Mouton Grammar Library

A Grammar of Mina

W
DE
G

Mouton Grammar Library 36

Editors
Georg Bossong
Bernard Comrie
Matthew Dryer

A Grammar of Mina

by

Zygmunt Frajzyngier
Eric Johnston

with
Adrian Edwards

Acknowledgments

the institutions and persons mentioned above, this grammar would not have been possible.

Bernard Comrie carefully read the entire typescript of this grammar and made innumerable comments regarding the substance and the form of this book. We are most grateful for his help!

Table of contents

Chapter 3:   The structure of the noun phrase

Chapter 4: The verb and its forms

Chapter 5: Argument coding

Chapter 9: Goal-orientation extension

Chapter 10: Tenses

Chapter 11: Aspects

Chapter 12: Modality

Chapter 13: End-of-event coding

Chapter 14: Negation

Chapter 15: Verbless clauses

Chapter 16: Interrogative clauses

Chapter 17: Reference system

Chapter 18:   Focus constructions

Chapter 19:   Topicalization

Chapter 20: Parataxis

Chapter 21: Complementation

Chapter 22: Temporal and conditional clauses

Chapter 23: Purpose, reason, and conclusion clauses

Chapter 24: Comparative constructions

Chapter 25: Relative clause

Chapter 26:   Elements of discourse structure

Texts

List of abbreviations

1	First person	INCL	Inclusive
2	Second person	INF	Infinitive
3	Third person	INTERJ	Interjection
ADDR	Addressee	L(OC)	Locative
ANAPH	Anaphor	NEG	Negative
Ar.	Arabic	PL	Plural
ASSC	Associative	POL	Marker of polite re-
ATT	Attributive	quest	
COM	Comment marker	POS	Point-of-view of
COMP	Complementizer	subject	
CONJ	Conjunction	POSS	Possessive
D	Dependent (aspect)	PRED	Predicator
DAT.OR	Dative orientation	PREP	Preposition
DEB	Debitive	Q	Question
DED	Deduced reference	QUANT	Quantifier
DEM	Demonstrative	REL	Relative marker
DU	Dual	REM	Remote previous
DUB	Dubitative	mention	
EE	End of event marker	SG	Singular
EXCL	Exclusive	STAT	Stative marker
F.	Fula (Fulfulde)	TOP	Topic marker
GEN	Marker of modifica-	UNSP	Unspecified
tion			
GO	Goal orientation		
H.	Hausa		
HAB	Habitual		

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Name, classification, and geographical location

The present study is intended to give a full description of Mina phonology, morphology, and syntax, including a description of the meanings and functions of various constructions. It is the first published account of any kind of the grammatical system of this language. Mina is the self-name of the language referred to in the literature as Hina or Besleri. Mouchét 1967 states that Hina is a Fula word, but the speakers of Mina consider *iná*, a component of *mìná*, a Mina word. The name "Besleri," which can be found in some publications as referring to Mina (Newman 1990, Dieu and Renaud 1983), is unknown to Mina speakers. The word itself may be related to *bélálè* 'leaf cover for lower front and back part of the body, pubic apron'. There is no reason whatsoever to use this word in reference to Mina. The term Hina, sometimes used in the literature, is probably derived from *iná*, the place name. The self-name *iní-yìì* designates people speaking Mina. A single Mina speaker is called *l-ìná*, i.e. one who belongs to the place *iná*. The form *mà* is a productive morpheme deriving, among other nominal expressions, names of languages. There is a noun *mà* 'mouth' that is also a potential candidate for the formation of names of languages. However, such a use would normally require a genitive construction, which is absent in names of languages. The initial *h* in *Hina* is a result of glottal epenthesis, described in Chapter 2.

The language is spoken in the western part of Northern Cameroon in the following villages and settlements, some of which very likely do not bear a Mina name: Hina-Marbak; Goungong [gùngóŋ]; Bamguel [bàmgél]; Lèngél; Mbourdan [mbùrdán]; Palva [pàlvá]; Mbraf [mbráf]; Wuro-Gertoɗé (a Fula name); Mouldar [mùldár]; Kaftaka [kàftàká]; Bereng [bèréŋ]; Wanaru-Hina [wànàrù hínà]; *hákúlà*; *bígídín*; and *hùvá*. The old capital of Hina is called *mánjà*. A dialect of Mina called *mùdzùndzùn* by Mina speakers is spoken about 15 kilometers from Hina-Marbak.

The language belongs to the Central branch of Chadic. Newman

1990 has it in Family A 7 of the Biu-Mandara branch. Hoffmann 1971 has Hina as a member of the Daba group. The only information available on another language from the same subgroup is Mouchét 1967 and Lienhard and Gieger (Ms), both on Daba. Our language assistants report that there is no mutual intelligibility between Daba and Mina. There are, however, Daba speakers who live near Mina speakers, and they do understand Mina. According to oral tradition, when Hina settled in their present area, the *dzundzun* were already there. With respect to the origin of Hina, one tradition has it that they came from the Bagirmi area in Chad, and another tradition, from what is now Gongola State, in Nigeria. Thus, the traditions point to diametrically different origins.

Hina are farmers. The main crops are sorghum, peanuts, and cotton, cultivated by men, and sesame, beans, and green peas, cultivated by women. Most Hina appear to be Moslems, but there are some Christians too. In the nineteenth century, Hina were a dominating military force in their region mainly because of their skillful use of cavalry. Hina raiding parties were a threat to many neighbors (Christian Seignobos, p.c., and Hina oral traditions). A description of the demographic situation of Hina in the early 1960s can be found in Podlewski 1965. The situation described in that study has, however, changed in the almost forty years since Podlewski gathered his data. In particular, the number of speakers, education, marriage customs, migration patterns, and linguistic situation are quite different today, according to information provided by knowledgeable observers and by Hina themselves.

There are considerable dialectal variations among speakers even from the same village. We were able to establish the existence of three dialects: Marbak, Kefedjevreng, and Dzundzun. The bulk of our description is based on the Marbak dialect. Data from the Kefedjevreng dialect are included as recorded, i.e. without any attempt at unification at the phonological or morphological level. Here are the basic differences between the Marbak and Kefedjevreng dialects: For nasals in one dialect, there are prenasalized stops in the other dialect. For example, the habitual marker for Kefedjevreng is *ní* and for Marbak is *ndí*. Word-final back vowels in one dialect have corresponding glides in the other, e.g., the word for child is *mbù* in Marbak and *mbw* in Kefedjevreng. In Kefedjevreng, a nasal is systematically inserted between the subject prefix and aspect-tense markers and auxiliary verbs. In Marbak this rule is not systematic, e.g., Kefedjevreng focus in past tense, first-person singular, has the form *sà nkэ́*, and in Marbak it is *sà kэ́* or *s kэ́*. These dialectal differences account for some variation in the transcription of individual lexical items and such grammatical morphemes as subject focus, especially the forms with prefixes, habitual, plural pronouns, demonstratives,

and perhaps a few others.

Most contemporary speakers of Mina are bilingual, Fula being the second language. Because of this bilingualism, the Mina of all but the oldest speakers has a large number of Fula borrowings, including grammatical morphemes, particularly conjunctions and complementizers. We tried to identify Fula borrowings as well as we could, but there might be some lexical items or even grammatical structures borrowed from Fula that we did not identify as such.

Hina from Marbak with whom we talked claim that they do not understand Dzundzun, while Dzundzun claim that they fully understand Mina. Our very limited tests, consisting of playing a tape with Dzundzun recordings, showed that Hina do indeed understand Dzundzun.

The data for this grammar were collected in the summer of 1991, spring of 1993, summers of 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, and 1999. A list of language assistants follows: Bouba Abdouraman, born February 18, 1974, had six years of elementary school, and two years of secondary school in 1991. Apart from three years of school in Mokolo, he spent all his life in his native village, Marbak, returning there for vacation each school year. Hamadu Oumaru, born in March 1974 in Hina-Marbak, graduated from the lycée at Mokolo. Like Abdouraman, Hamadu Umaru also spent all his life in Hina-Marbak. Saibu, who divides his time between Hina-Marbak and Maroua, was our assistant for one season. Hamadou Haman (Konay), born in 1960, who finished the first year of Lycée in Garoua, has been our main assistant in the last two years of our work. Keenly interested in his language he has read the examples in the present work, suggesting some changes in transcription and translation. Apart from Mina and French, all language assistants also speak Fula, the vehicular language of Northern Cameroon, and Hamadou Haman can also read English.

Adrian Edwards has been collecting Mina texts for many years, many of them from elderly speakers. Five notebooks of these texts were used in the present grammar. Most examples from Edward's notes have been checked with language assistants, and they were given a tonal transcription, new segmental representation, morpheme-by-morpheme analyses, glosses, and sometimes a new interpretation and translation.

The aim of this work is descriptive and explanatory. The description consists of hypotheses concerning the form of linguistic structures and hypotheses concerning the functions of linguistic structures. For both types of hypotheses, we provide supporting argumentation and evidence. We tried to explain various components of grammar through their relationship to other constructions or subsystems in the language.

On the sound advice of Bernard Comrie given with respect to an-

other grammar, we refrained from drawing implications for past and current theoretical controversies in linguistics. We have also refrained from drawing implications for past and current controversies in comparative Chadic linguistics, an entirely different task, which cannot be made from the narrow perspective of any single language.

When illustrating grammatical paradigms, rules, and patterns, we use elicited examples to limit the material to the issue being discussed. When describing functions we use data from natural texts. The elicited examples frequently lead to incorrect conclusions when it comes to describing the function of a form.

2. Outline of Mina grammar

The purpose of this outline of is to give some typological information and to highlight those elements of the grammar that make this language interesting for a linguist concerned with typology, language universals, and linguistic theory, a specialist in African and Afroasiatic linguistics, or a Chadicist.

2.1 Phonology

The consonantal system of Mina is characterized by the presence of prenasalized and glottalized stops in addition to oral and nasal stops. The language also has a series of continuants, including voiceless and voiced lateral continuants, and it has two affricates. There are clusters with different values for the feature voice. No geminated consonants are allowed except for the lateral liquid. Continuants and affricates are palatalized before a high front vowel. The underlying glides are deleted in word final position after the vowel with identical values for the features [round] or [front]. The vowel system consists of six vowels, including schwa. There is a fronting vowel harmony, whereby if a back vowel follows a consonant that is preceded by a front vowel, the back vowel is fronted. A palatal glide is a barrier to vowel harmony. There is also a very limited leftward vowel harmony, whereby the vowel *a* undergoes fronting when followed by a consonant and a front vowel. An outstanding feature of the phonological system of Mina is the interaction between syntax and phonology, whereby all word-final vowels other than grammatical morphemes are deleted in phrase-internal position. This rule is in fact a marker of phrase-internal position. Its absence marks phrase-final position. The language has two tones, high and low. Tone has a lexical and a

grammatical function. When the final vowel of a word is deleted, its tone is deleted as well.

2.2 Lexical categories

We take the defining characteristics of lexical categories to be their inherent properties with respect to the role they play in a proposition or in a discourse, as the case may be. Nouns can be derived from verbs and numerals, and adverbs can be derived from all other lexical categories. We did not find morphological means to derive verbs from other lexical categories. The following lexical categories exist in Mina: nouns, whose inherent function is to serve as arguments of the predication; deictics and anaphors, which serve as arguments in predication but can also modify nouns; a limited number of adjectives, whose function is to modify nouns; verbs, whose function is to serve as predicates in propositions; adverbs; numerals; prepositions, whose function is to code the grammatical relations between the elements of a proposition; and ideophones.

Within the pronominal system, three persons are distinguished: speaker, addressee, and third-person. There are also three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. The category dual exists only for the first person. A description of the lexical categories is included in the chapters dealing with the noun phrase (Chapter 3) and the verbal roots and stems (Chapter 4).

2.3 Morphology

There are only a few morphological processes that allow the derivation of one lexical category from another. The stative marker -*yi* allows the derivation of nominalized forms of verbs. A full reduplication of any category derives adverbs of many kinds. This derivation is described in Chapter 8, Adjuncts.

Deictics and anaphors have phrase-internal forms derived through vowel reduction and phrase-final forms derived through the addition of the suffix -*n* to the underlying form. The category nominal plural is a syntactic category in that it is added to the end of the noun phrase. If the noun phrase consists of the noun only, then the plural marker is added to it.

The inflectional morphology of verbs consists of tonal changes that code modality; reduplication of verbs to derive aspectual forms; and pre-

fixes and suffixes to derive adverbs and nominal forms of verbs.

2.4 Syntax

In pragmatically neutral clauses, the subject precedes the predicate, and the object follows the verb. In object focus constructions, the object follows the subject but precedes the predicate. Such an object must be marked by the preposition *n*, resulting in the structure S PREP O V. The language makes a clear structural distinction between the categories subject and object, and between the direct object and other objects, including locative complements.

Several syntactic characteristics make this language particularly interesting for typologists. Some tense, aspect, and mood markers occur before the verb, and others occur after the verb. The markers of interrogative and negative modality occur in clause-final position. The conjunction used for a conjoined noun phrase in the subject function differs from the conjunction used for a conjoined noun phrase in all other functions. The genitive construction has a different form when it is an argument and a different form when it is a complement of locative predication.

The complex sentences include: Asyndetically conjoined clauses; sequential clauses coding a temporal or cause-and-effect relationship between clauses; counter-expectation clauses; embedded clauses, and relative clauses. The relative clause codes the existential status of its head through clause-final deictics.

In addition to the coding of argument structure, adjuncts, tense, aspect, and mood categories, Mina also codes the category point-of-view. In Mina, this category has only subject or speaker in its scope.

2.5 Discourse structure

The outstanding characteristic of the discourse structure of Mina is the existence of the category comment clause, which may be used in both simple and complex sentences and which overtly marks a speaker's comment on the proposition. The comment clause may be used in a variety of syntactic constructions.

Another characteristic is the unmarked value of the principle of unity of place. If one of the participants in an event changes scene, such a situation is coded by a special syntactic construction in addition to any verb of movement that may be used.

Chapter 2

Phonology

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a set of underlying segments, a set of allowed phonological structures, and a set of rules to derive the phonetic realization of morphemic and phrasal structures. The outstanding features of the phonology of Mina are limited vowel harmony and vowel deletion to mark phrase-internal position and vowel retention to mark phrase-final position. The two rules code in this way the syntactic structure of the utterance.

2. The consonantal system
Phonetic and underlying consonants

Table 2.1. Phonetic consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops					
.....Voiceless	p	t		k	ʼ
.....Voiced	b	d		g	
Prenasalized	mb	nd		ŋg	
Glottalized (voiceless)	ɓ	ɗ			
Ejective	pʼ				
Affricate		ts	č		
		dz	ǰ		
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Continuants	f	s	š	x	h
	v	z	ž		
Lateral continuants		ł			
		ɮ			
Glides	w		y		
Liquids		l			
		r			

The lateral fricatives end impressionistically with a stop, viz. [łt] and [ɮd]. We have observed this property in several Central Chadic languages in Mandara mountains.

2.2 The underlying segments

The underlying set differs from the phonetic set in not having palatalized obstruents. Those consonants are derived through a palatalization rule, which is described later. There is only one underlying back continuant, the glottal voiceless *h*.

Table 2.2. Underlying consonants

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops Vless	p	t		k	(')
Voiced	b	d		g	
Prenasalized	mb	nd		ŋg	
Glottalized (voiceless)	ɓ	ɗ			
Ejective	(p')				
Affricate		ts			
		dz			
Nasal	m	n			
Continuant	f	s			h
	v	z			
Lateral		ɬ			
Continuant		ɮ			
Glides	w		y		
Liquid		l			
		r			

The evidence for the underlying status of the segments in Table 2.2 is provided by the following near minimal pairs, where the relevant consonants are followed by the same vowels:

Voiceless	Voiced	Prenasalized	Glottalized

Labial stops:
pàt 'next day'   *báytàŋ* 'large'   *mbál* 'to like'   *ɓám* 'eat (hard food)'
pék 'cover a receptacle'
pèt 'sharpen'
pípí 'when?'   *bú* 'turn'   *ngámbù* 'friend   *ɓə́ŋ* 'think'
pìts [pìč] 'sun'   *mbé* 'close'

The labial voiceless stop *p* does not occur before round vowels *u* and *o*, but does occur before the vowel *a* and before schwa:

(1)   *pú, *pù, *púk
        *pó, *pò, *pók
        kə̀ pád 'to roll a mat', 'bandage something'

The voiceless stop before schwa occurs only in the ideophone *pə́k,* which modifies the verb *gàd* 'push':

(2)   *pə́k gàd* 'push'

There is only one instance of the ejective consonant, *p*', in the word *p'úm* or *p'ə́m* 'deep'. The exceptional status of the ejective may well be due to its origin as an ideophone.

The phonological status of the glottal stop is problematic. We do have a minimal pair, where the glottal stop in word final position contrasts with the glottalized consonant. The meanings of the two verbs, are, however, very close. Their tones are different, and that is why we are tentatively postulating the glottal stop to be a part of the underlying segment:

        kə́ pà' (ends in the glottal stop) 'to dress a corpse'
        kə̀ pád 'to roll a mat', 'bandage something'

Labial continuants

fát 'to skin'	*vá* 'spend time'
fĩn 'remain'	*ví* 'who?'
fúu 'all' (F.)	*vú* 'interrogative marker'
fə̀k 'to abandon'	
də̀f 'boil'	*də̀v* 'grow'

Alveolar stops

ták 'forbid'	*dà* 'cook'	*ndə̀* 'go'	*dá* 'NEG'
tíkì 'where'	*hìdì* 'person'	*ndí* 'HAB'	
làkwát 'river'	---	---	*də́d* 'pull (weeds)'

The difference between the consonant cluster *nd* and the prenasalized stop is that in the cluster the nasal is a tone-bearing unit, and in the prenasalized stop it is not:

(3)   hà   kə́   ǹdə̀   zá
        2SG   INF   hit   EE
        'you hit him'

(4)   *hà   kà   ndà   zô   ngíɗ*
      2SG   INF   go   EE   there
      'you went there'

Alveolar continuants:
sàŋ '1SG independent pronoun'   *za* 'end-of-event marker'

Affricates:
tsáy 'then'   *dzáŋ* 'find'

Velars:
á kà cín 'here'   *gám* 'chase out'   *ngàz* 'leg'
hàzá 'dog'

The glottal voiceless continuant *h* may occur only in word-initial position preceding vowels and in intervocalic position:

(5)   *nákáhà* 'remote previous mention marker'
      hà 'second-person singular independent pronoun'

The velar and glottal voiceless continuants are allophones of the same phoneme. The velar continuant occurs before the high front vowel *i*. Thus *hìdì* 'person' is [xìdì], *hí* 'second-person plural pronoun'. There are instances of word initial *a* 'third-person singular pronoun' and *i*, as in *ìná* 'Hina' and *ìn-yìì* 'the inhabitants of Hina'. Based on these distributional facts, we postulate that glottal continuants in word-initial position are underlying.

A glottal continuant also occurs in word-final position, which is also pre-pausal position: *bòh* 'split tree by tearing on a branch' and *váh* 'to spend time, last'. It is in contrast in this position with words without a glottal continuant: *và* 'age of somebody or something', *ndà* 'go', *za* 'end-of-event marker', *kà* 'affected marker'.

The velar nasal *ŋ* occurs only in word-final position. The alveolar nasal *n* cannot occur in word-final position. We postulate therefore that the velar nasal derives from the underlying alveolar nasal. Additional evidence that the velar nasal is not underlying is provided by words that have a velar nasal in word-final position but an alveolar nasal in intervocalic position or in position preceding segments other than velar:

(6)   *bíŋ*   'hut, room'   *bín-yìì* 'houses'

Lateral continuants:
ɫá 'measure'   *ɬà* 'cow'
ɫàh 'tear apart'   *ɬà* 'cut'

Liquids:
tàlàŋ 'head'
rá 'dependent habitual marker'
kɔ́ llà 'take something from somebody'
kɔ̀ lláh 'bring a girl to marriage'
Glides:
kɔ̀dwírì 'clay pot'   *kɔ̀ wáŋ* 'to sleep'
kɔ́ wà 'to start'

2.3 Consonant devoicing

In normal speech, a voiced obstruent is devoiced before a voiceless obstruent. Here are two examples: The noun *hàzá* 'dog' has the word-medial voiced continuant *z*. When the final vowel is deleted in phrase-internal position, the voiced consonant assimilates to the following voiceless consonant:

(7)   *hàzá   tɔ́   bítsì*   → hàz tɔ́ bícì → [hàs tɔ́ bíčì]
         dog   GEN   Bitsi
         'a dog of Bitsi'

The interrogative marker for human participants has the form *và*. In phrase-internal position, the vowel of this marker is deleted. The voiced labiodental continuant may become voiceless when followed by a voiceless consonant:

(8)   *á   và   t-í*   → [á vtí] and [á ftí]
         PRED   who   GEN-Q
         'whose?'

Some speakers devoice stops after a nasal with a different place of articulation:

(9)   d → t/ŋ____

(10)   *tàlàŋ   də̀m-ák   rà →*   [tàlàŋ də̀m-ák rà] and
       head   hurt-1SG   D.HAB   [tàlàŋ tə̀m-ák rà]
       'I have a headache'

2.4 Rhotacization

Glottalized stops may be rhotacized in syllable-final position. This rule
is not obligatory, as rhotacization has been recorded only with some
speakers:

(11)   *mùkàdkádǽŋ →*   [mùkàrkádǽŋ]
       'upside down'

2.5 Palatalization

Alveolar continuants and affricates *s, z, ts,* and *dz* are palatalized before
and after front high vowel *i*, producing *š, ž, č,* and *ǰ*:

(12)   *zìn   →   žìn*   'return'
       bítsì   →   bíčì   'proper name for a first born child'

The voiced continuant *z* is palatalized in the cluster *nz* when followed by
stative suffix *-yi*:

(13)   *mə̀   nz-yí   màrɓák*   [mə̀ nž-í]
       REL   sit-STAT   Marbak
       'he remained at Marbak'

The palatal glide is a barrier to palatalization. Consider the complemen-
tizer that is pronounced [sì] or [syì]. We propose that the underlying
form of the complementizer is *syì* and that the palatal glide is a barrier to
the palatalization rule. Additional evidence for the proposed hypothesis
is provided by the effects of the addition of the plural marker /yíì/, which
does not cause the palatalization of the preceding consonant either:

(14)   *hàz-yíì →*   [hàzí-yì]
       dog-PL
       'dogs'

Some speakers also palatalize consonants after a front mid vowel. Thus,

the underlying form *fés* 'small' is realized as [féš].

2.6 Affricate formation

Some speakers pronounce the underlying voiced continuant *z* as an affricate after a nasal stop and before a high vowel:

z → dz / Vn____V[+high]

(15) *nzə̀*   →   ndzə̀
      remain, be

(16) à   ndí   nzà   á   màrɓák →   [à ndí ndzà]
      3SG   HAB   live   PRED   Marbak
      'he lives in Marbak'

If the affricate is followed by the high front vowel, it is palatalized:

(17) z→   j / n ____i.

(18) sə̀   mə̀   nz-í   mbé   →   [mə́ nj-í]
      1SG   REL   be-STAT   close
      'I was close'

2.7 Labialization

The back round vowel becomes a labial glide when followed by a low back vowel, i.e., the phonological sequences u + a or o + a result in labialization, viz., they both become [wá]:

(19) í   lù-á   nàníŋ   →   [í lw-á]
      3PL   say-GO   1PL.EXCL
      'they tell us'

When the low vowel that caused the labialization is deleted in phrase-internal position, the underlying round vowel is realized as such rather than as a labial glide. Thus the word *ŋkwà* 'goat' becomes *ŋkù* after the final-vowel deletion:

(20)   *sə̀   kí   lìm   ŋkù   báytə̀   zá*
       1SG   INF   see   goat   large   EE
       'I saw a large goat'

2.8 Glide realizations

Both labial and palatal glides are deleted in word-final position when following a vowel with the same values for the features [front] and [back]:

(21)   G[α front]   →   Ø   /V[α front] ____#.

The evidence for the existence of this rule, and indeed for the existence of underlying glides in word-final position after high vowels, is provided by their presence when the words receive a vocalic suffix or a suffix beginning with a glide followed by a vowel.

Thus, the verb whose phonetic form is [tì] 'see' becomes [tìyú] after the addition of the third person object marker *u*. We postulate, therefore, that the underlying form of this verb is *tìy*. An alternative analysis whereby a glide is inserted when a high vowel is followed by another vowel is not viable, in view of the rule that deletes final vowels of morphemes when a suffix is added. The fact that vowels of the verbs *mbù* 'give birth' and *tì* 'see' are not deleted indicates that these vowels are in fact not word-final.

The addition of the stative suffix *yi* allows us to determine that verbs that in their phonetic form have the vowel *u* in fact have the underlying labial glide in word-final position. The glide, when not followed by another vowel, is realized as the vowel *u*. The labial glide is realized as a glide when the suffix *i* is added. The epenthetic schwa is inserted between the preceding consonant and the glide:

(22)   *mbə̀   mə̀   mbù-í   zà*   → [mbə̀w-í]
       child   REL   give birth-STAT   EE
       'the child is born'

The labial glide /w/ is realized as a round vowel when preceded and followed by a schwa. The new vowel assumes the tone of the preceding syllable:

(23)   w   →   u/schwa____schwa

(24) *kə́*   *wə̀* [kúú]   *zə́*   *kə́*   *zə̀m*   *wə̀dá*
INF   start   EE   INF   eat   food
'he started to eat'

(25) *sə̀*   *n*   *kə́*   *wù [sə̀nkúu]*   *zə́*   *kə́*
1SG   PREP INF   start   EE   INF
zə̀m   *wə̀dá*
eat   food
'I started to eat' (Kefedjevreng dialect)

The labial glide is also deleted between a consonant and the high round vowel:

(26)   G[+round]   →   Ø/C____ u.

(27)   *tséy*   *hídə̀*   *wàcín*   *tàŋ*   *z*   *wùtá* → [zútà]
then   man   that   go   EE   home
'So that man went home . . .'

2.9 Consonant clusters

There are no three consonant clusters in word initial position. Two-consonant clusters are allowed in word-initial position, word- and phrase-medial position, and in word-final position. The phrase- medial clusters emerge as a result of the rule that deletes word-final vowels in phrase-internal position.

In word-initial position the most frequent are clusters with a sonorant, whether an obstruent followed by a sonorant, a sonorant followed by an obstruent, or a sonorant followed by a sonorant:

(28)   zr   *zrúmbà*   'proper name, masculine'
       rn   *r-nàn*   'my hand' or *rə̀ nàn*
       rt   *r-tòkóŋ*   'our hands' or *rə̀ tòkón*
       nk   *ǹkwà*   'goat'
       ndr   *ndrì*   'sorghum' (nd is prenasalized stop)
       mv   *ḿvà*   'feces, refuse'

An affricate may be followed by a stop:

(29)   *tskə́ɓ*   'chew'
       tskò   'evening'
       tspə́dəp   'remain crouched'

In word-medial position the following types of clusters are allowed:

Sonorant and sonorant:

(30)   *tə̀rlàn*   'turn'
       mə́ŋwà   'pancreas'

Sonorant and continuant:

(31)   *mə̀dìngwə̀rzé*   'donkey'

Sonorant and stop:

(32)   *bə́ldə̀m*   'sweetness, joy, happiness'
       bə́rgádán   'millet'
       bà̀rtìk   'dust'
       tə̀rɓə́s   'twist'
       mbárkántá   'nine'

Stop and sonorant:

(33)   *bìmbrív*   'large
       mə́zèkléw   'shadow'

    Many clusters with two stops occur as a result of the reduplication of morphemes with consonantal onsets and codas:

(34)   *bédbèdě́n*   'a type of dance'
       bìrtídbìrtíd   'quickly'
       dədəkdədək   'completely'

However, there are also instances of clusters of two stops with no evidence of a composite structure:

(35)   *də́dkùts*   'constellation'

    Nasal and stops are very frequent clusters:

(36)   *gàmták*   'chicken'
       wántà   'mahogany tree and its fruits'

Stop-continuant clusters do not occur in intervocalic position unless they are products of reduplication:

(37)   *fádfád* 'eight'

Continuant-stop clusters occur only as a product of reduplication:

(38)   *káfkáfá* 'morning' , with the form *káf* recorded as well.

When the cluster consists of a nasal followed by a stop, the nasal may assimilate to the following stop: [múnbùrkò] and [múmbùrkò] 'yesterday'.

In word-final position only a cluster consisting of two sonorants can occur:

(39)   *à*   *wáŋ-r*   *tíkì*
       3SG   sleep-D.HAB where
       'where is he sleeping'

An affricate and a stop can also form a cluster, but the only cases recorded involve the reduplication of a syllable:

(40)   *bìbícbìbíc*   'all day'

No geminated consonants are allowed, except for a geminated lateral liquid. If a geminated consonant were to emerge at morpheme boundary, one consonant is deleted:

(41)   án   kə́   zə̀m   mí   →   [án kə́ zə̀m í]
       what   INF   eat   what
       'what will he eat?'

3. The vowel system
3.1 Phonetic and underlying vowels

There are seven phonetic short vowels and at least three long vowels, *aa*, *ii*, and *uu*. The following figure represents the short vowels:

i	ü	ə	u
e			o
			a

Figure 2.1.   Phonetic Vowels

The mid vowels are lower mid rather than higher mid. The high vowels *i*, *ə*, and *u* and the low vowel *a* are much more frequent than the mid vowels *e* and *o*. Moreover, the phonetic vowel *e* is often the product of fronting of /a/ in the environment of a front vowel. The high central vowel, graphically represented by schwa, is the most frequent vowel in language production. We can predict only one vowel in the system, the fronted [ü]. We therefore postulate that all vowels in Figure 2.1 vowels, with the exception of *ü*, are underlying. However, it should be remembered that not every phonetic vowel represents an instantiation of the identical underlying vowel. Many instances of phonetic vowels represent the products of the application of various phonological rules.

3.2 Rightward vowel fronting

If a back vowel suffix follows a front mid or high vowel, with a consonant in between, the back vowel is fronted by the rule:

(42)   V   →   [+front]   /V[+front]C-____.

For the vowel *a* the nearest front vowel is [e]:

(43)   *bér-á*   →   [béré]
       sell-GO

(44)   *lìm-á*   →   [lìmé]
       see-GO

(45)   *í*   *kɔ́*   *lìm-á*   *nám*   *zà* →[í kɔ́ lìm-é]
       3PL   INF   see-GO   1DU   EE
       'they saw us'

(46)   *sə̀*   *bér-á-ŋ*   *ʧə̀-nàŋ*   *skù* → [sə̀ bér-é-ŋ]
       1SG   sell-GO-3SG   cow-1SG   NEG
       'I will not sell him my cow'

The back round vowels become front round. Thus, the third-person singular object *u* becomes *ü* when it follows a syllable with a front vowel:

(47) *mèd-ú*
   swear-3SG
   'swear it!'

(48) *žèɓ žèɓ á žèɓ- ú. . .*
   follow follow 3SG follow-3SG
   'He followed and followed her . . .'

(49) *déb- ú*
   take-3SG
   'take it there!'

The vowel fronting can spread to clitics as well. Consider the following form, which consists of the verb *gìz* 'tell', the goal orientation marker *á*, the first-person singular object pronoun *kù*, and the end-of-event marker *za*. All low vowels are fronted under the influence of the high front vowel of the verb:

(50) *í   gìz-á-k   zà   →   [í gìž-é-k sè]*
   3PL   tell-GO-1SG   EE
   'I was told'

3.3 Leftward vowel fronting

The vowel of the suffix causes the fronting of the preceding vowel *a*:

(51) *wà-hín →   [wèhíŋ]*
   DEM-DEM
   'this one or those ones' (Throughout the book we represent this form, and other complex determiners, without morphemic division, viz. as *wàhín*)

Vowel fronting operates also across words but only within phrases:

(52) *ńtá   gwídín   dàp   →   [ńté gwídíŋ dàp]*
   one   only   just
   'only one'

If a back vowel directly follows a front vowel, the back vowel is fronted. In the following example, the goal orientation marker *a* is fronted to *e* following a high front vowel, and then it replaces *i* as a result of *i* deletion:

(53)   *i   mà   sí-á-yí   tàtà   zá*
       3PL   REL   run-GO-STAT   3PL   EE
       'they have returned running' is realized as:
       [í mà šé-y tàtà zá]

(54)   *i   kà   sí-á-k   zà*   →   [í kà šé-k zá]
       3PL   REL   run-GO-1SG   EE
       'they ran for me'

A slightly different type of vowel fronting involves schwa. Schwa becomes fronted when separated from the high front vowel by a sonorant. The high round vowel, in turn, becomes central:

(55)   *dùwàn   idá*   →   [dàwíndá]
       back   house
       'back of the house' (as a part of the prepositional phrase)

3.4 Barriers to vowel fronting

The palatal glide is a barrier to vowel fronting. Consider the behavior of the verb "to see," which in infinitive form sounds like [kɔ́ tì]. The verb must have an underlying palatal glide, which is realized as such when the verb is followed by a low vowel. The evidence for the presence of the palatal glide is provided by the fact that the low vowel is not fronted:

(56)   *kɔ́   tìy-á   zà*   →   [kɔ́ tìy-á zà]
       INF   see-GO   EE
       '[he went there] to have a look'

(57)   *kɔ́   tìy-á-k   zà*   →   [kɔ́ tìy-á-k zà]
       INF   see-GO-1SG   EE
       'he looked at me'

We interpret the absence of raising in the examples above as further evidence that the verb 'to look' is in fact *tìy*, not *tì,* and that the palatal glide is a barrier to vowel raising. This property allows us to establish

that the underlying form of the plural marker is in fact *yìì* and not *ì*, as it is most often realized, because the addition of the plural marker never causes vowel fronting, nor does it cause palatalization of the preceding alveolar continuants:

(58)   *hàz-yìì* [hàz-íyì]   and not*[hèz-íyì]
        dog-PL
        'dogs'

Schwa becomes front when followed by a CV sequence where V is high and front through the following processes (only the relevant part is illustrated):

	Underlying	Vowel deletion	Schwa insertion	Assimilation
(59)	*hàzá-yìì*→	hàz-yíì→	hàzə́-yíì→	[hàzíyì]
	dog-PL			
	'dogs'			

3.5 Vowel deletion

The single most important rule affecting the phonetic structure of an utterance in Mina is vowel deletion in phrase-internal positions, including the position before a suffix. Vowel deletion is a grammatical marker of phrase-internal position, and vowel retention is the marker of phrasal boundary. The consequences of this rule include not only the emergence of various consonant clusters but also the emergence of schwa to prevent a disallowed cluster from emerging because of vowel deletion. Vowels that are grammatical markers, including derivational morphemes, are never deleted phrase internally or before a suffix. First an illustration of vowel deletion:

(60)   *í   sì   tàtàŋ*   →   [í šì tàtàŋ]   →   [ĩ́štàtàŋ]
        3PL   run   3PL
        'they escaped'

        hàzá   tə́   bítsì   →   [hàs tə́ bíčì]
        dog   GEN   Bitsi
        'Bitsi's dog'

ǯà   tə́   bítsì   →   [ǯə̀ tə́ bítsì]
cow   GEN   Bitsi
'Bitsi's cow'

If the final vowel of a word is a derivational morpheme, as is the case with ǯì 'meat', most probably derived from ǯà 'cow', such a vowel is not deleted in contexts in which lexical vowels are always deleted:

(61)   ǯì   tə́   gə́ldàm→   [ǯì tə́ gə́ldàm]
        meat   GEN   pig
        'pork'

Vowel deletion is a means of coding phrasal boundary. Retention of the vowel is a grammatical marker of the syntactic structure of the utterance. The distinction between the predicative construction and the attributive construction, with the same element as either the predicate or attribute, is coded through the system of vowel deletion and vowel retention. In the predicative construction, the last vowel of the subject is retained, thus marking phrasal boundary. In the attributive construction, the final vowel is deleted, thus marking phrase-internal position. Compare the following examples. Equational clauses:

(62)   ŋkwà   báytàŋ
        goat   large
        'the goat is large'

(63)   s   tì   ŋkwà   báytàŋ
        1SG   see   goat   large
        'I see that the goat is large'

In the attributive construction, the final vowel of the noun ŋkwà is deleted:

(64)   í   dá-há-k   ŋkù   báytàŋ
        3PL   bring-GO-1SG   goat   large
        'they brought me a large goat'

A fronted object retains its last vowel, and thus it is coded as a separate phrase within the clause:

(65) ɓì tá **hàzá** sà mbál skù
      meat GEN dog 1SG like NEG
      'dog meat, I don't like it'

Vowel retention and vowel deletion is a means of coding phrasal boundary. Focus on the adverb can be coded by setting it apart as a separate phrase through retention of the preceding vowel:

(66) *sà* *lìm-é* *gwáɓá* *mùmbùrkó*
      1SG see-GO elephant yesterday
      'I saw an elephant, just yesterday'. The relevant portion is realized as: [gwáɓá mùmbùrkó]

The deletion of the preceding vowel indicates that the adverb has the same information value as the other elements of the clause:

(67) *sà* *lìm-é* *[gwáɓ* *mùmbùrkó]*
      1SG see-GO elephant yesterday
      'I saw an elephant yesterday!'

Word-initial vowels which are not grammatical morphemes and which do not replace preceding vowels, are deleted in phrase-internal position. In the following phrase the noun *hídà* 'man' in isolation has an epenthetic [h]. The glottal continuant [h] does not occur in phrase-internal position. The initial vowel *í* is deleted in phrase-internal position:

(68) *tséy* *hídà* *wàcín [tséy dà wàcíŋ] táŋ* *z* *wùtá*
      then man DEM go EE village
      'The man returned home'

3.6 Vowel rounding

Schwa and *i* become round when followed by a round vowel or labial glide:

(69) V[+high, -round] → [+round]/ ____ (C) S [+round].

This rule is particularly interesting for schwa, which itself is a product of vowel insertion. Thus, the noun *ɓà* has its vowel deleted and schwa inserted when followed by a word beginning with a consonant,

and consequently becomes ʝ*ə̀* in phrase-internal position. The schwa then becomes *u* if it is followed by a labial glide:

(70)   ʝ*ə̀*   *wèhín*   →   [ʝù wèhíŋ]
        cow   DEM
        'this cow'

Here are other examples:

(71)   *sə̀*   *gwáɗ*   *zà*   →   [sù gwáɗ zà]
        1SG   satiate   EE
        'I am sated'

        ábə̀   *kwóydùm*   →   [ábù kwóydùm]
        ASSC   ease (F.)
        'easily'

Schwa may become round when followed by a round vowel in the next syllable, even if the two are separated by an obstruent:

(72)   *kə̀*   *tók*   →   [kùtók]
        INF   finish

        ábə̀   *hóŋ*   →   [ábù hóŋ]
        ASSC   2SG
        'with you'

The high front vowel undergoes rounding in the same circumstances:

(73)   *dî*   *wùdə́*   →   [dṹ wùdə́]
        put   food
        'put food'

4. Syllabification
4.1 Syllable structures

The following syllabic structures are allowed (period marks syllabic boundary):

V   *a* 'third singular subject', *á.bə̀* 'associative marker, singular'
        i 'third person plural subject'

S   (S stands for a sonorant). Only nasal consonants can be syllabic
     peaks: *ńtsà* 'vulva', *ńtsùr* 'nose', *ńvà* 'excrement'
VC   An example of the VC syllable is the verb *if* 'blow', the form oc-
     curring in verb reduplication. Most VC syllables occur across a
     morpheme boundaries or as a result of the final vowel deletion in
     a VCV structure:

(74)   *á*   *wtə́*   *tə́-kínèŋ*   →   [áw.tə́.tə́.kí.nèŋ]
       PRED village GEN-2PL
       'at your place'

CV   *tá* 'genitive marker' (*tə́* in phrase-internal position)
CVC   *dòk* 'horse', *tə́r* 'month' (in phrase-internal position)
CSV   *grá* 'find', *trá* 'month, time'
      There are no CSVC syllables.

To prevent a disallowed syllable structure including disallowed con-
sonant clusters from emerging as the result of vowel deletion, a schwa is
inserted in lieu of the deleted vowel. Although various syllabic structures
are allowed, some structures are preferred over others. Thus although
there are structures of the type CSV, in the process of syllabification the
structure CVS is preferred over the structure CSV. Consider the word *trá*
'month, time'. When it is followed by another word within a phrase, the
final vowel is deleted. The syllabification process does not insert schwa
after the second consonant, but rather after the first. The tone of the
morpheme remains the same:

(75)   *trá*   *láy*   →   tr'   láy   →   [tə́r láy]

       tə́r   *láy*   *tə́*   *mìtə̃́s*
       month time   GEN   hunger
       'The year of the hunger.'

Similarly the auxiliary verb *gr'* 'search' is realized as *gə́r*:

(76)   *á*   *gə́r*   *kə́*   *nd-á-k*   *ksə́m*   *skù*
       3SG   try   INF   go-GO-1SG   body   NEG
       'It will not touch me' (e.g. about an arrow)

The principles of syllabification make it possible to establish some
phonetic sequences [nd] and [ng] as prenasalized stops rather than se-
quences of two underlying consonants. In the process of syllabification

the underlying segments *nd* and *ng* never become **nəd* or **nəg* but rather *ndə* or *ngə*:

(77) *í   ndə̀   kə́   bèr-é* . . .
      3PL   go   INF   sell-GO
      'They were going to sell . . . '

      ngə̀ɗ   ngə̀ɗ   í   ngə̀ɗ
      count   count 3PL   count
      'They counted . . .'

Syllable-initial sequences of three consonants are not allowed.

The schwa is inserted between words in a clause to prevent a disallowed syllable structure from emerging. In the following example, a verb borrowed from Fula, *naast* 'enter', is realized as *nástə́* with final schwa because it is followed by a preposition with an initial consonant:

(78) *nd-á   nástə́   nə̀   yə̀m*
      go-GO   enter (F.)   PREP   water
      'and entered into the water' (natural discourse example)

A schwa is also inserted to prevent a disallowed consonantal sequence from emerging. The sequence of a continuant followed by another continuant is disallowed, and consequently the schwa is inserted between the consonants:

(79) *kə́   ndə̀   zá   fú* →   kə́ nd z′ fú →   [kə́ ndə̀ zə́fú]
      INF   go   EE   always
      'Each time she went . . .'

4.2 Syllable reduction

The problem to be discussed under syllable reduction is presented by the alternation between the forms *wùtá* and *wtə́* 'village'. When this noun is phrase final, it is realized as *wùtá*:

(80) *ábə̀   nd-á   ngə̀n   wùtá*
      ASSC   go-GO   3SG   village
      'Then she returned to her village'

í   tsú   á   wùtá   mìɗ
3PL   go   PRED   village but
'They went home but . . .'

When this noun is in phrase-internal position, it is realized as *wtə́*:

(81)   á   wtə́   cíŋ
        PRED   village his father
        'at his father's'

The explanation of the phrase-internal form [wtə́] is as follows: The high vowel is reduced to Ø after the homo-organic glide if the syllabification conditions allow. Thus *wùtá* (citation form) is reduced to *wtá*. Other examples of the application of high round vowel reduction after labial glide:

(82)   à   zə̀m-á   wùdá   or [à zə̀má wdà]
        3SG   eat-GO   food
        'he ate the food'

Compare the non-reduced second vowel:

(83)   wùdə́   nàn
        food   1SG
        'my food'

5. Glide formation

There are two sources of phonetic glides. One is the underlying glide; the other is a product of phonological rules. The presence of underlying glides is evidenced by the word-initial forms, as illustrated earlier in this chapter. Here is additional evidence for the underlying glide as the initial segment of the stative marker -*yi* which is reduced to [y] in word final position:

(84)   mə̀   nd-à-y   zá   →   [mə̀ ndày] or [mù ndày]
        REL   go-GO-STAT EE
        'he has come'

The underlying *i* becomes a palatal glide following the low vowel:

(85)   *á   ìdə́   tùkóŋ*   →   [áydə́ tùkóŋ]
        PRED house 2SG
        'at your compound'

6. Tone
6.1 The system and the functions of tone

There are two tones, low, marked by grave ` and high, marked by acute ´.
Tone has lexical and grammatical functions: *ɓá* 'cut' and *ɓà* 'a single
bovine, cow, bull', *yə̀m* 'water' and *yə́m* 'also', *vàk* 'river sand', *hàyák*
'country, earth'.

Tone also may distinguish between grammatical morphemes. Low
tone on inherently high tone verbs codes imperative mood.

Some morphemes have inherent tone, and others have polar tone, i.e.
the tone opposite to another tone. Some morphemes that have polar tone
are: the end-of-event marker *za*, the point-of-view of subject marker *ka*,
the dependent habitual marker *ra*, all occurring in verb-phrase-final po-
sition. The third person object suffix *-u* has also polar tone. The infini-
tive marker *kə* has also polar tone: *kə́ də̀m* 'to marry' and *kə̀ də́m* 'pene-
trate, ache, pain' and 'wear trousers, shoes'.

The inherent tone of a morpheme can also undergo a change to code
a number of functions. Thus tones of subject pronouns that are inherently
low become high to code imperative and subjunctive moods. The tones
of verbs that are inherently high become low in the imperative mood and
also in dependent clauses. In the following example the first instantiation
of the verb *ɓə́t* 'take' has high tone in the matrix clause. The second in-
stantiation has low tone, as it occurs in a sequential clause. The third in-
stantiation has high tone, as it again occurs in the matrix clause:

(86)   *kwáyàŋ   ɓə́t   gàdzə̀mbə̀l   ngə̀n   ɓə́t   nákà*
        squirrel   take   guitar   3SG   take   ANAPH
        kə́   kàp-á   nd-á   ɓə́t   dùwə́ŋ
        INF   break-GO   go-GO   take   back
        ngə̀n   dǐy-à   zə̀   ngə̀n   kə́   kə̀də́m
        3SG   put-GO   EE   3SG   PREP   calabash
        ábə̀   ndá   ngə̀n   á   wtá
        ASSC   go:GO 3SG   PRED   house
        'Squirrel took his guitar, the one that he broke, he came to put it
        on his back, as his calabash, and then he returned home'

The tone on monosyllabic and polysyllabic words borrowed from lan-

guages without tone is not predictable. Most borrowings from Fula have high tones: *gaw* 'hunter' → *gáw*; *wurt* 'leave' → *wúrt*; *mallum* 'teacher' → *màllúm*; *deft* 'book' →*déf* 'book, Koran'; *ɗerewol* 'paper'→ *ɗéréwól*. But there are also low-tone borrowed words: *gam* 'because' → *ngàm*; *deftere* 'book'→ *déftèrè*. The same word may have different tones, e.g. *nástó* and *nástò* 'enter'.

6.2 Tone and vowel deletion

If a vowel is deleted the tone of the syllable is also deleted. Consider the behavior of object pronouns. In phrase final position the first person object pronoun is *kù*:

(87) *hídì   wà   mà-nd-á-kù   dèɓ*
      man   DEM REL-beat-OBJ-1SG   lead
      nà   kítà
      PREP justice(F.)
      'It was this person who hit me. Take him to be judged.'

In phrase internal position the final vowel of the pronoun is deleted, and there is no tonal shift:

(88) *kó   màl-á-k   zà*
      INF   catch-GO-1SG   EE
      'He caught me'

      í   kó   lìm-é-k   zà   mùmbùrkó
      3PL   INF   see-GO-1SG EE   yesterday
      'They saw me yesterday'

(89) *hìdì   wèhíŋ á   zá   ván   á   n*
      man   DEM   3SG   COMP   rain   3SG   PREP
      kó   ɗà   á   gòr   kó   nd-á-k
      INF   fall   3SG   want   INF   touch-GO-1SG
      kòsóm skù
      body   NEG
      'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

6.3 Tone and vowel replacement

When a suffix is added to a morpheme ending in a vowel, and the vowel
is by itself not a grammatical marker, such a vowel is deleted before suf-
fixation. The tone that the vowel carried is also deleted. The tone of the
vocalic suffix becomes the tone of the new syllable. Consider the addi-
tion of the goal-orientation marker *á*. The evidence that this marker has
high tone is provided by its realization after CVC verbs:

(90) *à*   *zá*   *ngùl-yìi*   *ɓámbáy*   *tɔ́*   *màcíŋ*
      3SG COMP husband-PL stick   GEN   DEM
      lùw-á-ŋ   *mɔ̀k*
      say-GO-3SG   would you
      'She said, my husband, this stick, say to it'

(91) *hà*   *ndí*   *dzán-á*   *nám*   *skɔ̀n*
      2SG   HAB   find-GO   1DU   thing
      mɔ̀ná   *wà*   *tíkì*
      like   DEM   where
      'Where do you find us things like this?

Consider now addition of the goal-orientation marker to a monosyllabic
verb *ndà* 'go'. After vowel deletion in phrase-internal position, the con-
sonant of the verb and the goal-orientation marker form one syllable
with high- rather than low tone:

(92) *tséy*   *mbí*   *dĕw*   *kɔ́*   *báy*   **ndá**   *ɓàt*
      so   3SG   sit   like   chief   go:GO take
      mɔ́mɔ́ŋ   *áɓɔ̀*   *cíŋ*
      his mother   ASSC his father
      'Then he became a chief, and he came to take his mother and fa-
      ther.'

6.4 The operation of the polar tone

The assignment of the tone to a morpheme that has polar tone is based
on the preceding or the following tone. Consider the addition of the third
person object pronoun *u*. The tone of this pronoun is polar, opposite of
the tone of the preceding verb. The evidence that the tone is polar is pro-
vided the tone of the suffix when added to CVC verbs. First examples of
the third person suffix added to high-tone verbs:

(93) mbà   à   ʒ-á   sáŋ   sà   mà   káp-ù
      child   3SG   say-GO   1SG   1SG   REL   break-3SG
      'The child said, "It is me that broke it."'

(94) ví   à   mbál-ù   ví   à   mbál-ù
      who   3SG   like-3SG who   3SG   like-3SG
      'Everybody liked her'

Here is an example of the third person suffix added to a low tone verb. According to the hypothesis about the tone of the suffix being polar, it carries high tone:

(95) dzàw   í   dzàw-ú   á   dùwón   màdìngwòrzé
      attach 3PL   attach-3SG PRED back   donkey
      'They attached it to the back of the donkey.'

Similarly the point-of-view of subject marker *ka* has a polar tone, as evidenced by the following examples:

(96) wàl   màsáláɗ   í   ndí   gám   kà
      woman   lazy   3PL   HAB   chase   POS
      'The lazy woman is chased away.'

(97) à   zá   sà   táŋ   táŋ   zà   nd-á
      3SG   COMP   1SG   walk   walk   EE   go-GO
      wídìŋ   kà   ták   kàtàf   ká   wàcíŋ   sà
      snake   INF   block   road   POS   DEM   1SG
      dìyà   ǹdə̀   táŋ
      start   beat   DED
      'He said, "I was walking, walking, and there was a snake block-
      ing the road, and I started to hit it."'

The determining factor in assignment of the polar tone is the last pre-ceding tone as realized in the surface structure, rather than the underlying tone. When the point-of-view of subject marker follows a verb with object pronoun and with the goal-orientation marker *á*, i.e. a marker with high tone, the point of view-of-subject marker has low tone. The tone of the point-of-view of subject marker would have been high if it were to be sensitive to the tone of the object marker, which by rule should be low:

(98)   *mbí*   *mà*   *tr-á-k*   ***kà***
       ANAPH   REL   save-GO-1SG   POS
       'It is he who saved me!' (*tár* 'separate people who are fighting';
       'save')

Similarly the third person object marker added to the consonantal
root, has the tone opposite of the last preceding tone:

(99)   *hà*   *tál kə́*   *màl*   *bà*   *wàdá*   *mámáŋ*
       2SG   try INF   seize   ASSC   food   his mother
       mà   ***d-ú***
       REL   cook-3SG
       'If you try to discipline [children] with food [be refusing food] it
       is the mother who cooks it'

If the object were to be sensitive to the underlying tone of the verb,
which is low, the tone of the object marker *u* would have been high.

7. Conclusions

The consonantal system of Mina is characterized by the presence of pre-
nasalized and glottalized stops in addition to oral and nasal stops. The
language has a series of continuants, including voiceless and voiced lat-
eral continuants, and it also has two affricates. There are clusters with
different values for the feature voice. No geminated consonants are al-
lowed except for the lateral liquid. Continuants and affricates are pala-
talized before a high front vowel. The vowel system consists of six vow-
els, including schwa. There is a fronting vowel harmony whereby if a
back vowel follows a consonant that is preceded by a front vowel, the
back vowel is fronted. A palatal glide is a barrier to vowel harmony.
There is also a very limited leftward vowel harmony, whereby the vowel
a undergoes fronting when followed by a consonant and a front vowel.
An outstanding feature of the phonological system of Mina is interaction
between syntax and phonology whereby all word-final vowels other than
grammatical morphemes are deleted in phrase-internal position. Vowel
retention is a marker of the phrase-final position, and vowel deletion is a
marker of the phrase-internal position. The language has two tones, high
and low. The tone has lexical and grammatical functions. Some mor-
phemes have inherent tones and others have polar tones, determined by
the following or preceding tone. When the final vowel of a word is de
leted, the tone of the vowel is deleted as well.

We describe the operation of tone in various sections, where the tone plays the grammatical role or when the underlying tones of morphemes are affected.

Chapter 3

The structure of the noun phrase

1. Introduction

The noun phrase may have the following structure: Head (Number) (Modifier) (Determiner) (Number). The head of a noun phrase is that element that can occur alone in lieu of the noun phrase. The head of the noun phrase may be a noun, a pronoun, or a demonstrative.

There are four types of modifying constructions: (1) appositional constructions with no morphological marker; (2) constructions consisting of a noun, the preposition *tə̀*, and either a noun or an adjective as a modifier; (3) constructions consisting of a noun and the relative clause marker *mə̀*, which can be followed by either nouns or verbs as modifiers; (4) constructions of the form (Noun) *lə̀* Noun. The plural marker may be added either to the head noun or at the end of the noun phrase, or it may appear in both positions at the same time. The noun phrase may also consist of two noun phrases joined by the associative preposition *b.*

In what follows we describe various components of the noun phrase and the way they interact with each other. In Chapter 16 (Reference system) we discuss the system of reference, which includes the coding of previous mention, deixis, definiteness, coreference, and switch reference. These functions involve the use of the nouns followed by determiners.

2. The defining features of the category noun

The defining characteristic of the category "noun" is its ability to function as an argument of a proposition without any morphological modifications. This characteristic distinguishes nouns from verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Verbs and adjectives cannot serve as arguments without some modification, and this characteristic distinguishes them from nouns. Nouns cannot perform the adverbial function without some previous modification or without prepositions, and this characteristic distinguishes them from adverbs.

3. Noun stems

The noun stem may have any of the following forms (phrase-final forms are quoted):

CV	*ɓà* 'cow', *mbù* 'child'
CVC	*dòk* 'horse'
VCV	*ìná* 'Hina' (place name)
CCV	*ndrì* 'sorghum'
CCVC	*krὸm* 'dry season', *vrὸts* 'mosquito'
CVCV	*dámù* 'bush'
CVCCV	*mɔ́ŋwà* 'pancreas'
CVCVC	*kὸtɔf* 'road', *zàvày* 'hump, humpback'
CVCVCV	*nèwéné* or *nèwéní* 'salt'
CVCCVCV	*máɓtàgà* 'cloth'
CVCC(C)VC	*dúngùr* 'animal hump', *wírnjìk* 'ashes'
CVCVCVC	*tsìtsélém* [cìcèlém] 'wood'

More-complex lexical structures appear to be composites of several morphemes, lexical, derivational and inflectional, described in the next section.

Some nouns have initial consonant *n*, which in other Chadic languages is probably a borrowed marker (Frajzyngier and Ross 1991). The evidence that the initial nasal is a prefix, even if an old one, is provided by the fact that some of these nouns have variants without the initial *n*. Frajzyngier and Ross note that nouns with a nasal prefix in Chadic languages often denote animals or parts of animals, and this appears to be the case in Mina as well.

(1)   ŋkwà   'goat'   nkw-yíì
       kwà   'goat'   kw-yíì

For the following nouns only the forms with initial nasals were recorded. The examples (2a) have non-syllabic nasals and (2b) contain initial syllabic nasals:

(2a)   *ndùrúk*   'ram'
         ndə̀gwə́ŋ   'brain'
         ndòŋ   'the bottom; the back'
         ngáŋ   'torso'
         ngàwàlà   'co-wife'
         ngàz   'foot; leg; paw; wheel'
         ngàɓ   'herd; flock; crowd'
         ngàɓár   'rooster'
         ngèf   'feather'
         ngùl   'husband'

(2b)   *ńtèk*   'sheep'
         ńtsà   'vulva'
         ńtsùr   'nose'
         ńvà   'excrement'

4. Derivational morphemes

Our data show only three derivational morphemes for the formation of nouns, two of which are productive, *mə̀* and *lə̀*. The noun-final morpheme *-i* is not productive. The only example containing this morpheme is *ʃì* 'meat', derived most probably from *ʃà* 'a single animal of bovine family, undetermined for sex', glossed further in this work as 'cow'. The lack of other examples prevents us from postulating an underlying tone of this morpheme. The evidence that *i* is a morpheme rather than part of a root is provided by the fact that, unlike a lexical word-final vowel, it is not deleted in phrase-internal position:

(3)   *ʃì*   *tə́*   *gə́ldàm*
      meat   GEN   pig
      'pork'

(4)   *ʃì*   *tə́*   *ŋkù-dámù*
      meat   GEN   goat-bush
      'gazelle meat'

The marker *i* may well be a lexicalization of the form that results from the addition of the plural marker *yíi* to the noun *ʃà*, with the ensuing final-vowel reduction.

4.1 The agentive prefix mə̀

The prefix *mə̀*, identical with the relative clause marker, can derive nouns from other lexical categories, more specifically, from verbs and numerals.

When a noun is derived from a verb, the marker *mə̀* precedes the simple or the reduplicated form of the verb. The verb has the simple form if it is followed by the object. If the verb has inherently low tone, it has high tone in the nominalized agentive form:

(5)   *mə̀   lə́m   bíŋ*
       REL   build   room
       'The one who builds a room . . .'

(6)   *kə́   lə̀m   bíŋ   zà*
       INF   build   house   EE
       'He built a room.'

Disyllabic low-low verbs become high-low in the nominalized agentive form:

(7)   *mə̀   téwèl   ɓámbáy*
       REL   twirl   stick
       'the one who twirls the stick'
Cf.:
(8)   *kə́   tèwèl   ɓámbáy   zà*
       INF   twirl   stick   EE
       'He twirled the stick'

The low-high verbs stay low-high in the nominalized agentive form:

(9)   *mə̀   pə̀dák   njúl*
       REL   split   grass
       'the one who splits grass'
Cf.:
(10)   *kə́   pə̀dák   njúl   zà*
       INF   split   grass   EE
       'He split grass'

The verb has the reduplicated form when it is not followed by the object. The same tonal rules apply, low tone verbs become high, and low-low verbs become high-low. Compare the tone on the verb *ngə̀d*

when used in a nominalized expression and when used in a predicative expression:

(11)   *mà   ngə́ɗ ngə́ɗ pə̀l   á   pə̀l   bàtákàr*
       REL   count count detach 3SG   detach bag
       ngə̀ɗ   ngə̀ɗ
       count count
       'The one who was good at counting detached the bag and counted [the seeds].'

(12)   *mà   mbír   mbír*
       REL   jump   jump
       'the one who jumps'
Cf.:
(13)   *kə́   mbìr   zá*
       INF   jump   EE
       'He jumped'

(14)   *mà   ɓím   ɓím*
       REL   listen listen
       'the one who is a listener'
Cf.
(15)   *kə́   ɓìm   zá*
       INF   listen EE
       'He listened'
(16)   *mà   tíy   tíy*
       REL   look   look
       'the one who looks'
Cf.:
(17)   *kə́   tìy   zà*
       INF   look   EE
       'He looked'

High tone verbs stay high in the nominalized agentive form.
     While it may be claimed that the nominalized agentive forms are simply varieties of relative clauses, nevertheless, the marker *mà* is a derivational morpheme, and it can be used with nominal stems:

(18)   *mà-ɓə́m*   'side, border'
       mà-dzàlbáŋ   'river shore, steep'

We consider the marker *mà* to be a derivational morpheme even in

words for which no form without *mə̀* has been recorded. Some of them are names of body parts and animals:

(19)   *mə̀-núnúk*   'forehead'
       mə̀-dìŋwə̀rzé   'donkey'
       mə̀-námnám   'liver'
       mə̀-ndə̀və́ŋ   'rabbit'
       mə̀-kə̀bə́m   'face'

Quite possibly, the noun *mə̀mə́ŋ* 'mother of a third-person' is also a derived form, through the addition of the prefix *mə̀*. Other semantically related items display a different form: *mə̀tsàh* 'your mother', *mànàŋ* 'my mother'.

A form that is probably unrelated, *mə̀* 'mouth' derives names of languages from nouns:

(20)   *mə̀-dzùndzùn* [mə̀ jùnjùn]   'the language of the dzùndzùníyì'
4.2 *The singulative prefix* là

The prefix *là*, whose tone is low with a few exceptions, is added to nouns and to property concept words to mean "one who belongs to X" or "one that has the property X". Nouns derived with the prefix *là* are always [+human]:

(21)   *là-dábà*   'a Daba person' (PL dáb-îì)
       là-márwà   'a Maroua person'
       là-káftákà   'a Kaftaka person'
       là-násárá   'a white man' (PL násár-îì) from Arabic via Fula
       nasaara)

The high tone exceptions are:

lə́-mə́ts   'sick person' (cf. *mə́ts* 'die', 'sickness')
lə́-nyáw   'sick person' (ŋyáw 'sick' in Fula; Mina *ádállà*)

5. Modifying constructions

Modifying constructions have different forms, depending on the inherent semantic and categorial properties of the modifier. Property concept words have a variety of subclasses, which determine the way they are used as modifiers. Use of a noun as a modifier requires a still different

means. The present section is organized according to the class of the modifier, and this in turn is determined by the coding means required for its use.

5.1 Property concept words

There are three classes of lexical items that are referred to as "property concept words" in the present work. The three classes share the defining characteristic of adjectives, viz., they have an inherent modifying function. All classes of property concept words follow the heads they modify. For all classes the head and modifier are one phrase, as evidenced by the phonological changes on the head noun, viz. deletion of the final vowel of the noun and insertion of the epenthetic schwa if so required by the syllabic structure. The three classes differ in the way they are used in the attributive function.

The first class consists of lexical items that can modify a noun without use of additional syntactic or morphological means. This class is exceedingly small. We were able to identify only the following items as belonging to this class: *báytàŋ* 'large', *pár* 'another'. The form *báytàŋ* appears to have the suffix *n*, the same suffix that is added to pronouns and deictics in phrase-final position. The evidence for this hypothesis is the distribution of the form *báytàŋ*, which occurs only in phrase-final position. In phrase-internal position the form is *báytà*. (The examples that follow each adjective are provided as evidence of the inherent modifying function of the class of adjectives.)

(22) *sà   ká   lìm   ŋkù   báytà   zà*
      1SG   INF   see   goat   large   EE
      á   ìdà   tàkóŋ
      PRED   house   2SG
      'I saw a large goat at your compound'

Compare the phrase above with the predicative construction, which consists of two phrases, the subject phrase and the predicate:

(23) *ŋkù   wà   báytàŋ*
      goat   DEM   large
      'That goat is large.'

The form *pár* 'another' is an adjective:

(24)   *skɔ̀ŋ*   *pár*
      thing   another
      'another thing'

(25)   *vì*   *pár*
      rainy season   another
      'another rainy season'

The adjectival modifier may be reduplicated, for the coding of plurality of the attribute:

(26)   *ɓámbáy lɔ̀kwíɗ lɔ̀kwíɗ lɔ̀kwíɗ lɔ̀kwíɗ*
      stick   straight straight straight straight
      'a very straight stick.'

The second type of property concept words must have the relative marker *mɔ̀* preceding them. The attributive construction is therefore quite similar to the attributive construction where the modifier is a relative clause. The construction forms one phrasal category with the head noun, as evidenced by the phonological reduction of the head noun:

(27)   *ŋkùm*   *fés*
      goat   REL   small
      'a small goat'

Cf.:

(28)   *ŋkwà*   *fés*
      goat   small
      'The goat is small.'

Some of the lexical items in this class are *jíŋ* 'tall', *dùk* 'short', *cèrcèr* 'narrow', *p'úm* or *p'ɔ́m* 'deep' (*p* is ejective), *tɔ̀ɫàɗǎy* 'shallow, exposed':

(29)   *hìdɔ̀*   *mɔ̀*   *jíŋ*
      man   REL   tall
      'a tall man'

(30)   *hìdɔ̀*   *mɔ̀*   *dùk*
      man   REL   short
      'a short man'

(31)   *làkwát mə̀*   *p'ə́m*
      river REL   deep
      'a deep river'

(32)   *làkwát*   *mə̀*   *tàɬàdǎy*
      river   REL   shallow
      'a shallow river'

We also have in our records what appears to be a compound, *mbír dèdèd* 'multicolor':

(33)   *rùkùt mə̀*   *mbír dèdèd*
      dress REL   multicolor
      'a multicolored dress'

The lexical items of types one and two are not verbs. They do not allow morphemes that are otherwise associated with verbs, such as aspectual markers and tense markers. Although they form predicative constructions through linear order, unlike verbs in topicalized constructions, the property concept predicates do not allow the third-person subject pronoun *à*:

(34)   *hìdù*   *wà*   *jín*
      man   DEM   tall
      'The man is tall.'

(35)   *làkwát*   *wà*   *p'úm*
      river   DEM deep
      'The river is deep.'

(36)   *rùkùt*   *wà*   *mbír dèdèd*
      dress   DEM   multicolor
      'The dress is multicolored.'

The lexical items from classes one and two are not nouns because they cannot serve as arguments. Lack of the usual morphological and syntactic characteristics of verbs and nouns sets apart these two classes as a separate lexical category from both nouns and verbs. These two classes represent inherent adjectives.

    The third type is similar to nouns with respect to its attributive and predicative functions. To this class belong many property concepts derived through the suffix *-ék*: *kwèdék* 'white', *gùžék* 'red' (covers the

range of red, orange, yellow, brown), *délék* 'green, blue'. Other color terms are: *ùzóŋ* 'dark' (e.g. about a cloud-covered sky), *kùlóh* 'gray'. The adjective *nék* 'good' appears to be one of those derived forms. We do not, however, have independently attested base forms without the ending *-ék*. Modification for these property concepts is realized by a construction consisting of the head noun, followed by the genitive marker *tɔ́*, followed by the modifier. Color terms belong to this type of modifier. The lexeme *yɔ̀m* 'water' partially overlaps with the term "color" and is often used in the description of colors:

(37)   *mátàgɔ̀*   *tɔ́*   *yɔ̀m*   *tú*   *gwàr*
       cloth   GEN   water   GEN   cola nut (F.)
       'orange cloth'

(38)   *rùkùt*   *tɔ́*   *lvèŋ*
       shirt   GEN   black
       'a black shirt '

Property concept words belonging to this group have to be reduplicated in the predicative construction, a property that is not shared by any other class of lexical items:

(39)   *wìží*   *báy-yíi*   *ɓɔ̀t*   *ɓám*   *dídèk*   *dídèk*
       children   chief-PL   take   eat   sweet   sweet
       'The chief's children took it and ate it. It was sweet.'

For the concept "transparent" an ingenious periphrastic construction is used:

(40)   *tìy*   *tóŋ*
       see   pass
       'transparent'

The reduplication of the adjectival phrase codes intensification of the adjectival concept:

(41)   *ɮámbáy lɔ̀kwíd lɔ̀kwíd lɔ̀kwíd lɔ̀kwíd*
       stick   straight straight straight straight
       'very straight stick'

Color terms can also be formed through true relative clause constructions. The word *sigine* (no palatalization of *s*) 'indigo plant', bor-

rowed from Fula, forms a modifying construction through the relative marker *mə̀* and the verb *ná* 'to be like':

(42)   *rùkùt*   *mə̀*   *nà*   *sígìné*
           dress   REL   like   indigo plant
           'the dress like an indigo plant' (blue)

5.2 Connecting modifiers by the preposition *tə́*

Several types of expressions are formed through the use of the preposition *tə́*, glossed as GEN for genitive. We use the term 'genitive marker' as an identifying term rather than as a product of analysis. The modifying constructions coded by this marker include possessive expressions, some attributive modifications, and modification by adverbial expressions. Structurally there is no difference among them, but for a linguist looking for data for typological research, it is useful to divide the section into various semantic concepts that in other languages may have separate formal representations. Hence the subsections below are intended to facilitate reading rather than to represent different structures of the language.

    The head noun has final vowels deleted, as amply illustrated in examples below. This indicates that the head noun forms one phrase with the following modifying construction.

5.2.1   The modifying construction with a noun as a modifier

The modifying construction using the preposition *tə́*, has the form Noun phrase *tə́* Modifier. The modifier must be a noun, but the range of functions coded by such modification is quite wide, at least as reflected by the number of categories that cover the same range in other languages. No distinction is coded between alienable and inalienable possession. As per the rule of vowel rounding, the schwa of the marker *tə́* is rounded before a round glide or a vowel.

    The construction is used to code relationship between the whole and a part:

(43)   *ngàzù*   *wá*   *tú*   *wàl*   *nàŋ*
           foot   DEM   GEN   wife   1SG
           'That is my wife's foot.'

(44)   tàlàn   tə́   záváŋ-yíì
        head   GEN   guinea fowl-PL
        'the heads of the guinea fowl'

It is also used for family relations, e.g. wife of X:

(45)   wàl   tə́   kwáykwáy   mèsáw mèsáw
        woman   GEN   hyena   grill grill
        tók   zà
        finish   EE
        'The wife of the hyena finished grilling.'

The construction is used to code the purpose of an object:

(46)   mĭvəŋ   tə́   tápá
        stone   GEN   tobacco
        'tobacco stone'

(47)   tèbéŋ   tə́   ndìr   dähà
        granary   GEN   sorghum   exist
        'There is a granary of sorghum'

(48)   tèbéŋ   tə́   kəkəs   dähà
        granary   GEN   beans   exist
        'There is a granary of beans'

The construction is also used to code an attribute of an object:

(49)   hál   tə́   ɮámbáy   ngəŋ
        limit   GEN   stick   3SG
        'the area delimited by his stick.'

(50)   cìkíɗ   tə́   gwídìŋ
        sesame   GEN   single
        'a single sesame seed'

        láy   tə́   mìtĩ́s
        time   GEN   hunger
        'time of hunger'

The construction is used to modify an object by its place:

(51) *hìd*   *tɔ́*   *nfáᵈ-yîi*
      man   GEN   palace (F.)-PL
      'the men of the palace'

The construction with the genitive marker may also be used to code modification through a demonstrative pronoun in topicalization constructions:

(52) *à*   *zá*   *ngùl-yîi*   *ɓámbáy*   *tɔ́*   *màcíŋ*
      3SG   COMP husband-PL   stick   GEN   DEM
      lùw-á-ŋ   *mɔ̀k*
      say-GO-3SG   would you
      'She said, my husband, this stick, say to it,'

The preposition *tɔ́* is derived from the determiner *tá*, which otherwise codes deduced reference. The evidence for the identity of the two forms is provided by emphatic genitive constructions, when the form *tá* is expanded to the phrase final form *táŋ*. The importance of this form is that it is identical with the phrase final form of the deduced reference marker *tá*:

(53) *mɔ̀l*   *íi*   *mɔ̀l-á-ŋ*   *ɓà*   *báytàŋ* *ɓà*   ***táŋ***
      seize   3PL   seize-GO-3SG cow   large   cow   GEN
      ngùl   *nd-á*   *pá*   *í*   *vɔ̀l-á-ŋ*   *kàdɔ́m*
      male   go-GO   give   3PL   give-GO-3SG   calabash
      'They caught a large cow, a bull, for him, and they gave him a calabash [to fill it with the milk from the bull].'

5.2.2 Multiple modifying constructions

Multiple modifying constructions can be formed through the multiple use of the genitive marker *tɔ́*:

(54) *séy*   *báy*   *ɓɔ̀t*   *zánà*   *tɔ́*   *mìč*
      so   chief   take   cloth wrap   GEN   corps
      té   *gwídìŋ*   *pá*   *á*   *nɔ̀*   *wàl*
      GEN   single   give   PRED   PREP woman
      wàcíŋ
      DEM
      'The chief took a single shroud and gave it to this woman.'

6. Possessive pronouns

The modifying structure with pronominal possessors is Noun *tə* Pronoun. The marker *tə* does not occur with the first- and third-person singular, because the preposition *t* assimilates completely to the initial nasal consonant of the first and third person pronouns. This fact is an argument against a potential analysis of schwa being a product of vowel reduction rather than vowel insertion. If it were a product of vowel reduction it would not be deleted. Possessive pronouns have low tone:

(55)   *ɓət   á   ɓət   déftèr   ngòn*
     take   3SG   take   book   3SG
     'He took out his Koran.'

(56)   *wàl   nàn*
     wife   1SG
     'my wife'

A phonetic realization of the genitive marker in these constructions results in ungrammatical phrases:

(57)   **wàl   tə   nàn*
     wife   GEN   1SG
     for 'my wife'

The evidence that the consonant *t* of the genitive marker is deleted before an alveolar nasal is provided by the fact it does occur before suffixes beginning with other consonants, including the labial nasal.

If a noun is modified by an adjectival modifier in addition to a possessive pronoun, the order of modifiers is Possessive Adjective:

(58)   *wàl   ngòn   màdáràf*
     wife   3SG   favorite (the most loved)
     'His favorite wife'

Possessive pronouns, except for the third-person singular, like other pronouns in Mina, have different forms in phrase-internal and phrase-final position. In phrase-final position all pronouns have the nasal suffix. In phrase-internal position there is no suffix. The following is the set of possessive pronouns in phrase-final position:

Possessive pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*nàŋ*	*tə̀-mù*	*t-ínéŋ* EXCL
			t-òkóŋ INCL
2	*tə̀-kóŋ*		*t-íkínéŋ*
3	*ngə̀ŋ*		*tə̀tàŋ*

Illustrated on the noun *gə̀dûrì* 'pot':

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*gə̀dûr-nàŋ*	*gə̀dûr-tə̀-mù*	*gə̀dûr-t-ínéŋ* EXCL
			gə̀dûr-t-òkóŋ INCL
2	*gə̀dûr-t-kóŋ*		*gə̀dûr-t-íkínéŋ*
3	*gə̀dûr-ngə̀ŋ*		*gə̀dûr-t-ít-yíì*
			gə̀dûr tə̀-táŋ

The final vowel of the noun, if any, is deleted before the possessive suffix, as illustrated by the following partial paradigm for the possessive form of the noun *rá* 'hand', which becomes *r* in phrase-internal position:

(59) | *r* | *t-òkóŋ* | 'our hands INCL' |
	r	*t-ìkíníŋ*	'your hands' [r-t-ìkínéŋ]
	r	*tə̀-mú*	'our hands DUAL'
	r	*t-ìníŋ*	'our hands EXCL'

In phrase-internal position possessive pronouns do not have the nasal suffix, and the underlying final vowel of pronouns is deleted. The epenthetic schwa may be added if required by syllabification conditions. The third-person singular possessive pronoun has the same form in phrase-internal and phrase-final position:

Possessive pronouns (phrase internal)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*n*	*tə̀-m*	*t-ín* EXCL
			t-òk INCL
2	*tə̀-k*		*t-íkín*
3	*ngə̀ŋ*		*tət*

Here is an example of the first-person singular pronoun in phrase-internal position:

(60) *áá*   *wàl*   *nà*   *ká*   *dzán-á*
      ah   wife   1SG   INF   find-GO
      skàn   *pár*   *zà*   *bàdàp*
      thing   another   EE   again
      'Ah, my wife found another thing again.'

The nominal plural marker follows the possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun occurs then in phrase-internal form:

(61) *ngùl*   *nà*   *dáhà*   *wàží*
      husband   1SG   exist   children
      n-yíì   *dáhà*
      1SG-PL   exist
      'I have a husband, I have children.'

(62) *ngwáy*   *á*   *wàží*   ***túk-yíì***
      'say'   PRED   children   2SG-PL
      dáy   *dáy*   *á*   *tán*   *fĩs*
      much   much   PRED   1SG   small
      'Say, for your children it is a lot, for me it is little.'

