn fálrò
lèté ngènéptèná.

Going to Bama and back is difficult.

Kèmbàlrò fàrnəm lèté ngànzàzàná.

He made every effort to go and see
his mother once a week.

They tried to (jump and go) fly to
the moon.

Based in this construction type, the following examples are used in editing and printing in Nigeria.

rùm yàsà
gàm kùrù
kèrànèm kùrù
wàltèm bàktà

(see and repair) correcting
(follow and see) revising
(read and see) proofreading
(return and beat) reprinting, retyping

The 2S conjunctive verb form also occurs in certain compound nominals that are actually based in a conjunctive series. In the following set of examples, the 2S conjunctive is followed within each compound by the 2S imperative verb form.

mánèm+búi look for and eat
lènèm+àré go and come
bònèm+wàné lie down and pass the night
dèrìnèm+kèllé go around and join

mànèmbúi daily bread, livelihood
lènèmàré round trip, to and fro
bònèmwàné passage of time, time, day in and day out

bònèm+dègái lie down and live
dútèm+fété sew and undo

dèrìnèmkèllé all the way around, perimeter, circumference
bònèmdègái woman's jumper type
dútèmfété mix-up, confusion, sth done uselessly

dànèm+wállé stop and become/return/turn back
gàm+àré follow and come

dànèmwállé retreat, sudden turning back
gàmàré bamboo formerly used for policemen's nightsticks

shìllèm+búi skin and eat
yádèm+kùdé carry and bring back

shìllèmbúi unshelled peanuts
yádèmkùdé gossip, rumors, spreading rumors to alienate 2 parties

2.3. Idiomatic and Serial-Type Uses of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb.

The following examples demonstrate some of the idiomatic uses of the conjunctive, and also cases where more than one verb is used in a serial-type of construction to express a single verbal meaning. Some of the examples correspond to modals in other languages. In other cases a conjunctive series is used to express an adverbial meaning.

Bèrì dézè bàfènyí.
Wúà bùrùwòzè kádìo.
Ráksè rùwòjìnbá.
Bùrùwòzè sèdò.
Yím láá ísè bàrò wáljìn.

She did not completely cook the food.
He came before me.
He cannot write.
He did it before me.

Cídànzédé ásúzè cótrò dàzèná.
Rànggè kùwádè gèrèngìnbá.
Rànggè wú kályè ádèà díkìnbá.
Nà fèròwánzábèrò gèmjìgènyá,
cìntèzè dàwónò.

One day it will come to the point that none is left.
He has completely learned that job of his.
I cannot wait any longer.
I (mere me) cannot do this.
When he reached the place of their girls, he stood far away.

Dàjì ngáwò àbísó fànzènábèn lárdènzérod
wálgàtè nyá wáltèm ísèm lárdè Bórndòbè
kèmbùbèlàn.

Then after he had heard everything he returned to his country with the intention of returning to conquer the Borno area.

Nòngè má dàzènyí.
Tái dǎngè nòngèná.
Ah sámmá ísà dàzèná.
Am sámmá ísà dàzènyí.
Fàndókè lèngènyí.
Wàndé shíà kòllèm fátòlàn
sùlúwùnyí.

I don't even know it completely.
I know it perfectly.
All the people finished arriving.
All the people haven't finished arriving.
I didn't get to go.
Don't let him leave the house.

2.4. Uses of the Conjunctive Forms of the Verb ngin. Based in its meanings *say/think*, the conjunctive forms of the verb ngin are frequently used to express thought, deception, and pretending, as shown in the following examples.

Wú dónđì ngè ásəm cìdǎkò.
 Sà mǎtòlàn sùkkùrúnǎdè núnà sè
 kǎrgà.
 Mǎtònyí bàlín ngè sǎndiǎ
 fǎingè cìlǎdǎkò.
 Njǐ lǎǎ shírò kùrwún sà cáđò.

*I pretended saying I was sick.
 He thought he had died when he had
 the car accident.
 Saying that my car was new I convinced
 them and sold it.
 They brought him some liquid saying that
 it was medicine.*

SECTION IX: APPENDICES	PAGE
Appendix 1: Class 1 Verbs	327
Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2	329
Appendix 3: Aspect Paradigms for Basic Form of Class 1 Verbs	337
Appendix 3: Aspect Paradigms for Basic Form of Class 2 Verbs	339
Appendix 4: Aspect Paradigms of Class 1/2 Verbs with Affixed Objects	341
Appendix 5: Aspect Paradigms of Class 1/2 Verbs in Applied (II) Derived Form	343
Appendix 6: Aspect Paradigms of Class 1/2 Verbs in Passive-Reflexive (III) Derived Form	345
Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)	347

Appendix 1: Class 1 Verbs

<i>verbal nouns</i>	<i>imperfect aspect forms: 1S/2S/3P</i>	<i>meaning</i>
bā, kəmbā	bākin, zəwāi, zəwāi	mount, ride
bāfō	bāfūkin, bāfin, bāwāfin	ripen
bōtō	bōtəkin, zūwōtin, zōwōtin	tell (story)
bū, kəmbū	būkin, zəwīn, zāwīn	eat
būrō	būrəkīn, zəwūrīn, zāwūrīn	move, migrate
dəgā, kəndəgā	dəgākin, dəgāi, dəwīn	live, stay, exist
dīo, kəndō	dīkin, sədīn, sādīn	do
dōrō	dōrəkīn, sūdōrīn, sōdōrīn	gather up
dūrō	dūrəkīn, sūdūrīn, sōdūrīn	fall (of rain)
dūtō	dūtəkīn, sūdūtīn, sōdūtīn	sew
fāndō	fāndəkīn, səwāndīn, sāwāndīn	find, get
fārō	fārəkīn, səwārīn, sāwārīn	slander
fētō, nzəwētō	fētəkīn, səwētīn, sāwētīn	undo, unplait
fərtō	fərtəkīn, səwərtīn, sāwərtīn	pluck, pick
gā, kəngā	gākin, zəgāi, zāāi	follow
gādō	gādəkīn, zəgādīn, zāādīn	argue (usu pl)
gāmbō	gāmbəkīn, zəgāmbīn, zāāmbīn	scratch
gāndō	gāndəkīn, zəgāndīn, zāāndīn	lick
gāntō	gāntəkīn, zəgāntīn, zāāntīn	acquire
gāwō	gāākin, gāyīn, gāgāyīn/gāgāyīn	enter
gəlāwō	gəlāgəkīn, gəlāyīn, gālāyīn	spend a year
gəndō	gəndəkīn, zəgəndīn, zāgəndīn	move, shake up
gərō	gərəkīn, zəgərin, zāgərin	chew, masticate
gūtō/, nzūwūtō	gūtəkīn, zūwūtīn/, zōwūtīn/	warm o.s. in sun;
gūdō	sūwūtīn	draw water
īsō, kənshē, kənshō	īsəkīn/īskīn, īshīn, īsāi	come, arrive
kəndā	jérəkīn, səryérīn/, sēryérīn/	tie up
jérō	siyérīn sēerīn	
kāltō	kāltəkīn, səgāltīn, sāāltīn	break fast; tie rope
kārō, nzəkārō	kārəkīn, səgārīn, sāārīn	forge, carve, cast
kāsō	kāsəkīn/kāskīn, səgāshīn, sāāsāi	run
kəndō, nzəgəndō	kəndəkīn, səgəndīn, sāgəndīn	tie baby to back
kōrō	kōrəkīn, sūwōrīn, sōwōrīn	ask
kūdō	kūdəkīn/kūkkīn, sūwūdīn, sōwūdīn	bring
kūtō	kūtəkīn, sūwūtīn, sōwūtīn	stir food
lādō, nzəlādō	lādəkīn, səlādīn, sālādīn	sell
lāndō, nzəlāndō	lāndəkīn, səlāndīn, sālāndīn	churn, shake
lārō, nzəlārō	lārəkīn, səlārīn, sālārīn	live in luxury
līō, kəliō, nzəlīō	līkin, səlīn, sālīn	learn
līwō, nzəlīwō	līwūkin, səlīwīn, sālīwīn	protect
lōrō, nzəlōrō	lōrəkīn, sūlōrīn, sōlōrīn	boil (usu 3S)
lōrō, nzəlōrō	lōrəkīn, sūlōrīn, sōlōrīn	collect & take away
lūwō	lūwūkin, sūlūyīn, sōlūyīn	go out, leave
mērō	mērəkīn, sēmērīn, sāmērīn	recover
mīntō	mīntəkīn, sēmīntīn, sāmīntīn	remove grains from mill
mōwō, nzəmōwō	mōwōkin, sēmōyīn, sāmōyīn	take, get
mū, kəmmū	mūkin, sēmīn, sāmīn	put on (clothes)
nāndō, nzənāndō	nāndəkīn, sənāndīn, sānāndīn	bite
nātō, nzənātō	nātəkīn, sənātīn, sānātīn	sow, plant
nōtō, nzənōtō	nōtəkīn, sūnōtīn, sōnōtīn	commission s.o.
nū, kəmmū	nūkin, sūi, sōnīn	die
nyō	nyēgəkīn, sənyēyīn, sānyēyīn	herd, pasture

verbal nouns

rawò, nzèrawò
 rambò, nzèrambò
 rëndò, nzèrëndò
 rəptò
 rindò
 rù, kùrù
 sawò
 sawò, nzəsawò
 sangò, nzəsangò
 tà, kəntà
 tādò
 tāmbo, nzətāmbo
 tändò, nzətändò
 tərò
 tìò, kəntò
 tìyèrò

 { tòmò
 wārò, nzəwārò
 yā, nzā, kənzā
 yādò, nzādò

 yālā, yòlò

 yāmbò, nzāmbò
 tāmbo
 yāmbò, nzāmbò
 yāmbātā
 yāmbütò, nzāmbütò
 yāngāngā, nzāngāngā
 yārgālò, nzārgālò
 yārò, nzārò
 yāsā, nzāsā
 yāsērā, nzāsērā
 yāsērā, nzāsērā
 yättò, nzättò
 yāwütò, nzāwütò
 yéndò
 yèttò, nzèttò
 yèzò, njèzò
 yimbārò, nzəmbārò
 yimbəlò, nzəmbəlò
 yimbò, nzəmbò
 yindò, nzəndò
 yirò, sò, nzèrò
 yiwò, njìwò
 yirgātò, nzərgātò
 yò, njò, kənjò
 yòrdò, nzòrdò
 ?
 *yürò
 yùkkürò, nzùkkürò
 yürtò

imperfect aspect. forms: 2S/2S/3P

rāākin, sərāyin, sārāyin
 rəmbəkìn, sərəmbìn, sārəmbìn
 rəndəkìn, sərəndìn, sārəndìn
 rəptəkìn, sərəptìn, sārəptìn
 rindəkìn, sərindìn, sārindìn
 rùkin, sùrìn, sòrìn
 ságəkìn, səsáyìn, sàsáyìn
 sawúkin, səsawìn, sàsawìn
 sangəkìn, səsangìn, sàsangìn
 tākìn, sətài, sətài
 tādìyèn, tādìn (pl only)
 tāmbeğin, sətāmbìn, sətāmbìn
 tändəkìn, sətāndìn, sətāndìn
 tərəkìn, sètètìn, sètèrìn/sètèrìn
 tìkin, sètìn, sətìn
 tìyèrəkìn/, tìyèrìn/, ?tìyèrāin
 tęgèrəkìn tęgèrìn
 tòmìn (3P only)
 wārəkìn, səwārìn, səwārìn
 yākìn, sài, səsai
 yādəkìn/, sādìn, sādìn/
 yākkìn sāsādìn
 yāləkìn/, sālāi, sāsālāi/
 yólòkìn sùlòyìn
 yāmbəkìn, sāmbyn, sāsāmbyn
 tāmbeğin, sāmbyn, tāsāmbyn
 yāmbəkìn, sāmbyn, sòsòmbyn
 yāmbətākìn, sāmbatāi, sāsāmbatāi
 yāmbütəkìn, sāmbutìn, sāsāmbutìn
 yāngāngākìn, sāngāngāi, sāsāngāngāi
 yārgāləkìn, sārgālìn, sāsārgālìn
 yārùwəkìn, sārùyìn, sāsārùyìn
 yāsākìn, sāsai, sāsai/sāsasai
 yāsèrākìn, sāsèrāi, sāsèrāi
 yāsèrākìn, sāsèrāi, sāsèrāi
 yättəkìn, sätțin, säsätțin
 yāwütəkìn, sawütìn, sāsawütìn
 yéndəkìn, sèndìn, sādèndìn
 yèttəkìn, sètțin, säsètțin
 yézəkìn/yèskìn, cèjìn, cèshènin
 yimbārəkìn, səmbārìn, sāsəmbārìn
 yimbələkìn, səmbəlìn, sāsəmbəlìn
 yimbəkìn, səmbyn, sāmbyn/sāsāmbyn
 yindəkìn, sèndìn, səsèndìn
 yirəkìn, cìrìn, cāsàrìn
 yiwəkìn, cìwìn, cèshèwìn/cāsawìn
 yirgātəkìn, sèrgātìn, sāsèrgātìn
 yìkìn, cìn, sādìn
 yòrdùgəkìn, sòrdùyìn, sòsòrdùyìn
 yòwógəkìn, səwòyìn, sawòyìn
 *yürükìn, sùrìn, sòrìn
 yùkkürükìn, sùkkürìn, sòkkürìn
 yürtəkìn, sùrtìn, sòsùrtìn

meaning

like, want, love
 reimburse
 hurt (usu 3S)
 bury
 tire of waiting
 see
 lower, bring down
 winnow, sift
 lift up, start
 seize, grab
 meet each other
 taste
 build
 remove, carry away
 equal, suffice
 fail to do

 enter in group
 recover from long illness
 drink
 carry away, take to

 amuse child

 bear, give birth
 be born
 burn (usu 3S)
 find out, check on
 bark (usu 3S/P)
 imitate, ape

 redeem
 repair
 believe
 cough
 plait, braid
 fan
 tolerate
 water (animal)
 kill, destroy
 be tired
 fill
 nurse, milk
 swallow
 cry, weep
 buy
 mention
 give
 accompany
 reflect over

 fall down
 complete, fill in balance

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

bák+	beat, strike, hit	dərwá+	stir up bottom sediment
bəbət+	smell good	dī+	mix up, prepare
bələ+	make inebriated	dír+/dídír+	cut into strips
bəm+	live in luxury	dōwóp+	sow, plant
bəmbərəm+	run wild, flirt	dū+	chase, drive away
bən+	lie down; roost	dūlō+	tie up (animals) in row
bərən+	rub	dūngōk+	bend, crook
bərət+	grow without rain	dūngōl+	veer off, change course
bīrō+	pierce palate to let blood	dūngū+	become lame
bís+ II+III	perform magic on, harm	dūr+	chain, tie up (prisoners)
bō+	lie down	dūwū+	sneak about, prowl
bōlōlō+	bleat	fá+	wake up; melt
bōr+	paint stripes to humiliate	fáfá+	grow by creeping
bōrbōrá+	grow to childhood	fáfár+	unravel, unroll
bōskū+	refuse success, make fail	fáfát+	grope, feel around for
bōwō+	call, name	fāgār+	be late due to weariness
cālíp+	talk nonsense crazily	fāgólám+	stagger; wander aimlessly
cālwák+	mix up, confuse	fāi+	ward off, protect, block view
cām+	grab, tear off piece of	fāi+	coax, persuade, sway over
cāmbál+	slosh	fāl+	change, exchange
cāmbálám+	carry o.s. uncontrollably	fā+	break open, cut across, ford
cāwūlēm+	jabber, talk nonsense	fālái+	reveal, expose
cè+	move, remove, plow =kè+	fālálá+	flow, spill over
cēcé+	drain off, pour top off	fān+	hear, understand
cēlāp+	II+III jump up on	fāngā+	sift thru sand for grain
cét+	scrape away	fār+	jump, fly, dance
cì+	get up, start	fār+	back out of deal
cící+	smoke away insects; incense	fārlāk+	break word, promise
cín+	wipe, rub	fārwá+	wake up, become alert
cíp+	lance, prick	fās+	go down (of swelling)
cís+ II	take care of =njís+	fāshè+	crack (groundnuts)
cōk+	take pinch; walk tip-toed	fātál+	become able to walk
cōl+	poke, stick with stick	fāt+ II	get lost +III be lost
cōngōl+	stab	fāt+ II	lean, put up against
dā+	stand, stop	fātērā+	grope, feel around
dāk+	fear; stand in awe of	fēdá+	spread out to cool
dál+	dye, soak	féfé+	unravel, unwind, undo
dām+	become crowded	féfét+	feel ill (of one's heart)
dām+	seep, ooze out	fér+	spread, lay out
dāmbú+	beat with great force	fés+	shake to sort; fan out (tail)
dāp+	refuse, prevent	fáfás+	crumble, break up
dār+	settle down, calm down	fāfēt+	flap wings; convulse
dās+	scrape	fāgólá+	III writhe in agony
dé+	cook, boil	fāk+	empty out, pour out
dēl+	fix, patch, mend	fālē+	show
dēdēk+	pat, calm a child	fālí+	tilt, tip over at angle
dēgār+	gin, comb out	fālók+	split
dēgēn+	limp	fārá+	sweep up
dēm+	stay forever	fārát+	lose, give up hop
dēmđēm+	become congested	fārèt+	hold up, examine gown
dēngēs+	prop, wedge up, support	fārám+	open
dēp+	reject, divorce	fārés+	escape, run away
dērēm+	tie together in group	fārət+	spit out; wear out edge of
dērí+	go around, avoid	fārřár+	spread manure
dērū+	tie together in row	fāří+	spin (thread etc)

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb-Class 2

kálák+	=hálák+	kəl+	leave, quit
kálás+	pound lightly in mortar	kəl+	rap with knuckles
kālāwù+	pick thru and gather best	kəlól+	swing around, spin
kālì+	get better (of cold)	kòr+	fence off, head off
kálwá+	rinse out, swill	kòwò+	beat, pound
kám+	cut	kùfáfá+	grow in wealth, influence
kāmāt+	knead, crumple	kúkú+	nibble
kāp+	intercept, cut off	kúl+	gain weight
káp+	become soft, dissolve	kúlái+	pick out (of nose)
kár+	prepare soup	kúlás+	search, investigate
kārāmsá+	wander aimlessly	kúlét+	touch with fingertip
kārāp+	talk into sth	kúlít+	II feed (newborn)
kārāp+	=gārāp+	kúlók+	lance (boil)
kárás+	proceed well-organized	kùlòlòk+	knock down from tree
káráwá+	laud, praise	kúm+	shave
kàs+ II	settle up with, pay off	kùp+	dig up, cultivate
kás+	wean, separate	kúr+	draw, trace
kásár+	buy in small quantities	kùràì+	scrape off gradually
kàsàt+	agree	kùrét+	scratch
kát+	skim, glean off	kùrtú+	tie up with rope
kāwāk+	multiply, increase	kùrúm+	ladle out, scoop out
kāyé+	fry (in oil)	kùrúp+	sew shut
kázáp+	gather bit by bit	kúshé+	search for
ké+	=cé+	kúshèkúshè+	III show off
kéjì+	install cooking tripod	kùsùl+	disappear from lack of use
kékót+	have fit, convulsions	kùwàl+	pick at (pimple)
kəl+	join, add to	kúwár+	scrape off, scratch at
kəlá+/kəlá+	roll into ball	kúwúl+	shell, peel, skin
kəlél+	wrap around	kùyá+	run wild
kəlì+	roll, fold up	kùzók+	chip off
kəlìsà+	exercise	kwàs+ III	sit proudly, cockily
kəm+	shut, clench	lá+	dig
kəmès+	wrinkle up	làbláwá+	persuade with sweet words
kómés+	squeeze, wring hands	láì+	have faith, confidence
kəngər+	urinate (of cow etc)	làìlài+	flatter, praise
kóp+	put and hold together	lálá+	blow in wind
kər+	freeze	lálám+	feel sick (of heart)
kér+	tie up, braid	láláp+	daub, pat
kérák+	rip apart, rend	láláu+	rub, touch, fondle
kérát+	sharpen, hone	lám+	wash face of
kéré+	sort out, select	lámshé+	attach, tie up loosely
kérém+	harvest heads off stalks	làn+	insult
kérém+	listen	láp+	load (donkey)
kərí+	tip, incline, turn	láp+	persuade of evil things
kérzák+	be lop-sided	lās+ II	hang up, attach
kəsér+	squeeze in narrow space	lát+ II	conceal against body
kəskəsá+	wander aimlessly	láv+	comb, preen, rake
készá+	moisten to soften	lávú+	pick, pluck
kímì+	pulverize, crush in hand	lé+	go
kó+	pass, surpass	lé+	touch
kòdá+	boil	lélé+	be sweet
kòdòwù+	cut down and clear	lét+	sleep
kòk+	peck	lèk+	rot, spoil, go rancid
kòk+	plant	lèm+	become night
kòkòr+/kòrkòr+	turn, rotate	lèmàs+	fold up (layya in leather)

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

lěp+	string beads; immerse	nám+/náp+	sit down
lérś+	dump onto	náná+ II	emphasize
lěrǵá+	rub, spread on roughly	náná+/nánár+	gnaw on
lěwá+	plait hair temporarily	nāwúr+	gnaw on
lí+	grow	ndá+	spoil, become stale
līgār+	look after child	ndák+/ndók+	spin in fingers
lím+	shrivel up, wilt	ndál+	steal
lílím+	itch	ndāgāp+	be gummy, sticky
lĩmbār+	II stick, paste onto	nděp+	tie
lín+	undress	ndērā+	plait, braid
līwērì+	glue	ndók+	=ndák+
lólól+	shiver, tremble	ndór+	shout
lòlòk+	knock down from above	nèk+	shake at well bottom
lòngó+	beseech	ngā+	growl, abuse, mistreat
lòt+	II+III reach, stretch out for	ngál+	measure out
lòwó+	pray God, request indulgence	ngām+	lose weight, reduce
lú+	hang up on	ngār+	burp
lùlá+	clean child after birth	ngát+	milk, squeeze out
lùlù+	pass or slip thru	ngák+	hate, despise
lún+	plug up	ngàlák+	fuck
lús+	break loose	ngènèp+	III go all out, try
má+	fetch, look for	ngèrdí+	pulverize, with pressure
māirò+	soar, glide =mārù+	ngèrśk+	shift, sprain
mánjíl+	attach, bind tightly	ngèrśm+	=gárláp+ gallop
mát+	pull strongly; scrunch	ngèrmés+	break in, wear in
mārù+	=māirò+	ngèrná+	strain, go all out to do
māwù+	sell, publicize	ngèrsā+	grow old (of plants)
mázát+	exercise body parts	ngèrtá+	cut with difficulty
mbá+	float, swim	ngés+	try, attempt
mbār+/mbārò+	take out of pawn	ngèt+	reach all way to bottom
mbéjì	exist	ngèdìngòs+	sour, spoil
mbál+	struggle, wrestle	ngù+	bow down
mbálá+	ambush, stalk	ngùdók+	break off small piece of
mbák+	uproot	ngùl+	hide, conceal
mbès+	rot, decay	ngùngùr+	roar
mbówó+/mówó+	lack, fall short by	ngùrngùr+	crawl
mé+	=gá+	ngùrùmgùrù+	kneel down in respect
mèk+	apply heat to body parts	ngùzá+	flee, run away
mémés+	smile (of mouth)	níní+	observe carefully, keep eye on
mēr+	become humid	njārmíl+	cramp, gurgle (stomach)
mérmér+	III fidget	njès+	forget
mét+	mold with hands	njì+	dislike
mìl+	have telling effect on	njìk+	rip, tear off piece
mìlmìlá+	foam during fermentation	njìl+	peel back to pop out
mímí+	whinny	njìlāk+	sneak, walk stealthily
mìt+	II stifle, suppress	njìmál+	pity
mówòn+	be possible	njìmít+	blink
mú+	faint	njíp	rot, spoil
mùk+	put handful in mouth	njìrèt+	spray saliva thru teeth
mùngùnd+	shrivel up	njìs+	=cìs+
mùndk+	II dent, bend in	njól+	squat down
mùrjúk+	wrinkle (of skin)	njù+	be suspicious of
ná+	II reach, attain; catch	njúnó+	pity
nák+	fail, avert responsibility	njùwò+	ruminate
nām+	break	njùwìllām+	masticate