(63) *ɓàt*   *á*   *ɓàt*   *ᶂámbáy*   *ngàn*
      get   3SG   get   stick   3SG
      dîyà   *žéɓ*   *tàŋ*
      put   follow DED
      'He got his stick and went to follow her.'

Possessive pronouns may be followed by the determiner *tá*:

(64) *séy*   *má*   *ngùl*   *ngùl*   *ká*   *wà*
      so   REL   husband   husband   INF   start
      kédéŋ   *ngàn*   *tá*   *zà*   *bádàp*
      stupidity   3SG   DED   EE   again
      'Then the husband started again with that stupidity of his.'

The third-person plural possessive pronoun also has two variants, a phrase-internal form *tàt-*, which also occurs before the plural marker *yíì*, and phrase-final form *tàtàŋ*:

(65) *hàz*   *tàt-yíì*
      dog   3PL-PL
      'their dogs'

(66)   *hàz*   *tàtàŋ*
     dog   3PL
     'their dog'

(67)   *gómbòk-yìì*   *cìɓéw*   *á*   *páláh*   *nà*   *fàt fàt*
     frog-PL   all   PRED   outside   go   skin skin
     í   *fàt*   *ǩì*   *tàtàŋ*
     3PL   skin   meat   3PL
     'All the frogs went outside and skinned their meat.'

7. Possession, kinship terms, and the addressee

Some kinship terms have a different possessive form from the one that would be productively derived through the suffixation of possessive pronouns. The form of the word for "father" differs, depending on whether the reference is to the father of the speaker, the father of the addressee, or the father of a third-person: *vàì* 'my father, daddy' (reduced to *và* in phrase-internal position) followed by the first person possessive pronoun, *cèh* 'your father', *cíŋ* 'his father'. The second-and third-person possessive forms are not followed by a pronoun if the possessor is singular:

(68)   *tsú*   *(á)*   *r*   *và*   *nàŋ*
     went   (PRED)   PREP   father   1SG
     'He went to my father.'

(69)   *tsú*   *(á)*   *r*   *cíŋ*
     went   (PRED)   PREP   his father
     'He went to his father.'

(70)   *tsú*   *(á)*   *r*   *céh*
     went   (PRED)   PREP   your father
     'He went to your father.'

The plural pronominal possessors of the noun 'father' is marked by the plural possessive pronouns following the person-marked form of the noun 'father':

(71) *tsú*   *(á)*   *r*   *céh*   *tákínéŋ*
      went   (PRED)   PREP your father   2PL
      'He went to your father.'

(72) *vái tòkóŋ*
      'our father'

The term *cín* 'father of a third-person' can be used with a nominal possessor:

(73) *ɓàt*   *ŋkwà* *pà*   *á*   *vl-á-ŋ*   *nà*
      take   goat   give   3SG   give-GO-3SG   PREP
      cíŋ   *ngámbù*   *ngòŋ*   *nákà* *wàcíŋ*
      father.3SG   friend   3SG   REM   DEM
      'He took a goat and gave it to the father of a friend of his.'

Similarly the noun for 'mother' *mái* takes second- and third-person possessive pronouns different from the ones occurring with other nouns. The first-person pronoun is the same as with other nouns:

(74) *mái*   'mother'
      má   *nàŋ*   'my mother'
      má   *tsáh*   'your mother'
      mà   *máŋ*   'his mother'

Similarly with the terms for "grandmother," the first person is most probably derived through the suffixation of the first person singular possessive pronoun to the noun *dìdí* 'grandmother'. The argument for suffixation is provided by the fronting vowel harmony affecting the pronoun *náŋ*. Note that the pronoun has high tone, although in other possessive constructions it has low tone. The second- and third-person singular forms are not derived through suffixation, at least not in contemporary language. All plural possessive constructions are formed through the addition of the plural possessive pronouns:

(75)   *dìnéŋ*   'my grandmother'
       dàkwáh   'your grandmother'
       dàkúŋ   'his grandmother'
       dìdí   tòmú   'our (DU) grandmother'
       dìdí   tìníŋ   'our (EXCL) grandmother'
       dìdí   tòkóŋ   'our (INCL) grandmother'
       dìdí   tìkínèŋ   'your grandmother'
       dìdí   tòtàŋ   'their grandmother'

Some possessive kinship terms have a different form depending on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. When a wife is addressing her husband or the husband is addressing his wife, each has the option of using either the first-person singular possessive pronoun or the plural nominal suffix without the possessive pronoun:

First-person singular pronoun used:

(76)   *ngùl*   *ngòn   zá*   *wàl   nàn*
       husband   3SG   COMP   wife   1SG
       hà   ndí   dzán-á   *nám   skòn*
       2SG   HAB   find-GO   1DU   thing
       mòná   wà   tíkì
       like   DEM   where
       'Her husband said, "My wife, where do you find us things like this?"'

Plural suffix used:

(77)   *hà   tsáf   skù   syì   wàlí-yìì*
       2SG   lie   NEG   COM   woman-PL
       'You're not lying, my wife?'

(78)   *à   zá   ngùl-yìì   ǥámbáy   tó*
       3SG   COMP   husband-PL   stick   GEN
       màcíŋ   lùw-á-ŋ   *mòk*
       DEM.L   say-GO-3SG   would you
       'She said, "My husband, this stick, say to it,"'

The possessive pronoun, not the plural nominal suffix, is used with nouns "wife" and "husband" when one is not addressing one's own spouse:

(79)   *áwwá   ngwáy wàl   nà   dà*
        INTERJ   people wife   1SG   cook
        ksám   ngòn   vàŋgáy
        body   3SG   how
        'The man screamed, "How did my wife cook herself?"'

The pronominal plural possessors have the genitive marker *tá* following the lexicalized forms:

(80)   *máy tòkóŋ*   'our (INCL) mother'
        mán tìnéŋ   'our .(EXCL) mother'
        máy tàmù   'our (DU) mother'

        mátsáh tá kínèŋ   'your (PL) mother'
        mámáŋ tàtàŋ   'their mother'
        mámáŋ tàtíì   'their mothers'

8. Attributive functions through the genitive marker

Several types of property concept terms modify a noun through the genitive particle *tá*. Most lexical items formed by the suffix *-ék* belong to this group:

(81)   *gàmták   tá   kwèɗ-ék*
        chicken   GEN   white
        'white chicken'

(82)   *máɬàgà   tá   gùž-ék*
        cloth   GEN   red
        'red cloth'

(83)   *máɬàgà   tá   ɗél-ék*
        cloth   GEN   green
        'green/blue cloth'

But also other property concept terms require the genitive construction:

(84)   *mbà   tá   ɓílèŋ*
        child   GEN   strong
        'a strong child'

(85)   *ɟə̀*   *tə́*   *lìvèŋ*
         cow   GEN   black
         'a black cow'

A number of adverbial expressions of place may serve as modifiers of a noun if they are connected by the genitive marker *tə́*. One such expression is the locative deictic adverbial *ngíɗ* 'there'. The schwa of the genitive marker assimilates to the following vowel and becomes [tí ngíɗ]:

(86)   *dòk*   *tə́*   *ngíɗ*
         horse   GEN   DEM
         'the horse far away' (can be seen with difficulty)

9. Headless genitive constructions

Headless genitive constructions, viz. constructions consisting only of the genitive marker *tə́* and modifier, are very frequent. Recall that the pronominal object is not coded with a finite transitive verb. Nevertheless, if such an object is modified, the modifying construction alone is used. In the following example, the genitive marker *tə́* is followed by a locative prepositional phrase:

(87)   *if*   *á*   *if-é*   *tə́*   *n*   *fòrə́m*   *wà*   *dàp*
         blow   3SG   blow-GO   GEN   PREP   horn   DEM   only
         'She blew that which was in the horn.'

(88)   *hà*   *ɟə̀k-á*   *tə́*   *r*
         2SG   plant-GO   GEN   PREP
         ɟə́lcéh   *tə̀*   *vú*
         paternal relative   DED   Q
         'Did you plant that one which is at your paternal uncle's?'

The expression *tə́ ngíɗ* 'GEN DEM' can function as a noun phrase, e.g. as an argument of a clause:

(89)   *tə́*   *ngíɗ*   *wà*   *mí*
         GEN   DEM   DEM   what
         'What is that thing there?'

(90)   *tə́*   *ngíɗ*   *wà*   *ví*
       GEN   DEM   DEM   who
       'Who is that person there?'

(91)   *tə́*   *ngíɗ*   *mí*
       GEN   DEM   what
       'What is there?'

(92)   *tə́*   *ngíɗ*   *ví*
       GEN   DEM   who
       'Who is there?'

10. Grammaticalization of the preposition

The preposition *tə́* is a phrase-internal form of the determiner *ta*, whose phrase-final form is *taŋ*. The evidence for this hypothesis consists of the fact that the tone of the determiner is the same as that of the genitive marker, and of the fact that the genitive marker has the same segmental structure as the determiner in phrase-internal position. Both have the expected schwa. There is considerable comparative evidence within Chadic that some genitive markers derive from demonstratives and anaphors (cf. Schuh 1981, Frajzyngier 1997).

11. Modification through juxtaposition of two nouns

One way of modifying one noun by another is through juxtaposition. The product of such juxtaposition is a lexicalized item, i.e. an item whose meaning is not fully preditable from the meaning of the components, and where any single item cannot felicitously replace the two items. Hence, the question of which item is the head and which is the modifier cannot be resolved through a synchronic analysis:

(93)   *séy*   *cíŋ*   *nə́f*   *mà*   *ngàts-í*
       so   father:3SG   heart   REL   pinch-STAT
       tsáy   *zà*   *ábə̀*   *mbə̀*   *táŋ*
       completely   EE   ASSC   child   DED
       'Then his father is completely angry with the child.'

The two components of the modifying construction form one phrase as evidenced by the fact that the head noun undergoes vowel reduction:

(94) *tǝ́r*   *láy*   *tǝ́*   *mìtǝ́š*
     month time   GEN hunger
     'the year of the hunger.'

The first noun *trá* 'month, moon' becomes *tǝ́r* through the vowel re-
duction and subsequent schwa insertion required by the syllabification
rules. Juxtaposition without vowel reduction is a coding means for an
equational clause. Structures made through juxtaposition can yield com-
pounding, whereby two nouns are lexicalized as one. The term for 'cat-
erpillar' is *wǝdǝ́ gàmták*, literally "food chicken":

(95) *séy*   *ɓǝt*   **wǝdǝ́ gàmták**
     so   take   caterpillar
     'Then he took the caterpillar.'

The nouns *mà* 'mouth' and *jíɓ* 'hole' when juxtaposed produce *mì-jíɓ*
'entrance to the hole'. Kinship terms "brother" and "sister" are coded by
the juxtaposition "son--your mother" and "daughter--your mother":

(96) *mbǝ̀*   *mátsáh*
     son   mother.2SG
     'your brother'

(97) *háɠǝ̀m*   *mátsáh*
     daughter   mother.2SG
     'your sister'

Our data have a gap with respect to the expressions corresponding to 'his
brother' and 'his sister'.

The genitive construction can be used between *mbǝ̀* /*háɠǝ̀m* and
mátsáh, but its meaning is quite different. It means "son/daughter of
your mother." Such an expression has a strong pejorative meaning and
cannot be used in reference to friends' relatives:

(98) *mbǝ̀*   *tǝ́*   *mátsáh*
     son   GEN mother.2SG
     'son of your mother'

12. Modification through the relative marker

If the property feature has been lexicalized as a verb, the modification of the noun is coded through the relative marker *mə̀*. If the verb is not followed by its object, it is reduplicated:

(99)   *ɓə̀   mə̀   dál-dál*
        cow   REL   sick-sick
        'sick cow'

The negation of a property that has been lexicalized as a verb is coded through the relative marker followed by the negative perfect marker *ták* 'prevent, forbid, decline' and the main verb:

(100) *láy   mə̀   ták   dǐš*
        field   REL   NEG   cultivated
        'the field which is not cultivated '

(101) *ɓì   mə̀   ták   mə̀sár/mə̀sáw*
        meat   REL   NEG   fry/grill
        'the meat that is not fried/grilled (raw meat)'

(102) *yə̀m   mə̀   ták   də̂f*
        water   REL   NEG   boil
        'water that is not boiled (fresh water)'

13. Modification by intensifiers

The nominal (as opposed to pronominal) intensifier function is coded by the noun *tàlàŋ* 'head' plus a possessive pronoun, occurring after the verb. The form codes that the noun X, and only the noun X, is the argument of a given verb.

(103) *kwayaŋ   za   ɗa   sə   tapu*
        squirrel   COMP   go?   1SG   climb
        kə   nga   kə   məsau   talaŋ   naŋ
        INF   break   INF   grill   head   1SG
        'The squirrel said, I will climb, break, and grill it myself' (written sources, hence no tonal notation).

skə̀m   dòk   nə̀   tàlàŋ   tə̀kón
buy   horse   PREP   head   2SG
'Buy yourself a horse.'

14. Modifying constructions and the preposition lə́

There are modifying constructions where the marker *lə́*, glossed as 'of', occurs between the head and the modifier. In such constructions, the head is the owner of the modifier (schwa may undergo rounding when followed by syllable with a labial glide):

(104)   *séy   hìdə̀   lə́   skə̀n   wàcíŋ*
    so   man   of   thing   DEM
    'so the man who has the thing'

(105)   *báy   lə́   dálà*
    chief   of   money
    'the rich chief'

(106)   *hìd   lú   ŋ̀kwà*
    man   of   goat
    'the owner of the goat'

(107)   *séy   hìd   lə́   skə̀n   wàcíŋ*
    so   man   of   thing   DEM
    'so the owner of that thing'

    bíŋ   lə́   wə̀dá
    room   of   food
    'the room where food is'

The form *lə́* can be the first element of a construction, i.e. with no head preceding it. Such a distribution is in agreement with the analysis proposed earlier in the present chapter where *lə́* is considered a derivational morpheme, a form meaning, "having the property X."

(108)   *lə́   násárá*
    'It is a white man'

lá	násár	tá	wàlà
of	white man	GEN	woman

'It is a white woman'

lá wàndálàŋ
'He is Mandara'

A potential source of the marker could be the verb *lá* 'to pull'.

15. Plural formation

There is only one plural marker in Mina, suffix *yìì*. The domain of nominal plural marker is phrasal, not lexical. The plural suffix occurs at the end of the noun phrase. If the noun phrase happens to consist of a noun only, then the plural marker is added to the noun. We have only a few cases when the category plural is marked on the head noun and at the end of the noun phrase at the same time.

15.1 The form of the plural suffix

When the plural marker, phonetically realized as [íì], is added to the noun, it is suffixed to the root rather than to the stem. The final vowel of the singular stem is deleted before the addition of the plural suffix. The plural suffix does not cause the fronting of the preceding vowels nor does it cause palatalization of preceding consonants. Since the morpheme is suffixed and since it does not cause the predictable phonological changes, we postulate that, the underlying form of the morpheme has an initial palatal glide, which constitutes a barrier to the leftward spread of the feature front. Thus, we postulate that the underlying form of the plural marker is *-yìì*.

(109)	Singular		Plural
	hàzá	'dog'	*hàz-yìì* [hàzíì]
	dòk	'horse'	*dòk-yìì* [dòk-íì]
	ɓà	'cow'	*ɓ-yìì* [ɓíì]
	wùtá	'house'	*wùt-yìì*
	wúlà	'neck'	*wúl-yìì*
	ŋkwà	'goat'	*nkw-yìì*
	kwà	'goat'	*kw-yìì*

If the final vowel of the singular stem is *i*, then the difference between singular and plural is marked only by the vowel length and tone. The tone of the penultimate syllable of the noun becomes low when followed by the plural suffix:

	Singular		Plural
(110)	*gàdwírì*	'gravy pot'	[gàdwìríì]

15.2 The function of the plural suffix

Unlike in some other Chadic languages (cf. Frajzyngier 1997), the nominal plural in Mina is a productive category, used independently of the verbal plural, and used with nouns in all grammatical functions, including prepositional phrases. Since in various Chadic languages the coding of nominal plurality is far from predictable, the present section provides a reasonably full description of the functions of plural coding in Mina.

The plural suffix is added to noun phrases in the subject function. The plural suffix is added before the topic marker *wà*:

(111) *hìd-yîi*   *wà*   *í*   *tòtò*   *màkáď*
       man-PL   DEM   3PL   3PL   three
       'There were three men.'

(112) *hìd-yîi*   *wècín* *í*   *tòtò*   *nfáď*
       man-PL   DEM   3PL   3PL   four
       'There were four men.'

(113) *kó*   *ndò*   *zó*   *fú*   *ndò*   *dzáŋ*   *záváŋ-yîi*
       INF   go   EE   always   go   find   guinea fowl-PL
       í   *màr*   *rà*
       3PL   graze   D.HAB
       'Each time she went she found guinea fowl grazing.'

If the subject noun phrase has a modifier, the plural marker may occur at the end of the noun and at the end of the noun phrase, or only at the end of the noun phrase:

(114) *hìd*   *tó*   **nfád-yî**   *zòm*   *zòm*   *fók-á*
       man   GEN   palace (F.)-PL eat   eat   leave-GO
       'The men of the palace all ate and left the remains.'

Coding plurality on the head and at the end of the noun phrase:

(115) *hà   tós   hìd-yîi   tùk-yîi*
       2SG   gather   man-PL   2SG-PL
       'You gather your neighbors . . .'

The plural marker follows the possessive pronouns:

(116) *kwáykwá-yîi   wà   í   tsú   kə́   tàl-á*
       hyena-PL   DEM   3PL   went   INF   walk:GO
       kə́   tàl-á   ŋkù-ngàn-yîi   syì
       INF   walk   goat -SG-PL   COM
       'When the hyenas went to tend their goats, . . .'

The plural marker also follows determiners:

(117) *ndə̀   dzáŋ   á   dzáŋ   dàkáy   t-yîi   dámù*
       go   find   3SG   find   other   DED-PL   bush
       'He went to search for others in the bush.'

The plural marker is added to the noun phrase even if the head noun is inherently plural. This is the case with the noun *wə̀ží* 'children'. In the following examples the noun is followed by a possessive pronoun:

(118) *ngùl   nə̀   də́hà   wə̀ží*
       husband   1SG   exist   children
       n-yîi   də́hà
       1SG-PL   exist
       'I have a husband, I have children.'

(119) *ngwáy   á   wə̀ží   tùk-yîi*
       'say'   PRED   children   2SG-PL
       dáy   dáy   á   tán   fĩ̀s
       much   much   PRED   1SG   small
       'Say, for your children it is a lot, for me it is little.'

We have no instances of the plural marker added directly to inherently plural nouns.

The plural marker is added to the object regardless of whether the verb is marked for plurality. Here is an example of the plural aspect and the plural coding of the object in the same clause:

(120)   *ndə́*   *tsàm*   *tsàm*   *tsàm*   *á*   *tsàmá*   *kíríngíɬ-yíì*
      go   gather   gather   gather   3SG   gather:GO   bone-PL
      'and she gathered bones'

The plural marker used with kinship terms is a first-person posses-
sive polite marker:

(121)   *ngùl-yíì*   *s*   *kə̀*   *dzáŋ-á*
      husband-PL   1SG   INF   find-GO
      nám   *skə̀n*   *zá*
      1DU   thing   EE
      'My husband, I found us something.'

(122)   *há*   *n*   *tsàf*   *skù*   *syì*   *wàl-yíì*
      2SG   PREP   lie   NEG   COM   woman-PL
      '"You're not lying, my woman?"'

If the head of the possessive construction is plural, the plural marker is
added to the end of the possessive phrase or added to both the head and
the possessive marker:

(123)   *hàz*   *tə́*   *bíts-yíì*
      dog   GEN   Bitsi-PL
      'dogs of Bitsi'

The plural suffix is identical with the third-person plural independent
pronoun, and we assume that in Mina, as in many other languages (Fra-
jzyngier 1997), grammaticalization involved the addition of the third-
person plural pronoun to the preceding noun phrase.

16. Coordinating construction through the associative

The singular form of the associative preposition has been recorded as
ábà, *áb*, *b*, and the plural form of the preposition has been recorded as
ìbà and *íb*. The alternation between the forms *áb* and *íb* and the existence
of the pronouns *á* for the third-person singular and *í* for the third-person
plural point to a composite structure of the preposition, consisting of the
third-person singular or plural pronouns plus the marker *b*. The final
schwa of the preposition can be interpreted as epenthetic, inserted when
the syllable structure requires it. The form *ábà* occurs when the first
component is singular and when the second component begins with a

segment that cannot follow *b* directly:

(124) wə̀dá   ábə̀   yə̀m
       food   ASSC water
       'food and water also'

We conclude that the underlying form of the associative preposition is *b*. We gloss the singular form *áb* as ASSC, and the plural form *í-b* as PL-ASSC.

The associative marker indicates that the two nouns belong to one set:

(125) tséy   mbí   d̯ë́w   kə́   báy   ndá   ɓə̀t
       so   3SG   sit   like chief go:GO take
       mə́mə̀ŋ   ábə̀   cíŋ
       his mother   ASSC his father
       'Then he became a chief, and he came to take his mother and father.'

(126) wàl   wàcíŋ ɓə̀t ndrì   ǰàd̯   ǰàd̯   cíkè
       woman   DEM   take sorghum   gather gather all
       ábù   wùzí-yíì   táŋ   ábə̀   ngùl   táŋ
       ASSC   children-PL   DED   ASSC husband   DED
       'That woman gathered all the sorghum, and gathered her children and her husband.'

The plural form of the associative is used only when the associative phrase has the role of subject. In most cases the verb also has the plural subject pronoun. The use of associative plural appears to be obligatory is the subject is plural:

(127) hìdì   wàcíŋ í-bə̀   wàl   ngə̀n
       man   DEM   PL-ASSC   wife   3SG
       mbù   mbù   í   mbù   wə̀ží   gwáď
       give   birth 3PL   give birth   children   many
       "This man with his wife had many children.'

(128) ngàlə́mbrà   wàcíŋ gàmták   í-bə̀   kwáyàŋ
       story   DEM   chicken   PL-ASSC   squirrel
       í   ndə̀   kə́   dàl-á   jáŋaàl
       3PL   go   INF   do-GO   voyage (F.)
       'This story: The chicken and the squirrel go on a trip.'

(129) *gómbòk*   *í-b*   *bàkàlàf*   *ì*   *ɗál*
       frog   PL-ASSC   buffalo   3PL   make
       gábà
       discussion
       'A frog and a buffalo had a discussion.'

(130) *séy*   *mbà*   *kwáyàŋ*   *í-bà*   *làkáf*
       so   except   squirrel   PL-ASSC   baboon
       ɗìy-á   *ɗìs*
       put-GO   plow
       'Then squirrel and baboon started to plow.'

The plural associative is used even if the associative phrase follows the verb. The necessary condition for the use of the plural associative is that the participant is controlling. In the following example, the participants are singular, as evidenced by the singular possessive pronoun on the second conjunct:

(131) *séy*   *gàr*   *í*   *gàr*   *tàtàŋ*   *í-bà*   *ngámbù*
       so   stand   3PL   stand   3PL   PL-ASSC   friend
       ngàn
       3SG
       'So they got up with their friend.'

As explained in Chapter 7 on Adjuncts, instrumental and other non-controlling participants have the singular associative rather than the plural associative form.

The plural form of the associative is also used in noun phrases that serve as titles of stories, where the protagonists will presumably be the subjects:

(132) *gímíɓ-yìì*   *í-bà*   *kwáyàŋ*
       monkey-PL   PL-ASSC   hyena
       'The monkeys and the hyena.'

17. Modification by quantifiers

Quantifiers are inherent modifiers and as such, they do not have to be marked by a preposition or a relative clause construction. Some quantifiers are *fés* 'little, a few', *túwàɗ* 'all', *fú(u)* 'all' (probably borrowed from

Fula), *díyà* 'many', *gwád* 'many', and all numerals. These quantifiers do not require plural coding on the noun phrase:

(133) *báy   tsók   rùkùt   fúu   kà*
      chief   take off   cloth   all   POS
      'The chief took off all his clothes.'

(134) *dár   wàcíŋ géebì   gwád*
      dance   DEM   sort (F.)   plenty
      'This dance has many varieties.'

(135) *ƙà   á   ƙ-á-ŋ   wìnjíɗ   fés   á*
      cut   3SG   cut-GO-3SG   intestine   little   PRED
      nà   màŋ
      PREP LOC.ANAPH
      'Then he cut a small piece of its intestine.'

If there is a determiner, it follows the quantifier:

(136) *ƙì   tòtàŋ   fú   tàŋ   déɓ   í   déɓ*
      meat   GEN:3PL   all   DED   take   3PL   take
      kɔ́   n   yàm
      PREP PREP water
      'They brought all their meat into the water.'

The notion of everyone and everything is coded by the quantifier *kó(o)* followed by the marker *ví* for human participants and the marker *mà* for non-human participants:

(137) *kóo   ví   zá   sà   déy   á   kì*
      QUANT   who   COMP   1SG   also   PRED   like
      mbéŋ
      ANAPH
      'Each one of them said, "Same with me."'

The nominal plural marker does occur in negative clauses with the quantifier *kó*, corresponding to the English expression 'not any':

(138) *kó   mà   làɓ-yìì   dǎ   skù*
      QUANT   REL   wet-PL   exist   NEG
      'Not even one [page] was wet.'

Measure terms and numerals are also modifiers. When both measure terms and a numeral modifies a noun, they occur in the following order: Noun Measure term Numeral:

(139) *cìkíɗ*   *bùhù*   *ntá*
       sesame   bag (F.)   one
       'one bag of sesame seed'

The reduplicated quantifier has an adverbial function, coding the manner of the event:

(140) *báy*   *zá*   *á*   *z-ú*   *á*   *dámù*
       chief   COMP   PRED   go-1DU   PRED   bush
       cíké   *cíké*
       all   all
       'The chief said: let's go to the bush together'
       (Some speakers consider this sentence ungrammatical, because they interpret the form *cíkè cíkè* as meaning "all" and therefore inapplicable to just the dual number. The fact that this sentence was used in natural discourse overrides other speakers' judgments.)

(141) *í*   *n*   *kə̀*   *dál*   *mbígìn*   *kə́*   *də̀*
       3PL   PREP   INF   do   mbiguin   INF   cook
       mávù   *cíké*   *cíké*
       beer   all   all
       'They will organize a *mbiguin* [a festivity]; they will make a lot of beer.'

If a quantifier serves as an argument rather than modifier of a noun, it occurs in the position appropriate for its function. If a quantifier serves as the subject, it occurs in clause-initial position. The clause that follows such a quantifier is, however, a relative clause, rather than an indicative clause:

(142) *kó*   *mə̀*   *ták*   *bál*   *pày*   *dá*   *skù*
       QUANT   REL   decline cut   tree   exist   NEG
       'Everybody cut a tree' (there was no one who did not cut a tree).

(143) *kó*   *mə̀*   *bál*   *pày*   *dá*   *skù*
       QUANT   REL   cut   tree   exist   NEG
       'Nobody cut a tree.'

In negative clauses, the quantifier may be omitted on the condition that the relative clause marking is retained, a logical possibility given the unambiguous reading of the negative relative clause:

(144) *mə̀   ták   dár   ɗá   skù*
       REL   decline dance exist NEG
       'Everybody danced.'

(145) *mə̀   dár   ɗá   skù*
       REL   dance exist NEG
       'Nobody danced.'

A numeral can be used alone, without a noun, serving thus as the head of a noun phrase:

(146) *séy   tàkár   tíl   á   nə̀   yə̀m*
       so   turtle leave   PRED   PREP   water
       mə̀l   mə̀l   á   mə̀l-á   dzə̀ɓáŋ
       seize seize   3SG   seize-GO   five
       'So, the turtle went in the water and caught five.'

18. End-of-event marker and quantifiers

Quantifiers have relative freedom of occurrence with respect to the end-of-event marker *za*, glossed as EE. The quantifiers may follow the noun phrase they modify and precede the end-of-event marker *za*, as illustrated in the preceding examples. Elicited data indicate that quantifiers may also follow the marker *za* and be thus separated from the noun they modify:

(147) *kə̀   ɓám   gwàr   zə́   ŋtá   gwídîŋ*
       INF   eat   cola nut   EE   one   only
       'He ate only one cola nut.'

(148) *kə́   zə̀m   ʄì   ngə̀ŋ   zá   túwə̀ɗ*
       INF   eat   meat   3SG   EE   all
       'He ate all his meat.'

(149)   *kə̀   ɓám   ǯì   zə́   fés*
     INF   eat   meat   EE   some
     'He ate a little meat.'

(150)   *tìtíi   í   n   kə́   dzà   kódöbòk-yíi   zə́*
     3PL   3PL   PREP   INF   kill   wild mouse-PL   EE
     díà
     many
     'They killed many wild mice.'

(151)   *kə́   bèr-é-k   wú   z   fés*
     INF   sell-GO-1SG   milk   EE   small
     'She sold me a little milk.'

(152)   *kə́   bèr-é-k   wú   z   fú   tàŋ*
     INF   sell-GO-1SG   milk   EE   all   DED
     'She sold me all the milk.'

19. Coding of the exclusion of other participants

The adverb *tátà* 'alone' used with the third person independent pronoun *mbí*, (phrase-final form *mbéŋ*) excludes all participants from a given role:

(153)   *à   gə̀r   mbéŋ   mə̀   nzə̀   mbí   tátà   ngàm*
     3SG   want   3SG   REL   be   3SG   alone   because
     á   gə̀r   mə̀   már   ngùl
     3SG   want   REL   control   husband
     á   mbí   tátà
     3SG   ANAPH   alone
     'She wants to stay by herself, because she wants to control her husband herself.'

20. Conclusions

The noun phrase in Mina has the structure Head Modifier. If the modifier is an inherent adjective, the modifying construction is coded through juxtaposition alone. Otherwise, the modifier is marked by one of a set of markers, which includes the genitive marker *tə́*, and the relative marker *mə̀*, for modifiers that are inherently verbs.

The plural marker *yíi* is added to the end of the noun phrase, to the

end of the noun or to both.

Quantifiers do not form part of the noun phrase in that they can be separated from the head noun by the end-of-event marker *za*.

Chapter 4
The verb and its forms

1. Introduction

The defining characteristic of the category "verb" is its ability to function without any additional marker as the predicate of a proposition in a non-equational clause. There are additional morphosyntactic criteria that allow one to distinguish the category "verb" from all other categories: verbs can have affixes that other lexical categories cannot have. These are subject pronouns, goal orientation suffix, object marker, and object pronouns. Some intransitive verbs may be followed by pronouns coding the person and number of the subject. Verbs, unlike other lexical categories, have a citation form, which consists of the clitic *kə* followed by the verb stem. This clitic also occurs in purpose complements and in dependent aspects and tenses. Its function partially overlaps with infinitival forms of verbs in many languages of the world.

The verb in Mina is important for a number of reasons. It serves as a configuration center with respect to its arguments. The inherent properties of the verb determine the number of arguments it can take. The verb is a central piece in the coding of the aspectual system. The aim of this chapter is to describe the inflectional and derivational forms of the verb.

2. Verbal stem

The category "verbal stem" has been obtained from the quotation form of the verb readily given by speakers, who, it must be remembered, never had any education in Mina or about Mina. We take the verbal stem to be the element that follows the prefix *kə*. The prefix in phrase-initial position has the tone opposite to the tone of the verb. Thus, it is a convenient means of establishing the underlying tone of the verb. The tone is part of the underlying structure of the verb, which in addition must have one of the following segmental structures:

CV: The majority of verbs in this class have high or low vowels. For monosyllabic verbs, we quote the forms with the infinitive marker to illustrate the value of the underlying tone of the verb: *kə́ sà* 'drink'; *kə́ wà* 'start'; *kə̀ ndá* 'go'; *kə̀ tsá* 'put fire into something'; *kə́ lù* 'say'; *kə̀ sí* [ší] 'run'; *kə̀ rá* 'dig a hole'. Further in this work, we cite verbs without the infinitive marker, since the form of the infinitive marker is fully predictable from the form of the verb.

CVC: All vowels are represented in the CVC structures. The last consonant may be a stop, a continuant, a nasal, or a glide: *wáy* 'forget'; *wáŋ* 'sleep, lie down'; *bə́k* 'pour'; *yíp* 'rest'; *zìn* 'return'; *gìz* [gìž]'tell'; *bér* 'sell'; *déɓ* 'take somewhere'; *tsòr* 'make facial marks' (scarify); *tók* 'finish'; *bán* 'wash body'; *zàr* 'whip (an animal, person)'; *kàh* 'bury'; *bòh* 'break off a branch of a tree'; *tìy* 'see'; *zə̀m* 'eat'; *tsə́r* 'climb'; *lə́m* 'build'; *mə̀ts* 'die'; *də̀m* 'marry', *kə́ mbùw* 'give birth, beget'; *kə̀ dǐy* 'put'.

CCV(C): *skə̀m* 'buy'; *ŋdǎ* 'hit'; *gwòh* 'wash cloth, dishes'.

CVCVC: Some disyllabic verbs have low-low tone pattern: *kàmàl* 'unite'; *mə̀sàr* 'fry'. Other verbs have low-high tone pattern: *mə̀sáw* 'grill'; *gùrát* 'scratch body'. There are verbs that have schwa in their citation forms: *ndə̀rə̀m* 'please (about foods)'; *kə̀dǎw* 'burn'; *kə̀rə̀d* 'approach'.

3. The stative form of the verb

The stative suffix *-yí* is added to the root of the verb. The suffix has high tone. After stems ending in a consonant the suffix is realized as the vowel [i] without palatalization of the preceding consonant. If the verb is monoconsonantal, the high tone of the suffix becomes the tone of the stem:

(1)   *máv   mə̀   s-í   zà*
       beer   REL   drink-STAT   EE
       'One has drunk a lot.'

      láy   mə̀   ts-í   zà
       field REL   clear-STAT   EE
       'The field has been cleared with fire'

jíɓ   mə̀   r-í   zà
hole   REL   dig-STAT   EE
'The hole has been dug up.'

There are a few exceptions with respect to the tone of the stative suffix. One of them is with the verb *bér* 'sell' where the stative suffix has low tone. We had no opportunity to re-check this item:

(2)   *ʧə̀   mə̀   bér-ì   zá*
       cow   REL   sell-STAT   EE
       'The cow is sold'

The addition of the stative suffix *-yí* reveals that verbs that have the vowel *u* in their phonetic form have in fact an underlying labial glide in word-final position. The labial glide is not realized word-final position, but is realized when the suffix *-yí* is added:

(3)   *mbə̀   mə̀   mbù-yí   zà*   [mbə̀w-í]
       child REL   give birth-STAT   EE
       'The child is born.' (*kə́ mbù* 'give birth')

The stative suffix does not cause fronting vowel harmony, which is the evidence that it does contain the palatal glide. Here are a few CVC structures without the vowel harmony effects. Given the absence of vowel harmony we represent the stative suffix as *-yí* with all verbs that have at least the CVC structure:

(4)   *mə̀   kàh-yí   zà*
       REL   bury-STAT   EE
       'He is buried.'

(5)   *mə̀   bòh-yí   zà*
       REL   tear out-STAT   EE
       'It has been torn from the tree' (about a branch).

(6)   *rùkùt   mə̀   gwàh-yí   zà*
       cloth   REL   wash-STAT   EE
       'The clothing is washed.' or 'One has washed a lot of clothing.'

Here are examples of polysyllabic verbs with the stative suffix. These examples provide additional evidence for the high tone of the suffix, since the suffix does not fuse with the verb:

(7)   *kə̀dáw-yí*   'burn'
      mə̀sáw-yí   'grill'

One can also derive the stative forms from intransitive verbs, but the complete clause must include the verb in subject position as well:

(8)   *ší*   *mə̀*   *ší*   *zà*
      run   REL   run:STAT   EE
      'One has run a lot.'

(9)   *ndə̀*   *mə̀*   *nd-í*   *zà*
      walk   REL   walk-STAT   EE
      'One has walked a lot.'

4. Verb reduplication in the relative clause

The reduplicated form of the verb preceded by the relative marker *mə̀* is used as a modifier in attributive constructions. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be reduplicated for the modifying function.

The process of reduplication is leftward, whereby the new syllable precedes the old syllable. The tone of the reduplicated syllable is the same as the tone of the verb. If the verb ends in a vowel, the reduplication involves the reduplication of the consonant alone and insertion of schwa, as required by the constraints on geminated consonants:

(10)   *ndùrúk*   *mə̀*   *lə̀là*
       ram   REL   take out
       'a castrated ram' (*là* 'to take out')

(11)   *hídə̀*   *mə̀*   *nzə̀nzà*
       man   REL   sit-sit
       'a seated man' (*kə́ nzà* 'sit')

If the verb ends in a consonant, the reduplication involves the whole verb:

(12)   *ƙə̀*   *mə̀*   *fàtfàt*
       cow   REL   slaughter-slaughter
       'a slaughtered cow' (*kə́ fàt* 'slaughter')

(13) *hídà   mà   gàrgàr*
      man   REL   stand-stand
      'a standing man' (*ká gàr* 'to stand')

Bisyllabic verbs, which all end in a consonant, are also reduplicated in their entirety. The tonal structure of the simple form is preserved in the reduplicated form. The pause between the reduplicated parts appears to be longer than the pause between reduplicated monosyllabic verbs:

mèsàr 'grill'
(14) *ǥì mà màsàr màsàr*
      'grilled meat'

ndàràm 'please (about foods, feelings)'
(15) *wùdá   mə   ndàràm ndàràm*
      mush   REL   good   good
      'good, tasty mush'

kàdáw 'burn'
(16) *láy   mà   kàdáw kàdáw*
      filed   REL   burn   burn
      'a burned field'

gùrát 'scratch'
(17) *pày   mà   gùrát gùrát*
      tre   REL   scratch scratch
      'a scratched tree'

In predicative constructions, one uses the form with the stative marker and the auxiliary *za* at the end:

(18) *láy   mà   kàdáw-yí   zà*
      field   REL   burn-STAT   EE
      'The field has burned.'

5. A non-productive suffix *ù*

The verbs *nzà* 'to sit, leave, be' has a form with final *u*. The verb *tsú* 'departed' occurs only with word-final *u*:

(19)   *í   nz-ù   í   nz-ù   í   nz-ù   í   nz-ù*
     3PL   stay-? 3PL   stay   3PL   stay-? 3PL   stay-?
     'They stayed there a long time.'

(20)   *sə̀   nz-ù   sə̀   nz-ù   sə̀   nz-ù*
     1SG   stay-? 1SG   stay-? 1SG   stay-?
     'I wait, and wait, and wait.'

The final *u* cannot cooccur with the infinitive marker kə:

(21)   **sə̀   kə́   nz-ù   zə́   mórà   žìn   gwáɗ*
     1SG   INF   be-?   EE   Mora   times   many
     for 'I have been many times in Mora'

The fact that this morpheme appears with a few verbs only and that for one of these verbs the form with -*u* is the only form attested indicates that it is a remnant of a form that was once productive in the language. Comparative data indicate the presence of such a morpheme in other Chadic languages, e.g. Hausa (West Chadic) and Hdi (Central Chadic), where it codes point-of-view of subject. There are not enough examples in Mina to discover what the function of this morpheme is or might have been.

6. Conclusions

Verbs are characterized by a very limited number of underlying forms: CV, CVC, CC, CCVC, and CVCVC. The tone constitutes part of the underlying representation of the verb. There are two productive morphological processes operating on verbal forms: derivation of the stative form through the suffix *yí* and reduplication. The reduplication of the verbs ending in a vowel involves reduplication of the consonant alone and schwa insertion. Verbs ending in a consonant are reduplicated in their entirety. The language has traces of a suffix -*u*, whose function cannot be determined due to the paucity of relevant examples.

Chapter 5
Argument coding

1. Introduction

The present chapter deals only with argument coding in verbal clauses. An argument is a noun phrase that is coded by configuration with respect to the verb. The number of arguments allowed and the semantic roles of those arguments depend to a large degree on the properties of verbs. It is important, therefore, to describe first the properties of verbs and the way a verb can be identified, and then describe how different arguments are marked.

2. The category subject

The existence of the syntactic category "subject" is justified by the following facts: if a clause has only one argument, this argument occurs before the verb. When single arguments, whether nominal or pronominal, occur before the verb, they do so without a preposition:

(1)   *vènjéh*   *tûl*
       pepper   spread
       'Pepper spread . . . '

There exists a set of subject pronouns (see section 4 of the present Chapter) that do not have any other function in the language. There also exists a set of subject possessive pronouns that code the single argument that undergoes movement or is otherwise affected (see section 5 of the present Chapter). The subject may be separated from the verb by other constituents, including fronted objects and adverbial phrases. The second case is illustrated in the following example:

(2)   *kɔ́   ɓɔ̀t   šì   zá   gómbòk-yíì   wèhíŋ*
      INF   take   run   EE   frog-PL   DEM
      ábɔ̀   dùwɔ̀ŋ   fɔdɑ́h   tɔ̀tɑ̀ŋ
      ASSC   back   wake-up   3PL
      'It took flight, and afterwards these frogs woke up'

If the subject consists of an associative noun phrase, the preposition used has the plural form *í-b(ɔ̀)*. If the associative noun phrase is used in any other function, it has the singular associative form *áb(ɔ̀)*.

The category "subject" does not code a specific semantic function. In example (1), the subject is pepper and is not controlling but affected. In example (2), the subject is controlling. Compare also the following example, where the subject is not controlling and not affected:

(3)   *áb   lé   wá   ndìr   ɓɔ́rɑ̀ŋ*
      ASSC   year   DEM   sorghum   lack
      'This year there is little corn.'

The semantic function of each subject may be computed from the inherent meaning of the verb, morphological markers added to the verb, other arguments present in the clause, or the discourse and speech context.

3. Existential predicates

Existential propositions state the existence of an object in general, not in a particular place or at a particular time. One of the properties of existential predicates is that they cannot take deontic modal markers. There is only one productive existential verb: *dɑ́hà* 'exist'.

The verb *dɑ́hà* is used with indefinite nouns. The subject constitutes one phrase with the predicate *dɑ́hà*, as evidenced by the fact that the word-final vowel of the subject is deleted. The evidence that *dɑ́hà* is not a locative verb is provided by the fact that if there is a locative complement, the verb *dɑ́hà* must be followed by the locative predicator *á*, the predicator that marks locative complements with non-locative verbs:

(4)   *hɑ́ǰɔm   dɑ́hà   á   bíŋ   ngɔ̀ŋ*
      girl   exist   PRED   house   3SG
      'There is a girl at her house.' (*hɑ́ǰɔmà* 'girl')

Existential predication does not distinguish between pragmatically

dependent and pragmatically independent clauses. Here is an example of the use of the verb *dähà* in a relative clause:

(5) *séy   hìdì   mà   sà   tápá   dähà   á*
     so   man   REL   drink tobacco exist   PRED
     nà   máŋ   màcíŋ
     PREP   ANAPH   DEM
     'So there is a smoker among them.'

The verb *dähà* has also a function in the domain of reference in that it explicitly codes that the argument as unknown and unspecified. This in fact appears to be the main function of the existential verb in natural discourse. The existential verb occurs in clause-final position:

(6) *séy   dòktér   à   zá   mìnjé ángà   hìdì*
     so   doctor   3SG   COMP   now   if   man
     mà   n   kà   déɓ-é-k   dähà   sà   nà
     REL   PREP   INF   take-GO-1SG   exist 1SG   go
     kà   n   kà   mbál   wàl   wà   kà
     PURP   PREP   INF   revive woman   DEM   POS
     'The doctor said, "If there is a man who can take me there, I will go to cure that woman."'

(7) *ɓéɓé   wàzám   tà   mbɮ-íyì*
     long time ago mountain   GEN   blacksmith-PL
     dähà . . .
     exist
     'There was once a mountain inhabited by blacksmiths . . .'

The existential verb has also acquired the function of making an explicit assertion. This function is represented by the use of the verb *dähà* when it has in its scope a proposition that already has a predicate. In the following sentence, the predication is locative, coded by appropriate prepositions, and the verb *dähà* occurs in clause-final position:

(8) *mìɗ   dáy   skàn   fú   á   n   hàyák tà*
     wind   much   thing   all   PRED   PREP   village 3PL
     dähà
     exist
     'There is a lot of wind, there are many things in their village.'

In the following example, the verb *dähà* has as its scope the ensuing

proposition:

(9) yàdîrì ɓéɓé   dấhà   í   ndí   ɓɔk   á
     millet long time ago exist   3PL   HAB   plant   PRED
     nɔ̀   mɔ̀   kúlmbòn-yîì
     PREP mouth black ant-PL
     'A long time ago they used to plant millet around the black ants'
     nests.'[1]

The existential predicate *dấhà* may be used in questions about pos-
session:

(10) báskùr túk   dấ   vù
      bicycle 2SG   exist   Q
      'Do you have a bicycle?'

However, the existential *dấhà* may not be used in specific interroga-
tives:

(11) báskùr túk   fɔkáy
      bicycle 2SG   where
      'Where is your bicycle?'

(12) *báskùr   túk   dấ   fɔkáy
      bicycle   2SG   exist   where
      for 'Where is your bicycle?'

This constraint provides further support for the hypothesis that the
existential verb is used only with indefinite, unspecified nouns, and that
its function is to code the noun as unspecified, indefinite. The existential
verb *dấhà* may not be used with a definite noun:

(13) ŋkù   wà   *dấ   á   kàcín
      goat   DEM   exist   DEM   here
      'The goat is here'

---

1. This practice, intended to take advantage of the favorable chemical content and
   physical structure of the soil, exposed plants to the risk of being devoured by ants.
   The only way one can grow plants around an anthill is to transplant them after they
   have already grown a little. Sorghum is one of the few plants that is able to survive
   the transplantation (Arnaud de Boissy, p.c.).

The existence of an indefinite object may not be stated without the verb *dáhà*, and the following is ungrammatical:

(14) *ŋkù   á   kàcín
      goat   PRED   here
      for 'here is a goat'

Cf.:

(15) ŋkù   dá   á   kàcín
      goat   exist   PRED   here
      'A goat is here'

The fact that the verb *dáhà* is an existential predicate rather than a locative one is interesting because in many languages the existential verbs have developed from all kinds of locative verbs. In contemporary Mina, there is no evidence for such a development. The verb *dáhà* can only be used with indefinite subjects. The existential verb has also acquired the function of explicitly marking assertion.

4. Subject pronouns

Subject can consist of a pronoun alone. Pronominal subjects precede the predicate or tense and aspect markers.

Subject Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*sə*	*nám*	*na* (EXCL)
			nók (INCL)
2	*ha*		*hi*
3	*Ø, a*		*i*

Pronouns are not prefixes, because the low vowels in the first-person dual and plural and the second- and third-person singular do not undergo vowel fronting. Moreover, subject pronouns can be subjects of non-verbal predicates, e.g. locative, nominal and adjectival predicates. When that is the case, pronouns have high tone (elicited examples):

(16) sá/há/á   nà   lúmò
      1SG/2SG/3SG   PREP   market
      'I am/you are/he is at the market.'

(17)   *nók/hí/í*   *nà*   *lúmò*
       1PL.INCL/2PL/3PL   PREP   market
       'We/you/they are at the market.'

When singular pronouns occur before a verb, they have low tone in the indicative mood, regardless of the tone of the verb:

(18)   *sà/hà/à*   *dàr-á*   *nà*   *lúmò*
       1SG/2SG/3SG   dance-GO   PREP   market
       'He danced at the market'

       sà/hà/à   *nz-á*   *nà*   *lúmò*
       1SG/2SG3SG   stay-GO   PREP   market
       'I was/you were/he was at the market.'

In expressive speech, when the speaker wants to emphasize some aspect of event that has not been otherwise grammaticalized, the singular pronoun may have high tone. This is the case in the following fragment, sentences (19a and 19c), where most likely the raised tone aims to convey the intensity of the event:

(19a)   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*
        3SG   run   only   3SG   run   only
        'He runs, he runs.'

(19a)   *gómbòk*   *òhók*
        frog   yes
        '"Frog?" "Yes."'

(19c)   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*
        3SG   run   only   3SG   run   only
        'He runs, He runs.'

Plural pronouns have high tone when occurring before the verb:

(20)   *nók/hí/í*   *dàr-á*   *nà*   *lúmò*
       1PL/2PL/3PL   dance-GO   PREP   market
       'They danced at the market.'

nók/hí/í   *nz-á*   *nà*   *lúmò*
1PL/2PL/3PL   stay-GO   PREP   market
'We/you/they were at the market.'

The first person dual pronoun is not inherently either inclusive or exclusive. Here are two examples of the first person dual pronoun used excluding the addressee (21a) and including the addressee (21b):

(21a)   *tó*   *mìsíl*   *tá*   *nà*   *nigeria*   *wàcíŋ*
        well (H.)   thief   GEN   PREP   Nigeria   DEM
        à   *ƙá*   *séy*   *ná*   *ŋ*   *ká*   *bàm-á*
        3SG   say   then   1DU   PREP   INF   meet-GO
        ábà   *mìsíl*   *tá*   *n*   *cameroun*   *wàcíŋ*
        ASSC   thief   GEN   PREP   Cameroon   DEM
        'The Nigerian thief said, "I have to go to meet the Cameroonian thief."'

(21b)   *tséy*   *ná*   *ŋ-ká*   *wàŋ*   *bákà*   *ná*   *gràɓ*
        so   1DU   PREP-INF   sleep   today   DU   together
        'So we will sleep together today.'

The third-person plural pronoun *í* is also used to code the unspecified human subject, which may include the speaker:

(22)   *háƙàm*   *ngàn*   *zá*   *á*   *kàcíŋ*
        daughter   3SG   COMP   PRED   here
        í   *tá*   *m̀và*   *rà*   *bà*
        3PL   defecate   feces   D.HAB   ASSC
        nzàd   *skù*
        night   NEG
        'His daughter said, "Here one does not defecate at night."'

The third-person singular subject pronoun *a* occurs only in some aspects and moods. More specifically, it occurs in the unmarked aspect, dependent and independent habitual, future tense, and in indicative clauses, whether affirmative or negative. In other aspects and moods, the third-person singular is unmarked. If the subject is nominal, the third-person singular pronoun may still be used, but such use has the pragmatic function of coding the topicalization of the nominal subject. The example below is given just as an illustration of the arrangement of morphemes, rather than of the actual usage in discourse. The natural discourse examples are given in Chapter 18 on topicalization:

(23)   *kònáy*   *à*   *nz-á*   *nà*   *lúmò*
        Konay   3SG   be-GO   PREP market
        nákà   kàfkàfá
        REM   morning
        'Konay was at the market this morning' (and he has returned).[2]

If the subject noun phrase consists of conjoined nouns, then the subject pronoun, if used, must be third-person plural:

(24)   *tàdú*   *í-bà*   *dáwày*   *(í)*   *tsú*   *zà*
        Tadu   PL-ASSC   Daway   3PL   go   EE
        nà   *lúmò*
        PREP market
        'Tadu and Daway went to the market together.'
        (Tadu 'sixth born', Daway 'seventh born')

When the predicate is *tsú* 'went', the third-person singular subject pronoun does not occur, even if there is no overt nominal subject:

(25)   *tsú*   *zà*   *á*   *r*   *ngámbù*   *ngòn*
        departed   EE   PRED PREP friend   3SG
        'He was at his friend's.'

Other grammatical markers that occur before the verb, such as the infinitive *kà* and the relative marker *mà*, share with *tsú* the absence of overt third-person singular subject coding.

Not every clause must have a subject. If a subject is mentioned in the previous narrative, it may be omitted from subsequent clauses. In the following fragment, the subject is overtly coded in the first clause through a nominal and pronominal expression, a different subject is coded by a nominal expression in the second clause, and the subject, identical with the subject of the first clause is omitted altogether in the third clause:

---

2. *Konay* the fourth born to a mother. The name can be given to a boy or to a girl. A father may have several children bearing the same first name, because the name indicates the order of the birth to a mother. In order to distinguish between children having the same name because they were born in the same order, the mother's name is given, which also indicates the order of the birth. There is an expectation of 12 children to a mother, and accordingly there are twelve names for the place in the order. A child born beyond twelve receives the name *káfkày* 'for nothing', i.e. not planned, predicted).

Fragment (1)

(26) *mà   ngə́ɗ   ngə́ɗ   pàl   á   pàl   bàtákàr*
      REL   count   count   detach 3SG   detach bag
      ngə̀ɗ   ngə̀ɗ
      count   count
      'The one who was good at counting detached the bag and
      counted [the seeds].'

(27) *mà   té   gwídìn   dá   skù*
      REL   GEN   single   exist   NEG
      'One grain was missing.'

(28) *pàl   míndéŋ   dámdámà*
      detach another   normal
      'He detached the other—[it was] normal. (i.e. no grain was
      missing)'

In the following fragment, the first clause has the pronominal subject
á, but the second clause does not have an overt subject:

(29) *séy   čáp   à   màl   ɮámbáy   wà   ká   dàp*
      then   chap!   3SG   catch   stick   DEM   POS   only
      ndə̀ɗ   ká   n   skàn   ngə̀n   ɓə̀t
      lay   down   PREP   thing   3SG   take
      'Then she chap! stopped the stick, put it down, took her thing'

The subject does not have to be overtly coded even if there are inter-
vening clauses with different subjects. In the following fragment, the
first sentence has a different subject from that of the second sentence,
whose subject is unmarked:

(30) *ngwáy   skàn-yîi   ɮə̀gám rà   dáhà*
      'say'   thing-PL   talk   D.HAB   exist
      'There is something talking there.' (a hyena is talking)

(31) *dìyà   lù   tə́   dàp   á   wàží   tùkíi*
      put   say   GEN   only   PRED   children   2SG
      dáy dáy dày   á   tán   fés
      a lot   PRED   1SG   little
      'He [the man] kept on saying: for your children it is a lot, for me
      it is little.'

5. Possessive subject pronouns

A characteristic feature of some intransitive verbs is the presence of possessive subject pronouns, sometimes referred to in the literature as "intransitive copy pronouns", Newman 1974). These pronouns appear to have different functions in different languages (Frajzyngier 1977). The term "intransitive copy pronouns" is not particularly felicitous, as in a number of cases, these pronouns are not copies of anything and they are not characteristics of or triggered by intransitivity. Here they are called possessive subject pronouns because they are identical with possessive pronouns and they code the subject of the clause. The third-person possessive subject pronouns may be the only markers of the third person subject in the clause:

(32) *ábà   ndà   **ngàn**   n   kílvíd̶-yîi*
      ASSC   go   3SG:POSS   PREP trash heap-PL
      'She went to the trash heaps.'

      *mà   nd-à-y   **ngàŋ**   màrɓák   zà*
      REL   go-GO-STAT   3SG:POSS   Marbak   EE
      'He has come from Marbak.'

Possessive subject pronouns for the other persons share the feature of person and number of the pronominal subject:

(33) *sà   tsú   nàŋ*
      1SG   departed   1SG.POSS
      'I am gone' (metaphorical, when somebody announces his departure).

The possessive subject pronouns can occur in the imperative singular, i.e. in the form without an overt preverbal subject:

(34) *ndà   tàkóŋ*
      go   2SG:POSS
      'Go!'

5.1 The form of possessive subject pronouns

The possessive subject pronouns are phonologically identical with the possessive pronouns. Here is the complete set of possessive subject pro-

nouns in phrase final form with their use illustrated on the verb *tsú* 'departed':

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	*nàŋ*	*tòmú*	*tòkóŋ* INCL
			tìnéŋ EXCL
Second	*tòkóŋ*		*tìkìnéŋ*
Third	*ngòŋ*		*tòtàŋ*

Here are examples of the use of possessive subject suffixes:

(35) *i   tsú   tòtàŋ*
      3PL   went   3PL
      'They went away.'

(36) *nók   tsú   tòkóŋ*
      1PL.INCL   went   1PL
      'We went away.'

(37) *ná   tsú   tìnéŋ*
      1PL.EXCL   went   1PL.POSS
      'We went away.'

(38) *hí   tsú   tìkìnéŋ*
      2PL   went   2PL.POSS
      'You went away.'

(39) *hà   tsú   tòkóŋ*
      2SG   went   2SG.POSS
      'You went away.'

Like all pronouns, except for the third person singular, the possessive subject pronouns have different forms in phrase-internal and in phrase-final position. The final nasal and the preceding vowel do not occur in phrase-internal position. The possessive subject pronouns in phrase internal position are as follows (schwa may be added for syllabification purposes):

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	*n*	*tə̀m*	*tòk* INCL
			tìn EXCL
Second	*tə̀k*		*tìkì*
Third	*ngə̀ŋ*		*tə̀tə̀*

(40)   *í-bə̀*   *nd-á*   *tə̀t*   *wùtá*
      PL-ASSC   go-GO   3PL   village
      'They went home.' (*tə̀tə̀* instead of *tə̀tə̀ŋ*)

The following examples illustrate the forms in both functions, as possessive subject pronoun and as possessive pronouns:

(41)   *sə́*   *ndə̀*   *nàŋ*   *á*   *wtə́*   *tá*   *nàŋ*
      1SG   go   1SG   PRED   village GEN   1SG
      'I go to my village' (i.e., I am about to go).

(42)   *nám*   *ndə̀*   *tə̀mú*   *á*   *wtə́*   *tə̀mú*
      1DU   go   GEN-1DU   PRED   village GEN:1DU
      'We are about to go to our village'

5.2 The function of possessive subject pronouns

Possessive subject pronouns are not obligatory markers:

(43)   *tsú*   *ngíɗ*
      departed   somewhere
      'He went somewhere' (when answering the question "Where is X?").

Since possessive subject pronouns are not obligatory, they must have some function. The function of the possessive subject pronoun is to code a change in the event:

(44)   *tsú*   *ngə̀ŋ*   *ngíɗ*
      departed   3SG.POSS   somewhere
      'He up and went somewhere' (answer to the question "What did X do?").

(45) *séy   mà   tábú   ábà   sí   ngòŋ*
      except REL   last born   ASSC   flee 3SG
      'Except for the last-born: he fled.'

Possessive subject pronouns can be used with borrowed verbs:

(46) *séy   nástà   ngòn   tsákà   pár-yîi*
      then   enter (F.)   3SG   inside (F.)   other-PL
      'He entered among others'

Possessive subject pronouns are added mostly to intransitive verbs, but they are not markers of intransitivity, since not all intransitive verbs require possessive subject pronouns. Moreover, the inherent intransitivity of the verb is not affected. The types of verbs with which possessive subject pronouns occur are those in which the subject is undergoing movement, a change of posture, or a change of state. Thus, for describing somebody's behavior, the following clause was used:

(47) *mbí   ɓák   ngòŋ   á   nà   mà*
      3SG   die   3SG   PRED PREP REL
      gáy gáy   ngòŋ
      spoil spoil   3SG
      'She died because of her nasty behavior.'

If one simply describes the cause of somebody's death that did not occur while the person was engaged in some event, one would not use a possessive pronoun:

(48) *mbí   ɓák   á   nà   mà   gáy gáy   ngòŋ*
      3SG   die   PRED PREP REL   spoil spoil   3SG
      'She died because of her nasty behavior.'

If one describes some people's getting up and leaving, one would say:

(49) *í   tsú   tàtà   á   wtá   tàtàŋ*
      3PL   go   3PL   PRED village 3PL
      'They went home.'

To the question "Where are they?" one would just say:

(50)   *í   tsú   á   wtá   tàtàŋ*
        3PL   go   PRED   village 3PL
        'They went home.'

Talking about guinea fowl that "up and flew away," one would say:

(51)   *záváŋ-yíi*   *í-bà*   *fír*   *tàtàŋ*
        guinea fowl-PL   PL-ASSC   fly   3PL
        'And the guinea fowl up and flew away.'

Seeing the flight of guinea fowl, one would say:

(52)   *záváŋ-yíi*   *fír*
        guinea fowl-PL   fly
        'And the guinea fowl are flying.'

(53)   *káyéfi*   *í-bà*   *nd-á*   *tàtàŋ*
        strange (F.)   PL-ASSC   go-GO   3PL
        'Never seen before, they up and left [the room].'

(54)   *wàl*   *nákà báf*   *ngàŋ*
        woman   REM   jump   3SG
        'The woman jumped out.'

(55)   *èe*   *hìd-yíi*   *wá*   *í-bà*   *yàŋ*   *tàtà*
        ah,   man-PL   DEM   3PL-ASSC   move   3PL:POSS
        á   *màcíŋ*
        PREP   there
        'Those people moved over there.'

The equivalent of the verb "wake up" requires a possessive subject pronoun because it codes a change in the previous event, which is "to sleep":

(56)   *gómbòk-yíi*   *wàhíŋ ábà*   *dàwáŋ*   *fàdáh*
        frog-PL   DEM   ASSC   after   wake-up
        tàtàŋ
        3PL.POSS
        'Afterwards these frogs woke up.'

Possessive subject pronouns may also be used with potentially transitive verbs, and the resulting construction has intransitive function:

(57) séy   ndò   ɓáh   ngòn   ká   á   màɣòm
      so   go   hide   3SG   POS   PRED   bank
      yòm
      water
      'And he hid on the bank of the water.'

6. Pleonastic subjects

The semantic function 'remain', coded by verbs *fín* and *mín* 'remain',
requires the third-person singular subject regardless of the person and
number of the actual entity that the predication is about:

(58) sò   n   kò   ɣá   bìɣáf kò   dzò   dàkàytíy
      1SG   PREP   INF   say   God   INF   kill   others
      tsáy   zà   à   **mín**   sò   tátà
      finish EE   3SG   remain   1SG   alone
      'I will say that God has killed all the others and that I alone re-
      main.'

(59) bìɣáf kò   dzò   tòtò   cíké' kà
      God   INF   kill   3PL   all   POS
      à   **fín**   nàmú   nám   kò   tì   tàŋ
      3SG   remain   1DU   1DU   INF   see   DED
      'God has killed them all, there remains only us, we will see.'[3]

(60) à   ɣá   káy   à   **fín**   nám   tátà
      3SG   say   INTERJ   3SG   remain   1DU   only
      'He [the frog] said, "Look, there remains only us ..."'

---

3. Our language assistants suggested that the name *bìɣáf* is derived from *bày wùɣáf*
   'chief sky', 'the chief in the sky'. The term *bìɣdaf* is given an etymology as meaning
   'chief in the sky'. The term *wùdàf báytàŋ* is the kuli (representation) of *bíɣaf*. When
   one prays to *bíɣaf*, people pray to *wùdàf báytaŋ*. The praying is done in a special
   house dedicated just for this purpose. And it is only the head of the household who
   is allowed to enter the prayer house and pray to *wùdàf báytaŋ*. Offerings of cooked
   animals can be made to *wùdàf báytaŋ*. The offerings are placed on a kuli, a clay pot.
   If the dish with the offerings falls down, it means that either the God or the ances-
   tors did not accept the offering. The God *bíɣaf* is imagined as transparent, clean,
   white, *bìɣáf tò kwèdék* 'white God', as opposed to a human being which has the at-
   tribute of being black.

The choice of the third person singular pronoun as the pleonastic subject indicates that the third person singular is the least marked subject in the pronominal system in Mina.

7. Arguments of the transitive verb: coding the direct object

If a proposition has two arguments, there are two means of coding them: One is through the relative position with respect to the verb, with the first argument, which we call the "subject," preceding the verb and the second argument, which we call the "object," following the verb, resulting in the SVO order. The second means is through position preceding the verb and the preposition *n*. The configuration SVO occurs in pragmatically neutral clauses:

(61)   *à   gòr   góŋg   sk-á*
       3SG   want   truth   NEG-Q
       'He wants the truth, doesn't he?' (*góŋgà* 'truth')

Not every noun that follows a verb is its direct object. Inherently locative nouns follow inherently locative verbs without any prepositions, and yet they are not direct objects. The test for the categoriality is provided by the syntax of the complement with respect to the end-of-event marker *za* and its negative counterpart *ɗà*. These two markers follow the direct object, but precede non-direct object complements, such as locative complements of movement verbs, which are not marked by a preposition, as well as all complements marked by prepositions.

(62)   *hà   kà   r   hìdì-yíì   zà*
       2SG   INF   insult   man-PL   EE
       'You have insulted people.'

(63)   *bíčì   kà   fát   ɓà   ká*
       Bitsi   INF   skin   cow   POS
       'Surprisingly, Bitsi slaughtered the cow.' (the speaker disapproves).

The object follows a reduplicated verb when the subject occurs between the two parts of the verb:

(64) ɓə̀t   á   ɓə̀t   ǥámbáy   ngə̀n . . .
      get   3SG   get   stick   3SG
      'He got his stick and . . . '

Both subject and object can be coded by full noun phrases:

(65) séy   gáw   də̀ɗ   ngàz   à   zá
      so   hunter remove   leg   3SG   COMP
      á   n   kwáyàŋ   ɓə̀t-ú
      PRED   PREP   squirrel   take-3SG
      'Then, the hunter took off a leg [of a game animal], and he said
      to the squirrel, "Take it."'

8. Object coding in hypothetical and deontic moods and in past tense

Transitive verbs in the hypothetical and imperative mood must be fol-
lowed by an object. If the object is third-person and if it has been men-
tioned before in discourse, it is represented by the form *w* realized as *u*
after consonants:

(66) à   zá   hí   ndə̀   lúw-á-ŋ   mə́
      3SG   COMP   2PL   go   say-GO-3SG   SUBJ
      dàh-á-w
      go-GO-3SG
      'He said, "Go tell her to bring it here."'
Cf.:
(67) à   zá   hí   ndə̀   lúw-á-ŋ   mə́   dàh-á
      3SG   COMP 2PL   go   say-GO-3SG   SUBJ go-GO
      'He said, "Go tell her to come here."'

The suffix *w* is also used in past-tense coding. If there is a change of
object, the new object must be represented by a full noun. Both of these
cases are represented in the following example:

(68) žèɓ   žèɓ   á   žèɓ-ú   ndə̀   dzáŋ   wàl
      follow follow 3SG   follow-3SG   go   find   wife
      ngə̀n   nákáhà
      3SG   REM
      'He followed and followed and found his wife,'

The object marker *w* is also suffixed to the verb of the relative

clause. The antecedent of the object does not have to occur in the relative clause:

(69) *yí   zá   mbù   fés   ngà   cíŋ   á*
      3PL   COMP   child   small   like   DEM   PRED
      dámù   kómɓì   mà̀   ɧ-ú   nók   sán
      bush   maybe   REL   cut-3SG   1PL.EXCL   know
      skù
      NEG
      'They said, "There is a small child like that in the bush. Maybe he cut it out. We do not know."'

The use of the third-person singular object pronoun *-u* with subject focus is ungrammatical:

(70) **í   kə́   də̀b-ú   zà*
      3PL   INF   ask-3SG   EE
      for 'they asked him'

9. Absence of an object

A transitive verb may occur without an object, if its object has been mentioned previously in the discourse. Compare the following fragment, where the same verb *ɧáŋ* 'to cross' first occurs with an object, *làkwát* 'river', and then four sentences later, it occurs without any object, nominal or pronominal:

(71) *hìd-yìi   wá   í   dìy-á   ɧáŋ   làkwát*
      man-PL   DEM   3PL   put-GO   cross   river
      'The men started to cross river.'

(72) *cìkiɗ   tə̀   gwídìŋ   ndə̀v   ká*
      sesame   GEN   single   fall   POS
      'A single sesame seed fell down.'

(73) *mà̀   ɧím ɧím   zá   cìkiɗ   mə́*
      REL   listen listen   COMP   sesame   REL
      ndə̀v-yí   zà
      fall-STAT   EE
      'The one who was good at listening said, "A sesame seed fell down."'

(74) ɓàŋ   í   ɓàŋ   zá
     cross 3PL   cross EE
     'They crossed [the river].'

Whether an object is overtly marked is not determined by the sub-categorization properties of the verb, but rather by the system of reference, as described in Chapter 16.

When the object is a body part of the subject, the clause has the following form: Subject Verb body part. A possessive pronoun coding the features person and number of the subject is optional:

(75) kə́   ngə̀   ngàzə̀ ngə̀n ká
     INF   break leg   3SG   POS
     'He broke his leg.'

Coreferentiality of subject and object is marked by the noun *tàlàn* 'head' without possessive pronouns (recall that the intensifier also makes use of the noun *tàlàn* 'head', but with possessive pronouns, section 14 Chapter 3):

(76) *kə́   fəɗ   tàlàn   kà*
     INF   shave head   POS
     'He shaved himself.'

(77) *à   fəɗ   tàlàn*
     3SG   shave head
     'He shaves himself.'

The unmarked object may have a different referent than the immediately preceding object:

(78) *wàl   wà   ràz   màbíŋ ndə̀   tsáp   á   màl*
     wife   DEM   open   door   go   tsap   3SG   catch
     ká
     POS
     'The woman opened the door, went [in] and tsáp caught [it].'

10. Coding of object in sequential clauses

In sequential clauses, i.e. clauses that follow another clause or an adverb

of time and clauses that are followed by another clause within the same sentence, the object follows the subject and precedes the verb. Such an object is marked by the locative preposition *n*. The third person subject *á* in such clauses has high rather than low tone. The motivation for the use of the preposition is provided by the fact that two noun phrases precede the verb, and some means must be provided to assure the distinction between the grammatical roles of the two nouns.

Compare the following pair of sentences, each consisting of two clauses in a sequential relationship. The first clause is coded for the first element of the sequence through a construction consisting of a reduplicated verb, with the subject between the two parts of the verb. The following clause must be sequential. In the example below, it is the second clause that has the object, and it is coded by the preposition *n*:

(79) *zə̀m*   *zə̀m*   *zə̀m*   *á*   *zə̀m*   *zá*
      eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE

      á   *n*   *kə̀dɔ́m*   *ngɔ̀n*   *ɓə̀t*
      3SG   PREP   calabash   3SG   take

      'She ate and ate and ate, then she took her calabash.'

The object in a sequential clause may not be coded by configuration, as in matrix clauses. Hence, the following is ungrammatical:

(80) **zə̀m* *zə̀m*   *zə̀m*   *á*   *zə̀m*   *zá*
      eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE

      á   *ɓə̀t*   *kə̀dɔ́m*   *ngɔ̀n*
      3SG   take   calabash   3SG

      for 'She ate and ate and ate, then she took her calabash.'

If the adverb of time is fronted, the object must also occur before the verb:

(81) *áb*   *də̀wɔ́ŋ*   *mbí*   *á*   *n*   *ŋ̀vɔ́ŋ*
      ASSC   back   ANAPH   3SG   PREP   stone

      tɔ́   *tàpáh*   *ɓə̀t*
      GEN   flat   take

      'Afterwards he took the flat stone.'

(82)   *kà   ɗál   zà   syì*
        INF do   EE   COM
        á   n   mbà ·pár   náz   ká   jìɓ
        3SG PREP child another   throw PREP hole
        'Each time she did that, she took one child and threw it into the
        hole.'

The sequence of cause-and-effect relationship among the sequential nature of the clause, the fronting of the object and the use of the preposition *n* is as follows: The fact that the clause is sequential requires the fronting of the object. The fronting of the object requires the use of a preposition to distinguish between the two arguments preceding the verb. The fronting of the object has become a marker of the sequential clause.

11. Pronominal objects

Object pronouns follow the verb and they must be preceded by the suffix *á* following the verb. We gloss *á* as GO for 'goal orientation' because we analyze it to be identical with the goal orientation extension. The following is the list of object pronouns:

<div align="center">

Direct Object Pronouns

</div>

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	-kù	nàmú	nènéŋ, nà (EXCL)
			nòkóŋ (INCL)
Second	-h		híníŋ or hínéŋ
Third	Ø, u		tá tàtàŋ

Note that the first and second person plural pronominal forms display vowel harmony. There is no vowel harmony in the first person dual because the labial nasal is [+round], and therefore it is a barrier to round vowel harmony.

    Here is an illustration of the form of object pronouns in the habitual aspect where all persons are marked, and in phrase-final position where the non-reduced, and in the case of the third-person the expanded form of the pronoun, is used:

(83)   *à   ndí   tàw-á-kù*
        3SG HAB hit-GO-1SG
        'He hits me.'

(84) *à   ndí   tàw-á-h*
      3SG   HAB   hit-GO-2SG
      'He hits you.'

The third-person singular can be unmarked. Mina codes the category 'deduced reference' marked by the form *tà* reduced to *tə̀* in phrase-internal position, and expanded to *tàŋ* in phrase-final position. The deduced reference marker instructs the listener to identify the referent through a process of deduction using knowledge from various sources, including the listener's cognitive system, the speech environment, and previous discourse. This form can function as syntactic object or as determiner of a noun phrase. However, it cannot function as syntactic subject. Unlike other object pronouns, the deduced object marker is not preceded by the goal orientation marker *á*:

(85) *à   ndí   táw   tàŋ*
      3SG   HAB   hit   DED
      'He hits him.'

Here are some natural discourse examples of the use of the marker *ta*:

(86) *syì   à   ndí   də̀   tə̀   dàp*
      COM 3SG   HAB   cook   DED   only
      'Then she just cooks it.'

(87) *séy   á   tət   kám   í   ndí   ngà*
      then   PRED 3PL   TOP (F.)   3PL   HAB   catch
      ɓì-yíì   zə̀   ká   ndá   kə̀   dá
      meat-PL   EE   INF   go   INF   cook:GO
      tàŋ
      DED
      'Then, as for them [hyenas], they just catch the meat, [and] bring it for cooking.'

The referential functions of the form *tà* are discussed in Chapter 17, Reference system.

The tone of the third-person singular object suffix *u* is polar, determined by the last tone of the verb as described in Chapter 2, Phonology. The pronoun *u* is used in the independent past tense coded through reduplication, and in deontic and hypothetical moods:

(88)   *dzàw*   *í*   *dzàw-ú*   *á*   *dùwə̀n*
      attach 3PL   attach-3SG   PRED back
      mə̀dìngwə̀rzé
      donkey
      'They attached it to the back of the donkey.'

The dual and plural object pronouns involve the use of the goal orientation marker *á*. All first-person dual and plural forms consist of a prefix *nà*, whose vowel assimilates to the following vowel by fronting or rounding depending on the front and round characteristics of the following vowel:

(89)   *à*   *ndí*   *tàw-á*   *nènéŋ*
      3SG   HAB   hit-GO   1PL.EXCL
      'He hits us'

(90)   *à*   *ndí*   *tàw-á*   *nòkóŋ*
      3SG   HAB   hit-GO   1PL.INCL
      'He hits us .INCL'

(91)   *à*   *ndí*   *tàw-á*   *nàmú*
      3SG   HAB   hit-GO   1DU
      'He hits the two of us.'

The second-person plural is marked by two means used simultaneously. First, there is the second-person singular object marker *h* following the verb, and then the second-person plural object follows:

(92)   *à*   *ndí*   *tàw-á-h*   *hìnéŋ*
      3SG   HAB   hit-GO-2SG 2PL
      'He hits you.'

The third-person plural does not have the goal orientation marker *á*:

(93)   *à*   *ndí*   *táw*   *tə̀tàŋ*
      3SG   HAB   hit   3PL
      'He hits them.'

(94)   *káyà*   *dǐy-á*   *wállá*   *tá*   *bà*
       INTERJ (F.)   put-GO   help (F.)   3PL   ASSC
       dà   *tàŋ*
       cook   DED
       'She started to help them to cook it.'

Pronouns that constitute syllables, such as plural pronouns, are not suffixed to the verb, as evidenced by the fact that they do not undergo vowel fronting:

(95)   *í*   *n*   *kə́*   *lìm-é*   *nók*   *zà*
       3PL   PREP   INF   see-GO   1PL.INCL   EE
       'They should not see us.'

(96)   *í*   *kə́*   *lìm-é*   *nám*   *zà*
       3PL   INF   see-GO   1DU   EE
       'They saw us.'

The second-person singular has the goal orientation marker *á*, followed by [h]. The glottal continuant is often completely reduced, and only the goal orientation marker *á* signals the second person:

(97)   *kə́*   *màl-á-h*   *zà*
       be   catch-GO-2SG   EE
       'He caught you.'

(98)   *kə́*   *ŋd̚-á-h*   *zà*
       be   hit-2SG   EE
       'He hit you.'

The 1PL.EXCL object form has two forms, *ná* in phrase internal position and *nènéŋ* in phrase final position. Here are examples of the first person plural pronoun in phrase internal position:

(99)   *í*   *kə́*   *lìm-é*   *ná*   *zà*
       3PL   INF   see-GO   1PL.EXCL   EE
       'They saw us.'