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

nò+	know	sár+	massage (head)
núk+	make a sound, utter a word	sárit+/sàrit+	hit backhandedly
núwá+	swagger, strut	sàrwál+	cross legs at ankles
nyè+	grind	sàsà+	calm down (child)
nyét+	be patient	sàsàl+	fasten shut, chain
nyimé+	talk, chat	sàwì+	settle, unravel, clarify
nzàat+	chew continuously	sàyá+	wash away, erode
nzàk+	express disgust by ts-ts	sàyét+	shake out (dust)
nzérák+	start, make sudden move	sèyè+	breathe heavily, pant
nzét+	wring out	ségálék+	be unhappy, upset (heart)
nzók+	pick, chip off	ségép+	shift load on back
nzòt+	kiss	sègèrì+	move to side, edge
nzù+	loathe, hate	sél+	sack, fire, depose
nzùnnzùn+	suck on =súsún+	séllá+	sharpen =shárák+
ràbì+	nurse, cater to	sèmbà+	become weak
rák+	be able to, can	sèn+	open ajar
ràn+	overpower	séngét+	hold, suck in (stomach)
ráp+	grind on grindstone	séngít+	whimper, whine, sob
ráp+	slap with open hand	sèp+	slide under, shovel up
rará+	overprice	sép+	lower, bring down, drop (load)
ràràk+	pack, tamp down	sèr+	step aside, back off
ràràm+	settle to bottom of liquid	sér+	sift, clean by sifting
ràt+	push down on	sèrst+	stroll, walk along
ràzà+ II	lean lightly against	sèrèp+	sip (hot drink)
rè+	split, halve	sèrìn+	sniff into nose
règán+	nurse and cater to	sèrsèrà+	shine
rèk+	tie up 2-sided load	sèwét+/sèwát+	sort by shaking
rék+	flex, tighten III grunt	sèwút+	dismantle
rèmèk+	feign sleep	shàl+	sharpen to point; clear debt
rèp+	bury	shárák+	=sèllá+
rèp+ II	reach, go as far as	shík+	scrape off, grate
rèwès+	moisten, soften dyed gown	shìl+	peel, skin, scrape
rì+	fear	shìl+	hit hard
rìs+ III	make fun of, mock	shimò+	guide
rù+	scorn, despise, look down on	shìr+	cut to strips with fingernail
rù+	stack up	shìrá+	wilt (from heat)
rùrù+ III	be in doubt	shìshì+	inquire about, snoop into
rútúrú+	stack, pile up	shìshík+	peel (usu bark of tree)
rúwàrúwá+	cover protectively	síyét+	brush, whisk, swish
sà+	begin for first time	síyìn+	think about, reflect
sàa+	weave	sò+	be still damp, not dried
sàap+	settle argument	sòm+	recall, enumerate
sàk+	leak, filter, drip	sòsò+	heat and dry over coals
sál+	chop	sótá+	receive, give hospitality to
sàllò+	cross (legs) together	sówór+	turn around, rotate
sàm+	distribute, hand out	sú+	stiffen, become rigid
sám+	rub, smear on	sùk+	drive, chase away; poke sides
sàmbà+	excuse, forgive	súk+	pierce, penetrate
sàmbìt+	hit, slap open-handed	sùlìn+	squeeze and slide back
sàn+	tease, pull apart (cotton)	sùlìt+	slip
sáná+	make level, even	sùn+	beg for food
sàp+	reach into, pick (pocket)	sùngòì+	sneer
sáp+	collect, gather up	súp+	tip over, leave in spilling position
sàr+/sàrè+	line up, order	súrút+ II	loop around and tie slip knot

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

sûrwá+	scald, blister	títír+	urinate standing
sûsû+	search for, forage	tôl+	drip, leak
sût+ II+III	push o.s. up off of	tôtôl+	blister
súwál+	set broken bone	tsân+	nurture back to health
súwúr+	partially knock down	tú+	set up umbrella, net, trap
tâas+	interrupt, disturb	túl+	wash
tâi+	make first price offer	tûs+	rest
tâk+	recall, remember	tûs+	pound lightly in mortar
tâkûkûl+	tickle	tûská+	mix, combine
tâlá+	empty out, pull out	tût+	stop up, stuff
tâl+	stumble, trip, make mistake	wâ+	pass the night
tâm+	reach out, stretch for =câm+	wâ+	dislike
tâmbár+	roll	wâiwâiyá+	hurt, throb
tâmtâm+	amuse	wâl+	become III return
tân+ III	stretch o.s. after sleep	wám+	boast, brag
tângár+	sort by shaking and tipping	wámgá+	take, pull apart
tántán+	give a cold to	wándá+	take, pull apart
tâp+	make ink by grinding charcoal	wâr+	snatch, seize, grab
tâp+	pour down	wâr+	burn, roast, sting
târ+	spread out, lay out	wârít+	snatch away
tár+	scatter, disperse	wâs+	turn on, ignite, light
tárá+	knock down by throwing, shooting	wâs+	pound to get grain off head
tât+	rise, climb	wâsám+	yawn
tátáp+	gossip by whispering	wát+	scorch, singe
tâwêrà+	provide	wâwâk+	luck into
tâwâs+	plait, braid	wâwûr+	announce, publicize
tâgâs+	pound (yams) lightly in mortar	wí+	loosen, untie, release
tâgêr+	borrow (money)	wóp+	flip over, defeat, surprise
tâk+	lower (head)	wôrmâ+	announce, publicize
tâl+	burst, pop (pimple, boil)	wú+	look at
tâlák+ II	let fall in drops, force feed	wûfá+	boil, blanch
tâm+	touch off	wûfê+	pant, wheeze
tâm+	turn over upside down, cover	wûlák+	flash
tâmbât+	grab from, snatch violently	wûl+	bruise
tândâk+	grind/pound 2nd time into flour	wûlwûlá+	shine, reflect
tângâ+ II	lean against something else	wúm+	water (of mouth)
tângák+	doze off	wûmbât+	scorch partially by fire
tângêm+	hobble animal while leading it	wúp+	gulp, take mouthful of
tângêrés+	limp	wûràl+	rinse out
târâm+	rip off leaves of branch	wûr+	knock down
târát+	clean out by scraping bottom	wûráp+	beat severely, strike down
târêrêrê+	look lost, hover	wûrít+	swoop down and snatch away
târêl+	squeeze down and remove from surface	wûs+	bring camel to its knees
târêp+	jump, hop, hobble along	wûsâ+	scold
târêp+	trim ends of; slander	wûyít+	singe and scrape off hair
târêr+	rip from around neck	yâa+	fear unnecessarily
târmás+ II	massage limbs	yâal+	yelp
târmás+	leap upon and attack	yâi+	clean out inside of calabash
târná+	rub out, wipe out, destroy	yâk+	divide, split up
târwá+	talk incoherently	yâlú+	howl (of hyena)
târwú+	tangle, mess up	yâmyâmá+	run around in panic search
tâs+ II	stoke, start fire	yâr+	give money to girl's father proposing
tí+	obey	yârâ+	rinse out, remove soap
tîn+	blow nose	yârû+	redeem, ransom
		yê+	sing

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

yèkîn+	check up on, find-out about
yél+	clap, knock, bang together
yèn+	fish, scoop out
yén+	stretch
yér+	defecate, have diarrhea
yés+	deviate, change course
yèsāk+	castrate
yì+	dissolve, perish
yíl+	yell, shout at
yílâlâ+	partially satisfy e.g. thirst
yílé+ III	flirt, show off
yílló+ III	jump up and down in excitement
yím+/yím+	soak thru, filter thru.
yîn+	breathe
yín+	smell, sniff
yíp+	stack, line up
yîndâ+	long to see, miss
yír+	throw out, away
yók+	drive, herd
yóló+	amuse (child) bouncing on lap
yôyô+	confuse, overwhelm
yúlók+	gag, vomit, choke up
zá+	tap, beat, spear
zâat+	redig well, retap
zâk+	close, shut
zák+/zázák+	flatter, be proud of s.o.
zâlâlâ+	cool by pouring back and forth
zâm+	attack (of an illness)
zâmzâm+ II	drip out onto, tap out
zâp+	scoop up, redig dried well
zâwû+/zôwô+	decorate by burning
zâyé+	decorate, dress up
zázâm+	dampen shaking water from hand
zâgâren+	wait expectantly
zâgî+	tilt, bend, angle
zâk+	grate, scrape; shake
zâk+	annoy, instigate, provoke
zâm+	hum, groan
zâmâ+r+ II	insert quickly
zân+	pull, slide out, take out
zâp+	come down, descend
zârân+	unravel, undo
zârân+	pull out; jerk out
zârwû+	shake out
zâzâr+	sprinkle, broadcast
zâgzôg+	jog, run slowly, trot
zôrû+	vomit, throw up
zôwôr+	carry sth swinging in hand
zú+	push
zû+	shovel up; skid
zûr+	lightly repound grain in mortar
zús+	vomit, throw up
zûwâ+	send

	<i>imperfect future</i>	<i>neg. fut.</i>	<i>perfect</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>VEC</i>	<i>NEC</i>	<i>neg. comp. conj.</i>	<i>impera.</i>	
	<i>bù+ eat</i>								
1S	búkin	jíwúkò	jíwúkènyí	búkèná	jíwúkò	búkí	búkò	búkènyí	búkè
2S	búmìn	jíwùm	jíwùmmí	búmmà	jíwùm	búmí	bùm	búmí	bùm
3S	zéwìn	jíwò	jíwùnnýí	zéwúnà	jíwò	zéwí	zéwò	zéwùnyí	zéwù
1P	búiyèn	jíwùiyè	jíwùiyèndé	búiyèná	jíwùiyè	búiyéí	búiyè	búiyèndé	búiyè
2P	búwí	jíwùw	jíwùwí	búwà	jíwùw	búwí	bùw	búwí	bùw
3P	záwìn	jáwò	jáwùnnýí	záwúnà	jáwò	záwí	záwò	záwùnyí	záwù
	<i>dí+ do</i>								
1S	díkin	cídèkò	cídèkènyí	díkèná	cídèkò	díkí	díkò	díkènyí	díkè
2S	dímìn	cídèm	cídèmmí	dímmà	cídèm	dímí	dìm	dímmí	dìm
3S	sèdìn	cídò	cídènnýí	sèdèná	cídò	sèdí	sèdò	sèdènyí	sèdè
1P	díyèn	cídíyè	cídíyèndé	díyèná	cídíyè	díyéí	díyè	díyèndé	díyè
2P	díwí	cídúw	cídúwí	díuwà	cídúw	díwí	díu	díwí	díu
3P	sàdìn	càdò	càdènnýí	sàdèná	càdò	sàdí	sàdò	sàdènyí	sàdè
	<i>gàá+ enter</i>								
1S	gààkin	càrgàákò	càrgàákènyí	gàákèná	kàrgàákò	gààkí	gààkò	gààkènyí	gààkè
2S	gààmìn	càrgààm	càrgààmmí	gààmmà	kàrgààm	gààmí	gààm	gààmí	gààm
3S	gàyìn	càrgàawò	càrgàànnýí	gàgèná	kàrgàawò	gàyí	gàwò	gàgènyí	gàgè
1P	gàyíyèn	càrgàyíyè	càrgàyíyèndé	gàyíyèná	kàrgàyíyè	gàyíyéí	gàyíyè	gàyíyèndé	gàyíyè
2P	gàáwí	càrgàawùw	càrgàawùwí	gàwùwà	kàrgàawù	gàáwí	gàawù	gàáwí	gàawù
3P	gàgàyìn	càshàrgàawò	càshàrgàànnýí	gàgàgèná	kàshàrgàawò	gàgàyí	gàgàwò	gàgàgènyí	gàgàwò
	<i>ís+ come</i>								
1S	ísèkin	cádúkò	cádúkènyí	ísàkèná	kádíkò	ísèkí	ísèkò	ísèkènyí	ísèkè
2S	ísèmìn	cádèm	cádèmmí	ísèmmà	kádìm	ísèmí	ísèm	ísèmí	ísèm
3S	íshìn	cádìò	cádènnýí	ísèná	kádìò	íshí	ísò	ísènyí	ísè
1P	íshíyèn	cáshíyè	cáshíyèndé	íshíyèná	káshíyè	íshíyéí	íshíyè	íshíyèndé	íshíyè
2P	ísùwí	cádùw	cádùwí	ísùwà	kádìu	ísùwí	ísùw	ísùwí	ísùw
3P	íwàí	cèshù	cèshùnnýí	ísàná	káshò	ísàí	ísà	ísànyí	ísà
	<i>yí+ give</i>								
1S	yíkin	cókò	cákènyí	yíkèná	cókò	yíkí	yíkò	yíkènyí	yíkè
2S	yímìn	càm	càmmí	yímmà	càm	yímí	yìm	yímí	yìm
3S	cìn	càinò	cànnýí	cínà	càinò	cí	cò	cínyí	cè
1P	yíyèn	càiyè	càiyèndé	yíyèná	càiyè	yíyéí	yíyè	yíyèndé	yíyè
2P	yíwí	càuw	càuwí	yíuwà	càuw	yíwí	yíu	yíuwí	yíu
3P	sádìn	cádò	cádènnýí	sádèná	cádò	sádí	sádò	sádènyí	sádè

	<i>imperfect future</i>		<i>neg. fut.</i>	<i>perfect</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>VEC</i>	<i>NEC</i>	<i>neg. comp.</i>	<i>conj.</i>	<i>impera.</i>
	<i>yèz+ kill</i>									
1S	yèzàkìn	cèjìkò	cèjìkànyí	yèzàkàná	cèjìkò	yèzàkí	yèzàkò	yèzàkànyí	yèzàkè	
2S	yèzàmin	cèjím	cèjìmmí	yèzàmmà	cèjím	yèzà mí	yèzà m	yèzà mí	yèzà m	yèjé
3S	cèjìn	cèjò	cèfínnyí	cèzàna	cèjò	cèjì	cèzò	cèzànyí	cèzà	
1P	yèjìyèn	cèjìyè	cèjìyèndé	yèjìyèná	cèjìyè	yèjìyèi	yèjìyè	yèjìyèndé	yèjìyè	yèjìyè
2P	yèzúwì	cèjùw	cèjùwí	yèzúwà	cèjùw	yèzúwí	yèzúw	yèzúwí	yèzúw	yèjìyòwó
3P	cèshènnìn	cèshèno	cèshènnnyí	cèshènnà	cèshèno	cèshèní	cèshèno	cèshènnnyí	cèshèné	yèzòwó
	<i>jér+ tie, bind</i>									
1S	jéràkìn	cìryéràkò	cìryéràkànyí	jéràkàná	cìryéràkò	jéràkí	jéràkò	jéràkànyí	jéràkè	
2S	jéràmìn	cìryéràm	cìryéràm m m í	jéràm m m à	cìryéràm	jéràm mí	jéràm	jéràm mí	jéràm	jéré
3S	sàryérìn	cìryérò	cìryérènnnyí	sàryéràná	cìryérò	sàryérí	sàryérò	sàryérànyí	sàryérà	jérìyè
1P	jérìyèn	cìryérìyè	cìryérìyèndé	jérìyèná	cìryérìyè	jérìyèi	jérìyè	jérìyèndé	jérìyè	jérìyòwó
2P	jérùwì	cìryérùw	cìryérùwí	jérùwà	cìryérùw	jérùwí	jérùw	jérùwí	jérùw	jéròwó
3P	sàryérìn	càryérò	càryérènnnyí	sàryéràná	càryérò	sàryérí	sàryérò	sàryérànyí	sàryérà	
	<i>yàs+ repair</i>									
1S	yàsàkìn	càsàkò	càsàkànyí	yàsàkàná	càsàkò	yàsàkí	yàsàkò	yàsàkànyí	yàsàkè	
2S	yàsàmìn	càsàm	càsàm m m í	yàsàm m m à	càsàm	yàsàm mí	yàsàm	yàsàm mí	yàsàm	yàsái
3S	sàsàì	càsà	càsànnnyí	sàsàná	càsà	sàsàì	sàsà	sàsànyí	sàsà	
1P	yàsàiyèn	càsàiyè	càsàiyèndé	yàsàiyèná	càsàiyè	yàsàiyè	yàsàiyè	yàsàiyèndé	yàsàiyè	yàsàiyè
2P	yàsàwì	càsàu	càsàuwí	yàsàuwà	càsàu	yàsàwí	yàsàu	yàsàuwí	yàsàu	yàsàiyòwó
3P	sàsàì	càsà	càsàdònnnyí	sàsàná	càsà	sàsàì	sàsà	sàsànyí	sàsà	yàsàiwó
	<i>yá+ drink</i>									
1S	yákìn	cákò	cákànyí	yákàná	cákò	yákí	yákò	yákànyí	yákè	
2S	yámìn	cám	cám m m í	yám m m à	cám	yám mí	yám	yám mí	yám	yái
3S	sàì	cà	cànnnyí	sàná	cà	sàì	sà	sànyí	sà	
1P	yàiyèn	càiyè	càiyèndé	yàiyèná	càiyè	yàiyèi	yàiyè	yàiyèndé	yàiyè	yàiyè
2P	yàwì	càw	càuwí	yàuwà	càw	yàwí	yàw	yàuwí	yàw	yàiyòwó
3P	sàsàì	càsà	càshànnnyí	sàsàná	càsà	sàsàì	sàsà	sàsànyí	sàsà	yàiwó
	<i>bàf+ ripen</i>									
1S	bàfúkìn	càrwàfúkò	càrwàfúkànyí	bàfúkàná	kàrwàfúkò	bàfúkí	bàfúkò	bàfúkànyí	bàfúkè	
2S	bàfúmìn	càrwàfúm	càrwàfúm m m í	bàfúm m m à	kàrwàfúm	bàfúm mí	bàfúm	bàfúm mí	bàfúm	bàfé
3S	bàfìn	càrwàfò	càrwàfúnnyí	bàfùná	kàrwàfò	bàfí	bàfò	bàfúnyí	bàfù	
1P	bàfìyèn	càrwàfìyè	càrwàfìyèndé	bàfìyèná	kàrwàfìyè	bàfìyèi	bàfìyè	bàfìyèndé	bàfìyè	bàfìyè
2P	bàfúwì	càrwàfúw	càrwàfúwí	bàfúwà	kàrwàfúw	bàfúwí	bàfúw	bàfúwí	bàfúw	bàfìyòwó
3P	bàwàfìn	càshàrwàfò	càshàrwàfònnnyí	bàwàfùná	kàshàrwàfò	bàwàfí	bàwàfò	bàwàfúnyí	bàwàfù	bàfúiwó

	<i>imperfect</i>	<i>future</i>	<i>neg. fut.</i>	<i>perfect</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>VEC</i>	<i>NEC</i>	<i>neg. comp.</i>	<i>conj.</i>	<i>impera.</i>
	<i>lè+ go</i>									
1S	lèngìn	lèjókò	lèjàkènyí	lèngénà	lèwókò	lèngí	lèngò	lèngènyí	lèngè	
2S	lènémìn	lèjám	lèjàmmí	lènémà	lèyám	lènémí	lènèm	lènèmí	lènèm	lènè
3S	lèjín	lèjónò	lèjànnyí	lèzénà	lèwónò	lèjí	lèzò	lèzènyí	lèzè	
1P	lènyèn	lèjáiyè	lèjáiyèndé	lènyénà	lèyáiyè	lènyéi	lènyè	lènyèndé	lènyè	lènyè
2P	lènúwì	lèjàu	lèjàuwí	lènúwà	lèyàu	lènúwí	lènúw	lènúwí	lènúw	lènyówó
3P	lèzài	lèjàdà	lèjàdànnnyí	lèzánà	lèyádà	lèzái	lèzà	lèzànyí	lèzà	lènowó
	<i>fàl+ change</i>									
1S	fàlngìn	fàljókò	fàljákènyí	fàlngénà	fàlwókò	fàlngí	fàlngò	fàlngènyí	fàlngè	
2S	fàllémìn	fàljám	fàljámmí	fàllémà	fàlgám	fàllémí	fàllèm	fàllémí	fàllèm	fàllé
3S	fàljín	fàljónò	fàljánnyí	fàlzénà	fàlwónò	fàljí	fàlzò	fàlzènyí	fàlzè	
1P	fàlnyèn	fàljáiyè	fàljáiyèndé	fàlnyénà	fàlgáiyè	fàlnyéi	fàlnyè	fàlnyèndé	fàlnyè	fàlnyè
2P	fàllúwì	fàlján	fàljáuwí	fàllúwà	fàlgáu	fàllúwí	fàllúw	fàllúwí	fàllúw	fàlnyówó
3P	fàlzài	fàljádà	fàljánnyí	fàlzánà	fàlgádà	fàlzái	fàlzà	fàlzànyí	fàlzà	fàllówó
	<i>bák+ beat</i>									
1S	bànggìn	bákcòkò	bákcàkènyí	bànggénà	bákkòkò	bànggí	bànggò	bànggènyí	bànggè	
2S	bàngnèmìn	bákcám	bákcámmí	bànggémà	bákkám	bàngnámí	bàngnèm	bàngnèmí	bàngnèm	bàngné
3S	bákcín	bákcòñò	bákcànnnyí	báksénà	bákkòndò	bákcí	báksò	báksènyí	báksè	
1P	bànggnyèn	bákcáiyè	bákcáiyèndé	bàngnyénà	bákkáiyè	bàngnyéi	bàngnyè	bàngnyèndé	bàngnyè	bàngnyè
2P	bàngnúwì	bákcàn	bákcáuwí	bàngnúwà	bákkàn	bàngnúwí	bàngnúw	bàngnúwí	bàngnúw	bàngnyówó
3P	báksài	bákcàdà	bákcàdànnnyí	báksénà	bákkàdà	báksái	báksà	báksànyí	báksà	bàngnowó
	<i>lét+ sleep</i>									
1S	lènnngìn	létcòkò	létcàkènyí	lènnngénà	létkòkò	lènnngí	lènnngò	lènnngènyí	lènnngè	
2S	lènnnèmìn	létcám	létcámmí	lènnnèmà	létkám	lènnnèmí	lènnnèm	lènnnèmí	lènnnèm	lènné
3S	létcín	létcòndò	létcànnnyí	létcsénà	létkòndò	létcí	létcsò	létcsènyí	létcsè	
1P	lènnnyèn	létcáiyè	létcáiyèndé	lènnnyénà	létkàiyè	lènnnyéi	lènnnyè	lènnnyèndé	lènnnyè	lènnnyè
2P	lènnnúwì	létcàn	létcáuwí	lènnnúwà	létkàn	lènnnúwí	lènnnúw	lènnnúwí	lènnnúw	lènnnyówó
3P	létcsài	létcàdà	létcàdànnnyí	létcsénà	létkàdà	létcsái	létcsà	létcsànyí	létcsà	lènnnowó
	<i>tùs+ rest, spend time</i>									
1S	tùsèngìn	tùsshókò	tùsshákènyí	tùsèngénà	tùskókò	tùsèngí	tùsèngò	tùsèngènyí	tùsèngè	
2S	tùsènnèmìn	tùsshám	tùsshámmí	tùsènnèmà	tùskám	tùsènnèmí	tùsènnèm	tùsènnèmí	tùsènnèm	tùssèné
3S	tùsshín	tùsshónò	tùsshánnyí	tùssénà	tùskónò	tùsshí	tùssò	tùssènyí	tùssè	
1P	tùsànyèn	tùssháiyè	tùssháiyèndé	tùsànyénà	tùskáiyè	tùsànyéi	tùsànyè	tùsànyèndé	tùsànyè	tùsànyè
2P	tùsènnúwì	tùssháu	tùssháuwí	tùsènnúwà	tùskáu	tùsènnúwí	tùsènnúw	tùsènnúwí	tùsènnúw	tùsànyówó
3P	tùssài	tùsshádà	tùsshádànnnyí	tùssánà	tùskádà	tùssái	tùssà	tùssànyí	tùssà	tùssènowó

subj /obj	imperfect	past/ future	VEC
	<i>kór+ ask (cl 1)</i>		
1S/2S	nzúwórèkìn	njúwórèkò	nzúwórèkí.
1S/2P	nzówórèkìn	njúwórèkò	nzówórèkí
2S/1S	súwórèmìn	shúwórèm	súwórèmí
2S/1P	sówórèmìn	shówórèm	sówórèmí
3S/1S	súwórìn	shúwórò	súwórí
3S/2S	nzúwórìn	njúwórò	nzúwórí
3S/1P	sówórìn	shówórò	sówórí
3S/2P	nzówórìn	njúwórò	nzówórí
1P/2S	nzúwóriyèn	njúwóriyè	nzúwóriyéi.
1P/2P	nzówóriyèn	njúwóriyè	nzówóriyéi
2P/1S	súwórùwì	shúwúrùw	súwórúwí
2P/1P	sówórùwì	shówórùw	sówórúwí
3P/1S	sówórìn	shówórò	sówórí
3P/2S	nzówórìn	njúwórò	nzówórí
3P/1P	sówórìn	shówórò	sówórí
3P/2P	nzówórìn	njúwórò	nzówórí
	<i>tà+ grab, seize (cl 1)</i>		
1S/2S	nzétákìn	njítákò	nzétákí
1S/2P	nzátákìn	njíatakò	nzátákí
2S/1S	sétámìn	shítàm	sétámí
2S/1P	sátámìn	shátàm	sátámí
3S/1S	sétài	shítà	sétái
3S/2S	nzétài	njítà	nzétái
3S/1P	sétài	shátà	sétái
3S/2P	nzátài	njítà	nzátái
1P/2S	nzétàiyèn	njítàiyè	nzétàiyéi.
1P/2P	nzátàiyèn	njítàiyè	nzátàiyéi.
2P/1S	sétáwì	shítàw	sétáwí
2P/1P	sátáwì	shátàw	sátáwí
3P/1S	sétài	shátà	sétái
3P/2S	nzátài	njítà	nzátái
3P/1P	sétài	shátà	sétái
3P/2P	nzátài	njítà	nzátái

imperfect	past/ future	VEC
<i>bák+ beat, hit (cl 2)</i>		
bāngnzèkìn	bānggòkò	bāngnzékí
bāngnzàkìn	bānggàdàkò	bāngnzákí
bāksèmìn	bākkàm	bāksémí
bāksàmìn	bākkàdàm	bāksámí
bāksìn	bākkònò	bāksí
bāngnjìn	bānggònò	bāngnjí
bāksài	bākkàdà	bāksái
bāngnzài	bānggàdà	bāngnzái
bāngnjìyèn	bānggàiyè	bāngnjíyèi
bāngnzàiyèn	bānggàiyè	bāngnzàiyèi
bāksùwì	bākkàw	bāksúwí
bāksàwì	bākkàdàw	bāksáwí
bāksài	bākkàdà	bāksái
bāngnzài	bānggàdà	bāngnzái
bāksài	bākkàdà	bāksái
bāngnzài	bānggàdà	bāngnzái
<i>lé+ touch (cl 2)</i>		
lènzèkìn	lèngòkò	lènzékí
lènzàkìn	lèngàdàkò	lènzákí
lèsèmìn	lèskàm	lèsémí
lèsàmìn	lèskàdàm	lèsámí
lèshìn	lèskònò	lèshí
lènjìn	lèngònò	lènjí
lèsài	lèskàdà	lèsái
lènzài	lèngàdà	lènzái
lènjèn	lèngàiyè	lènjéi
lènzàiyèn	lèngàiyè	lènzàiyèi
lèsùwì	lèskàw	lèsúwí
lèsàwì	lèskàdàw	lèsáwí
lèsài	lèskàdà	lèsái
lènzài	lèngàdà	lènzái
lèsài	lèskàdà	lèsái
lènzài	lèngàdà	lènzái

Appendix 4: Aspect Paradigms of Class 1/2 Verbs with Affixed Objects

On the basis of the three aspect paradigms presented here together with all of the aspect paradigms presented in appendix 3, it will be possible for the reader to construct these affixed object paradigms for those verb aspects not presented here.