(100) *í*   *n*   *kə́*   *lìm-é*   *ná*   *zà*
       3PL   PREP   INF   see-GO   1PL.EXCL   EE
       'lest they see us'

The second-person plural is *hí* in phrase-internal position:

(101)   *í*   *kə́*   *lìm-é-h*   *hí*   *zà*
         3PL   INF   see-GO-2SG   2PL   EE
         'They saw you.'

(102)   *í*   *n*   *kə́*   *lìm-é-h*   *hí*   *zà*
         3PL   PREP   INF   see-GO-2SG   2PL   EE
         'lest they see you'

The third-person plural is *tə́* in phrase internal position in both indicative and deontic moods:

(103)   *í*   *kə́*   *lìm*   *tə́*   *zà*
         3PL   INF   see   3PL   EE
         'They saw them.'

(104)   *í*   *n*   *kə́*   *lìm*   *tə́*   *zà*
         3PL   PREP   INF   see   3PL   EE
         'lest they see them'

12. Coding coreferentiality of subject and object

For most transitive verbs, the coreferentiality of subject and object is coded by the lexeme *ksə́m* 'body' in the object position. The noun *ksə́m* 'body' may be followed by possessive pronouns referring to the subject. In natural data, the form *ksə́m* is used only when the subject has control over the event:

(105)   *séy*   *báy*   *dzà*   *á*   *dzə̀*   *ksə́m*   *ngə̀n*   *ká*
         so   chief   kill   3SG   kill   body   3SG   POS
         'So the chief killed himself'

(106)   *ɓə̀t*   *á*   *ɓə̀t*   *wás*   *dzà*   *á*   *dzə̀*   *ksə́m*
         take   3SG   take   knife   kill   3SG   kill   body
         ngə̀n   *ká*
         3SG   POS
         'He took his knife and killed himself.'

(107) *kɔ́*   *dzɔ̀*   *ksɔ́m*   *ngɔ̀ŋ*   *zà*
       INF   kill   body   3SG   EE
       'He stabbed himself.'

(108) *à*   *zá*   *hà*   *tɔ̀ɓɔ́l*   *ksɔ́m*   *kími*
       3SG   COMP   2SG   tire   body   why
       'He said to him, "Why do you tire yourself?"'

13. Coding the internal state of the subject

The lexeme *tàlàŋ* 'head' has grammaticalized to code a state of the subject not resulting from the physical activity of the predicate of the clause:

(109) *à*   *ɬék*   *tàlàŋ*
       3SG   remember   head
       'He remembers.'

(110) *séy*   *tàkár-yíì*   *kɔ̀*   *wáy*   *tàlàŋ*   *tsáy*   *zà*
       so   turtle-PL   INF   forget   head   finish   EE
       kɔ́   *dàr*
       INF   dance
       'So the turtles are completely preoccupied with the dance.'

(111) *kɔ̀*   *ɬék*   *tàlàn*   *zá*
       3SG   remember   head   EE
       'he recalled'

With the verb *wáy* 'forget' the addition of *tàlàn* produces an unexpected meaning:

(112) *kɔ̀*   *wáy*   *tàlàn*   *zá*
       INF   forget head   EE
       'He wasted time.'
Cf.
(113) *kɔ̀*   *wáy*   *zà*
       INF   forget EE
       'He forgot.'

    The noun *tàlàŋ* must be used with the verb *mbú* 'unite' when it has plural subjects in its scope:

(114) | *wà* | *áŋgà* | *í* | *kà* | *káh* | *tsáy* | *zà* | *syì* | *í* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEM | if | 3PL | INF | bury | finish | EE | COM | 3PL |

ndí	*mbú*	*tàlàŋ*	*tòtò*	*kó*	*hàŋ*	*tús*		*dàp*
HAB	unite	head	3PL	INF	cry	INTENS		just

'If they have buried, they get together to weep profoundly.'

Here is an example where the form *tàlàŋ* is used as the subject with the verb *mbù* 'unite, gather' and as the object with the verb *tsúk* 'isolate':

(115)	*tàlàŋ*	*mò*	*mbùw-yí*	*zà*	*syì*	*kó*		*í*
head	REL	unite-STAT	EE	COM	QUANT		3PL

ndò	*váy*	*í*	*ndò*	*tsúk*	*tàlàŋ*	*tòtò*
go	where	3PL	go	isolate	head	3PL

dáp	*skò*	*vù*
just	NEG	Q

'If they unite themselves, no matter where they go, they isolate themselves.'

14. Argument structure of verbs of emotional states

The reason we discuss the properties of verbs of emotional states is that the semantic function of the subject is not predictable. It could be either the argument that triggers the emotional state or the argument that is in the emotional state described by the verb. We begin with the verbs of loving.

Some verbs have experiencer as subject; other verbs, have the trigger of the experience as subject. The verb *ndòrm* 'please' may have only the trigger of the experience as subject and the experiencer as indirect object:

(116) | *mávù* | *á* | *ndòrm-á-k* | | *rà* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| beer | 3SG | please-GO-1SG | | D.HAB |

'I like beer' (lit, 'beer pleases me') (The dependent habitual marker *ra* must be used in this sentence)

Having the experiencer as subject results in an ungrammatical sentence:

(117) | **sò* | *ndòrm* | *mávù* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | please | beer |

for 'I like beer'

The verb *ndɔrm* may be used in different aspectual forms:

(118) *mávù   kɔ́   ndɔrm-á-k*   *zà*
       beer   INF   please-GO-1SG   EE
       'I liked beer' (lit, 'beer pleased me')

(119) *mávù   kɔ́   ndɔrm-á-k*   *dɑ́   skù*
       beer   INF   please-GO-1SG   exist NEG
       'I didn't like beer' (when I tried it)

The verb *mbál* 'like' may only have the experiencer as subject; the object of liking is the object of the clause. The object may be human or non-human:

(120) *tɔ̀tɔ̀   nfáɗ   tàŋ   í   mbál   wàl   tàŋ*
       3PL   four   DED   3PL   like   woman   DED
       'The four of them liked the woman.'

(121) *sɔ̀   mbál   kɔ̀kɔ̀s   skù*
       1SG   like   beans   NEG
       'I don't like beans.'

The verb *dɔ́m* 'to ache' has as its subject the part of the body that aches. The experiencer is the object. The part of the body may have a possessive suffix. Elicited clauses with the verb *dɔ́m* and several other verbs of emotional states have the habitual marker *rà* rather than *ndí*:

(122) *tàlàŋ   dɔ́m-á-k   rà*   [tàlàŋ tɔ́m-ák]
       head   hurt-GO-1SG D.HAB
       'I have a headache' (my head is hurting me).

(123) *rɔ́   dɔ́m-á-k   rà*
       hand   hurt-GO-1SG D.HAB
       'My hand aches.'

There are several expressions to code the notion of being afraid. One of them consists of the noun *kɔ̀túlàk* 'fear' as subject, followed by the verb *dál* 'make', followed by a dative argument. The evidence that the argument is dative rather than direct object is provided by the fact that the third-person singular is marked by *n*.

(124) *kàtúlàk*   *däl-á-k*   *rà*
       fear   make-GO-1SG   D.HAB
       'I am scared' (lit., fear made me).

(125) *kàtúlàk*   *däl-á-h*   *rà*
       fear   make-GO-2SG   D.HAB
       'You are scared.'

(126) *kàtúlàk*   *däl-á-ŋ*   *rà*
       fear   make-GO-3SG   D.HAB
       'He is scared.'

The evidence that *kàtúlàk* is a noun is provided by the fact that it may occur as head in possessive constructions:

(127) *kàtúlàk-ngàŋ*   'his fear'
              -nàŋ   'my fear'
              -tkón   'your fear'

The verb *ndín* 'to be afraid, to scare' can be transitive or intransitive. When it occurs with one argument only, that argument represents the affected participant. All tenses used with this verb must be dependent:

(128) *sà*   *ndín*   *rà*
       1SG   be afraid   D.HAB
       'I am afraid.'

(129) *à*   *ndín*   *rà*
       3SG   scare   D.HAB
       'He is afraid.'

In the past tense only a dependent tense can be used:

(130) *sà*   *kà*   *ndín*   *zà*
       1SG   INF   be afraid   EE
       'I was scared.'

(131) *sà*   *ndín*
       1SG   be afraid
       'I was afraid.'

When the verb is used with two arguments, the first argument is the

trigger of emotion, and the second argument is the affected entity:

(132) à   ndín-é-k   rà
      3SG   scare-GO-1SG   D.HAB
      'It made me scared.'

It remains to be explained why propositions involving emotional states require dependent rather than independent habitual aspect.

15. Dative

We use the term "dative" as a conveniently brief term for the category of indirectly affected argument. The argument is indirectly affected when A acts (on B) and thus affects C. The indirectly affected argument can receive an object, be affected through the activity directed at some other object, benefit from the activity, or be adversely affected by the activity (malefactive). All examples below support the indirect affectedness of the argument as the function of the dative argument. The common coding means for the nominal and pronominal dative is goal orientation marker *á* suffixed to the verb and followed by pronominal suffixes. This marker, however, is not limited to dative function as it also occurs with direct object pronouns.

15.1 Pronominal dative

Except for the third-person singular, the dative and benefactive pronouns and the way they are added to the verb are identical with direct object pronouns. All pronouns, including the third-person singular and plural forms, must be preceded by the goal orientation marker *á*. The set of pronouns is as follows (phrase-final and phrase-internal forms cited, and in that order):

Dative Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	-kù, -k	nàmú	nókù, nókòŋ INCL
			nènéŋ, nà EXCL
Second	-h		hínìŋ
Third	-ŋù, -ŋ		-ŋ tàtàŋ, tàtà

The full form of pronouns ending in a vowel is preserved in phrase-final position, such as at the end of the clause:

(133)   *i   dɔb-á-kù*
        3PL   ask-GO-1SG
        'They ask me.'

In phrase-internal position, the final vowel of the pronoun is reduced, and the tone of the pronoun shifts to the preceding syllable, as described in Chapter 2. The first- and the third-person singular, however, may be coded by consonants only, in phrase internal and in phrase final position. The consonant-only variant does not cause vowel lowering on the preceding syllable:

(134)   *hìdì   wèhíŋ   á   zá   ván   á   n*
        man   DEM   3SG   COMP   rain   3SG   PREP
        kɔ́   dâ   á   gɔ̀r   kɔ́   nd-á-k
        INF   fall   3SG   want   INF   touch-GO-1SG
        kɔ̀sɔ́m   skù
        body   NEG
        'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

In accordance with the rule of vowel fronting, the goal orientation marker *a* after the verbs with front vowel *bér* 'sell', *lìm* 'see', and *híldîɓ* 'to sew' is realized as [*e*]:

(135)   *kɔ́   bèr-é-k   wú   z   fẽ̀s*
        INF   sell-GO-1SG   milk   EE   small
        'She sold me a little milk.'

The first-person plural exclusive has the form *nàníŋ* in phrase-final position and *nà* in phrase-internal position:

(136)   *bítsì   mɔ̀   vl-á   nàníŋ*
        Bitsi   REL   give-GO   1PL.EXCL
        'It is Bitsi that gave it to us.'

        vl-à   nà   kɔ̀dá
        give-GO   1PL.EXCL   pot for carrying water
        'Give us a clay pot!'

(137)   *i*   *lùw-á*   *nòkóŋ*
      3PL   say-GO   1PL.INCL
      'They tell us.'

      i   *lùw-á*   *nàmú*
      3PL   say-GO   1DU
      'They tell us.'

(138)   *i*   *dɔb*   *nòkóŋ*
      3SG   ask   1PL.INCL
      'They ask us.' (no goal orientation marker)

The full, probably deliberate style form of third-person dative pronominal suffix is *-ŋù*, realized as *ŋ* in phrase-internal position and in non-deliberate style in phrase final position. This pronoun must be used each time there is a third-person dative pronominal object, whether singular or plural. This is in contrast with the third-person pronominal direct object, whose overt coding depends on the type of reference coded rather than on the semantic function within the clause. The third person pronoun is unmarked for number. If it is not followed by the plural pronoun, however, the default value of the third person pronoun is singular:

(139)   *kɔ́*   *màl-á-ŋ*   *zà*
      INF   catch-GO-3SG   EE
      'He caught it for him.'

      i   *dɔb-á-ŋù*
      3SG   ask-GO-3SG
      'They asked for him.'

The direct object follows the verb with its dative suffix:

(140)   *ʒɔ́ŋ*   *i*   *ʒɔ́ŋ*   *hìd-yíi*   *ndɔ́*   *ɓàt*   *í*
      send   3PL   send   man-PL   go   get   3PL
      ɓàt-á-ŋ   *kàdɔ́m*   *wàcíŋ* *dà*   *í*
      get-GO-3SG   calabash   DEM   bring   3PL
      dà-há-w
      bring-GO-3SG
      'They sent people and they went and got the calabash for him and brought it.'

The third-person plural dative is coded by the third-person singular

ŋù followed by the third-person plural pronoun *tá*, *tàtà*, or *tàtàŋ* (in phrase-final position):

(141) kwáykwáy   dɔ̀b   í   wàŋ   sùlúɗsùlúɗ
      hyena   ask   3PL   sleep two by two
      wà   mɔ̀   ɗál-á-ŋ   tɔ̀tɔ̀   mí
      but   what   happen-GO-3SG   3PL   what
      'Hyena asked, "They sleep two by two, but what happened to them?"'

The third person plural form may be reduced to the form *táŋ* as evidenced by the following example:

(142) áa   ɗámà   wàl   wà   bà   á
      ah,   good   woman   DEM   again 3SG
      lúw-á-ŋ   tàŋ
      say-GO-3SG   3PL
      '"It's good," the woman told them again.'

The second-person dative is coded by the suffix *h* in phrase-internal position:

(143) à   zá   sɔ̀   nd-á   kà   tár-á-h
      3SG   COMP   1SG   go-GO   INF   ask-GO-2SG
      á   pát   tàr   nàŋ
      PRED   tomorrow   common work   1SG
      'He said, "I came to ask you for help. Tomorrow is my work day."'

The second-person plural dative must have the second-person singular coded on the verb and the second-person plural as an independent pronoun:

(144) í   dɔ̀b-á-h   hìnéŋ
      3SG   ask-GO-2SG   2PL
      'They ask you.'

15.2   Interaction between the dative and direct pronominal object coding

The addition of pronominal direct objects to verbs with dative objects is

realized as follows. The deictic object is marked by the form *wàcín* 'this' following the verb:

(145)   *mbí   mà   bèr-é-k   wàcín*
        3SG   REL   sell-GO-1SG   DEM
        'It is he who sold this one to me.'

If the third person is the recipient and the second person is the object given, the second person is affixed to the verb and the third person is coded through a prepositional phrase in the unmarked aspect:

(146)   *sà   vl-á-h   nà   mbéŋ*
        1SG   give-GO 2SG   PREP   3SG
        'I give you to him.'

In the unmarked aspect, the overt coding of the direct object is obligatory for transitive verbs. Therefore, if no nominal object occurs, the deduced marker *tá* must be used. The dative is suffixed to the verb and the direct object is marked by the independent pronoun *ta* (*taŋ* in clause-final position):

(147)   *sà   vl-á-h   tàŋ*
        1SG   give-GO-2SG   DED
        'I give it/him/her to you.'

        sà   dëf-é-h   tàŋ
        1SG   introduce-GO-2SG   DED
        'I am showing it to you' (rather than selling it).

In the dependent aspect coded by the form *kə . . . za* the third-person singular direct object suffix to the verb may not be used (for a similar situation in Mupun, a West Chadic language cf. Frajzyngier 1993):

(148)   *sà   kə́   vl-á-h   zà*
        1SG   INF   give-GO-2SG   EE
        'I gave it to you.'

        sà   kə́   dëf-é-h   zà
        1SG   INF   show-GO-2SG   EE
        'I have shown him to you.'

15.3 Nominal dative

The structure of the clause with nominal dative has the form: Verb-*á-ŋ* Object (PRED) *n* Dative. The verb codes the presence of a dative argument through the suffix *ŋ*. The locative preposition *n* is used in all cases except when the underlying dative is a person whose body part is affected. If between the direct object and the dative argument there exists a part-whole relationship, the nominal dative is not coded either by the locative predicator or by the preposition. The dative argument is coded as possessor of the direct object. However, the verb still codes the presence of the dative argument:

(149) *à*   *ʃə́d-á-ŋ*   *tàlàŋ*   *tə́*   *záváŋ-yìì*
       3SG   shave-GO-3SG   head   GEN   guinea fowl-PL
       r   *bàhá*
       D.HAB   again
       'She was shaving the heads of the guinea fowl again.' (for the benefit of the guinea fowl)

If the verb is inherently directional, the locative predicator *á* is not used. This is the case with the verb of saying, whose addressees are coded only by the preposition *nə̀*:

(150) *báhámàn*   *là*   *á*   *lúw-á-ŋ*   *nà*   *ɓámbáy*
       Bahaman   say   3SG   say-GO-3SG   PREP   stick
       nákà   *wà*
       REM   DEM
       'Bahaman spoke to the stick.'

The verb *bèr* 'sell' is also inherently directional, and consequently the argument coding the buyer is not preceded by the locative predicator *á*:

(151) *à*   *bèr-é-ŋ*   *ndrì*   *ə́nə̀*   *association*
       3SG   sell-GO-3SG   sorghum   PREP   association
       'He sells sorghum to the association.'

       à   *ndí*   *bèr-é-ŋ*   *kə̀kə̀s*   *nə́*   *bítsì*
       3SG   HAB   sell-GO-3SG   beans   PREP   Bitsi
       'He always sells beans to Bitsi.'

If between the verb *vəl* 'give' and the recipient there is some other

material, such as an adverb, the recipient is preceded by the locative predicator *á*. We have no explanation as to why the recipient is not also preceded by the preposition *n*:

(152) ha   vəl-a-ŋ   wudə   zə   nek
       2SG   give-GO-3SG   food   EE   well
       a   misil   zə   vu
       PRED thief   EE   Q
       'Will you give food to a thief?' (written sources)

The auxiliary *za* follows the direct object but precedes the dative argument:

(153) kɔ́   bèr-é-ŋ   kɔ̀kɔ̀s   zɔ́   nɔ̀   bítsì
       INF   sell-GO-3SG   beans   EE   PREP Bitsi
       'He sold beans to Bitsi'

(154) mbí   ɓɔ́t   kɔ̀dɔ̌m   d-àh
       ANAPH   take   calabash   bring-GO
       á   dà-há-ŋ   kɔ́   nɔ̀   báy
       3SG   bring-GO-3SG   PREP PREP chief
       'He took the calabash and brought it back to the chief.'

The third-person dative argument marked by *ŋ* cannot be coreferential with the subject. Thus in the above example, the dative pronoun *ŋ* can refer to any third-person other than the subject of the clause.

15.4   The dative with body part terms

If the dative object pronoun is followed by a body part noun, this construction codes the affectedness of the dative object. The body part noun is not followed by the possessive pronoun:

(155) hìdì   wèhíŋ   á   zá   ván   á   n
       man   DEM   3SG   COMP   rain   3SG   PREP
       kɔ́   dâ   á   gɔ̀r   kɔ́   nd-á-k
       INF   fall   3SG   want   INF   touch-GO-1SG
       kɔ̀sɔ́m   skù
       body   NEG
       'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

(156) *záván-yíì*   *zá*   *fəd-á*   *ná*
       guinea fowl-PL   COMP   shave-GO   1PL
       tàlàŋ kə́ gí
       head   POS   please
       'The guinea fowl said "Shave our heads, please."'

       séy   *à*   *ndí* *fəd-á-ŋ*   *tà*
       so (H.)   3SG HAB shave-GO-3SG   3PL
       tàlàŋ fəd fəd fəd
       head   shave shave shave
       'So, she shaved and shaved and shaved their heads.'

(157) *kə́*   *tìy-á-k*   *màcékwèr*   *zà*
       INF   look-GO-1SG knee   EE
       'He examined my knee.'

When the dative is marked by the suffix to the verb, the body part noun may not be followed by the possessive pronouns:

(158) *kə́*   *tìy-á-k*   *màcékwèr*   **nán* *zà*
       INF   look-GO-1SG knee   1SG EE
       'He examined my knee.'

15.5 The functions of dative

The dative argument can be added to any verb, regardless of whether the verb is inherently malefactive, benefactive, or neither. The dative indicates that the argument so coded is indirectly affected by the event, without specifying the nature of indirect affectedness. The following example has dative as a beneficiary of the event:

(159) *kə́*   *bəł-á-k*   *tsákàr zá*
       INF   smith-GO-1SG   lance EE
       'He smithed a lance for me.'

In the following example the dative argument is affected neither positively nor negatively:

(160) *mótà*   *tá*   *wàǥáf*   *kə́*   *fìr-é-nók*
       motor   GEN   sky   INF   fly-GO-1PL.INCL

       z   *í*   *tàlàn*   *(tòkòŋ)*
       EE   above   head   1PL.INCL
       'An airplane flew above us all.'

In the following example, there are two instantiations of the dative construction. The first one codes a benefactive activity (finding oneself a wife) and the second a malefactive activity (to pinch one's heart):

(161) *wàl*   *ǥím*   *mà*   *r*   *skú*   *kà*
       woman   hear   mouth   D.HAB   NEG   INF

       gám   *kà*   *kə́*   *gr-á-h*   *pár*
       chase   POS   INF   search-GO-2SG   another

       ngàm   *á*   *ngáts-á-h*   *nə́f*   *rà*
       because   3SG   pinch-GO-2SG   heart   D.HAB
       'The woman who does not obey should be chased away. You have to find yourself another, because this one pinches your heart.'

Here are examples of the malefactive use of dative pronouns:

(162) *á*   *zm-á-k*   *wùdə́*   *z*   *vày*
       3SG   eat-GO-1SG   food   EE   why
       'Why did he eat my food?'

(163) *í*   *kə́*   *ɓl-á-nók*   *páy*   *kà*
       3PL   INF   cut-GO-1PL.INCL   tree   POS
       'They cut a tree on us.'

(164) *í*   *kə́*   *ɓl-á-nà*   *páy*   *kà*
       3PL   INF   cut-1PL.EXCL   tree   POS
       'They cut a tree on us.'

16. Coding reciprocity

Reciprocity is a situation in which A(s) act on B(s), and B(s) act on A(s). The main strategy for coding the reciprocal function is the noun *ksə́m* 'body' which must be followed by an appropriate plural possessive pronoun. Here is an illustration of all forms:

(165) *ná   mə̀n   ksə́m tín   zà*
      1PL.EXCL help body 1PL.EXCL EE
      'We are going to help each other.'

      nám mə̀n ksə́m tə́m zà
      1DU   help body 1DU   EE
      'We are going to help each other.'

      nók   mə̀n ksə́m tók   zà
      1PL.INCL help body 1PL.INCL EE
      'We are going to help each other.'
      hí   mə̀n ksə́m tíkín zá
      2PL help body 2PL   EE
      'You are going to help each other.'

The distinction between reciprocal and coreferential function may be blurred in some instances:

(166) *à   zá   ə̀n   gàmták   ázə̀   ká   dzə̀*
      3SG COMP   PREP chicken   go   INF   kill
      ksə́m tə̀m ká
      body 1DU POS
      'He [squirrel] said to the chicken, "Let's kill ourselves."'

Control over an event does not necessarily mean active participation in the event itself:

(167) *ázə̀   tòk   kə́   kàh   ksə́m tòkóŋ skù*
      go   1PL INF bury body 1PL NEG
      syì   kə́   dâl-á-ŋ   á   vàŋgáy
      COM INF do-GO-3SG PRED   how
      '[Since the blacksmith is dead] we have to bury each other, otherwise, how can we go about it?'

The other means of coding the reciprocal function involves the use of the marker *žéŋ* following the verb. This means has been recorded with verbs of saying:

(168) *kwáykwá-yîi*   *wà*   *lù*   *žéŋ*   *í*   *zà*
     hyena-PL   DEM   say   RECIPR   3PL   EE
     hìd-yîi   *wà*   *kà*   *dá*   *də́pdàp*
     people   DEM   here   exist   only
     'The hyenas said to each other, there are some people in here.'

17. Conclusions

The subject of a clause can be coded by nouns or by pronouns. A special set of pronouns codes the subject. With respect to the third person, the subject may be coded by a noun and a pronoun at the same time, but this coding has a pragmatic function. If the subject has been mentioned in a preceding clause, it does not have to be mentioned in the subsequent clause. The conjoined noun phrase in the subject function has a different form than the conjoined noun phrase in any other function.

The direct object is marked by the position following the verb. The third-person singular object may be unmarked, or it may be marked by the determiner *tá* or the pronoun *u*, depending on the requirement of the reference coding and the aspect of the clause. The direct object differs from locative arguments that may also follow the verb directly in that the end-of-event marker *za* and the auxiliary *dà* 'exist' follow the direct object but precede all other complements.

Pronominal objects, direct or dative, are marked by the goal orientation marker *á* suffixed to the verb and by pronouns following the marker *á*. The third-person singular dative object pronoun, unlike the direct object pronoun, must always be overtly marked. The dative object pronoun must also be used if the dative argument is nominal.

Chapter 6

Coding the event from the point of view of subject

Mina has grammaticalized a function of representing the event from the point of view of subject. This function is in contrast with the unmarked clause, which represents the event without taking any specific point of view. Since this function is not commonly known (but see Frajzyngier 1999, Frajzyngier with Shay 2002) the description that follows provides the evidence for the existence of this function.

1. The form of the point of view of subject marker

The point of view of subject marker is *ka*, glossed as POS. It occurs at the end of the verb phrase, but before adverbial phrases, if any. In phrase-final and phrase-internal position, it has polar tone, opposite to the tone of the preceding syllable. The syllable that counts for the polar tone is the syllable actually produced rather than the underlying syllable. Thus the noun for 'dog' is *hàzá*. In phrase-internal position it is reduced to *hàz*, and accordingly the tone on the marker *ka* is high rather than low:

(1) *bítsì   kə́   bèr   hàz   ká*
     Bitsi   INF   sell   dog   POS
     'Bitsi sold a dog.' (elicited)

The marker *ka* is reduced to *kə* in phrase-internal position.

(2) *ɓì   tòtàŋ   fú   tàŋ   dèɓ   i   dèɓ   kə́*
     meat   3PL   all   DED   carry   3PL   carry   POS
     n   yòm
     PREP   water
     'All their meat, they took it into water (for themselves).'

2. The function of the point of view of the subject

Representation of the event from the point of view of the subject indi-
cates that the event is represented as beneficial or as detrimental for the
subject. In the following examples, the events are beneficial for the sub-
ject. The marker *ka* can occur with the controlling subject, and in such a
situation, it is in complementary distribution with the pronominal coding
of the dative argument, which codes the beneficiary of the event. The
third-person dative pronoun cannot occur with the third-person subject
and be coreferential with it. Instead, the marker of affectedness is used
for the same function:

(3) *báy   nà   kàdə́m   ngàn   ɓàt*
     chief   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
     déɓ   á   déɓ   ká   á   ìdá
     carry   3SG   carry   POS   PRED   home
     'The chiefᵢ took hisⱼ calabash and carried it home.' (for himself)

The evidence that the marker *ka* codes the point of view of the subject is
provided by the fact that if one would like to add a beneficiary other than
the subject, the form *ka* cannot be used:

(4) **báy   nà   kàdə́m   ngàn   ɓàt*
     chief   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
     dèɓ   á   dèɓ   ká   á   ìdá
     carry   3SG   carry   POS   PRED   home
     nə́   wàl   ngə̀ŋ
     PREP   wife   3SG
     for 'The chiefᵢ took hisⱼ calabash and carried it home for his
     wife.'

(5) *ɓì   tə̀tàŋ   fú   tàŋ   dèɓ   í   dèɓ*
     meat   GEN:3PL   all   DED   bring 3PL   bring
     kə́   n   yə̀m
     POS   PREP   water
     'They brought all of their meat into the water.' (for themselves)

(6) **ɓì   tə̀tàŋ fú   tàŋ   dèɓ   í   dèɓ   ká*
     meat   3PL   all   DED   carry 3PL   carry POS
     n   yə̀m   nà   ngámbə̀   tə̀tàŋ
     PREP   water PREP   friend   3PL
     for 'All their meat, they took into water for their friend.'

The point-of view-of the subject indicates the state of the subject as the result of the event. Such subjects could be affected, directly or indirectly. The point of view of the subject may also involve a more general category, viz. how the event should be seen. Consider the following fragment. The first clause sets the background. In the second clause the marker *ka* indicates that the subject of the first clause was affected:

(7)   *hìdì-yìì*   *wá*   *í*   *dìy-á*   *ɓáŋ*   *làkwát*
      man-PL   DEM   3PL   put-GO   cross   river
      'The men started to cross the river.'

(8)   *cìkìɗ*   *tɔ́*   *gwídìŋ*   *ndɔ̀v*   *kà*
      sesame   GEN   single   fall   POS
      'A single sesame seed fell down.'

In the third clause, a simple statement is made about the event concerning the sesame seed. However, it is made as if it did not concern the subject:

(9)   *mɔ̀*   *ɓím ɓím*   *zá*   *cìkìɗ*
      REL   listen listen   COMP   sesame
      mɔ̀   *ndɔ̀v-yí*   *zà*
      REL   fall down-STAT   EE
      'The one who was good at listening said, "A sesame seed fell down."'

The marker *kà* may represent the point of view of the topic, when the subject is unspecified human:

(10)   *wàl*   *mà*   *sálàɗ*   *í*   *ndí*   *gám*   *kà*
       woman   ATT   lazy   3PL   HAB   chase   POS
       'The lazy wife is chased away' lit. 'The lazy wife they chase away'

(11)   *wàl*   *tɔ́tàn*   *í*   *ndí*   *káw*   *kà*
       woman   good   3PL   HAB   keep   POS
       'The good wife is kept.'

The representation of the event from the point of view of the subject is not narrowly defined to positive or negative effects on the subject. Thus in the following example the outcome is neither positive nor nega-

tive, and yet the form *ka* is used:

(12)   *tíl*   *á*   *ndə̀*   *zə́*   *bíŋ*
        depart 3SG   go   EE   room
        à   *n*   *mì*   *bíŋ*   *dzáŋ*   *á*   *dzáŋ*   *kà*
        3SG   PREP   mouth   room   close   3SG   close   POS
        'He went to the room and closed the door.'

In order to render the semantic nuance involved, one would probably have to translate it as 'He went to the room and closed the door behind him.'

     Translations of clauses with the point-of-view-of-subject marker into a language that does not have such a category may not reveal the meaning carried by the marker:

(13)   *sə̀*   *n*   *kə́*   *bèr*   *tə́*   *bèr*   *bèr*
        1SG   PREP   INF   sell   3PL   sell   sell
        túwə̀ɗ   *kà*
        finish   POS
        'I will sell them all.' or 'I will sell out'

Polish does have such a marker; it is either the accusative reflexive *się* or the dative reflexive *sobie*. Most of the Mina sentences with the marker *ka* would be translated into Polish using one of those markers:

(14)   *Wy-przedam*   *się*
        out-sell:FUT:1SG   REFL
        'I will sell all of my things'

     An event that has a dative argument may also have a point-of-view of subject marker:

(15)   *hà*   *n*   *kə̀*   *kál-á-ŋ*   *kà*
        2SG   PREP   INF   refuse-GO-3SG   POS
        ngàm   *á*   *n*   *mə̀*   *géy*   *géy*   *ngə̀ŋ*
        because   PRED   PREP   REL   bad   bad   3SG
        'You will deny her [things] because of her bad [conduct].'

Intransitive predications may also have the form *ka*:

(16) *dĕw   kà   kɔ́   vɔ̀l-á-ŋ*
      sit   POS   INF   give-GO-3SG
      kɔ̀   tɔ́l   nɔ̀   mɔ̀   dɑ́   skù
      INF   taste   PREP   mouth   exist   NEG
      'He sat down, and there was nobody to give him anything to eat.'

(17) *séy   kùrɔ̀k   á   kùrk-á   ngɔ̀n   ká*
      so   descend   3SG   descend-GO   3SG   POS
      'Then he got down.'

3. Point of view of the subject and speaker's empathy

The choice of the point-of-view of the subject marker is the speaker's choice. It is not determined by any element of the clause. If the subject is adversally affected, the choice of the point of view of the subject indicates speaker's sympathy and empathy. Consider the following sentence where the description of the death of some members of a group has the marker *ka*:

(18) *bìɓáf   kɔ́   dzɔ̀   tɔ̀tɔ̀   cíké'   kà*
      God   INF   kill   3PL   all   POS
      à   fín   nàmú   nám   kɔ́   tì   tàŋ
      3SG   remain   1DU   1DU   INF   see   DED
      'God has killed them all, there remains only us, we will see'

If one were to talk about one's enemies, where no sympathy is involved, instead of the marker of the point of view of subject *ka*, one would use the end-of-event marker *za*:

(19) *bìɓáf   kɔ́   dzɔ̀   tɔ̀tɔ̀   cíké'   zà*
      God   INF   kill   3PL   all   EE
      à   fín   nàmú   nám   kɔ́   tì   tàŋ
      3SG   remain   1DU   1DU   INF   see   DED
      'God has killed them all, there remains only us, we will see.'

Consider again the clause:

(20) zàm   zàm   zàm   á   zàm   zá
      eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE
      á   n   kàdɔ́m   ngàn   ɓàt
      3SG   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
      'She ate her fill, then she took her calabash.'

If, instead of the verb *ɓàt* 'take', a verb that does not affect the subject, one uses the verb *kàp* 'break a vessel', the speaker may represent the event with the marker *ka*, expressing his sympathy for the subject's loss:

(21) zàm   zàm   zàm   á   zàm   zá   á   n
      eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE   3SG   PREP
      kàdɔ́m   ngàn   kàp   ká
      calabash   3SG   break POS
      'She ate her fill, and then she broke her calabash.'

The following examples illustrate the speaker's attitudes toward the proposition, most likely the attitude of sympathy, although it is not always clear who is the object of sympathy:

(22) tíl   á   rà   màllúm   kà   grá
      leave   PRED   PREP   marabout   PREP   want
      mìnjìvèk   kɔ́   dzà   ngà-wàl   ngàn   ká
      medicine   INF   kill   co-wife   3SG   POS
      'She went to a marabout to get medicine to kill her co-wife.'

(23) há   kà   ták   kà
      2SG   INF   attack POS
      'If you prevented her . . .'

   The marker *ka* may occur in specific interrogative clauses. Its position in such clauses is before the interrogative marker:

(24) mà   bɔ́l   páy   wá   kɔ́   ví
      REL   cut   tree   DEM   POS   who
      'Who cut this tree?'

The marker *ka* may also be used in questions about the truth:

(25) *kə́   bə́l   páy   kà*
     INF   cut   tree   POS
     'Did he cut a tree?' (The interrogative modality is obtained
     through the raised intonation over the whole sentence.)

The marker *ka* is mutually exclusive with the marker *za*:

(26) *kə́   ngə̀   ká   *zà*
     INF   break   POS   EE
     'He broke it.' (He was affected by the breaking.)
or:
(27) kə́   ngə̀   zá
     INF   break   EE
     'He broke it.'

4. Conclusions

The point-of-view of subject is a separate domain, different from the domain of semantic relationship between the verb and its arguments and adjuncts, and different from grammatical relations. The category point-of-view of subject is a counterpart of the goal-orientation category only when the latter has the object in its scope.

Chapter 7

Locative predication and locative complements

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with two issues: the coding of locative arguments and the coding of adjuncts. Locative arguments are those arguments that code the goal or the source of movement. There are also locative arguments of a stative locative verb, equivalent to "to be in place." Arguments can be added only to some verbs. Locative adjuncts can be added to any verb, not only verbs of movement. Locative arguments and adjuncts constitute one semantic domain, as evidenced by the complementary nature of the coding means used.

The system of coding locative predication includes configuration, the predicator *á*, prepositions *kə́* and *n*, and the auxiliary *za*. Locative predication in Mina presents two problems. The first problem has to do with the functions of various coding means, which can be used alone or in conjunction with other coding means. Here is the illustration of the coding means used.

The locative predication can be coded by juxtaposition alone:

(1) *ábə̀   nd-á   ngə̀n   wùtá*
     ASSC go-GO   3SG   village
     'Then she returned to her village.'

The preposition *n* can occur alone. The nasal is followed by a schwa in predictable phonological environments:

(2) *tsáy   mə̀   tí   tí   nd-á   nástə́*
      then   REL   look   look   go-GO   enter (F.)
      nə̀   yə̀m
      PREP   water
      'Then the one who was good at looking entered into water.'

The predicator *á* also can occur alone:

(3)   *i*   *ŋ*   *kə*   *ŋdəv-a*   *a*   *kayak*
       3PL   PREP INF   fall-GO   PRED earth
       'They will fall down on the ground.' (written sources)

Finally, the predicator and the preposition can occur together:

(4)   *ván*   *dá*   *rà*   *mòná* *á*
       rain   fetch:GO   D.HAB   like   PRED
       nò   *lùmò*
       PREP market
       'It was raining from the direction of the market.'

These data present us with two sets of questions. The first has to do with the conditions under which the predicator and the prepositions are used, while the second has to do with the categoriality of the form *á*.

The second problem has to do with the form of possessive constructions that constitute a part of the locative predication. It is usually assumed that the form of a syntactic structure A is independent of the higher syntactic constituent B. Thus, the structure of a noun phrase is assumed not to depend on the syntactic structure of which the noun phrase is a part. In Mina, however, the structure of a genitive phrase does depend on the higher constituent of which the genitive construction is a part. A genitive construction that functions as a subject or object must contain the genitive marker *tə*:

(5)   *hìdò*   *tə*   *kwáykwáy-yîi*   *wàcíŋ*
       house   GEN   hyena-PL   DEM
       'house of those hyenas'

If a genitive construction functions as a locative complement in some locative predications, however, the genitive marker *tə* is not used:

(6)   *hós*   *á*   *idò*   *kwáykwáy-yîi*   *wàcíŋ*
       arrive   PRED compound   hyena-PL   DEM
       'She arrived at the compound of the hyenas.'

This alternation must be explained, since there is no theoretical reason why the internal structure of a construction should change depending on the type of a higher construction in which it occurs. As will be shown, the solution to problem 1 allows us to postulate a hypothesis explaining the problem 2.

2. Functions of coding means in locative predication

Lexical items involved in a locative predication may be inherently locative or not. Toponyms are inherently locative nouns, as is the word *dámù* 'uncultivated area(s), bush'. Items like these are referred to as 'locative complements'. Inherently non-locative nouns include [+human] nouns and pronouns. Directional verbs of movement and stative locative verbs are inherently locative and are referred to as 'locative predicates'.

Following is a summary of the interactions among coding means in the domain of locative predication:

Locative predicate and locative complement:
Coding through juxtaposition (example 1);
Locative predicate and non-locative complement:
Predicate *n* Noun (example 2);
Non-locative predicate and locative complement:
Predicate *á* Noun (example 3);
Non-locative predicate and non-locative complement:
Predicate *á n* Noun (example 4)

2.1 *Locative Predicate and Locative Complement: Coding through juxtaposition*

When both the predicate and the complement are inherently locative, no locative prepositions are used; the properties of the lexical items involved ensure a locative predication interpretation. The inherently locative verbs include the pair: *ndə̀* 'go', *tsú* 'went', and the borrowed verb *nástə̀* (F.) 'enter'. These verbs do not usually take the locative predicator á in natural discourse. If the locative complement is also an inherently locative noun, no preposition occurs between the verb and the complement:

(7a) *yá   í-bə̀   ndə̀   tə̀tə̀   bíŋ*
      call   PL-ASSC   go   3PL.POSS   room
      'They went into the room.'

(7b) *ábə̀   nd-á   ngə̀n   wùtá*
      ASSC   go-GO   3SG   village
      'Then she returned to her village.'

The evidence that a locative argument after a verb is a complement rather than a direct object is provided by the behavior of the end-of-event marker *za* (phrase-internal forms: *z, zə*). This marker occurs **before** a locative complement (8, 9) but *after* a direct object (10):

(8) *hídí   kɔ́   ndɔ̀   zɔ̀   dámù   mɔ̀   pɔ́r   kɔ́   bày   í*
     man INF go   EE   bush REL first PREP chief 3PL
     n   kɔ̀   dál-á-ŋ   mà
     PREP INF do-GO-3SG   mouth
     'If anybody goes to the field before the chief, they will make him a lot of problems.'

(9) *tséy   hìdì   wàcíŋ   táŋ   z   wútà   à   ʁá*
     so   man DEM   return EE   house 3SG   say
     á   n   médíg   ngɔ̀ŋ   wàcíŋ   ngámbù
     PRED PREP neighbor   3SG   DEM   friend
     há   kɔ̀   déɓ-é-ŋ   dál
     2SG   INF bring-GO-3SG   money
     nɔ̀   hìdɔ̀   wà   dál   vànú
     PREP man   DEM money how much
     'When the man came back to the house, he said to his neighbor, "Friend, you   brought money to this man. How much money?"'

End-of-event marker after a direct object:

(10) *áá   wàl   nɔ̀   kɔ̀   dzán-á   skɔ̀n   pár*
      ah   wife 1SG INF find-GO   thing another
      zɔ̀   bàdáp
      EE   again
      'Ah, my wife found another thing again.'

2.2 *Locative Predicate and Non-Locative Argument: Predicate n Noun*

When the predicate is locative but the complement is non-locative, the complement must be marked for its locative role. This is done by the preposition *n*, whose function is to mark a non-locative noun as a locative complement:

(11) *mìnjée mbà   mà   mármàr   kə́   nàz-á*
      now   boy   REL   pasture INF   abandon-GO
      kw-yîì   zə́   nə̀   láy
      goat-PL   EE   PREP field
      'Now the shepherd left the goats in the field.'

The evidence that *láy* is inherently non-locative is that it can also mean 'time':

(12) *tə́r   láy   tə́   mìtə̀s̃*
      month time   GEN   hunger
      'The year of the hunger.'

Further evidence for the non-locative nature of the noun *láy* is that it may be used, without additional marking, as the subject or object of a clause:

(13) *taŋ   a   nda-ha   nda   tii   a   tii*
      go   3SG   go-GO   go:GO see   3SG   see
      lay   mi   dish-yi   tseey za
      field REL   cultivate-STAT   finish EE
      'She came to see that the field has been cultivated completely.'

(14) *guzak naŋ   kə   vl-a-k   lay   za*
      uncle 1SG   INF   give-OBJ-1SG   field EE
      'My uncle gave me a field.' (both examples from written sources, hence no tonal notation)

Mina has a locative anaphor, *mə̀ŋ,* that is used to refer to inherently non-locative nouns. As opposed to inherently locative anaphors, *mə̀ŋ* is treated as inherently non-locative, as evidenced by the fact that it requires the preposition *n*:

(15) *bə̀k   bə̀k   á   bə̀k-á-ŋ   bə̀   wìrnjík*
      fill   fill   3SG   fill-GO-3SG   ASSC ash
      kə́   nə̀   mə̀ŋ
      PREP PREP ANAPH
      'He filled them [the shoes] with ash.'

2.3 Non-Locative Predicate and Locative Complement: Predicate á Noun

A locative predication whose predicate is non-locative must be marked by the particle *á*. This particle marks a non-locative predicate as having a locative function. The particle *á* follows the direct object, if any. If the complement is inherently locative, it occurs without the preposition *n*. The verb *yà* 'call' is inherently non-locative. The nouns *bín* 'room, hut in a compound', and *ìdá* 'house' are inherently locative:

(16)   *nd-á*   *yà*   *ngùl*   *ngàn*   *á*   *bìŋ*
       go-GO   call   husband   3SG   PART   room
       'And [she] called her husband into the room.'

The verb *fàt* 'skin' also is inherently non-locative and therefore the locative predication with this verb must be marked by the predicator *á*:

(17)   *ŋkwà*   *tá*   *làvéŋ*   *hì*   *kɔ́*   *skàm-á*   *zà*
       goat   GEN   black   2PL   INF   buy-GO   EE
       hì   *fàt*   *kà*   *á*   *káyàk*
       2PL   skin   POS   PART   earth
       'A black goat, when you have bought it, you skin it on the ground.'

Even verbs involving motion may be inherently non-locative. The verb *tíl* 'leave, move' is inherently non-locative, and so requires the predicator *á* if the locative complement is to be used:

(18)   *til*   *ngən*   *a*   *wta*
       leave   3SG   PART   house
       'He returned home.' (written sources)

Similarly, the verb *déɓ* 'carry':

(19)   *bày*   *ǹ*   *kɔ́dəm*   *ngàn*   *ɓàt*   *déɓ*   *á*
       chief   PREP   calabash   3SG   take   carry   3SG
       déɓ   *ká*   *á*   *ìdá*
       carry   POS   PART   home
       'The chiefᵢ took hisⱼ calabash and carried it home.'

A non-directional verb, such as *yàn* 'move house', must be followed by the particle *á* even when followed by a deictic marker or locative

anaphor. If the anaphor is inherently locative, it is not preceded by the preposition *n*:

(20) *kwáykway-yìì*   *wà*   *zá*   *ńgə̀* *há*
      hyena-PL   DEM   COMP   if   2SG
      mbál-ù   *há*   *yàn*   *á*   *kàcíŋ*
      want-3SG   2SG   move   PRED here
      'The hyenas told her, "If you want to, you can move in here."'

(21) *èe*   *hìd-yìì*   *wà*   *í-bə̀*   *yàŋ*   *tə̀tə̀*
      eh,   man-PL   DEM   PL-ASSC   move   3PL
      á   *màcíŋ*
      PRED there
      'Those people moved over there.'

The predicator *á* is used after the verb *dáhá* 'exist' when this verb has a locative complement. This fact is the evidence that the verb is indeed an inherently non-locative verb:

(22) *háɓə̀m*   *dáhá* *á*   *bìŋ*   *ngə̀n*
      daughter   exist   PRED house 3SG
      'There is a girl at her house.'

Although the particle *á* codes a locative predication, it is not a predicate for the whole proposition. This particle is a 'local predicator', viz. a predicator with a limited scope extending only to the next complement.

If the clause has no predicate, the locative predication is coded by the particle *á* and a locative complement. This is evidence that the particle *á* alone functions as a locative predicate:

(23) *kwáyàŋ*   *zá*   *ɓì*   *mə̀*   *mə̀ts-yí*
      squirrel   COMP   meat   REL   die-STAT
      bàytáŋ   *á*   *dámù*
      large   PRED bush
      'The squirrel said, "There are a lot of dead animals in the bush."'

(24) *mìméŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *àmmá*   *bìɓáv*   *à*
      leopard   3SG   COMP   truly   God   3SG
      mbál-á-kù   *nd-á*   *ɓì*   *gwáɗ* *á*   *bìŋ*   *nàŋ*
      like-GO-1SG go-GO   meat   plenty PRED   room   1SG
      'The leopard said, "God truly loves me, as there is a lot of meat
      in my room."'

The phrase beginning with a local predicator is a new phrase, as evidenced by the fact that lexical forms preceding it occur in phrase-final form. In the following example the adjective *bàytáŋ* 'large' has the phrase final form rather than the phrase internal form, which is *bàytə̀*:

(25) *séy*   *mùà*   *bàytáŋ*   *á*   *dámù* *zìbìr zìbìr*
      so   tamarind   large   PRED   bush   dark dark
      'There is a large tamarind tree in the bush; it is dark.'

2.4 Non-Locative Predicate and Non-Locative Complement: Predicate a n Noun

If neither the predicate nor the complement is inherently locative, the locative predication is marked by the locative predicator *á* and the preposition *n*, marker of the locative complement:

(26) *séy*   *tàkár* *tíl*   *á*   *nə̀*   *yə̀m*
      so   turtle   leave   PRED   PREP   water
      mə̀l   *mə̀l*   *á*   *mə̀l-á*   *dzə̀ɓáŋ*
      seize   seize   3SG   seize-GO   five
      'So, the turtle went in the water and caught five.'

(27) *séy*   *wàl*   *wàcíŋ* *kúl*   *skù*   *à*   *dál-áhà*
      so   woman   DEM   able   NEG   3SG   make-GO
      séy   *də̀ɓ*   *íi*   *də̀ɓ*   *á*   *nə̀*   *làptál*
      so   take   3PL   take   PRED   PREP   hospital
      kə́   *hùrgə̀* *tàŋ*
      INF   cure   DED
      'This woman was not well, she was sick. So she was brought to a
      hospital for treatment.'

(28) *í*   *n*   *kə́*   *zə̀m*   *ábə̀*   *bày*   *mə̀tá*
      3PL   PREP   INF   eat   ASSC   chief   same place
      zàngár   *á*   *nə̀*   *lày*   *mə̀*   *ntá*
      lizard   PRED   PREP   place   REL   one
      'They will eat with the [large red-headed] lizard in the same place.'

(29) *hà*   *táŋ*   *tə́wə̀r*   *á*   *nə̀*   *fálà*   *tə̀tàŋ*
      2SG   DED   suffer   PRED   PREP   among   3PL
      'You suffer a [a lot] among them.'

The locative predicator *á* and the preposition *n* are also used to code the addressee of the verb of saying, evidence that the verb is inherently non-locative, and that the addressee is coded as locative complement. The verb, however, is also coded for the dative predication through the third person singular object marker *ŋ*, the form used only with dative complements:

(30) *hà*   *ŋ*   *kə́*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *žín*   *á*   *nə̀*   *ví*
      2SG   PREP   INF   say-GO-3SG   then   PRED   PREP   who
      'Who are you going to tell it to?'

(31) *à*   *zá*   *á*   *nə̀*   *gímíɓíɗ*   *áz*
      3SG   COMP   PRED   PREP   monkey   go
      tùmù   *médìgì*   *ngáɮ*   *ngáɮ*   *í*   *ngáɮ-á*
      1DU   neighbor   pull   pull   3PL   pull-GO
      pám   *á*   *mìdìgìɗ*   *kwáyàŋ*
      until   PART   court   squirrel
      'He said to the monkey, "Let's go, neighbor." They went to the squirrel's courtyard.'

3. Genitive construction in the locative phrase

It is often assumed that the form of a syntactic structure A does not depend on the larger syntactic structure B, of which A is part. Coding of the possessive relationship in Mina contradicts this assumption. Here, the same semantic relationship between two nouns is coded in two different ways, depending on the hierarchically higher form in which this relationship is realized. If two nouns in modifying relationship are a part of the argument of the clause, the modifying relationship is coded by the preposition *tə̀*:

(32)   *dúwàŋ tá*   *màdìngwàrzé ábà   màlá*
      back   GEN   donkey   ASSC   wound (from illness)
      'The back of the donkey has a wound.'

(33)   *kà   nzlà   dúwàŋ tá   màdìngwàrzé (zà)*
      INF   cure   back   GEN   donkey   (EE)
      'He cured the back of the donkey.'

If the two nouns in modifying relationship are part of a locative phrase, however, the modifying relationship is coded by juxtaposition alone and the genitive particle is not allowed:

(34)   *kà   dî   dúwàn   màdìrngwàrzé*
      INF   put   back   donkey
      'He put it on the back of the donkey.'

(35)   *tíl   zà   á   bìŋ   kûl-yîi*
      leave   EE   PRED   room   ancestral spirit-PL
      'He went into the house of kulis and . . . '

The situation is further illustrated by contrasting phrases culled from texts with elicited sentences in which the same phrase is used as the subject or object of the clause. The modifying relationship between nouns occurring within a locative phrase is coded by juxtaposition. The same relationship in a noun phrase serving as an argument is coded by the genitive marker *tá*:

(36)   *á   bìŋ   wàl   nákà   wà*
      PART   room   wife   REM   DEM
      'Into the room of that wife [mentioned before in discourse, but quite far before]'
Cf.:
(37)   *bìŋ   tá   wàl   nákà   wà   nék*
      room   GEN   wife   REM   DEM   good
      'The room of that wife is good/nice.' (elicited)

(38)   *á   wtà   wàl   náká   wàcíŋ*
      PRED   home   woman   REM   DEM
      'Into the home of that woman'

(39) *hós*   *á*   *ídà*   *kwáykwáy-yí*   *wàcíŋ*
      arrive PRED   compound   hyena-PL   DEM
      'She has arrived at the compound of hyenas.' (elicited)

Cf. the modifying construction as an argument of a clause:

(40) **hìdà** *tá*   *kwáykwáy-yí*   *wàcíŋ*
      house GEN   hyena-PL   DEM
      'house of those hyenas' (elicited)

An explanation for the intriguing behavior of the genitive construction lies in the inherent properties of locative predicates and the locative predicator *á*. As shown in section 2, especially 2.3 and 2.4, the form *á* is a locative predicator that is used in a locative clause whose predicate is not inherently locative. The form *á* thus may be said to be a predicator, not of the entire clause, but of the verb phrase: It codes the complex of verb and following noun as a locative predication.

An important component of the proposed solution to problem 2 is the hypothesis that the genitive marker *tá* also is a predicator, but a modifying predicator: It says, 'this head noun has a property X', where the modifier codes the property X. The reason that the genitive marker *tá* cannot be used in a locative construction when it is immediately preceded by the locative predicate is that the same argument--the head noun of the genitive construction--would thus be marked as part of two different predications, the locative predication (as marked by the presence of an inherently locative verb or the locative predicator *á*) and the genitive predication, as marked by *tá*. Thus, there appears to be a constraint that prevents the same noun from being a constituent of two different predications at the same time.

The evidence for the proposed hypothesis consists of several facts. First, in some contexts, the forms *á* and *tá* are interchangeable, providing evidence that they have the same categorial function. Since it has been shown that á is a predicator, therefore the function of *tá* should also be that of a predicator:

(41) *ʒà*   *tá*   *ngìd*   *á*   *tákóŋ*
      cow   GEN   DEM   PRED GEN:1PL
      'The cow over there is ours.'

(42) *ʒà*   *tá*   *ngìd*   *tá*   *tákóŋ*
      cow   GEN   DEM   GEN   GEN:1PL
      'The cow over there is ours.'

Second, the two forms cannot co-occur, which provides evidence that they perform functions in the same domain:

(43)   *ɲɔ̀   tɔ́   ngìɗ   á   tɔ́   tɔ́kóŋ
       cow   GEN   DEM   PRED GEN   GEN:1PL
       'The cow over there is ours.'

In a locative construction whose complement is not inherently locative, the complement is marked by the preposition *n* (cf. sections 2.2 and 2.4). This preposition may co-occur with the genitive marker. However, if the complement of the locative construction is inherently locative, and therefore is not marked by the locative preposition *n*, the genitive marker is omitted in the locative predication. In 44, the first modifying construction, *dɔ́wɔ́ŋ kwàykwàyà* 'back of the hyena', has no genitive marker, while the second, *mɔ́ tɔ́ kwàykwàyà* 'mouth of the hyena', is marked by *tɔ́*. The locative predicator *á* cannot co-occur with *tɔ́*, since the presence of *tɔ́* would mark the noun *dɔ́wɔ́ŋ* as both part of the locative predication and head of the genitive construction. The verb of the second clause, 'put', is inherently locative and so has the same properties as the predicator *á*. However, there is an important difference between the locative complements of the two predicators. The expression *dɔ́wɔ́ŋ tɔ́ kwàykwàyà* 'back of the hyena' is much more inherently locative than the expression *mɔ́ tɔ́ kwàykwàyà* 'mouth of the hyena'. Back of an animal is typically the place where the load is carried. The evidence for the inherent locative characteristic of the 'back of hyena' is that *dɔ́wɔ́ŋ tɔ́ kwàykwàyà* 'back of the hyena' is not marked by the locative preposition *n*, while the expression *mɔ́ tɔ́ kwàykwàyà* 'mouth of the hyena' must be preceded by the locative preposition *n* in a locative predication. Since the locative predicator *dɔ́m* 'put' is separated from the genitive construction *mɔ́ tɔ́ kwàykwàyà* by the locative preposition *n*, the genitive head *mɔ́* cannot be construed as the argument of two different predications. For this reason, the genitive marker *tɔ́* is not omitted, but marks *mɔ́* as head of a genitive predication:

(44)   *séy*   *ɓət*   *skə̀ŋ-yíi*   *wàcíŋ*   *dzáw*   *dzáw*   *cìké*
       so   take   thing-PL   DEM   tie   tie   all
       á   *də́wə́ŋ*   *kwàykwàyà*   *ɓət*   *líjì*
       PRED   back   hyena   take   bridle (F.)
       də́m   *nə̀*   *mə́*   *tə́*   *kwàykwàyà*
       put   PREP   mouth   GEN   hyena
       'He took those things and attached them all to the back of the
       hyena. He took the bridle and put it in the hyena's mouth.'

The natural discourse data fully support the proposed explanation.
Here are a few more examples of possessive constructions without the
genitive marker in locative predications with inherently locative com-
plements. Since the complement is inherently locative, there is no prepo-
sition **n**, and so the genitive particle is omitted:

(45)   *wàl*   *wà*   *kà*   *dzáŋ*   *rùkút*   *tə̀tə̀*
       woman   DEM   INF   close   clothes   3PL
       kà   *á*   *bìŋ*   *ngùl*   *ngə̀n*
       POS   PRED   room   husband   3SG
       'The woman₁ has locked their₁ clothes in the room of her hus-
       band₁.'

(46)   *à*   *zá*   *á*   *nə̀*   *gímíɮíɗ*   *áz*
       3SG   COMP   PRED   PREP   monkey   go
       tùmù   *médìgì*   *ngáɮ*   *ngáɮ*   *í*   *ngáɮ-á*
       1DU   neighbor   pull   pull   3PL   pull-GO
       pám   *á*   *mìdìgìɗ*   *kwáyàŋ*
       until   PRED   court   squirrel
       'He said to the monkey, "Let's go, neighbor." They went to the
       squirrels' courtyard.'

A spatial specifier followed by a noun is an inherently locative construc-
tion. It is not marked by the preposition *n* and so the genitive marker is
not used:

(47)   *nd-á*   *dě̀w*   *ká*   *á*   *bə̀r*   *málùm*
       go-GO   sit   POS   PRED   side   marabout
       wácìŋ
       DEM
       'He came and sat down next to the marabout.'

A genitive phrase following the preposition *kə́* also does not contain

the genitive marker *tá*. In 48-49, each genitive construction is part of a locative phrase marked by *kə́*, and the genitive relationship is coded by apposition alone. From this, it follows that the preposition *kə́* also is an inherent predicator:

(48) *à   zá   wàcíŋ nék   skù   náz   kə́*
      3SG   COMP   DEM   good NEG   throw POS
      dùwə́ŋ   dà
      behind   house
      'He said this isn't good. He threw it behind the house.'

  gìmíɓíɗ   kə́ts wàl   ngə̀ŋ-yîi   ábə̀   wə̀z-yîi
  monkey   gather wife 3SG-PL   ASSC children-PL
  táŋ   nd-á   cìké kə́   dùwə́ŋ
  DED   go-GO   all   PREP behind
  də̀   kwáyə̀ŋ
  compound   squirrel
  'The monkey gathered his wives and children. They all stayed behind the squirrel's house.'

The preposition *nə̀* may be derived from the verb *ndə̀* 'to go'. The evidence that the verb and preposition are related is independently provided by another product of grammaticalization of the same verb. When the verb "to go" is used as an auxiliary verb, i.e. the first verb in a sequence of verbs, it has a variant *nə̀* along with *ndə̀*:

(49) *nə̀\ndə̀   gr-á   nám   yə̀m*
      go   find-GO   1DU   water
      'Go bring us some water.'

The variant *ndə̀* is in the speech of the same speaker who uses the variant *ndí* for the habitual form.

4. Locative deictics and anaphors

The locative deictics are *kà* 'here' and *mà* 'there', the latter having also anaphoric function. These forms are followed by suffixes *hín* or *cín* in phrase-final position. Depending on the dialect, the vowels of the forms *mà* and *kà* are fronted when followed by the suffix with the high front vowel:

(50)   *á   kàcín*   [á kècín] and [á kàcín]
       'It is here.' (in the same compound, but cannot be seen)

       kújì   mècín/hín
       Kuji   DEM
       'Kuji is there.'

The deictic forms occur without the preposition *nà*, which is the evidence that they are inherently locative:

(51)   *kwáykwáy-yíì   wà   zá   ŋgà   há*
       hyena-PL   DEM   COMP   if   2SG
       mbál-ù   há   yàn   á   kàcíŋ
       want-3SG   2SG   move   PRED here
       'The hyenas said to her, "If you want, you can move in here."'

(52)   *èe   hìd-yíì   wá   í-bà   yàŋ*
       eh   man-PL   DEM   3PL-ASSC   move
       tàtà   á   màcíŋ
       3PL:POSS   PRED there
       'Those people moved over there.'

With directional verbs, the deictics occur without the predicator *á* and without any prepositions:

(53)   *dá   kàcín*
       bring   here
       'Bring it here!'

       dá   kàhín
       bring   here
       'Bring it here!'

(54)   *nd-á   kàhín*
       go-GO   here
       'Come here!'

The auxiliary *za* is placed before the locative deictic:

(55)   *sà   zàm   zá   kàcín*
       1SG   eat   EE   here
       'I will eat here.'

(56)   *sà*   *zàm*   *zə́*   *màcín*
      1SG   eat   EE   there
      'I will eat there.' (either deictic or anaphoric reference)

In phrase-internal position the form *mà* or *kà* is used:

(57)   *hí*   *skə̀m*   *ɓə̀*   *zə́*   *kà*   *vù*
      2PL   buy   cow   EE   here   Q
      'Will you buy a cow here?'

The evidence for the deictic function of *kà* is provided by its use when it refers to an entity in the environment of speech:

(58)   *kwáykwá-yìi*   *wà*   *lù*   *žéŋ*   *í*   *zà*
      hyena-PL   DEM   say   RECIP   3PL   COMP
      hìdì   *wà*   *kà*   *dá*   *də́pdàp*
      people   DEM   here   exist   only
      'The hyenas said to themselves, there are people in here.'

(59)   *mə̀*   *zə́*   *báytə̀*   *gómbòk-yìi*   *zá*   *syì*
      REL   EE   large   frog-PL   COMP   COM
      hí   *kàm*   *fú*   *tàŋ*   *hí*   *wàn*   *kà*
      2PL   TOP   all   DED   2PL   sleep:IMPER   down
      mùkàdkádáŋ   *sùlúdsùlúd*
      upside down   two two
      'The largest of the frogs said, "You all lie down on your backs in pairs"'

In some cases, it is not possible to say whether low tone *kà* is the deictic locative marker or the affected marker occurring after a high tone morpheme:

(60)   *kwáykwáy*   *zá*   *mbíŋ*   *kám*   *ɓì*
      hyena   COMP   ANAPH   TOP   meat
      tìkínìŋ   *mə́*   *nzà*   *hín*   *kà*
      GEN:2PL   SUBJ   stay   you   here
      'The hyena said, "If it is like that, your meat should remain with you."'

If the remote marker *mà* is used, the goal-oriented marker must be added to the verb. The form *mà* indicates a location other than the place

of speech or a place not within visual range:

(61) *hí*   *skə̀m-á*   *ʄà*   *zə́*   *mà*   *vù*
      2PL   buy-GO   cow   EE   there   Q
      'Will you buy a cow there?

The form without a locative deictic is unspecified for place:

(62) *hí*   *skə̀m*   *ʄà*   *zə́*   *vù*
      2PL   buy   cow   EE   Q
      'Will you buy a cow?'

The antecedent of the locative *mà* may be a place previously mentioned in discourse, or whose existence can be easily deduced from the preceding discourse:

(63) *ndə̀*   *ʄə̀gám*   *syì*   *mə̀l*   *á*   *mə̀l-á-ŋ*
      go   talk   COM   hit   3SG   hit-GO-3SG
      tə́   *ǹdə̀*   *tə̀tə̀* *mà*   *bá*   *syì*
      3PL   strike   3PL   there   again   COM
      'They talked to [to the stick]. It started beating them over there again.

The form *ngíɗ* indicates an unspecified location different from the place of speech, 'somewhere', and 'someplace'. Because of the meaning of this form, it cannot be used with *mà* or *kà* or with *cín* or *hín*. The adverb may be preceded by the locative predicator *á* but not by the preposition *n* (elicited examples):

(64) *sə̀*   *dî*   *(á)*   *ngíɗ*
      1SG   put   PRED   somewhere
      'I put it somewhere.'

(65) *sə̀*   *kə́*   *dî*   *(á)*   *ngíɗ*
      1SG   INF   put   PRED   somewhere
      'I put it somewhere.'

5. Prepositional form of pronouns

After the locative predicator *á*, pronouns occur in the genitive form, i.e. the form that incorporates the genitive marker *tá* (*tə́* in phrase-internal

position).

(66)   *á nàn* or *á tá nàn* 'for me' (in phrase-internal position it becomes
        á tán)
        á tùkón
        á ngàn
        á tù-mù (1DU INCL)
        á tòkòn (1PL INCL)
        á tìnén
        á tìkìnéŋ (phrase internal *á tìkìnì*)
        á tàtán

(67)   *ngwáy*   *á*   *wàží*   *tùk-yìì*
        'say'   PRED   children   2SG-PL
        dáy   *dáy*   *á*   *táŋ*   *fíš*
        much   much   PRED   1SG   small
        'Say, for your children it is a lot, for me it is little'

(68)   *màllú*   *zá*   *á*   *táŋ*   *wérèh-nà*
        teacher   COMP   PRED   GEN:1SG   trick-1SG
        ɗǎhà
        exist
        'The teacher said, "As for me, I have my means."'

6. Preposition *kɔ́*

Preposition *kɔ́* is a directional marker of adjuncts, coding location or
movement inside a contained space. It is thus a spatial specifier. The
spatial specifier *kɔ́* precedes the locative predicator *á*. This phenomenon
is interesting in view of the fact that in many Chadic languages (Mupun,
Frajzyngier 1993, Hausa, Newman 2000) spatial specifiers occur after
locative prepositions. The fact that in Mina the spatial specifier occurs
before the form *á* provides another argument against *á* being a preposi-
tion. Here are examples coding the stative locative, in this case the loca-
tion where the event takes place:

(69)   *káf*   *í*   *yá*   *í*   *yá-há-w*   *ɓàt*
        morning   3PL   call   3PL   call-GO-3SG   take
        í   *ɓàt*   *zá*   *dzáŋ*   *kɔ́*   *á*   *bíŋ*
        3PL   take   EE   find   PREP   PRED   room
        'In the morning, they called him and locked him up in the room'

If the verb is locative and the noun is not locative, i.e. requires the preposition *n*, the spatial specifier *kə* occurs before the preposition *n*:

(70) *nd-á*   *náz*   *á*   *náz*   *kə*   *nà*   *láy*
      go-GO   throw   3SG   throw   POS   PREP   place
      tàŋ
      DED
      'He went and threw it into its place [in the bag].'

The preposition *kə* also occurs before the preposition *n*:

(71) *ləm*   *bíŋ*   *ɓá*   *hàmás* *nd-á*   *hə̀ɓ*   *ká*
      build   house   cut   straw   go-GO   thatch   POS
      wán   *kə*   *nà*   *mə́ŋ*
      lie   inside PREP   L.ANAPH
      '(He) . . .built a house, cut straw, thatched the roof, and lay down inside it.'

If both the verb and the noun are inherently locative, the preposition *kə* is the only preposition used if movement into is involved:

(72) *èe,*   *á*   *nà*   *mbə̀*   *té*   *gwídíŋ*   *nàz*
      ah,   3SG   PREP   child   GEN   one   put
      kə   *jíɓ*
      in   hole
      'Then she threw one child into the hole.'

The preposition *kə* is also used for constructions coding the change of X into Y:

(73) *mə̀*   *mbàd-yí*   *kə*   *ngùl*
      REL   transform-STAT   into   man
      'He changed into a man.'

(74) *gùkúd* *mə̀*   *mbàd-yí*   *kə*   *fəlfəlwə́dà*
      larva   REL   turn-STAT   into   butterfly
      'The larva has changed into a butterfly.'

(75)   *kwáykwáy-yíì nákà   fú*   *mà   mbàɗ-yí*
       hyena-PL   REM   all (F.)   REL   transform-STAT
       kɔ́   wír   žídèp   áb   tèbéŋ-yíi   nákáhà
       PREP gravy only   ASSC granary-PL   REM
       'The hyenas became [meat for] her gravy, and the granaries [belong to her].'

(76)   *báy   ɓ̀ət   zɔ́   ngə̀n   déɓ   kɔ́   ìdá*
       chief get   EE   3SG   carry POS home
       'The chief took it [the stick] and carried it home.'

7. Preposition mbéh

The preposition *mbéh* (*mbé* in phrase-internal position) means "close to". It can occur alone or be followed by locative deictics:

(77)   *dî   mbéh*
       put   close
       'Put it nearby.'

The presence of a deictic following *mbéh* indicates that *mbéh* is a preposition rather than an adverb:

(78a)   *dî   mbé   mèhín*
       put   close DEM
       'Put it near by there.'

(78b)   *sə̀   mbé   mèhín*
       1SG   close DEM
       'I am nearby.'

The preposition mbéh derives from the verb of the same form which functions as auxiliary:

(79)   *sə̀   mbé   kə̀   ndə́v-áhà*
       1SG   approach   INF   fall-GO
       'I almost fell down.'

8. Preposition í

The preposition *í* means "above" or "behind" but excludes contact between the object and the locative reference point. Like other spatial specifiers, this preposition is used regardless of the locative features of nouns and verbs:

(80)   *mótà   tə́   wə̀ɓáf   fìr   í   tàlàn tókón*
          motor GEN sky   fly   above head   1PL
          'An airplane flew above us.'

(81)   *sə̀   kə̀   dî   í   ngíɗ*
          1SG   INF   put   above somewhere
          'I put it over there.'

9. Coding the locative source

The direction "from" is coded by verbs of movement and the marker *za*, which follows a locative complement:

(82)   *báy   zá   gár   kà   zà*
          chief   COMP   leave here   EE
          'The chief said, "Get out of here!"'

(83)   *tsú   ngə̀ŋ   màrɓák   zà*
          went   3SG.POSS   Marbak   EE
          'He left Marbak.' (cannot be said in Marbak)

(84)   *tsú   ngə̀ŋ   kà   zà*
          went   3SG.POSS   here   EE
          'He left from here.'

Note that the adverb *kà* 'here' keeps its vowel in phrase-internal position. Unlike the point-of-view of subject marker it may not be reduced to *kə̀* in phrase-internal position.

(85)   *tsú   ngə̀ŋ   mà   zà*
          went   3SG.POSS   there   EE
          'He left from there.' (either deictic or anaphoric)

If the noun is not inherently locative, it is made so by the preposition *nə̀*:

(86) *séy   ábà   nd-á   ngàŋ   nà   yàm   zá*
      so   ASSC   go-GO   3SG   PREP water EE
      'Then, he came out of the water.'

(87) *séy   ɓàt   bákátàr   ɗer   tàlàŋ*
      so   take   bag   balance   head
      kà   ɗìy-á   ngàŋ   zà
      INF   put-GO   3SG   EE
      'He took the bag, balanced it on his head, and started to return.'

If the main verb is in the perfect aspect, the locative noun phrase must be preceded by the locative predicator *á*:

(88) *mà   ndá-y   ngàŋ   á   màrɓák   zà*
      REL   return-STAT   3SG   PRED   Marbak   EE
      'He has returned from Marbak.'

The use of the auxiliary *za* in clause final position to code the source of movement provides a piece of evidence for the hypothesis that *za* derives from a verb 'to be', and even 'to be at a place'. In the West Chadic language Mupun, the source of movement is coded by the verb 'to be' following the noun phrase expressing the source (Frajzyngier 1993). Although the two verbs are not cognates, the use of the same construction, which is exceptional in both languages, provides an argument that the constructions emerged through a similar grammaticalization process. Hence, the argument that the markers following the source noun phrase have the same meaning.

10. Preposition gàdáŋ 'under'

The form *gàdáŋ* or *kàdáŋ* 'under' has two functions. One is to narrow down the location of the object or subject with respect to the head of the locative phrase. Such markers narrow the spatial orientation to inside, outside, on the side, and so on, of a locative center. These forms are also locative prepositions because they cannot co-occur with the preposition *nà*. The structure of the locative phrase with these forms is as follows: (*á*)-*gàdáŋ*-Noun:

(89)   *à*   *nzá*   *kàdáŋ* *páy*   *wàcín*
        3SG   be   under tree   that
        'He was under that tree but he is here now.'

The use of the preposition *n* before the preposition *kàdáŋ* makes the sentence ungrammatical:

(90)   **à*   *nzá*   *nə́*   *gàdáŋ* *páy*   *wàcín*
        3SG   be   PREP under tree   that
        'He was under that tree.'

11. Preposition *ndòŋ* 'bottom, inside'

The notion 'inside' is coded by the marker *ndòŋ* 'bottom, inside':

(91)   *kù*   *wàŋ-á*   *zà*   *á*   *ndòŋ* *bíŋ*
        INF   sleep-GO   EE   PRED inside house
        'He slept in the house.'

12. Prepositions *dùwə́ŋ* 'back' and *kàbə́m*, 'in front'

The noun *dùwə́ŋ* 'back' can serve as a preposition meaning 'behind'. The decision on whether something is 'in front' or 'behind' is different for objects and people. Objects in front of the speaker are *á kàbə́m*, 'in front' (*kàbə́m* "front part" of anything). Objects behind those objects are *á dùwə́ŋ* 'in back' (*dùwə́ŋ* 'back', starting at the root of the neck going to the waist). If people are involved, then the determining factor is their face from the point of view of the second participant. If the two persons are facing each other, they are *á kàbə́m* 'in front' of each other. If one person is facing the back of another than this person is *á dùwə́ŋ* 'in back' of the other person.

(92)   *kwíl*   *kàbə́m*   *kàdá*
        kuli   in front   kida
        'the kuli (a small clay pot) is in front of the kida (a larger pot for water).'

(93)   *kàdə́*   *dùwə́ŋ*   *kwílí*
        kida   behind   kuli
        'the kida is behind the kuli.'

For persons facing each other one would say:

(94)   *kònáy   á   kàbóm   kàdú*
       Konay   PRED   front   Kadu
       'Konay is in front of Kadu.'

For persons facing somebody's back:

(95)   *kàdúm   dùwóŋ   kónày*
       Kadum   back   Konay
       'Kadum is behind Konay.'

The noun *tàlàŋ* 'head' is a spatial specifier for 'surface, just above':

(96)   *ɓək   a   ɓəka   talaŋ   yəm*
       pour   3SG   pour   head   water
       'He threw it on the surface of the water.' (written sources)

13. [+human] nouns as locatives and the preposition *r*

A [+ human] noun cannot serve as a locative argument or adjunct without an additional coding means. One of the means is the use of another head noun of which the [+human] noun is a modifier. The nouns that serve as heads of locative expressions with a human goal are *wùtá* 'home' and *brà* 'side':

(97)   *tsú   wùtó   cín*
       went   home   his father
       'He went to his father.'
       í   tsú   tòtàŋ   á   wtó   tòtàŋ
       3PL   went   3PL   PRED   village GEN:3PL
       'They departed to their place.'

The evidence that locative marker *bòr*, phrase internal form of the noun *brà*, has indeed the meaning 'side', is provided by its use with inanimate nouns:

(98)   *sò   nó   nzá   á   bòr   mìsyòŋ*
       1SG   HAB   stay   PRED   side   mission
       'I stay at the mission.' (speaker A)

(99)   *sà   nzá   á   bàr   bín   kúlí*
       1SG   stay   PRED   side   house   deity
       'I stay at the mission.' (speaker B)[4]

Here is an example of the use of this noun as a locative marker with human locative complements:

(100) *áskà   tsú   ngàŋ   bàr   wàží*
       actually   went   3SG   side   children
       'But actually she went to be with her children.'

Another means of coding a [+human] noun as a locative argument or adjunct is through the preposition *r*:

(101) *sey   kwaikway   til   a   rə   kwayaŋ*
       so   hyena   go   PRED   PREP   squirrel
       'So, Hyena went to Squirrel.' (written sources)

(102) *tán   á   nd-á   r   báy   tàŋ*
       go   3SG   go-GO   PREP   chief   DED
       'He went to the chief's.'

The preposition *r* is often realized as [rə] when syllabification constraints require it, i.e. when a disallowed consonant cluster would otherwise emerge:

(103) *séy   wàl   wà   tíl   rà   ngàn*
       so   woman   DEM   leave   PREP   3SG
       'So the woman went to him.'

(104) *séy   kwáykwáy   tíl   rà   kwáyàŋ*
       so   hyena   leave   PREP   squirrel
       'So the hyena went to the squirrel.'