	<i>imperfect</i>	<i>conjunctive</i>	<i>past/ future</i>	<i>perfect</i>	<i>VEC</i>	<i>NEC</i>
	<i>yirdí+ make do (cl 1)</i>					
1S	yirdəkìn	yirdəkè	cirdəkò	yirdəkónà	yirdəkí	yirdəkò
2S	yirdəmìn	yirdəm	cirdəm	yirdəmmà	yirdəmí	yirdəm
3S	sərdín	sərdə	sə/cirdò	sərdónà	sərdí	sərdò
1P	yirdiyèn	yirdiyè	cirdè	yirdiyénà	yirdiyéí	yirdiyè
2P	yirúwì	yirdúw	cirdúw	yirdúwà	yirdúwí	yirdúw
3P	sərdín	sərdé	cərdò	sərdónà	sərdí	sərdò
	<i>yikkáli+ make learn, teach (cl 1)</i>					
1S	yikkəlìkìn	yikkəlìkè	cìkkəlìkò	yikkəlìkónà	yikkəlìkí	yikkəlìkò
2S	yikkəlìmìn	yikkəlìm	cìkkəlìm	yikkəlìmmà	yikkəlìmí	yikkəlìm
3S	səkkəlìn	səkkəlè	sə/cìkkəlò	səkkəlínà	səkkəlí	səkkəlò
1P	yikkəlìyèn	yikkəlìyè	cìkkəlìyè	yikkəlìyénà	yikkəlìyéí	yikkəlìyè
2P	yikkəlùwì	yikkəlùw	cìkkəlùw	yikkəlùwà	yikkəlùwí	yikkəlùw
3P	səkkəlìn	səkkəlè	s/cəkkəlò	səkkəlínà	səkkəlí	səkkəlò
	<i>bák+ beat in, pound into (cl 2)</i>					
1S	bákkəkìn	bákkəkè	bákcìwòkò	bákkəkónà	bákkəkí	bákkəkò
2S	bákkəmìn	bákkəm	bákcìyàm	bákkəmmà	bákkəmí	bákkəm
3S	báksəgìn	báksəgè	bákcìwò	báksəgónà	báksəgí	báksùwò
1P	bákkəiyèn	bákkəiyè	bákcìgəiyè	bákkəiyénà	bákkəiyéí	bákkəiyè
2P	bákkùwì	bákkùw	bákcìwùw	bákkùwà	bákkùwí	bákkùw
3P	báksàài	báksàà	bákcàà	báksəánà	báksàái	báksàà
	<i>wú+ watch out for, expect (cl 2)</i>					
1S	wúgəkìn	wúgəkè	wújìwòkò	wúgəkónà	wúgəkí	wúgəkò
2S	wúgəmìn	wúgəm	wújìyàm	wúgəmmà	wúgəmí	wúgəm
3S	wúzəgìn	wúzəgè	wújìwò	wúzəgónà	wúzəgí	wúzùwò
1P	wúgəiyèn	wúgəiyè	wújìgəiyè	wúgəiyénà	wúgəiyéí	wúgəiyè
2P	wúwùwì	wúwùw	wújìwùw	wúwùwà	wúwùwí	wúwùw
3P	wúzáài	wúzáà	wújáà	wúzáánà	wúzáái	wúzáà

	<i>imperfect</i>	<i>conjunctive past</i>	<i>future</i>	<i>perfect</i>	<i>VEC</i>	
	<i>tà+ be grabbed, grab o.s. (cl 1)</i>					
1S	tátàkìn	tétàkè	kátétàkò	tátétàkò	tétàkèná	tétàkí
2S	tátàmìn	tétàm	kátétàm	tátétàm	tétàmmà	tétà mí
3S	tétài	tétà	kátétà	tátétà	tétàná	tétài
1P	tétáyíyèn	tétáyíyè	kátétáyíyè	tátétáyíyè	tétáyíyèná	tétáyíyéi
2P	tétáwì	tétàw	kátétàw	tátétàw	tétàwà	tétàwí
3P	tátài	tátà	kátàà	tátétà	tátàná	tátài
	<i>rú+ be seen, see o.s., see one another (cl 1)</i>					
1S	túrúkìn	túrúkè	kátúrúkò	tátúrúkò	túrúkèná	túrúkí
2S	túrúmìn	túrúm	kátúrúm	tátúrúm	túrúmmà	túrú mí
3S	túrìn	túrù	kátúrù	tátúrù	túrúnà	túrì
1P	túrùiyèn	túrùiyè	kátúrùiyè	tátúrùiyè	túrùiyèná	túrùiyéi
2P	túrúwì	túrúw	kátúrúw	tátúrúw	túrúwà	túrúwí
3P	tórìn	tórù	kátórù	tátúrù	tórúnà	tórí
	<i>bák+ beat o.s., hit o.s., be beaten, be hit (cl 2)</i>					
1S	báktèkìn	báktèkè	bákkàtèkò	báktàtèkò	báktèkèná	báktèkí
2S	báktèmìn	báktèm	bákkàtèm	báktàtèm	báktèmmà	báktè mí
3S	báktìn	báktè	bákkàtè	báktàtè	báktèná	báktì
1P	báktíyèn	báktíyè	bákkàtíyè	báktàtíyè	báktíyèná	báktíyéi
2P	báktúwì	báktúw	bákkàtúw	báktàtúw	báktúwà	báktúwí
3P	báktài	báktà	bákkàtà	báktàtà	báktàná	báktài
	<i>wú+ look at o.s., be looked at (cl 2)</i>					
1S	wútèkìn	wútèkè	wúwàtèkò	wútàtèkò	wútèkèná	wútèkí
2S	wútèmìn	wútèm	wúwà	wútàtèm	wútèmmà	wútè mí
3S	wútìn	wútè	wúwàtè	wútàtè	wútèná	wútì
1P	wútíyèn	wútíyè	wúwàtíyè	wútàtíyè	wútíyèná	wútíyéi
2P	wútúwì	wútúw	wúwàtúw	wútàtúw	wútúwà	wútúwí
3P	wútài	wútà	wúwàtà	wútàtà	wútàná	wútài

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

báa	of belching
bál	of rain lying in puddles
bám	of large house, fat person sitting idly
bándál	of large quantity of standing water
báng	of sudden opening of something (= béráng)
bár	of trembling of body/ of loud belch
bâyàbâyà	of time just before dawn
bék, búk	of hitting e.g. with cane
béktér	of falling down boom
bél	of water gushing out
béljém	of something completely filled with water (= géljém); of large object splashing into water (= géljém)
bém	of beating a drum; of swollen stomach
béng	of short heavy person
bér	of throwing carelessly
bérál	of falling down on hard surface
béráng	see báng
bérdék	of scattered piled quantities
bérséb	of fruit fallen around fruit tree
bérsét	of falling down simultaneously; of large quantity of objects spread on ground; of animals lying all around
bérsék	of rash breaking out on body
bét	of something falling suddenly from above (= bésék)
bésék	see bét
bím	see bém
bók	of something dropping into a container
bókókór	of short solid woman
bókúkúl	of small head
bóngóngól	of large head
búm	of loud shot-like sound
búsàà, búsàsàà	of one having much hair in disarray
búu	of sudden departure, leavetaking
búzúù	of one with too much hair
cácá	of talking noisily
cám	of someone appearing suddenly
cámbar	of something filled completely
cámcam/ comcom	of something sour
cáp	of brisk and deliberate walking; of abrupt departure on animal or vehicle; of splashing water on one's face
cár	of tearing or ripping e.g. cloth (= pár, píyár)
cárák	of cleanliness after washing; bathing (= cǎral, sǎrál)
cǎrál	see cǎrák
cát	of cutting with a knife (= kát)
cǎucǎu	of small thin person
cés	of sand spilled or lying around in piles; of small hard objects (e.g. cowrie shells) when piled or counted
cígǎlá	of abundance of possessions
cílám	of sad expression on one's face
cílang	of very clean water
cíllíwú, cíllíwú	of very small amount
cíp	of exact set of ten objects, math term for "set"; of being fully prepared; of group sitting down simultaneously
cís	of shortness of a person; of group of small objects
cít	of color red (= fít)
cíyét	of smallness
cói	of erectness of something standing straight up (= káng, zóiy)
cól	of smallness of buttocks
cóm	of something very sour
cóncón	of something sharp, pointed

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

- cór of sound of strong direct stream of liquid
 cōcōrōt, cōrōt, cōt of something done totally, completely, definitively
 cú(u) of rain coming down in buckets
 cūl of seeing something with one's own eyes (= sūl)
 cūr see cīp
 cūrúp see cīp
 cūrús of objects scattered or spread out
 cūs' of small change e.g. shillings
 cúwāl of something that flashes in the eyes
 dāb of steady deliberate walking; of something sticky/sticking
 dām of abruptly putting something down; of something known very well
 dēl of place very near, job nearly finished
 dēgsā, dēksā of unkempt look of someone with hair too long
 dēm of forceful deliberate walking; of short and unattractive person
 dēmsāsā of large fully branched tree
 dēngās of a woman when seated
 dēngēngér of a large head
 dēp of seizing or grabbing something abruptly
 dērāk of dull non-descript taste, neither sweet nor sour, bland
 dēram of shooting of a gun
 dērzāk of abundance of e.g. mangoes growing in clusters; of rash suddenly breaking out
 dēs dēs dark-coloured, brownish (of cloth)
 dīr of an abandoned corpse
 dōgdōg of someone/something small and compact (= dūdūk, dūgdūg)
 dūdūk see dōgdōg
 dūgdūg see dōgdōg
- fāa liquid gushing out continuously or in single burst
 fādāu of something very light in weight
 fāi of just hearing recent news
 fālāi of sudden uncovering or opening wide
 fām of proceeding fumblingly
 fāngā of gait of a sick person
 fāngāu of ears that stick out
 fār of sudden flowing of tears
 fārāi of very middle of the flight
 fārāk of something wide open; of splitting open wide
 fārāu of waking up suddenly; of distinctness of taste of e.g. pepper in food (= mārān)
 fāsāk of very wealthy person
 fātáfátá of action of scurrying around
 fáták of rock/stone surprisingly light in weight
 fāw of tearing one's skin in a full; of blowing away of e.g. hut roof by strong wind (= píáú)
- fēt of great length of something/someone
 fēdēk of suddenly swallowing something; of total blindness of someone
 fēdēm of totally forgetting something
 fēng of rapid or sudden cutting action
 fēngā, fēngāngā of something big and unwieldy; of someone approaching slowly and deliberately.
 fēr, fērēt of abrupt departure of e.g. thief; of abrupt take-off into flight (= fīú)
 fērāt of movement straight ahead
 fērēm of looking everywhere for something lost
 fīlō of things scattered all over

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

fír, fírít	of spinning e.g. a top with one's fingers; of farting/breaking wind
fírát	of sudden pulling out or unsheathing (=fíyát)
fírót	of slow, steady pulling out or unsheathing
físók	of abrupt departure from embarrassing or shameful situation
fít	of coldness of something; of dearness of price; see cí
fíí fítí	of running or scurrying around
fíu	see fár, fárát
fíyát	see fírát
fíyáu	of sudden opening or uncovering
fói	of a wide open hole
fók	of something very white (= pók); of hatching of an egg
fóng	of something left wide open; of stepping on something
fóróró	of something very far away
fòròs	of off color of red
fòsòsò	of off color, of blue
fót	of surprising lightness of something; of sudden running away
ful	of pleasant warmth of something
fúlúlú	of spilling liquid
fúrus	of hole broken in e.g. clay jar
fúu	of steady falling of rain (= kúu); of blowing of wind
gáa	of strong unpleasant odor
gájáa	of sudden opening of door or lid
gáják	of suddenly thinking of e.g. an idea; of old or important person seated
gájáp	of old person seated
gák	of idea suddenly entering one's mind (= gás)
gáljám	of something chock full of water
gám	of something standing perfectly still
gánjál	of too much food being left over
gàráng	of loosely woven basket
gédék	of something extremely heavy
gájáb; gájáb	of age of very old man
gájém	see báljém
gájíb	of an old man
gèlàng	of dangling appearance of something loosely attached
géljém	see báljém
gém	of one's silence when tolerating something disagreeable
gémgém	of short and stout person.
gènáas	of gait of someone with slight limp
géral	of lying down to rest comfortably
gérép	of sudden taking something from someone; of falling down
gás	see gák
gèzèzèp	of bulkiness of oversized clothing
gíbgíb	of shortness of someone's neck
gíp	of shortness of a person
gírírí	of great length of something
gòrsòlè	huge, etc.
gúr	of looking or staring/glaring
gúyáa	of strong unpleasant odor; of large quantity of water
háí	of being totally relaxed
hák	of similarity of nearly identical people/things
hár	of hottest part of hot season (= háu, háyír)
háráu	of light blue color (= sáráu)
háu	see hár
háyír	see hár

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

jám	of something happening in a little while
jáwúlín	of e.g. pile of things in chaotic state of disarray
jém	of something very big
jíi	of largeness of open space, spread out village, etc.
jít	of unloading or putting down a heavy load
jú	of coins, small change
júgúdém	of unkept uncut hair
kádák	of gait of someone walking in midday heat; of child's running gait
kálang	of uncontrolled gait of e.g. a drunk
káng	see cói
kányáu	of emaciated thin state of the body
káp	of exactness of the fit of e.g. shoes; of sudden grabbing or catching something (= ráp); of action of mounting a steed
kás	of sudden breaking or being cut in two
kát	see cāt
kék	of being full to the top
kél	of catching or grabbing with a snap
kéng	of binding or tying very tightly
kér	of something very hard/solid/immovable
kés	of shortness of a person
kédák	of stepping on a pile of slimy material
kédák	of being completely silent
kéléb	of going under water; of complete penetration or immersion i.e. going all the way in
kám	of silent tolerant resignation to a bad situation; of being silent
kémbél	of girth of very fat person
kémét	of clenching e.g. fists to summon up courage before acting
kénék	of fully loaded donkey
kép	of people etc. lying or huddling close together in crowded space; of pouring out a foamy liquid
kérék	of bulkiness of two-sided load on pack animal
kérém	of meanderings of someone who seems to be everywhere; of falling down motion
kérép	of closing/locking/shutting very tightly
kérél	of two things/people coming close together or being juxtaposed; of exactness of number two
kérés	of chewing something crunchy
késhìshì	of fatness of very heavy person
két	of doing something directly without hesitation or doubt
kímét, kímít	of e.g. fist when tightly clenched
kíyáu	of chewing something crunchy e.g. groundnuts
kók	of pecking
kól	of sharp rapping with the knuckles
kóng	of blatant appearance of something stuck in that protrudes awkwardly; of something sticking out all alone (= kúlóng)
kórsòlè	of something big, astonishingly huge
kórtóng,	of shortness of clothes that don't fit on limbs of body
kúdíkúdí	of running or scurrying around
kújáng, kújéng	of scattering things thrown out
kújók	of something/someone very small
kúlám	of ceaseless overeating (= kúnýám)
kúlét	of lightly touching someone
kúlít	of being perfectly still, motionless
kúlóng	see kóng

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

kúndél	of extreme happiness/ contentment
kúu	see fúu
kúndúk	of someone short and stout
kúnyám	see kúlám
kúnyéi	of sudden falling to the ground in death e.g. a body after being shot (= nyéi, nyéng)
kúrás	of action of slaughtering
kúrók	of falling down
kúzók	see kújók
kwát	of quick grabbing action; of rapid cutting action
kwítíkwítí	of running or scurrying around
kyák	of being completely full
kyéng	of a stocky person
lái	of something that has cooled off e.g. food that is ready to eat
lát	of lying flat on one's stomach (= lít)
láu	of ability to run fast; of steady progress forward
láyátíb	of someone deathly ill
lém	of something/someone completely hidden
lép	of very early morning; of something very soft
lérém	of weak and listless feeling
lés	of weak feeling without energy
língét	of weak hungry feeling
lít	see lát
líulíu	of extreme sharpness of a blade
líwét	see língét
lói	of something pointed or moving upwards
lóilói	of a child running
lóng	of being totally alone, by oneself; emphasizes number one
lòsòk	of something loosely tied with slack
lúngói	of something crooked or zigzagging
lúwúlúwút	of something slimy e.g. okra sauce
máráu	see fárau
máu	of sour taste
mbáng	of abrupt stabbing with a knife
mbéng	of tightly bound parcel, etc.; of a clumsy awkward person (= mbúm)
mbéling	of darting motion of usu. an insect off and away
mbérék, mэрék	of uprooting action
mbói, mból	of brightness of sunlight
mbót	of delivery or birth of offspring by mother
mbúlók	of action of something popping out suddenly
mbúm	of clumsy, unintelligent person (= mbéng)
médék	of keeping perfectly silent (= mít); of sudden swallowing
mèlát	of licking action
mélét	of action of completely filling/blocking/stuffing
mэр	of an angry look on someone's face
mэрái	of sitting comfortably at ease
mét	of sudden action of insertion or penetration (= nzémét, sémét)
mí	of sound of dragging something on the ground
míl	of tinniness of something; of pinching with the fingers
mít	see médék
míu	of goodness/sweetness of food
mízók	of motion of getting up suddenly
mók	of splitting headache, throbbing pain

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

mórók	see mízók
múk	of action of hitting, striking a blow
múrók	of action of getting up abruptly
mút	of something very far/distant; of suddenly dying
ndáksáng	of bitterness of something edible
ndēm	of an abandoned heap or pile of things
ndēng	of very stuffed up nose
ndēt	of abrupt clean cutting action
ndók	of something nice and round
ngáng	of something standing erect/upright/sticking up
ngēng	of something short, stout but not too heavy
ngóng	of something very bad/unpleasant/sad
ngúl	of something/someone hidden behind something
njáng	of a number or quantity to mean "just/only" (= njéng)
njígít	of slicing e.g. onions
njívét	of cutting something into small pieces
njíyít	of smallness of e.g. a piece of kola
njók	of something very small in size
nyéi, nýng	of great quantity; see kúnyéi
nyét	of being totally dead
nzém	of dying of an animal (= tēm)
nzémét	see mēt
nzén	of abundance of something left over
nzéng	of an unfriendly scowling person
nzún	of strong unpleasant smell
pár	see cār
pásák	of objects all spread out
pēm	of dull thudding noise
pénás	of seated group on wide clean comfortable sandy space
pēr, pērét	of hastened departure of a thief
pérék	of sound of breaking wind/farting
pēt, pēták	of intensity of color black
píáu	see fāv
píi	of sound of breaking wind/farting
pít	of something very cool/cold
píyár	see cār
pók	see fók
rák	of something medium-sized, just right in size
rál	of sound of objects clanging together
ráp	see káp
ráv	of things sticking up straight e.g. donkey's ears
réng	of something fully stuffed or swollen
rēb	of something/someone lying flat on the ground
rēmār, rēmés	of total destruction effected by a fire
rēmēt	of eyes when tightly closed
rēmṛēm	of rapid chewing action; of someone short and stout
rús	of round objects lying around, e.g. eggs
sáa	of breeze blowing coolly
sák	of movement straight ahead
sálák	of something that is the very first/last
sáláp	of crying or sobbing
sár	of things/people lined up in a straight line

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

sár	of something very hard
sárái	of newness of something
sáráu	see háráu
séb	of collective simultaneous action
ség	of crying or sobbing
sélái	of state of well being
sélák	of quickly and completely undressing
sélít	of quick entrance of e.g. squirrel into its hole
sémbák	of gait of a fat person
sémbàmbàm	of large fleshy buttocks
sémét	see mèt
sén	of swallowing action
sér	of state of good health; of being dry/thin/emaciated
sérák	of movement straight ahead
sérál	see cárák
sérám	of abrupt entrance into e.g. one's home
shál	of nothingness
sháng	of total absence or non/appearance of e.g. someone expected
síliwú	of something that has completely cooled off
súl	of complete emptiness; of being poor or empty-handed; see cúl
súr	of smallness of group of objects; of spilling of a liquid; of exactness of number of one's children
tái	of going all out to do something
tánáná	of late afternoon pre-dusk period
táp	of clapping hands
tám	of abruptly putting something down
tárái	of getting ready, gathering one's wits to act (= tǎrái)
tás	of something placed or put down
táshák	of things broken and spread around in disarray
ték	of short person
tékkér	of short person
tél	of extreme whiteness of something
téǵt	of something surprisingly heavy for its size (= túwút)
tól	of being very dusty
tólép	of someone very drunk
tólés	of spending the entire day doing something
tólin	of gushing out of smoke
tóm	see nzém
tómén	of dusty or foggy appearance of atmosphere
tóndés	of shortness of a person
tóng	of short ugly appearance
tóngés	of gait of a short person
tór	of rapidly drinking alot of a liquid
tórái	see tárái
tórám	of action of person walking confidently, purposefully
tórèmtòrèm	of early morning period from 3-5 a.m.
tórsém	of quantity/size/completeness of pile or collection of things
tórst	of greenness/rauness/wetness of something
tés	of nearness
tésék	of plant having heavily clustered fruit
tíngís	of very short person
tínyí	of immediate action by two or more people
tís	of shortness
tíu	of sound of a fart

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

tók	of setting aside/putting down/forgetting something
tókú	of immediate action by two or more people
túr	of a direct non-stop route
tútútú	of screaming or crying
túwút	see tǝǝt
•	
wáa	of total silence of untalkative person
wái	of recentness or soemness
wál	of slaughtering of an animal; of flashing of lightning
wáng	of wide open state of a door; of an area totally void of people
wáp	of sudden standing up motion
warái	of unexpected dawning of a new day.
warás	of being awake throughout the night
wásák	see pásák
wáwá	of loudness of crying or screaming
wór	of the sound of a gust of wind
wúl	of brightness of a light flashing on
wów	of dog barking
wúlák	of flashing or shining light
wúrál	of sun shining brightly; of cleanness of washed clothing
wúrjãwúrjã	of continuous activity and movement, e.g. of a lizard
wúsúl	of being pure or 100% e.g. Kanuri
wú, wúwú	of hyena's howling
yáng	of perplexed, austere, staring look
yápsásá	of pitiful appearance of a person
yáwáwá	of an ugly unpleasant person
yír	of blazing heat of the sun
zái	of having just arrived
zál	of something standing straight and erect
zámzám	of light drizzle, of rain that passes quickly
zát	of lying down flat, close to ground
zǝbzǝb	just enough, just right
zǝl	of something popping or jumping out suddenly
zém	of swelling of e.g. a wound
zǝwǝt	of spending the entire day doing something
zói	see cǝi
zól	of deliberate stalking gait; of something jutting or sticking up
zúr	of group that is uniquely female
zúu	of movement or sudden departure of large group of animals/people

INDEX

- +a+ (plural morpheme): 11-12, 134.
- additive adjunct yé: as noun phrase status marker 246-7;
as coordinating conjunction 313-4.
- adjectives: adjectival noun 36-7; as modifiers of head noun 189, 190-2, 195-6.
- adverb/s: adverbial nouns 35, 37.
- adverbial adjunct dūwō: as subordinator 305-8; functions of 303-8; introduced for role in concessive clauses 283; use in marking a state and setting a scene 304-5; use in marking an objection or contradiction 305; use in marking conjuncts in a narrative context 304; used to set off ant NP (as NP status marker) 304.
- adverbial phrases and clauses: as conjuncts and disjuncts to link sentences and clauses 265-7; associative-subordinated verb emphasis completive type compared to structure of noun phrase 298; headed by k̄awū 274-9; of time and duration 280; role of postpositions in 257-264; subordinated by adverbial adjunct dūwō 305-8; subordinated by the associative postposition 289-302; suggested relation of universal concessive-conditional type to temporal type of 287-8; temporal and locative type of 269-81, 296-8.
- agent postposition +yè: 215-6, 250.
- Arabic: class 2 verb roots from 110-1; class 2 verb roots with corresponding nominals from 73; nouns borrowed from 42-3.
- +ārām *see* nominalizing suffixes.
- aspect (of finite verb form) *see* class 1 verb/s; *see* class 2 verb/s; *see* finite verb form/s.
- associative postposition: as a coordinating conjunction 311-3; as a nonverbal predicate expressing ownership and possession 171; as a nonverbal predicate of existence 169-71; as a noun phrase status marker 247-8; as marker of direct object function 211-6; in conjoined noun phrases 201; in expressing directions 201-2; in modifying phrase 199-202; in phrases of counting and measuring 200; in postpositional phrase as nonverbal predicate 176; in predicates of presentation 168; in *someone else* phrases 201; in subordination of adverbial clauses 289-302; in subordination of imperfect verb aspect 291-3; in subordination of nonaspect verbal ḡenyí 290; in subordination of nonverbal clauses 290; in subordination of noun emphasis completive 302; in subordination of past 298-302; in subordination of perfect and negative completive verb aspects 293-4; in subordination of temporal adverbial clauses 272-4; in subordination of verb emphasis completive 294-8; role of as subordinator related to role of as NP status marker 289; role of in NP modifier formation related to role of as subordinator 298; suggested relation between topicalizing and conditional uses of 248; suggested role of in derivation of certain abstract forms 65-6; spelling of as compared to plural suffix 43, 65; within class 2 verb roots 109-10; phonology of 169.
- bā/bāwō: 171-2; as formative of negative imperfect verb aspect 115-7.
- +bè *see* genitive postposition +bè.
- class 1 verb/s: *see* finite verb form/s; *see* verbal noun/s; applied (II) derived form of 139-40; aspect paradigms of, appendix 3 337-9; causative (IV) derived form of 145-6; conjunctive of 128-9; future aspect of 117; groups of 97-101; (negative) imperfect aspect of 115; imperative/subjunctive of 130; introduced 90, 95-7; list of, appendix 1 327-8; morphemes in derived verb form of 133-4; negative future aspect of 119; negative imperative/subjunctive of 131; nonfinite forms of 157-9; object affixes applied to 136-7; passive-reflexive (III)