---

4. This is an interesting formation given the fact that the term *kùlí* refers to ancestral spirits, clay pots used in the cult of ancestral spirits, but also to anything that is under the protection of an ancestral spirit. The term may well have originated as meaning 'pot', because even today it also refers to the pot used for keeping beer.

(105) á   r   ngámbù   ngòn
       3SG   PREP friend   3SG
       'He is at his friend's.'

The preposition *r* and the lexical means can substitute for each other:

(106) sò   ndò   rò   céh
       1SG   go   PREP   your father
       'I am going to your father.'

(107) sò   ndò   wùtó   céh [sòndú tò cé]
       1SG   go   house your father
       'I am going to your father.'

The preposition [r] may be preceded by the locative predicator *á*:

(108) sò   skòm-á   (á)   r   mbò   má-tsà
       1SG   buy-GO   PRED PREP son   mother-2SG
       (zà)
       EE
       'I bought it from your younger brother.'

(109) á   skòm-á   ɓà   á   r   bítsì
       3SG   buy-GO   cow   PRED PREP   Bitsi
       'He bought a cow at Bitsi's.'

(110) à   ní   nzò   á   r-nàŋ
       3SG   HAB   stay   PRED   PREP-1SG
       'He lives at my place.' (said outside of the speaker's place)

14. From "hand" to preposition: the grammaticalization of *r*

Although the predicator *á* and the preposition *nò* have cognates in closely and remotely related Chadic languages, the preposition *r* does not (cf. Frajzyngier 1987c). One of the possible sources of the preposition *r* is the lexeme *rà* 'hand'. Vowel reduction from *rà* to *r* is predictable in phrase-internal position. The word *rà* 'hand' in phrase-internal position is also reduced to *r*:

(111) *ná*   *ɓàgám*   *mà*   *tá*   *r*   *tá*
       1PL.EXCL   talk   REL   GEN hand GEN
       kásàmà
       Kasuma
       'We talked about the hand of Kasuma.'

(112) *nòk*   *kə́*   *lù*   *nə/*á*
       1PL.INCL   INF   talk   PREP/PRED
       r-t   *kásàmà*
       hand-GEN   Kasuma
       'We talked about the hand of Kasuma.'

The absence of the genitive marker in the locative construction is also a predictable characteristic of the behavior of genitive constructions in locative complements.

15. Direction toward the indirect object: the auxiliary *rá*

An interesting characteristic of the Mina grammatical system is that it has a special category, movement toward the indirect object. The movement toward the indirect object is coded through the auxiliary *rá*, glossed as DAT.OR for "dative orientation" occurring at the end of the verbal phrase. Although the marker has the same segmental structure as the dependent habitual marker and it occupies the same syntactic position, it is not a dependent habitual marker because it has a high tone (dependent habitual has a polar tone) and it co-occurs with the future tense marker:

(113) *à*   *n*   *kə́*   *skàm-á-h*   *ndìr*   *rá*
       3SG   PREP INF   buy-GO-2SG   sorghum   DAT.OR
       'He will buy sorghum for you and will bring it to you (here or at another place).'

(114) *à*   *n*   *kə́*   *skàm-á-ŋ*   *ndìr*   *rá*
       3SG   PREP INF   buy-GO-3SG   sorghum   DAT.OR
       'He will buy sorghum for him and will bring it to him.'

(115) *à*   *n*   *kə́*   *skàm-á-k*   *ndìr*   *rá*
       3SG   PREP INF   buy-GO-1SG   sorghum   DAT.OR
       'He will buy sorghum for me and bring it to me.'

A clause without the auxiliary *rá* does not imply movement toward

the indirect object:

(116) *à   n   kɔ́   skɔ̀m-á-k   ndrì*
      3SG   PREP   INF   buy-GO-3SG   sorghum
      'He will buy sorghum for me.'

If there is no overt dative marker, the marker *rá* indicates that the event is for the benefit of the subject or object and that there is subsequent movement toward the beneficiary's place:

(117) *à   n   kɔ́   skɔ̀m   ndìr   rá*
      3SG   PREP   INF   buy   sorghum   DAT.OR
      'He will buy sorghum for himself and go with it.'

(118) *báy   zá   hí   nd-á   tíkìn   ábɔ̀   mɔ̀*
      chief   COMP   2PL   go-GO   2PL   ASSC   mouth
      tskò   wàl-yîi   déɓ-é-ŋ   wùdɔ́   rá
      evening   woman-PL   take-GO-3SG   food   DAT.OR
      'The chief said, "Return in the evening. The women will bring him food."'

The directional function of *rá* explains why it cannot be used with intransitive predicates, because there is no dative argument:

(119) **à   n-kɔ́   wán   rá*
      3SG   PREP-INF   wash   DAT.OR
      for 'he will wash and . . .'

16. Conclusions

There are three fundamental means in the coding of locative arguments and adjuncts. If the verb is inherently locative, i.e. a directional verb of movement, or a locative stative verb, and the noun is inherently locative, the locative complement is marked only by the position following the verb. If the predicate is not a directional verb of movement or a locative stative verb, the locative predication is marked by the locative predicator *á*. If the noun is not inherently locative, such a noun must be marked by the preposition *nɔ̀*. Human arguments, if they are to occur as locative complements, are marked by the preposition *r*, most likely derived from the lexeme *rà* 'hand'.

Mina has also grammaticalized a category of the movement toward a

dative argument. This category is coded by the form *rá* following the object. The dative orientation marker provides additional evidence for the existence of the category "dative".

Chapter 8
Adjuncts

1. Introduction

The category "adjunct" includes functions that can be added to any clause, regardless of the inherent properties of the verb. Inherent adjuncts are added without any prepositions. The non-inherent adjuncts can be added only by one or more prepositions. The present chapter describes all adjuncts other than locatives, which have been described in the previous chapter.

2. The topical adjunct

The topical adjunct is a topic of a verb of saying. This adjunct is coded by the noun *tàlàŋ* 'head' preceding a noun that is the topic of a verb of saying. The topical adjunct occurs after the end-of-event marker, if any:

(1) *nòk   kə́   lù   zə̀   tàlàŋ   dòk*
     1PL   INF   talk   EE   head   horse
     'We talked about a horse.'

The topical phrase with *tàlàŋ* may also be preceded by the locative predicator *á*. When this is the case, the auxiliary *za* does not occur:

(2) *nòk   kə́   lù   á   tàlàŋ   kásə̀mà*
     1PL   INF   talk PRED head   Kasuma
     'We talked about Kasuma.'

The form *tàlàŋ* is an obligatory component of the topical phrase; its omission results in an ungrammatical expression:

(3)   *nòk   kə́   lù   á   kásə̀mà*
    1PL   INF   talk   PRED   Kasuma
    for 'We talked about Kasuma'

(4)   *nók   kə́   ɓə̀gám   á   dòk*
    1PL   INF   talk   PRED   horse
    for 'we talked about a horse.'

If another part of the body is used, *tàlàŋ* 'head' is not used, but the topic is then the specific part of the body. Moreover, the part of the body occurs in the possessive construction, i.e., it is followed by the genitive marker *tə́*, and it must preceded by the preposition *nə̀*:

(5)   *nók   kə́   lù   nə̀/*á   ngàz   tə́   dòk*
    1PL   INF   talk   PREP/PRED   leg   GEN   horse
    'We're going to talk about the leg of the horse.'

The locative predicator *á* may be combined with the preposition *nə̀* to code topical case:

(6)   *nók   kə́   lù   á   nə̀   ngàz   tə́   dòk*
    1PL   INF   talk   PRED   PREP   leg   GEN   horse
    'We're going to talk about the leg of the horse.'

3. The associative phrase

The associative phrase is a separate phrasal category, i.e., it is not a part of the verb phrase. The evidence for this claim is provided by the fact that final-vowel-deletion phenomena do not operate in front of the associative phrase. The associative phrase is marked by the preposition *b(ə̀)*. The form without the singular-participant-coding vowel *á* occurs when the first component of the associative construction is a pronoun, a demonstrative, or a definite marker:

(7)   *sə̀   bə̀   ŋkù   ntá*
    1SG   ASSC   goat   one
    'I have one goat.'

(8) *skú   syì   kə́   zə̀m   skə̀ŋ-yíi wá   bə̀   mí*
      NEG   COM   INF   eat   thing-PL DEM ASSC what
      'Or else what to eat those things with?' (tone on *wá* is high be-
      cause it has 'absorbed' the vowel with its high tone from the as-
      sociative preposition *ábə̀*)

(9) *kə́   pék   mì   jíp   nákà   bə̀   mbéŋ*
      INF   cover mouth hole   REM   ASSC it
      'to cover the entrance hole with it'

The associative preposition has the third-person singular pronoun *a*
when (a) there is no preceding noun; or (b) when the preceding noun
phrase is singular. The associative preposition is used to code an addi-
tional participant in the event, the commitative:

(10) *ii   n   kə́   zə̀m   ábə̀   báy   mə̀tázàngár*
      3PL   PREP INF   eat   ASSC chief   lizard
      á   nə̀   láy   mə̀   ntá
      PRED PREP place REL   one
      'They will eat with the large red headed lizard in the same
      place.'

Recall from Chapter 3 on noun phrase structure that subjects or more
precisely the controlling co-participant has the plural associative prepo-
sition. When the second participant is non-subject or non-controlling,
the singular preposition is used:

(11) *tséy   bákà   sə̀   n   kə́   wàŋ*
      so   today   1SG   PREP INF   sleep
      ábə̀   wàl   tùk   wàcíŋ
      ASSC wife   2SG   DEM
      'Today I will sleep with your wife.'

The associative marker codes the role of the noun phrase that fol-
lows it rather than being primarily a marker of the relationship between
two noun phrases:

(12) *dál   mélèz   ábə̀   kílíf*
      do   seasoning   ASSC fish
      'He made traditional seasoning with fish ... '

(13) *mɔ́   sɔ̀   yɔ̀m   ábɔ̀   mbí   tàŋ*
      SUBJ drink water ASSC ANAPH   DED
      'He should drink water with that.'

The associative preposition is also used to code clause-initial adverbial phrases of time, when the adverb is an inherent noun. In this function, the associative has the form *áb*. The associative phrase coding adjuncts is never coded by the plural form *í-b*.

(14) *áb   dùwɔ́ŋ   mbéŋ*
      ASSC back   ANAPH
      'afterwards'

The associative preposition may also have a verbal complement. Such a complement consists of the verb and its object, if any:

(15) *káyà   dîyà   wàllɔ̀-tɔ̀   bɔ̀   dɔ̀   tàŋ*
      INTERJ (F.)   start   help-3PL   ASSC cook DED
      'She started to help them cook.'

4. Associative through adverbial expressions

There is also another way of coding an associative function, viz. through adverbs corresponding to 'together'. Mina has two forms that distinguish number in the associative function. The adverb *gràɓ* is the associative for a singular co-participant. The adverb *láŋláŋ* is used for plural co-participants. The associative adverbs follow the second component of the construction. The second co-participant is always represented through plural pronouns, the first-person plural, second-person, and third-person plural. The calculus involved in this representation is as follows: Any person plus first person = first-person plural. The form of the adverb codes the number of the second co-participant:

(16) *á   nzà   nù   lúmɔ̀   nà   gràɓ*
      3SG   be   PREP   market   1PL.EXCL   together
      'He was at the market with me.'

(17) *á   nzà   nù   lúmɔ̀   nòk   láŋláŋ*
      3SG   be   PREP   market   1PL.INCL   together
      'He was at the market with us.'

Any person plus second person is coded by second-person plural. Whether the second person is singular or plural is coded by the form of the adverbs:

(18)   *à*   *nzá*   *nù*   *lúmò*   *hí*   *gràɓ*
       3SG   be   PREP market   2PL together
      'He was at the market with you (sg).'

(19)   *à*   *nzá*   *nù*   *lúmò*   *hì*   *láŋláŋ*
       3SG   be   PREP market   2PL together
      'He was at the market with you (pl).'

We see here the interaction of various systems at work. If it were not for the form of the associative adverbs, there would not be a distinction between the singular and plural co-participants in the first and second person.

For a second co-participant that is third person, the functional domains are different. If the first co-participant is controlling the event, any person plus the third-person singular is coded by the third-person singular pronoun:

(20)   *tsú*   *n*   *lúmò*   *á*   *gràɓ*
      went PREP market   3SG together
      'He went to the market with her/him.'

If the two participants have equal status, the second co-participant is coded by the third person plural pronoun *ìi*, and the singular associative adverb *gràɓ*:

(21)   *kó*   *wàl*   *ngòn*   *ndò*   *váy*
      even wife 3SG   go   where
      ìi   *gràɓ*   *dàp*
      3PL together   always
      'No matter where his wife goes, he is always with her.'

(22)   *à*   *nd-á*   *á*   *ìdá*   *zèɓèrá à*   *n*   *kó*
      3SG go-GO PRED house follow 3SG PREP INF
      dò   *wòdá* *í*   *gràɓ*   *dàp*
      prepare   food 3PL together   always
      'When she returns home, and when she cooks he is always with her.'

Any person plus third-person plural is coded by the third-person plural pronoun:

(23) à   nzá   nù   lúmò   tòtə́   láŋláŋ
      3SG   was   PREP   market   3PL   together
      'He was at the market with them.'

The third person singular pronoun coding the second co-participant can be omitted:

(24) kə̀   dɑ́l-á   gòzəɗ zə́   graɓ
      INF   do-GO   work   EE   together
      'He worked with him/her together.'

The first person dual has the singular associative adverb:

(25) tséy   ná   ŋ-kə́   wàŋ   bákà   ná   gràɓ
      so   1DU   PREP-INF   sleep today   DU   together
      'So we will sleep together today.'

The notion of disassociation is coded by the adverb *párpár* 'separately':

(26) dálì   í-bə̀   dáwày í   tsù   zà   á
      Dali   PL-ASSC   Daway 3PL   went   EE   PRED
      nə̀   lúmò   párpár
      PREP   market   separately
      'Dali and Daway went to the market separately.'

5. Adverbs *yà* and *yə́m* 'also'

The function of the adverb *yà* is to indicate that the proposition that was true with respect to some preceding clause is also true for the clause in which *yà* occurs. The adverb *yà* at the end codes identity of objects.

(27) ngùlày   dámà ɬùwáy   dámà yà/*yə́m
      red sorghum   good yellow sorghum   good also
      'Red sorghum is good and yellow sorghum is also good.'

(28) *dirif tə ɓek ɗaha ya*
      song GEN seed exist also
      'There is also a song of seeds.' (written sources)

The adverb *yà* is not a conjunction, as it cannot be used just to conjoin the elements of a sentence or proposition.

(29) *wàs ngùlày wàcín ɫrùwáy*
      this red sorghum this white sorghum
      *wà bá vìyíɗ *yà*
      and still millet
      'This one is red sorghum, this one is white sorghum, and this one is millet.'

The adverb *yà* also codes an event in a series of other events. In such usage, *yà* codes the beginning of a new event. The following utterance follows an utterance in which the subject's other activities were described:

(30) *sey ɓət gadət ya*
      so take arrow also
      'Then he also took an arrow, . . .' (written sources)

The adverb *yə́m* 'also' occurs after its scope. It signifies that the truth of the proposition in its scope obtains as well as the truth of some preceding proposition:

(31) *sə̀ bì dám yə́m*
      1SG chief of war bush also
      'I am also a member of the warrior clan.'

If the scope is fronted for topicalization, the marker *yə́m* is also fronted, following its scope:

(32) *hìdì míndí yə́m á káwù*
      man other also 3SG take care (F.)
      kùzák zə́ vù
      maternal uncle EE Q
      'The other person, also, can he take care of the maternal uncle?'

The marker *yə́m* may occur after the noun phrase or at the end of the clause. The scope of the adverb is whatever precedes it:

(33)   *tìtí   yə́m   gáw-yìì*
      3PL   also   hunter -PL
      'As for them also, they are hunters.'

(34)   *tìtíy   gáw-yìiyə́m*
      3PL   hunter -PL   also
      'They are also hunters.'

(35)   *sə̀   mbál   yə̀m   yə́m*
      1SG   like   water   also
      'I also like water.'

(36)   *wàs   hàz   tə́   kújì   tə́   ngíɗ   wà*
      this   dog   GEN   Kuji   GEN   there   DEM
      hàz   tə́   bítsì   yə́m
      dog   GEN   Bitsi   also
      'That's Kuji's dog and the one over there is Bici's dog.'

(37)   *mìnjé   hìdì   áb   hídə̀   ngə̀n   yə́m*
      now   man   ASSC   compound   3SG   also
      'Let's say that a man has his own compound also' (like every-
      body else).

The marker *yə́m* has a number of sentential and discourse functions that are described elsewhere in the grammar.

6. Adverbs of time

Time adverbs can be lexical or phrasal. Lexical time adverbs are not additionally coded by a morphological marker. Inherently temporal adverbs may occur in clause-final or clause-initial position. Adverbs of time may be followed by demonstratives. In such a case, their final vowels are deleted. Thus, the adverb *bákàhà* 'today' is reduced to [bákà]:

(38) *kóo   hà   bɔ́ŋ   kɔ́   vɔ̀l-á-ŋ*
      even   2SG   think INF   give-GO-3SG
      háɓɔm   túk   nɔ̀   hìdì   bákà   wàcíŋ
      daughter   2SG   PREP man   today DEM
      'Even if you are planning to give your daughter away to some-
      one today . . .'

Compare the adverb in clause-initial position. Although there is a noun
in the topicalization position, the adverb occurs right after the topical-
ized object:

(39) *kwík   kwàlkwàl-yìì   bákàhà   kɔ́   mɔ̀l   tà*
      kwik   leper-PL   today   INF   seize 3PL
      pát   í   n   kɔ̀   rèh-é   í
      tomorrow   3PL   PREP INF escape-GO   PREP
      tìkì   nók   tìyú
      where   1PL.INCL   see:3SG
      'Lepers. Today we will catch them. Tomorrow we will see from
      where they will escape.'

(40) *túm   hà   tspɔ́dɔpù   ní   yɔ̀m   dáp*
      always 2SG   remain crouched   PREP water only
      'You always remain crouched in one place in the water.'

There are two prepositions used in the coding of adverbial phrases of
time: the associative preposition with third-person singular marker *áb*,
the locative preposition *nɔ̀* and the locative predicator *á*. Adverbial
phrases marked by prepositions may occur at the beginning or at the end
of the clause. The choice of preposition depends on the head of the ad-
verbial phrase. The associative preposition *áb* is used with the following
heads: *nzáɗ* 'night'; *píc* 'sun'; names of seasons, e.g. *krɔ̀m* 'dry season';
and some times of day, e.g. *ábɔ̀ tskóh* 'evening' and *áb káfà* 'in the
morning':

(41) *háɓɔm   ngɔ̀n   zá   á   kàcíŋ*
      daughter   3SG   COMP   PRED here
      í   tɔ́   mívɔ̀   rɔ̀   bɔ̀   nzáɗ   skù
      3PL   defecate   feces D.HABASSC night NEG
      'Her daughter said, "Here one does not defecate at night."'

(42)   *sey*   *abə*   *bici*   *i*   *kə*   *du*   *wuda*
         so   ASSC   sun   3PL   INF   prepare   food
         za
         EE
         'Then, at the sunrise, when they prepared the food . . .'

(43)   *kásəmà*   *á*   *ní*   *skəm*   *ndrì*
         Kasuma   3SG   HAB   buy   sorghum
         ábə/*á   *krəm*
         ASSC/PRED   dry season
         'Kasuma buys sorghum during dry season.'

(44)   *ábə bíts/nzádù/*   [ábənzádù]
         'during the day/night'

The word *nzádù* 'night' cannot occur with the preposition *nə* or the predicator *á*:

(45)   *ən nzádù
         'at night'

         *á nzádù
         for 'at night'

     The locative predicator *á* precedes words like *pát* 'next day'. Other prepositions may not occur with this noun:

(47)   *á*   *pát*
         PRED   next day
         'tomorrow'

         *ábə   *pát*
         ASSC   next day
         for 'tomorrow'

         *ənə   *pát*
         PREP   next day
         for 'tomorrow'

The combination *á pát* has the meaning "future":

(48) *à   zá   á   pát*   *mbə́ŋ   zídèp   wàl*
      3SG   COMP   PRED   tomorrow   cut   now   woman
      ngə̀n   à   zá   sə̀n   mbál   ngùl
      3SG   3SG   COMP   1SG   like   husband
      wà   skù
      DEM   NEG
      'He said, "From now on, I will not do it." His wife said, "I don't like this husband."'

(49) *mábàr   zá   mbúdàp   názá-k   kà*
      lion   COMP   sorry   leave-1SG   POS
      á   pàt   mbə́ŋ   sə́   gə̀r   kà   dál
      PRED   next day   break   1SG   want   INF   do
      yàw   ábə̀   hà   skù
      contempt   ASSC   2SG   NEG
      'The lion said, "Excuse me, from now on I won't give you any problems."'

(50) *há   gə̀r   kà   dál   á   pát*   *skù*
      2SG   want   INF   do   PRED   next day   NEG
      'In the future, don't do it.'

The preposition *n* occurs with the noun *trá* 'a unit of time, month':

(51) *ə́n   tə́r   láy   tə́   ɓə̀k*
      PREP   month   time   GEN   sow
      'during the time of sowing'

(52) **á/ábə̀   tə́r   láy   tə́   ɓə̀k*
      PRED/ASSC   month   time   GEN   sow
      'during the time of sowing'

7. Adverbs of reason

Adverbial phrases of reason occur in clause final position. The adverbial phrase is marked by the preposition *kə́* 'in'. The benefactive argument can be added to clauses with intransitive verbs. The pronominal arguments are coded by possessive pronouns preceded by the preposition *tə́*:

(53) *dáwày*   *nd-á*   *kə́*   *tə́*   *tánàŋ*
      Daway   go-GO   PREP   GEN   1SG
      'Daway came here for me, because of me, thanks to me'

(54) *bíci*   *ʒə̀gám*   *ábə̀*   *báy*   *kə́*   *tə́*   *tùkóŋ*
      Bitsi   talk   ASSC   chief   PREP   GEN   2SG
      'Bitsi talked to the chief about you/for you'

The preposition *kə́* also codes the notion of using X for Y:

(55) *kwáyàŋ*   *ɓə́t*   *gə̀dzə̀mbə̀l*   *ngə̀n*   *ɓə̀t*   *nákà*
      squirrel   take   guitar   3SG   take   REM
      kə́   *kàp-á*   *nd-à*   *ɓə̀t*   *dùwə́ŋ*
      INF   break-GO   go-GO   take   back
      gə̀n   *dɨ̆yà*   *zə̀*   *ngə̀n*   *kə́*   *kə̀də̆m*   *ábə̀*
      3SG   put   EE   3SG   PREP   calabash   ASSC
      ndá   *ngə̀n*   *á*   *wtá*
      go:GO 3SG   PRED   house
      'Squirrel took his guitar, the one that he broke, put it on his back
      as his calabash, then he returned home.'

8. Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner can be derived from any lexical category through
reduplication. Reduplicated lexical items are not preceded by any prepo-
sitions. Thus, from the noun *cìdĕ* 'pile' the reduplication derives the ad-
verb *cìdĕ cìdĕ cìdĕ cìdĕ* 'in piles':

(56) *wírnjìk*   *dɨ̆y-à*   *bə̀k-áhà*
      ash   put-GO   pour-GO
      cìdĕ   *cìdĕ*   *cìdĕ*   *cìdĕ*   *á*   *kə̀tə̀f*
      pile   pile   pile   pile   PRED   road
      'Ash was pouring out of the shoe in small piles on the road.'

The form *dàp* occurs only in clause-final position. Its functional
range involves limitation of an argument, be it subject or object, or
limitation of the event to the one explicitly stated in the clause. In the
present grammar it is variously glossed as 'only', 'just', 'like that':

(57) ndà   dǐy-á   í   dǐ   ǥámbáy   wà
      go   put-GO   3PL   put   stick   DEM
      kə́   n   fádə̀   tà   dàp
      in   PREP court (F.)   DED   like that
      'They went and put the stick in the court of the chief.'

The adverb *tátà* 'alone' is derived from the numeral *ntá* 'one' (note the deletion of initial nasal in the word-internal position):

(58) sə̀   tátà   'I alone'
      hà   tátà   'you alone'

The adverb *tátà* can also be used with plural pronouns, which is the evidence that *tátà* has already grammaticalized to become an adverb:

(59) à   ǥá   káy   à   fǐŋ   nám   tátà
      3SG   say   INTERJ (F.) 3SG   remain 1DU   only
      'He said, "Look, only the two of us remain."'

The adverb *bìbíc-bìbíc* 'all day' is derived from the noun *bìbíc* 'day'. Adverbial reduplication from bisyllabic sources is accompanied by the reduction of the last vowel in the first reduplicated part: *nzádù* 'night' → *nzádnzádù* 'all night'. Similarly one can derive adverbs from adjectives, e.g. from *dămà* 'good' one can derive an adverb *dămdămà* 'well'; from *mbéh* 'close', *mbéhmbéh* 'recently':

(60) mà   lìm   gwáǥ   mbéhmbéh   wà   ví
      REL   see   elephant   now   DEM   who
      'Who just saw an elephant?'

9. The scope of the adverb *tátà* 'alone, only'

The adverb *tátà* narrows the scope of the preceding noun by excluding all other potential arguments. If the only argument in the clause is the subject, and if the subject is to be in the scope of the adverb, the anaphor *mbí* must be used before the adverb:

(61) ngàz   bù   mbí   tátà
      leg   turn   ANAPH   one-one
      'The wheel turned itself.'

(62)   *dàvàr tàrlàn mbí*   *tátà*
       hoe   turn   ANAPH   one-one
       'The hoe turned itself.'

If the object is in the scope of the adverb, the adverb is not preceded by the anaphor *mbí*:

(63)   *sà   n   kà   bù   ngàz tátà*
       1SG   PREP INF   turn wheel one
       'I want to turn the wheel only.'

If the clause has a subject and an object, and if the scope of the adverb is the subject, the anaphor *mbí* must be used before the adverb:

(64)   *bítsì bú   ngàz mbí   tátà*
       Bitsi turn wheel ANAPH   one
       'Bitsi turned the wheel alone.'

When there is no anaphor *mbí* then the scope is the last noun phrase:

(65)   *sà   n   kà   bù   ngàz s   tátà*
       1SG   PREP INF   turn wheel 1SG   one
       'I want to turn the wheel alone (only me, nobody else).'

10. Adding a beneficiary

The adjunct coding the beneficiary is marked by the genitive preposition *tà*:

(66)   *a-ndà   r   sku   mbi   mi*
       3SG-go   D.HAB   NEG   3SG   ANAPH
       žeber tà   tùkóŋ
       follow GEN   2SG
       'She does not leave in order to follow for you.'

11. Adverb *bà* 'again'

The adverb *bà*, 'again' can occur at the end or at the beginning of the clause:

(67a)   *ká*   *zàm*   *tá*   *ngàn*   *cík*   *zídèp*   **bà**   *wà*
        INF   eat   GEN   3SG   full   now   again   DEM
        há   *n*   *kà*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *á*   *vàŋgáy*
        2SG   PREP   INF   say-GO-3SG   PRED   how
        'Given that he has already eaten his fill again, what are you going to tell him?'

(67b)   *áa*   *dámà*   *wàl*   *wà*   **bà**   *à*
        ah,   good   woman   DEM   again   3SG
        lùw-á-ŋ   *tàŋ*
        say-GO-3SG   3PL
        '"It's good," the woman told them again.'

In negative clauses, the adverb acquires a polar meaning, 'anymore':

(68a)   *á*   *sàn*   *skà*   *bà*
        3SG   know   NEG   more
        'She does not know anymore!'

(68b)   *wàl*   *wà*   *hàŋ*   *hàŋ*   *kà*   *dál*   *vàŋgáy*
        woman   DEM   cry   cry   INF   do   how
        á   *sàn*   *skà*   *bà*
        3SG   know   NEG   again
        'This woman cried, "What should I do?" She did not know anymore!"'

12. Cognate adverbs

The term cognate adverb designates adverbs formed with the same root as the verb. This term is formed on analogy with the term cognate object, where the object is cognate with the verb. The cognate adverb in Mina is formed through the preposition *i* preceding the verbal stem. Such an adverbial phrase follows the verb without an object. The cognate adverb is used to confirm somebody's presupposition, with an explanation to follow:

(69)   *à*   *zá*   *sà*   *mìsìl-é*   *í*   *mìsìl*
       3SG   COMP   1SG   steal-GO   PREP   steal
       'He said, "I stole it"' lit. 'I stole it by stealing'

13. Conclusions

There are two types of coding means for adjuncts: lexical, i.e. the item is an inherent adjunct and therefore not additionally marked by a preposition; and phrasal, where the adjunct is marked by a preposition. Two prepositions are used for the coding of adjuncts: the associative preposition *áb* and the locative preposition *n*. In addition, the locative predicator *á* is also used.

Adverbs of manner are derived from other lexical categories through reduplication.

Chapter 9
Goal-orientation extension

1. Introduction

In African and Chadic linguistics, the term "verbal extensions" has come to designate a wide range of suffixes added to the verb. Mina has just one extension, labeled here 'goal-orientation extension', and glossed as GO. This extension is an important element of the grammatical system as it interacts with the coding of argument structure and locative predication.

2. The form of the goal orientation extension

The goal orientation extension is coded by the suffix *á* in phrase-internal position and *áhà* in phrase-final position. The change from *áhà* to *á* follows predictable phonological rules, viz. deletion of the final vowel, followed by deletion of the glottal continuant in phrase-internal position. Pronominal objects follow the goal orientation extension:

(1)   *i*   *n*   *kà*   *ták-á-k*   *kà*
        3PL   PREP INF   forbid-GO-1SG   POS
        kà   *nd-á*   *á*   *pàt*
        INF   go-GO   PRED next day
        'They will forbid me to come tomorrow.'

With a long pause between the clause and the adverbial phrase:

(2) *í   n   kə   ták-á-k   kə*
     3PL   PREP   INF   forbid-GO-1SG   POS
     kə   nd-áhà   á   pàt
     INF   go-GO   PRED next day
     'They will forbid me to come tomorrow.'

Without the goal orientation extension the verb ends in schwa:

(3) *í   n-kə   tàk-á-k   kə*
     3PL   PREP-INF   forbid-GO-1SG   POS
     kə   ndə   á   pàt
     INF   go   PRED tomorrow
     'They will forbid me to go tomorrow.'

The tone on the suffix *á* is high. If the suffix replaces the vowel of the verb, it carries its own tone, viz. the high tone. Consider the verb *dà* 'cook'. In phrase-internal position, it is reduced to *d*, and schwa is inserted if required by syllabification. If there is a goal orientation suffix, it assumes the position of the vowel of the verb and it has high rather than low tone. The tone of the goal orientation suffix has no effect on the tone of the infinitive marker *kə*, which, in phrase-initial position, keeps its tone as determined by the underlying tone of the verb:

(4) *kə́   də̀   zá*
     INF   cook   EE
     'He cooked it.' (unspecified place)

(5) *kə́   d-á   zà*
     INF   cook-GO   EE
     'He cooked it.' (not in the place of speech)

(6) *kə́   sə̀   máv   zà*
     INF   drink beer   EE
     'He drank beer.' (unspecified place)

(7) *kə́   s-á   máv   zà*
     INF   drink-GO   beer   EE
     'He drank beer.' (not here)

If the verb has inherently high tone, the goal orientation extension has high tone as well:

(8)   *kə̀*   *ts-á*   *láy*   *zà*
        INF   burn-GO   field   EE
        'He burned the field.' (not here)

Cf.

(9)   *kə̀*   *tsə̂*   *láy*   *zà*
        INF   burn   field   EE
        'He burned the field.' (unspecified place)

The vowel of the goal orientation suffix is raised to *e* if the preceding vowel is [+front]:

(10)   *sə̀*   *zìn-é*   *nə̀*   *lúm*   *zà*
         1SG   return-GO   PREP   market   EE
         'I returned from the market.'

3. Function of the goal orientation extension

The general function of the goal orientation extension is to indicate that the event happened at a specific place, that the movement is directed toward a specific place. The specific place may be overtly coded by a locative expression, or it may be omitted. The direction involved may be toward the speaker or another deictic center (ventive) or away from the speaker or another deictic center (allative, andative). The possibility of two directions provides the evidence that the function of the marker cannot be either ventive or allative. The scope of the goal orientation extension may be either the subject or the object.

     With intransitive verbs, the subject is in the scope of the goal orientation. The goal orientation extension interacts with the inherent meaning of the verb. Thus the verb *nd* means 'depart, go' without the goal orientation extension, and 'arrive' with the goal orientation extension:

(11)   *séy*   *táŋ*   *á*   *nd-áhà*   *à*   *zá*
         so   go   3SG   go-GO   3SG   COMP
         'So he came and said . . '

(12)   *ván*   *wílkíl*   *kə̂*   *nd-áhà*
         rain   fail   INF   go-GO
         'The rain had not yet come.'

(13)   *à*   *nd-á*   *zə́*   *vù*
        3SG   go-GO   EE   Q
        'Will he come?'

Cf.:

(14)   *á*   *ndə̀*   *zə́*   *vù*
        3SG   go-GO   EE   Q
        'Will he go?'

The deictic center can be the place where the story is unfolding:

(15)   *séy,*   *áb*   *dùwə́ŋ*   *mbí*
        then (H.)   ASSC   back   ANAPH
        làkwát   *mə́*   *nd-à-y*   *zá*
        river   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
        'And afterwards the river came.' (Seasonal rivers fill up after the rains.)

If the story is unfolding at the place of speech, the goal orientation extension may have the ventive interpretation. In the following example, the object is expected to move to the place of speech:

(16)   *ndə̀*   *y-áhà-w*
        go   call-GO-3SG
        'Go call him here.'

Compare the form without the goal orientation extension: The verb does not imply movement of the person to the place of speech.

(17)   *ndə̀*   *y-ù*
        go   call-3SG
        'Go call him.'

The extension does not have to imply movement toward the place of speech. It may simply indicate that the event occurred at the place that the listener should be able to deduce either from the previous discourse or from general knowledge:

(18)   *séy*   *hìdì*   *wàcíŋ*   *á*   *ndə̀*   *kà*   *tál-áhà*
        so   man   DEM   3SG   go   INF   walk-GO
        'Then that man went for a walk.'

Compare the above sentence with the one where the man comes for a walk:

(19)   *séy*   *hìdì*   *wàcíŋ*   *á*   *nd-á*   *kà*   *tál*
        so   man   DEM   3SG   go-GO   INF   walk
        'Then that man comes for a walk.'

(20)   *mìnjée*   *mbà*   *mà*   *mármár*   *ká*   *nàz-á*
        now   boy   REL   pasture   INF   abandon-GO
        kw-yîi   *zə́*   *nà*   *láy*
        goat-PL   EE   PREP   field
        'Now the shepherd left the goats in the field.'

In the following fragment, the verb *màr* 'shepherd' is used with the goal orientation marker. The verb *ndə́* 'go' is used without the goal orientation extension:

(21)   *í*   *ndí*   *màr-áhà*   *à*   *zá*   *nà*
        3PL   HAB   shepherd-GO   3SG   COMP   PREP
        mbà   *mà*   *tə́*   *gwídîn*   *ndə́*
        child   REL   GEN   single   go
        márà-ha   *dàkàytíi*   *wùtá*
        shepherd-GO   others   house
        'They have the habit of pasturing somewhere else. He asks one of the children to go and pasture. The others are at home.'

The form without the extension has no implication as to where the event has taken place.

Systematic evidence for the goal orientation function is provided by the constraint that does not allow the use of the goal orientation marker and the proximate demonstratives within the same clause. Such a use would constitute an internal contradiction:

(22)   *í   *nkə́*   *skə̀m-á*   *zà*   *ɓà*   *ntá*
        3PL   INF   buy-GO   EE   cow   one
        ábà   *ŋkù*   *ntá*   *á*   *kèčín*
        ASSC   goat   one   PRED   here
        'They bought a cow and a goat here.'

Compare the following sentence, which is grammatical without the goal orientation marker:

(23)   *í   nkə́   skə̀m   zà   ɓə̀   ntá*
    3PL   INF   buy   EE   cow   one
    ábə̀   ŋkù   ntá   á   kèčín
    ASSC   goat   one   PRED   here
    'They bought a cow and a goat here.'

With non-movement verbs, the goal orientation indicates that the event happened at a place other than the place of speech:

(24)   *sə̀   nz-á   màrɓák*
    1SG   stay-GO   Marbak
    'I was in Marbak.' (said in Maroua)

The following exchange illustrates the function of the goal orientation extension. To the question:

(25)   *hà   mbál   wə̀dá   kə́   zə̀m   vù*
    2SG   want   food   INF   eat   Q
    'Do you want to eat?'

The answer with the goal orientation marker indicates that speaker ate somewhere else:

(26)   *òó   s   kə́   zə̀m-á   zà*
    no   1SG   INF   eat-GO   EE
    'No, I already ate [somewhere].'

The answer without goal orientation marker does not specify the place:

(27)   *òó   s   kə́   zə̀m   zá*
    no   1SG   INF   eat   EE
    'No, I already ate.'

The verb *ɓə̀t* 'take' does not inherently indicate goal. The addition of a goal requires addition of the goal orientation extension:

(28)   *s   kə́   ɓə̀t-á   yə̀m   kə́   páláh*
    1SG   INF   take-GO   water   PREP   outside
    'I took the water out of the room to outside.'

If no movement into some other place is involved, the goal orienta-
tion extension is not used:

(29)   *ɓɜ̀t*   *á*   *ɓɜ̀t*   *déftèr*   *ngɜ̀n*
        take   3SG   take   Koran (F.)   3SG
        'He took out his Koran.'

(30)   *ɓɜ̀t*   *á*   *ɓɜ̀t*   *kàdɜ́ɗ*   *ngɜ̀n*
        take   3SG   take   arrow   3SG
        'He took his arrows...'

(31)   *í*   *ndɜ̀*   *kɜ́*   *bèr-é*   *cìkíɗ*
        3PL   go   INF   sell-GO   sesame
        bùhù   *ntá*
        bag (F.)   one
        'They were going to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

One can use the goal orientation extension in interrogative clauses
about place. In the following sentence, the goal orientation marker is
obligatory because the situation requires the addressee to be at the place
of speech and the question implies that the speaker does not know
where the event took place:

(32)   *há*   *wàn-á*   *á*   *tíkì*
        2SG   sleep-GO   PRED   where
        'Where did you sleep?'

The goal-orientation extension is not required for the future tense;
the place of speech is the possible location for the event:

(33)   *há*   *ŋ*   *kú*   *wàn*   *á*   *tíkì*
        2SG   PREP   INF   sleep   PRED   where
        'Where are you going to sleep?'

4. Grammaticalization of the goal orientation marker

There exist cognates of the goal-oriented marker suffixed to the verb in
other Chadic languages, from the Central (Hdi, Frajzyngier with Shay
2002, Gidar, Frajzyngier to appear) and West branches (the 'applicative
extension' in Hausa, Newman 2000 and references there). Therefore,

the grammaticalization of the marker most likely preceded the split of Proto-Central Chadic, and very likely is even older. One can only speculate how the marker *á* grammaticalized as the goal orientation marker. A possible process of grammaticalization is as follows: First, the form *á* had a locative function coding direction of movement (Frajzyngier 1985, 2002). The locative center might have been a place or a person. Subsequently, the locative marker became attached to the preceding verb. In a subsequent stage of grammaticalization, the locative predicator occurring before the pronominal object became a formal requirement for pronominal objects, regardless of whether the pronoun represents the indirect or the direct object. This situation to a certain degree parallels that of the Spanish locative preposition *a*.

5. Conclusions

Unlike some other Central Chadic languages spoken north of Mina (cf. Frajzyngier with Shay 2002), Mina has only one verbal extension, goal orientation. This marker has two types of goals in its scope: (1) locative, coding movement toward the place of speech, the default case, or to another specified place, and (2) object orientation, coding the presence of a pronominal object. The goal orientation extension probably grammaticalized from the same form that produced the locative predicator *á*.

Chapter 10
Tenses

1. Introduction

The term 'tense' designates grammatical coding of the time of an event. The term 'aspect' refers to the coding of the event from the point of view of its internal characteristics. Mina has the categories tense and aspect, but they belong to one functional domain, as evidenced by the fact that tenses and aspects cannot cooccur within the same clause, and also by the fact that there exists a verbal form which is unmarked, and may have either tense or aspectual interpretations. We describe tenses and aspects in separate chapters only on the basis of the main characteristics of the categories involved and not because they belong to different domains in the grammar of Mina.

The domain of tense in Mina has two subdomains: future and past. In the future tense, there is a distinction between the coding of pragmatically independent and pragmatically dependent clauses. Pragmatically independent clauses are clauses that do not require another proposition or a specific situation for their interpretation. A clause is marked as pragmatically dependent so that the hearer is forced to interpret it in connection with another previously mentioned or yet to be mentioned clause. In negative clauses, the future tense is coded in a way different from the coding of either independent or dependent clauses.

Within the past tense, there is a distinction between the coding of singulative events (the unmarked, default form) and the coding of plural events, marked by multiple reduplications of the verb.

A clause unmarked for tense may have various time interpretations, including past, present, and future, depending on the tense of the immediately preceding clause.

2. Future tenses

There are three grammaticalized means of coding future time. Two of these means code a different type of clause. One tense codes future in pragmatically independent clauses, and the other codes the future in pragmatically dependent clauses. The future tense markers alone can code the type of clause. Since the two tenses are in a way complementary, we shall describe their functions together.

2.1 The form of the independent future

The independent future has the subject followed by the verb, followed by the auxiliary *za*, coding the end-of-event. The marker *za* must occur after the object:

(1)   *sà   bèr-é-ŋ   ƙà-n   zá*
      1SG   sell-GO-3SG   cow-1SG   EE
      'I will sell him my cow.'

As with all instances of the end-of-event markers, the locative and time adverbials follow the particle *za*:

(2)   *dáwày   nd-á zà   bàká bà   tskòh*
      Daway   go-GO EE   today ASSC afternoon
      'Daway will come this afternoon.' (elicited)

The third-person pronominal subject is marked by the pronoun *à*:

(3)   *à   nd-á zà*
      3SG   go-GO EE
      'He will come.'

2.2 The form of the dependent future

The dependent future is marked by the form *nkə* or *nə kə*, which may well be a complex construction consisting of the locative preposition *nà* followed by the infinitive marker *kə*. The evidence that the construction consists of the preposition and the infinitive marker is provided by three

facts. First, the form *n* is often realized as *nà*, which would not have been the case if it were part of the morpheme **nkə*. The second fact is that the tone on the form *kə* depends on the tone of the following verb, just like the tone of the infinitive. The third fact is that in negative future clauses, the form *kə* occurs without the marker *n*. We therefore gloss the sequence *n kə* as PREP INF. The third-person singular subject is marked by *à*. All pronominal and nominal subjects precede the sequence *n kə*. The dependent future complex precedes the verb:

(4)   *ná*   *n*   *kə́*   *nd-á*   *bə̀*   *tskòh*
      1PL.EXCL   PREP   INF   go-GO   ASSC   evening
      'We (EXCL) will come in the afternoon.'

(5)   *hí*   *n*   *kə́*   *nd-á*   *bə̀*   *tskòh*
      2PL   PREP   INF   go-GO   ASSC   evening
      'You will come in the afternoon.'

The preposition *n* is deleted if the preceding pronoun ends in a consonant, which is the case for the first person dual and plural inclusive pronouns:

(6)   *nám*   *kə̀*   *nd-á*   *bə̀*   *tskòh* . . .
      1DU   INF   go-GO   ASSC   evening
      'The two of us will come in the afternoon.'

(7)   *nók*   *kə̀*   *nd-á*   *bə̀*   *tskòh*
      1PL.INCL   INF   go-GO   ASSC   evening
      'We (INCL) will come in the afternoon.'

2.3 Functions of the two future tenses

The dependent future indicates that the clause must be interpreted in connection with another proposition, whether already made or still to be made. The clause marked by dependent future may also provide necessary information for the proper interpretation of another clause.

The dependent future occurs in temporal and conditional protasis clauses:

(8) *hìdì*   *wèhíŋ* *à*   *zá*   *ván*   *á*   *n*   *kə́*
     man   DEM   3SG   COMP   rain   3SG   PREP   INF
     dà   *á*   *gər*   *kà*   *nd-á-k*   *kəsə́m*
     fall   3SG   want   INF   touch-GO-1SG   body
     skù
     NEG
     'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

The dependent future is used in comment-on-focus clauses. In the following two examples, speaker subjects respond to a challenge:

(9) *gáw*   *zá*   *á*   *tá-n*   *déy*
     hunter COMP   PRED   GEN-1SG   also
     sə̀   *n*   *kə́*   *ʓáŋ*   *tàŋ*
     1SG   PREP   INF   cross   DED
     'The hunter said, "I will also cross it."'

(10) *sə̀*   *bó*   *sə̀*   *n-kí*   *míŋ*   *s*   *tátà*
     1SG   also   1SG   PREP-INF   stay   1SG   alone
     'I also will stay alone.'

In the following example the focus is on the reason phrase:

(11) *ngàm*   *ʓə̀gám*   *wàcíŋ* *hìd-yîi*   *mìndìŋ*
     because   speech   DEM   man-PL   another
     à   *n*   *kə́*   *ngàts-á-h*   *nə́f*
     3SG   PREP   INF   pinch-GO-2SG   heart
     'Because of this word, the other person will disturb you.' (lit. pinch your heart)

The dependent future cannot be used in an independent clause in isolation:

(12) **à*   *n*   *kə́*   *ngàts-á-h*   *nə́f*
     3SG   PREP   INF   pinch-GO-2SG   heart
     for 'He will disturb you.'

   In the following example the dependent future is used in the main clause with the verb "to say." The full interpretation requires the complement clause, viz. what will be said:

(13)   *sà*   *n*   *kə́*   *ʒá*   *bìʒáf*   *kə́*   *dzà*
       1SG   PREP   INF   say   God   INF   kill

       dàkáytíy   *tsáy*   *zà*   *à*   *mín*
       others   finish   EE   3SG   remain

       s   *tátà*
       1SG   alone

       'I will say that God has killed the others, and that I alone re-
       main.'

The independent future in the matrix clause, viz. *sà ʒá zà*, would be
ungrammatical in the above example.

   The dependent future codes information that is unexpected or con-
trary to expectation. Thus, in the following fragment, the dependent
future codes an imminent danger, that of God coming to kill the pro-
tagonists:

(14)   *à*   *zá*   *káy*   *à*   *fín*
       3SG   COMP   INTERJ   3SG   remain

       nám   *tátà*   *mbéhmbéh*   *wá*   *à*   *n*
       1PL   only   immediately   DEM   3SG   PREP

       kə́   *nd-á*   *tàŋ*
       INF   go-GO   DED

       'He (the frog) said, "Look, there remains only us. He (God) will
       come immediately."'

   The dependent future may not be used in questions about the truth.
Only the independent future may be used in such questions:

(15)   *à*   *nd-á*   *zə̀*   *vù*
       3SG   go-GO   EE   Q
       'Will he come?'

   With specific questions only the dependent future is used, because
specific questions assume the truth of the rest of the proposition and are
interpreted in connection with the rest of the proposition:

(16)   *wà*   *mə̀*   *kə́*   *ndə̀*   *kə́*
       but   who   INF   go   INF

       gàd-á-nòk   *kú*   *ví*
       pick fire-GO-1PL   fire   who
       'But who will go to find us fire?'

The dependent future can be used with the complementizer *zá*, which indicates either that the tense is not necessarily synchronically a verbal category and/or that the complementizer grammaticalized from a verb:

(17) *hà   n   kə́   zá   lùw-á-n   mə́k*
      you   PREP   INF   COMP   tell-GO-3SG what
      'What will you tell it?' (error)

The use of dependent future alone codes focus, usually focus on the predicate:

(18) *bàhámán   zá   hí   n   kə́*
      Bahaman   COMP   2PL   PREP   INF
      lùw-á-ŋ   syì   bárkàmà
      say-GO-3SG COM   chief
      'Bahaman said, "You say to it, my chief,'

      ʒámbáy   nd-á-k   gí   syì   à
      stick   hit-GO-1SG   POL   COM   3SG
      n   kə̀   ɗál-á   tàŋ
      PREP   INF   do-GO:2SG   DED
      '""Stick, hit me,' and it will do it to you.""'

(19) *íi   zá   bákà   syí   há   n   kə́*
      3PL   COMP   today   COM   2SG   PREP   INF
      də́   tàl   tùkóŋ
      cook   head   2SG
      'They said, "Today you will cook yourself."'

The dependent future is used in comparative constructions. The independent future may not be used there:

(20) *sə̀   n-k   ší   dáy   kó   hóŋ*
      1SG   PREP-INF   run   surpass   PREP   2SG
      'I will run better than you.'

(21) **sə̀   šì   dáy   zà   kó   hóŋ*
      1SG   run   surpass   EE   PREP   2SG
      for 'I will run better than you.'

The dependent future is by far more frequent than the independent future in texts. The reason for this may be that many statements pertaining to future events involve promises and commitments, which often require another proposition for proper interpretation:

(22) *ndìká*   *mànjé wàhíŋ sə̀   n   kə̀   dzáŋ*
      better (F.)   now   DEM   1SG   PREP INF   find
      gómbòk   *zá   sə̀   n   kə̀   ndráɓ*
      frog   EE   1SG   PREP INF   smash
      mbàd̛   *wìrnjík*
      become   ash
      'From now on when I find a frog, I will smash it to ashes.'

The dependent future is used in clauses that follow the adverb of time, be it phrasal or clausal. The clause that follows the adverb of time is interpreted as a comment on the adverb of time. The independent future cannot be used there:

(23) *mbémbé*   *wá   à   n   kə̀   nd-á   tàŋ*
      now   DEM   3SG   PREP INF   go-GO DED
      'He (God) will come immediately.'

(24) **mbémbé*   *wá   à   nd-á   zà   táŋ*
      now   DEM   3SG   go-GO EE   DED
      for 'He (God) will come immediately.'

The following fragment illustrates the contrast between dependent future used in a focus clause, and the independent future used in a pragmatically neutral clause:

(25) *í   zá   bákà   syì   hà   n*
      3PL   COMP   today COMP   2SG   PREP
      kə̀   də̀   tàlàŋ tùkóŋ
      INF   cook   head   2SG
      'They said, "Today you will cook yourself."'

(26) *à   zá   á   dámà   sə̀   də̀   zá*
      3SG   COMP   ah   good   1SG   cook   EE
      'She said, "Good, I will cook."'

In questions about the truth, when there are no presuppositions, the independent future is used:

(27) *à   lù-á-h   zá   hà   nék   skù*
      3SG   say-GO-2SG   COMP   2SG   good   NEG
      ngà   vú
      DUB   Q
      'Will he tell you that you are not good?' (I doubt he will.)

2.4 Future through the verb *gòr* 'want'

Future time may also be coded through the verb *gòr* 'want'. While the use of the auxiliary *gòr* is a standard means to code the negative future, we have also one example of the use of this auxiliary in the affirmative future:

(28) *à   ɮ-á   ván   nàŋ   à   gòr*
      3SG   say   father   1SG   3SG   want
      kò   mbú
      INF   give birth
      'He said, "My father will give birth."'

The use of the auxiliary in the negative form, combined with the nature of the example in the affirmative form, indicates that the auxiliary codes hypothetical future.

2.5 Negative future

There are two types of negative clauses with future time reference. One type involves use of the verb *grà* 'want' in its phrase internal form *grò* or *gòr* followed by the infinitive marker *kə*, the main verb with its object, if any, and the negative marker *skù*:

(29)   *hìdì*   *wèhíŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *ván*   *á*   *n*
         man   DEM   3SG   COMP   rain   3SG   PREP
         kɔ́   *dà*   *á*   *gɔ̀r*   *kɔ̀*   *nd-á-k*
         INF   fall   3SG   want   INF   touch-GO-1SG
         kɔ̀sɔ́m   *skù*
         body   NEG
         'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

The evidence that the form *gɔ̀r* is an auxiliary rather than a lexical verb is provided by examples where the lexical verb interpretation is not possible:

(30)   *nók*   *gɔ̀r*   *kɔ́*   *nzɔ̀*   *dàm*   *skù* . . .
         1PL.INCL   want   INF   stay   good   NEG
         'We will not be well . . .'

The other type of negative future is formed with the verb *ndà* 'go', followed by the dependent habitual marker and the negative marker *skù* at the end of the clause. This is essentially a construction that denies intentions:

(31)   *hà*   *mbál*   *háʓɔ̀m*   *ngɔ̀ŋ*   *à*   *n*   *kɔ́*
         2SG   like   daughter   3SG   3SG   PREP   INF
         zá   *sɔ́*   *ndɔ̀-r*   *kɔ́*   *vɔ̀l*   *skù*
         COMP   1SG   go-D.HAB   INF   give   NEG
         'If you like his daughter, he will say, "I am not going to give [her]"'

(32)   *hà*   *kɔ́*   *lù*   *zá*   *há*   *ndɔ̀*   *rɔ̀*
         2SG   INF   say   EE   2SG   go   D.HAB
         kɔ́   *tɔ̀*   *skù*   *cín*   *tɔ́*   *wàl*   *táŋ*
         INF   pay   NEG   father   GEN   wife   DED
         à   *zá*   *háʓɔ̀m*   *ná*   *á*   *wtɔ́*   *báy*
         3SG   COMP   daughter   1SG   PRED   home   chief
         'If you said that you will not pay, the father of the woman will say, "My daughter is at the chief's."'

The evidence that the verb "to go" has grammaticalized as the marker of the negative future is provided by the fact that it is not used in the affirmative future:

(33) há   mbál   háɓ̀m   ngòŋ à
      2SG   like   daughter   3SG   3SG
      n   *kə́* *zá*   *sə̀* *vòl* *zá*
      PREP INF   COMP   1SG   give   EE
      'If you like his daughter, he will say, "I will give . . ."'

3. Independent past tense

3.1 The reduplicated form of the verb

The independent past tense is coded by the reduplicated verb with the subject, nominal or pronominal inserted between the reduplicated parts, i.e., it has the form Verb Subject Verb. Presence of the nominal subject in between the reduplicated parts of the verb indicates that reduplication is not a morphological process, but rather a syntactic process:

(34) séy   ndə̀   məl   wàl   wà   məl   kà
      so   go   catch woman   DEM   catch POS
      'Then the woman stopped it.'

The third-person singular pronoun is *á*. All pronominal subjects must occur between the reduplicated parts of the verb and they all have high tone:

(35) ɓáŋ   í   ɓáŋ   zá
      cross 3PL   cross EE
      'They crossed [the river].'

Verbs occur with their underlying tone or the tone as determined by inflectional morphemes. The reduplicated verb may have the goal orientation marker added. The form that occurs after the subject does not have the goal orientation marker:

(36) ɗá   ɗá   á   ɗə̀   wàné
      draw:GO   draw:GO   3SG   draw   a lot (F.)
      'It rained a lot.'

3.2 Functions of the independent past

The evidence that the reduplicated form codes tense and not aspect is provided by the fact that it can code both bounded and unbounded events, thus ruling out the potential categorization into perfective or imperfective aspect. Here are examples of bounded events:

(37)   *dzáŋ   á   dzán-á   mə̀   tə́   gwídín nákà*
       find   3SG   find-GO   REL   GEN   single REM
       wèhíŋ nd-á   náz   á   náz   kɔ́   nə̀
       DEM   go-GO throw   3SG   throw   POS   PREP
       láy   tàŋ
       place   DED
       'He found the one sesame of those [that were counted], returned and threw it into its place [in the bag].'

Here is an example of unbounded event:

(38)   *ɗá   ɗá   á   ɗə̀   wàné*
       draw:GO   draw:GO   3SG   draw   a lot (F.)
       'It rained a lot.'

The evidence that the reduplicated form codes past tense is provided by the fact that all sentences with the verb reduplicated leftwards designate past time and only past time event. This fact is amply illustrated in all examples in this section.

The evidence that the reduplicated form codes past tense in a clause that does not require another proposition for its interpretation is provided by the fact that the independent past tense may occur in the last clause of a narrative:

(39)   *nd-á   náz   á   náz   kɔ́   nə̀   láy   tàŋ*
       go-GO throw   3SG   throw   POS   PREP   place   DED
       'He went and threw it into its place [in the bag].'

Another piece of evidence for the independent nature of the reduplicated form is that it is independent of the preceding and the following propositions, as in the following fragment, where the independent past is used in the middle sentence:

(40) *í   nd-rá   í   nd-rá   vàŋ   wà*
      3PL   walk-D.HAB   3PL   walk-D.HAB   rain   start
      kə̀   dà̂
      INF   draw water
      'While they were walking, rain started to fall.'

      dá̂   dá̂   á   də̀   wàné
      draw:GO   draw:GO   3SG   draw   a lot (F.)
      'It rained a lot.'

      séy,   áb   dùwə̀ŋ   mbéŋ   làkwát
      then (H.)   ASSC   back   ANAPH   river
      mə̀   nd-à-y   zá
      REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
      'And afterwards a river came.'

The proposition with the independent past tense may be a part of a larger sentence, but then the clause has independent interpretation, as in the following utterance consisting of two clauses:

(41) *tà   á   tì   dá̂   skù*
      see   3SG   see   exist   NEG
      'He looked around -- nothing.'

One clause with independent past tense can be followed by another clause with independent past tense:

(42a) *ngə̀ɗ   ngə̀ɗ   í   ngə̀ɗ   cíkè'   (zá)   ká*
      count   count   3PL   count   all   (EE)   POS
      'They counted all [the sesame seeds].' (The form *ká* was first given when a language assistant repeated the recorded sentence.)

(42b) *dzàw   í   dzàw-ú   á   dùwón   mə̀dìngwə̀rzé*
      attach   3PL   attach-3SG   PRED   back   donkey
      'They attached it to the back of the donkey.'

At least two verbs cannot be reduplicated, and instead another verb is used in lieu of the first part of the reduplicated verb. One verb is *pá* 'give' used as the first part instead of the verb *və̀l* 'give', and the other is *tíl* 'depart'. In the case of the verb *ndə̀* 'depart', instead of the first part of the reduplicated verb, the form *tíl* 'depart' is used:

(43) *í*   *zá*   *ndà*   *tíl*   *á*   *ndɔ̀*   *báhà*
      3PL   COMP   go   leave   3SG   go   again
      'They said, "Go!". And he went again.'

Additional examples of the usage of these verbs can be found in Chapter 11, Section 8.

The following are additional systematic arguments for the independent nature of the reduplicated form: The simple reduplicated form cannot occur in negative clauses, i.e. clauses which in the majority of cases deny the truth of the presupposition. The reduplicated form cannot occur in specific interrogative clauses, i.e. clauses that assume that truth of a proposition and inquire about one element of the proposition. The reduplicated form cannot occur in comment-on-focus clauses, or in relative clauses, i.e. clauses that by their nature are comments on another element. The reduplicated verb cannot occur in temporal or conditional protases, i.e. clauses that cannot be interpreted on their own. The reduplicated form can occur, however, in both temporal and conditional apodoses, i.e. clauses that may be interpreted on their own.

4. The independent past-plural tense

The independent past plural is coded by the multiple leftward reduplications of the verb, i.e., the reduplication has at least two instantiations of the same verb before the subject pronoun (Verb) Verb Verb Subject pronoun Verb. The nominal subject, if any, occurs before the first instantiation of the verb. The singular or plural subject pronoun occurs before the form that has been reduplicated. In the following example the verb *dà* 'cook' codes the past-plural event aspect in the matrix clause:

(44) *séy*   *kɔ̀dɔ̃m*   *wá*   *dà*   *dà*   *á*
      so   calabash   DEM   cook   cook   3SG
      d-á-ŋ   *wùd*   *mɔ̀ná*   *wà*   *mbá*   *pè*
      cook-GO-3SG   food   like   DEM   so   much
      tɛ́ tɛ́ tɛ́ tɛ́   *á*   *mɔ̀*   *kɔ̀bɔ́m*   *ngɔ̀ŋ*
      spread(4 times)   PRED   DEM   face   3SG
      'So the calabash made a lot of food for her and spread it in front of her.'

The plurality of the event involves the plurality of either the object of a transitive verb or of the subject of an intransitive verb, but does not

involve the plurality of the subject of a transitive verb (cf. Frajzyngier 1985c):

(45) *dá*   *dá*   *á*   *də̀*   *wàné*
      draw:GO   draw:GO   3SG   draw   a lot (F.
      'It rained a lot.'

The plural form also may code multiple events performed by a single subject, coding in effect an unbounded event:

(46) *tíl*   *á*   *nə̀*   *yə̀m*   *tə́*   *áb*   *dùwə́ŋ*
      go   PRED   PREP   water   DED   ASSC   back
      mbéŋ   *tìy*   *tìy*   *á*   *tìy-ú*
      ANAPH   look   look   3SG   look-3SG
      'He entered into water and he searched for it [the sesame seed].'

The plural form is used when the object is plural:

(47) *ngə̀d*   *ngə̀d*   *í*   *ngə̀d*   *cíkè'*   *(zá)*   *ká*
      count   count   3PL   count   all   EE   POS
      'They counted all [the sesame seeds].'

5. Unmarked tense/aspect

The formal characteristics of the unmarked tense/aspect consist of the absence of any tense and aspectual markers. The third person singular pronominal subject is *à*.

The unmarked tense/aspect codes a pragmatically dependent clause, i.e. a clause that must be interpreted in connection with another proposition or in connection with a specific element in the environment of speech. The tense and aspectual values of the unmarked form are determined by the preceding tense or aspect in discourse. In the absence of the preceding element in discourse, the time of the unmarked aspect is simultaneous with the time of speech:

(48) *à*   *zèɓér*   *mə̀*   *tùkón*
      3SG   follow   word   2SG
      'He is following your word.' (about an interpreter during a recording session)

à   gòr   ngùlài-yìì
3SG   want   red sorghum-PL
'He is looking for red sorghum.'

In addition to the indicative mood as illustrated above, the unmarked aspect can be used in specific interrogative clauses. Its time and aspectual interpretation is dictated by the preceding discourse and speech context. In the following examples the unmarked tense has past time interpretation in specific interrogative clauses:

(49)   *wàcíŋ syì   bàhámán   à   dzà   wúl   wàcíŋ*
       DEM   COM Bahaman   3SG   cry   neck   DEM
       syì   à   ɓìm-é   nòk   mí
       COM   3SG   listen-GO   1PL   what
       [chief talking] 'Bahaman is yelling over there. What has he heard for us?' (What kind of news does he have for us?)

(50)   *á   túk   há   bóŋ   rà   skù*
       PRED   you   2SG   think D.HAB   NEG
       wúl   béɬ   rà   wá   syì
       neck   break D.HAB   DEM   COM
       'You are not thinking, you are crying with joy.'

       hà   lìm-é   nòk   mí
       2SG   see-GO   1PL.INCL   what
       'What have you found for us?'

(51)   *mà   mbóɗ   ví*
       REL   surpass   who
       'Which one is superior?' (with respect to characters mentioned earlier in a story).

Here is an example of the use of the unmarked aspect in the specific interrogative clause followed by the indicative clause also with the unmarked aspect:

(52)   *à   mìsíl mí   à   mìsíl wùdá*
       3SG   steal what 3SG   steal food
       'What did she steal? She stole food.'

The unmarked aspect may be a first aspect in a new episode of a narration. Thus, the preceding clauses are followed by a clause that describes a specific event in the narrative:

(53) *íi   zék   yàw*
      3PL   make   competition
      'They had a competition.'

The unmarked tense aspect is used in non-focus constructions. Compare the following exchange, which begins with a focus on the predicate, followed by a question; the third clause has the same propositional content as the first, except that there is no focus on the subject:

(54) *àa   bárkàmà   wàl   nà   kà   dzán-á*
      ah   chief   wife   1SG   INF   find-GO
      skàn   pár   zá   dáhà
      thing   strange   EE   exist
      '"Ah, my chief, there is something my wife found."'

      skàn   tá   nzá   vàŋgáy
      thing   DED   be   how
      'What is this thing?'

      à   à   dzán-á   kàdǎm
      ah   3SG   find-GO   calabash
      'She found a calabash.'

The unmarked form of the verb may be used in questions about the truth in the *de re* domain, i.e. in reference to some specific situation or some specific event:

(55) *hà   ndíŋ   bà   mbí   vù*
      2SG   fear   ASSC   ANAPH   Q
      'Are you afraid of him?'

6. Dependent past tense

The dependent past tense is coded by the infinitive marker *kə*, whose tone is polar with respect to the tone of the immediately following verb

and by the end of event marker *za* or its negative counterpart *dấ* after the verb or direct object, if any. The form *ka*, which otherwise is an infinitive marker, is also the marker of the focus on the predicate.

The dependent past codes the same time characteristics as the independent past tense. The clause marked by the dependent past tense must be interpreted in conjunction with another proposition, in conjunction with some situation in the speech environment, or in conjunction with a presupposition. The evidence for this function of the dependent past is provided by types of clauses in which the dependent past form can occur. These are all environments in which the independent past tense coded by reduplication cannot occur:

Negative clause:

(56) *ván   kɔ́   mbɔ̀lém   dấ   skù*
      rain   INF   touch   exist   NEG
      'The rain did not touch him.'

(57) *séy   wàl   wá   kám   kɔ́   nàz   tál*
      the   woman   DEM   TOP   INF   stop   walk
      dấ   skù   dáp
      exist   NEG   only
      'Then, that woman did not stop taking her walks.'

Focus on the predicate or subject:

(58) *ngùl-yîi   s   kɔ̀   dzán-á*
      husband-PL   1SG   INF   find-GO
      nám   skɔ̀n   zá
      1DU   thing   EE
      'My husband, I found us something!'

(59) *kɔ́   fɔk   wɔ̀l   zá*
      INF   give   neck   EE
      'He started to scream.' (the scream of joy)

(60) *háá   nók   kɔ̀   dzán-á   nók   ɓì   zá*
      yes   1PL   INF   find-GO   1PL   meat   EE
      'Yes, we found the meat for ourselves.'

Temporal and conditional protasis:

(61) *sá   skə̀n   wà   syì   há   kə́   lùw-á-ŋ*
      here   thing   DEM   COM   2SG   INF   say-GO-3SG
      zə̀   kə̀də́m   vl-á   nòk   wùdə̀   gí
      EE   calabash   give-GO   1PL   food   POL
      syì   à   ndí   də́   tə̀   dàp
      COM   3SG   HAB   make   DED   only
      'Here you have this thing. If you say to it, "Calabash make us
      food, please," then it just cooks.'

Relative clause:

(62) *ndə̀   dzáŋ   kwáykwá-yîì   í   kə̀   ngá*
      go   find   hyena-PL   3PL   INF   break
      ɓì   zá   syì
      meat   EE   COM
      'And she found some hyenas who had caught some meat.'

In a pragmatically dependent clause, the plurality of the event is
coded by the marker *kə* and rightward reduplication. Here is an example
of a temporal protasis:

(63) *á   ndə̀   ngə̀n   kə́   tàl   á*
      3SG   go   3SG   INF   walk   3SG
      tàl   tàl   tàl   tàl
      walk   walk   walk   walk
      'She walked for a long time.'

7. Conclusions

The tense system of Mina consists of future and past tenses, and a form
unmarked for tense. In both tenses, there is a distinction between tense
coding in pragmatically independent clauses and tense coding in prag-
matically dependent clauses.

The dependent future tense is coded by the preposition *n* followed
by the infinitival marker *kə*, and followed by the verb. This tense occurs
in focus constructions and simply marks focus in specific questions. It
is by far the most frequent future tense marker in the texts, and by itself,
it forces the interpretation of the clause in connection with another
clause. The independent future is marked by the construction consisting

of the subject, followed by the verb and the end-of-event marker za. This construction can be interpreted on its own.

The independent past tense coding is characterized by the structure Verb Subject Verb. The dependent past has the structure Subject *kə* Verb *za*. The past tense distinguishes between singulative event and plural event. The singulative event is the unmarked past tense form. The plural event of the independent past tense is coded through the reduplication of the verb leftward, beyond the structure Verb-Subject Verb. In pragmatically dependent clauses, the plural event is coded through the reduplication of the verb rightward.

Chapter 11
Aspects

1. Introduction

The following coding means are used in the domain of aspect coding: the reduplication of the pronominal subject and the verb; auxiliaries and particles that precede or follow the verb; and a single, i.e. non-reduplicated, verbal form that is not accompanied by auxiliaries or particles. This last type is referred to as the unmarked aspectual form, and its function can best be described once all the marked forms are described.

The auxiliaries coding aspectual distinctions are *wá* 'start', *diyà* 'put', *túwàɗ* 'finish', *náz* 'stop'. These forms precede other verbs without any prepositions or other markers. The particles that follow the verb or the verb and its object are *za* and *ka*, but only the former is an aspectual form.

The aspectual forms in Mina code not only the nature of the event within a temporal frame but also the pragmatic status of the clause, viz. whether the clause should be interpreted on its own (pragmatically independent) or in connection with another, preceding or following proposition (pragmatically dependent). In addition to the unmarked aspect, Mina also has the habitual aspect, which has two variants: one used in a pragmatically independent clause, and the other in a pragmatically dependent clause. The remaining aspects do not code the distinction between pragmatically dependent and pragmatically independent clauses. For alternative approaches to two aspectual systems in African languages, see Hyman and Watters 1984, Jungraithmayr 1994, Newman 2000. For a similar approach, cf. Frajzyngier with Shay 2002.

The habitual and the unmarked aspect also have variants coding the number of the event. The domain of number for the habitual consists of the categories singular, plural, and iterative. The following represents a total system of aspectual distinction. The terms "independent" and "de-

pendent" refer to the pragmatically independent and pragmatically dependent clauses. The singular is the unmarked variant; the plural is the marked variant.

Aspect	Independent	Dependent	Plural
Habitual	*ndí* V	V *ra*	Subject V Subject V
Perfect	*mà* Verb-yí		
Terminative	*náz* 'throw'		
Completive	*tok* 'finish'		
Intentional	*ndà kə* 'go to'		
Iterative	rightward reduplication		
Unmarked	V		VV

2. Independent habitual

2.1 The form

The independent habitual is marked by the morpheme *ndí* (*ní* in Kefedjevreng dialect), which follows subject pronouns and precedes the verb. The third-person singular subject is *à*, occurring even if there is an overt nominal subject (examples 1-4 occur in that sequence in a text):

(1)   *míndéŋ*   *à*   *ndí*   *lə́m*   *bíŋ*
         another   3SG   HAB   build   house
         'One builds a house.'

(2)   *míndéŋ*   *à*   *ndí*   *téwél*   *ǳámbáy*
         another   3SG   HAB   twirl   stick
         'Another twirls a stick.'

In a sequence of clauses in a narrative, the habitual aspect marker may be omitted if the preceding and following clauses have the same aspect. Consequently, the simple form of the verb may be used:

(3)   *míndéŋ*   *à*   *pàdák*   *njúl*
         another   3SG   split   a type of grass
         'Another splits a stalk of grass.'

(4) *míndéŋ*   *à*   *ndí*   *mbìr*
     another   3SG   HAB   jump
     'Another jumps.'

2.2 The functions of the independent habitual

The form *ndí* codes habitual actions, events, and states in affirmative indicative clauses and in questions about truth. The clauses with the marker *ndí* do not require any other clauses for their interpretation. The marker specifically does not code actions and events that are actually taking place:

(5) *á*   *mbál*   *wàl*   *skù*   *kí*   *mbíŋ*   *à*
     3SG   like   woman   NEG   in   that   3SG
     ndí   *mìsíl* *túm túm*   *ábà*   *dùwɔ́ŋ*
     HAB   steal   always always   ASSC   back
     mbíŋ   *và*   *và*   *á*   *và*   *gwád*
     ANAPH   last   last   3SG   last   plenty
     dâl   *báytàŋ*
     make   old
     'He does not want a wife. And that is why he steals all the time, and after that he was like that until he became old.'

The following example contains instances of both the dependent and the independent habitual (both bolded). The dependent habitual codes the conditional protasis, and the independent habitual codes the apodosis clause:

(6) *mà*   *nfád*   *tàŋ*   *á*   *ngàn*   *kó*   *à*   *lím*
     REL   four   DED   PRED   3SG   even   3SG   see
     skàn   *tàp*   *r*   *káyàk*   *mà*
     thing   crawl   D.HAB   ground   there
     à   *ndí*   *hàŋ*   *dàp*
     3SG   HAB   cry   only
     'The fourth one, even if he sees a thing crawling on the ground, he only cries.'

The independent habitual is used in comment-on-topic clauses:

(7) *wàl*   *màsálád*   *í*   *ndí*   *gám*   *kà*
     woman   lazy   3PL   HAB   chase   POS
     'The lazy woman is chased away.'

(8) *séy   á   tòt   kám   í   ndí   ngà*
     then   PRED   3PL   TOP (F.)   3PL   HAB   catch
     ǰì-yíì   zò   kó   ndá   kà   dá   tàŋ
     meat-PL   EE   INF   go   INF   cook   DED
     'Then, as for them [hyenas], they just catch the meat, bring it for
     cooking.' (i.e., they have plenty of meat)

The absolute time of the habitual may be either past or present, de-
pending on the time established earlier in discourse. The following ex-
ample was used in reference to undetermined, general time:

(9) *bìǰáv   bò   à   ndí   wàllò   tàŋ*
     God   also (F.)   3SG   HAB   help (F.)   DED
     'God also helps him.'

(10) *í   ndí   wàŋ   tòtò   gráɓ*
      3PL   HAB   sleep   3PL   together
      'They sleep together.'

The following examples were used in reference to past time:

(11) *à   ndí   ǰón   mbò   ngòn   kó   nzàr-á   tàn*
      3SG   HAB   send   child   3SG   INF   wait-GO   DED
      'He used to send his childᵢ to wait on himⱼ.'

(12) *í   ndí   bàt-á-n   ndrì   á   kìmbéŋ*
      3PL   HAB   give-GO-3SG   sorghum   PRED   like that
      '[And] like that they used to give him sorghum.'

The habitual marker occurs in questions about the truth of the proposi-
tion:

(13) *í   ndí   bèr   máy   vù*
      3PL   HAB   sell   mother   Q
      'Do you sell your mother?'

The marker also occurs in specific interrogatives, but its scope is not
referential with respect to the object, but rather with respect to a class of
objects:

(14) *hà*   *ndí*   *dzán-á*   *nám*   *skə̀n*
     2SG   HAB   find-GO   1DU   thing
     mə̀ná   *wá*   *tə́kí*
     like   DEM   where
     'Where do you find us things like this?'

3. Dependent habitual

3.1 The form of dependent habitual

We use the term "dependent habitual" for the aspect marked by the form *ra*, reduced to *rə* or *r* in phrase-internal position. The tone on the habitual marker forms with vowel is polar, opposite to the tone of the preceding syllable. Compare the following sentences. In the first, the dependent habitual follows the verb with the goal orientation marker, which has high tone. The dependent habitual has low tone:

(15) *ván*   *dá*   *rà*   *mə̀ná* *á*   *nə̀*
     rain   draw:GO   D.HAB   like   PRED   PREP
     lúmò
     market
     'It was raining from the direction of the market.'

In the next sentence, the dependent habitual marker follows the same verb, but without the goal orientation marker. This is an inherently low tone verb, and consequently, the dependent habitual has high tone:

(16) *mə̀*   *mbír*   *mbír*   *ván*   *də̀*   *rá*   *dïy-á*
     REL   jump   jump   rain   draw   D.HAB   start-GO
     mbìr   *nə̀*   *mə́ŋ*   *cìděk cìděk cìděk cìděk cìděk*
     jump   PREP   ANAPH   ideophone
     'The one who jumps, when the rain was falling, he started to jump in it.'

When dependent habitual is realized by the consonant *r* alone, i.e. after vowel deletion, the consonant does not carry any tone and is part of the preceding word. In the present description, we write this morpheme separately, regardless of how it is realized.

Unlike the independent habitual marker, the dependent habitual marker occurs after an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive

verb. The third-person singular subject pronoun in the dependent habitual aspect is *à*.