- (class 1 verb/s, cont.) derived form of 145-6; past of 122-3; perfect aspect of 120-1; negative completive of 127; noun emphasis completive of 126; reduplicated-intensive (V) derived form of 152-3; verb emphasis completive of 125.
- class 2. verb/s: *see* finite verb form/s; *see* verbal noun/s; applied (II) derived form of 140; aspect paradigms of, appendix 3 339-40; causative (IV) derived form of 150-2; conjunctive of 128-9; defective in applied (II) derived form 143; future aspect of 118; groups of 104-11; introduced 90, 95-7; (negative) imperfect aspect of 116; imperative/subjunctive of 130; list of, appendix 2 329-36; morphemes in derived verb form of 133-4; negative completive of 127; negative future aspect of 119; negative imperative/subjunctive of 130; nonderived reduplicated forms of 153-4; nonfinite forms of 160-3; noun emphasis completive of 126; object affixes applied to 137-8; passive-reflexive (III) derived form of 145-6; past of 123-4; perfect aspect of 120-1; past participle of 93, 163, 197; reduplicated-intensive (V) derived form of 152-3; roots of as formatives of derived nominals 71-3; roots of as formatives of k-prefixed nominals 75, 78-9; suggested origins of 101-4; tone of roots of 63-4; verb emphasis completive of 125.
- cleft NP construction: 179-80, 239-40, 249-54; compared to comparative construction 249; person agreement in 251.
- collective plural marker +sò: 195; as coordinate conjunction 311, 313; as determiner element 208.
- comparative sentences: 179-83; nonverbal 179-82; verbal 183.
- conditional (adverbial) clauses: 289-302.
- consonant/s: assimilation of 21; bilabial 17; clusters 16; inventory of phonemes 17; palatal and palatalized 18-9; sonorant 15; velar 19-21; weakening of 18-21.
- coordinating conjunctions 311-15.
- +d+ (plural morpheme): 11-2.
- demonstratives: anaphoric use of as pronouns 50-1; as determiners 207; as pronouns 49-50.
- derived verb form/s: aspect paradigms of class 1/2 in applied (II), appendix 5 343; aspect paradigms of class 1/2 in passive-reflexive (III), appendix 6 345; aspect paradigms of class 1/2 with affixed objects, appendix 4 341; applied (II) 139-45; causative (IV) 148-52; introduced 133; morpheme positions in 133-4; passive-reflexive (III) 145-8; reduplicated-intensive (V) 152-3; with affixed objects 134-9; combinations of 154-5.
- determiner element +dǎ: 205, 207; applied to independent personal pronouns 46-7; applied to possessive pronouns 48-9; finite and nonfinite nominal clauses marked by 233-5; in associative-subordinated nonverbal clauses 291; in associative-subordinated verbal clauses 292-4; in the noun phrase 189-93, 218-220; in status marking of the noun phrase 240-2.
- determiners of the noun phrase: 205-9; collective plural marker +sò as 208; demonstratives as 207; +dǎ as 207, 218-220; in NP status marking 240-2; in the complex NP 218-220; láá as 205-6, 218.
- +dǎ *see* determiner element +dǎ.
- dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu: 4-6; map of 5.
- direct object NP: 211-6.
- directional postposition +mbèn: 263-4.
- dùwō *see* adverbial adjunct dùwō.
- emphatic particle/marker : applied to personal pronouns 46; applied to possessive pronouns 48-9; as a NP status marker 243-5; as formative of negative indefinite pronouns 52; in associative-subordinated past clauses 302; in associative-subordinated verb emphasis completive clauses 297; in cleft NP construction 249 ff.; in concessive adverbial clauses 283, 285-6; range of uses 243-4.

- English: class 2 verb roots from 111.
 finite verb form/s: *see* derived verb form/s; aspect of in predicate of cleft NP construction 250-1; aspect of in verbal relative clause 217-8; aspect paradigms of, appendix 3 337-40; aspects of introduced 92, 113; basic and derived 91-2, 113; conjunctive of 128-9, 301, 321-4; in formation of compound nominals 69; in nominal clauses 231-8; in the sentence 89; completive aspects of 120-8; incomplete aspects of 115-20; introduction to typology of 9-10, 89; (negative) imperfect 115-7; (negative) imperfect subordinated by associative postposition 291-3; inventory of aspects of 114; imperative/subjunctive 129-31; negative completive 127-8; negative future and future 117-120; negative imperative/subjunctive 131; negative completive subordinated by the associative postposition 293-4; non-aspects 128-31; morphemes contained in 11-2, 91, 113-5; noun emphasis completive 126-7; noun emphasis completive subordinated by associative postposition 302; perfect 120-2; perfect subordinated by associative postposition 293-4; past 122-5; past subordinated by associative postposition 298-302; syntax and semantics of conjunctive form 321-5; verb emphasis completive 122-5; verb emphasis completive subordinated by associative postposition 294-8; verb emphasis completive in derived nominals 71; with object affixes 46, 92, 134-9.
- formative affixes *see* k-prefixation; *see* n+ abstract nominal prefix; *see* +s+ / +z+ / +sə+ / +zə+.
- gǎi: 202.
- generic suffix +só *see* +só.
- genitive postposition +bè: in expressing family relationships 198-9; in expressions of quantity 199; in modifying postpositional phrases 190, 197-9.
- gènyí: 126, 178, 240, 245, 249, 300; subordination of by associative postposition 290, 300.
- hár/háttá *see* prepositions.
- Hausa: class 2 verb roots from 111.
- ideophones *see* specific adverbs.
- indefinite/concessive suffix yàyé *see* yàyé.
- indefinite determiner láá: 205-6.
- indirect postposition +rò: as formative of manner adverbs 261-2; as subordinator of purpose and reason clauses 262-3; in making comparisons 179-82; in nominal clause constructions 229, 230-1, 231-3; in nonverbal predicates 177-8; in postpositional phrases in cleft NP constructions 252; in temporal and locative adverbial clauses, etc. 269, 274-9; introduction to and simple uses of 259-60.
- interrogative pronouns: 51-2; as formatives of indefinite pronouns 52-3; interrogative adverbs 51-2.
- k-prefixation: applied to class 1 verb roots 77-8; applied to class 2 verb roots 78-9; applied to lexical nouns, etc. 79-80; applied to nouns borrowed from Arabic 42, 80; and the class 1 verbal noun 27; in formation of independent possessive pronouns 76; in formation of ordinal numbers 76-7; introduction to 27-8, 75; of nominals with Tubu cognates 80-1; suggested relation to abstract nominal prefix kèr+ 55; within class 2 verb roots 106-7.
- Kanembu: 3-6.
- kàwú *see* adverbial phrases and clauses.
- kèr+ *see* nominalizing affixes.
- láá *see* indefinite determiner láá.
- +(lâ+)n *see* locative/means/instrument postposition +(lâ+)n.
- lexicon: 10,23.
- locative/means/instrument postposition +(lâ+)n: as an adverbial clause

- subordinator 259; forms and simple uses of 257-9; in marking nonfinite nominal clauses 231; in modifying phrases 199; in nonverbal predicates 176-7; in role as coordinating conjunction 313; role of in making comparisons 182.
- +ma *see* nominalizing affixes.
- +má *see* emphatic particle/marker +ma.
- mbéjǐ/mbézái: 168-9.
- +mbèn *see* directional postposition +mbèn.
- +mì *see* nominalizing affixes.
- n+ abstract nominal prefix: *see* ngin root n. as a lexical formative 82; introduced as historical word formative 11, 75, 81; relation to 55, 81; use and examples 81; within in class 2 verb roots 106.
- names: selection of 40-2; of ethnic groups and languages 64.
- narrative context: 124, 294-5, 300-2, 304-5, 307-8.
- negative: of existence, *see* bā/báwò. of identification, *see* gènyí.
- nəm+ *see* nominalizing affixes.
- ngin root n: as class 1 verb 101; inflectional role as root etc. for all class 2 verbs 95-6, 101-4; introduced 11; other uses of conjunctive forms 324; role of in inflection of following verb aspects: conjunctive 128; future 118; imperative/subjunctive 130; imperfect 116; negative completive 127; noun emphasis completive 126; past 123; perfect 120; verb emphasis completive 125; role of conjunctive forms of in nominal clause-final position 235.
- ngō: 167-8.
- +nó *see* nominalizing affixes.
- nominal clause/s: as topics marked by determiners 242; marked by conjunctive form of verb ngin 235-8; marked by determiner element +dǎ 233-5; structural characteristics of 229; with finite verb form 231-3; with nonfinite verb form 230-1.
- nominalizing affixes: prefix nəm+/kǎr+ 36, 55-6, 81; suffix +áràm 66; suffix +ma 56-8; suffix +mì 58-9; suffix +nó 59; suffix +ram 60-2; suffix +rí 62.
- nonfinite verb forms *see* class 2 verb/s, past participle of.
see verbal noun/s.
- noun/s: *see* noun phrase. *see* derived nominals. *see* verbal noun.
nominal clause/s. adjectival 35-7; adverbial 35, 37; as modifiers 196-7; borrowed from Arabic 42-3; compound 67-70; general 38; heads of noun phrase/s 189-93; irregular plural forms of 44; lexical category 35; lexical vs. derived 35-6; non-count 38-9; of animal species 39; of unique reference 39-40; personal 38; plural form of 30, 43, 65; semantic types of 38-42.
- noun phrase/s (NP): *see* cleft NP construction. *see* nominal clauses.
adjectival nouns as 36-7; complex (relative clause construction) 189-93, 217-28; complex headed by antecedent NPs of time, place and manner 227-8; conjunction of 311-5; dūwò as marker of status of 304-5; introduction to typology of 8-9, 189-90; modifier elements in 189; relative NP as object of restrictive relative clause 224-6; relative NP as oblique NP in restrictive relative clause 226-7; relative NP as subject of restrictive relative clause 223-4; relative NP within the restrictive relative clause 220-2; status of subject and object 211-6; status marking of 239-48; status marker nyí 245-6; status of 211-6; temporal relative clauses 227-8, 270, 298.
- numbers: cardinal in telling time 203-4; cardinal 202-4; ordinal 58, 76-7, 202-3.
- number morphemes: 11-2.
- nyí: *see* noun phrase/s. in associative-subordination of the past 300-2.