3.2 The function of dependent habitual

The dependent habitual aspect indicates that the proposition coded by the clause must be interpreted in connection with another proposition, whether produced in a preceding discourse or yet to be made. The dependent habitual occurs in those clauses where the independent habitual cannot occur, viz. in negative clauses, temporal and conditional protasis clauses, and in specific interrogatives. Most negative clauses imply the existence of an affirmative presupposition. The temporal and conditional protases must be interpreted in connection with an appropriate apodosis clause. The specific interrogative clauses can be properly interpreted only when one assumes the truth of the whole proposition. The three types of clauses exclude the use of independent habitual, and force the use of the dependent habitual, provided the event is unbounded. The evidence for the function of the dependent habitual as a marker of pragmatically dependent clauses is provided by its use in clauses where it is in contrast with independent habitual, viz. Affirmative clauses and questions about the truth (polar questions).

3.2.1 The dependent habitual in affirmative clauses

In affirmative clauses, the dependent habitual makes the listener interpret the proposition in connection with some other proposition or in connection with some elements of the environment of speech, similar to the English progressive. In affirmative clauses, the dependent habitual marker also occurs in comments on the elements in focus. In the following clauses, it is the focus on the predicate, requiring some reaction from the addressees:

(17a)   *séy*   *mà*   *fés*   *tà*   *nà*   *máŋ*
      so   REL   small   GEN   PREP   LOC.ANAPH
      állà   *skàn-yîì*   *njíf*   *rà*   *á*   *kàcíŋ*
      God   thing-PL   smell   D.HAB   PRED   DEM
      'Then the youngest among them [said], "God, something smells here."'

(17b)   *ngwáy*   *skə̀n-yíì*   *ɣ̀gám*   *rə̀*
        'say'   thing-PL   talk   D.HAB
        dǎhà
        exist
        'There is something talking there.'

The dependent habitual marker indicates that the clause requires a specific presupposition for its interpretation. Here is an example of a clause that gives a reason, justification, for another event:

(18)   *séy*   *mà*   *nd-á*   *ngàm*   *à*
        so   REL   go-GO   because   3SG
        də̀m-á-ŋ   *rà*
        hurt-GO-3SG   D.HAB
        'He should go because it hurts him.'

Comment on a previous event:

(19)   *yo*   *hìdì*   *lə́*   *ŋ̀kù*   *bá*   *á*
        so (F.)   man   of   goat   still   PRED
        ngàts-á-ŋ   *nə́f*   *rə́*   *báhà*
        pinch-GO-3SG   heart   D.HAB   still
        'So the owner of the goat still makes him nervous.'

The dependent habitual may be the sole marker of the temporal protasis clause:

(20a)   *séy*   *wàl*   *ngə̀n*   *táŋ*   *á*   *nd*   *rə̀*
        so   wife   3SG   DED   3SG   go   D.HAB
        wàcín   *syì*   *wírnjìk*   *dǐy-à*   *bə̀k-áhá*
        DEM   COM   ash   put-GO   pour-GO
        cìdě'   *cìdě'*   *cìdě'*   *cìdě'*   *á*   *kə̀tə̀f*
        pile   pile   pile   pile   PRED   road
        'When his wife was leaving, ash was pouring out of the shoe in small piles on the road.'

(20b)   *í*   *nd*   *rá*   *í*   *nd*   *rá*
        3PL   walk   D.HAB   3PL   walk   D.HAB
        vàŋ   *wà*   *kə́*   *dâ*
        rain   start   INF   fetch water
        'While they were walking, the rain started to fall.'

3.2.2   The dependent habitual in questions about the truth

The dependent habitual can be used in a question about the truth, but such use codes astonishment, i.e. forces the interpretation of the proposition in connection with some other proposition:

(21) *báy   zá   hìdú   wà   à   də̀m   háɓə̀m*
      chief COMP   man   DEM   3SG   marry daughter
      túk   rə̀   vù
      2SG   D.HAB Q
      'The chief asked, "Is he going to marry your daughter?"'
      (The chief has heard about the marriage. He is astonished.)

The answer to such a question also has the dependent habitual marker *ra*, because it is an answer to a presupposition:

(22) *à   zá   à   də̀m   rà*
      3SG COMP   3SG marry D.HAB
      'He said he is marrying her.'

When the question has no presuppositions, such as, *what are you doing?* the answer does not include the marker *ra*:

(23) *sə̀   də̀m   táŋ*
      1SG   marry DED
      'I am marrying her'

The plural form of the dependent habitual has the phrase consisting of the subject and the verb repeated:

(24) *í   nd   rá   í   nd   rá*
      3PL   walk   D.HAB   3PL   walk   D.HAB
      vàŋ   wà   kə́   dà̂
      rain   start INF   fetch water
      'While they were walking, the rain started to fall.'

The dependent habitual relates the event to some other event. Thus, the preceding example is followed in its text by the following:

(25) ván   dǎ   rà   mə̀ná   á
      rain   fetch:GO   D.HAB   like   PRED
      nə̀   lúmò
      PREP   market
      'It was raining from the direction of the market.'

The dependent habitual may occur with the focus marker *kə*. The co-occurrence of the dependent habitual marker *rà* and the form *kə* provides the evidence that the form *kə* does not code an aspectual category:

(26) s   kə̀   méd̯   rə̀
      1SG   INF   swear D.HAB   sá
                                                 here
      'Here I am swearing [on the coal].'

(27) kə̀   méd̯   rə̀
      INF   swear   D.HAB   sá
                                           here
      'Here he is swearing [on the coal].'

Cf. independent habitual:

(28) sə̀   ndí   méd̯
      1SG   HAB   swear
      'I am in the habit of swearing.'

The dependent habitual must occur in complement clauses marking an event as occurring at the time of another event:

(29) séy   tì   á   tì   cíŋ
      so   see   3SG   see   father.3SG
      à   nd   r   ìdá
      3SG   go   D.HAB   home
      'Then he saw his father go home.'

(30) kə́   ndə̀   zə́   fú   ndə̀   dzáŋ
      INF   go   EE   always   go   find
      záván-yîì   í   màr   rà
      guinea fowl-PL   3PL   graze   D.HAB
      'Each time she went, she found guinea fowl grazing.'

The dependent habitual is used in questions about the truth, but these are rhetorical questions, when the speaker knows the true answer. Therefore, these questions are in fact comments on another statement:

(31) *báy   zá   ngùl   mbù   mbɔ̀*
      chief COMP   husband   beget child
      r   bá   vù
      D.HAB   again   Q
      'The chief said, "Does a man give birth to a child?"'

(32) *vàŋ   á   nd-á   r   vé*
      rain   3SG   go-GO   D.HAB   Q
      'Is the rain coming?' (the person knows very well that there is no chance of rain)

The evidence that the dependent habitual is an aspectual rather than a tense category is provided by the fact that it can cooccur with tense markers, more specifically with the future tense. The dependent habitual codes the pragmatically dependent clause, i.e. a clause that must be interpreted in connection with another proposition. In the following example, the chicken does not want the wild cat to be invited, and therefore in addition to the interrogative clause there is the dependent habitual marker:

(33) *gàmták   zá   hà   n   kɔ́   tàr-á*
      chicken   COMP   2SG   PREP INF   ask-GO
      wɔ̀láŋ   rɔ́   vù
      wildcat   D.HAB   Q
      'Chicken said, "But are you going to invite the wild cat?"'

If the chicken were merely asking a question without any presupposition, it would have said:

(34) *hà   tàr-á   wɔ̀láŋ   zɔ̀   vù*
      2SG   ask-GO   wildcat   EE   Q
      'Will you invite the wild cat?'

The plural dependent habitual is coded through the reduplication of the phrase consisting of the subject, the verb, and the habitual marker:

(35) *í   nd   rá   í   nd   rá   vàŋ*
      3PL   walk   D.HAB 3PL   walk   D.HAB   rain
      wà   kə́   dâ
      start   INF   fetch water
      'While they were walking, the rain started to fall.'

3.2.3   The habitual aspect in negative clauses

Although in affirmative clauses with the habitual aspect, the marker *rà* may, but does not have to, occur, in negative clauses, the marker is obligatory if the aspect is habitual. In negative clauses the marker *ndí* cannot be used:

(36) *á   túk   há   bə́ŋ   rà   skù*
      PRED   you   2SG   think   D.HAB   NEG
      wúl   ɓéɫ   rà   wá   syì
      neck   break   D.HAB   DEM   COM
      'You are not thinking, you are crying with joy.'

(37) *à   ndə̀   r   skù   mbí*
      3SG   go   D.HAB   NEG   ANAPH
      mə́   žèbèr   tə́   tùkóŋ
      REL   follow GEN   2SG
      'If she does not go, she should follow yours.'

(38) *kó   wə̀l   nd   rà   skù*
      but   neck   go   D.HAB   NEG
      'But the voice did not go out as before.'

The evidence that the form *ra* codes the same temporal and aspectual range as the independent habitual marker *ndí* is provided by the following example, where *r* refers to a habitual situation rather than to an ongoing event.

(39) *hà   wàŋ   wàŋ   hà   lím   wàl*
      2SG   sleep   sleep   2SG   see   woman
      rà   skù
      D.HAB   NEG
      'You spend a long time without seeing a woman.'

(40) í   wáŋ   r   gràɓ   skù
      3PL   sleep D.HAB   together   NEG
      'They do not sleep together.'

(41) skə̀n   mà   tórə̀   lì-də́
      thing REL   make suffer (F.)   of-home
      á   mbə̀ɗ   mbí   r   skù
      3SG   surpass   thing D.HAB   NEG
      'There is no such thing that will make the head of the family
      suffer more than that.'

Additional evidence for the pragmatic function of the dependent habit-
ual is provided by the fact that it can be used in equational clauses with
no verb:

(42) cíŋ   zá   háᵹ̶ə̀m
      his father   COMP   girl
      rə̀   ská   vù
      D.HAB   NEG   Q
      'His father said, "Isn't it a girl?"'

(43) állà   láydáŋ   rə̀   skù   mà   dăl
      God   dawn   D.HAB   NEG   REL   do
      mí
      what
      'God, it is not yet dawn, what is going on?'

    The dependent habitual must also occur with the negative interroga-
tive clause if the aspect is habitual:

(44) à   zá   á   nə̀   báy   há   tì
      3SG   COMP   PRED   PREP   chief 2SG   see
      r   ská   vù
      D.HAB   NEG   Q
      'He said to the chief, "Don't you see?"'

The past tense in negative clauses with the dependent habitual is coded
by the existential verb dăhà:

(45) *wàl*   *wà   zá*   *sám*   *à*
      woman   DEM   COMP   never (F.)   3SG
      dɔ́m-á-k *rə̀*   *dǎ*   *skù*
      pain-GO-1SG D.HAB   exist   NEG
      'That woman said, "It never hurt me."'

The explanation for the use of the dependent habitual in negative clauses is that they do in fact code the negation of a presupposition. An exception to the use of the marker *rà* in the negative habitual occurs if there is no negation of a presupposition. Thus, the exception confirms the proposed explanation of the function of the dependent habitual marker:

(46) *màllúm*   *wà*   *bàhá* *à*   *tálə́* *skù*
      marabout DEM   also   3SG   walk   NEG
      'That teacher, he was a sedentary one.' (lit. 'was the one who does not walk', in contrast to traveling teachers)

4. Perfect

4.1 The form of the perfect aspect

The perfect aspect has the form (Noun phrase) *mə̀* Verb *-yí*. If there is no noun phrase before the form *mə̀*, the subject is third-person singular.

The reason we postulate *-yí* as the underlying form rather than *í*, the form most frequently realized, is that the form does not cause the fronting of the preceding vowels or the palatalization of the preceding consonants. The palatal glide is a barrier to vowel fronting and to palatalization. In phrase-internal position, when the form follows the vowel *a*, it is reduced to palatal glide *y* and forms a coda of the preceding syllable. If the stative marker follows a consonant, it is realized as *i* and forms a syllabic peak of its own.

If the verb has the CV structure, the V is deleted, and the marker *yi* becomes the syllabic peak and carries a tone of its own:

(47) *máv*   *mə̀*   *s-yí*   *zà*
      beer   REL   drink-STAT   EE
      'The beer is drunk up.' (*kə́ sà* 'drink')

(48)   *wùdə̀   mə̀   d-yí   zà*
       food   REL   cook-STAT   EE
       'The food is cooked.' (*kə́ dà* 'cook')

The stative suffix keeps its high tone regardless of the tone of the verb:

(49)   *ndìr   túk   mə̀   ɬ-yí   skù*
       sorghum   2SG   REL   measure-STAT   NEG
       'Your sorghum is not measured' (i.e., is not sold) *ɬà* 'measure'

The perfect aspect may be followed by the end-of-event marker *za* in affirmative clauses and *dà* in negative clauses. The marker *mə̀* is identical with the relative marker, and in order to preserve uniform glossing, we gloss it as REL.

(50)   *mə̀   däl-yí   zà   kə̀   mbí*
       REL   do-STAT   EE   like   that
       'It is done like that.'

(51)   *mə̀   däl-yí   dá   kə̀   mbí   skù*
       REL   do-STAT   NEG   like   that   NEG
       'if it is not done like that'

If the verb has a goal orientation marker, the stative suffix *i* is added after the goal orientation marker but before the possessive subject pronouns:

(52)   *sə̀   mə̀   nd-à-y   n   zà*
       1SG   REL   go-GO-STAT   1SG   EE
       'I have returned.'

4.2 The function of the perfect

The perfect aspect is used to code the state of an entity at a specific time that results from a previous event. The subject of the perfect aspect is affected. Thus, the perfect aspect is used to code the state of the subject with verbs that in the non-perfect aspects take a controlling subject:

(53) *í*   *mà*   *ɓàh-yí*   *á*   *nà*
      3PL   REL   hide-STAT   PRED   PREP
      páy   *kàcíŋ*
      tree   DEM
      'They are hidden in the tree here.' (The auxiliary *zà* cannot occur here)

Cf.:
(54) *í*   *kà*   *ɓáh*   *kà*
      3PL   INF   hide   POS
      'They hid something.'

If the verb is transitive, the subject noun phrase represents the patient rather than the agent.

(55) *ʝì*   *mà*   *màsáw-yí*   *zà*
      meat   REL   grill-STAT   EE
      'The meat is grilled.'

The perfect aspect can be used in conditional protasis clauses, where it must be used with the end-of-event marker *zà*:

(56) *mà*   *màts-yí*   *tsáy*   *zà*
      REL   die-STAT   completely   EE
      yà   *mbáʝà*   *tá*   *nà*   *màŋ*
      call   blacksmith   GEN   PREP   ANAPH
      'If he is completely dead, one calls the blacksmith, who is already there.' (*zà* cannot be omitted)

With intransitive verbs of movement, the perfect aspect codes the state that followed the movement:

(57) *séy*   *gáw*   *mà*   *nd-à-y*   *zá*
      so   hunter (F.)   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
      'So the hunter came.' (*gáw* 'master hunter, sorcerer, healer')

(58) *séy*   *í*   *mà*   *nd-à-y*   *zá*
      so   3PL   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
      'So they came.'

(59) séy   skə̀n-yíí   wàcíŋ í   mə̀   nd-à-y
      so   thing-PL   DEM   3PL   REL   go-STAT
      zá   ɓə̀t   wə̀dá   pá   á   pàt
      EE   take   food   give   PRED   tomorrow
      zìŋ   bát   ndrì
      time   fetch sorghum
      'So the animals came. He took food and gave it to them. Tomor-
      row he will give them sorghum.'

(60) wàl   ngə̀n zá   skə̀n-íyí   wàcíŋ
      woman   3SG   COMP   thing-PL   DEM
      í   mə̀   nd-à-y   zá   í
      3PL   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE   3PL
      n   kə̀   ɓám   nàmú
      PREP   INF   eat   1DU
      'His wife said, "If those animals return, it is us that they will
      eat."'

The difference between the use of the perfect form of the verb *ndà*
and of a sequential past event form is that perfect codes the subject still
being present at the destination:

(61) mə̀   nd-à-y   zá
      REL   go-GO-STAT EE
      'He has come (and he is still here).'

(62) kə́   nd-á   zà
      INF   go-GO   EE
      'He came and went.' (He is not here anymore.)

(63) làkáf   tríš   mə̀   ndə̀v-yí   zà
      baboon   ONOM   REL   fall-STAT   EE
      'Baboon fell down, bam!' (baboon is still down at the next event
      in the story)

(64) kwáyàŋ   zá   ǯì   mə̀   mə̀ts-yí
      squirrel   COMP   meat   REL   die-STAT
      báytàŋ   á   dámù
      large   PRED   bush
      'The squirrel said, there is a large dead game animal in the
      bush.'

(65)   *séy*   *dî*   *kà*   *séy*   *mà*   *n-yí*   *zà*
        so   guard   POS   so   REL   ripen-STAT   EE
        'The more they kept it, the more rotten it became.' (*kà ná* 'to ripen')

The scope of the perfect may be the agent. Thus, the scope of the verb *mbùw* 'to give birth' is the mother, not the child:

(66)   *mà*   *mbùw-yí*   *zà*
        REL   give birth-STAT   EE
        'She has given birth.'

The perfect aspect may be followed by the point-of-view of source marker *ka*:

(67)   *séy*   *í-bà*   *nd-á*   *tàtàŋ*   *tàŋ*   *tàŋ*
        so   PL-ASSC   go-GO   3PL   go   go
        zá   *à*   *zá*   *nà*   *gímíɓìɗ*   *màtsóɗ*
        EE   3SG   COMP   PREP   monkey   tweezers
        nàŋ   *mà*   *wáy-á-yí*   *kà*
        1SG   REL   forget-GO-STAT   POS
        'After they walked for a long time, he told them, "My tweezers are left there."'

The perfect aspect cannot be formed from adjectives. The explanation for this is that adjectival predicates are inherently stative, and therefore the use of perfect coding would be redundant:

(68)   *wàdà*   *mbéh*
        food   ready
        'The food is ready.'

(69)   **wàdà*   *mà*   *mbéh-yí*   *zà*
        food   REL   ready-STAT   EE
        for 'The food is ready.'

The difference between dynamic and stative aspect is that the dynamic aspect determines the time of the event, and the stative does not. In the following example, there are two events with the same verb. The first is expressed through a dynamic expression and the second through the perfect:

(70)   *báy*   *ábà*   *nd-á*   *ngàn*   *séy*   *mbéŋ*
        chief   ASSC   go-GO   3SG   so   3PL
        gàmíɓìɗ-yíì   *mà*   *nd-à-y*   *zá*   *kà*
        monkey-PL   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE   INF
        ɓám   *páy*   *wàcíŋ*
        eat   tree   DEM
        'When the chief returned, the monkeys came to eat the tree.'
        (*gàmíɓìɗ* 'yellow monkey')

(71)   *táŋ*   *táŋ*   *á*   *nd-á*   *syì*   *nd-á*
        walk   walk   3SG   go-GO   COMP   go-GO
        gàmíɓìɗ-yíì   *mà*   *wàn-yí*   *á*   *kàtàf*
        monkey-PL   REL   sleep-STAT   PRED   road
        í-bà   *màmà*   *tàtà*   *sùlúɗ*   *tàŋ*
        PL-ASSC   mother.3SG   3PL   two   DED
        'He walked and walked. When he arrived, he found the monkey
        lying on the road with his mother, both of them.'

5. The terminative aspect

Along with the inceptive aspect coding the beginning of an activity, there is also a terminative aspect, coding the cessation of an activity. This aspect is coded by the verb *náz* 'throw', which has an extended meaning 'stop'. Note that a similar semantic extension has taken place in Polish, where the verb *za-rzucić* 'over-throw' came to mean "cease, stop". As the auxiliary, *nàz* has low tone:

(72)   *séy*   *wàl*   *wà*   *kám*   *kɔ́*   *nàz*   *tál*
        then   woman   DEM   DEM   INF   stop   walk
        ɗá   *skù*   *dáp*
        exist   NEG   just
        'Then, that woman did not stop taking her walks.'

6 . The completive aspect

The auxiliary verbs *tók* and *túwàɗ* 'finish, end' follow the main verb. If the main verb has an object, the auxiliary occurs after the object. The verb *tók* has as its scope the event, whereas the verb *túwàɗ* has as its scope the object of the transitive verb:

(73)   *wàɗ*   *ká*   *hòl*   *hòl*   *tók*   *hòz*   *ká*
       spread   POS   dry   dry   finish   crush   POS
       'She spread it [sorghum]. When it dried, she crushed it.'

(74)   *ngámbù*   *ngòn* *séy*   *sà*   *á*   *sò*
       friend   3SG   so   drink   3SG   drink
       túwòɗ   *kà*
       finish   POS
       'Then his friend finished drinking.' (He drank everything.)

(75)   *mbú*   *wà*   *pá*   *á*   *nò*   *ngámbù*   *ngòn*
       child   DEM   give   PRED   PREP   friend   3SG
       sà   *sà*   *túwòɗ*   *bàhá*
       drink   drink   finish   again
       'That child gave it to his friend. Again he drank everything.'

All auxiliary verbs may occur as main verbs:

(76)   *ngàlómbrà*   *wàcíŋ* *fés*   *ngàcíŋ*   *túwòɗ*   *zà*
       story   DEM   small   like that   finish   EE
       'This little story ended like that.'

(77)   *séy*   *ɓót*   *í*   *ɓót*   *mbò*   *wàcíŋ* *ɗìy-á*
       so   take   3PL   take   child   DEM   put-GO
       kó   *báy*
       PREP   chief
       'So they took the child and made him their chief.'

(78)   *ngàlómbrà*   *tók*   *zà*   *vú*   *áb*   *wàcíŋ*
       story   finish   EE   Q   ASSC   DEM
       'The story has ended like that.'

The completive aspect may also be coded by the adverb *tsáy* 'completely'. The marker *tsáy* is analyzed as an adverb rather than an auxiliary verb, because there is no infinitive form **kò tsáy*, and because there is no environment where *tsáy* would be a predicate:

(79)   *kó*   *ɗò*   *tìpíɗ*   *tsáy*   *zà*
       INF   gather   termites   completely   EE
       'She has finished looking for termites.'

(80) *kɔdɔ̃m*   *wá*   *dà*   *dà*   *dà*   *dà*   *á*
      calabash   DEM   make   make   make   make   3SG
      d-á-ŋ   *wùdɔ̀*   *mɔ̀*   *ná*   *wá*   *kà*
      make-GO-3SG   food   that   DEM   DEM   POS
      gwád *tsáy*   *zà*
      fill   completely   EE
      'The calabash made him a lot of food, filled completely.'

7. The intentional aspect

The intentional aspect is coded by the auxiliary *ndɔ̀* 'go', followed by the infinitive form of the verb. Evidence that the form *ndɔ̀* functions as an auxiliary rather than as a lexical verb of movement is provided by its use in the context where no movement takes place:

(81) *í*   *ndɔ̀*   *kɔ́*   *bèr-é*   *cìkíd*
      3PL   go   INF   sell-GO   sesame
      bùhù   *ntá*
      bag (F.)   one
      'They intended to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

(82) *ngɔ̀d*   *ngɔ̀d*   *í*   *ngɔ̀d*   *cíkè'*   *(zá)*   *ká*
      count   count   3PL   count   all   (EE)   POS
      'They counted all [the sesame seeds].'

Additional evidence for the intentional function of the marker *ndɔ̀* is provided by clauses where the movement meaning for the verb *ndɔ̀* is ruled out:

(83) *mɔ̀*   *ndɔ̀*   *kɔ́*   *ší*   *ví*   *séy*
      REL   go   INF   run   who   then
      kɔ́   *ǹd-á*   *zà*
      INF   hit-GO   EE
      'The one who wants to run away, he hit him.'

The form *ndɔ̀* has come to serve as indirect means to code the modality of obligations. This usage is quite similar to the use of the future tense in English to code indirectly the modality of obligation:

(84) *màllúm   à   zá   há   ndò   ʃàt*
      marabout   3SG   COMP   2SG   go   skin
      ŋkwà   há   gòr   mèlí   há   mòsár   mòsár
      goat   2SG   search oil   2SG   grill   grill
      'The teacher said, "You should slaughter a goat, get oil, and grill it."'

8. Verbs with inherent tense and aspectual values

Several verbs, mainly verbs of movement, have lexicalized various tense and aspectual values as evidenced by the fact that they do not take aspectual markers. The common characteristic of these verbs is that they all have inherent past meaning. They do not have infinitive forms with *kə* either. They also differ from other verbs in that the third-person singular subject is unmarked. These verbs are inherently inceptive. The verbs *tsú* and *tíl* cannot be reduplicated for aspectual or number distinctions.

These verbs serve as the first component for the reduplicated part of other verbs. Thus, the verb *vòl* 'give' cannot be reduplicated, and instead the first part of the reduplicated construction is filled by the form *pá* 'give', a form that does not take the infinitive marker:

(85) *mòl   íi   mòl-á-ŋ   ɓò   báytàŋ ɓò   táŋ*
      seize   3PL   seize-GO-3SG   cow   large cow   GEN
      ngùl   nd-á   pá   í   vòl-á-ŋ   kòdóm
      male   go-GO   give   3PL   give-GO-3SG   calabash
      'They caught a large cow, a bull, for him, and they gave him a calabash [to fill it with the milk from the bull].'

The verb *tíl* used alone codes a pragmatically dependent clause, as evidenced by the following examples, where it serves as the marker of a temporal protasis clause. The third-person pronominal subject is unmarked:

(86) *tíl   á   nò   yòm   tó   áb*
      go   PRED   PREP   water DED   ASSC
      dùwòŋ   mbéŋ   tì   tì   á   tìy-ú
      back   ANAPH   look   look   3SG   look-3SG
      'Having entered the water, he searched for it [the sesame seed].'

Nominal subjects occur before the verb. The verb *tíl* move' is inherently non-locative as it requires the locative predicator *á* before a locative complement:

(87) *séy   páatù tíl   á   ìdá   ndà   dzáŋ   á*
      so   cat   leave PRED   house go   find   3SG
      dzáŋ   màɬáhày   kà   ɓàt-á   zà
      find   mouse   INF   take-GO   EE
      'Having gone to the house, the cat found a mouse and caught it.'

The verb *táŋ* 'return' is inherently locative, as it does not require the locative predicator *á*:

(88) *tséy   hìdì   wàcíŋ   táŋ   z   wùtá   à   ǯá*
      so   man   DEM   return EE   house   3SG   say
      á   n   médìg   ngàŋ   wàcíŋ   ngámbù
      PRED   PREP   neighbor   3SG   DEM   friend
      há   kà   déɓ-é-ŋ   dál   nà
      2SG   INF   bring-GO-3SG   money   PREP
      hìdà   wà   dál   vànú
      man   DEM   money   how much
      'When the man came back to the house, he said to his neighbor,
      "Friend, you brought money to this man. How much money?"'

Pronominal subjects, however, follow *tíl*. The verb *tíl* serves as the first component of a sequential past event construction formed through reduplication, when the target of the reduplication is *ndà* 'go':

(89) *séy   tíl   í   nd-á   ndà   déw   tàtà   kà*
      so   go   3PL   go-GO   go   sit   3PL   POS
      'So they arrived and remained there.'

Like other verbs of movement the verb *tíl* and the other verbs in the group can take possessive subject pronouns to code the finality of movement:

(90) | mbà | wà | tíl | ngàn | kà | n | kà | màr |
      |-----|----|----|------|----|---|----|-----|
      | child | DEM | leave | 3SG | INF | PREP | INF | shepherd |

      dàgáytíi   déw   kà   á   wtá
      others   sit   POS PRED house
      ábà   cíŋ   tàtàŋ
      ASSC father.3SG 3PL

'That child went to herd. The others stayed at their father's home.'

The evidence for the auxiliary function of *tíl* is provided by the fact that it cannot be used as the only predicate of an independent clause. Thus to a question 'where is he?' one cannot answer:

(91)   *tíl   á   nà   yàm
        enter PRED PREP water
        for 'He entered into the water.'

(92)   *tán/*tíl   nà   lúmò
        go   PREP market
        for 'He arrived at the market.'

The evidence that *tsú* is a verb comes from the fact that it can take subject pronouns from the verbal set, except for the third-person singular, which is unmarked:

(93)   i   tsú   nà   lúmò
        3PL went PREP market
        'They went to the market.'

(94)   hí   tsú   nə   lúmò
        2PL went PREP market
        'You went to the market.'

Unlike *tíl*, the verb *tsú* can be used as the only predicate in an independent clause, affirmative or negative:

(95)   tsú   nà   lúmò
        went PREP market
        'He went to the market.'

(96)   *tsú   zə́   nə̀   lúmò*
       went   EE   PREP market
       'He went to the market.'

The non-past equivalent of the verbs *tíl* and *tsú* is *nd* 'go'. It is used in functions in which the other three verbs may not be used:

(97)   *kàdúm   ndə̀   n   lúmò*
       Kadum   go   PREP market
       'Kadum goes to the market!'

(98)   *ndə́   n   lúmò*
       go   PREP market
       'Go to the market!'

The verb *nd* can be used with the subject-focus construction, in both past and present time reference:

(99)   *kàdúm   kə́   ndə̀   zə́   n   lúmò*
       Kadum   INF   go   EE   PREP market
       'Kadum was at the market!'

The verb *nd* may be used with the dependent habitual aspect in comment-on-focus clauses:

(100) *kàdúm   ndə̀   rə́   nə̀   lúmò*
       Kadum   go   D.HAB   PREP market
       'It is Kadum that is going to the market!'

The verb *ɓák* 'die', which does not have an infinitive or future tense forms behaves similarly to the verbs *tíl* and *tsú*, in that it does not take the third person singular subject pronouns:

(101) *séy   ɓák   mbà   á   jíɓ*
       so   died   down there   PRED   hole
       'So, she died down there in the hole.'

9. The iterative aspect

The iterative aspect is coded by the rightward reduplication of the verb:

(102)   *hìd*   *tá̀*   *nfád-yìì*   *zà̀m*   *zà̀m*   *fá̀k-á*
       man   GEN   palace (F.)-PL   eat   eat   leave-GO
       'The men of the palace all ate and left the remains.'

If the verb has an object, the object is reduplicated along with the verb:

(103)   *mà̀l*   *í*   *mà̀l-á-ŋ*   *gá̀r*   *tà̀tà̀ŋ*
       stop   3PL   stop-GO-3SG   search   3PL
       'They started looking for them [people hiding].'
       hók   *ńvà̀ŋ*   *hók*   *ńvà̀ŋ*   *hók*   *ńvà̀ŋ*
       remove   stone
       hók   *ńvà̀ŋ*   *hók*   *ńvà̀ŋ*
       remove   stone
       'They removed stone.' (repeated four times)

In the following examples the plural event is coded through reduplication leftward, and the iterative in sequential clauses is coded by reduplication rightward:

(104)   *mà̀*   *ngá̀ɗ*   *ngá̀ɗ*   *pà̀l*   *á*   *pà̀l*   *bà̀tákà̀r*
       REL   count   count   detach   3SG   detach   bag
       ngà̀ɗ   *ngà̀ɗ*
       count   count
       'The one who was good at counting detached the bag and counted [the seeds].'

(105)   *séy*   *kà̀ɗá̀m*   *wá*   *dà̀*   *dà̀*   *á*
       so   calabash   DEM   cook   cook   3SG
       d-á-ŋ   *wùd*   *mà̀ná*   *wà̀*   *mbá*   *pè̀*
       cook-GO-3SG food   like   DEM   so   much
       ɬé ɬé ɬé ɬé   *á*   *mà̀*   *kà̀bá̀m*
       spread spread spread spread   PRED   PREP   face
       ngà̀n
       3SG
       'So the calabash made a lot of food for her, [and] spread [it] in front of her.'

10. Inceptive aspect

Inceptive aspect is coded periphrastically by the verb *ɓə̀t* 'take' in the simple or reduplicated form. The function of the marker is to code the inception of another event. Evidence for the grammatical rather than verbal function of the form is provided by the fact that this form is followed by another verb. In addition, when this marker occurs, there is no potential object for this verb:

(106) mà   pə̀dɑ́k njûl   ɓə̀t   pə̀dɑ́k á   pə̀dɑ́k-ɑ́
       REL   split grass take   split 3SG   split-GO
       nɑ́stə̀   ngə̀n nə̀   mə́ŋ
       enter (F.)   3SG   PREP LOC.ANAPH
       'The one who splits grass split a stalk of grass and entered it.'

(107) séy   ɓə̀t   ɑ́   ɓə̀t   mə̀síl   ɑ́   mə̀síl
       then   take   3SG   take   steal   3SG   steal
       yə̀m   wà   nɑ́z   ɑ́   nɑ́z   ngɑ́n
       water DEM   throw 3SG   throw 3SG
       kɔ́   nə̀   jíɓà   ɟɑ́n   ɑ́   ɟɑ́n   zà
       PREP   PREP   pocket cross 3SG   cross EE
       'Then he up and stole the water, threw it into his pocket, and crossed [the river].'

(108) séy   ɟɑ́mbɑ́y   nɑ́kà   kɔ́   ɓə̀t   zɔ́
       so   stick   REM   INF   take   EE
       dàp
       immediately
       'So the stick took off immediately.'
       ʰWɑ́p   ʰWɑ́p   ʰWɑ́p   dïyà   gə̀ldˀ   wàl   wàhín
       bap   bap   bap   put   hit   woman   DEM
       'Wap, wap, wap, [it] started to hit the woman.'

11. The unmarked aspect

In the preceding Chapter, we have described the operation of the unmarked tense. The unmarked form of the verb may also be interpreted as having the same aspect as the preceding clause. The unmarked form of the verb may be used in a sequence of clauses in a narrative. Thus in

the following sequence, the third clause does not have the habitual marker *ndí*, although the aspect of the clause is definitely habitual:

(115) *míndéŋà*   *ndí*   *lə́m*   *bíŋ*
       another   3SG   HAB   build   house
       'One builds a house.'

       míndéŋ   *à*   *ndí*   *téwél*   *ƙámbáy*
       another   3SG   HAB   twirl   stick
       'Another twirls a stick.'

       Míndéŋ   *à*   *pə̀dák*   *njûl*
       Another   3SG   split   grass (a variety)
       'Another splits stalk of grass.'

       Míndéŋ   *à*   *ndí*   *mbìr*
       another   3SG   HAB   jump
       'Another jumps.'

12. Conclusions

There are two habitual aspects in Mina: one coding habitual in pragmatically independent clauses and the other coding habitual in pragmatically dependent clauses. The aspectual coding in pragmatically independent clauses is a morphologically marked form, in that it involves reduplication for the past tense form. In pragmatically dependent clauses, a simple form of the verb is used.

In addition to the habitual Mina has the following aspects: perfect, coded by the relative marker *mə̀* preceding the verb and the stative suffix *-yí* added to the verb; terminative coded by auxiliary verb *náz* 'throw'; completive coded by auxiliary verbs *tók* and *túwə̀d*, 'finish'; intentional coded by auxiliary verb *nd* 'go'; iterative coded by the rightward reduplication of the verb; the inceptive aspect coded by the auxiliary *ɓə́t* 'take'; and the unmarked aspect. The unmarked aspect receives the aspectual interpretation from the preceding clause.

Chapter 12
Modality

1. Introduction

Mina makes formal distinction between deontic and epistemic modalities. Within epistemic modalities, the speaker's belief in the truth of the proposition is the unmarked value. Dubitative modality is the marked category within the epistemic modality. Mina has also morphological means to code hedging about the truth.

Within the deontic modalities, Mina makes a distinction between imperative, an order given to the second-person singular and plural; subjunctive, a wish with respect to the second person; and optative, expressing a wish with respect to all persons, including second person.

A common characteristic of all deontic moods is that transitive verbs must be followed by an object. If there is no nominal or pronominal object, the unspecified pronoun *ú* is added to the verb. This is distinct from non-deontic moods, which do not require an object with transitive verbs.

In addition to the epistemic and deontic modality, the language also codes the emotive modality.

The Chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 deals with epistemic modality, Section 3 with emotive modality, Sections 4-9 with various deontic modalities, and section 10 with the category 'comment clause'.

2. Epistemic modality

As in many languages, the speaker's belief in the truth of the proposition is the unmarked modality in Mina, coded by the indicative affirmative clause (Frajzyngier 1985a). The evidence for this hypothesis is provided by the following facts: (a) there are no overt markers to express the speaker's belief in the truth of his/her statement, and (b) any

other modality must be overtly marked. The present chapter begins with a description of the subdomains within the epistemic modality. By showing the marked subdomains, we provide an argument for the un-marked value of the indicative clause. Then we discuss the emotive modality, and finally various subdomains of the deontic modality.

2.1 Dubitative modality

The dubitative modality is marked by the form *ŋgàhá* or *ŋgòhá* 'like that', realized as *ngá* in phrase-internal position, and glossed as DUB. Since the deictic has the same variants as the verb 'break', it is possible that it is ultimately derived from this verb.

(1) à   lùw-á-h   zá   hà   nék   skù
     3SG   say-GO-2SG   COMP   2SG   good   NEG
     ngà   vú
     DUB   Q
     'Will he tell you that you are not good?' (I doubt he will.)

(2) à   gòl   féš   ngà   dáp
     3SG   grow   little   DUB   only
     'It grew only a little.' (about *búrgàdáŋ*, a variety of millet with very small black grains.)

2.2 Hedging

Uncertainty about the truth of the proposition or of part of it is coded by the particle *mòná* 'like'. This particle may consist of the relative marker *mò* and the form *ná*, for which no potential source has been found in contemporary Mina but which has cognates in many Chadic languages of the area, where it is a *de dicto* complementizer and a verb of saying. As a marker of uncertainty, it precedes the part of the proposition about which the uncertainty is expressed:

(3) *ván   dǎ   rà   mǝ̀ná á*
     rain   fetch:GO   D.HAB   like   PRED
     nǝ̀   lúmò
     PREP   market
     'It was raining as if from the side of the market.'

(4) *wàl   ngǝ̀n   zá   áu   sǝ̀*
     wife   3SG   COMP   INTERJ   1SG
     dǎl-á-h   mǝ̀ná wà   mí
     do-GO-2SG   like   DEM   what
     'His wife said, "What did I do to you?"' (i.e., she has not done
     anything wrong.)

3. Emotive modality

Mina appears to have grammaticalized a modality that codes an emo-
tional attitude of the speaker toward a proposition. While such attitudes
are coded in many languages, the frequency of the emotive modality
coding in Mina indicates that the speakers have to attend to this cate-
gory whenever there is potential for its occurrence.

Emotive modality is coded by the marker *syì* placed at the end of a
phrase or a clause that is in its scope. The following fragment contains
three uses of the marker *syì*; the first two have a topic and an adverbial
phrase in its scope, and the third has a clause in its scope:

(5) *ah   bàhámàn   á   tùk   bákà*
     oh   Bahaman   PRED   you   today
     syì   ták   píč   wà   syì
     COM   all   sun   DEM   COM
     'Oh, Bahaman, for you, with all this heat?'

(6) *á   túk   há   bǝ́ŋ   rà   skù*
     PRED   you   2SG   think D.HAB   NEG
     wúl   ɓéɬ   rà   wá   syì
     neck   break D.HAB   DEM   COM
     '"You are not thinking, you are yelling with joy."' (*ɓéɬ* 'break a
     container to get its contents', e.g. break a coconut)

The marker *syì* codes a range of emotions including surprise, as-
tonishment, and amazement. The marker codes speaker's emotional

comment on a proposition or event. For purely conventional reasons, it is glossed as COM for "comment":

(7) *hàŋ hàŋ hàŋ   á   hàŋ   mə̀ná   wàcíŋ syì*
     cry cry cry   3SG   cry   like that   DEM   COM
     'He cried a lot like that.'

(8) *bàhámán   à   dzə̀   wúl   wàcíŋ syì*
     Bahaman   3SG   cry   neck   DEM   COM
     'Bahaman is crying over there.'

The marker is also used with requests, perhaps as a marker of impatience:

(9) *àa   ndə̀   ɓə̀t-á   nòk   skú   syì*
     ah   go   get-GO   1PL   NEG   COM
     á vàŋgáy
     how
     '"Ah, go bring it to us, otherwise what can we do?"'

In some of its uses the function of the marker means something like "given such and such a situation, doing X satisfies the condition Y," "just like that":

(10) *dà   dà   á   d-á-ŋ   tə̀*
     make   make   3SG   make-GO-3SG   PL
     wùdə̀   wàcíŋ syì
     food   DEM   COM
     'Then it made food for them.'

(11) *ndə̀   ʤə̀gám syì   mə̀l   á   mə̀l-á-ŋ   tə̀*
     go   talk   COM   hit   3SG   hit-GO-3SG   3PL
     ǹdə́   tə̀tə̀   mà   bá   syì
     go   3PL   DEM   over there   COM
     'They talked [to the stick]. It started beating them over there.'

The single characteristics of this marker is that it occurs at the end of the clause:

(12)   *hàŋ*   *hàŋ*   *hàŋ*   *á*   *hàŋ*   *mə̀ná*   *wàcíŋ*   *syì*
       cry   cry   cry   3SG   cry   like   DEM   COM
       'He cried a lot like that.'

       tús   *ŋ̀gàtsà*
       right   like that
       'rightly like that' (*tús* 'right, well')

The marker *syì* may also occur between the matrix and the complement clause. Such use is discussed in the chapter on comment clauses.

4. Imperative

4.1 The deontic stem

The mood of obligation in both imperative and debitive is coded, in addition to any syntactic means, by tone lowering on the verb. Such stems are called here deontic stems. The monosyllabic high tone verbs become low tone:

(13)   *ɓàm*   *ʝì*
       eat   meat
       'Eat the meat!'
Cf.:
(14)   *kə̀*   *ɓám*   *ʝì*   *zà*
       INF   eat   meat   EE
       'He ate the meat'

(15)   *làm*   *bíŋ*
       build   house
       'Build a house!'
Cf.:
(16)   *kə̀*   *lám*   *bíŋ*   *zà*
       INF   build   house   EE
       'He built a house.'

(17)   *mbìr*
       jump
       'Jump!'

Cf.:
(18)   *kà   mbír   zà*
       INF   jump   EE
       'He jumped.'

Verbs that have high-low structure form their deontic form through a change into low-low structure:

(19)   *tèwèl   ɓámbáy*
       twirl   stick
       'Let him twirl the stick!'

Cf.:
(20)   *kà   téwèl   ɓámbáy   zà*
       REL   twirl   stick   EE
       'the one who twirls the stick'

The low-high verbs stay low-high in the imperative:

(21)   *pàɗák   njûl*
       split   grass
       'Split a stalk of grass!'

(22)   *kà   pàɗák   njûl   zà*
       INF   split   grass   EE
       'He split grass.'

Low tone verbs stay low in the imperative:

(23)   *ɓìm-ú*
       listen-3SG
       'Let him listen!'

(24)   *kə́   ɓìm   zá*
       INF   listen   EE
       'He listened.'

(25)   *ngə̀ɗ-ú*
       count-3SG
       'Count it!'

Cf.:
(26)   *kə́   ngə̀d   zá*
       INF   count   EE
       'He counted'

(27)   *tìy-ú*
       'Look!'
       'Let him look.'

       kə́   tì   zá
       INF   look   EE
       'He looked.'

If the verb has the goal orientation extension *á*, the tone in the deontic stem remains high:

(28)   *ndá   kù   yə́m*
       go:GO take   also
       'Come take some also!'

The goal-orientation marker preceding object pronouns becomes low in the deontic forms as illustrated later in section 5.

4.2 Subject coding in the imperative

The imperative may have the nominal addressee preceding the verb:

(29)   *kwáykwáyà   ndə̀   dáp   nà   gr-á   nòkóŋ*
       hyena   go   just   go   find-GO   1PL
       'Hyena, you just go and find for us !' (Kefedjerveng dialect)

(30)   *há   lùw-á-ŋ   ngásì*
       2SG   say-GO-3SG   like that
       ɓámbáy   n-dí   dál   tə́   vù
       stick   go   do   DED   Q
       'You say to it just like that, "Stick, do it?"'

If there is no nominal addressee preceding the verb, the second-person singular subject pronoun *há* is optional. Both the singular and plural second-person subject pronouns have high tone in the imperative. The second-person singular subject pronoun is used when there is

a modal adverb or when there is a sequence of commands. Both of these cases are illustrated in the following examples:

(31) *gélbà*   *kám*   *há*   *pàts-à*
      better (F.)   TOP (F.)   2SG   take:IMPER-GO
      nòk   *mbà   ntá*   *há*   *d-à*
      1PL.INCL   child   one   2SG   cook:IMPER-GO
      nòkóŋ
      1PL.INCL
      'You'd better take one of your children and cook him for us all.'

If the order is given to more than one addressee, the second-person plural pronoun must be used. The pronoun has high tone in the imperative:

(32) *á*   *tikìn   kám*   *hí*   *nd-àhá*
      PRED   2PL   TOP(F.)   2PL   go:IMPER-GO
      hì   *fú*   *tàŋ*
      2PL   all (F.)   DED
      'As for you, you all come!'

(33) *hí*   *yà*   *ngùl*   *ngòn*
      2PL   call   husband   3SG
      wàl   *tùk*   *kà*   *mìsíl*   *zà*
      wife   2SG   INF   steal   EE
      'Call her husband, [tell him] "Your wife has committed a theft."'

4.3 Object coding in the imperative

If the verb is transitive and there is no nominal or specific pronominal object, the third-person definite object marker *ú* must be added to the verb. Transitive verbs with the CVC structure undergo tone lowering if they have high tone and add *ú* after the last consonant:

(34) *zàm-ú* 'eat!'; *bàk-ú* 'pour (sand, grain, flour)!'; *wày-ú* 'forget!'; *bèr-ú* 'sell!'; *pàs-ú* 'cover with soil'

The evidence that *ú* is the definite object marker is provided by the fact that if the object is plural the third-person plural pronoun is used:

(35) *tì   tàŋ*
      look   3PL
      'Look at them!'

(36) *bèr   tàŋ*
      'Sell them!'

The formation of the imperative allows us to determine that some of the verbs that without any suffixes impressionistically end in a vowel actually have a glottal continuant in the C2 position, and that the glottal continuant is often deleted in phrase-final position:

(37) Indicative   Imperative   Gloss
      góh   *gòh-ú*   'wash
      káh   *kàh-ú*   'bury'
      bòh   *bòh-ú*   'break off a branch'

If the verb has CVC structure and the vowel is [+front], the object suffix is fronted:

(38) *báy   zá*   *mèd-û*
      chief   COMP   swear-3SG
      'The chief said, "Swear!"'

If the verb ends in the vowel *a*, the form *u* replaces the vowel of the verb and assumes the low tone of the deontic stem, and not of the underlying stem:

(39) *sù*   'drink!' (*sà* 'drink')
      wù   'start! (*wà* 'start')
      rù   'dig!' (*rá* 'dig a hole')
      tsù   'set the field on fire!' (*tsá* 'put fire into a field')

The addition of the object marker *ú* to verbs with final high vowels *i* or *u* supports the hypothesis that these verbs have an underlying palatal or labial glide in word final position. Thus, *mbù* 'give birth, unite, put together' has the imperative *mbùwú* 'put together'. Other forms in-

clude *lùwú* 'say!' from *lù* 'say' and the following examples with palatal glides:

(40)   *dĭ* 'put'   *dĭyú!*
       tìy 'see'   *tìyú!*

Some intransitive verbs, specifically verbs in which the subject undergoes movement or change, also have the deontic formed with *ú* if the locative complement is not overtly coded:

(41)   *zìn-û*
       return:IMPER-3SG
       'Return there!'

If the locative complement is overtly coded, there is no suffix *ú*:

(42)   *zìn*   *màrɓák*
       return:IMPER   Marbak
       'Return to Marbak!'

(43)   *yə̀p*   and   *yə̀p-ú*   'rest!'

(44)   *yə̀p*   *nə̀*   *bə̀búsì*
       rest:IMPER   PREP   mat
       'Rest on the mat!' (*kə̀ yə́p* 'return')

nz-û 'sit down!' (can be used only when pointing at a mat, chair, etc.):

(45)   *nzə̀*   *káyàk*
       sit:IMPER   ground
       'Sit on the ground!'

Intransitive verbs *ndà* 'go' and *ší* 'run!' do not end in the vowel *u* in the imperative, but rather keep their underlying vowels:

(46)   *kwáykwáy*   *zá*   *hí*   *ndà*
       hyena   COMP   2PL   go
       'Hyena said, "You go!"'

If the verb *ndà* 'go' is followed by a complement clause, the verb has the final vowel reduced:

(47) *à   ʣá   hí   ndə̀   yà   cíŋ*
      3SG   say   2PL   go   call   father.3SG
      háʣə̀m   wàcíŋ
      girl   DEM
      'He said, "Go and call the father of that girl!"'

The deontic form may have the point-of-view of source marker added:

(48) *ɓə̀t   á   ɓə̀t   káyyà   hí   mə̀l   ká*
      start   3SG   start   INTERJ   2PL   catch POS
      'He started, "Yikes! Stop him!"'

(49) *hí   kàm   fú   tàŋ   hí   wàn   fúkà*
      2PL   TOP   all   DED   2PL   sleep   completely
      mùkàʣkáʣəŋ   sùlúʣ   sùlúʣ
      upside down   two   two
      'As for you all, you sleep all on your back in pairs.'

5. Polite orders

The order may be made polite through several means. One is by a periphrastic construction consisting of the negative marker *skú* but with high rather than low tone, the emotive marker *syì* and the interrogative *á vàŋgáy* 'how'. Note that the examples below contain goal-orientation marker preceding object pronouns in the imperative mood. In this position the goal-orientation marker has low tone:

(50) *àa   ndə̀   ɓə̀t-à   nòk   skú   syì*
      ah   go   get-GO1   PL   NEG   COM
      á   vàŋgáy
      PRED   how
      '"Ah, go bring it to us, otherwise what can we do?"'

Another means of making the order polite is through the clause-final particle *gí* following the verb in deontic form.

(51) *kə̀ʣə̃m   vl-à-k   wùd   gí*
      calabash   give-GO-1SG   food   POL
      'Calabash, could you give me some food?'

(52) séy   ɓàt   dèf-é   skàn   nákà   wá   gí
      so   take   show-GO   thing   REM   DEM   POL
      'So, take and show [me] that thing!'

The form *gí* is used in all kinds of situations when politeness is involved:

(53) kàdə́m   vl-à   nà   wàdə́
      calabash   give-GO   1PL.EXCL   food
      gí   tsáy   dàp
      POL   finish   only
      'Calabash, give us food! That is all.'

(54) màn-à-k   gí
      help-GO-1SG   POL
      'Help me!' (*kə́ màn* 'help')

(55) á   zá   ɓámbáy   ǹɗ-à-k   gí
      3SG   COMP   stick   hit-GO-1SG   POL
      'She said, "Stick, beat me, please!"'

A related Chadic language, Gidar, whose outlying villages are as close as 20 kilometers away from Hina settlements, has the debitive marker *gàní*, reduced to *gə́n* in phrase-internal position. That may indicate the marker of politeness in Mina and the debitive in Gidar are related. Whether this relationship indicates a common retention, a common innovation or a borrowing has to be decided by a comparative study of the relevant domains in Chadic languages.

Among people of equal rank and age, the imperative clause may end in the form *màk* 'first', 'wouldn't you'. This form may not be used when addressing older people or people in a higher social rank:

(56) séy   à   zá   sə̀   yə̀m   zə́   màk
      so   3SG   COMP   drink   water   EE   first
      'Then he said, "Why don't you drink the water first?"'

6. Debitive mood

There are several means to code obligation with respect to the first and the third person and non-imperative obligation with respect to the sec-

ond person. Some of these means involve use of markers that seem to be uniquely dedicated to this function, and other means also have other functions in the language, but they acquire the debitive function through their use in specific constructions.

6.1 Debitive with respect to the third person

The mood of obligation with respect to the third-person is coded by the marker *mɔ́* (note the high tone) preceding the verb, which has low tone. The form is glossed as DEB for 'debitive'. We are grateful to Bernard Comrie for suggesting this term. If the subject is nominal, the debitive marker follows the subject:

(57) kwàykwày   zá   mbí   kám   ɓì
      hyena   COMP ANAPH   TOP (F.)   meat
      tì   kìní   mɔ́   nzà-h   híŋ   kà
      GEN   2SG   DEB   stay-2SG   2PL   POS
      'Hyena said, "If it is like that, your meat should remain with you."'

The third-person singular pronominal subject is unmarked:

(58) mɔ́   làm   bíŋ
      DEB   build   house
      'Let him build a house.'

The debitive marker differs from the relative marker in tone only:

(59) mà   lɔ̀m   bíŋ
      REL   build   house
      'the one who builds a house'

Verbs that have high-low structure form their debitive through a change into low-low structure:

(60) mɔ́   tèwèl   ɓámbáy
      DEB   twirl   stick
      'Let him twirl the stick!'

Cf.:
(61)   *mà   téwèl   ǥámbáy*
       REL   twirl stick
       'the one who twirls the stick'

(62)   *mə́   pədák   njúl*
       DEB   split   grass
       'Let him split grass!'

(63)   *mà   pə́dâk   njûl*
       REL   split   grass
       'the one who splits a stalk of grass'

Monosyllabic verbs with high tone in the indicative have low tone in the subjunctive:

(64)   *mə́   mbìr*
       DEB   jump
       'Let him jump!'
Cf.:
(65)   *mà   mbír   mbír*
       REL   jump   jump
       'the one who jumps'

(66)   *mə́   ǥìm*
       DEB   listen
       'Let him listen!'
Cf.
(67)   *mà   ǥím ǥím*
       REL   listen-listen
       'the one who is a listener'

(68)   *mə́   ngə̀ɗ*
       DEB   count
       'Let him count!'
Cf.:
(69)   *mà   ngə́ɗ   ngə́ɗ*
       REL   count   count
       'the one who counts'

(70) *mə̀   tìy-ù*
      DEB   look-look
      'Let him look.'

(71) *mə̀   tíy-tíy*
      REL   look-look
      'The one who looks.'

Here are examples of the use of debitive forms in natural discourse:

(72) *séy   mə́   nd-á*   *ngàm*
      so   3SG   go-GO   because
      à   də́m-á-ŋ   rà
      3SG   hurt-GO-3SG D.HAB
      'He should go because it hurts him.'

(73) *fə̀k   kə́   mə́   ndá*
      leave POS   DEB   go
      'Let him go.'

(74) *à   ndə̀   r   skù   mbí*
      3SG   go   D.HAB   NEG   ANAPH
      mə́   žèɓér   tə́   tùkóŋ
      DEB   follow GEN   2SG
      'If she does not leave, she should follow yours.'

The second person in the debitive is marked by the pronoun *há*. Recall that in the imperative, the second person singular is marked by independent pronouns or is unmarked. Hence, use of the pronoun is the coding means for the debitive modality:

(75) *báy   zá   ɗàl   mùnyál   kə̀   mìsíl-é-h*
      chief COMP   do   patience (F.) INF   steal-GO-2SG
      zà   há   nd-á   há   gìz-è-kù
      EE   2SG   go-GO   2SG   tell-GO-1SG
      'The chief said, "Patience. If he steals, you should come and tell me."'

(76) *há   ɓə̀t-à-k   rá*
      2SG   take-GO-1SG   DAT.OR
      'You should bring it to me.'

(77)   *há*   *žèɓér*   *kə̀*   *gɔ̀r*   *mbéŋ*
        2SG   follow   INF   want   ANAPH
        'You should follow [her] in order to get her.'

The debitive clause may also end in the clause-final familiarity marker *mə̀k*, the same form that we have seen already in use in the deontic form:

(78)   *à*   *zá*   *nd-á*   *sə̀*   *r-á-h*
        3SG   COMP   go-GO   1SG   dig-GO-2SG
        hì   *yə̀m*   *mə̀k*
        2PL   water   first
        'He said, "Come, so that I will dig a well for you."'

Obligation with respect to the first person is coded by high tone on the pronouns and the deontic stem of the verb:

(79)   *nók*   *mbə́ɟí-yì*   *nók*   *mbù*   *tàlàŋ*   *dá*
        1PL:INCL   blacksmith   1PL   unite   head   exist
        kə́   *ɟə̀gám*   *mà*   *pár*   *skù*
        INF   speak   word   other   NEG
        'We blacksmiths, we have to get together, there is nothing else to say.'

(80)   *séy*   *sə́*   *nd-á*   *ngàm*
        so   1SG   go-GO   because
        à   *də́m-á-ŋ*   *rà*
        3SG   hurt-GO-3SG   D.HAB
        'I should go because it hurts him'

(81)   *séy*   *nók*   *nd-á*   *ngàm*
        so   1PL.INCL   go-GO   because
        à   *də́m-á-ŋ*   *rà*
        3SG   hurt-GO-3SG   D.HAB
        'We should go because it hurts him'

The verb *nd* 'go' has also a special debitive form *ázù*, which is followed by possessive subject pronouns.)

(82) à   zá   á   nà   gímíɓìɗ   áz
      3SG   COMP   PRED   PREP   monkey   go
      tùmù   médìgì   ngáɮ   ngáɮ   í   ngáɮ-á
      1DU   neighbor   pull   pull   3PL   pull-GO
      pám   á   mìdìgíɗ   kwáyàŋ
      until   PRED   court   squirrel
      'He said to the monkey, "Let's go, neighbor." They pulled it to
      the squirrels courtyard.'

6.2 Debitive modality through auxiliary dà

The debitive modality with respect to the first person, and only the first
person, can also be coded through the auxiliary verb *dà* 'bring'. The
auxiliary occurs before the subject pronoun:

(83) kwáyàŋ   zá   dà   sə   tàp-ú
      squirrel   COMP   bring   1SG   climb-3SG
      kə   ngà   kə   màsáw   tàlàŋ   náŋ
      INF   break   INF   grill   head   1SG
      'Squirrel said, "Let me climb, break [myself into pieces], and
      grill myself."

(84) dà   sə   hìɫdìɓ-é-h   kràp
      bring   1SG   sew-GO-2SG   shoe
      '"Wait, I will sew you some shoes."'

The use of *dà* with the third person pronouns results in an ungram-
matical construction:

(85) *dà   tətàŋ   màl-á-ŋ   ŋkwà
      bring   3PL   catch-GO-3SG   goat
      for 'They should catch a goat for him.'

7. Coding the mood of obligation through the infinitive

Another means of coding obligation is with the infinitive marker *kə*.
This means is used with respect to all persons in both singular and plu-
ral:

(86) *wàl*   *ɓìm*   *mà*   *r*   *skù*   *kà*
      woman   hear   mouth D.HAB   NEG   INF
      gám   *kà*
      chase   POS
      'The woman who does not obey should be chased away.'

(87) *wá*   *mà*   *kə́*   *ndə̀*   *kə́*   *gàɗ-á*
      but   REL   INF   go   INF   take-GO
      nòk   *kú*   *ví*
      1PL   fire   who
      'But who should go to find us fire?'

The coding of obligation through the infinitive is a means used in German, Russian and Polish, to mention just a few Indo-European languages.

8. Coding the mood of obligation through possessive constructions

The third means of coding the mood of obligation is through an expression consisting of a possessive pronoun followed by the infinitive form of the verb. There are two types of this construction. One consists of the debitive form *áz* 'go' followed by a genitive expression, and followed by the verb. The verb has low tone, i.e., it occurs in the deontic form. Consequently, the infinitive marker has high tone:

(88) *à*   *ɓá*   *áz*   *tàm*   *kə́*   *šì*   *táŋ*
      3SG   say   go   1DU.GEN   INF   run   DED
      'He said, "Let's run!"'

(89) *áz*   *tòk*   *kə́*   *kàh*   *ksə́m*   *tòk*   *ká*
      go   1PL.INCL   INF   bury   body   1PL   POS
      skù   *syì*   *kə̀*   *dàl-á-ŋ*   *vàŋgáy*
      NEG   COM   INF   do-GO-3SG   how
      'Let's bury ourselves. Otherwise, what can we do?'

(90) *tò,*   *áz*   *tòk*
      okay (H.)   go   1PL.INCL
      kə́   *gr-á*   *kúhú*
      INF   search-GO   fire
      'Okay, let us find fire'

The other type consists of possessive pronouns preceding the verb in the infinitive form:

(91) *tó*   *mìsíl* *tɔ́*   *nɔ̀*   *nigeria*   *wàcíŋ*
      well (H.)   thief   GEN   PREP Nigeria   DEM
      à   *ɓá*   *séy*   *nàŋ*   *kɔ́*   *bàm-á*
      3SG   say   then 1DU INF meet-GO
      ábɔ̀   *mìsíl* *tɔ́*   *n*   *Cameroun*   *wàcíŋ*
      ASSC thief GEN PREP Cameroon   DEM
      'The Nigerian thief said, "I have to go to meet the Cameroonian thief."'

(92) *mìsíl* *tɔ́*   *nɔ̀*   *Cameroun*   *wàcíŋ* *à*   *zá*
      thief GEN PREP Cameroon   DEM   3SG COMP
      nàŋ *kɔ́*   *bàmɔ́* *ábɔ̀* *mìsíl* *tɔ́*   *nɔ̀*   *nigeria*
      1DU INF meet ASSC thief GEN PREP Nigeria
      wàcíŋ
      DEM
      'The Cameroonian thief said, "I should meet with the Nigerian thief."'

9. Coding the mood of obligation through modal adverbs

The fourth means of coding the mood of obligation is by the adverb *gèlɓé* 'better'. This form can be followed by the dependent future, viz. the future tense that is used in pragmatically dependent clauses:

(93) *gèlɓé* *sɔ̀*   *n*   *kɔ̀*   *dî*   *ndìr*   *kɔ́*
      better 1SG PREP INF put sorghum   PREP
      kàcíŋ
      DEM
      'It is better that I put the sorghum here . . .'

This adverb may also be coded by the deontic form of the verb:

(94) *gèlɓɔ̀* *kám*   *há*   *pàts-á*   *nók*   *mbɔ̀*
      better TOP(F.)   2SG take-GO   1PL child
      ntá   *hà*   *d-á*   *nòkóŋ*
      one   2SG cook-GO   1PL
      'You better take one of your children and cook it for us.'

10. Comment clause

Mina has grammaticalized the category 'comment clause'. Comment on another proposition in discourse (as opposed to comment on another clause in the sentence) is marked by the clause initial marker *wà* identical with the proximate deictic marker. The proposition to which another proposition is related may have been produced or implied by the speaker or by the addressee or the speaker may think that the addressee holds a given proposition.

(95)   wà   hí   ɗál-á   mí
       DEM   2PL   do-GO   what
       'But what have you done?'

(96)   wà   hí   ndè̀   kè̀   gr-á   tè̀   syì
       DEM   2PL   go   INF   search-GO   DED   COM
       mí
       what
       'But what were you looking for?'

(97)   wà   tìy   màk   zàmán   tè̀
       DEM   look   first age(Ar.)   DED
       à   gáy   vú   à   ngə́m   vù
       3SG   spoil Q   3SG   beauty   Q
       'But look, this age, is it bad or is it good?

(98)   wà   gèlɓə́   sè̀   n   kè̀   nt-àh
       DEM   better 1SG   PREP   INF   pay-2SG
       ɓà   skú   syì   sè̀   n-kè̀
       UNSP.ANAPH   thing COM   1SG   PREP-INF
       ɗál-á-ŋ   vàŋgáy
       do-GO-3SG   how
       'It's better that I pay you for it. Otherwise, what will I do?'

The marker *wà* can occur between the two clauses, and then the clause that precedes it is the clause to which the ensuing proposition is related. The marker *wà* codes the dilemma posed by the preceding clause. The second clause often ends with an interrogative marker:

(99) *mbú*   *dàp*   *vl-à-k*   *wàl*   *nà*
      pardon   only   give-GO-1SG woman   1SG
      ká   *wà*   *sà*   *n*   *kà*   *dál*   *vàŋgáy*
      POS   but   1SG   PREP INF   do   how
      'Sorry, could you give me back my wife? Otherwise, what can I
      do?'

(100) *ká*   *zàm*   *tá*   *ngàn*   *cík*   *zà*   *žídèp*
       INF   eat   GEN   3SG   full (F.)   EE   already
       wà   *hà*   *ŋ*   *ká*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *vàŋgáy*
       DEM 2SG   PREP INF   say-GO-3SG   how
       'He already ate his fill. So how are you going to tell him?'

(101) *sà*   *nd-á*   *ká*   *gìz-é-ŋ*   *mà*   *ndà*   *mó*
       1SG   go-GO INF   tell-GO-3SG   REL   go   REL
       ɓàm-à *yòwà* *sà*   *n*   *ká*   *gàr*   *žì*   *ví*
       eat-GO but   1SG   PREP INF   search   then   who
       'I came to tell him to go and to eat, but who will I look for?

The source of the marker *wà* may be sought in the segmentally identi-
cal deictic marker *wa*, which as a modifier has an identical tone with
that of the preceding syllable.

11. Coding counterexpectation

Counterexpectation, resulting from the preceding discourse or from the
speech situation, can be coded by the marker *àmmá* borrowed from
Arabic via Fula or Hausa.

(102) *ɓéɓé*   *kàm*   *gúzàk*   *ká*   *mbàl*
       before TOP   maternal uncle   INF   help
       ɓálvày   *zá*
       paternal uncle EE
       'In the old times the maternal uncle helped the paternal uncle.'

(103) *àmmá* *gúzàk* *wàcíŋ* *hà*   *n*   *kíndìŋ* *ábà*
       but   uncle   DEM   2SG   PREP   fear   ASSC
       mbéŋ
       ANAPH
       'But the maternal uncle, you fear him . . .'

12. Conclusions

The intended truth is the unmarked epistemic modality of the indicative clause. All other epistemic modalities, such as dubitative and hypothetical must be overtly marked. Deontic modality is coded by inflectional changes, more specifically, by tonal changes in the verb. Deontic modality may also be coded by modal adverbs occurring at the beginning of the clause.

Chapter 13

End-of-event coding

1. Introduction

Mina has grammaticalized a category, which for the lack of a better term we call 'end-of-event'. Since this is not a commonly found category, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a description of the category, the evidence for its existence, the interaction of the category with other categories in the language, more specifically with the categories of aspect and tense, and the implications of the existence of the category. Because the category is linked with the domain of modality, with the domain of discourse coding, and with the systems of tense and aspect, it is an important component of the grammatical structure of Mina.

2. The form and syntax of the end-of-event marker

The end of event is marked by the form *za* in phrase-final position, and *zə* or *z*, depending on what follows it, in phrase-internal position. The tone on the marker *za* is polar with respect to the preceding tone. The form *za* and its phonological variants are glossed as EE.

The syntax of the end-of-event marker is interesting in that it distinguishes between the direct object of the verb and all other complements, thus providing a tool for determining the categorial status of a constituent. The form *za* follows the direct object:

(1) *ngùl-yîî*   *s*   *kə̀*   *dzán-á*   *nám*
     husband-PL   1SG   INF   find-GO   1DU
     skə̀n   *zá*
     thing   EE
     'My husband, I found us something.'

The end-of-event marker occurs before a locative complement, regardless of whether the locative complement is preceded by a preposition. Thus, the noun *dámù* 'bush' which is not preceded by a preposition is inherently locative, and if it also follows an inherently locative verb, the end of event marker must occur after the verb:

(2) *séy   mà   ngùl   ngùl   tìy*
     so   REL   husband   husband   see
     á   tìy-ú   wàl   tsú   zà   dámù
     3SG   see-3SG   wife   went   EE   bush
     'So the husband saw that the wife went to the bush.'

The end-of-event marker precedes the infinitival complement:

(3) *tò   kwáykwáy   táŋ   zà   kɔ́   gàd-á*
     okay   hyena   go   EE   INF   take-GO
     kúhú
     fire
     'Okay, the hyena went to get fire.'

The marker *za* precedes the possessive subject pronouns:

(4) *séy   báy   déɓ   zà   ngàn   kɔ́   á   ìdá*
     then   chief   take   EE   3SG   POS   PRED   home
     'Then the chief took the calabash home.'

If the verb is transitive and there is no object, the marker *za* follows the verb:

(5) *zàm   zàm   zàm   á   zàm   zá*
     eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE
     'He ate a lot.'

3. The function of the end-of-event marker

The form *za* functions in the domain of modality, in that it implies that the event is real, regardless of its absolute time or aspect. The evidence for the affirmative value of the marker *za* is provided by the fact that it occurs only in affirmative clauses. It does not occur in negative clauses,

i.e. in clauses that explicitly state that an event did not or will not oc-
cur. All examples in the present chapter confirm this hypothesis.

The notion of event contrasts here with the notion of state. Only
events can be marked with the marker *za*. The description of states
cannot have this marker.

The marker *za* occurs with the last clause in a sequence of clauses
where each clause describes an event following the preceding one. If
there is a clause following *za*, it codes a different event:

(6) *séy*   *ɓ̀t*   *á*   *ɓ̀t*   *màshíl* *á*   *màshíl* *yìm*
     then   take   3SG   take   steal   3SG   steal   water
     wà   *náz*   *á*   *náz*   *ngɔ́n*   *kɔ́*   *nɔ̀*   *jíɓà*
     DEM   throw   3SG   throw   3SG   PREP PREP   pocket
     ɟán   *á*   *ɟán*   *zà*
     cross   3SG   cross   EE
     'Then he up and stole the water, threw it into his pocket, and
     crossed [the river].'

The evidence that the end-of-event marker *za* is not a tense category is
provided by the fact that it can occur in the future and in the past time
reference:

(7) *wàl*   *ngɔ̀n*   *màsáw*   *zà*
     woman   3SG   grill   EE
     'His wife will grill.'

(8) *ɓ̀t*   *á*   *ɓ̀t-ú*   *tsànáɗ*   *tɔ́*   *gàmták*
     take   3SG   take-3SG   gizzard   GEN   chicken
     ɓám   *ɓám*   *zà*
     eat   eat   EE
     'She took the chicken gizzard and ate it.'[1]

Here is an example whose absolute time is undetermined:

---

1. This is a serious infraction in Hina customs. The chicken gizzard is reserved only
   for the head of the family. Wives and children should not eat it. Similar restrictions
   exist among other groups in Northern Cameroon.

(9)   *ángà*   *hì*   *kíndíŋ*   *ábà*   *gúzàk*   *dá*   *skù*
      if   2PL   fear   ASSC   maternal uncle exist   NEG
      kíndíŋ   *zà*   *ábà*   *ví*
      fear   EE   ASSC   who
      'If you do not fear your maternal uncle, who are you going to fear?'[2]

The evidence that the marker *za* is not an aspectual category is provided by the fact that it occurs with various aspects, more specifically in sequential past, and the independent and the dependent habitual aspect. Here is an example in sequential past:

(10) *ɓàŋ*   *í*   *ɓàŋ*   *zá*
      cross   3PL   cross   EE
      'They crossed [the river].' (What follows is an unrelated paragraph.)

Habitual aspect:

(11) *séy*   *á*   *tàt*   *kám*   *í*   ***ndí***   *ngà*
      then   PRED   3PL   TOP (F.)   3PL   HAB   catch
      ɓì   *zà*   *kà*   *nd-á*   *kà*   *dá*   *tàŋ*
      meat   EE   INF   go-GO   INF   cook   DED
      'As for them [the hyenas], they just catch the meat [and] bring it for cooking.' (i.e., they have plenty of meat)

Here are examples of the use of the end-of-event marker with the perfect aspect:

(12) *mà*   *ɓím ɓím*   *zá*   *cìkíɗ*   *mà*
      REL   listen listen   COMP   sesame   REL
      ndàv-yí   *zà*
      fall-STAT   EE
      'The one who was good at listening said, "A sesame seed fell down."'

---

2 One fears one's own father less than one's maternal uncle. One does not quarrel or dispute with one's maternal uncle. The maternal uncle can order his nephew to do anything, and the nephew has to obey.

(13) *séy*   *áb*   *dùwɔ́ŋ*   *mbéŋ*   *làkwát*
      then (H.)   ASSC   back   ANAPH   river
      mɔ̀   *nd-à-y*   *zá*
      REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
      'And afterwards the river came.'

(14) *séy*   *hìdíi*   *wà*   *mɔ̀*   *ndá-y*   *zà*
      then   people   DEM   REL   come-STAT   EE
      'Then those people [the hyenas] came.'

(15) *í*   *nd*   *rá*   *í*   *nd*   *rá*
      3PL   go   D.HAB   3PL   go   D.HAB
      í   *nd*   *rá*   *ndɔ̀*   *dzáŋ*   *làkwát*
      3PL   go   D.HAB   go   find   river
      mɔ̀   *nd-à-y*   *zá*
      REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
      'They were going, going, going, till they came to a river, which
      was filled up.' (A new discourse paragraph follows.)

The end-of-event marker can occur in the deontic mood:

(16) *mɔ́*   *ndɔ̀*   *zɔ́*   *gwà*
      OPT   go   EE   first
      túgwà   *hà*   *yɔ̀*   *ví*
      patience   2SG   call   who
      'Let her go first. Patience, who are you talking about?'

The distribution of *za* within discourse provides one piece of evi-
dence for its end-of-event function. The marker occurs at the end of
stories, when nothing in the story can follow:

(17) *wàcín*   *dár*   *tɔ́*   *ndìr*   *kɔ́*   *gɔ̀ɓ*
      that   dance   GEN   sorghum   PREP   thresh
      'That is the festivity for the threshing of sorghum.'

      tók   *zà*
      end   EE
      'It ended.'

Several clauses may follow one another, each having an end-of-event
marker:

(19)   *lúgə̀*   *ngə̀n*   *wàcíŋ* *mə̀*   *gáy*   *zà*
       bowstring   3SG   DEM   REL   spoil   EE
       ngàm   *kə́mì*   *wàl*   *ngə̀n* *kə̀*   *ɓám*
       because   why   woman   3SG   INF   eat
       tsànáɗ   *tə́*   *gàmták*   *wà*   *zá*
       gizzard   GEN   chicken   DEM   EE
       'His bowstring is spoiled. Why? Because his wife ate the chicken gizzard.'

The end-of-event marker may be used in a clause that is followed by a temporal marker, but then the second clause is not a result or an explanation of the preceding clause:

(20)   *kə́*   *fə̀k*   *wə̀l*   *zá*
       INF   give   neck   EE
       'He started to yell' (from joy).

       séy   *mìɗ*   *fə̀k*
       then   wind   give
       'Then a wind blew.'

4. The end-of-event marker in protasis clauses

The end-of-event marker must occur in temporal and conditional protasis clauses of sentences of the type: If/when X is done then Y. The presence of the end-of-event marker in such clauses provides further evidence for its postulated function. Here are examples of conditional protases:

(21)   *ndìká*   *mə̀njé* *wàhíŋ* *sə̀*   *n*   *kə̀*   *dzáŋ*
       better (F.)   now   DEM   1SG   PREP   INF   find
       gómbòk   *zá*   *sə́*   *n*   *kə́*   *ndráɓ*
       frog   EE   1SG   PREP   INF   smash
       mbàɗ   *wìrnjík*
       become   ash
       'From now on when I find a frog, I will smash it to ashes.'

(22) *sá   skэ̀n   wà   syì   há   kэ́   lùw-á-ŋ*
      here   thing DEM   COM   2SG   INF   say-GO-3SG
      zэ̀   kэ̀dэ́m   vl-á   nòk   wùdэ̀   gí
      EE   calabash   give-GO   1PL   food   POL
      syì   à   ndí   dэ́   tэ̀   dàp
      COM   3SG   HAB   make   DED   only
      'Here you have this thing. If you say to it, "Calabash make us food, please," then it just cooks.'

Examples (23)-(25) constitute one fragment:

(23) *kэ́   dэ́al   zà   syì   á   n   mbэ̀   pár*
      INF   do   EE   COM   3SG   PREP   child another
      náz   kэ́   jíɓ
      throw into   hole
      'Each time she was doing that, she took one child and threw it into the hole'

(24) *kэ́   dэ́al   zà   syì   hàa   tí píc*
      INF   do   EE   COM   until day
      'She did like that until the day'

(25) *wэ̀ží   túwэ̀d zà   íi   zá   bákà   syì*
      children   finish EE   they   COMP   today COM
      há   n   kэ́   dэ́   tàlàŋ tùkóŋ
      2SG   PREP   INF   cook   head   2SG
      'When there were no more children, they said, "Today you will cook yourself."'

Here is an example of the temporal protasis with the perfect aspect:

(26) *mэ̀   ndà-y   zэ́   á   ìdá*
      REL   go-GO-STAT   EE   PRED   home
      séy   nd-á   dà
      then   go-GO cook
      'When she returned home, she cooked.'

The end-of-event marker in the protasis clause may also occur with repetitive events:

(27)   *kɔ́*   *ndɔ̀*   *zɔ́*   *fú*   *ndɔ̀*   *dzáŋ*   *záván-yìì*
        INF   go   EE   always   go   find   guinea fowl-PL
        í   *màr*   *rà*
        3PL   graze   D.HAB
        'Each time she went, she found guinea fowl grazing.'

And finally, here is a piece of evidence from the elicitation process. In the process of elicitation, when each elicited clause represents a separate event, most indicative clauses are given with the end-of-event marker *za*, because each clause describes a separate event:

(28)   *kɔ́*   *ɓɔ̀*   *wɔ́l*   *tɔ́*   *ɓɔ̀*   *zá*
        INF   cut   neck   GEN   cow   EE
        'He slaughtered a cow.'

5. Evidence from the absence of the end-of-event marker

Negative evidence, i.e. evidence from the absence of the marker, cannot be taken to be as strong as evidence from its presence; nevertheless, those cases when the marker cannot occur share a number of characteristics that rule out *za* because these characteristics are in contrast with the postulated function of the marker. Evidence that *za* marks some kind of end-of-event is provided by the fact that it does not occur if a clause is followed by its logical consequence:

(29)   *záván-yìì*   *zá*   *fɔd-á*   *ná*
        guinea fowl-PL   COMP   shave-GO   1PL
        tàlàŋ   *kɔ́*   *gí*
        head   POS   please
        'The guinea fowl said, "Shave our heads, please."'

        séy   *à*   *ndí*   *fɔd-á-ŋ*   *tà*   *tàlàŋ*
        so (H.)   3SG   HAB   shave-GO-3SG   3PL   head
        fɔd   *fɔd*   *fɔd*
        shave   shave   shave
        'So, she would shave their heads. Shave, shave, shave'

The end-of-event marker cannot be used in any of the verbless clauses, such as the equational, possessive, existential, and locative,

because of the internal semantic contradiction: An equational clause cannot have an end of the event.

The end-of-event marker *za* may not occur in a clause with adverb *mbé* 'almost' because this adverb implies a continuation of the situation:

(30) *láy   mbé   kə́   tòk   *(zà)*
     field   approach INF   finish   EE
     'The field is almost finished.' (elicited)

Cf.:

(31) *láy   mə̀   tòk-yí   zà*
     field   REL   finish-STAT   EE
     'The field is finished.' (elicited)

In the following fragment, the first sentence does not end in *za* as it is not the end of the event, but the second one does:

(32) *dá̈   dá̈   á   də̀   wàné*
     draw:GO   draw:GO   3SG   draw   a lot (F.)
     'It rained a lot.'

     séy,   áb   dùwə́ŋ   mbéŋ   làkwát
     then (H.)   ASSC   back   ANAPH   river
     mə̀   nd-à-y   zá
     REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
     'And afterwards the river came.'

One cannot insert the end-of-event marker *za* after the first clause, because the second clause in the sentence continues description of the same event:

(33) **dá̈   dá̈   á   də̀   wàné   zà*
     draw   draw   3SG   draw   a lot (F.)   EE
     for: 'It rained a lot.'

     séy,   áb   dùwə́ŋ   mbéŋ   làkwát
     then (H.)   ASSC   back   ANAPH   river
     mə̀   nd-à-y   zá
     REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
     'And afterwards the river came.'

The end-of-event marker does not occur in clauses where an adverb or some other means of coding rule out an end-of-event situation:

(34)   *í*   *kə́*   *də̂b-á-k*   *žìŋ*   *gwádʼ*
       3PL   INF   ask-GO-1SG   times   many
       'They asked me many times.'

Cf.:

(35)   *í*   *kə́*   *də̂b-á-k*   *zà*
       3PL   INF   ask-GO-1SG   EE
       'They asked me.'

6. The end-of-event and the negative clause

The end-of-event marker *za* cannot occur in negative clauses. This fact supports the hypothesis that the function of the end-of-event marker is affirmative. The negative equivalent of the end-of-event marker has the form: *kə* Verb *dá skù* where *kə* is the infinitive marker used to code pragmatically dependent clauses, *dá* is the phrase internal form of the verb *dáhà* 'exist', and *skù* is the negative marker:

(36)   *cíŋ*   *kə́*   *tə̀*   *zá*   *mbə̀*   *kə́*   *ɓìm*
       father   INF   pay   EE   child   INF   feel
       náwdùm   *dá*   *skù*
       pain (F.)   exist   NEG
       'His father has paid, and the child has not suffered.'

(37)   *kó*   *kə́*   *lìm*   *kó*   *dá*   *skù*
       even   INF   see   even   exist   NEG
       'She has not seen anybody.'

In the following fragment, which consists of several clauses, only the last one would call for the end-of-event marker if it were an affirmative clause. However, since it is a negative clause, instead of the marker *za* the marker *dá* is used:

(38)   *mə̀*   *pə̀dák*   *njûl*   *ɓə̀t*   *pə̀dák*   *á*   *pə̀dák-á*
       REL   split   grass   take   split   3SG   split-GO
       nástə̀   *ngə̀n*   *nə̀*   *mə́ŋ*
       enter (F.)   3SG   PREP   LOC.ANAPH
       'The one who splits grass split a stalk of grass and entered it.'

tsú	*ngòn*	*kó*	*nò*	*mòn*	*ván*	*kó*
enter	3SG	inside	PREP	it	rain	INF

mbòlém		*dá*	*skù*
touch		exist	NEG

'He entered it [the grass], and the rain did not touch him.'

7. Grammaticalization sources of the end-of-event marker

There are no obvious grammaticalization sources for the marker *za*. One possible source would be the verb *nza* 'to sit, to live in a place'. Such verbs in many languages have grammaticalized into copulas, a potential candidate for the end-of-event marker. The copula *za* could be postulated in a few instances. One of them involves superlative modifying construction:

(39)
mò	*zó*	*báytò*	*gómbòk-yîi*		*zá*
REL	EE	large	frog-PL		COMP

syì	*hí*	*kàm*	*fú*	*tàŋ*	*hí*	*wàn*
COM	2PL	TOP	all	DED	2PL	sleep:IMPER

kà	*mùkàdkádáŋ*	*sùlúd*	*sùlúd*
down	upside down	two	two

'The largest of the frogs said, "You all lie down on your backs in pairs . . .'

The argument that *zò* in the above example is the verb 'to be' is provided by the fact that modifying constructions also occur without this marker, but in such cases they do not have superlative meaning. Copulas are used in many languages to code focus (cf. Frajzyngier, Krech, Mirzayan 2002). In the case at hand, the copula codes the superlative function of the modifying construction.

More compelling evidence that the end-of-event marker comes from the verb 'to be' is provided by locative predicates coding the direction "from," which are coded by the marker *za* occurring after the verb:

(40)
bítsì	*nd-á*		*zò*	*tíkì*
Bitsi	go-GO		EE	where

'Where does/did Bitsi come from?'

The use of the form *za* to code direction "from" originated in its meaning as the verb "be," the locative phrase having the meaning "be at a place X." The full form of a locative predication would have the form "Subject came was at X". The evidence for the existence of such expression is comparative, in that this is the structure recorded in other Chadic languages. Moreover, other Chadic languages use the equivalents of the verb 'to be' in such constructions.

The other potential cognate of the marker *za* is the debitive form *az* of the verb *nd* 'go'. Although semantically it could serve as an auxiliary, we cannot account for the absence of the vowel *á* in the auxiliary verb.

Finally, the third potential source for the end-of-event marker is the de dicto complementizer *zá*. The segmental structure is similar. The tones, however, are not. Moreover, the complementizer never loses its vowel, while the end-of-event marker does.
The functional connection between verbs of saying (the potential source of the de dicto complementizer) and aspectual markers has been attested in in other languages of Africa e.g. in Kanuri (Hutchison 1984) and Amharic (Cohen 1937).

Hence, we opt for the derivation of the end-of-event marker from the verb 'to be'.

8. Conclusions

Mina has grammaticalized the category "end-of-event," which belongs to the domain of representation of structure of events. The category is coded by the marker *za* occurring after the verb or after the direct object. If there is a locative or another complement, the end-of-event marker precedes those other complements. This marker occurs only in affirmative clauses.

Chapter 14
Negation

1. Common formal characteristics of negation

Negative clauses differ from their affirmative counterparts in a number of features, the chief among them being the use of dependent aspects and tenses. Negation for most types of clauses is marked by the clause-final particle *skù*. Subject pronouns in negative clauses have high rather than low tone.

The negative marker is placed directly after its scope, i.e. after the predicate that is negated. Here is an example of the negation of a clause with an adjectival predicate:

(1) á   tì-y-á-h   hà   nék   skù
     3SG   see-GO-2SG   2SG   good   NEG
     'He does not see you as a good person' (when considering a marriage prospect)

The negative marker *skù* is reduced to *skə̀* in phrase-internal position:

(2) á   sə́n   skə̀   bà
     3SG   know   NEG   more
     'She does not know anymore!'

There are, however, negative clauses that do not involve the marker *skù*. These are clauses in the unmarked aspect and in the prohibitive mood, as well as verbless clauses.

2. Coding the scope of negation

If there are several predicates in the sentence and the negative marker occurs at the end of the sentence, the scope of negation is marked by additional means. More specifically, in the habitual aspect, the scope of negation is marked by the dependent habitual aspect marker and the verb of existence *dáhà* placed after the negated predicate. The negative marker *skù* occurs in sentence-final position:

(3) *á   tì-y-á-h   hà   r   dä   kǝ*
     3SG   see-GO-2SG   2SG   D.HAB   exist   as
     hìdì   mǝ̀   géygéy   skù
     man   REL   bad   NEG
     'He does not see you as a bad person.'

If the predicate contains an infinitival complement, it is the predicate rather than the complement that is negated. Pronouns have low rather than high tone when the verb is infinitival:

(4) *hà   kúl   kǝ̀   ší   skù*
     2SG   able   INF   run   NEG
     'You cannot run.'

3. Negation of verbless clauses

The negation of an equational clause with adjectival predicate or an identificational clause nominal predicate, requires the negative particle *skù* at the end of the clause:

(5) *hìdì   tǝ́   nék   skù*
     man   GEN   good   NEG
     'This man is not good.'

(6) *ŋkwù   tǝ́   lìvèŋ   nék   skù*
     goat   GEN   black   good   NEG
     'The black goat is no good.'

(7) *wàl   tùk   skù*
     woman   2SG   NEG
     'It is not your wife.'

The negation of an existential clause has the verb *dáhà* followed by the negative marker *skù*:

(8) *kwáykwáy-yíì wà   zá   bákà   ɓì   dá   skù*
     hyena-PL   DEM   COMP today   meat   exist   NEG
     'The hyenas said, "Today, there is no meat."'

(9) *mà   tá   gwídín   dá   skù*
     REL   GEN   single   exist   NEG
     'One grain is missing.'

Possessive clauses that have the verb of existence *dáhà* retain this verb in the negative mood:

(10) *wàl   tùk   dá   skù*
      woman   2SG   exist   NEG
      'You do not have a wife.'

(11) *kó   hìdì   ngàn   dá   skù*
      even   man   3SG   exist   NEG
      'He does not have anybody.'

(12) *bàkàlàf   dàbàráy   ngàŋ   dá   skà*
      buffalo   strength   3SG   exist   NEG
      bá   zídèp
      ASSC   more
      'The buffalo does not have strength anymore.'

4. Negation and future tenses

The future tense in the negative clause is marked by a construction consisting of the verb *grà* 'search, want' realized as *gàr* in phrase-internal position, the infinitival marker *kə* preceding the main verb, and the negative marker *skù*. The third-person singular pronoun is *á* with high tone:

(13) *hìdì* *wèhíŋ* *à* *zá* *ván* *á* *n* *kə́*
      man   DEM   3SG COMP rain 3SG PREP INF
      dà *á* *gər* *kə́* *nd-á-k* *kəsə́m*
      fall 3SG want INF   touch-GO-1SG body
      skù
      NEG
      'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

(14) *á* *gər* *kə́* *mìsíl* *skù*
      3SG want INF   steal   NEG
      'He will not steal.'

The negative future may be used in questions about the truth but crucially not in specific questions:

(15) *á* *gər* *kə́* *mìsíl* *skə̀* *vú*
      3SG want INF   steal   NEG   Q
      'Will he not steal?'

Specific questions in the negative future are coded through a construction consisting of the dependent future marker *n kə̀* followed by the verb *kál* 'refuse' and the infinitival clause. There is no clause-final negative marker. Unfortunately, there are no examples of specific interrogative negative clauses in our texts; hence, the examples have been elicited:

(16) *á* *n* *kə́* *kál* *kə́* *mìsíl* *skə̀* *mí*
      3SG PREP INF   refuse INF steal   NEG   what
      'What he will not steal?'

(17) *mə̀* *n* *kə́* *kál* *kə́* *nd-á* *ví*
      REL   PREP INF   refuse INF go-GO who
      'Who will not come?'

5. Negation and the dependent aspect

The negation of clauses that in the affirmative are marked by reduplication of the verb requires the dependent form, with the infinitival marker *kə*, the verb *dàhà* 'exist', reduced to *dá* in phrase-internal position, and the negative marker *skù*, in that order:

(18) ván   kɔ́   mbɔ̀lém   dá   skù
      rain   INF   touch   exist   NEG
      'The rain did not touch him.'

(19) séy   wàl   wà   kám   kɔ́   nàz   tál
      then   woman   DEM   TOP   INF   stop   walk
      dá   skù   dáp
      exist   NEG   still
      'Then, that woman still did not stop taking her walks.'

The negative particle may occur with the end-of-event marker *za*, but such clauses mark rhetorical rather than genuine negation:

(20) mìnjé   ɓàgám   nɔ̀   wà   kɔ̀   ɓím   zɔ́
      now   speech   1SG   DEM   INF   see   EE
      skɔ̀   vù
      NEG   Q
      'My word, he got it, didn't he?'

6. Negation of the perfect

The negation of all forms that have the initial *mɔ̀*, viz. the relative and the stative marker, is coded by the form *ták*. The predicate with *ták* may optionally be followed by the negative marker *skù*:

(21) mɔ̀   mbɔ́ɗ   ábɔ̀   ándàl   ví
      REL   surpass   ASSC   magic (F.)   who
      'Who surpasses in magic?'

      mɔ̀   ták   sɔ́n
      REL   NEG   know
      'Nobody knows.'

(22) tíl   à   nd-á   á   wtɔ́   mɔ̀   ták
      go   3SG   go-GO   PRED   house   REL   NEG
      wàŋ-yí
      sleep-STAT
      'She went to the house of the one who does not sleep.'

(23) *séy   à   gòr   ngùl   mà   ták*
      so   3SG   want   husband   REL   NEG
      ngòlngòl   mòlá   skù   kám
      scarify   scar   NEG   otherwise (F.)
      à   mbál   skù
      3SG   like   NEG
      'She wants somebody who does not have a scar. Otherwise she
      does not like any man.' (Since almost every Hina man has a
      traditional facial scar, this is an excuse for the woman not to ac-
      cept any man.)

The origin of the form *ták* as a negative marker may be sought in
the verb *ták*, which has a variety of meanings including "block, pre-
vent":

(24) *há   kò   ták   kà*
      2SG   INF   block   POS
      'If you prevented him . . .'

(25) *à   zá   sò   táŋ   táŋ   zà   nd-á*
      3SG   COMP   1SG   walk   walk   EE   go-GO
      wídíŋ   kò   ták   kòtòf   ká   wàcíŋ   sò
      snake   INF   block   road   POS   DEM   1SG
      dìyà   ǹdò   táŋ
      start   beat   DED
      'He said, "I was walking, walking, and there was a snake
      blocking the road, and I started to hit it."'

The end-of-event marker *zà* is replaced by *dá* in negative clauses:

(86) *mò   mbóɗ   dá   skù*
      REL   surpass   exist   NEG
      'Nobody is superior!' (lit. 'nobody is surpassed')

(27) *kó   mò   lóɓ-yîì   dá   skù*
      QUANT   REL   wet-PL   exist   NEG
      'Not even one is wet.'

The sequence *dá skù* can constitute a complete clause:

(28) *mə́*   *mbə́ɗ*   *zə́*   *v-yíì*   *ɗǎ*   *skù*
      REL   surpass   EE   who-PL   exist   NEG
      'Who is superior? Nobody.'

7. Negation of the habitual

The negation of clauses in the habitual aspect is coded by the dependent habitual marker *rà* (reduced to *rə̀* or *r* in phrase-internal position) and the negative marker *skù*. Subject pronouns have high rather than low tone:

(29) *hà*   *wáŋ*   *wáŋ*   *há*   *lìm*   *wàl*
      2SG   sleep   sleep   2SG   see   woman
      rə̀   *skù*
      D.HAB   NEG
      'You stay for a long time without finding a woman.'

(30) *á*   *tùk*   *há*   *ɓə́ŋ*   *rə̀*   *skù*
      PRED   you   2SG   think   D.HAB   NEG
      'You are not thinking.'

(31) *kó*   *wə́l*   *nd*   *rə̀*   *skù*
      even (F.)   neck   go   D.HAB   NEG
      'But the voice does not go out as before.'

(32) *séy*   *tì*   *á*   *tìy-á*   *kà*   *mbí*
      so   see   3SG   see-GO   like   that
      á   *ɗál*   *rə̀*   *skù*
      3SG   do   D.HAB   NEG
      'Then she saw that one does not do it like that.'

(33) *á*   *vl-àh*   *skə̀n*   *rə̀*   *ɗǎ*   *skù*
      3SG   give-GO   thing   D.HAB   exist   NEG
      kó   *à*   *nzá*   *ŋgə̀n*   *mbə́ŋ*
      even   3SG   stay:GO   3SG.POSS   cut
      'If she does not give you something, even if she stays away, who cares.'?

(34)   *ngùl*   *ngòn*   *à*   *dìs*
      husband   3SG   3SG   cultivate
      r   *skù*   *màsáládˆ*
      D.HAB   NEG   lazy one
      'Her husband does not farm. He is a lazy one.'

The negation may be coded by the marker *ra* and the interrogative marker *vù* with low tone; thus, the basic marker of negation *skù* is not used. Such clauses do not code only negation but also an emotional state of the speaker, such as displeasure or astonishment:

(35)   *à*   *zá*   *á*   *bín*   *céh*   *ná*
      3SG   COMP   PRED   house   father   1PL.EXCL
      wáŋ   *rò*   *vù*
      sleep   D.HAB   Q
      '[Mother] said, "One cannot sleep at the house of your father!"'

(36)   *ngùl*   *nò*   *zòm*   *skòn*   *nó*
      husband   1SG   eat   thing   1SG
      r   *vù*
      D.HAB   Q
      'My husband, he does not eat my food!'

(37)   *áa*   *sò*   *mò*   *nd-á-y*   *zá*   *hí*
      Oh   1SG   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE   2PL
      sò   *máv*   *rò*   *dôb*   *vù*
      drink   beer   D.HAB   rather   Q
      'Oh, I came. "So, you are drinking beer, aren't you?"' *(dôbà* 'rather')

8. Prohibitive

The prohibitive for the second person is coded through a construction consisting of the second-person pronoun + verb + negative marker *skù*. The subject pronoun has low rather than high tone, which makes the construction different from negative clauses. The verb has high rather than low tone, which makes the construction different from the imperative.

(38) *báy   zá   hà   dá   kàdɔ́m*
      chief COMP   2SG   bring   calabash
      tɔ́   mà   ká   skù
      GEN   DEM   here   NEG
      'The chief said, "Never bring this calabash here."'
      (*kàdɔ́m tɔ́ mà* is a reduced form of *kàdɔ́m tɔ́ màcín* 'this cala-
      bash'.)

(39) *hí   (n)zɔ̀   dám   skù   hí   ndɔ̀   wùtá*
      2PL   stay   field   NEG   2PL   go   home
      'Do not stay in the field, go home!'

Prohibitive constructions of the type illustrated above are rather
rare in the texts. Instead, two other constructions occur more fre-
quently. One uses the existential verb *dáhà* in the negative clause:

(40) *hà   dá   kɔ̀   ɓɔ́ŋ   skù*
      2SG   exist   INF   think   NEG
      'You should not think.'

The negative future is also used in the prohibitive function. Such
prohibition is considered less forceful than the prohibitive construction
with *skù* alone:

(41) *à   zá   á   n   tàkár   há   gɔ̀r*
      3SG   EE   PRED   PREP   turtle 2SG   want
      kɔ̀   dá   yɔ̀m   skù
      INF   draw   water   NEG
      'He told the turtle not to fetch water.'

(42) *há   gɔ̀r   kɔ̀   dál   á pát   skù*
      2SG   want   INF   do   tomorrow   NEG
      'You should not do [it like that] tomorrow.'

9. Negation with interrogative

If the negation occurs in an interrogative clause, the negative marker
skù precedes the interrogative marker:

(43) *à   zá   sà   wàcíŋ sémbàŋ   dá*
      3SG   COMP   1SG   DEM   strength (F.) exist
      skà   vù
      NEG   Q
      'He said, "Am I not strong?"' (lit. 'does not my strength exist?')

We have no reliable source of grammaticalization of *skù*. The only morpheme remotely similar to the negative marker is the word *skàn* 'thing'. This could be acceptable as the source of *skù* under the grammaticalization conditions similar to those that led to the development of the French clause final negative markers *pas, point*, etc. Essentially, the marker *skàn* would have first been used in the sense "thing," which in negative clauses would have produced something equivalent to "not a thing." Such grammaticalization must have also involved reduction of the final nasal. Such a reduction, however, is not otherwise attested in the language.

10. Negative adverb *wílkíl* 'fail'

Negation can be coded by the auxiliary predicate *wílkíl* 'fail', followed by the infinitive form of the verb:

(44) *ván   wílkíl kà   ndá-hà*
      rain   fail   INF   go-GO
      'The rain failed to come.'

It is possible that the expression *wílkíl* consists of two morphemes, the verb *wíl* 'lack' and the verb *kúl* 'be able', whose vowel undergoes fronting under the influence of the preceding vowel. An argument for this analysis is provided by the fact that the forms *wíl* and *kúl* can occur independently. The argument that *wíl* is a verb is provided by the fact that it can be followed by object pronouns:

(45) *láy   wíl-á-ŋ*
      time   lack-GO-3SG
      'It is not time yet.'

The form *kúl* 'be able to' requires infinitival complements:

(46) *bàkàlàf*   *zá*   *nà*   *gómbòk*
      buffalo   COMP   PREP   frog
      hà   *kúl*   *kà*   *ší*   *skù*
      2SG   able   INF   run   NEG
      'The buffalo said to the frog, "You cannot run"'

The combination of the two forms may well result in the phonological form *wílkíl* and explains why this form is followed by the infinitival complements.

There is also a form *kìl*, which is more difficult to identify. It can follow the existential marker *dá* and precede the negative marker *skù*:

(47) *mbí*   *kɔ́*   *mbù*   *mbɔ̀*   *dá*   *kìl*   *skù*
      3SG   INF   give birth   child   exist   ?   NEG
      'She has not yet given birth.'

The simple negative answer to a question about truth is *àáw* 'no!'. Its affirmative equivalent is *yáw* 'yes!'.

11. Conclusions

The fundamental means of coding negation are high tone on subject pronouns, use of the dependent aspects and tenses, and, for most types of negative clauses, the use of the clause-final particle *skù*. The auxiliary *dáhà* 'exist' is used in past singular and in habitual negative clauses. The perfect negative is coded by the auxiliary *ták* 'prevent, block'.

Chapter 15
Verbless clauses

1. Introduction

The chapter includes a description of several types of sentences whose common characteristic is that in the present tense their predicates are not verbal. The types to be considered here are equational clauses with nominal, possessive, and attributive predicates, and locative sentences. In all time references other than present, the equational clause must have a verb. Some types of clauses do not have a verb in those other time reference either. Equational clauses cannot have aspectual markers.

2. Equational clauses

Equational clauses with present time reference have the form Subject Predicate, i.e., there is no copula. The subject may be nominal, pronominal, or even clausal. The predicate may be nominal, including nominal expressions derived from verbs; numeral; or adjectival. The subject constitutes a separate phrase, as evidenced by the fact that final vowels of subject phrases are never omitted, and that demonstratives of subject phrases occur in their phrase-final forms. This indicates that the subject phrase in equational clauses has a different phrasal status than the subject phrase in verbal clauses, which, unless it is also a topic, has the final vowel deleted. Here are examples of subject phrases ending in demonstratives, with their phrase-final forms ending in *ŋ* (examples 1-3 are in sequence in a text):

(1)   *míndí   wàcín   màllúm*
        other   DEM   teacher
        'One is a teacher.'

(2)   *míndí   wàcín   gáw*
    other   DEM   hunter
    'Another is a hunter.'

(3)   *míndí   wàcín   mə̀síl*
    other   DEM   thief
    'Another is a thief.'

The pronominal subjects of equational clause have the same segmental form as the pronominal subjects of verbal clauses, but unlike those in verbal affirmative clauses, they have high tone:

(4)   *há   skùláh   nàŋ*
    2SG   in-law   1SG
    'You are my son-in-law.'

(5)   *ngám   sə́   mbə̀   ngə̀ŋ*
    because (F.)   1SG   child   3SG
    'because I am his child'

(6)   *há   và   nàŋ*
    2SG   father   1SG
    'You are my father.'

Compare the low tone on the pronoun *hà* when it serves as the predicate of an equational clause:

(7)   *wà   hà   də́b   vù*
    DEM   2SG   so   Q
    'So, it's you?'

The third-person plural pronominal subject *tə̀tə̀* has low tone, but recall (Chapter 5, Section 4) that this form does not occur as a verbal subject. The verbal subject for the third-person plural is *ì*:

(8)   *tə̀tə̀   gwáɗ   á   bíŋ   á   màcíŋ*
    3PL   plenty   PRED   room   PRED   DEM
    'They are numerous in that room over there.'

Equational clauses provide evidence that *à* (i.e. the low tone form) is a subject marker in verbal clauses rather than an independent third-

person pronoun. The pronoun *à* may not be used as the subject in equational clauses:

(9)   **à*   *wàl*   *ngòn*
      3SG   woman   3SG
      for 'She is his wife.'

The third-person pronominal subject in equational clauses is coded in two ways. One is by the proximate deictic marker *wà* or *wàcín* (when the subject is topicalized) for non-human nouns. The other is by the anaphor *mbí* for human nouns. The deictic marker in clause-initial position, without any other elements preceding it within the clause, has low tone:

(10) *séy*   *báy*   *zá*   *wà*   *dámà*
      so   chief   COMP   DEM   good
      'The chief said, "That is good."'

Pronominal predicates of equational clauses are drawn from the set of independent pronouns:

(11) *báy*   *zá*   *mĩ̀žì*   *míndéŋ*   *mbí*
      chief   COMP   REL:DEM   other one   3SG
      hà   *mò̀*   *dáh*   *vù*
      2SG   REL   bring   Q
      The chief said, "The other one, is it you who brought him?"'

3. Identificational clauses

Identificational clauses are those whose subject is an entity present in the environment of speech, but not overtly represented in the clause. Such clauses have pleonastic subjects *wà* or *wàcín* for non-focal subjects and *mbí* for focal subjects.

(12) *wà*   *bàhá*   *ngàlámbrà*   *lèk*   *lèk*
      DEM   again   story   Lek   Lek
      ɓǒm   *tó*   *hídò̀*   *táŋ*
      name GEN   man   DED
      'This is a story of Lek. Lek is the name of this man.'

(13) wàcíŋ dàr   tá   ndìr   kó   gàɓ
      DEM   dance GEN   sorghum   INF   thresh
      'This [the topic] is the dance for the threshing of sorghum.'

(14) fú   á   mìdìgíɗ   báy   wàcíŋ gùgwáy
      all   PRED   court   chief DEM   festival
      tàŋ
      DED
      'Everybody into the front yard of the chief. It is the holiday.'

For subjects in focus constructions, one uses the marker *mbí*:

(15) à   zá   mbí   sàŋ
      3SG   COMP   3SG   1SG
      'He said, "So it is me."'

(16) à   zá   mbí   hòŋ
      3SG   COMP   3SG   2SG
      'He said, "So it is you."'

(17) à   zá   mbí   mbíŋ
      3SG   COMP   3SG   3SG
      'He said, "So it is him."'

(18) à   zá   mbí   nàmú
      3SG   COMP   3SG   1PL
      'He said, "So it is us."'

4. Equational clauses with possessive predicate

There are two constructions coding possessive equational clauses of the type X is Y's. One consists of the subject and the possessor without any preposition preceding the possessor:

(19) tèbéŋ   tùkóŋ
      granary   2SG
      'That's your granary.' (*tèbéŋ* 'large granary in the courtyard')

The other construction involves the locative predicator *á* and the genitive marker *tá*. Some pronouns following the possessive marker are

possessive, having incorporated the preposition. The first-person singular form is *tá nàŋ*. With a possessive that already has the preposition *tʃ* incorporated, one may use another genitive or the locative predicator *á* but not the two combined:

(20)   *ʝʃ*   *tʃ*   *ngíɗ*   *á*   *tʃkóŋ* [tókóŋ]
       cow   GEN   DEM   PRED   GEN.1PL
       'The cow over there is ours.'

(21)   *ʝʃ*   *tʃ*   *ngíɗ*   *tʃ*   *tʃkóŋ*
       cow   GEN   DEM   GEN   1PL
       'The cow over there is ours.'

(22)   **ʝʃ*   *tʃ*   *ngíɗ*   *á*   *tʃ*   *tʃ kóŋ*
       cow   GEN   DEM   PRED   GEN   1PL
       for 'The cow over there is ours.'

The preposition *tʃ* may be used with other pronominal and all nominal possessors:

(23)   *ngàzù*   *wà*   *tú*   *wàl*   *nàŋ*
       foot   DEM   GEN   wife   1SG
       'This is my wife's foot.'

5. Time coding in equational clause

Coding of time requires a verb, and equational clauses in times other than the time of speech are not verbless. Regardless of the tense to be coded, all tensed equational clauses use the verb *nzà* 'to stay, remain, be'.

5.1 Past in equational clauses

In natural discourse, the equational clause can be interpreted as having either past or present time reference:

(24)   *hìdì*   *wàcíŋ*   *tùkùŋ*   *skʃn*   *ngʃn*   *dá*   *skù*
       man   DEM   poor   thing   3SG   exist   NEG
       'This man was poor; he did not have anything'

One means of coding the past time of the state is through the addition of the adverb *kìdéŋ* 'in the past' after the equational clause:

(25) *hìdì   wàcíŋ tùkùŋ kìdéŋ skə̀n   ngə̀n   dǎ   skù*
      man   DEM   poor once thing 3SG   exist NEG
      'This man was poor, he did not have anything.' (he is not poor
      anymore)

5.2 Future in equational clauses

The future tense is coded by the verb *nzà* 'remain' and one of the two means of coding the future in verbal clauses, viz. the end-of-event marker *za*, which follows the main verb, or the future marker *n kə*.

(26) *hìdə   tùkóŋ   à   n   kə́   nzà   dǎm dǎmà*
      compound   2SG   3SG   PREP   INF   be   good good
      'Your compound will be well.'

6. Adjectival predicates

There are several types of constructions with predicates describing attributes of the subject. Which type is used depends on the inherent properties of the lexical attributes. These constructions force us to classify the attributes into three types.

6.1 Simple form of the predicate

The first type of lexical attributes includes those that are simply juxtaposed to the subject. To this class belong inherent adjectives (see Chapter 3, Section 5) *nék* 'good', *pár* 'another', *báytàŋ* 'large', *fés* 'small', *gárɓàw* 'disorderly':

(27) *gàdə́ ngə̀n fés   ngà-cíŋ*
      jar   3SG   little like-that
      'Her jar is small like that.' (accompanied a gesture of the hands)

(28) à   zá   wàcíŋ nék   skù   náz   kɔ́
      3SG   COMP   DEM   good NEG   throw POS
      dɔ̀wín dá
      behind house
      'He said it is not good. Throw it behind the house.'

(29) mbɔ̀   táŋ   gárɓàw   dáy
      child DED   disorderly   too much
      'The child is too disorderly.'

(30) à   zá   skɔ̀n wà   dámà
      3SG   COMP   thing DEM   good
      'He said, "It is good."'

These predicates can have a proposition as the subject:

(31) dàr   kɔ́   dàr   bɔ̀   tskò   nèk
      dance INF   dance ASSC evening   good
      'It is good to dance in the evening.'

The evidence that the predicate is adjectival is provided by the fact these forms can modify nouns and cannot serve as arguments. They do not have infinitive forms or indeed any other inflectional or derivational forms associated with verbs:

(32) sɔ̀   n   kɔ̀   díŋ   málày ngwáy   pár
      1SG   PREP   INF   take Mala PL.ADDR   another
      'People, I will take another Mala.'

The categoriality of a lexical item as an adjective can be established through the examination of the segmental and tonal structure of the pronominal subject. If the third-person subject is à, that indicates that the clause has in fact a verbal, not an adjectival, predicate:

(33) àmmá   á   n   nɔ̀f   nàŋ   à   gáy   ngàm . . .
      CONJ   PRED   PREP   heart 1SG   3SG   spoil because
      'In my judgment it is bad, because . . .' (kɔ̀ gáy 'spoil')

The predicate of an equational clause may be a numeral:

(34)   *tòtò   mfáď*
      3PL   four
      'They are four.'

(35)   *sèfér   m   kwár   mótà   á   wtɔ́   ká   mfáď*
      driver   REL   drive   car   PRED   village   here   four
      'There is also the driver of the car. There are four of them in the village.'

The class of simple property concept predicates also behaves as a class when they modify a noun. They do not take any particles in modifying constructions.

6.2 Reduplicated form of the adjectival predicate

Some property concepts must be reduplicated in a predicative construction. Subjects of such predications may be plural and singular. Whether the property concept item is reduplicated is thus not a function of the subject:

(36)   *í   prák   prák*
      3PL   equal   equal
      'They are all equal.'

Among the members of this class are *žìdîk žìdîk* 'heavy', *kèféw kèféw* 'light' (about weight), *préw préw* 'hard'. In the attributive function, these words occur in the simple form and must be preceded by the preposition *tɔ́*:

(37)   *cìcélém   žìdîk žìdîk*
      wood   heavy heavy
      'The wood is heavy.'
Cf:
(38)   *cìcélém   tɔ́   žìdîk*
      wood   GEN   heavy
      'heavy wood'

(39)   *cìcèlèm   wà   préw préw*
      wood   DEM   hard hard
      'The wood is hard.'

Cf:
(40) cìcélém   tɔ́   préù
      wood   GEN   hard
      'hard wood'

(41) cìcèlèm   wà   kèféw kèféw
      wood   DEM   light (weight)
      'The wood is light.'
Cf:
(42) cìcélém   tɔ́   kèféw
      wood   GEN   light (weight)
      'light wood'

(43) dòk   lìvèŋ   lìvèŋ
      horse black   black
      'The horse is black.'

(44) dòk   ábɔ̀   ʄɔ̀   í   lìvèŋlìvèŋ
      horse ASSC   cow   COP   black
      'The horse and the cow are black.'
Cf:
(45) rùkùtù   wà   tɔ́   lìvèŋ
      shirt   DEM   GEN   black
      'that black shirt.'

The reduplication of lexical items ending in a vowel results in the reduction of the final vowel of the first reduplicated item. Thus, *ɗámà ɗámà* 'good' is reduced to *ɗám ɗámà* in clause-final position, and *ɗámɗám* in phrase-internal position:

(46) pɔ̀l   míndéŋ   ɗámɗámà
      detach another   normal
      'He detached the other – [it was] normal.'

(47) màllúm   ɗäm   ɗäm   skɔ̀   vù
      marabout   well   well   NEG   Q
      'Is the marabout not feeling well?'

7. Plurality coding through reduplication

The predicative reduplication of attributes formally involves multiple repetitions, and it indicates more than the normal amount of the attribute in question. The following example contains two attributive predicates: *dáy dáy* 'a lot' and *fés* 'little'. The first predicate is reduplicated; the second is not:

(48)	*à*	*wàží*	*tùk-yîi*	*dáy dáy dáy*
	for	children	2SG	a lot
	á	*t-án*	*fẽs*	
	for	GEN:1SG	little	

'For your children it is a lot, for me it is little.'

The reduplication of the attribute *fés* 'little' is considered internally contradictory.

8. Possessive propositions: X has Y

There are three means of coding possessive propositions. One is through the associative preposition *b* with the prefix *á* for a singular-possessor subject and the prefix *í* for a plural-possessor subject:

(49)	*ngàm*	*wàl*	*ábà*	*mbà*	*ngàŋ*	*à*
	because	woman	ASSC	child	3SG	3SG
	n	*kà*	*gìz*	*táŋ*		
	PREP	INF	tell	DED		

'Because the woman has a child and she will tell . . . '

The quantifier 'some' takes a singular subject pronoun:

(50)	*mìndín*	*ábà*	*bàtákàr*	*dzàbàŋ*	*mìndíŋ*
	some	ASSC	bag	five	some
	ábà	*gàb*			
	ASSC	ten			

'Some have five thousand, others have ten.'

The notion of being pregnant is coded through the associative preposition followed by the noun *dəmus* 'stomach':

(51) ngalumbra   waciŋ wala   abə damus
      story   DEM   woman   ASSC stomach
      mbuu   a   mbuu za
      beget 3SG   beget EE
      'Here is a story of woman who was pregnant and gave birth.'
      (written sources)

The third-person singular or plural subject pronoun occurs even if there is a nominal subject present:

(52) mbə̀   pár   áb   dàbàráy
      child other ASSC cleverness (F.)
      'The other child is clever.'

(53) mìnjé hìdì   áb   hìdə́   ngə̀n yə́m
      now   man   ASSC compound   3SG   also
      'Now, if a man has his own compound.'

The quantifier pát 'all' in the role of subject takes the plural associative marker í-bə̀:

(54) pát   í-bə̀   pàtárì
      all   PL-ASSC   skirt
      'All of them have a skirt.'

The associative marker with the first person singular is only bə̀:

(55) àmmá sə́   bə̀   ìdá
      but   I   ASSC   house
      'But I have a house'

Another means of coding possessive propositions is through the existential construction with the verb dáhà 'exist', where the subject of the verb of existence is modified by possessive pronouns:

(56) və̀ŋ   ngə̀n dáhà cíŋ   dáhà
      relative   3SG   exist his father   exist
      'He has a relative, he has a father . . .'

The third means of coding the possessive clauses is through the locative construction: Subject Preposition (Preposition) Noun phrase *dáhà* 'exist'. If the possessor is human, the second preposition is *r*:

(57) *fú   dà fú   á   r   tìn   wà   dáhà*
      all kind (F.)   PRED PREP 1PL.EXCL   DEM   exist
      'We have all kinds of things.'

The negation of a possessive proposition is coded by the clause-final marker *skù*:

(58) *á   b   dálà   skù*
      3SG   ASSC   money   NEG
      'She doesn't have money.'

9. The locative proposition: X is located at Y

Propositions expressing the presence of a subject at a location may have two forms in the present tense. In one construction the locative predicator *á* precedes the locative complement:

(59) *kwáyàŋ   tìy   njè   í   lw-á-k*
      squirrel   look   eyes   3PL   say-GO-1SG
      gòmíɓìɗ   gwáɗ   á   dùwáŋ   dà
      monkey   plenty   PRED   behind   compound
      'The squirrel looked. And as they told him there are many monkeys behind.'

(60) *mbí   pár   à   zá   bánày*
      3SG   another   3SG   COMP   suffering
      á   tàlàŋ   mbà-nàn
      PRED   head   child-1SG
      'The other said the suffering is on the head of my child.' (my child is suffering)

(61) *séy   múà   báytàŋ   á   dámù   zìɓír zìɓír*
      so   tamarind   large   PRED   bush   dark dark
      'There is a large tamarind tree in the bush, it is dark.'

(62) *mímèŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *àmmá bìɣáv à*
      panther   3SG   COMP truly God   3SG
      mbál-á-kù   nd-á   *ɣì*   *gwád á*   *bíŋ   nàŋ*
      like-GO-1SG go-GO   meat plenty PRED room 1SG
      'The leopard said, "God truly loves me, as there is a lot of meat
      in my room."'

(63) *í*   *zá*   *mbà* *fés*   *ngà* *cíŋ* *á*   *dámù*
      3PL   COMP child small like   DEM   PRED bush
      'They [shepherds] say there is a small child like that in the
      bush.'

(64) *kwáyàŋ*   *zá*   *ɣì*   *mà*   *màts-yí*
      squirrel   EE   meat REL   die-STAT
      báytàŋ   *á*   *dámù*
      large   PRED bush
      'The squirrel said, "There is a large dead game animal in the
      bush."'

10. Existential predication

The existential predication is coded by the verb *dǎhà* 'exist':

(65) *séy* *à*   *ɣá*   *skàn*   *dǎ*   *kàcíŋ*
      so   3SG   say   thing   exist   DEM
      'Then he said, "There is something here."'

Evidence that the verb *dǎhà* is not a locative predicate is provided by
the fact that it can cooccur with the local predicator *á*:

(66) *háɣàm*   *dǎhà*   *á*   *bíŋ*   *ngàn*
      daughter   exist   PRED   house 3SG
      'There is a girl at her house.'

11. Conclusions

The verbless clauses whose time is identical with the time of speech do
not have a copula. If the predicate is a noun, the structure of the clause
is Subject Predicate. Pronominal subjects of equational clauses, unlike

pronominal subjects of verbal clauses, have high tone. The coding of the future tense in an equational clause requires use of the verb *nzà* 'to live, to sit', and such clauses do not differ from verbal clauses.

There are two types of property concept predicates. Inherent adjectives follow the subject without any markers. Non-inherent adjectives are reduplicated for the predicative function.

Possessive propositions are marked through the associative preposition *b*, which precedes the possessum. The associative preposition is preceded by subject pronouns.

Locative propositions use the locative predicator *á* before the locative complement.

Chapter 16

Interrogative clauses

1. Introduction

Mina has two types of interrogative clauses: clauses asking about the truth of the proposition ('yes/no questions', 'polarity questions'), and clauses asking about a specific element of the proposition ('wh-questions', 'information questions').

2. Questions about the truth

Questions about the truth of a proposition are pragmatically independent clauses, in that no presuppositions are required for their interpretation. Independent aspects and tenses are used in questions about the truth. There are two means of coding a question about the truth. One is through tonal means; the other is through an interrogative particle *vù*, which always comes at the end of the clause.

The tonal means of coding consists of raising intonation and the last high tone of the clause. We were not able to determine the functional difference, if any, between the interrogatives coded by intonation and interrogatives coded by the clause-final marker *vù*:

(1) *kái*   *í*   *ɡá*   *nà*
      INTERJ   3PL   say   1PL
      lə́   *ɡì*   *nìnàŋ* *kə́*   *ndà*
      own   meat 1PL   INF   go
      '"Look," they said "We who own the meat, it is we who go?"'

(2) *kə̀də́m*   *vl-á-k*   *wùd* *gí*
      calabash   give-GO-1SG food POL
      'Calabash, could you give me some food?'

(3)   *kə̀də̀m*   *vl-á-k*   *wùdə̀ gí   tsáy   dàp*
       calabash   give-GO-1SG   food   POL   finish   only
       '"Calabash, could you give me some food?", just like that.'

Such questions usually express astonishment:

(4)   *hà   gwáɗ*   *zá*
       2SG   satisfy (about hunger)   EE:Q
       'Are you sated?'

Questions marked by *vù* alone do not imply any presupposition on the part of the speaker:

(5)   *hà   gwáɗ zə́   vù*
       2SG   satiate EE   Q
       'Are you sated?'

(6)   *à   ɓá   skə̀n   ɗá   sùlúɗ vù*
       3SG   say   thing   exist two   Q
       'He said, "Are there two things?"'

    The question about the truth of the proposition can also be marked by clause-final particle *vù*:

(7)   *há   lùw-á-ŋ   ngásì   ɓámbáy*
       2SG   say-GO-3SG   like that   stick
       n-dí   ɗál   tə̀   vù
       go   do   it   Q
       '"You say to it just like that, 'Stick, do it'?"'

(8)   *à   lù-á   zə̀   hà   nék   skù   ngà   vù*
       3SG   say-GO.2SG   EE   2SG   good   NEG   like   Q
       'Will he tell you that you are bad?'

(9) wà   hí   wɔ̌ží   hí   mɔ̀   ndí   dǎl
     but   2PL   children   2PL   REL   HAB   do
     màsáláɗ   skù   syì   láy   gwáɗ   á
     laziness   NEG   COM   field plenty PRED
     dám   skɔ̀   vù
     bush   NEG   Q
     'But you children, you are lazy. Aren't there plenty of fields in
     uncultivated areas?'

The interrogative clause may receive a raising intonation, realized
as high tone on clause-final particle *vú*:

(10) há   áz   tòk   kɔ́   ɓàm
      so   go   GEN:1PL.INCL   INF   eat
      tɔ̀   žídèp   skɔ̀   vú
      DEM   at last   NEG   Q
      'So, aren't we going to eat at last?'

If the question is about alternative possibilities, i.e. if it consists of
two questions in a sequence, the first marker *vu* has high tone, and the
second marker *vu* has low tone:

(11) wà   tì   mɔ̀k   zàmán   tɔ̀   à   gày
      but   see   no   time(H.)   GEN   3SG   spoiled
      vú   à   ngɔ̀m   vù
      Q   3SG   joyous   Q
      'But let's see, is this life sad or is it happy?'

The interrogative marker forms one phrase with the preceding
proposition, as evidenced by the deletion of word-final vowels preced-
ing the interrogative marker:

(12) hà   l-inɔ́   vù
      2SG   of-Hina   Q
      'Are you a Hina person?'

Grammatical morphemes are not deleted in phrase-final position:

(13) hì   in-yîi   vù
      2PL   Hina-PL   Q
      'Are you Hina men?'

An existential verb may be used in questions about the truth:

(14)   *bìɓáv   dá   vù*
        God   exist   Q
        'Is there God?' (elicited)

3. Questions about the truth with presuppositions

Incredulous questions are marked by the clause-final interrogative marker *yà*:

(15)   *kó   mì   dá   skù   yà*
        even   what   exist   NEG   Q
        'Isn't there anything?'

(16)   *hì   n   kà   dzán-à   nók   ɓì   zá   yà*
        2PL   PREP   INF   find-GO   1PL   meat   EE   Q
        'You found us meat?'

The clause-final marker *ráy* is the equivalent of the English rhetorical 'so what?':

(17)   *á   zm-á-h   wùdà   zá   ráy*
        3SG   eat-GO-2SG   food   EE   so what
        'Even if he ate your food, it should not be taken against him'

4. Specific questions

4.1 Semantic categories of specific interrogatives

The specific interrogative marker is *i* suffixed to markers coding the grammatical role or the semantic properties of the argument or adjunct that the question is about. Some specific interrogative markers occur in clause-initial position and others occur in clause-final position. The position of the specific interrogative marker is not the same as the position of the corresponding arguments in the declarative clause.

The specific interrogative markers code the following semantic categories: human participant, the marker *v*; non-human participant, the marker *m*. The interrogative markers for place, time, reason, and man-

ner are formed through the addition of prepositions to the marker *v* or *m* or the use of other forms coding specific adjuncts.

4.2 Questions about the subject of an equational clause

Questions about the non-human subject of an identificational clause are formed by the demonstrative *wà* in subject position and *mì* in clause-final position:

(18) wà   mí
      DEM what
      'What is this?'

(19) wà   ží   mí
      DEM EE   what
      'What is this?' (when the speaker knows the identity of the object and does not approve of what he or she sees)

The phrase-final form of the demonstrative may also be used in the interrogative clause, to code topicalization:

(20) wàhín mí
      DEM   what
      'What is this?'

(21) wàcín mí
      DEM   what
      'What is this?'

If there is a locative phrase in the clause, both *wà* and *mì* follow the locative phrase:

(22) tə́   ngíɗ wà   mí
      GEN   DEM DEM what
      'What is that over there?'

(23) tə́   í   ngíɗ wà   mí
      GEN   PREP DEM DEM what
      'What is behind there?'

Questions regarding a human participant of discourse are marked by the interrogative *ví* in clause-final position. The third-person singular is coded by the third-person human anaphor *mbí*:

(24)   *mbí*   *ví*
       ANAPH   who
       'Who is he?', 'Who is she?' (this expression is used if the speaker is told that somebody is calling him)

When people knock on the door one can simply ask:

(25)   *ví*
       who?

(26)   *hà*   *ví*
       2SG   who
       'Who are you?'

4.3 Aspect coding in specific interrogatives

A characteristic feature of specific interrogative clauses is that they have only the unmarked form of the verb in the past tense. The reduplicated form may not occur there. This indicates that the specific interrogative clauses are dependent clauses:

(27)   *mà*   *gáy*   *ví*
       REL   spoil   who
       'Who spoiled it?'

(28)   *mà*   *mbə́d*   *ví*
       REL   surpass   who
       'Who is superior?'

(29)   *báy*   *zá*   *ngwáy*   *bàhámàn*   *bákà*   *bá*
       chief   COMP   people   Bahaman   today   still
       dzán-á   *nók*   *mí*
       find-GO   2PL   what
       'The chief said, "People, what else did Bahaman find us today?"'

In the future tense, the specific interrogative clauses have the same sequence of morphemes as in independent clauses, viz. *n kə*:

(30) *mə*   *n*   *kə́*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *ví*   *séy*   *bìɣáv*
      REL   PREP   INF   say-GO-3SG   who   so   God
      'Who will tell him, except God?' (Nobody can tell him, except God.)

4.4 Questions about subjects of verbal clauses

Questions about subjects of verbal clauses have the marker *mə* in clause initial position and the marker *ví* or *mí*, depending on whether the subject is human or nonhuman, in clause-final position. Since *mə* is identical with the relative clause marker, the interrogative construction may well be a form of the relative clause, corresponding to "the one who S is who/what?"

(31) *áw*   *bìɣáv*   *nàŋ*   *mə*   *ɓət-á-k*   *mbə̀*   *zə̀*   *ví*
      oh   God   1SG   REL   take-GO-1SG   child   EE   who
      'O, my God, who took away my child?'

The end-of-event marker can be omitted:

(32) *áw*   *bìɣáv*   *nàŋ*   *mə*   *ɓət-á-k*   *mbə̀*   *ví*
      oh   God   1SG   REL   take-GO-1SG   child   who
      'O, my God, who took my child?'

Questions about a non-human subject:

(33) *mìnjé*   *wàcíŋ*   *hà*   *lìm*   *mə*   *dàl-á*   *nàm*   *mí*
      now   DEM   2SG   see   REL   do-GO   1DU   what
      'Now, you saw, what happened to us?'

(34) *kwáykwáy*   *də́p*   *í*   *wàn*   *sùlúd*   *sùlúd*
      hyena   ask   3PL   sleep   two   two
      wà   *mə*   *dàl-á-ŋ*   *tə̀tə̀*   *mí*
      but   what   happen-GO-3SG   3PL   what
      'Hyena asked: they sleep in pairs, but what happened to them?'

Interrogative markers follow objects and adverbs of time or place, if any:

(35) *mà   ŋ   kɔ́   ntɔ̀   ɓɔ̀   n   ví*
      REL   PREP   INF   pay   cow   1SG   who
      'Who will pay for my cow?'

(36) *báy   zá   mɔ̀   y-á   ví*
      chief   COMP   REL   call-GO.2SG   who
      'The chief said, "Who is calling you?"'

(37) *wà   mɔ̀   kɔ́   ndɔ̀   kɔ́   gàd-á*
      but   REL   INF   go   INF   pick fire-GO
      nòk   kú   ví
      1PL   fire   who
      'But who will go to find us fire?'

If there is an addressee in the clause, the addressee follows the specific interrogative marker. The addressee is thus outside of the propositional frame:

(38) *séy   ii   zá   mì   yá   ví   kwáyàŋ*
      so   3PL   COMP   REL   call   who   squirrel
      'Then, they said, "Who called you, squirrel?"'

The evidence that the question about the subject is coded by the relative clause plus interrogative intonation is provided by non-interrogative relative clause constructions, which have exactly the same form as interrogative clauses:

(39) *mɔ̀   ndɔ̀   kɔ́   ší   ví   syì*
      REL   go   INF   run   who   COM
      kɔ́   ǹd-á   zà
      INF   hit-GO   EE
      'The one who wants to run away, he hit him'

Compare the intonation in the interrogative clause:

(40) *mɔ̀   ndɔ̀   kɔ́   ší   ví*
      REL   go   INF   run   who
      'Who wants to go to run?'

4.5 Questions about the object

In questions about the object, the interrogative marker follows the verb
or aspect marker, if any. If the object is human, the marker is *ví*; if the
object is non-human, the marker is *mí*. The function of these markers as
coding the object is assured by the presence of the subject in the posi-
tion preceding the verb.

Human objects:

(41) wà   sò   n   kó   gòr   žì   ví
      but   1SG   PREP   INF   search   then   who
      'But who am I going to search for?'

(42) gómbòk   zá   hà   r   ví
      frog   COMP   2SG   insult   who
      'Frog said, "Who are you insulting?"'

Non-human objects:

(43) sáy   tàkár   zá   hà   kàp   mí
      so   turtle COMP   2SG   throw   what
      'So the turtle said, "What do you throw?"'

(44) à   gòr   kó   dál-á-h   mí
      3SG   want   INF   do-GO-2SG   what
      'What does he want to do to you?'

(45) à   mìsíl   mí   á   mìsíl   wòdá
      3SG   steal   what   3SG   steal   food
      'What did she steal? She stole food!'

(46) wàl   ngòn   zá   áu   sò
      wife   3SG   COMP   INTERJ   1SG
      dál-á-h   mòná   wá   mí
      do-GO-2SG   like   DEM   what
      'His wife said, "What did I do to you?"'

The interrogative clause may have the marker *kò* coding focus:

(47)   à   zá   s   kà   káwù   tá
        3SG   COMP   1SG   INF   hold   DEM
        n   á   rà   wà   mí
        PREP   PRED   hand   DEM   what
        'He said, "What did I hold in the hand?"'

Questions about the object do not have to have a subject. Instead, the infinitive clause can be used alone. These questions end with the word *vàŋgáy* 'how':

(48)   wà   kà   lùw-á-ŋ   n   kàdàm   tá
        but   INF   say-GO-3SG   PREP   calabash   GEN
        ží   vàŋgáy   bàháman
        then   how   Bahaman
        '"What do you say to the calabash, Bahaman?"'

(49)   ee,   wà   kà   lùw-á-ŋ   vàŋgáy
        well,   DEM   INF   say-GO-3SG   how
        'But what does one say?'

(50)   wàl   wà   háŋ   háŋ   kà   dǎl   vàŋgáy
        woman   DEM   cry   cry   INF   do   how
        'This woman cried, "What [am I] to do?"'

4.6 Questions about manner

The marker *vàŋgáy* 'how' codes questions about the manner. The habitual aspect is coded by the independent habitual marker *ndí*:

(51)   í   ndí   dà   máv   vàŋgáy
        3PL   HAB   cook   EEer   how
        'How do they cook beer?'

The future tense is coded by the form involving the sequence *n kà*:

(52)   hà   n   kà   dǎl   vàŋgáy
        2SG   PREP   INF   do   how
        'What are you going to do?'

Unlike in affirmative equational clauses and questions about the truth, in specific interrogative equational clauses, there is a copula, which in the present tense is marked by the verb *nzà* 'be':

(53) skə̀n   tə́   nzə́   vàŋgáy
      thing GEN   be   how
      'What is the form of this thing? (about object previously mentioned but not visible)

4.7 Questions about dative and benefactive argument

Question about the dative/benefactive must have the third-person dative pronoun *ŋ* added to the verb, and the interrogative marker *ví* preceded by the preposition *nə̀*:

(54) hà   dáh-á-ŋ   nə̀   ví
      2SG   go-GO-3SG   PREP   who
      'For whom did you bring it?'

Questions about the addressee are coded by the third-person singular dative pronoun *ŋ* following the verb and the locative predicator *á* and the preposition *nə̀* followed by the question marker about humans *ví* 'who':

(55) hà   ŋ   kə́   lùw-á-ŋ   žín   á   nə̀   ví
      2SG   PREP   INF   say-GO-3SG   then   PRED   PREP   who
      'Who are you going to tell it to?'

4.8 Questions about locative adjuncts

Mina makes a distinction between directional and stative locatives. In both types of questions, the interrogative word occurs in clause-final position. In both types of questions, the interrogative word may be preceded by the local predicator *á* and the prepositions, *nə̀*, or *rə̀*. Which marker is used depends on the presence of locative characteristics in the verb and in the locative complement.

Questions about the stative locative, i.e. about the location of an object or an event, are marked by the clause final *tíkì*:

(56)   *skə̀n   wà   hà   dá   tíkì*
       thing   DEM   2SG   bring   where
       'That thing, where did you take it from?'

If the clause is verbless, the local predicator *á* must be used before the interrogative marker:

(57)   *à   zá   skə̀n   wàcíŋ   á   tíkì*
       3SG   COMP   thing   DEM   PRED   where
       'He said, "That thing, where is it?"'

If the complement is human, a preposition *r* must be used before it:

(58)   *hà   dà   skə̀n   wàcíŋ   á   rə̀   v-iti*
       2SG   bring   thing   DEM   PRED   PREP   whom
       'To whom did you bring that thing?'

The directional interrogative is marked by clause-final *váy*:

(59)   *hà   ndə̀   váy*
       2SG   go   where
       'Where are you going?'

(60)   *há   nzə̀   sàŋ   kə́   dòk   tə́-kòŋ*
       2SG   sit   1SG   as   horse   GEN-2SG
       há   ndə̀   váy   sə́   déɓ-é-h
       2SG   go   where   1SG   take-GO-2SG
       'You sit on me as on your horse. Where are you going? Let me take you.'

(61)   *à   zá   médìgì   tsú   váy   wàl*
       3SG   COMP   neighbor   go   where   woman
       ngə̀n   zá   à   ndə̀   mbé   skù
       3SG   COMP   3SG   go   recent   NEG
       'He said, "Where did the neighbor go?" His wife said, "He went a long time ago."'

The marker *váy* is not inherently interrogative, but rather is a marker of an unspecified direction:

(62)   *kó*   *wàl*   *ngàn*   *ndà*   *váy*   *íi*   *gràɓ*
        even   wife   3SG   go   where   3PL   together
        dàp
        always
        'No matter where his wife goes, they are always together.'

(63)   *hí*   *ndà*   *váy*   *hí*   *gràɓ*   *hí*   *gràɓ*
        2PL   go   where   2PL   together   2PL   together
        wà   *kàm*
        DEM   TOP(F.)
        'Wherever you go, you are always together, therefore . . .'

The stative locative interrogative *tíkì* can be used with verbs of movement, but only to code the starting point of the movement, not the direction to:

(64)   *báy*   *zá*   *à*   *nd-á*   *zà*   *tíkì*
        chief   COMP   3SG   go-GO   EE   where
        'The chief said, "Where did he come from?"'

4.9 Questions about the possessor

Questions about the identity of the possessor are coded by the interrogative complex consisting of the possessum, followed by the marker *v* 'who' and by the clause-final particle *tì*.

(65)   *báy*   *zá*   *há*   *dàm*   *hàƗàm*   *vítì*
        chief   COMP   2SG   marry   daughter   whose
        'The chief said, "Whose daughter did you marry?"'

(66)   *skàn*   *wàcíŋ*   *á*   *vìtì*
        thing   DEM   PRED   whom
        'To whom does this thing belong?'

(67)   *à*   *zá*   *rùkùt-yíì*   *wàcíŋ*   *á*   *vtì*
        3SG   COMP   clothing-PL   DEM   PRED   whom
        'He said, "To whom does this clothing belong?"'

(68)   *séy   báy   à   zá   wàcíŋ bàhá á*
       so   chief 3SG COMP   DEM   again PRED
       vtì
       whom
       'So the chief said, "This one is for whom?'"

The clause final particle *tì* can be analyzed as consisting of the interrogative marker *ì* and the form *t*. Given the fact that *t* is a component of the genitive marker *tá*, reduced to *tə́* in phrase internal position, it is more than likely that the structure of the interrogative complex in questions about the possessor is: 'who'-GEN-Q. Of interest here is the fact that the genitive marker occurs after the possessor. In affirmative clauses, the genitive marker occurs before the possessor.

4.10   Questions about time

Questions about time are coded by the form *pípí* at the end of the clause:

(69)   *há   də́m   wàl   pípí*
       2SG   marry woman   when
       'When did you marry?'

Because of the nature of the questions about time, viz. lack of any assumptions about the possible time of the event, the end-of-event marker *za* cannot be used.

(70)   *há   lìm-á   gwáȿ   (*za)   pípí*
       2SG   see-GO   elephant   (*EE)   when
       'When did you see the elephant?'

The marker *pípí* is not inherently interrogative, but rather codes unspecified time, as evidenced by its use in non-interrogative clauses:

(71)   *sà*   *dál*   *dàbàráy*   *nám*   *zàm*   *wùdá*   *tàmú*
         1SG   do   plan   1DU   eat   food   1DU
         ábà   *jàm*   *kó*   *pípí*   *sà*   *gàr*   *ngùl*
         ASSC   well (F.)   even   when   1SG   search   husband
         pár   *rà*   *skù*   *séy*   *nàmú*
         other   D.HAB   NEG   except   1DU
         'I have made a plan so that we eat well. I am never going to look for another husband. It is just the two of us.'

4.11   Questions about purpose and reason

Questions about reason are coded by the sequence *kó mì*, *á gdáŋ mì* or frequently using a Fula word *ngàm* 'because' in the sequence *ngàm kó mì*, occurring in clause-initial or in clause-final position. The marker *mì* is the non-human interrogative marker, *kó* is the preposition "in."

(72)   *ŋkwà*   *à*   *zá*   *hà*   *gàr*   *kímí*
         goat   3SG   COMP   2SG   want   why
         'The goat said, "Why are you looking for it?"'

(73)   *dòk*   *zá*   *hà*   *gàr*   *kímí*
         horse   EE   2SG   want   why
         'The horse said, "Why are you looking for it?"'

The answer to the question about reason/purpose involves the infinitive verb:

(74)   *à*   *zá*   *kà*   *dzàm*
         3SG   COMP   INF   wrestle
         'He said, "In order to fight."'

Here are examples of the use of the lexeme *ngàm* 'because' (F.) followed by *kímí* 'why' to code the question about reason:

(75) góŋgà   à   n   kə́   vúrtàhà   á
      reality (F.) 3SG   PREP   INF   leave (F.)   PRED
      tàlàŋ tə̀tàŋ gàm   kə́   mì   dúníyà
      head   3PL   because   PREP   what world
      à   nzə́   kə̀   mbíŋ
      3SG   be   like   that
      'The reality will come from their side. Why? Because that's
      how life is.'

(76) kə̀   ɓám   kímí   wà   lèɓék-lèɓék   wà
      INF   eat   why   but   raw raw   but
      kə̀   ɓám   vàŋgáy
      INF   eat   how
      'To eat [meat] why?, but how can one eat things that are raw?

4.12   Questions about quantity

For questions about quantity, the interrogative word corresponding to
"how many, how much" is *vànú*:

(77) hà   kə́   dèɓ-è-ŋ   dálá   nà   hìdə̀   wà
      2SG   INF   bring-GO-3SG   money PREP   man   DEM
      dâl   vànú
      makes how many
      'The money that you brought for the man, how much is it?'

The interrogative marker *vànú* may be preceded by the preposition *nə̀*:

(78) hà   bèr   nə̀   vànú
      2SG   sell   PREP   how much
      'For how much are you selling it?'

(79) sə̀   n   kə́   ɓə̀ɟ-á   vànú
      1SG   PREP   INF   smith-GO.2SG   how many
      'How many [hoes] will I make?'

The marker *vànú* may occur right after the head noun or in clause-final
position:

(80)   *hà*   *kə́*   *dálà*   *və́*   *vànú*   *á*   *Mókòlò*
       2SG   INF   make   year   how many   PRED   Mokolo
       'How many years did you spend at Mokolo?'

4.13   Questions about the instrumental

The interrogative instrumental is marked by the associative marker *bə̀* followed by the non-human marker *mì*:

(81)   *skú*   *syì*   *kə́*   *zə̀m*   *skə̀n-yìì*
       NEG   COM   INF   eat   thing-PL
       wà   *bə̀*   *mí*
       DEM   ASSC   what
       'Or else what to eat those things with?'

5. The categoriality of interrogative markers

The forms *ví*, *mí*, and perhaps other forms employed at the end of specific interrogative clauses are not inherently interrogative. Their inherent meaning is that of unspecified human and unspecified non-human entity. The evidence for the proposed functions of *ví* and *mí* is provided by the fact that these forms can also occur in non-interrogative functions, more specifically, in functions equivalent to "everybody," "everything":

(82)   *ví*   *tì*   *mbə̀*   *dá*   *skù*
       who   look   child   exist   NEG
       'Everybody looks, there is no child'

6. Conclusions

Interrogative clauses are marked by clause-final markers, which differ for questions about the truth and for questions about specific components of a proposition. The marker of yes/no questions shares the initial consonant *v* with specific questions about humans. All specific questions share the final vowel *i*. The marker for questions about non-human participants is *mí*. All the interrogative markers are underlyingly

markers of an unspecified participant belonging to one of the semantic categories of human, non-human, place, direction, time, and manner.

The interrogative clauses do not code the past tense through reduplication. Instead, the simple form of the verb is used in the past tense. In the future tense the form *n kə* is used.

Chapter 17

Reference system

1. Introduction

The description of the system of reference is crucial for the grammar of any language because it explains the role of lexical nouns in discourse, deictic and anaphoric elements, and the function of argument omission, if any. Mina codes the following domains in the system of reference: deixis; known referent; previous mention reference in discourse; These domains are coded by one of the following means: a noun alone; a noun followed by one or more determiners, a pronoun alone, a determiner alone or a sequence of determiners. The purpose of the present chapter is to describe each of these means, their functions, and how they interact with the other means.

2. Phrase internal and phrase final forms of pronouns and determiners

From the point of view of phonological properties, pronouns and determiners behave in the same way with respect to the syntactic positions they occupy. In phrase-internal position, members of this class undergo phonological reduction, and in phrase-final position, they undergo phonological expansion.

The phrase-final variants are derived through the suffix *n* added to the underlying, not the phrase-internal, form of the pronouns and determiners. The evidence for this suffix is provided by the phonological changes that pronouns undergo. High vowels in closed syllables are lowered by one step; thus, *i* becomes *e*, and *u* becomes *o*. The nasal suffix is realized as a velar nasal, which may be an additional cause of vowel lowering. The vowel-lowering rule enables us to analyze the underlying form of the second-person singular pronoun *hu*. Subsequent

lowering of *u* to *o* occurs when the suffix *n* is added. The vowel-lowering rule has not yet been generalized to all dialects, and some dialects do not lower the vowel in closed syllable.

The form of the pronoun with the suffix *n* allows us to establish the underlying form of the first-person pronoun and the third-person anaphor as *sa* and *ta* respectively. When the suffix *n* is added, the forms become *san* and *tan*, but when they occur in phrase-internal position, the vowel *a* is reduced and the forms become *s* or *t*. Subsequent schwa insertion as required by syllabification rules produces the forms *sə* and *tə*:

	Singular		Dual			Plural
	Internal	Final	Internal	Final	Internal	Final
1	*sə̀*	*sáŋ*	*nám*	*nàmú*	*nin*	*nènéŋ* EXCL
					nòk	*nòkóŋ* INCL
2	*hú*	*hó-n*				*hìnéŋ*
3	*tə*	*taŋ*			*tə̀tə̀*	*tə̀tàŋ*
Anaphor						
	mbí	*mbéŋ*				

The tone on forms *tə* and *taŋ* is low after verbs and polar after nouns and other lexical categories.

The phrase-final variants of plural pronouns are formed through the addition of a velar nasal to the underlying form of the pronoun. To prevent a disallowed consonant cluster from emerging, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. The vowel is a copy of the vowel in the preceding syllable. The nasal consonant becomes velar in accordance with phonological rules regarding word-final position:

(1)   Ø → V[α high, ß front] /V[α high, ß front]C_____ŋ#

(2)   *nìn-n*   →   [nìníŋ] or →   [nènéŋ]   1PL.EXCL
       nok-n   →   nòkóŋ   1PL.INCL
       hín-n   →   hìníŋ   →   [hìnéŋ]   2PL
       tə̀tà-n →   [tə̀tàŋ]   3PL

The third-person plural *tə̀tə̀* in phrase-internal position and *tə̀tàŋ* in phrase-final position are most likely reduplicated forms of the deduced marker *ta*, realized as *tə* in phrase-internal position. In the present grammar, the phrase final forms of these and other determiners are represented as one morpheme, instead of being divided into the base and

phrase-final suffix. The first person dual phrase-final form *nàmú* does not have the velar suffix. That may indicate that the form does not belong historically to the class of pronouns.

A noun or a noun phrase may be followed by several determiners, including deictics, anaphors, and pronouns. The term "demonstrative" in the present grammar refers to a form that can modify another noun or be the head of a noun phrase. Some demonstratives may have both deictic and anaphoric functions. Anaphors have an anaphoric function only.

3. Deixis

The grammatical system of Mina makes a clear distinction between locative deixis (described in Chapter 7 on locative arguments and adjuncts) and entity deixis. Entity deixis is based on the forms *wa* for proximate and *ta* for remote. The form *ta* has the phrase-internal variant *tə* and the phrase-final variant *taŋ*. The phrase-final variant of *wa* is formed through the addition of interchangeable suffixes *cín* or *hín*. The same speaker may use *hín* or *cín*, sometimes even within the same sentence. The vowel *a* of deictics may be raised to *e*, and we have also recorded instances of raising to *i* when phrase-final suffixes are added. Thus the following phrase-final phonetic realizations have been recorded: [kèhín], [mèhín], [wàcín], [wèhín], and even [wìcín] and [kìhín]. The evidence that the form *cín* is a suffix rather than an inseparable part of the underlying form of the pronoun is provided by its occurrence with other demonstratives.

Each marker can occur by itself, thus serving as head of the noun phrase, or it can modify a noun. Our description starts with proximate deixis followed by remote deixis, and within each category the use of the deictic marker alone is followed by its use as a modifier.

3.1 Proximate deixis

The proximate entity deixis is coded by the form *wa*, whose phrase final variants are *wàhín* or *wàcín*:

(3)   *wècín kújì*
        DEM   Kuji
        'This is Kuji.'

(4) *wà   tèk   wàcín   tèk   wà   tèk   bàhá   yà*
     DEM   sheep   DEM   sheep   DEM   sheep   still   also
     'This one is a sheep, this one is a sheep, and this one also is a sheep'

The marker *wa* in clause-initial position, without any other elements preceding it within the clause, has low tone:

(5) *séy   báy   zá   wà   dămà*
     so   chief   COMP   DEM   good
     'The chief said, "That is good."'

The entity modified by deictic markers can refer to an object of speech:

(6) *wàcín   àládà*   *tá   kúlí-yîì*
     DEM   custom (H., F.)   GEN   kuli-PL
     wàcíŋ   tók   zà
     DEM   finish EE
     'That is the tradition of the kuli. It [the story] has ended.'

The deictic *wà* may be used as complement the preposition *mànà* 'like' to give the meaning 'like that':

(7) *hàŋ   hàŋ   hàŋ   á   hàŋ   mànà*
     cry   cry   cry   3SG   cry   like that
     wàcíŋ   syì
     DEM   COM
     'He cried a lot like that.'

(8) *hà   ndí   dzán-á   nám   skàn   mànà   wà*
     2SG   HAB   find-GO   1DU   thing   like   DEM
     tíkì
     where
     'Where do you find us things like this?"'

3.2 Deictic modification

The tone of the marker *wa* is low:

(9) ɟì   wà   tók   zà
     meat   DEM   finish EE
     'This meat has finished'

(10) ɟə̀   wà   tók   zà
     cow   DEM   finish EE
     'This cow is finished' (is sick, tired, etc)

(11) wàcíŋ ngàlə́mbrà   wà   tók   zà
     DEM   story   DEM   finish EE
     'And that is how this story ends.'

The marker *wàcín* and its free variant *wàhín* have low-high tone structure:

(12) ɟə̀   wàcín   nék   skù
     cow   DEM   good   NEG
     'This cow is not good'

(13) ɟí   wàcín   nék   skù
     meat   DEM   good   NEG
     'This meat is not good.'

If in the same sentence the full form of demonstrative is used more than once, the first has the form *wàcín* and the second the form *wèhín*:

(14) pár   wàcíŋ mə̀   háŋ   háŋ   pár   wèhín
     other DEM   REL   cry   cry   other   DEM
     mə̀   dz   úlà
     REL   kill   neck
     'One is a weeper and the other is a screamer.'

The evidence that the form *wa* can code deixis is provided by its unambiguous use in discourse when the speaker refers to an object in the environment of speech. Thus people coming across a river that has filled up say:

(15) nòk   kà   ɗál   žì   vàŋgáy   kà   ɓáŋ
      1PL   INF   do   then how   INF   cross
      làkwát wàcín
      river DEM
      'How are we going to cross this river?' (žì phrase-internal, žèn
      phrase-final)

(16) à   ɓá   nd-á   tìy   skə̀ŋ wà   mə́k
      3SG   say   go-GO   see   thing DEM   won't you
      mbù   tə́   hìdì   gə̀nák tə́ŋ   á   ndà-há
      child GEN   man   black go   3SG   go-GO
      tìy   syì   mə́mə́ŋ
      see   COM   mother.3SG
      'He said, "Come and look at this thing." The human child came
      and saw that it was his mother.' (mə̀ də̀gə̀nák = something
      black, hìdì gə̀nák 'black person' = 'human being')

Here is another example of this kind:

(17) báy   tì   ɓ-yîì   dúngùr   ɗá   skù
      chief look cow-PL   hump   exist NEG
      'The chief saw that the cows did not have humps'

(18) à   zá   mà   ɓà   dúngùr tə́   ɓà   wà   ví
      3SG   COMP REL   cut   hump   GEN   cow   DEM   who
      'He asked, "Who cut the hump[s] of these cows?"'

The following example illustrates use of *wàcín* both as a modifier
of another noun and as deictic complement of a preposition. The modi-
fier function is marked by the phrase-final form because it marks the
topic:

(19) gàlə́mbrá   wàcíŋ tòk   zá   ábə̀   wàcíŋ
      story   DEM   finish EE   ASSC DEM
      'This story is finished with that.' (or 'With that, this story is
      finished.')

The form *wàcín* may follow other modifiers, e.g. possessive pro-
nouns. The following example contains the words of the subject upon
noticing a horse grazing nearby:

(20) à ɓá màllúm úséní há sàn bìɓáv
3SG say marabout please (F.) 2SG know God
vl-á-k dòk túk wàcíŋ sà ɓám zà
give-GO-1SG horse 2SG DEM 1SG eat EE
'He said, "Marabout, please, if you know God, give me this
horse of yours for me to eat."' (The horse has not been men-
tioned in the conversation between the subject and the mara-
bout.)

The deictic *wà* is used with the word *bákàhà* 'today'. This usage
parallels the use of demonstratives to code the notion 'today' in many
other languages:

(21) bákà wà žéŋ há kà zár zár
today DEM then 2SG INF whip whip
à zá tàlàŋ kràp à ɗál-á-k
3SG COMP head ache 3SG do-GO-1SG
rà
D.HAB
'Today, if you whip him, he says, "I have a headache."'

3.3 Remote deixis

Remote entity deixis is coded by the form *ta*, realized as *tə* in phrase-
internal position and *taŋ* in phrase-final position, with polar tones after
nouns, and low tones after verbs. We have very few instances of remote
deixis in natural discourse data. The following fragment provides evi-
dence for the deictic modification function of *ta*. An object is brought
into sight, and one of the participants speaks about it. The remote deixis
is used with respect to the object that is closer to the listener than to the
speaker:

(22) ɓáŋ í ɓáŋ hìd-yíì ndá ɓàt í
send 3PL send man-PL go get 3PL
ɓàt-á-ŋ kàdám wàcíŋ dà í
get-GO-3SG calabash DEM bring 3PL
dà-há-w
bring-GO-3SG
'They sent people and they went and got the calabash for him
and brought it.'

(23) wà   kə́   lùw-á-ŋ   n   kədə̀m   tə̀
      but   INF   say-GO-3SG   PREP   calabash   DED
      ží   vàŋgáy   bàháman
      then   how   Bahaman
      'What do you say to the calabash, Bahaman?'

4. Full noun phrase as subject

Full noun phrases can be used as subject, object, locative argument, or
the complement of a preposition. The constraints on the use of a full
noun phrase differ for subjects and objects. The use of the pronouns
also differs between subject and object. It is therefore useful to orga-
nize the description of the relevant constraints from the point of view of
realization of various arguments and adjuncts.