- past participle *see* class 2 verbs.
- person morphemes: 11-2; in object affixes 134-5.
- personal pronouns/s: affixed object forms of 46, 92, 134-9, 341-2; clitic subject form of 11-2, 96; independent form of 12, 45-7; independent form of as head noun of noun phrase 46; morphemes functioning as 11-2; pronunciation of independent form of 47; structure of independent form of 45-6; use of independent form of 46-7.
- phonemes *see* consonants. *see* vowels.
- possessive pronouns: expressions of opinion derived from independent form of 49; derivation of independent form of 11, 48; independent form of 47 ff.; independent form of as modifiers 49; suffixed form of 11, 47; suffixed form of applied to *fátò house* 49; use of suffixed and independent forms of 47-50; role of k-prefixation in derivation of independent form of 76.
- postpositions: *see* agent postposition +yè. *see* associative postposition. *see* genitive postposition +bè. *see* indirect postposition +rò. *see* locative/means/instrument postposition +(là+)n. as markers of NP function 189 ff.; in adverbial phrases and clauses 257-64.
- postpositional phrase/s: as adverbials 257-64; as nonverbal predicates 176-8.
- predicate: nonverbal of comparison 179-82; nonverbal of description 173-6; nonverbal of existence 168-72; nonverbal of identification 173-6; nonverbal of location 176-7; nonverbal of negative existence 171-2.
- predicating particle wò: as focusing particle 179; in cleft NP constructions 180, 240, 249 ff.; in comparative sentences 179-82; in non-cleft focusing environments 253-4.
- prepositions: 317-8; *sái* 317-8; *hár/háttá* 318.
- pronouns: *see* demonstratives. *see* personal pronouns. *see* possessive pronouns. anaphoric in the noun phrase 192-3; as direct object noun phrases 211-4; retention of in the restrictive relative clause 220-3.
- proverbs: 294 ff.
- +ram *see* nominalizing affixes.
- reduplication: in derivation of abstract forms from lexical nouns 65; in derivation of language names 64; in derived form of the verb 152-4; word formation through 74.
- relative clause *see* noun phrase/s.
- +rí *see* nominalizing affixes.
- +rò *see* indirect postposition +rò.
- +s/+z/+sə/+zə+: as formative affix 77, 83.
- Saharan languages: 1.
- sái* *see* prepositions.
- sentence/s: *see* predicate/s. of identification 10-1, 173-6. syntax of verbal form of 89-90.
- +sò *see* collective plural marker +sò.
- +só: as formative of indefinite pronouns 52-3; as nonspecific indefinite determiner 208-9; in concessive adverbial clauses 283-5; in conjunction 311-2.
- specific adverbs (ideophones): as source of class 2 verb roots 107; list of, appendix 7 347-54; phonology of 15; suggested role in evolution of verb class 2 102-4; tone of 27.
- Standard Kanuri Orthography (SKO): and writing of compound nouns 67; compounding of words 31; consonants 17-9; history and development of 29; principles of 29-30; spelling of plural suffix compared to associative postposition 43, 65; tone 23-4; vowels 21-2; writing of suffixes 30-1.
- subject pronoun morphemes: 11.
- syllable: and word structure 15-7, 103; epenthesis of as word formation process 71-8; bisyllabic words 15-6; phonological structure of 15, 103;

- (syllable, cont.) tone and structure of 24-5; trisyllabic words 16, 47.
- titles: 40.
- tone: and the Standard Kanuri Orthography 23-4; and syllable structure 24-5; and the nominalizing suffixes: +ma 56-7; +m̀ 58; +nó 59; +ram 60-1; +rí 62; change of as word formation process 63-71; combinations of 23; in relation to affixes 28; in relation to lexical category 27; inventory of 23-4; minimal pairs and triplets 25; L₀H pattern 26, 28, 43, 49, 56, 58, 59, 63-7; LHL pattern 27, 76-81, 158; of class 1 verbal nouns 27; of class 2 verb roots 26-7, 106; of class 2 verbal nouns 27; of derived nouns 27-8; of specific adverbs (ideophones) 27; practice word sets based on 25; relations among lexical items 26. : 167-8.
- typology of Kanuri grammar: 7-12; exceptions to SOV typology of Kanuri 319-20; order 7; postpositions 7-8; person and number 11-2; the finite verb form 9-10; the lexicon 10; the noun phrase 8-9, 189-92; the simple sentence 10-1.
- verb/s: *see* class 1 verb/s. *see* class 2 verb/s. *see* finite verb form/s. *see* verbal noun/s. aspect of in verbal relative clause 217-8; characteristics of classes of 90, 95-7; object affixes in finite form of 134-9, 341.
- verb aspects *see* finite verb form/s.
- verbal noun/s: and deverbal nominals of class 1 77-8; forms of for high tone class 2 roots 161-2; in nominal clause constructions 229, 230-1; introduction to 93; k-prefixed form of class 1 27; nominals derived from class 2 form of 67; structure of class 2 form of 160; tone of class 1 forms of 27, 157; tone of class 2 forms of 27, 160-1; using class 2 forms of 160-3; class 1 forms of and the prefix k̀r̀t 55.
- vowels: 21-2; epenthesis of as word formation process 71-3.
- word formation: *see* formative affixes. 55-83.
- wòsò: 208-9.
- yàyé: as formative of indefinite pronouns 52-3; as nonspecific indefinite determiner 208-9; as NP status marker 247; in concessive-conditional clauses 286-8.
- +yè *see* agent postposition +yè.
- yé *see* additive adjunct yé.
- yes-no question marker wá?: applied to subject NP of cleft NP construction 239, 249; applied to subject NP of noun emphasis completive verb form 127; examples of use of 169, 171, 172; use compared with use of interrogative intonation 174; use in negative questions 172.

REFERENCES

- Aranoff, Mark. 1976. Word Formation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Awoboluyi, Oladele. 1968. Introductory Kanuri. Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Benton, P.A. 1968. The Languages and Peoples of Bornu: 1 and 2. London: Cass.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1972. That's That. The Hague: Mouton.
- Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Cyffer, Norbert and Hutchison, John P. (eds.). The Standard Kanuri Orthography. Lagos: Nelson's of Nigeria Ltd.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. "Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics and Point of View," in Charles N. Li (ed.), Subject and Topic. New York: Academic Press.
- Cohen, Ronald. 1967. The Kanuri of Bornu. Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1977. "The SKO: A Step Towards Language Standardization." Harsuñan Nijeriya VII. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1977. "The Syntactic Behaviour of Deverbal Nouns in Kanuri (Nigeria)." Afrika und Ubersee. Berlin: Reimer Verlag.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1974. Syntax des Kanuri. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1971. "A Description of Tonal Conditions in the Kanuri of Maiduguri." translation of "Versuch einer Beschreibung der Tonalen Verhältnisse im Kanuri von Maiduguri," in V. Six, N. Cyffer, E. Wolff, L. Gerhardt, H. Meyer-Bahlburg (eds.), Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen-Ein Querschnitt. Hamburg: Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde Bande 14.
- Dihoff, Ivan R. 1970. A Preliminary Investigation into the Origins of Cognates in Hausa and Kanuri. unpublished University of Wisconsin monograph.
- Ellison, R.E. 1937. An English-Kanuri Sentence Book. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1971. "Nilo-Saharan and Meroitic," in Current Trends in Linguistics. The Hague: Mouton.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1966. The Languages of Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University.

- Greenberg, J.H. 1960. "Linguistic Evidence for the Influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa." Journal of African History.
- Haiman, John. 1978. "Conditionals are Topics." Language, 54.3. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, Waverly Press Inc.
- Hutchison, John P. 1981. "Kanuri Word Formation and the Structure of the Lexicon," in the Proceedings of the First Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium. Leiden: University of Leiden.
- Hutchison, John P. 1980. "The Kanuri Associative Postposition: A Case for Subordination." Studies in African Linguistics, 11.3. Los Angeles: U.C.L.A. African Studies Center.
- Hutchison, John P. 1976a. "Syntactic Similarities Across Language Families: A Case from Hausa and Kanuri." Harsunan Nijeriya VII. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Hutchison, John P. 1976b. Aspects of Kanuri Syntax. unpublished doctoral dissertation.
- Hyman, L.M. and Schuh, Russell G. 1974. "Universals of Tone Rules: Evidence from West Africa." Linguistic Inquiry, 5. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1979. "'Mana Kēla Falgata' as a Tool for Checking a Problem Area in the Standard Kanuri Orthography." paper delivered to the First International Conference on Kanuri Language and Literature. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1979. "A Critique of the Standard Kanuri Orthography." unpublished Bayero University Kano monograph.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1978. "Vowel Length in Kanuri." Harsunan Nijeriya VIII. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1977. Kanuri Phonology Reconsidered. unpublished University of York master's dissertation.
- Jespersen, O. 1954. A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Jones, Hugh. 1979. 1) "The Use of kawu in Temporal Clauses of Kanuri," 2) "Conditional Clauses of Kanuri." papers delivered to the First International Conference on Kanuri Language and Literature. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Koelle, Sigismund Wilhelm. 1854. African Native Literature. London: Church Missionary House.
- Koelle, Sigismund Wilhelm. 1854. Grammar of the Bornu or Kanuri Language. London: Church Missionary House.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1974. "The Position of Relative Clauses and Conjunctions." Linguistic Inquiry, 5. Cambridge: MIT Press.

REFERENCES

- Aranoff, Mark. 1976. Word Formation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Awoboluyi, Oladele. 1968. Introductory Kanuri. Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Benton, P.A. 1968. The Languages and Peoples of Bornu: 1 and 2. London: Cass.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1972. That's That. The Hague: Mouton.
- Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Cyffer, Norbert and Hutchison, John P. (eds.). The Standard Kanuri Orthography. Lagos: Nelson's of Nigeria Ltd.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. "Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics and Point of View," in Charles N. Li (ed.), Subject and Topic. New York: Academic Press.
- Cohen, Ronald. 1967. The Kanuri of Bornu. Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1977. "The SKO: A Step Towards Language Standardization." Harsunan Nijeriya VII. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1977. "The Syntactic Behaviour of Deverbal Nouns in Kanuri (Nigeria)." Afrika und Uebersee. Berlin: Reimer Verlag.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1974. Syntax des Kanuri. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1971. "A Description of Tonal Conditions in the Kanuri of Maiduguri." translation of "Versuch einer Beschreibung der Tonalen Verhältnisse im Kanuri von Maiduguri," in V. Six, N. Cyffer, E. Wolff, L. Gerhardt, H. Meyer-Bahlburg (eds.), Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen-Ein Querschnitt. Hamburg: Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde Bande 14.
- Shöff, Ivan R. 1970. A Preliminary Investigation into the Origins of Cognates in Hausa and Kanuri. unpublished University of Wisconsin monograph.
- Ellison, R.E. 1937. An English-Kanuri Sentence Book. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1971. "Nilo-Saharan and Meroitic," in Current Trends in Linguistics. The Hague: Mouton.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1966. The Languages of Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University.

- Greenberg, J.H. 1960. "Linguistic Evidence for the Influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa." Journal of African History.
- Haiman, John. 1978. "Conditionals are Topics." Language, 54.3. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, Waverly Press Inc.
- Hutchison, John P. 1981. "Kanuri Word Formation and the Structure of the Lexicon," in the Proceedings of the First Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium. Leiden: University of Leiden.
- Hutchison, John P. 1980. "The Kanuri Associative Postposition: A Case for Subordination." Studies in African Linguistics, 11.3. Los Angeles: U.C.L.A. African Studies Center.
- Hutchison, John P. 1976a. "Syntactic Similarities Across Language Families: A Case from Hausa and Kanuri." Harsunan Nijeriya VII. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Hutchison, John P. 1976b. Aspects of Kanuri Syntax. unpublished doctoral dissertation.
- Hyman, L.M. and Schuh, Russell G. 1974. "Universals of Tone Rules: Evidence from West Africa." Linguistic Inquiry, 5. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1979. "'Mana Kɛla Falgata' as a Tool for Checking a Problem Area in the Standard Kanuri Orthography." paper delivered to the First International Conference on Kanuri Language and Literature. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1979. "A Critique of the Standard Kanuri Orthography." unpublished Bayero University Kano monograph.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1978. "Vowel Length in Kanuri." Harsunan Nijeriya VIII. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Jarrett, Kevin A. 1977. Kanuri Phonology Reconsidered. unpublished University of York master's dissertation.
- Jespersen, O. 1954. A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Jones, Hugh. 1979. 1) "The Use of kawu in Temporal Clauses of Kanuri," 2) "Conditional Clauses of Kanuri." papers delivered to the First International Conference on Kanuri Language and Literature. Kano: Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.
- Koelle, Sigismund Wilhelm. 1854. African Native Literature. London: Church Missionary House.
- Koelle, Sigismund Wilhelm. 1854. Grammar of the Bornu or Kanuri Language. London: Church Missionary House.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1974. "The Position of Relative Clauses and Conjunctions." Linguistic Inquiry, 5. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Langdon, Margaret. 1977. "Syntactic Change and SOV Structure: The Yuman Case," in Charles Li (ed.) Mechanisms of Syntactic Change. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lantaiwa, Mustafa. 1976. Kanuri Dictionary. unpublished monograph.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1955. "Über die Verwendung der Partikel sai im Hausa." Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der Akademie der Wissenschaften 26.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1937. A Study of the Kanuri Language. London: Oxford University Press.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1931. Die Sprache der Káidi-Kanembú in Kanem. Berlin: Beheft zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1927. "Genesis der Verbalformen im Kanuri und Teda." Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Hamburg: C. Boysen.
- Noël, P. 1923. Petit Manuel Français-Kanouri. Paris.
- Quirk, Randolph and Greenbaum, Sidney. 1973. A Concise Grammar of Contemporary English. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Raulin, George. 1966. Kanouri. San Francisco: U.S. Peace Corps.
- Schubert, K. 1972. "Zur Bedeutung und Anwendung der Verbalparadigmen in Hausa und Kanuri." Afrika und Übersee. Berlin: Reimer Verlag.
- Schuh, Russell G. 1976. "Kanuri Structure." unpublished U.C.L.A. handout.
- Skinner, A. Neil. 1974. "Hausa Wani/Wata/Wa'dansu and its Semantic Features," in E. Voeltz (ed.) This Annual Conference on African Linguistics. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Thompson, Sandra A. 1971 "The Deep Structure of Relative Clauses," in Charles J. Fillmore and D. Terence Langendoen (eds.) Studies in Linguistic Semantics. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Tucker, A.N. and Bryan, M.A. 1966. Handbook of African Languages: Linguistic Analyses: The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa. N.Y.: International African Institute, Oxford University Press.
- Ward, I.C. 1926. "Some Notes on the Pronunciation of the Kanuri Language." Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.