Proper names, titles such as *báy* 'chief', i.e. personalities that have
unique reference within the society, and nouns that function as proper
names within a discourse always occur without any determiners, re-
gardless of whether they have been previously mentioned in discourse,
regardless of whether they are present in the discourse environment,
and regardless of their pragmatic role:

Full noun as proper name:

(24) Bàhámàn   tíl   á   nd-á
      Bahaman   go   3SG   go-GO
      'Bahaman left.'

Full noun as title:

(25) báy   zá   ngwáy   tə̀r   láy
      chief   COMP   INTERJ   month   time
      tə̀   mìtíš   mə̀ná   wàcíŋ
      GEN   hunger like   DEM
      'The chief said, "Oh, during the time of hunger like this"'

Next is an ordinary noun anthropomorphized and serving as a
proper name in a story. Notice, that after the first sentence that intro-
duces the characters, the second sentence has the same names occur
also without any determiners:

(26)   *gómbòk*   *íbə̀*   *bàkàlàf*   *ì-ɗál*
         frog   PL.ASSC   buffalo   3PL-make
         gáabà
         conversation
         'A frog and a buffalo had a conversation'

(27)   *bàkàlàf*   *zá*   *nə̀*   *gómbòk*   *hà*   *kúl*
         buffalo   COMP PREP   frog   2SG   able
         kə̀   *ší*   *skù*
         INF   run   NEG
         'The buffalo said to the frog, "You cannot run"'

Here is another fragment, with ordinary nouns serving as proper names of characters in a story. Note, however, that there is no formal difference between the use of a noun as a proper name and as an ordinary name.

(28)   *séy*   **tàkár**   *tíl*   *á*   *nə̀*   *yə̀m*
         so   turtle   leave   PRED PREP   water
         mə̀l   *mə̀l*   *á*   *mə̀l-á*   *dzə̀ɓə́ŋ*
         seize   seize   3SG   seize-GO   five
         'So, the turtle went in the water and caught five [fish].'

         séy   *kílìf-yíi*   *í*   *ɗámɗámà*   *í*   *mə̀*
         so   fish-PL   3PL   good good   3PL   REL
         nj-í
         be-STAT
         'So, the fish are good. They are there.'

         kwáyàŋ   *à*   *zá*   *nə̀*   *tàkár*   *mə̀sáw*   *kìléŋ*
         squirrel   3SG   COMP   PREP   turtle   fry   first
         'The squirrel said to the turtle, "Fry them first."'

The ordinary full noun is used without any determiners when it is a new subject but not a new paragraph topic. In the following sentence, the subject of the first clause is a pronoun; hence, there is no determiner. The subject of the second clause is *də̀mə̀s* 'stomach', not a topic of the clause. In addition, the subject of the third clause, *hə́tày* 'non-blacksmith', is the subject and the topic as evidenced by the fact that it is marked by the demonstrative *wà*. It is also the focus, as evidenced by the use of the form *kə́* in the past tense:

(29) *sà   tál-áhà   wà   á   tán   syì   dàmàs*
      1SG   walk-GO   but   PRED   1SG   COM   stomach
      gwád   zà   hàtày   wà   kà
      full   EE   nonblacksmith   DEM   INF
      vl-á-k   máv   zà
      give-GO-1SG   beer   EE
      'I took walks, as for me, my belly is full, and the nonblack-
      smith[3] gave me beer.'

In the following fragment, the subject of the embedded clause *záván-yìì*
'guinea fowl' occurs without any determiner (other than the plural
coding). It also has no determiner in the subsequent main clause, where
it also is the subject:

(30) *kà   ndà   zà   fú   ndà   dzáŋ*
      INF   go   EE   each time   go   find
      záván-yìì   í   már   rà
      guinea fowl-PL   3PL   graze   D.HAB
      'Each time she went, she found guinea fowl grazing.'
      záván-yìì   zá   fàd-á   ná
      guinea fowl-PL   COMP   shave-GO   1PL
      tàlàn   kà   gí
      head   POS   please
      'The guinea fowl said, "Shave our heads, please."'

Here are examples of subjects that are not topics, used in the discourse:

(31) *cìkíd   tà   gwídìŋ   ndàv   ká   [ndàf]*
      sesame   GEN   single   fall   POS
      'A single sesame seed fell down.'

---

3. The noun *hàtáy* 'a non-blacksmith' identifies a person as not belonging to the
    cast of blacksmiths, who are involved, among other activities, in handling of
    corpses. Blacksmiths are the untouchable cast among Hina. A *hàtáy* is not neces-
    sarily a Hina person. Any person could be a *hàtáy* provided the person is not a
    blacksmith. In the old days it was unthinkable to eat from the same vessel as a
    blacksmith or to accept food or beer from a blacksmith. Intermarriage between a
    member of the blacksmith clan and other people was still unheard of in 2000.

(32) *ván   dá   rà   mə̀ná á   nə̀*
      rain   fetch:GO   D.HAB   like   PRED PREP
      lúmò
      market
      'It was raining from the direction of the market.'

(33) *ván   wílkíl kə̀   ndá-hà*
      rain   fail   INF   go-GO
      'The rain failed to come in.'

The following sentence is preceded and followed by clauses each with a different subject:

(34) *kwáykwá-yîi   í   mə́   nd-à-y*   *zá*
      hyena-PL   3PL   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
      'Hyenas came.'

5. Use of pronouns in reference system

In sequential clauses, if the subjects are the same, the pronominal subject is not used. This constraint applies to all persons. If sentences with the same subject describe different events, the pronominal subject is used. The following fragment illustrates three conditions in the use of subject markers: the use of the second-person pronoun in the first clause, its omission in the second, sequential, clause, then its use again in the third clause of the second sentence.

(35) *hà   ɓə̀t   mávù   dá   nə̀   mə̀ŋ*
      2SG   take   beer   cook   PREP   there
      'You take wine, you cook it there.'

hà	*tós*	*hìd-yîi*		*tùk-yîi*		*kə́*
2SG	gather	man-PL		2SG-PL		INF
sə̀	*tàŋ*	*ngàm*		*á*	*kə̀*	*mbéŋ*
drink	DED	because		PRED	like	ANAPH
wàhíŋ	*dámà*	*àláadə̀*		*mí*	*ɓéɓé*	*ii*
DEM	good	custom		REL	old time	3PL
dál	*ngè*	*híŋ*				
do	like	that				

'You gather your neighbors to drink it, because it is good, like that. That was the custom of the old times.'

The third-person singular subject pronoun is unmarked before the subject focus marker *kə*, the perfect marked by the form *mə̀*, and in sequential clauses marked by *ndə̀*. The antecedent of the unmarked third-person subject is the last subject mentioned in discourse:

(36)

séy	*dál*	*á*	*dálá-há-w*	*dà-h*
so	do	3SG	do-GO-3SG	bring-GO

dà-h	*ndə̀*	*yà*	*kwáyàŋ*
bring-GO	go	call	squirrel

'He took some of it, brought it, and called the squirrel.'

If the first clause has a nominal subject, the use of the third-person pronominal subject in the next sequential clause codes switch reference to another subject previously mentioned in discourse. The evidence that what follows is another clause is provided by the low tone on the verb *tàŋ* 'go':

(37)

kwáyàŋ	*táŋ*	*à*	*zá*
squirrel	go	3SG	COMP

s	*kə̀*	*dál*	*tséy*	*zà*
1SG	INF	do	finished	EE

'The squirrel went. He [the monkey] said, "I finished."'

The following fragment illustrates the use of the pronoun *a* to code a new subject (but not a new topic) as well as the absence of pronominal markers to code a continuing subject:

(38)   *séy*   *bàhámàn*   *wurtə*   *páláh*   *à*   *zá*
       then   Bahaman   leave(F.)   out   3SG   COMP
       ndə̀   *séytíinà*   *bá dàp*
       go   'call'   again
       'Then Bahaman went out. She said to him, "Go make that call
       again."' (*séytíinà* 'name in Fula of muezzin's call in the morn-
       ing')

       bàhámàn   *nd-á*   *gàr*
       Bahaman   go-GO   stand
       'Bahaman went there and stood'.

       dïyà   *séitin*   *go*   *wàcíŋ*   *syì*
       start   muezzin's   call   DEM   COM
       'He started to make the call.'

The third person plural subject must always be coded overtly:

(39)   *hìd-yïi*   *wá*   *í*   *tə̀tə̀*   *màkádʼ*
       man-PL   DEM   3PL   3PL   three
       'There were three men.'

       í   *ndə̀*   *ká*   *bèr-é*   *cìkídʼ* *bùhù*   *ntá*
       3PL   go   INF   sell-GO   sesame bag (F.)   one
       'They were going to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

       ngə̀dʼ   *ngə̀dʼ*   *í*   *ngə̀dʼ*   *cíkè'*   *(zá)*   *ká*
       count   count   3PL   count   all   (be)   POS
       'They counted all [the sesame seeds].' (The form *ká* was first
       given when a language assistant repeated the recorded sen-
       tence.)

       dzàw   *í*   *dzàw-ú*   *á*   *dùwə́n*
       attach   3PL   attach-3SG   PRED   back
       mə̀dìngwə̀rzé
       donkey
       'They attached it to the back of the donkey.'

í	nd	rá		í	nd	rá
3Pl	walk	D.HAB		3PL	walk	D.HAB

vàŋ	wà	kɔ́	dà		
rain	start	INF	fetch water		

'While they were walking, rain started to fall.'

Note that the last clause of this fragment has a new topic introduced, *ván* 'rain'. The subsequent coding of rain is done through the third-person singular pronoun:

(40)

dá	dá	á	dɔ̀	wàné
draw:GO	draw:GO	3SG	draw	a lot (F.)

'It rained a lot.'

However, the pronoun may also be used in the subject role even if the preceding clause had a different subject. The only condition for the felicitous use of the third-person subject pronoun is whether the situation gives an unambiguous interpretation of the reference. Consider the following fragment, where the subject of the third clause is identical with the addressee of the embedded clause:

(41)

séy	báy	zá	kɔ̀dɔ́m	vl-à
so	chief	COMP	calabash	give-GO

nà	wùdɔ̀	gí
1PL.EXCL	food	please

'So the chief said, "Calabash, give us food."'

dà	á	dà	d-á-ŋ	tɔ̀	wùdɔ̀	wàcíŋ
cook	3SG	cook	cook-GO-3SG	3PL	food	DEM

syì						
COM						

'Then it made the food for them'

Such unambiguous interpretations also obtain if the two clauses have different numbers in the third-person. Thus in the following fragment, the first clause has a nominal singular subject, which is also the topic, the second clause has the third-person plural subject pronoun, hence a different reference, and the third clause has the third-person singular subject pronoun, whose antecedent is the subject of the first clause:

(42)   *í*   *hók*   *rà*   *wàcíŋ* *séy* *wàl*   *wà*   *ɓàt*

        3PL lift   D.HAB   them then wife DEM take

        á   *ɓàt*   *fòrəm* *náká* *bə́* *vènjéh*   *dîyà*

        3SG take horn   REM ASSC pepper   put

        á   *dî*   *kə́*   *nə̀*   *mà*

        3SG put   PREP PREP mouth

        'When they were lifting the stones, the wife took the horn which contained pepper and put it in her mouth.' (high tone on *náká* is a result of the fusion with the following *á* of the associative marker)

        séy   *áb*   *dùwə̀n*   *mbí* *í*   *n*   *kə́*

        then ASSC after   that 3PL PREP INF

        ndá-hà   *kò*   *hók* *ńvə̀ŋ-yîi*

        go-GO   INF   lift   stone-PL

        'Afterwards they came to lift the stones.'

        íf   *á*   *íf-é*   *tə́*   *n*   *fòrəm* *wá* *dàp*

        blow 3SG blow-GO   GEN PREP horn   DEM only

        'She blew that which was in the horn.'

6. Full noun phrase as the object

The full noun phrase is used as the object without any determiners if it is not marked as a topic of the new discourse, and if it is not marked as salient:

(43)   *mə̀*   *ləm*   *bíŋ*   *rá*   *drĭš* *ngádʼ* *drĭš*

        REL build house dig   mud   mix   mud

        'The one who builds a house dug the mud, mixed the mud,'

        ləm   *bíŋ*   *ɟá*   *hàmás* *nd-á* *hə̀ɟ* *ká*

        build house cut   straw go-GO thatch POS

        wán *kə́*   *nə̀*   *mə́ŋ*

        lie   inside PREP LOC.ANAPH

        built a home, cut some straw, thatched the roof, and lay down inside it.'

    The object is coded by a full noun even when it has been mentioned in previous discourse but is not in focus and is not a topic of the propo-

sition. The following sentences contained the noun *bàtákàr* 'bag' that has been mentioned a dozen sentences before, but which is not salient for the discourse, and which is not a topic as indicated by the absence of determiners:

(44) *mà   ngə́ɗ   ngə́ɗ   pə̀l   á   pə̀l*
      REL   count   count   detach 3SG   detach
      bàtákàr   ngə̀ɗ   ngə̀ɗ
      bag   count   count
      'The one who was good at counting detached the bag and counted [the seeds].'

Even if the object has been mentioned in the immediately preceding clause, it may be repeated in the next clause without any determiners. This is the case with the object *rùkùt* in the following fragment:

(45) *à   zá   tsòk   rùkùt fúu   kà*
      3SG   COMP   take off   cloth all   POS
      'She said take off all your clothes.'

      báy   tsòk   rùkùt fúu   kà
      chief   take off   cloth all   POS
      'The chief took off all his clothes.'

7. Object coding in non-finite clauses

Non-finite clauses, such as infinitive complements and complements of auxiliary verbs, must have an object overtly coded. If the object was previously mentioned in discourse, such an object is coded by the deduced anaphora form *ta* (*taŋ* in phrase-final position, with polar tones):

(46) *ndə̀   dzáŋ   kwáykwá-yíi   í   kə́   ngà*
      go   find   hyena-PL   3PL   INF   break
      ɓì   zá   syì
      meat   EE   COM
      'And she found some hyenas who had caught some meat.'

káyà	*dîyà*	*wàllà*	*tá*	*bà*	*dà*
INTERJ (F.)	start	help(F.)	3PL	ASSC	cook

tàŋ
DED
'She started to help them cook it.'

Compare the absence of the object in the final clause in final clauses:

(47)
ndà	*dzáŋ*	*kwáykwá-yíi*	*í*	*kə́*	*ngà*	*ɓì*
go	find	hyena-PL	3PL	INF	break	meat

zá	*syì*
EE	COM

'And she found some hyenas who had caught some meat.'

mbí	*mà*	*də́*	*zìn*
3SG	REL	cook	then

'And then, it was she who cooked it.'

(48)
*mbì	*mà*	*də́*	**tàŋ*	*zìn*
3SG	REL	cook	DED	then

for 'And then, it was she who cooked it.'

(49)
í	*dà*	*rà*
3PL	cook	D.HAB

'and they were cooking it'

The form *ta* is used as an object anaphor in complements of auxiliary verbs:

(50)
ɓàt	*á*	*ɓàt*	*ɓámbáy*	*ngàn*	*dîyà*	*žéɓ*
get	3SG	get	stick	3SG	put	follow

tàŋ
DED
'He got his stick and went to follow her.'

The anaphor *ta* cannot be used in finite clauses:

(51)
à	*lìm*	*wàl*	*ngàŋ*	*kà*	*žéɓ*	**tàŋ*	*zà*
3M	see	wife	3M	INF	follow	DED	EE

'He saw his wife and he followed her.'

The anaphor *ta* is used as an object marker in infinitival clauses:

(52) *séy*   *wàl*   *wàcíŋ* *kúl*   *skù*   *à*   *dál-áhà*
      so   woman   DEM   able   NEG   3SG   make-GO
      séy   *dɔ́ɓ*   *íi*   *dɔ́ɓ*   *á*   *nà*   *làptál*
      so   take   3PL   take   PRED   PREP   hospital
      kɔ́   *hùrgɔ̀*   *tàŋ*
      INF   cure   DED
      'This woman was not well; she was sick. So she was brought to
      a hospital for treatment.'

(53) *séy*   *á*   *tɔ̀t*   *kám*   *í*   *ndí*   *ngà*
      then   PRED   3PL   TOP(F.)   3PL   HAB   catch
      ɟì-yíì   *zɔ́*   *kɔ́*   *nd-á*   *kɔ̀*   *dá*   *tàŋ*
      meat   EE   INF   go-GO   INF   cook   DED
      'Then, as for them [the hyenas], they just catch the meat [and]
      bring it for cooking.'

(54) *tò*   *à*   *ɟá*   *s-tsàf*   *kám*   *à*
      okay   3SG   say   1SG-lie   TOP(F.)   PRED
      pàt   *káfkáfá*   *áz*   *tɔ̀m*   *kɔ́*   *ší*
      tomorrow   morning   go   1DU   INF   run
      tàŋ
      DED
      '"Okay," he said, "if I lie--tomorrow morning let's run [a
      race]."'

In the next clause, a reference is made again to a race, and again the
same anaphor is used:

(55) *á*   *ɟá*   *áz*   *tɔ̀m*   *kɔ́*   *ší*   *tàŋ*
      3SG   say   go   1DU   INF   run   DED
      'He said, "Let's run."'

The antecedent of the deduced anaphora marker may be a proposi-
tion:

(56) *há*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *ngásì*   *ɓámbáy*
      2SG   say-GO-3SG   like that   stick
      n-dí   *ɗál*   *tə́*   *vù*
      go   do   DED   Q
      'You say to it just like that, "Stick, do it?"' (high tone on *tə́* is a
      product of the penultimate raising in interrogative clauses)

(57) *à*   *ɓá*   *bìɓáf* *kə́*   *dzə̀*   *tə̀tə̀* *cíké'* *kà*
      3SG   say   God   INF   kill   3PL   all   POS
      à   *fìn*   *nàmú*   *nám* *kə́*   *tìy*   *tàŋ*
      3SG   remain   1DU   1DU   INF   see   DED
      'He said, "God has killed them all; there remains only us, we
      will see."'

(58) *kwáykwáy*   *zá*   *mèɗ*
      hyena   COMP   swear
      'The hyena said, "Swear!"'

(59) *à*   *ɓá*   *káy*   *à*   *fìn*   *nàm*   *tátà*
      3SG   say   INTERJ   3SG   remain   1DU   alone
      mbémbé   *wá*   *à*   *n*   *kə́*   *ndá*
      immediately   but   3SG   PREP   INF   go:GO
      tàŋ
      DED
      'He said, "Look, there remains only us, but very soon He [God]
      will come."'

8. The domain of known referent

The deictic marker *wà* and its phrase-final form *wàcín/wàhín* follow a
noun they determine. In addition to the deictic function described ear-
lier, the marker indicates that the referent is to be treated as a known
entity, regardless of whether the listener actually knows the referent.
The source of the knowledge could be previous mention in discourse,
regardless of the distance between the previous mention and the current
mention. The source of knowledge could also be what is generally ex-
pected from any speaker of the language:

(60) *kwáyàŋ*   *à*   *ndíŋ*   *bà*   *làkáf*   *wàcíŋ*
      squirrel   3SG   fear   ASSC   baboon   DEM
      'The squirrel was afraid of that baboon' (baboon mentioned in
      the immediately preceding sentence).

(61) *nd-á*   *ɗ́ew*   *ká*   *á*   *bár*   *màllúm*
      go-GO   sit   POS   PRED   side   marabout
      wàcíŋ
      DEM
      'He came to sit next to this marabout.' (The marabout was the
      topic of the previous paragraph, but last mention as *màllúm* was
      five sentences earlier. In between there were several other par-
      ticipants mentioned.)

(62) *i*   *kə́*   *màl*   *zá*   *á*   *n*   *mìšíl*   *wàhín*
      3PL   INF   seize   EE   PRED   PREP   theft   DEM
      'They arrested him for stealing.' (The noun *mìšìl* was men-
      tioned five clauses earlier, the act of stealing two clauses ear-
      lier.)

Consider the following fragment, where in the first sentence the
noun *fòrə́m* 'horn' is coded by the remote previous mention marker
nákáhà. In its mention in the next sentence, it is followed by the form
wà:

(63) *i*   *hók*   *rə̀*   *wàcíŋ*   *séy*   *wàl*   *wà*
      3PL   lift   D.HAB   DEM   then   wife   DEM
      ɓ̀ət   *á*   *ɓ̀ət*   *fòrə́m*   **nákà**   *bə́*   *vènjéh*
      take   3SG   take   horn   REM   ASSC   pepper
      ɗ́iyà   *á*   *ɗ́i*   *ká*   *nà*   *mà*
      put   3SG   put   in   PREP   mouth
      'When they were lifting [the stones], the wife took the horn
      which contained pepper and put it in her mouth.'

      if   *á*   *if-é*   *tə́*   *n*   *fòrə́m*   *wà*   *dàp*
      blow   3SG   blow-GO   GEN   PREP   horn   DEM   just
      'She just blew out what was in the horn'

Here is another example of the proximate mention coded by the form
wa (Both the antecedent and the anaphor are bolded):

(64)   *séy*   *ndò*   *dzáŋ*   *á*   *dzáŋ-á*   **kòdòm**
          so   go   find   3SG   find-GO   calabash
          á   *dámù*
          PRED   bush
          'While walking, she found a calabash in the bush.'

          lù   *á*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *nò*   **kòdòm**   *wàcíŋ*
          say   3SG   say-GO-3SG   PREP   calabash   DEM
          'She addressed this calabash.'

The evidence that the form *wà* does not merely code previous mention in discourse is provided by the fact that the previous mention alone does not trigger the use of the demonstrative with the next mention. Thus in the first sentence of the following fragment the noun *wírnjìk* 'ash' is mentioned. In the second sentence the same word occurs again, and it is not marked with a demonstrative, because the identity of the ashes has no specific role in discourse:

(65)   *bòk*   *bòk*   *á*   *bòk-á-ŋ*   *wírnjìk*   *kó*
          fill   fill   3SG   fill-GO-3SG   ash   POS
          nò   *mòŋ*
          PREP   L.ANAPH
          '[while he was making the shoes] He filled them with ash.'

          séy   *wàl*   *ngòn*   *táŋ*   *à*   *nd-ró*   *wàcín*
          so   wife   3SG   DED   3SG   go-D.HAB   DEM
          syì   *wírnjìk*   *dìyà*   *bòkà-há*
          COM   ash   put   pour-GO
          'When his wife was going, ash was pouring out of the shoe.'

The protagonists of a story often are introduced with the marker *wà*, as in these opening lines of two different stories:

(66)   **hìd-yû**   **wá**   *í*   *tòtò*   *màkáď*
          man-PL   DEM   3PL   3PL   three
          'There were (these) three men.'

          hìdè   *wècín*   *í*   *tòtòn*   *fáď*
          man   DEM   3PL   3PL   four
          'There were (those) four men.'

In the following fragment, the first mention of noun *kə̀dɔ́m* 'cala-bash' is not accompanied by *wà* or any other determiner. Later in the narrative the noun 'calabash' is marked by *wà*, indicating that the refer-ent for this noun is to be treated as a known entity:

(67) à   à   dzán-á   **kə̀dɔ́m**
      ah 3SG   find-GO   calabash
      "'She found a calabash.'"

      àa ndə̀   ɓə̀t-à   nòk   skú   syì   á vàŋgáy
      ah go   get-OBJ 1PL   NEG   COM   how
      "'Ah, go bring it to us, otherwise what can we do?'"

      à   zá   hí   ɮ-ə́ŋ   hìdì
      3SG   COMP   2PL   send-3SG   man
      'He [the man] said, "Send somebody.'

      ɮə́ŋ   í   ɮə́ ŋ hìd-yîì   ndɔ́   ɓə̀t   í
      send 3PL   send man-PL   go   get   3PL
      ɓə̀t-á-ŋ   kə̀dɔ́m   wàcíŋ   dà   í
      get-OBJ-3SG   calabash   DEM   bring 3PL
      dà-há-w
      bring-GO-3SG
      'They sent some people and they went and got the calabash for him and brought it.'

Further evidence that *wà* codes the category 'known' is that it cannot co-occur with a noun modified by a possessive pronoun. The reason for this constraint is that possessive pronouns also mark the noun as known, and two morphemes coding the same domain do not co-occur. In the following sentence, *wàl ngə̀n* 'his wife' is not followed by the marker *wà*, even though 'wife' is a protagonist of a story and the topic of the paragraph and has been mentioned in the preceding discourse:

(68) *wàl*   *ngə̀n*   à   *ndí*   *ndə̀*   *kà*   *dá*   *tìpíd*
      wife   3SG   3SG   HAB   go   INF   fetch   termites
      'His wife had the habit of going to fetch termites.'

Similarly, in the following fragment, *ngùl ngə̀n* 'her husband' is not followed by the marker *wà*:

(69) ngùl   ngòn zá   wàl   nàn
      husband   3SG   COMP   wife   1SG
      'Her husband said, "My wife,'

      hà   ndí   dzán-á   nám   skòn   mòná wà   tíkì
      2SG   HAB   find-GO   1DU   thing   like DEM   where
      'where do you find us things like this?"'

There is no case of a possessive pronoun being followed by the marker *wà*:

(70) séy   kòdõm   wá   dà   dà   á
      so   calabash   DEM   cook   cook   3SG
      d-á-ŋ   wùd   mòná   wà   mbá   pè
      cook-GO-3SG food like   DEM   so   much
      łé łé łé łé   á   mà   kòbóm ngòŋ
      spread(x 4)   PRED   PREP   face   3SG
      'So the calabash made a lot of food for her [and] spread [it] in
      front of her.'

      zòm   zòm   zòm   á   zòm   zá
      eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE
      'She ate and ate and ate' (until she was satisfied).'

      á   n   kòdõm   ngòn   6òt
      3SG   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
      'Then she took her calabash.'

(71) tó   tán   dàp   nàŋ   óngà-cíŋ   má   nàŋ
      GEN   1SG:GEN   only   1SG   like-DEM   mother 1SG
      vá   nàŋ   íi   kó   nàz-á-k   zà
      father 1SG   3PL   INF   throw-GO-1SG   EE
      'I am like that. My mother and father abandoned me.'

(72) 6òt   á   6òt   déftó   ngòn   *wa
      take   3SG   take   Koran(F.)   3SG   DEM
      'He took his Koran.'

9. The domain of deduced referent

Mina has a subdomain of 'deduced' reference that is marked by the form *ta* (phrase-internal form *tə*; phrase-final form *tàŋ* and *táŋ*). Two rules determine the tone of the deduced reference marker. When the deduced reference marker serves as the object of the verb it has low tone:

(73a) žíŋ   ngùl-yíi   pár   sùlúɗ tàn
       then   man-PL   other two   DED
       í   nd-áhà   bàhá
       3PL go-GO   again
       nd-á   mábàr mbír bàhá ká   màl   tàŋ
       go-GO   lion leap again INF seize DED
       'Later, when the two men arrived, the lion jumped to catch them'

(73b) mbígìŋ   wàcíŋ í   dǎl ngàm   màts
       mbiguin   DEM 3PL do   because   sickness
       kà   dǎl   nà   hàyák í   hóynà   tàŋ
       INF do   PREP village 3PL calm (F.) DED
       'This mbiguin, they do it because there is sickness in the village. They cure it.'

When it follows nouns, the deduced reference marker has polar tone, opposite of the tone of the preceding noun. All examples in the present section support this hypothesis.

The deduced reference marker instructs the listener to identify the referent through a process of deduction using knowledge from various sources, including the listener's cognitive system, the speech environment, and previous discourse. The form *tá* may be the only component of a noun phrase or it may be a determiner, modifying another noun or a quantifier.

One piece of evidence for the proposed function of the marker *tá* is that its antecedent need not have been mentioned in discourse. In fact, the presence of *tá* explicitly tells the listener that the referent is not the noun marked by *tá* but some other referent associated with that noun. In the last line of the following fragment, *tá* follows the noun *báy* 'chief', which has been mentioned several times in the preceding discourse. However, the form *tá* does not identify the chief but rather the chief's court, an entity that has not been mentioned in discourse at all:

(74) **báy**   zá   ngwáy   bàhámàn   bákà   bá
      chief   COMP   'People'   Bahaman   today   still
      dzán-á   nòkmí
      find-GO   1PL   what
      'The chief said, "People, what else did Bahaman find for us to-day?"'

      hí   ndàlùw-á-ŋ   mə́   ndà-hà
      2PL   go say-GO-3SG   DEB   go -GO
      '"Go tell him to come here."'

      ndá   yà   í   y-ù
      go   call   3PL   call-3SG
      'One went to call him.'

      tíl   á   nd-á   á   r   báy   tàŋ
      go   3SG   go-GO   PRED   PREP   chief   DED
      'He went to the chief's [court].'

In the next example, the Koran is the object of the first clause. The meaning of the second sentence is as shown in the English translation. However, the only overt object marker in the second sentence is the marker *taŋ*. Because the reduplication of the verb *náz* 'throw' indicates a repeated action, the antecedent of *táŋ* cannot be the Koran itself but must be some plural object associated with the Koran. This object can only be the pages of the Koran, even though the pages themselves have not been overtly mentioned. The use of *ta* thus instructs the listener to deduce the referent for the object:

(75) *ɓə̀t*   á   ɓə̀t   **déftə́**   ngə̀n
      take   3SG   take   Koran (F.)   3SG
      'He took his Koran.'

      pàts   ntá   náz   náz   náz   náz   á   náz
      took   one   throw   throw   throw   throw   3SG   throw
      tàŋ   á   nà   yə̀m   wàhíŋ
      DED   PRED   PREP   water   DEM
      'He took one [page] after another and threw them upon the water.'

Here is another example in which the form *taŋ* functions as the head of
a noun phrase, the referent for which does not overtly occur anywhere
but must be deduced from the first sentence:

(76) à   zá   ngùl-yîi   ɓámbáy   tə́
      3SG   COMP   husband-PL   stick   GEN
      màcíŋ lùw-á-ŋ   mə̀k
      DEM   say-OBJ-3SG   first
      'She said, "My husband, this stick, say to it,

      ɓámbáy   ǹɗ-á-k   gí   syì   à   n   kə̀
      stick   hit-OBJ-1SG POL   COM   3SG   PREP   INF
      ɗǎl-á   tàŋ
      do-OBJ:2SG   DED
      ""'Stick, hit me,'" and it will do it to you.'

Another piece of evidence for the proposed function of the form *ta* is
that it can co-occur with the marker *wà*, whose function is to code a
known entity. Here as elsewhere, *ta* instructs the listener to associate
the referent with some other entity:

(77) zàgíy   tíl nd̀ə ɓə̀t   í   ɓə̀t-áhà-w
      courtiers (F.) go go   take   3PL   take-GO-3SG
      gáɗ   bə̀   wàl   wà   táŋ
      push   ASSC   woman   DEM   DED
      'The courtiers went and brought it [the calabash] with the
      woman [the one associated with the calabash].'

    Another piece of evidence for the proposed hypothesis is provided
by the fact that the form *tá*, unlike the form *wà*, can co-occur with pos-
sessive pronouns to instruct the listener to interpret the marked noun in
connection with some other element. The following is the tail end of a
fragment in which the husband has been attempting to find out where
his wife was going. The phrase *wàl ngə̀n* 'his wife' is followed by *táŋ*,
leading the listener to interpret the referent not simply as 'the wife' but
as 'the wife after her shoes had been filled with ashes':

(78) híhldìɓ híhldìɓ á   híhldìɓ-é-ŋ   kràp   wàhíŋ
      sew   sew   3SG   sew-GO-3SG   shoe   DEM
      'He sewed and sewed and sewed her the shoes.'

bàk	*bàk*	*á*	*bàk-á-ŋ*	*ɓà*	*wírnjìk kə́*
fill	fill	3SG	fill-GO-3SG	ASSC	ash POS

nà	*màŋ*
PREP	LOC.ANAPH

'He filled them with ashes.'

séy	*wàl*	*ngòn*	*táŋ*	*á*		*nd*	*rà*
so	wife	3SG	DED	3SG		go	D.HAB

wàcín	*syì*	*wírnjìk*	*dìy-à*		*bàk-áhà*
DEM	COM	ash	start-GO		pour-GO

cìdẽ'	*cìdẽ'*	*cìdẽ'*	*cìdẽ'*	*à*	*kàtàf*
pile	pile	pile	pile	PREP	road

'As his wife was going along, ashes poured out in small piles on the road.'

The deduced reference marker is used with quantifiers when those are the heads of the noun phrase. The nouns that are in the scope of the quantifier are mentioned in preceding discourse, e.g. in the clause that precedes the clause with the quantifier:

(79)

séy	*hìdì*	*wàcíŋ*	*tsáp*	*wàl*	*ngòŋ*	*sùlúd*	*láh*
so	man	DEM	catch	woman	3SG	two	marry

zò	*ngòŋ*	*sùlúd*	*tàŋ*
EE	3SG	two	DED

'So, the man caught his two women and married both of them.'

(80)

ázə́	*kə́*	*dzò*	*má-ŋ*	*kə́*	*yòm*
go:1PLINF	kill	mother-1SG	POS	also

nàm	*nzò*	*ví*	*mə́mə́ŋ*	*də́*	*skú*
1DU	remain	who	mother.3SG	exist	NEG

nàm	*sùlúd*	*tàŋ*
1DU	two	DED

'Let's kill my mother also. The two of us will remain, each without a mother, us two.'

(81)

yò		*wècíŋ*	*à*	*mìsíl*	*lém*	*wà*	*báhà*
INTERJ		DEM	3SG	steal	mean	DEM	other

à	*mìsíl*	*lém*	*tòtò*	*sùlúd*	*tàn*	*ii*	*kàl kàl*
3SG	steal	mean	3PL	two	DED	3PL	equal (F.)

'This one steals a lot, and this one steals a lot, the two are equal'

(82) *fúu   tàŋ   í   kàlkàl*
      all   DED   3PL   equal (F.)
      'All of them are equal!' (about protagonists in a folktale). The
      Mina expression for 'equal' is *prák prák*

The deduced reference marker is used in reference to objects that
are not known to the speaker, as evidenced by clauses where the
speaker asks about the identity of the noun modified by the deduced
reference marker:

(83) *àa   bárkàmà   wàl   nà   kə̀   dzán-á*
      ah   chief   wife   1SG   INF   find-GO
      skə̀n   pár   zə́   də̌hà
      thing   strange   EE   exist
      '"Ah, my chief, there is something my wife found."'

      skə̀n   tə́   nzə́   vàŋgáy
      thing   DED   be   how
      'What is that thing?'

(84) *tsáy   mə̀   tí   tí   nd-á*
      then   REL   look   look   go-GO
      nástə̀   nà   yə̀m
      enter (F.)   PREP   water
      'Then the one who was good at looking entered into the water.'

      tíl   á   nà   yə̀m   tə́   áb   dùwə̀ŋ
      go   PRED   PREP   water   DED   ASSC   back
      mbéŋ   tìy   tìy   á   tìy-ú
      ANAPH   look   look   3SG   look-3SG
      'He entered into water and searched for it [the sesame seed].'

The deduced reference marker may follow a possessive pronoun.
The antecedent of the deduced reference marker may be an entity
whose existence can be reasonably deduced from the preceding dis-
course. Thus, in a discourse part of which is dedicated to the stupid be-
havior of a man, the following sentence is used:

(85) | *séy* | *mà* | *ngùl* | *ngùl* | *kɔ́* | *wɔ̀* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | REL | husband | husband | INF | start |

kédéŋ	*ngɔ̀n*	*tɔ́*	*zɔ̀*	*bá*	*dàp*
stupidity	3SG	DED	EE	again	just

'Then the man started again with his stupidity.'

(86) | *séy* | *wàl* | *ngɔ̀n* | *táŋ* | *á* | *nd* | *rɔ́* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| so | wife | 3SG | DED | 3SG | go | D.HAB |

wàcín	*sɔ̀*	*kwáykwáy*	*tàŋ*	*kɔ́*	*ndɔ̀*
DEM	then	hyena	DED	INF	go

kɔ́	*grà*	*kúhú*
INF	find	fire

'When his wife was leaving, the hyena went to find fire.'

The deduced reference marker may have its antecedent in the speech of another speaker:

(87) | *kái* | *í* | *ʒá* | *nà* |
|---|---|---|---|
| INTERJ | 3PL | say | 1PL |

lɔ́	*ʒì*	*nìnàŋ*	*kɔ́*	*ndà*
own	meat	1PL	INF	go

'"Look," they said, "we who own the meat, it is we who go?"'

kwáykwáy	*à*	*ndɔ̀*	*dáp*	*nà*	*gr-á*
hyena	3SG	go	only	PREP	find-GO

nòkò
1PL

"Let the hyena go to find it for us'"

kwáykwáy	*tàŋ*	*kɔ́*	*ndà*	*kɔ́*	*grà*	*kúhú*
hyena	DED	INF	go	INF	find	fire

'The hyena went to find fire.'

Here are examples of the use of the form *taŋ* with nouns that were not mentioned in the preceding discourse, but whose presence has been implied:

(88) *nàm   kə̀   dál   vàŋgáy   dàbàráy   tàŋ*
      1DU   INF   do   how   plan (F.) DED
      'How are we going to realize that plan?' (the preceding sen-
      tences were talking   about how to get food; the 'plan' was not
      mentioned by the word *dàbàráy*)

The marker *tá* also serves as the marker of a noun whose existence
can be easily deduced from the general knowledge of the world. Thus
in the following sentence the lexeme *fádà* 'court' is followed by *tə́*, al-
though the noun *fádà* 'court' itself has not been mentioned in the dis-
course. In the preceding discourse, however, the chief has been men-
tioned many times, and it is a common knowledge that chiefs have
courts:

(89) *ndà   dîyà   í   dí   ɓámbáy   wà*
      go   put-GO 3PL   put   stick   DEM
      kə́   n   fádə̀   tə́   dàp
      POS   PREP   court (F.)   DED   just
      'They went and put the stick in the court [for the chief].'

(90) *nd-á   náz   á   náz   kə́   nə̀   láy*
      go-GO   throw   3SG   throw   POS   PREP   place
      tàŋ
      DED
      'He went and threw it into its place [in the bag].' (the precise
      place in the bag from which the sesame seed fell out)

10. The remote previous mention marker *nákáhà*

The reference to a noun mentioned quite a bit before in discourse is
marked by the form *nákáhà* in phrase-final position and *nákà* in phrase-
internal position. These forms are glossed as REM for 'remote previous
mention'. The remote previous mention marker may modify a noun,
including nouns followed by possessive pronouns:

(91) *žèɓ   žèɓ   á   žèɓ-û   ndà   dzáŋ*
      follow follow 3SG   follow-3SG   go   find
      wàl   ngə̀n   nákáhà
      wife   3SG   REM
      'He followed and followd them [footsteps] and found his wife'

The antecedent of the form *nákáhà* may occur quite a distance in the preceding discourse. Here is the first mention of the antecedent, *cìkíɗ* 'sesame seed':

(92a) í   ndə̀   kə́   bèr-é   cìkíɗ
       3PL   go   INF   sell-GO   sesame
       bùhù   ntá
       bag (F.) one
       'They were going to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

The reference to this sesame seed fifteen sentences later is made with the fom *nákáhà*:

(92b) dzáŋ   á   dzán-á   mə̀   tə́   gwídìn nákà
       find   3SG   find-GO   REL   GEN   single REM
       wèhíŋ
       DEM
       'He found the one sesame seed of those [that were counted].

The form *nákáhà* may have as its antecedent an event. Here are a few examples of a reference to an event mentioned some twenty sentence before:

(93)   séy   tíl   ndə̀   dzáŋ   í   dzáŋ   kílíf
       so   go   go   find   3PL   find   fish
       gwáɗ   áŋgə̀   nákáhà
       plenty like   REM
       'So they went and found a lot of fish, as previously.'

(94)   séy   dɛ̈w   tə̀tə̀   kà   mə́na   nákà   mə̀ǯèǯè
       so   sit   3PL   like   DEM   REM   before
       'They remained as before.'

The previous reference marker may be followed by the deictic *wà* coding the reference as known:

(95)   nd-á   zə̀m   zə̀m   nákà   wà   zá
       go   eat   eat   REM   DEM   EE
       'They returned and ate that one' (i.e. the guinea fowl mentioned five sentences earlier).

(96) | *fúu* | *tàŋ* | *hìdì* | *gònák* | *dǐyà* | *ɓə́ŋ* | *séy* | *í* | *háŋ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| all | DED | man | black | put | think | so | 3PL | cry |

rá		*mbə̀*	*nákà*	*gárɓàw*		*wàcíŋ*	*séy*	*dǐyà*
D.HAB		child	DEM	disobedient		DEM	so	start

rə́	*jíɓ*	*í*	*jíɓ*	*hós*	*á*	*útə̀*	*wàl*
dig	hole	PREP	hole	arrive	PRED	house	woman

nákà	***wàcíŋ***	*mə̀*	*ɓə́t*	*wə̀ží*		***nákà***	***wàcíŋ***
REM	DEM	REL	take	children		REM	DEM

'All the people started thinking. Then, they were crying. The
disobedient child started digging a tunnel to the house of the
woman who took those children.' (*jíɓ í jíɓ* 'tunnel (hole in a
hole)'

(97) | *báhámàn* | *là* | *á* | *lúw-á-ŋ* | *nə̀* | *ɓámbáy* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bahaman | say | 3SG | say-GO-3SG | PREP | stick |

nákà	***wà***
REM	DEM

'Bahaman spoke to the stick.' (how he was supposed to)

(98) | *mə̀* | *tə́* | *gwídíŋ* | ***nákà*** | ***wèhíŋ*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| REL | GEN | single | REM | DEM |

'the single [grain] that was mentioned before'

The remote previous reference might be in the previous sentence
but enough other noun phrases intervene to require the form *nákáhà*.
Consider the following fragment, which contains six different nouns:
'chicken', 'feather', 'fire', 'bag', 'sorghum', and 'meat'. Two of these
nouns, 'chicken' and 'bag', appear twice:

(99) *séy*   *gàmták*   *báhà*   *wérèh* *wérèh* *séy*
      so   chicken   again   clever   so
      ɓót   *ngèf*   *ngòn*   *tú*   *gùráy* *tú*   *gùráy*   *ɓòk*
      take   feather 3SG   GEN   large   GEN   large   put
      á   *nò*   *kúhú*   *séy*   *tíl*   *ngòn* *nò*
      PRED   PREP   fire   so   enter   3SG   PREP
      bàkátàr⁴   *dïy-á*   *zòm*   *ndrì* *dïy-á*   *ɓám*
      bag   put –GO   eat   corn   put-GO   eat
      ɟì   *tó*   *n*   *bàkátàr*   *tùwód*   *kà*
      meat   GEN   PREP   bag   finish   POS
      'So the clever chicken took his large feather, put it into the fire.
      He himself entered into the bag, started to eat sorghum, started
      to eat meat [and] finished everything that was in the bag.'

When in the next sentence the reference is made to *ngèf* 'feather' it is
followed by *nákáhà*, because there were several noun phrases between
its previous and the current mention:

(100) *kwáyàŋ*   *tì*   *syì*   *ngèf*   **nákáhà**   **wècíŋ** *dïyà*
      squirrel   see   COM   feather REM   DEM   put
      njìf   *á*   *njìf*   *grá*   *ɟì*   *tó*   *gàmták*
      smell   3SG   smell   like   meat   GEN   chicken
      mò   *màsáw-yí*   *zà*   *zìdép*
      REL   grill-STAT   EE   already
      'The squirrel saw that those feathers smelled like the flesh of
      the chicken.'

11. Coding indefiniteness

The existential verb *dáhà* is used as a marker of specifically indefinite
noun phrase. The nouns modified by *dáhà* are referential, i.e. their ref-
erents actually exist. The function of the existential verb corresponds to
the use of the modifiers 'some' and 'certain' in English. The noun
phrase to be coded as indefinite functions as subject of the verb *dáhà*:

---

4. The form *bàkátàr* represents a metathesis of the form /bàtàkár/.

(101)   ábà   nd-á   ngòn   nd-á   dzáŋ   hídà   tá
        ASSC   go-GO 3SG   go-GO find   house GEN
        hìdì   pár   dáhà   hìdì   táŋ   skàn   ngàn   dá
        man   other exist man   DED   thing 3SG   exist
        skù
        NEG
        'She came and found a house of a certain man who does not own anything.'

If in the above clause one modifies *hìdì* by the demonstrative *wàcín* coding the known referent, the form *dáhà* cannot be used:

(102)   séy   dzáŋ   tìpíd dáhà   á   màcíŋ à
        so   find   termite exist PRED   DEM   3SG
        zá   dïy-á-k ká   á   kàcíŋ
        COMP   put-GO-1SG   POS   PRED   DEM
        'Then she found a termite there and she said, "Keep it for me here."'

The verb *dáhà* may not be used if its subject, in the clause above the noun *tìpíd* 'termite', is modified by *wàcín*. Here is another example:

(104)   kə́   nàz   ngùl   á   bíŋ   dáhà
        INF   leave man   PRED   house exist
        'She abandoned a man in the house.'

If one adds the third-person possessive pronoun *ngòŋ* after the noun *ngùl* 'man', one cannot use *dáhà*:

(105)   kə́   nàz   ngùl   ngòŋ   á   bíŋ   *dáhà
        INF   leave husband   3SG   PRED   house *exist
        'She abandoned her husband in the house'

The use of the verb of existence to code indefiniteness is consistent with its use in existential clauses, where it can only be used with indefinite subjects.

12. Locative anaphora

The remote locative deictic *mà(hín)* has also anaphoric function:

(106) sà   nzá   rà   músà   sà   lím-é   hàz   tòk
      1SG   EE   PREP   Musa   1SG   see-GO   dog   1PL
      mè-hín
      ANAPH-DEM
      'I went to Musa and I found our dog there'

The locative demonstrative *màcín* can be used only if antecedents are inherently locative, as illustrated in the following fragment, The antecedent *bíŋ* 'room' is mentioned in the first sentence (107) and repeated again in the third sentence (109), but this time followed by the demonstrative *màcíŋ*:

(107) tíl   á   ndɔ́   zɔ́   bíŋ
      depart   3SG   go   EE   room
      à   n   mì   bíŋ   dzáŋ   á   dzáŋ   ká
      3SG   PREP   mouth room   close 3SG   close POS
      'He went to the room and closed the door.'

(108) báhámàn   lù   á   lùw-á-ŋ   nà   ǰámbáy
      Bahaman   say   3SG   say-GO-3SG   PREP   stick
      nákà   wà
      REM   DEM
      'Bahaman spoke to the stick'

(109) ǰámbáy   wà   mɔ́l   á   mɔ́l-á-ŋ
      stick   DEM   catch   3SG   catch-GO-3SG
      ndɔ́   ngɔ̀n   bíŋ   màcíŋ
      beat   3SG   room   DEM
      'The stick started to beat him in the room.'

If the antecedent is not inherently locative, the anaphor is *mɔ̀n*, and it must be preceded by the preposition *nɔ̀*:

(110) hìɗìɓ   hìɗìɓ   á   hìɗìɓ-é-ŋ   kràp   wàhíŋ
      sew   sew   3SG   sew-GO-3SG   shoe   DEM
      bɔ̀k   bɔ̀k   á   bɔ̀k-á-ŋ   ɓɔ̀   wírnjìk
      fill   fill   3SG   fill-GO-3SG   ASSC   ash
      kɔ́   nɔ̀   mɔ̀ŋ
      POS   PREP   LOC.ANAPH
      'He sewed and sewed and sewed her the shoes. He filled them with ashes.'

13. Entity anaphor and switch reference

13.1   *The form and the function of the anaphor*

The form *mbí* (*mbɔ́* phrase internal, *mbéŋ* phrase final), glossed as ANAPH, for "anaphor," always functions as the head of the noun phrase. It may also be preceded by a preposition. Its antecedent may be a noun or a proposition. The function of the anaphor is to code switch reference to a previously mentioned entity:

(111)   *báy   wílè   á   dámù   mbí*
        chief   still   PRED   bush   ANAPH
        nd-á   ɓɔ̀t   wɔ̀dá
        go-GO   eat   food
        'The chiefᵢ is still in the bush. Heⱼ came to take the food.'

(112)   *báy   zá   gár   kà   zá   mbɔ́*
        chief   COMP   leave   POS   EE   ANAPH
        gár   ábɔ̀   nd-á   ngɔ̀ŋ
        stand   ASSC   go-GO   3SG
        'The chiefᵢ said, "Get out of here." Heⱼ stood up and went back.'

(113)   *à-ndɔ̀   r   skù   mbí*
        3SG-go   D.HAB   NEG   ANAPH
        mì   zèɓér   tɔ́   tkóŋ
        REL   follow GEN   2SG
        'If it does not go, she should follow your [advice]'

The phrase-final form of the anaphor, i.e. the form with the suffix *n*, is used to code the topicalization of the anaphor. Like other topicalizations of the subject, the switch reference marker is followed by the subject pronoun:

(114)   *séy   pá   í   vɔl-á-ŋ   jénì*
        so   give   3PL   give-GO-3SG   ax
        'So, they gave him an ax.'

        mbéŋ   à   tìk-é   tàlàŋ   káyàk   kà   jénì
        3SG   3SG   tilt-GO   head   earth   PREP   ax
        'He inclined his head because of the ax.'

The switch reference marker is not marked for number and can be used with respect to both singular and plural antecedents. In the topicalization function, the switch reference marker may be followed by the noun that otherwise is its antecedent:

(115) *báy   ábà   nd-á   ngàn   séy   mbéŋ*
       chief   ASSC   go-GO   3SG   so   ANAPH
       gàmíɓìɗ-yíi   mà   nd-à-y   zá
       chimp-PL   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
       kà   ɓám   pày   wàcíŋ
       INF   eat   tree   DEM
       'The chief went back. Then, the monkeys came to eat the fruit of that tree.'

(116) *káf   yà   í   yà-há-ú   ɓàt   í   ɓàt*
       morning   call   3PL   call-GO-3SG   take   3PL   take
       zá   dzáŋ   kà   á   bíŋ
       EE   close   POS   PRED   room
       'He was called in the morning: he was locked in a room.'

       tíl   á   dámù
       leave   PRED   bush
       'He [he one who was doing the locking] went into the bush.'

       *séy   **mbáŋ**   ɓàt   nèwén   tá   díndèmdíyà   ɓám*
       so   ANAPH   take   salt   GEN   sweet start   eat
       'He [the one who was locked in] took the sugar and started eating.'

       tíl   ngàn   á   wtá   ván   gàɓ gàɓ   báy
       leave   3SG   PRED   home   rain   hit hit   chief
       *á   kàtàf   **mbàn**   zàm   wàdá   tók*
       PRED   road   ANAPH   eat   food   finish
       ván   tók   zà
       rain   finish EE
       'When he₁ returned home, the rain₂ hit the chief on the road. He₁ finished eating and the rain also finished.'

(117) *tséy   wə̀ží   bá-y-yîi   zá   vl-á*
       so   children-PL chief-PL   EE   give-GO
       nènéŋ   mbéŋ   à   zá
       1PL.EXCL ANAPH   3SG   COMP
       gwáɗ   á   bíŋ   kàcíŋ
       plenty   PRED   room   DEM
       'The children of the chief said, "Give [it] to us." He said,
       "There is plenty here at home."'

13.2 Anaphor in a prepositional phrase

One of the functions of the form *mbí* is to code the third-person singu-
lar pronominal object of a preposition as anaphora to a preceding ar-
gument:

(118) *hìdì   mìndéŋ   à   n   ká   bɨ̀t   də̀və̀r*
       man   other   3SG   PRED   INF   make   hoe
       gə́   gə́   rà   sùlúɗ   ábà   mbéŋ
       ten   ten   hand   two   ASSC   3SG
       'Another person will make twenty hoes with that.' (*gə́* comes
       from *gə́ɓ* 'ten')

The antecedent of *mbí* in a prepositional phrase could be either the
subject or the object of a preceding clause:

(119) *à   zá   mái   mìnjé   sà   gə̀r   hìdì*
       3SG   COMP   mother now   1SG   want   man
       tá   ɓílèn   kà   dzə́m   bà   mbéŋ
       GEN   strong   INF   fight   ASSC   ANAPH
       'He told his mother, "Now I am looking for somebody strong to
       fight with him."'

(120) *séy   ɫ-yíi   dì   zà   ngə̀ŋ   kà*
       then   cow-PL   put   EE   3SG   POS
       á   nà   mbéŋ
       PRED   PREP   3SG
       'Then the cows, he kept them, for himself'

Consider the following fragment of discourse: In the first sentence, *hìdì*
'man' is mentioned. In the second sentence, the man is an object of the

verb and it is not overtly coded. In the fourth sentence the man is an object of a preposition and is coded by the form *mbéŋ*:

(121) *há   hìdì   gònák vù*
      2SG   man   black   Q
      'Are you a human being?'

      dòk   zá   há   gòr   kímí
      horse   COMP   2SG   want   why
      'The horse said, "Why are you looking for him?"'

      à   zá   kò   dzòm
      3SG   COMP   INF   wrestle
      'He said, "To fight."'

      dòk   zá   hà   kúl   kò   dzòm
      horse   COMP   2SG   able   INF   wrestle
      ábò   mbí   skù
      ASSC   ANAPH   NEG
      'The horse said, "You can't fight with him."'

In the next clause, with the topicalized object, the same subject is coded by the form *a*:

(122) *sáŋ   à   n   kò   kwár-á-k*
      1SG   3SG   PREP   INF   drive-GO-1SG
      kwár kwár   kò   s   kúl   kò   dàl-á-ŋ
      drive drive   AFF   1SG   able   INF   do-GO-3SG
      skòŋ skù   nzò   kò   à   nd-á   rà
      thing NEG   stay   POS   3SG   go-GO   D.HAB
      'Me, he makes me run, run, run. I cannot do a thing. Wait, he's coming.'

The function of the marker is to code previous mention in discourse, but not the last one. The marker *mbí* thus functions as a switch reference marker. Compare the following fragment: In the first sentence, the topic is hyena. In the second sentence, it is still hyena. However, in the third sentence, the form *mbéŋ* is used. Its antecedent is the other protagonist of the discourse.

(123) *tsáy   kwáykwáy   mà   ndǝv-á-y   zà*
       so   hyena   REL   fall-GO-STAT   EE
       bìtìrí   á   káyàk
       heavily   PREP   earth
       'So, the hyenaᵢ fell down heavily on the ground.'

       tséy   mbí   fát   fát   bákùl   tǝ   kwáykwáy
       so   3SG   skin   skin   hide   GEN   hyena
       wàcíŋ   nd-á
       DEM   go-GO
       'Then heⱼ skinned that hyena . . .'

13.3   The event anaphora

The anaphor *mbí* can be used as referring to an event mentioned in discourse rather than to a noun phrase:

(124) *áb   dùwǝŋ   mbéŋ*
       ASSC   back   ANAPH
       'after it'

(125) *séy   áb   dùwǝn   mbí   í*
       then   ASSC   back   ANAPH   3PL
       'After that they . . .

(126) *ángǝ   hìdǝ   nd-á ngòn*
       if   man   'from his birth'
       à   sǝn   mbí   sku
       3SG   know   ANAPH   NEG
       'If somebody says that since his birth he does not know that.'
       i.e. 'that he has never encountered such a thing in his life'

(127) *séy   à   ndí   fǝd-á-ŋ   tǝ*
       so (H.)   3SG   HAB   shave-GO-3SG   3PL
       tàlàn   fǝd   fǝd   fǝd
       head   shave   shave   shave
       'So, she shaved and shaved and shaved their heads.'

lìm-é   *té*   *gwídīŋ*   *ngà*   *ká*   *ɓàh*
see-GO   one   only   break   POS   hide
kà
POS
'Each time she kills just one and hides [it].'

túm   *à*   *ndí*   *dǎl*   *kà*   *mbéŋ*
always (F.)   3SG   HAB   do   PREP   ANAPH
'She always did like that.'

(128) *mə*   *dǎl-yí*   *dǎ*   *kà*   *mbí*   *skù*
       REL   do-STAT   exist   like   ANAPH   NEG
       'It is not done like that.'

14. Conclusions

The system of reference in Mina consists of the following means: the full noun; deictic and anaphoric markers; nouns followed by a deictic or anaphoric markers; pronouns; absence of any markers.

The language codes the following subdomains within the domain of reference: deixis; known referent; deduced referent; remote previous mention; indefinite referent; and switch reference.

The system of deixis consists of place and entity deixis. Place deixis has a distinction between proximate and remote. Entity deixis, at least for independent markers, does not have a distinction between proximate and remote.

The system coding anaphora distinguishes between the markers for entity and place.

Chapter 18
Focus constructions

1. Introduction

Focus is coding of an element as particularly important or relevant for the given stage in the discourse. The term "contrastive focus" designates a function whereby one of the elements of a proposition is provided as information to contradict what the speaker believes is the hearer's presupposition, assumption, belief, etc. A test of which argument is in contrastive focus is a negative clause that denies the hearer's alleged presupposition.

The focus function has several markers, depending on which element of the proposition is selected as the most salient. Markers of focus include the use of dependent aspects and tenses and other means that differ for different elements of the clause in focus.

2. Focus on the subject

There two means to code focus subject. One construction has the form S REL VO. The focused subject is followed by the relative clause:

(1) *hìdì*   *wà*   *mà*   *ǹd-á-kù*   *déɓ*   *nà*   *kítà*
     man   DEM   REL   beat-GO-1SG   lead   PREP   justice(F.)
     'It was this person who hit me. Take him to be judged.'

If the verb in a focus construction is transitive and there is no nominal or pronominal object following it, the verb must be followed by the definite object marker -*u*:

(2) *mìtís   mà   már-ù*
     hunger REL   graze-3SG
     'It is hunger that nibbled at him'

(3) *bìɟáv mà   vl-á-k   mbà   táŋ   kúl   kà   ɓát*
     God   REL   give-GO   child DED   can   INF   take
     bà   déwlì   skù
     ASSC   force (F. dole) NEG
     'It is Godᵢ that gave me this child, heⱼ cannot take it away with force'

Cf.:
(4) *bìɟáv vàl-á-k   mbà   táŋ*
     God   give-GO-1SG   child DED
     'God gave me that child . . . '

(5) *hà   tál   ká   màl   bà   wàdá   mámáŋ*
     2SG   try   INF   seize ASSC   food   his mother
     mà   d-ú
     REL   cook-3SG
     'If you try to discipline [children] with food [by refusing food]
     it is the mother who cooks it'

(6) *hà   m   ɓát-á-k   pám   á   wùtá*
     2SG   REL   take-GO-1SG   until PRED   house
     'It is you who took me up to the house.'

If a first- or second-person subject is in focus, the independent first-
or second-person pronouns are used and are followed by subject pro-
nouns:

(7) *mbà   à   ɟ-á   sáŋ   sà   mà   káp-ù*
     child 3SG   say-GO   1SG   1SG   REL   break-3SG
     'The child said, "It is me that broke it."'

The third-person pronominal subject in focus constructions is
marked by the anaphor *mbí:*

(8) *mbí   mà   tr-á-k   kà*
     ANAPH   REL   save-GO-1SG   POS
     'It is he who saved me!' (*tár* 'separate people who are fighting';
     'save')

The first and second person object pronouns are coded overtly, and also followed by the relative clause marker (only second person illustrated):

(9) *hà   mà   ngə̀z-á-kù*
     2SG   REL   teach-GO-1SG
     'It is you who taught me.'

The second means of coding focus on the subject is through the use of the dependent aspect, as in the following example, where the only marker is the dependent habitual *rà*:

(10) *à   zá   hìdì   wà   á   wə̀k*
     3SG   COMP   man   DEM   3SG   go crazy
     rà
     D.HAB
     'She said, "This man is crazy."'

Focus on the subject may be used in a yes/no interrogative clause. When that is the case, the verb is not followed by the definite object marker:

(11) *hà   mà   sə́   dàp   vú*
     2SG   REL   drink   only   Q
     'Is it you that drank again?'

(12) *hìdə́   wàcíŋ mà   ngə̀z-á-h*
     man   DEM   REL   teach-GO-2SG
     'It is this man that taught you?'

3. Focus on the object

Several means are used to code focus on the object, depending on which other pragmatic functions are involved for both the object and the other elements in the clause.

One means of coding focus on the object is through the position of the object before the verb. Putting the object noun phrase before the verb results in two noun phrases preceding the verb. The distinction between the two arguments is coded by the locative preposition *n* preceding the object noun phrase. Thus, the clause has the form S *n* OV.

The preposition *n* otherwise codes locative arguments when the head of the locative phrase is inherently non-locative.

(13) ɓàt   á   ɓàt-á-ŋ   ndɔ́   n   záván-yíì
      get   3SG   get-GO-3SG   beat   PREP   guinea fowl-PL
      wàcíŋ
      DEM
      'He grabbed it [his stick] and beat those guinea fowl.'

(14) á   n   kàdɔ́m   ngɔ̀n   ɓàt
      3SG   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
      'She took her calabash.'

(15) báy   nɔ̀   kàdɔ́m   ngɔ̀n   ɓàt   déɓ
      chief   PREP   calabash   3SG   take   carry
      á   déɓ   ká   á   ìdá
      3SG   carry   POS   PRED   home
      'The chiefᵢ took hisⱼ calabash and carried it home.'

(16) tíl   á   ndɔ̀   zɔ́   bíŋ
      depart 3SG   go   EE   room
      à   n   mì   bíŋ   dzáŋ   á   dzáŋ   ká
      3SG   PREP   mouth   room   close   3SG   close   POS
      'He went to the room and closed the door.'

4. Focus on object pronouns

The focus on object pronouns is coded by forms drawn from the set of independent pronouns. These pronouns occupy the position of the object in the clause. Unlike object pronouns in a pragmatically neutral clause, object pronouns in a focus clause are not preceded by the goal marking form *á*:

(17) à   n   kɔ́   mɔ̀l   sàŋ
      3SG   PREP   INF   catch   1SG
      'It is me that he is going to catch.'

(18) à   tàw   hòŋ
      3SG   hit   2SG
      'It is you he hit.'

ná	máy	hòŋ
1PL.EXCL	choose	2SG

It's you that we(excl) choose

The third-person singular independent form is *mbín* or *mbéŋ*, depending on the dialect:

(19) | à | tàw | mbín |
|---|---|---|
| 3SG | hit | 3SG |

'It is him that he hits.'

The first person dual object pronoun is preceded by the goal orientation marker *á*:

(20) | à | n | kɔ́ | mɔ̀l-á | nàmú |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG | PREP | INF | catch-GO | 1DU |

'It is the two of us that he will catch.'

5. Focus on an adverbial expression

Focus on an adverbial expression is marked by fronting the adverb and using dependent aspect coding.

(21) | píč | wà | ndɔ̀ | gár | á | gár | kɔ́ | dàp |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sun | DEM | go | stand | 3SG | stand | POS | only |

'Under this sun he went out and stood.'

6. Focus on the predicate

Focus on the predicate has different forms, depending on the aspect of the clause. In both past and present, focus on the predicate is coded by the dependent aspects.

In the past tense, focus on the predicate is coded through the marker *kə*, which precedes the verb phrase. The third-person singular subject is unmarked. The nominal, subject precedes the marker *kə*. For all other persons, the subject pronouns precede *kə*.

There is an important difference in the behavior of subject pronouns between the Marbak and Kefedjevreng dialects. In Kefedjevreng all subject prefixes have a nasal preceding *kə-*. In this dialect, all other

forms that are preceded by a prefix also have the alveolar nasal occurring between the prefix and the stem. In Marbak, there is no nasal prefix. For the dialect that has the nasal component, we transcribe the subject-focus marker as *nkə́*. For the Marbak dialect, on which most of our description is based, the marker is *kə*. For the Kefedjevreng dialect, we postulate the following rule:

Ø → n/PREFIX #____STEM (elicited examples):

(22)   *í   kə́   dzə̀   hàz   tə́   bíč   kà*
       3PL   INF   kill   dog   GEN   Bitsi POS
       'They killed Bitsi's dog.' (Marbak)

(23)   *í   nkə́   dzə̀   hàz-yíì   tì   bíčì   ká*
       3PL   INF   kill   dog-PL   GEN   Bitsi POS
       'They killed Bitsi's dogs.' (Kefedjevreng)

The form *kə* can be used in various aspectual forms, which provides evidence that it is not an aspect marker. The evidence that the form codes focus is provided by the semantic content of the clauses used and by the discourse contexts where they are used. Natural discourse clauses with the non-infinitival form *kə* describe something that normally would not be expected. This is illustrated in the next five examples:

(24)   *ngùl-íyì   s   kə́   dzán-á   nám   skə̀n   zá*
       husband-PL   1SG   INF   find-GO   1DU   thing EE
       'My husband, I found us something.'

(25)   *kə́   fə̀k   wə̀l   zá*
       INF   give   neck   EE
       'He started to yell.' (from joy)

(26)   *àa   bárkàmà   wàl   nə̀   kə́   dzán-á*
       ah   chief   wife   1SG   INF   find-GO
       skə̀n   pár   zə̀   dáhà
       thing strange   EE   exist
       '"Ah, my chief, there is something my wife found."'

(27)   *séy*   *ɓámbáy*   *nákà*   *kə̀*   *ɓàt*   *zə̀*
       so   stick   REM   INF   take   EE
       dàp
       immediately
       'So the stick took off immediately.'

(28)   *áá*   *wàl*   *nə̀*   *kə̀*   *dzán-á*
       ah   wife   1SG   INF   find-GO
       skə̀n   *pár*   *zə̀*   *bàdáp*
       thing   another   EE   again
       '"Ah, my wife found another thing again."'

The focus clause may be an interrogative clause expressing astonishment:

(29)   *kə̀*   *dzán-á*   *nòk*   *skə̀n*   *pár*   *zə̀*
       INF   find-GO   1PL   thing   another   EE
       bádàp
       again
       '"She found us something else again?"'

(30)   *áa*   *kə̀*   *dzán-á*   *nòk*   *zá*   *bàrkámà*
       yes   INF   find-GO   1PL   EE   chief (F.)
       '"Yes, she found us something, my chief."'

The focus clause describes unusual events and situations:

(31)   *hìd-yîi*   *wà*   *táŋ*   *kə̀*   *dà*   *tàlàn*   *ngə̀n*   *zá*
       man-PL   DEM   return   INF   cook   head   3SG   EE
       'Those people returned, and she cooked herself.'

(32)   *à*   *ɮà*   *á*   *kə̀bə́m*   *kə́*
       3SG   say   3SG   ahead   INF
       mbə̀ɗ-á-k   *zà*
       surpass-GO-1SG   EE
       'He [the buffalo] said, "He[the frog] is ahead. He surpasses me."'

The focus clause is also used for the things that the hearer has reason, based on the preceding discourse, not to expect to happen:

(33) à   ɓá   bìɓáf   kə́   dzə̀   tə̀tə̀   cíké'   kà
      3SG   say   God   INF   kill   3PL   all   POS
      à   fìn   nàmú   nám   kə́   tì   tàŋ
      3SG   remain 1DU   1DU   INF   see   DED
      'He said, "God has killed them all; there remains only us, we
      will see."'

(34) séy   mə̀   ngùl   ngùl   kə́   wə̀
      then   REL   husband   husband   INF   start
      kédéŋ   ngə̀n   tə́   zə̀   bá   dàp
      stupidity   3SG   DED   EE   again   only
      'Then the man started again with his stupidity.'

(35) tò   kwáykwáy   kə̀   ndá   ngə̀ŋ   r
      okay   hyena   INF   come   3SG   D.HAB
      zá   hí   d́ál   mí   hì   n
      COMP   2PL   make   what   2PL   PREP
      kə̀   dzán-à   nók   ɓì   zá   yà
      INF   find-GO   1PL   meat   EE   isn't it
      'Okay, a hyena came and said, "What are you doing? You
      found us meat! How nice of you!"'

The focus clause is used to code an affirmative denial of some-
body's wrong presupposition:

(36) háá   nók   kə̀   dzán-à   nók   ɓì   zá
      yes   1PL   INF   find-GO   1PL   meat   EE
      'Yes, we found the meat for ourselves' (not for you).

The focus clause may be used with iterative constructions:

(37) án   ndə̀   ngə̀n   kə́   tàl   á   tàl   tàl
      3SG   go   3SG   INF   walk   3SG   walk   walk
      tàl   tàl
      walk   walk
      'She walked and walked and walked.'

In the present tense, the focus on the predicate is coded by dependent
habitual aspect:

(38) *à   zè6ér   mà   tùk   rà*
     3SG   follow speech 2SG   D.HAB
     'By golly, he follows your word' (said in astonishment, about
     the translator present at the recording)

Interestingly, in the process of elicitation when the speaker provides
isolated clauses, most clauses in the past tense are given with the form
kə. The explanation for this fact follows from the function of the con-
struction. Each individual, isolated sentence is conceived as expressing
something special, an unusual event.

7. Conclusions

Focus on the subject is coded by the relative clause. The subject re-
mains in its pragmatically neutral clause-initial position. Focus on the
object is coded through the position of the object before the verb, and
the use of a preposition to code the additional argument. Focus on the
predicate is coded through the deployment of the infinitival marker *kə*
after the subject. In all focus constructions only the dependent aspects
are used.

Chapter 19
Topicalization

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the problems of establishing the discourse topic, changing the discourse topic, and topicalization within the sentence. The issues of establishing the discourse topic are very much linked with the problem of reference, since one of the markers of topicalization is identical with the entity deixis marker.

One may find scattered approaches in the literature whereby the subject of a clause is automatically treated also as the topic of the clause if there is no other topic. The natural discourse data in Mina clearly indicate that the subject must be topicalized first in order to serve as the topic of paragraph.

2. Establishing the topic of a story or narrative

The discourse topic is typically established at the beginning of the discourse. Nouns that are marked as discourse topics have not been mentioned before in discourse. The topic noun phrase is followed by the entity deictic *wà* or *wàcín*. Here is the first line of a story:

(1)   *hìd-yîi*   *wà*   *i*   *tàtà*   *màkád*
       man-PL   DEM 3PL   3PL   three
      'There were three men.'

Once the topic has been established, further reference to the same referent is coded by subject pronouns:

(2)   *i   ndə̀   kə́   bèr-é   cìkíɗ bùhù   ntá*
    3PL   go   INF   sell-GO   sesamebag (F.)   one
    'They were going to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

The forms *wa* and *wàcín* are free variants in establishing the discourse topic. Here is the first line of another story:

(3)   *hìdè   wècín   í   tə̀tə̀   nfáɗ*
    man   DEM   3PL   3PL   four
    'There were four men.'

(4)   *ngàlə́mbə̀r   wàcíŋ ngàlə́mbə̀r   tə́   kwáyàŋ*
    story   DEM story   GEN   squirrel
    'This story is the story of the squirrel.'

3. Establishing the topic within a discourse

The main topicalizing means is the use of the demonstrative *wa* or its phrase final form *wàcín* following the noun. In addition to the marker *wa*, the topicalization may also involve the use of the full noun followed by a subject pronoun coding the number of the noun. The following example contains both means of topicalization: *wèhín* in the matrix clause and the subject noun followed by the subject pronoun in the embedded clause:

(5)   *hìdì   wèhíŋ   à   zá   ván   á   n   kə́*
    man   DEM   3SG   COMP rain   3SG   PREP   INF
    ɗà   á   gə̀r   kə̀   nd-á-k   kə̀sə́m
    fall   3SG   want   INF   touch-GO-1SG   body
    skù
    NEG
    'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

Once the discourse topic has been established, the establishing of the topic of the first paragraph, which may be different from the discourse topic, may follow. If the new topic happens to be the subject, it has to be topicalized. Consider the following beginning of a story. The first clause introduces the story:

(6)   *wàcíŋ   màndàvàŋ*
     DEM   rabbit
     'This one [is about] a rabbit.'

The second clause introduces the topic of the first paragraph of the story, which is also the subject. The identity of the topicalized noun as subject is assured by the absence of any other subjects in the story:

(7)   *màllúm   wàcíŋ gár   á   ndà   jáaŋgàl*
     marabout   DEM   leave 3SG   go   voyage (F.)
     'This marabout left to go on a trip.'

The marabout is the subject of the next four clauses in the story.

   In the following fragment, each sentence has a new subject and a new topic. Each new topic is marked by the form *wàcín*. Once the subject has been topicalized, it must be overtly coded again by the pronoun preceding the main verb of the clause:

(8)   *kwáyàŋ   wàcíŋ à   ndà   kà   n   kà*
     squirrel   DEM   3SG   go   INF   PREP INF
     màrà-há   á   dàmù   ndà   dzáŋ   á   dzáŋ
     graze-GO   PRED bush   go   find   3SG   find
     làkáf
     baboon
     'The squirrel went to graze in the bush and found a baboon.'

(9)   *làkáf   wàcíŋ à   zá   hà   nd-á*
     baboon   DEM   3SG   COMP   2SG   go-GO
     kímí
     why
     'The baboon said, "Why did you come?"'

   Proper names, even when coded by ordinary nouns, as well as titles and the name for God, cannot be followed by the deictic *wa*. In such a case, the only marker of topicalization is the third-person pronoun preceding the verb. The following example illustrates such a case in the main and the embedded clause:

(10) *mímèŋ   à   zá   àmmá bìɓáv à*
      leopard   3SG   COMP   truly God 3SG
      mbál-á-kù   nd-á   ɓì   gwáɗ   á
      like-GO-1SG   go-GO   meat plenty   PRED
      bíŋ   nàŋ
      room   1SG
      'The leopard said, "God truly loves me, as there is a lot of meat in my room."'

4. Borrowed markers of topicalization

Topicalization of the subject is also coded by the marker *kám*, borrowed from Fula. Pronominal and deictic or anaphoric subjects occur in the full, rather than the phrase-internal, form. The topicalized element is still in clause-initial position:

(11) *séy   báy   zá   wàcíŋ kám   dámà*
      so   chief COMP   DEM   TOP (F.)   good
      'The chief said, "That, at least, is good."'

The form *kám* may follow the deictic topicalizer *wa*:

(12) *séy   wàl   wá   kám   kɔ́   nàz   tál*
      the   woman   DEM   TOP   INF   stop   walk
      ɗá   skù   dáp
      exist NEG   only
      'Then, that woman did not stop taking her walks.'

5. Topicalization of pronominal subjects

Topicalization of pronominal subjects can be coded through several means. For the third-person plural subject, topicalization is coded by the independent pronoun *tàtà* realized as *tàtà* in phrase-internal position:

(13) *tàtà   gwáɗ á   bíŋ   á   màcíŋ*
      3PL   plenty PRED room   PRED DEM
      'As far as they are concerned, they are numerous in that room over there.'

Compare the use of the subject pronoun in a non-topicalized function:

(14)   ì   gwádʼ á   bíŋ   á   màcíŋ
       3PL   plenty PRED   room   PRED   DEM
       'They are numerous in that room over there.'

The pronominal subject may also be topicalized by the deduced refer-
ence marker *ta*. Just as after a topicalized noun, the subject pronoun
must be used again before the verb:

(15)   tòtò   nfádʼ   tàŋ   í   mbál
       3PL   four   DED   3PL   like
       wàl   táŋ   kò   vl-à-ŋ   ží   nò   ví
       woman   DED   INF   give-GO-3SG   then   PREP   who
       ví   á   mbál-ù   ví   á   mbál-ù
       who   3SG   like-3SG   who   3SG   like-3SG
       'The four of them liked the woman. Who to give her to? Every-
       one liked her. Everyone liked her.'

(16)   hà   táŋ   tùwòr   á   nò   fálà   tòtàŋ
       2SG   DED   suffer PRED   PREP   among   3PL
       žìŋ   wà   gòzòdʼ tòtàŋ   vù
       time   DEM   work   good   Q
       'You suffer a lot among them, is it then a good work?'

The subject may also be topicalized through the forms borrowed
from Fula *kám* and *bò*:

(17)   sò   bó   sò   n   kí   mìŋ   s   tátà
       1SG   also   1SG   PREP   INF   stay   1SG   alone
       '"I also will stay alone."'

(18)   mò   zô   báytò   gómbòk-yîì   zá
       REL   EE   large   frog-PL   COMP
       syì   hí   kám   fú   tàŋ   hí   wàn
       COM   2PL   TOP   all   DED   2PL   sleep:IMPER
       kà   mùkàdkádáŋ   sùlúdʼ sùlúdʼ
       POS   upside down   two   two
       'The largest of the frogs said, "You all lie down on your backs in
       pairs."'

(19) *séy*   *á*   *tà-t*   *kám*   *í*   *ndí*   *ngà*
      then   PRED 3PL   TOP (F.)   3PL   HAB   catch
      ɓi-yíì   *zà*   *ká*   *ndá*   *kà*   *dá*   *tàŋ*
      meat-PL   EE   INF   go   INF   cook   DED
      '"Then, as for them [the hyenas], they just catch the meat [and]
      bring it for cooking.' (i.e. they have no shortage of meat)

(20) *kwáykwáy*   *zá*   *mbíŋ*   *kám*   *ɓì*   *tì*
      hyena   COMP ANAPH   TOP   meat   GEN
      kíniŋ   *mú*   *nzà*   *hí*   *ká*
      2SG   DEB   stay   2PL   here
      'Hyenaᵢ said, that as for himᵢ, your meat should remain with
      you.'

If the new, but previously mentioned, subject is also the topic of the
clause, that is marked by the phrase-final form of the determiner:

(21) *séy*   *àjíyà*   *á*   *nd-á*   *rà*
      so   messenger (F.)   3SG   go-GO   D.HAB
      nd-á   *dzáŋ*   *wàl*   *wàcíŋ*
      go-GO   find   woman   DEM
      So, when the messenger came, he found that woman.'

(22) *wàl*   *wàcíŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *tsók-ó*
      woman   DEM   3SG   COMP   remove-GO
      rùkùt   *tók*   *kà*
      clothes   2SG   POS
      'That woman said, "Take off all your clothes."'

6. Non-propositional topics

As in some Southeast Asian languages, the topic does not have to be an
argument or an adjunct of the comment clause. The non-propositional
topicalized element occurs in clause-initial position and is followed by
demonstrative *wa*. The following sentence has two such topics preceding
the comment clause: "the male cow" and "the udder":

(23) à   ƙá   wà   ƙə̀   tə́   ngúlə̀   lwá
      3SG   say   but   cow   GEN   male   udder
      à   n   kə́   dâ   wə̀   wà   á   tìkì
      3SG   PREP   INF   fetch   milk   DEM   PRED   where
      'He said, "The bull, regarding the udder, where will the milk
      come out?"'

Here are other examples of non-propositional topics:

(24) **mbígìŋ**   wàcíŋ   wàl-yíi   í   ndí   ng-àŋ
      mbiguin   DEM   woman-PL   3PL   HAB   break
      cícélém   á   n   báy   kə̀   tár   vàŋ
      firewood   PRED   PREP   wood   INF   pray   rain
      'This mbiguin [a ritual], women go break wood for the chief to
      pray for rain.'

(25) **bə̀l   wáyàk**   wàcíŋ   à   tár   à   də̀
      bal   wayak   DEM   3SG   pray   3SG   prepare
      mə̀sə́də̀f-yîi   mə̀l   ŋkwà   p'à   á   n   mə̀
      spirit-PL   seize   goat   give   PRED   PREP   REL
      də̀   mə̀sə́də̀f   kə́   də̀   tàŋ
      prepare   spirit   INF   prepare   DED
      'This Bul Wayak, one prays, one makes sacrifices to the spirits.
      One takes a goat and gives it to the person who prepares the sac-
      rifice, and he prepares it.'

7. Aspect in the comment on the topic

A general characteristic that distinguishes topicalization-of-subject from
focus-on-subject constructions is the use of aspect in the comment
clause. Unlike in the comment-on-focus clauses, the comment-on-topic
clauses have aspects from the independent set. Thus, the independent
habitual rather than the dependent habitual aspect is used in the com-
ment on the topic:

(26) wàl   wá   à   ndí   tàl   ngə̀n   dáp
      wife   DEM   3SG   HAB   walk   3SG   only
      à   ndí   tàl   ngə̀n   dáp   á   dámù
      3SG   HAB   walk   3SG   still   PRED   bush
      'The wife still took walks in the bush'

Here is an example of the use of reduplication of the verb to code the past tense:

(27)　*lù*　　*í*　　*lùw-á-ŋgù*
　　　 say　 3PL　 say-GO-3SG
　　　 ɓámbáy　　　*wà*　*màl*　*á*　*màl-á-ŋ*　　　　　*tà*
　　　 stick　　　　　DEM　catch　3SG　catch-GO-3SG　　　3PL
　　　 ǹdə̀　*tə̀tə̀*　*mècíŋ*
　　　 hit　　3PL　　there
　　　 'They said [it] to the stick, and the stick went on to hit them there.'

The pragmatically dependent aspect can be used in the comment-on-topic clause if the clause has to be interpreted with another clause for some reason, e.g. clauses that have explicit reference to something that was said before:

(28)　*séy*　*wàl*　　　*wà*　*gíž-é-ŋ*　　*kì*　　*mbíŋ*
　　　 so　 woman　　　DEM　tell-GO-3SG　like　　ANAPH
　　　 So, that woman told him like that.'

If the comment is itself a focus on the predicate clause, it has the marker *kə*:

(29)　*wàl*　　　　*tùkón*　*kə*　　*mìsìl*　*zá*
　　　 woman　　　2SG　　INF　　steal　　EE
　　　 'Your wife, she has stolen.'
Cf.:
(30)　*wàl*　　　　*tùk*　*kə*　　*mìsìl*　*zá*
　　　 woman　　　2SG　INF　　steal　　EE
　　　 'Your wife has stolen.'

8. Topicalization of the object

Topicalization of the object may have two forms, depending on the position in which the object is first mentioned in the text and on the scope of the topic. If the scope of the topic is limited to the clause in which the object occurs, it is topicalized through clause-initial position and the deictic *wà* or *wàcín* or *wàhín* following it. The object role is deduced from the fact that there is a subject in the clause. In the following exam-

ples, the subject is the unspecified human coded by the third-person plural *í*:

(31)   *ná*   *dár*   *wèhíŋ*   *í*   *dár*   *rà*
        DEM   dance   DEM   3PL   dance   D:HAB
        hìdà   *ntá*   *skù*
        man   one   NEG
        'This dance, one does not dance it just by one person.' (One needs many people for this dance.)

(32)   *mbígìŋ*   *wàcíŋ*   *í*   *dál*   *ngàm*   *màts*
        mbiguin   DEM   3PL   do   because   sicknes
        kà   *dál*   *nà*   *hàyák*   *í*   *hóynà*   *tàŋ*
        INF   do   PREP   village   3PL   calm (F.)   DED
        'This mbiguin, they do it because there is sickness in the village. They cure it.'

(33)   *mìnjé*   *ɓàgám* *nà*   *wà*   *ká*   *ɓìm*   *zá*   *skà*   *vù*
        now   speech 1SG   DEM   INF   get   EE   NEG   Q
        'Now, my words, he understood, didn't he?'

If the object is focused and topicalized, it occurs in clause-initial position:

(34)   *hál*   *tá*   *ɓámbáy*   *ngàn*   *fúu*   *tàn*
        limit   GEN   stick   3SG   all   DED
        ván   *ká*   *mbàlém*   *dä*   *skù*
        rain   INF   touch   exist   NEG
        'The area delimited by his stick, the rain did not touch it.'

(35)   *ɓì*   *tàtàŋ*   *fú*   *tàŋ*   *dèɓ*
        meat   GEN:3PL   all   DED   bring
        í   *dèɓ*   *ká*   *n*   *yàm*
        3PL   bring   INF   PREP   water
        'They brought all of their meat into the water.'

(36)   *wàl*   *ɓím*   *mà*   *r*   *skú*
        woman   hear   mouth   D.HAB   NEG.Q
        kà   *gám*   *kà*
        INF   chase   POS
        'The woman who does not obey, should be chased away.'

(37) ŋkwə̀   tə́   lìvèŋ hì   kə́   skə̀m-á   zà
      goat   GEN   black 2PL   INF buy-GO   EE
      hì   fàt   kà   á   káyàk
      2PL   skin   POS   PRED earth
      'A black goat, when you buy it, you skin it on the ground.'

Topicalization of the object may also be coded by a comment clause marked through the comment-clause marker *syì*:

(38) mímèŋ   zá   tílèɓék syì   hà   ɓám
      leopard   COMP   fresh   COMP   2SG   eat
      rə̀   skə́   vù
      D.HAB   NEG   Q
      'The leopard asked, "You do not eat raw things?"'

(39) à   zá   í   kə̀   lù   rə́
      3SG   COMP   3PL   INF   say   D.HAB
      hìdì   gə́nàk   syì   há   vù
      man   person   COMP   2SG   Q
      'He said, "The one who they call man -- is it you?"'

(40) ták   tə́r   láy   tə́   mìtĩ̌š   mə̀nà   wàcíŋ
      in   month time   GEN   hunger like   DEM
      'In a time of the famine like this...'

(41) skə̀n   nàm   dzáŋ   skə̀n   syì   há   dĩ̀yà   gáy
      thing 1DU   find   thing COM   2SG   put   spoil
      kà
      POS
      'The thing we found, you are ruining it.'

9. Topicalization of adjuncts

Topicalization of adjuncts is coded by the fronting of the phrase, by the deictic form *wàcín*, or by the borrowed marker *kám*.

(42)   *gèlɓé*   *kám*   *há*   *pàts-á* *nòk*   *mbɔ̀*   *ntá*
       better   TOP(F.)   2SG   take   1PL   child   one
       hà   *dá*   *nòkóŋ*
       2SG   cook   1PL
       '"You better take one of your children and cook it for us."'

(43)   *tìy*   *tìy*   *sɔ́*   *tìy*   *kám*   *màɟéɟé*   *dám*
       see   see   1SG   see   TOP   old days   good
       dáy   *ngám*   *màɟéɟé*   *wàcíŋ* *há*   *kúl*
       surpass   because   old days   DEM   2SG   can
       kɔ́   *dɔb*   *ngámbɔ̀*   *túkòŋ*
       INF   ask   neighbor   2SG
       'I realize that the old times were better, because in old times you could ask your neighbor.'

Topicalization of an instrument may be coded by fronting and use of the phrase-final form of the element. In the following sentence, the adjunct *kúlí* 'ceremonial clay pot' is in sentence-initial position, but there is no overt marker of its role in subsequent clauses:

(44)   *kúlí wàhín*   *mɔ̀ná*   *hìdì*   *tùkwóŋ*   *mɔ̀*   *mɔ̀ts-í*
       kuli DEM   like   man   GEN-2SG   REL   die-STAT
       zà   *há*   *n*   *kɔ̀*   *ɫɔ́ŋ*   *kà*
       EE   2SG   PREP   INF   represent   POS
       'These kulis, like when somebody in your family dies, you represent him [with those kulis].'[1]

10. Conclusions

The main means of topicalization is the use of the demonstrative *wa*, or its phrase-final form *wàcín* after the topicalized element. Topicalization of the nominal subject may also be coded by subject pronouns preceding the verb. The object may also be topicalized by the demonstrative *wa*. The topicalized noun phrase does not have to be an argument or an adjunct of the comment clause. The comment-on-topic clause is characterized by the use of the pragmatically independent aspects.

---

1. The custom of establishing ceremonial pots is done only for mother and father. The representation is a small clay pot. For a period after the death of a parent, a portion of each meal is set aside for the spirit of the parent.

Chapter 20

Parataxis

1. Introduction

The term "parataxis" is used for all types of constructions where two or more clauses are part of the same sentence, but where each clause preserves its independent status. There are several types of paratactic clauses: clauses without a conjunction, asyndetic conjoining; sequential clauses; and conjoined clauses, with several types of conjunctions.

2. Asyndetic conjoining

Several issues are relevant with respect to asyndetic conjoining. The most important is a distinction between asyndetically conjoined clauses and sentences in discourse that merely follow each other. In clauses that follow each other in discourse, the subject is repeated, and the tense, if any, is marked. In asyndetically conjoined clauses with the same subject and tense, the subject and the tense markers are not repeated. Here is an example of sentences that follow each other in discourse:

(1) *míndéŋ*   *à*   *ndí*   *téwél* *ɓámbáy*
     another   3SG   HAB   twirl   stick
     'Another twirls a stick.'

(2) *míndéŋ*   *à*   *pàdǎk* *njûl*
     another   3SG   split   grass (a certain variety)
     'Another splits a stalk of grass.'

(3) *míndéŋ*   *à*   *ndí*   *mbìr*
     another   3SG   HAB   jump
     'Another jumps.'

(4)   *íi   zék   yàw*   [žék]
      3PL   make   competition
      'They had a competition.'

Here is an example of asyndetically conjoined clauses:

(5)   *gáw   pàpə̀ł páy   bə́k   nə̀   yə̀m*
      hunter detach wood throw PREP water
      'The hunter detached the bark of a tree, threw it into water'

(6)   *mə̀   lə́m   bíŋ   rá   drĭš   ngádʼ drĭš*
      REL   build house dig   mud   mix   mud
      'The one who builds a house dug the mud, mixed the mud,'

      lə́m   bíŋ   ʓá   hàmás nd-á   hə̀ʓ   ká
      build house cut   straw go-GO   thatch POS
      wán   kə́   nə̀   mə́ŋ
      lie   inside PREP   LOC.ANAPH
      'built a home, cut some straw, thatched the roof, and lay down inside it.'

2.1 Same subjects

When the subjects of two asyndetically conjoined clauses are coreferential, no overt pronouns are present in the second clause, regardless of its tense:

(7)   *ɓə̀t   á   ɓə̀t   ʓámbáy   ngə̀n   dĭyà   žéɓ*
      get   3SG   get   stick   3SG   put   follow
      tàŋ
      DED
      'He got his stick and went to follow her.'

(8)   *dá   klíf   wà   z   wùtá   tàk   tàk   wə̀ndə̀ŋ*
      bring fish   DEM   EE   house crush crush peanut
      'He brought the fish home, he crushed peanuts.'

(9) *séy   kə̀də́m   wà   dà   dà   á*
     so   calabash DEM   cook cook 3SG
     d-á-ŋ   wùd mə̀ná   wà   mbá   pè   té té té té
     cook-GO-3SG food   like DEM   so   much spread(x 4)

     á   mə̀   kə̀bə́m   ngə̀ŋ
     PRED   DEM   face   3SG
     'So the calabash made a lot of food for her and spread it in front
     of her.'

(10) *séy   à   ndí   fə̀d-á-ŋ   tə̀   tàlàn*
     so   3SG   HAB   shave-GO-3SG   3PL   head
     fə̀d   fə̀d   fə̀d   lìm-é   té   gwídîŋ
     shave shave shave see-GO   one   only
     ngà   ká   ɓá   ká
     break POS   hide   POS
     'So, she shaved and shaved and shaved their heads. Each time
     she killed just one and hid it'

(11) *wàl   ngə̀n   màdáràf   ɓə́t   skə̀ŋ   tə̀*
     woman   3SG   favorite   take   thing   GEN
     ngùl   ngə̀ŋ   káts   cíkè   á   wtə́
     husband   3SG   gather all   PRED   house
     mə́mə́ŋ
     mother.3SG
     'His favorite wife took her husband's things and collected them
     all at her mother's house.'

     ɓàh   ɓàh   cíkè   kà
     hide   hide   all   POS
     'She hid everything'

Here is an illustration with a third-person plural subject, which is un-
marked in the second clause:

(12) *ɓə̀t   í   ɓə̀t   dìgíd   tsàp   tsàp   fúu   kà*
     take   3PL   take   thorn   close   close   all   POS
     'They took thorns and they closed everything.'

Asyndetic conjunction can have the deontic mood in both clauses. Interestingly, however, the mood in the first clause is imperative and in the second, subjunctive:

(13) *báy   zá   tàp-á   nà   mpáy   wàcíŋ*
      chief   COMP   climb-GO   PREP   tree   DEM
      há   mbál-á-h   kà   ɓám
      2SG   pick-GO-2SG   INF   eat
      'The chief said, "Climb that tree and pick something to eat."'

2.2 Different subjects

When two clauses have different nominal subjects, each subject precedes the verb of its clause. Without any conjunction the sequentiality in time or cause-and-effect relationship are not overtly coded:

(14) *í   nd   rà   í   nd   rà   vàŋ*
      3PL   walk   D.HAB   3PL   walk   D.HAB   rain
      wà   kɔ́   dâ
      start   INF   draw water
      'While they were walking, rain started to fall.'

3. Conjunction *mìd*

The conjunction *mìd* has been found at the beginning of a sentence in narratives and between clauses within the same sentence. In both syntactic positions, its function is to conjoin propositions that are not dependent on each other, that are not in cause-and-effect relationship or in temporal relationship.

(15) *mìd   žì   míndéŋ   mà   téwél   ɮámbáy   ɓɔ́t*
      and   then   other   REL   twirl   stick   take
      ɮámbáy   dǐy-á   téwél   dǐy-á téwél
      stick   start-GO   twirl   start-GO twirl
      dǐy-á téwél   á   tàlàŋ   ngɔ̀n
      start-GO twirl   PRED   head   3SG
      'The other, the one who twirls the stick, took the stick and started to twirl, started to twirl, started to twirl [it] above his head.'

(16)   *tàlàŋ   bíŋ   mìɗ   màgúɗàh   páláh*
       head   room   and   tail   outside
       'The head is inside but the tail is outside' (a riddle—the answer
       is 'fire')

4. Sequential events coding through the auxiliary *nd* 'go'

The temporal sequence of events is coded through the marker *ndà*, most probably derived from the verb *nd* 'go'. The most important characteristic of *ndà* as a sequential marker is that it can be followed by another verb:

(17)   *hí   ndà   lùw-á-ŋ   mà   ndà-hà*
         2PL   go   say-GO-3SG DEB go -GO
         'Go tell him to come here.'

         ndà   yá   í   y-ù
         go   call   3PL   call-3SG
         ' And they called him.'

(18)   *zágìyì   tíl   ndà   ɓàt   í   ɓàtà-há-w*
         courtiers (F.) go   go   take   3PL   take-GO-3SG
         gáɗ   bà   wàl   wà   táŋ
         push ASSC woman   DEM   DED
         'The courtiers went and brought the calabash with the woman.'

(19)   *nd-á   dìyà   í   dì   ẕámbáy   wà   kà*
         go-GO put   3PL   put   stick   DEM   POS
         n   fádà   tà   dàp
         PREP court (F.)   DED   just
         'They came and put the stick in the court of the chief.'

(20)   *wàl   wà   ràz   màbíŋ ndà   tsáp   á   màl*
         wife   DEM open   door   go   tsap   3SG   catch
         ká
         POS
         'The woman opened the door, went [in] and tsáp caught [it].'

This marker can be used when the subjects of both the antecedent and the sequential clause are the same. Since the subject is the same, it is coded only once, in the first clause of the sequence:

(21) *hós*   **ndə**   *də́w*   *kà*
      arrive go   stay   POS
      'He arrived and stayed.'

(22) *dzáŋ*   *á*   *dzán-á*   *mə̀*   *tə́*   *gwídín*
      find   3SG   find-GO   REL   GEN   single
      nákà   *wèhíŋ*
      REM   DEM
      'He found the one sesame seed of those [that were counted].

      nd-á   *náz*   *á*   *náz*   *kə́*   *nà*   *láy*   *tàŋ*
      go-GO   throw   3SG   throw   POS   PREP   place   DED
      'He went and threw it into its place [in the bag].'

(23) *žèɓ*   *žèɓ*   *á*   *žèɓ-ú*   **ndə**   *dzáŋ*   *wàl*
      follow   follow   3SG   follow-3SG   go   find   wife
      ngə̀n   *nákáhà*
      3SG   REM
      'He followed [the footsteps] and found his wife'

The sequential clause is also used after a temporal protasis clause, which indicates that the sequential clause has a temporal nature, coding the event occurring after another event:

(24) *kà*   *ndə*   *zə́*   *fú*   **ndə**   *dzáŋ*   *záván-yíì*
      INF   go   EE   all (F.)   go   find   guinea fowl-PL
      í   *màr*   *rá*
      3PL   graze   D.HAB
      'Each time she went she found guinea fowl grazing.'

The marker *ndə* may also code the effect clause in a cause-and-effect relationship, where the subjects can be different. In such a case, the marker *ndə* precedes the subject; if the subject occurs between the reduplicated parts of the verb, the marker precedes the predicate:

(25)   *ɓə̀t*   *á*   *ɓə̀t*   *káyyà*   *hí*   *mə̀l*   *ká*
       start   3SG   start   INTERJ   2PL   catch   POS
       'He started, "Yikes! stop (PL) it."'

       séy   **ndə̀**   *mə̀l*   *wàl*   *wá*   *mə̀l*   *ká*
       so   go   catch   womanDEM   catch   POS
       'So the woman stopped it.' (Although the order is given to plural
       participants, only one person executes the order)

A piece of evidence that the form *ndə̀* is not merely a verb of move-
ment is provided by clauses that rule out any movement interpretation
for *ndə̀*:

(26)   *séy*   *tíl*   *á*   *dámù*   **ndə̀**   *dzáŋ*   *cíŋ*
       so   leave   PRED   bush   go   find   father.3SG
       à   *zá*   *váy*   *ndə̀*   *wùtá*
       3SG   COMP   daddy   go   house
       'When he went into the bush, he found his father and said,
       "Daddy, return home."'

If one chooses *kə* instead of the *ndə̀* above, the clause would mean:
"He went for the purpose of finding his father," i.e. no implication that
the goal was accomplished.
    The sequential marker is used to code the temporal sequence of
events in a discourse:

(27)   *wàl*   *wá*   *à*   *ndí*   *tàl*   *ngə̀n*   *dáp*
       wife   DEM   3SG   HAB   walk   3SG   only
       à   *ndí*   *tàl*   *ngə̀n*   *dáp*   *á*   *dámù*
       3SG   HAB   walk   3SG   still   PRED   bush
       'The wife still took walks in the bush'

       séy   *ndə̀*   *dzáŋ*   *á*   *dzáŋ-á*   *kə̀də́m*
       so   go   find   3SG   find-GO   calabash
       á   *dámù*
       PRED   bush
       'While walking, she found a calabash in the bush.'

ndá	*déɓ*	*á*	*déɓ-ù*		*ndɔ̀*
go:GO	bring	3SG	bring-3SG		go
lw-á		*ngùl*		*ngɔ̀n*	
tell-GO		husband		3SG	

'She brought it and told her husband.'

(28)

à	*tál-à*	*à*	*tál-à*	*ndɔ̀*	*dzáŋ*	*á*
3SG	walk-PAST	3SG	walk-PAST	go	find	3SG
dzán-á	*ɓámbáy*	*lɔ̀kwíd lɔ̀kwíd lɔ̀kwíd lɔ̀kwíd*				
find-GO	stick	straight straight straight straight				

'She walked and walked and she went to find (and found) a very straight stick.'

The verb of movement *ndɔ̀* and the sequential marker *ndɔ̀* differ in that the former may be followed by possessive subject pronouns. Both functions of *ndɔ̀* are illustrated in the following example:

(29)

ábɔ̀	*nd-á*	*ngɔ̀n*	*wùtá*
then	go-GO	3SG	village

'Then she returned to her village'

ndá	*yá*	*ngùl*	*ngɔ̀n*	*á*	*bíŋ*
go:GO	call	husband	3SG	PRED	room

'and called her husband into the room.'

(30)

gómbòk-yìì	*cìɓéw*	*á*	*páláh*		*nd-á*
frog-PL	all	PRED	outside		go-GO
fàt	*fàt*	*í*	*fàt*	*ɓì*	*tɔ̀tàŋ*
skin	skin	3PL	skin	meat	3PL

'All the frogs went out and skinned their meat.'

The sequential marker, unlike the verb "go" does not take aspectual markers:

(31) *í   nd   rá*   *í   nd   rá*
      3PL   go   D.HAB   3PL   go   D.HAB
      í   nd   rá   *ndà   dzáŋ   làkwát*
      3PL   go   D.HAB   go   find   river
      mà   nd-à-y   *zá*
      REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
      'They were going, going, going, till they came to a river, which
      filled up.'

If the events are not connected, the sequential marker *ndà* does not
occur:

(32) *báy   ɓàt   zə́   ngàn   déɓ   ìdá*
      chief   get   EE   3SG   carry   home
      'The chief took it [the stick] and carried it home'.

      á   n   kàdə́m   ngàn   ɓàt
      3SG   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
      áɓà   nd-á   ngàn   wùtá
      ASSC   go-GO   3SG   village
      'Then she carried her calabash, and returned home with it'

The form *ndà* has acquired also the function of simply conjoining
two propositions, without the implication of temporal sequentiality, as
evidenced by the following example. Here the form *ndà* precedes the
clause that complements the first clause, from which it is separated by
an intervening proposition:

(33) *tàlàŋ   mà   mbùw-yí   zà   syì   kó   í*
      head   REL   unite-STAT   EE   COM   QUANT   3PL
      ndà   váy   í   ndà   tsúk   tàlàŋ
      go   where   3PL   go   isolate head
      tə̀tə̀   dáp   skə̀   vù
      3PL   just   NEG   Q
      'If they unite themselves, no matter where they go, they isolate
      themselves.'

4. The propositional relator *ko*

The marker *ko*, which otherwise is a polarity marker, may also be used as a propositional relator, and its function as such may include counter-expectation:

(34) *hí   ndə̀   wùtá   kò   í   ɓìm   rə̀*
      2PL   go   home   but   3PL   hear   D.HAB
      skù
      NEG
      'Go home! But they will not listen.'

The form *ko* indicates that the conclusion surpasses the expectation:

(35) *séy   ɓə̀t   gàdéɗ   dǐyà   ɓál   klíf   ɓál   ɓál*
      so   take   arrow   put   kill   fish   kill   kill
      klíf-yîi   gwáɗ   kó   kúl   kə̀
      fish-PL   plenty   but   able   INF
      ɓál   tə̀   skù
      kill   3PL   NEG
      'So he took his arrow [and] started to kill fish. He killed very many, but he could not kill them all.'

(36) *í   dǐ   nə̀   mà   kál kál   kó*
      3PL   put   PREP   mouth   equal (F.)   even (F.)
      k   sə̀n   dǎ   skù
      INF   know   exist   NEG
      'They put [something] in their mouth at the same time, and he did not recognize them.'

The marker *kò* occurs in Fula and in other Chadic languages. It may represent either a common Chadic retention or a widespread borrowing in the area.

The marker *àmmá* denies a presupposition of a preceding statement, including the immediately preceding clause:

(37) *hà   zá   ááá   mbí   sə̀   nə̀   kí*
      you   COMP   ah,   ANAPH   1SG   PREP   INF
      yàn-á   tàŋ   àmmá   sə̀   bə́   ìdá
      move-GO   DED   but   1SG   ASSC   house
      'She said, "I would have moved but I have a house."'

As in other Chadic languages, the marker *àmmá* is borrowed from Arabic via either Hausa or Fula or both.

5. Conclusions

Paratactic constructions may be asyndetic, sequential, or conjoined. Asyndetic constructions do not indicate any specific relationship among clauses. Sequential clauses, marked by the verb *ndà* 'go', code temporal and cause-and-effect relationships between clauses. The markers *kó* and *àmmá*, both potential borrowings, deny speakers' possible presuppositions.

Chapter 21

Complementation

1. Introduction

The chapter on complementation is organized as follows: We first describe complements of verbs of saying, since these complements represent the greatest variety of forms and functions. A number of issues that emerge in the complementation of verbs of saying are also relevant in the complementation of other verbs. We then describe complements of volitional verbs; complements of verbs of perception; complements of verbs of knowing; and finally the infinitival complements.

2. Complements of verbs of saying

Complementation of verbs of saying is important for several reasons. They are the verbs that take complement clauses most often. Complement clauses after verbs of saying may have different modality values. The complements of verbs of saying, more than complements of other verbs, have to resolve the problem of coreferentiality and switch reference between the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the embedded clause and between the subject of the embedded clause and the addressee of the embedded clause.

2.1 Verbs of saying and the complementizer

There are several verbs of saying, *kə́ lù* 'address somebody', *kə́ gìz* 'say, tell' and *kə́ ɓà* 'talk with' (which takes the preposition *gám* 'with' and has the citation form *kə́ ɓə̀gám*). The first two verbs can have prepositional or clausal complements. The verb *ɓà* can have only a prepositional complement:

(1)   *í   lù   kì   mbéŋ*
     3PL   say   like   that
     'They said like that.' (i.e., they all said the same thing.)

(2)   *dáy   kə́   gìz*
     too much   INF   tell
     'It is too much to say.'

(3)   *à   ʓà   góŋgà*
     3SG   say   truth
     'He told the truth.'

2.2 The de dicto complementizer

The most frequently used verb of saying among older speakers is the form *ʓá*. Younger speakers do not use the form *ʓá* and instead use the complementizer *zá*. The form *zá* is not a verb as there is no infinitival form **kə̀ zá*. Moreover, younger speakers do not consider the form *ʓá* to be a verb either; the citation form that they give is *kə́ ʓə̀gám* 'to speak'.

An explanation for the syntax of the forms *ʓá* and *zá* and their perception follows. The verb *ʓá* came to acquire the function of a grammatical marker meaning something like "here is what X said"; in other words, it acquired the function of complementizer. As a grammatical morpheme, it has undergone a phonetic simplification from a voiced lateral continuant to a voiced alveolar continuant. Once the phonological change set in, the connection between the form *zá* and the verb of saying ceased to exist.

The form *zá* is used only with de dicto complements, i.e. complements of verbs of saying that represent a proposition. In the speech of older speakers, instead of the form *zá*, the form *ʓá*, segmentally identical with one of the verbs of saying, but with high rather than low tone is used. Younger speakers systematically substitute *zá* for *ʓá*.

Older speakers do not use the complementizer *zá*. Younger speakers, however, use *zá* as a complementizer after verbs of saying:

(4)   *à   lùw-á-h   zá   hà   nék   skù   ngà   vú*
     3SG   say-GO-2SG   COMP 2SG   good   NEG   DUB   Q
     'Will he tell you that you are not good?' (I doubt he will).

Consequently, we gloss *zá* as COMP. The complementizer *zá* may not follow other verbs in the past tense, but in the future tense it may not be used without a verb:

(5) à   lù   zá
     3SG   say   COMP
     'He will say . . .'

The most important piece of evidence for the complementizer rather than verb function of the form *zá* is provided by the manner in which the addressee is coded.

2.3 Coding of the addressee of the verbs of saying

If the speaker chooses the complementizer *zá* instead of a verb of saying, the nominal addressee may be coded by the preposition *n*. The presence of the preposition is justified by the following facts. The addressee is conceived of as a locative complement, as evidenced by the presence of the locative preposition *n*. The addressee is not inherently locative; therefore, the preposition *n* is required. The locative predicator *a* is optional, although it is possible that its presence is often masked by the preceding complementizer which also has the vowel *á* with high tone. Natural discourse most often has the third-person addressee coded by a full noun. This results in many sentences having two full noun phrases:

(6) séy   gáw   dàɗ   ngàz   à   zá
     so   hunter   remove   leg   3SG   COMP
     á   n   kwáyàŋ   ɓàt-ú
     PRED   PREP   squirrel take-3SG
     'Then, the hunter took off a leg [of a game animal], [and] he said to the squirrel, "Take it."'

(7) à   zá   á   nà   tàkár   hà   gàr
     3SG   COMP   PRED   PREP   turtle   2SG   want
     kà   dá   yàm   skù
     INF   draw   water   NEG
     'He said to the turtle, "Don't draw any water!"'

(8) *kwáyàŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *nə̀*   *tàkár*   *màsáw*
     squirrel   3SG   COMP PREP turtle   fry
     kìléŋ
     meantime
     'The squirrel said to the turtle, "Fry it in the meantime."'

(9) *kwáyàŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *nə̀*   *wə̀də́* *gàmták* *ɓàh*
     squirrel   3SG   COMP PREP food chicken hide
     kə̀   *dùwə̀ŋ*   *ńvə̀ŋ*
     PREP   back   rock
     'The squirrel said to the caterpillar, "Hide behind a rock."'

(10) *bàkàlàf*   *zá*   *nə̀*   *gómbòk*   *hà*   *kúl*   *kə̀*
     buffalo   COM PREP frog   2SG   able   INF
     ší   *skù*
     run   NEG
     'The buffalo said to the frog, "You cannot run"'

The addressee may be omitted:

(11) *séy*   *bàhámàn*   *wurtə*   *páláh* *à*   *zá*
     then   Bahaman   leave(F.)   out   3SG   COMP
     ndə̀   *séytíinà*   *bá dàp*
     go   'call'   again
     'Then Bahaman went out. She said to him, "Go make that call again."'

If instead of the complementizer *zá* a verb of saying is used, the nominal addressee is coded as indirect object, i.e., the verb has to have the pronominal object suffix, and the addressee is coded only by the preposition *n*:

(12) *wàl*   *wà*   *lù*   *lù*   *á*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *ŋ*
     wife   DEM   say   say   3SG   say-GO-3SG   PREP
     kə̀də́m   *wá*   *mə́*   *dá-ŋ*   *gwád*
     calabash   DEM   DEB   cook-3SG   food
     'The woman told calabash to prepare her a lot of food.'

2.4 Direct speech

Direct speech is characterized by the use of the first-person and second person pronouns, referring respectively to the speaker and the hearer of the ongoing conversation. Direct speech may follow the complementizer *zá*, or it may follow the verb of saying without a complementizer:

(13)   *mà*   *ngùl*   *ngùl*   *zá*   *kàdə́m*
       DEM   husband   husband   COMP   calabash
       vl-à-k   *wùdə́*   *gí*
       give-GO-1SG   food   POL
       'So, her husband said, "Calabash, could you give me some food?"'

(14)   *kwáykway-yíì*   *wà*   *zá*   *ángò*   *há*   *mbàl-ù*
       hyena-PL   DEM   COMP   if   2SG   want-3SG
       há   *yàn*   *á*   *kàcíŋ*
       2SG   move   PRED   here
       'The hyenas said, "If you want you can move in here."'

(15)   *kwáykwá-yíì*   *bə́*   *í*   *zá*   *á*   *tùk*   *kám*
       hyena-PL   ASSC   3PL   COMP   PRED   2GEN   TOP(F.)
       hí   *ndà-há*   *hì*   *fú*   *tàŋ*
       2PL   go-GO   2PL   all (F.)   DED
       'As for the hyenas, they said, "Come you all."'

(16)   *kóo*   *ví*   *zá*   *sò*   *déy*   *á*
       QUANT   who   COMP   1SG   also   PRED
       kì   *mbéŋ*
       like   ANAPH
       'Each one of them said, "Same with me."'

(17)   *à*   *zá*   *hà*   *gòr*   *mí*
       3SG   COMP   2SG   wish   what
       'He said, "What do you want?"'

(18) séy   vígìn   pár   dáhà   à   ɓá   háɓàm
      so   bird   other exist 3SG   say   daughter
      tɔ́   báy   bákàhà   í   nd-á   r
      GEN   chief   today   3PL   go-GO   D.HAB
      kà   fát-á-h
      INF   skin-GO-2SG
      'Then a certain bird told the daughter of the chief, "Today people
      will come to kill you."'

The direct speech may also consist of idiomatic expressions without a
subject:

(19) kwáyàŋ   zá   á   pàt   mbɔ́ŋ
      squirrel   COMP   PRED   tomorrow   cut
      'The squirrel said, "Never again."' (lit. 'tomorrow cut')

Here are examples of the direct speech following directly the verb of
saying, without the complementizer:

(20) à   ɓá   tò
      3SG   say   okay
      'He said, "Okay."'

(21) lù   á   lùw-á-ŋ   nà   kàdɔ́m   wàcíŋ
      say   3SG   say-GO-3SG   PREP   calabash   DEM
      'She addressed this calabash.'

      kàdɔ́m   vl-à-k   wùd   gí
      calabash   give-GO-1SG   food   POL
      '"Calabash, could you give me some food?"'

(22) à   ɓá   ŋkwà   tɔ́   mɔ́   màts-yíz   à
      3SG   say   goat   DED   REL   die-STAT   EE
      'He said, "The goat is dead."'

(23) à   ɓá   nɔ́   hìdì   wàcíŋ nók
      3SG   say   PREP   man   DEM   1PL.INCL
      gr-á   dàbàráy
      search-GO   plan (F.)
      'He said to him, "Let's find a plan . . ."'

(24) *màllúm*   *à*   *ƙá*   *tán*   *kám*
      marabout   3SG   say   1SG:POSS   TOP(F.)
      sə̀   *sòk*   *zà*   *á zú*
      1SG   support   EE   let's go
      'The marabout said, "As for me, I will bear it. Let's go."'

2.5 Cross reference and disjoint reference coding

Disjoint reference between the third-person subject of the main clause and the third-person subject of the embedded clause, if it is coded at all, is marked by the use of the full noun in the embedded clause. The full noun is used when it is topicalized, as evidenced by the use of the demonstrative *wa*:

(25) *à*   *zá*   *hìd*   *wà*   *à*   *wə́k*   *rà*
      3SG   COMP   man   DEM   3SG   crazy   D.HAB
      'He said, "That man is crazy . . ."'

The full noun is also used if, in the given setting, it is the first mention of the referent:

(26) *à*   *ƙ-á*   *ván*   *nàŋ*   *à*   *gə̀r*
      3SG   say   father   1SG   3SG   want
      kə̀   *mbú*
      INF   give birth
      'He said, "My father will give birth."'

If the full noun is not used in the embedded clause, there are two possibilities. The use of the pronoun *a* leaves the interpretation of referentiality to the listener's analysis, based on the circumstance of speech and the discourse context. In the following sentences the third-person singular subject marker *a* in the embedded clauses is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause:

(27) *séy*   *wàl*   *wà*   *à*   *zá*   *à*   *ndə̀*
      so   woman   DEM   3SG   COMP 3SG   go
      dám   *bàhá*   *ngùl*   *ngə̀ŋ* *zá*   *nd-à*
      bush   again   husband   3SG   COMP   go-GO
      sə̀   *dál-áh*   *kràp*   *nə́*   *ngàz*
      1SG   do-2SG   shoe   PREP   foot
      'Then, that woman said that she was going to the bush again. Her
      husband said, "Let me make you some shoes . . ."'

(28) *à*   *zá*   *à*   *n*   *kə́*   *ɓàl-á*
      3SG   COMP   3SG   PREP   INF   shoot-GO
      gwáʒ   *yə́m*
      elephant   also
      'He said he will also kill the elephant.'

In the following sentences, the third-person singular subject *a* in the
embedded clause has a different reference from that of the subject of the
matrix clause. The evidence that a disjoint reference for the third person
pronoun is involved is provided by the use of the first-person object
pronoun in a clause with the third person subject pronoun:

(29) *à*   *ʒá*   *á*   *kà*   *bə́m*
      3SG   say   3SG   PREP   front
      kə́   *mɓə̀d-á-k*   *zà*
      INF   surpass-GO-1SG   EE
      'He [the buffalo] said, "He [the frog] is ahead, he surpasses
      me."'

Although the use of the third person pronoun in the embedded clause
may be ambiguous with respect to coreferentiality or disjoint reference
with the subject of the matrix clause, Mina has grammaticalized a means
of disambiguating between coreferential and non-coreferential third-
person subjects through the use of the first-person singular pronoun in
the embedded clause, i.e. through the use of direct speech. Such a pro-
noun codes coreferentiality with the third person singular subject of the
matrix clause:

(30)   *kwáyàŋ*   *zá*   *à*   *n*   *kɔ́*   *lù*
       squirrel   COMP   3SG   PREP   INF   say
       sɔ̀   *mà*   *dǎl*   *tífìlì*
       1SG   REL   do   calumny (F.)
       'The squirrel₁ said, that he₁ will say that it's he₁ who made the
       calumny.'

(31)   *gèlɓé* *áz*   *tɔ̀mù*   *à*   *zá*
       better go   1DU:POSS   3SG   COMP
       óó   *sɔ̀*   *ndɔ̀*   *rɔ̀*   *skù*
       no   1SG   go   D.HAB   NEG
       '"We'd better go." He said, "No, I'm not going."'

(32)   *à*   *zá*   *sɔ̀*   *ndɔ̀*   *kɔ̀*   *tár-áh*   *á*
       3SG   COMP 1SG   go   INF   ask-GO   PRED
       pàt   *tàr*   *nàŋ*
       tomorrow   collective work   1SG
       'He said, "I came to invite you for common work."'[1]

(33)   *à*   *ɡ̌á*   *sɔ̀*   *gɔ̀r*   *kɔ̀*   *tár*   *skù*
       3SG   say   1SG   want   INF   ask   NEG
       nd-á   *tár*   *wɔ̀láŋ*
       go   ask   cat
       He said, "I'm not going to invite [him]." He went and asked the
       cat.'

(34)   *à*   *zá*   *s*   *ìdá*
       3SG   COMP   1SG   home
       'He said, "I'm at home."'

(35)   *à*   *zá*   *sɔ̀*   *mìsíl-é*   *í*   *mìsíl*
       3SG   COMP   1SG   steal-GO   PREP   steal
       'He said, "Stealing, I stole by theft."'

---

1. Common work involves the help of friends in work in the fields. One cannot de-
   cline an invitation for common work unless one is sick. If the man in the house-
   hold cannot come to the common work, he will send his wife or children.

2.6 Deontic complements of verbs of saying

A direct order is coded by the imperative clause:

(36) à   zá   hí   ɓə́ŋ   hìdì
      3SG   COMP   2PL   send   person
      'He said, "Send somebody."'

(37) à   zá   hí   ndə̀   lúw-á-ŋ
      3SG   COMP   2PL   go   say-GO-3SG
      mə́   d-àhá-w
      DEB   bring-GO-3SG
      'He said, "Go tell her to bring it here."'

Polite imperatives in embedded clauses, just as in matrix clauses, are
coded by clause-final marker *gí*:

(38) á   zá   ɓámbáy   ŋd-á-k   gí
      3SG   COMP   stick   hit-GO-1SG   POL
      'She said, "Stick, beat me, please."'

(39) záván-yíi   zá   fəd-á   ná
      guinea fowl-PL   COMP   shave-GO   1PL
      tàlàn   kə́   gí
      head   POS please
      'The guinea fowl said, "Shave our heads, please."'

Wishes with respect to the third-person are coded by the subjunctive
marker *mə́* preceding the verb of the embedded clause:

(40) hí   ndə̀   lùw-á-ŋ   mə́   ndà-hà
      2PL   go   say-GO-3SG   DEB   go-GO:IMPER
      'Go tell him to come here.'

(41) à   zá   hí   ndə̀   lùw-á-ŋ
      3SG   COMP   2PL   go   say-GO-3SG
      mə́   dà-há-w
      DEB   bring-GO-3SG
      'He said "Go (pl) tell her to bring it here."'

(42) wàl   wà   lù   lù   á   lùw-á-ŋ
      wife   DEM   say   say   3SG say-GO-3SG
      ǹ   kə̀də́m   wá   mə́   dá-ŋ   gwád
      PREP   calabash   DEM   DEB   cook-3SG   food
      'The woman told the calabash to prepare her a lot of food.'

The form with *gí* may be used when a wish is expressed with respect to the first person:

(43) séy   lù   á   lù   bákà   ná   gwád
      so   say   3SG   say   today 1PL.EXCL   satisfy
      ábə̀   hìdə̀   wà   gí
      ASSC   man   DEM   POL
      'So she said, "We have to sate ourselves with that man."' (The man is the one who is also going to be sated)

The mood of obligation may also be marked by a modal adverb that precedes the imperative:

(44) kwáykwá-yíì   wá   zá   bákà   ɓì   dà   skù
      hyena-PL   DEM   COMP   today   meat   exist NEG
      'The hyenas said, "Today, there is no meat."'

      gèlɓé   kám   há   pàts á nòk   mbə̀   ntá
      better TOP   2SG   take-GO 1PL   child   one
      hà   d-á   nòkóŋ
      2SG   cook-GO   1PL
      '"You'd better take one of your children and cook it for us."'

2.7 Interrogative complements of verbs of saying

Complex sentences with embedded interrogative clauses may have no complementizer or one of several complementizers, including the comment marker *syì*. This fact is justified by at least two factors: The main clause verb is a verb of saying, and the embedded clause is also in the domain of speech. There are significant differences between yes/no questions and specific questions in the complex sentences.

2.7.1 Polar questions

General interrogative clauses are formed by adding the general interrogative marker *vù* at the end of the embedded clause.

(45) *a   za   wunwunad̶   kwayaŋ   nd-a*
      3SG   COMP   pigeon   squirrel   go-GO
      rə   vu
      D.HABIT   Q
      'He [Turtle] asked Pigeon whether Squirrel would come' (written sources)

(46) *há   lùw-á-ŋ   ngásì   ɓámbáy*
      2SG   say-GO-3SG   like that   stick
      n-dí   d̶âl   tə́   vù
      go   do   DED   Q
      'You say to it just like that, "Stick, do it"?'

2.7.2 Specific interrogatives in embedded clauses

Questions about a human participant in the event are marked by clause final *ví*, as in the main interrogative clause. The embedded clause begins with relative marker *mə̀*, as in simple interrogative clauses with verbal predicates.

(47) *séy   báy   ɓət   ʓ-yíi   wàhíŋ   dàh*
      so   chief   take   cow-PL   DEM   bring
      kə̀   á   páláh   à   ʓá   mə̀   ʓə̀   dûngùr
      POS   PRED   outside 3SG   say   REL   cut   hump
      tə́   ʓə̀   wà   ví   hìdì   tə́   mə̀
      GEN   cow   DEM   who   man   DEM   REL
      gìžé-hé-ù   ábə̀   mə́   ngə̀n   kó ví   à   zá
      tell-GO-3SG   ASSC   mouth   3SG   anyone   3SG   COMP
      sə̀   skù   kó ví   à   zá   sə̀   skù
      1SG   NEG   anyone   3SG   COMP   1SG   NEG
      'The chief brought the cows outside. He said, "Who cut off the hump of this cow? Let him reveal himself with his own mouth." Everyone said, "Not me."'

(48)   *séy*   *báy*   *ɓɔ̀t*   *háɟɔ̀mà*   *à*   *ɟá*   *mɔ̀*   *kɔ́*
           so   chief   take   daughter   3SG   say   REL   INF
           mɔ̀l-á   *klíf*   *báyt-yíi*   *ví*   *syì*
           seize-GO   fish   large-PL   who   COM
           kɔ̀   *vɔ̀l-á-ŋ*   *háɟɔ̀m*   *wà*   *zà*
           INF   give-GO-3SG   daughter   DEM   EE
           'The chief took the daughter. He said, "Whoever catches big fish, I will give him this daughter."' (*syì* cannot be omitted)

2.7.3   Questions about nonhuman participant

Questions about nonhuman participants are coded by the embedded-clause-final marker *mì*. Unlike in questions about human participants, there is no relative clause marker *mɔ̀* at the beginning of the embedded clause, again a situation identical to that of simple interrogative clauses:

(49)   *kwáykwáy*   *dɔ̀ɓ*   *í*   *wàn*   *sùlúd*   *sùlúd*
           hyena   ask   3PL   sleep   two   two
           wá   *mɔ̀*   *dɑ́l-á-ŋ*   *tɔ̀tɔ̀*   *mí*
           but   REL   make-GO-3SG   3PL   what
           'The hyena asked, "They sleep in pairs, but what happened to them?"'

(50)   *cíŋ*   *zá*   *hà*   *gɔ̀r*   *mí*
           father.3SG   COMP   2SG   want   what
           'His father asked him, "What do you want?"'

2.7.4   Questions about possessor

Questions about possessor are coded by the locative predicator *á* followed by the human interrogative marker *vi* followed by the genitive marker *t* with the interrogative marker *í*:

(51)   *à*   *zá*   *rùkùt-yìi*   *wàcín*   *á*   *vɔ̀*   *tí*
           3SG   COMP   clothes-PL   DEM   PRED   who   GEN:Q
           'He asked him whose clothes these are?'

2.7.5   Questions about the topic

If the question is about a topic, equivalent to "ask about", the embedded clause has the form of a relativized clause, ending with a demonstrative, or anaphoric markers, such as *wàcín*:

(52)   à   ɗə̀b-á-k   (syì)   skə̀ŋ   sə̀
        3SG   ask-GO-1SG   COM   thing   1SG
        n   kə̀   ɓám-áhá   w
        PREP   INF   eat-GO   DEM
        'He asked me about the thing I had eaten.'

(53)   à   ɗə̀b-á   k   ngámbə̀-n   ná
        3SG   ask-GO-1SG   friend-1SG   1DU
        kə̀   bám-á   tə̀   mókòlò   **wàcín**
        INF   meet-GO   GEN   Mokolo   DEM
        'He asked me about the friend I met in Mokolo.'

2.7.6   Questions about the place

The embedded question about place has the marker *(á) tíkì* 'where', with the locative predicator á often omitted for stative interrogatives, and *vày* for directional interrogatives, as is the case in simple clause interrogatives. Both interrogative markers occur in clause-final position:

(54)   gìmíɮìɗ-yìì   í   ndá   wə̀láf
        monkey-PL   3PL   go-GO   blindman
        hàz   và káy
        dog   where
        'The monkeys came to ask the blind man, "Where is the dog?"'

3. Complements of volitional verbs

There are at least two volitional verbs: *mbál* 'love, like, want' and *gə̀r* 'search, like'. There are different means to code same-subject and different-subject embedded clauses.

3.1 Same subject

When the subjects of the main and of the embedded clause are identical, the subject is not repeated in the embedded clause either as a full noun or as a pronoun. Instead, sentential complements have the infinitival marker *kə*. The verb *gər* is used in affirmative main clauses, and the verb *mbál* 'want' in negative main clauses. Here are examples of affirmative matrix clauses:

(55) à   gər   kə   dál-á-h   mí
      3SG   want   INF   do-GO-2SG   what
      'What does he want to do to you?'

(56) sə   gər   kə   dál   skən   nə
      1SG   want   INF   do   thing   1SG
      dáhà   tséy   zà
      exist   finish EE
      'I would like to do one thing'

(57) í   ndí   gər   kə   də   wə̀gáf
      3PL   HABIT   search   INF   make   God
      ábə̀   mbéŋ
      ASSC   3SG
      'They are looking to prepare *kuli* with it.'

(58) hìdì   wàcíŋ à   mbál   í   gər
      man   DEM   3SG   like   3PL   want
      kə́   bàd   wàl   ngə̀ŋ   skù
      INF   seduce wife 3SG   NEG
      'This guy, he didn't want anyone to seduce his wife.'

(59) há   mbál   kə̀   žébèr   vá-n   skù
      2SG   like   INF   follow   father-1SG   NEG
      'You don't want to follow my father.'

The negation of the matrix clause is coded through the negative marker at the end of the embedded clause:

(60) *tàkár   há   mbál   kà   mín-é-k*
      turtle   2SG   like   INF   reserve-GO-1SG
      kə́   skə̀   vù
      POS   NEG   Q
      'Turtle, don't you want to leave something for me?'

(61) *kwáykwáy   mbál   kə́   sə̀   yə̀m*
      hyena   like   INF   drink water
      skù   gár   ngə̀ŋ
      NEG   leave   3SG
      'The hyena did not want to drink water. He left.'

(62) *màllúm   gìž-é-ŋ   kìmbéŋ   á   mbál*
      marabout   tell-GO-3SG   like that   3SG   like
      kə̀   vál-á-ŋ   mìnjìvèk   skù   már
      INF   give-GO-3SG   medicine   NEG   control
      ngùl   ábə̀   kóydə̀m
      husband   ASSC   ease(F.)
      'The marabout told her he didn't want to give her the medicine.
      She controlled her husband easily.'

(63) *í   mbál   kə̀   vl-á-ŋ   wàl   skù*
      3PL   like   INF   give-GO-3SG woman   NEG
      'They do not want to give him the woman.'

3.2 Different subjects

There are very few examples in our data of volitional verbs followed by
a complement with a different subject, because wishes with respect to
another person are coded by verbs of saying followed by the imperative
or the subjunctive mood. Nevertheless, we did find one example with
the verb *mbál* followed by a complement clause with a different subject:

(64) *hìdì   wàcíŋ   à   mbál   í   gə̀r*
      man   DEM   3SG   like   3PL   want
      kə́   bàɗ   wàl   ngə̀ŋ   skù
      INF   court   wife   3SG   NEG
      'This guy, he didn't want anyone to court his wife.'

4. Object-to-object raising

If the verb of the infinitival complement has an object, that object may occur before or after the infinitival verb. The infinitival preposition *kə* occurs before the verb, never before the fronted object. If the object of the embedded clause is fronted, it becomes the object also of the main clause. The evidence for this conclusion is provided by the fact that the aspectual marker *za* of the main clause occurs after, rather than before, the raised object of the embedded clause:

(65)   *à*   *ɟá*   *sə̀*   *gə̂r*   *kám*   *mpáy-yîi*   *tə̂*
         3SG   say   1SG   want   TOP   tree-PL   GEN
         dám-yîi   *wàcíŋ*   *sə̀*   *gə̂r*   *mə̂*   *ɓə́l*   *cíkè*
         bush-PL   DEM   1SG   want   DEB   cut   all
         kà
         POS
         'He said, "I want the trees in the bush to be all cut down."'

(66)   *kə̂*   *dü*   *ɟì*   *zá*   *kə̂*   *ɟà*
         INF   begin   meat   EE   INF   cut
         'He started to cut meat.'

(67)   *kú*   *w*   *bíŋ*   *z*   *kə̂*   *lə̀m*
         INF   start   house   EE   INF   build
         'He started to build a house.'

5. Complements of verbs of perception

5.1 Verbs of perception and complementation without raising

The verbs *tìy* 'look, see' and *lìm* 'get, perceive' may be followed by clausal complements. The verb *lìm* is used most often for coding the notion of perception. Our data do not contain evidence for the distinct coding of direct and indirect perception. The following examples imply direct perception:

(68) hà   kà   tì   zá   wìnjíɗ   kɔ́   nd-á
      2SG   INF   see   EE   intestines   INF   go-GO
      zà   hà   kɔ̀   tì   zá   bɔ́mbɔ̀z   kɔ́
      EE   2SG   INF   see   EE   blood   INF
      nd-á   zà   mbí   sɔ̀
      go-GO   EE   ANAPH   1SG
      mɔ́   mɔ̀ts-yí   zà
      REL   die-STAT   EE
      'If you see that the intestine has spilled out, if you see that the
      blood has spilled out, that means I am dead.'

(69) mbú   mɔ̀l   ngàz   tɔ́   mɔ̀kwádàk   ɓɔ̀t   fìr
      child   seize   foot   GEN   vulture   take   fly
      séy   íi   tì   syì   íi   fìr   tɔ̀tɔ̀   rà
      so   3PL   see   COM   3PL   fly   3PL   D.HAB
      'The child grabbed the leg of the vulture, they flew away,
      and the people saw them fly.'

The following examples may involve indirect perception, and yet it is
coded in the same way:

(70) tì   á   tì   í   gɔ̀r   kɔ̀   zámbɔ̀ cíŋ
      see   3SG   see   3PL   want   INF   devour father.3SG
      'He saw that they wanted to deprive his father of everything.'

(71) hà   tì   mbí   mɔ̀   gɔ́r   skà áybì   tɔ́
      2SG   see   3SG   REL   want   fault (F.)   GEN
      ngùl   ɗá   skù
      husband   exist   NEG
      'You see that it was she who searched. It is not the husband's
      fault.'

Verbs of perception can be followed by an infinitival clause to code
the whole event:

(72) séy   í   lím   kɔ́   ɓɔ̀t-á   yɔ̀m   zá
      so   3PL   see   INF   take-GO   water   EE
      kɔ̀   mɔ̀ts   kúhú
      INF   die   fire
      'They saw them fetch water to extinguish the fire.'

The complement clause may precede the matrix clause:

(73) *kwík   kwàlkwàl-yìi   bákàhàká   màl   tà   pát*
      kwik   leper-PL   today INF   seize   3PL   tomorrow
      í   n   kà   rèh-é   i   tìkì   nók
      3PL   PREP   INF   escape-GO   PREP   where   3PL
      tìyú
      see:3SG
      'Lepers. Today we will catch them. Tomorrow we will see
      through where they will escape.'

The predicate of perception may be used as a hedging means:

(74) *tìy   tìy   sà   tìy   kám*
      see   see   1SG   see   TOP (F.)
      màɓéɓé   dám   dáy
      old days   good   surpass
      'In my view, the old times were better.'

5.2 Subject-to-object raising

Subject of the embedded clause may become the object of the main
clause. The morphological evidence for the raising of the subject is pro-
vided by clauses with pronominal subjects of the embedded clause.
When these subjects are raised, they have the form of object rather than
of subject pronouns. The subjects are also coded in the embedded
clauses. All examples with pronominal subjects of embedded clauses
have been elicited and should be taken with caution:

(75) *sà   ká   ɓìm   tà   zà*
      1SG   INF   hear   3PL   EE
      í   nd-á   rà
      3PL   go-GO   D.HAB
      'I heard them coming' or 'I heard that they were coming'

(76) *í   kí   ɓìm-é-k   zà   sà*
      3PL   INF   hear-GO-1SG   EE   1SG
      nd-á   rà
      go-GO   D.HAB
      'They heard me coming' or 'they heard that I was coming'

The non-raised variants have also been elicited:

(77)   *sà   kə́   ɓìm   zə́   í   nd-á   rà*
       1SG   INF   hear   EE   3PL   go-GO   D.HAB
       'I heard him coming' or 'I heard that he was coming'

(78)   *í   kí   ɓìm   zə́   sà   nd-á   rà*
       3PL   INF   hear   EE   1SG   go-GO   D.HAB
       'They heard me coming' or 'they heard that I was coming'

The syntactic evidence for raising the subject to object is provided by the fact that the subject of the embedded clause occurs before the auxiliary *za* of the matrix clause, a position occupied by objects in simple sentences. In addition to the examples above with raised pronominal subjects, compare the following with a raised nominal subject:

(79)   *sà   kə́   ɓìm   zrə́mbə̀   zə́*
       1SG   INF   hear   Zroumba   EE
       à   nd-á   rà
       3SG   go-GO   D.HAB
       'I heard Zroumba coming.' (elicited)

Here is a natural discourse example:

(80)   *tséy   wàl   wà   kə́   tìy   njì   rə́*
       so   woman   DEM   INF   see   eyes   D.HAB
       á   gàdáŋ   bàdə́m   à   lím   mímèŋ   kə́
       PRED   under   cavern 3SG   see   panther   INF
       kàw   mbə̀   ngə̀ŋ   ná   rà
       grab   child   3SG   PREP   hand
       'So the woman looked in the cave. She saw the panther taking her child in its paws.'

Given the paucity of natural discourse data we are unable to determine the function of subject-to-object raising.

6. Complements of verbs of knowing

The verb *sə̀n* 'to know' may be followed by nominal or clausal complements. Clausal complements of the verb *sə̀n* 'to know' may follow the

main clause directly or they may be preceded by a complementizer. When the embedded clause follows the matrix clause directly, the sentence codes the modality of certainty:

(81) *báy   zá   há   sàn   há   mìsíl*
      chief   COMP   2SG   know   2SG   steal
      'The chief said, "Do you know that you are a thief?"'

(82) *sà   kím   kə́   skù   syì   hí   n*
      1SG   hear   POS   NEG   COM   2PL   PREP
      kà   sàn-á wàl   wà   mà   màts-í   zà
      INF   know   woman   DEM   REL   die-STAT   EE
      wà   vàŋgáy
      DEM   how
      'If I didn't hear, how would you have known that that woman is dead?'

The complement clause of the verb *sàn* may be preceded by the demonstrative *wa* and by the comment marker *syì*, reduced to *-s* when following the demonstrative *wa*. It appears that the function of the form *wa* is to code indirect knowledge, at least as evidenced by the following example:

(83) *mà   tíy   njè   à   zá   ángá   sà*
      REL   see   eye   3SG   COMP   if   1SG
      tì   njè   kə́   skù   syì   hí   n   kə́
      see   eye   POS   NEG   COM   2PL   PREP   INF
      sàn   wà-s   mà   máts   wá
      know   DEM-COM   REL   die   DEM
      wàl   wàcíŋ wá   vàŋgáy
      woman DEM   DEM   how
      'The person who sees well said, "If I didn't see, how would you know that the person who is dead is the woman there?"'

7. Infinitival complements

The complement clause may be marked by the infinitival marker *kə*. Several verbs can take infinitival complements only. These verbs include *wílkíl* 'fail' and *kúl* 'be able'. The complements cannot be consid-

ered adjuncts, because omitting them would result in ungrammatical clauses.

(84) ván   wílkíl   kə́   nd-áhà
      rain   fail   INF   go-GO
      'The rain failed to come in.'

(85) mìnjée hìdì   kúl   kə̀   gám-á-k
      now   man   can   INF   chase-GO-1SG
      nə̀   mə̀ŋ   zə́   vù
      PREP   ANAPH   EE   Q
      'Now, can anybody chase me away on that?'
      (Nobody can prevent me from doing it.)

The complement clause of the verb *ndə̀* 'go' must also be marked by the infinitival marker:

(86) í   ndə̀   kə́   bèr-é   cìkíɗ   bùhù   ntá
      3PL   go   INF   sell-GO   sesame bag (F.)   one
      'They were going to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

(87) wàl   ngə̀n   à   ndí   ndə̀   kə̀   ɗá   tìpíɗ
      wife   3SG   3SG   HAB   go   INF   draw   termites
      'His wife had the habit of going to look for termites.'

The complement of the verb *ɓə̀ŋ* 'to think' is also introduced by the infinitival marker:

(88) séy   ɓə̀ŋ   ɓə̀ŋ   á   ɓə̀n-ú   kə́
      so   think think 3SG   think-3SG   INF
      ʃə̀   mbù   hákké   kù   wáŋ   ábə̀   wàl
      cut   child sin(F.)   INF   sleep   ASSC   woman
      wàhíŋ hákké kə   sə̀   mávù   à   mbál   skù
      DEM   sin   INF   drink   beer   3SG   like   NEG
      'He thought, thought. To kill a child is a sin; to sleep with a woman is a sin; to drink beer, he does not like it.'

7. Conclusions

Complements of verbs of saying are marked by the complementizer *zá*. The coding of the addressee of the verb of saying depends on whether the verb of saying or only the complementizer is used. The most frequent means of coding the identity of the subject of the embedded clause with the subject of the matrix clause is through the use of the first-person subject pronoun in the embedded clause.

There are two volitional verbs, *mbál* and *gòr*, the former used in the negative clause and the latter, in the affirmative matrix clause. The two verbs are used only when the subjects of the matrix and embedded clause are identical.

Complements of verbs of perception have the complement clause without any marker, or it may be preceded by the comment-clause marker *syì*.

A number of verbs take infinitival complements.

Chapter 22

Temporal and conditional clauses

1. Introduction

In the present section we describe the coding of the temporal and the conditional protasis and apodosis. There are two means used in such coding: interplay of tenses and aspects from the dependent and independent set, and morphological markers of specific time relationships. Some of these are clause-initial temporal markers, and others are clause-final demonstratives. The protasis clause always precedes the apodosis clause.

2. Temporal protasis

In temporal clauses, the protasis clause may be marked either by dependent aspects or tenses or by morphological markers specifically coding the protasis. The two means of coding are in complementary distribution. We begin with examples where the protasis is coded by dependent aspects.

Here are examples of the temporal protasis coded by the infinitive form *kə* and the end-of-event marker *za*:

(1) *cíŋ*   *ngàn*   *kə́*   *tà*   *zà*   *mbə̀*
     father   3SG   INF   pay   EE   child
     kə́   *ɓìm*   *náwdùm*   *dá*   *skù*
     INF   hear   suffering   exist   NEG
     'After his father paid, the child did not suffer.'

(2)   *ŋkwə̀   tə́   lìvèŋ   hì   kə́   skə̀m-á   zà*
       goat   GEN   black   2PL   INF   buy-GO   EE
       hì   fàt   kà   á   káyàk
       2PL   skin   POS   PRED   earth
       'A black goat, when you buy it, you skin it on the ground.'[2]

(3)   *hàzá   kə̀   ɓím   zà   íi   ndə̀*
       dog   INF   hear   EE   3PL   go
       rə̀   kə̀   sə̀   mávù
       PREP   INF   drink   beer
       'If the dog understands, they will drink beer.'

The habitual aspect in the protasis clause is coded by the dependent habitual aspect marker *rá*:

(4)   *mə̀   mbír   mbír   ván   də̀   rá*
       REL   jump   jump   rain   draw   D.HAB
       dìy-á   mbír   nə̀   mə́ŋ
       start-GO   jump   PREP   ANAPH
       cìdĕk   cìdĕk   cìdĕk   cìdĕk   cìdĕk
       ideophone
       'The one who jumps, when the rain was falling, he started to jump in it.'

One cannot omit the dependent habitual marker from the above sentence. Nor can one use the independent habitual aspect marker *ndí* instead of the dependent habitual marker *rá*.

Here are examples of the coding of the protasis clause through the dependent future:

(5)   *hìdì   wèhíŋ   à   zá   ván   á*
       man   DEM   3SG   COMP   rain   3SG
       n   kə́   dâ   á   gə̀r
       PREP   INF   fall   3SG   want
       kə̀   nd-á-k   kə̀sə́m   skù
       INF   touch-GO-1SG   body   NEG
       'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

---

2. Other goats are usually skinned on a piece of seko (material used in fences) or a mat. A black goat or even a black chicken causes trouble.

(6)   *díkà*   *mànjé* *wìhíŋ* *sà*   *n*
       from   DEM   DEM   1SG   PREP
       kà   *dzáŋ*   *gómbòk*   *zá*
       INF   find   frog   EE
       sà   *n*   *kə́*   *ndràɮ* *mbàɗ*   *kə́*   *wírnjìk*
       1SG   PREP INF   smash become   PREP   ashes
       'From now on, if I find a frog, I will smash it into ashes.'

(7)   *žíŋ*   *ngùl-yíi*   *pár*   *sùlúɗ* *tàn*
       then   man-PL   other   two   DED
       í   *nd-áhà*   *bàhá*
       3PL   go-GO   again
       nd-á   *mábàr* *mbír* *bàhá* *kə́*   *màl*   *tàŋ*
       go-GO   lion   leap   again INF   seize DED
       'Later, when the two men arrived, the lion jumped to catch them'

The protasis clause may also be coded by the use of one of the auxiliary verbs that together with their non-auxiliary counterparts form reduplicated verbs. However, the protasis is coded only by the auxiliary, as in the following fragment, where the temporal protasis is in the second sentence:

(8)   *tsáy*   *mà*   *tìy*   *tìy*   *nd-á*
       then   REL   look look   go-GO
       nástə́   *nà*   *yàm*
       enter (F.)   PREP water
       'Then the one who was good at looking entered into water.'

       tíl   *á*   *nà*   *yàm*   *tə́*   *ábà*   *dàwə́ŋ* *mbí*
       go   PRED PREP water DED   ASSC back   ANAPH
       tì   *tì*   *á*   *tìy-ú*
       look   look   3SG   look-3SG
       'Having entered into water he searched for it [the sesame seed].'

3. Temporal protasis coding through demonstratives

The clause-final demonstrative *wàcín* codes the temporal protasis:

(9) *ánà*   *píč*   *mbé*   *ká*   *nd-á*   *wàcín*
     PREP   day   close   INF   go-GO   DEM
     wàl   *wà*   *báf*   *á*   *bàf-áhà*   *bà*   *náf*   *dàp*
     wife   DEM   leave   3SG   leave-GO   ASSC   heart   only
     'When the day of their [the hyenas'] return was approaching, the
     wife left abruptly with a lot of courage.'

The demonstrative marks the end of the protasis clause as evidenced
by the fact that it is used in the phrase-final form *wàcín*, rather than the
phrase-internal form *wà*, even though it is followed by other material in
the sentence. However, this other material is the beginning of another
clause:

(10) *séy*   *wàl*   *ngàn*   *táŋ*   *á*   *nd*   *rà*
     so   wife   3SG   DED   3SG   go   D.HAB
     wàcín   *syì*   *wírnjìk*   *dìy-à*   *bàk-áhà*
     DEM   COM   ash   start-GO   pour-GO
     cìdé'   *cìdé'* *cìdé'*   *cìdé'* *á*   *kàtàf*
     pile   pile   pile   pile   PRED   road
     'When his wife was going, ashes poured out in small piles on the
     road.'

(11) *ah*   *Bàhámàn*   *á*   *túk*   *bákà*   *syì*   *ták*
     oh   Bahaman   PREP   GEN.2SG   today   COM   all
     píč   *wàhín* *syì*
     sun   DEM   COM
     'Oh, Bahaman, for you, with all this heat?'

(12) *à*   *túk*   *há*   *báŋ*   *rà*   *skù*   *wúl*
     for   you   2SG   think   D.HAB   NEG   neck
     béł   *rà*   *wá*   *syì*
     break   D.HAB   DEM   COM
     '"You are not thinking, you are yelling with joy."'

4. Temporal apodosis

In temporal clauses, the temporal apodosis uses aspects and tenses from
the independent set, as can be seen in the examples given above.
    If the verb of the apodosis clause is intransitive, the simple rather
than the reduplicated form of the verb is used:

(13) *hìd-yìi*   *wá*   *í*   *dìy-á*   *ɓáŋ*   *làkwát*
      man-PL   DEM   3PL   start-GO   cross   river
      cìkíɗ   *tɔ́*   *gwídìŋ*   *ndɔ̀v*   *ká*   [ndɔ̀f]
      sesame   GEN   single   fall   POS
      'When the men started crossing the river, a single sesame seed fell down.'

The apodosis clause may also have the marker *séy* or *tséy*, probably borrowed from Hausa *sai* 'then':

(14) *í*   *hók*   *rɔ̀*   *wàcíŋ*   *séy*   *wàl*   *wà*
      3PL   lift   D.HAB   DEM   then   wife   DEM
      ɓɔ́t   *á*   *ɓɔ́t*   *fòrɔ́m*   *nákà*   *bɔ́*   *vènjéh*
      take   3SG   take   horn   DEM   ASSC   pepper
      dìyà   *á*   *dì*   *ká*   *nɔ́*   *mà*
      put   3SG   put   in   PREP   mouth
      'When they were lifting the stones the wife took the horn which contained pepper and put it in her mouth'

(15) *kɔ́*   *fɔk*   *wɔ̀l*   *zá*   *séy*   *mìɗ*   *fɔk*
      INF   give   neck   EE   then   wind   give
      'When he started to scream, the wind blew.'

5. Specific time relationships

When the protasis clause is coded through dependent aspectual markers and the apodosis clause has no special markers, it indicates that there is only a very general time relationship between the two clauses. A specific time relationship between two events involves more precise time concepts such as "before," "after," and simultaneity, "while." In all such sentences, the protasis clause precedes the apodosis clause.

The succession of events in time may be coded by past tense in the protasis clause and the end-of-event marker, followed by the verb *dìyà* in the apodosis clause:

(16) wàŋ   á   wàn   zɔ́   gùgwá dû   kɔ́   zəm
      sleep 3SG   sleep EE   first start INF   eat
      wɔ̀dá   *za
      food   EE
      'He slept first and then he ate.'

The notion 'after' is coded by the associative preposition *áb* preced-
ing the noun *dùwɔ́n* 'back'. If the apodosis clause has such a marker, the
protasis clause does not have to be marked as such in any way:

(17) wɔ̀žíyìi   gán   ngùl-yìi   rà   rà   í
      children   even   man-PL   dig   dig   3PL
      r   jíɓ   címéd-ká
      dig   hole   around (of them)
      'Children and also men dug a hole.'

      áb   dùwɔ́ŋ mbí   á   n
      ASSC   back   ANAPH   3SG   PREP
      ńvɔ̀ŋ   tɔ́   tápá   ɓɔ́t
      stone GEN   tobacco   take
      'Afterwards, they took the tobacco stone.'

The protasis clause may also be marked by the phrase *áb dùwɔ́n*:

(18) séy   áb   dùwɔ́n mbí   í   n   kɔ́
      then   ASSC   after   ANAPH   3PL   PREP   INF
      n   kɔ́   ndá-hà   kò   hók   ńvɔ̀ŋ-yìi
      PREP   INF   go-GO   INF   lift   stone-PL
      íf   á   íf-é
      blow   3SG   blow-GO
      tɔ́   n   fòrɔ́m wá   dàp
      GEN   PREP   horn   DEM   only
      'After they came to lift the stones, she blew that which was in the
      horn.'

6. Conditional clauses

There are two means of coding the conditional protasis clause. One is
with tenses and aspects from the dependent sets, and the other is with
clause-initial particles.

6.1 The use of the dependent aspect

The dependent aspect is the unmarked aspect, i.e. verb alone, or verb preceded by the focus marker *kə*. For both of these situations, viz. verb alone or verb with the focus marker, the condition is already likely to exist, and the protasis clause means something like: If from the existing set of possibilities, the possibility X is chosen, then Y.

Consider the following examples, which describe situations that are actually occurring:

(19) *mìnjé mbə̀   mə̀   mármár   kə́   nàz-á*
      now   child   REL   shepherd   INF   abandon-GO
      nkw-yîi   zə̀   nə́   láy   hà   ŋ   kə̀
      goat-PL   EE   PREP field 2SG   PREP   INF
      dǎl-á-ŋ   láwày   mə́ná   mə̀ɡ̌éɡ̌é   kám
      do-GO-3SG   whip   like   the old days TOP (F.)
      'Now, if a shepherd boy abandons the goats in the field, and you whip him, like in the old days.'

(20) *hìdì   kə́   ndə̀   zə̀   dámù   mə̀   pə́r   kə́*
      man   INF   go   EE   bush   REL   first   PREP
      báy   í   n   kə̀   dǎl-á-ŋ   mə̀
      chief 3PL   PREP   INF   do-GO-3SG   mouth
      'If anybody goes to the field before the chief, they will cause him a lot of problems.'

(21) *yó   hìdì   á   sàn   ɡ̌əgám á*
      O.K.   man   3SG   know   speak 3SG
      gə̀r   kə́   gày-á-h   nə́f   skù
      want   INF   spoil-GO-2SG   heart NEG
      'Well, someone who knows how to converse, he won't make you mad.'

Here are examples of the coding of conditional sentence through the dependent future in the apodosis clause. The independent future may not be used in the apodosis clause:

(22) | *hà* | *kə́* | *ʃək-á* | | *í* | *n* | *kə̀* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | INF | leave-GO | | 3PL | PREP | INF |

bàs-á-h
laugh-GO-2SG
'If you leave that they will mock you.'

(23) | *hà* | *mbál* | *hágə̀m* | *ngə̀n* | *á* | *n* | *kə̀* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | like | daughter | 3SG.Q | 3SG | PREP | INF |
| *zá* | | *sə́* | *ndə̀-r* | *kə́* | *və̀l* | *skù* |
| COMP | | 1SG | go-D.HAB | INF | give | NEG |
| *ngàm* | | *kə́* | *r-á-k* | | *zà* | |
| because | | INF | insult-GO-1SG | | EE | |

'If you love his daughter he will say, "I do not give [her], be-
cause he insulted me."'

The dependent future is used to code conditions that do not yet exist.
They have the meaning: If there ever will occur X, then Y:

(24) | *ndìká* | | *mə̀njé* | *wàhíŋ* | *sà* | *n* | *kə̀* | *dzáŋ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| better (F.) | | now | DEM | 1SG | PREP | INF | find |
| *gómbòk* | | *zá* | *sə́* | *n* | *kə́* | *ndrág̊* | |
| frog | | EE | 1SG | PREP | INF | smash | |
| *mbàɗ* | | *wìrnjík* | | | | | |
| become | | ash | | | | | |

'"From now on, when I find a frog, I will smash it to ashes."'

(25) | *hìdì* | *wèhíŋ* | *à* | *zá* | | *ván* | *á* | *n* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | DEM | 3SG | COMP | | rain | 3SG | PREP |
| *kə́* | *dà̂* | *á* | *gə̀r* | *kə̀* | *nd-á-k* | | |
| INF | fall | 3SG | want | INF | touch-GO-1SG | | |
| *kàsə́m* | *skù* | | | | | | |
| body | NEG | | | | | | |

'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

6.2 Conditional protasis coding through the particle *áŋgə̀*

The conditional protasis can be marked by the particle *áŋgə̀* followed by
various tenses and aspects, all, however, drawn from the dependent sets.
The future describes a hypothetical situation:

(26) ángɔ̀   hì   kɔ́   dzɔ̀góŋ mɔ́   á
     if   2PL   INF   learn mouth PRED
     nɔ̀   mɔ̀ŋ   skù   màllá   wír   tàŋ
     PREP   LOC   NEG   or else (F.)   gravy DED
     à   n   kɔ́   lɔ́   hìdì   táŋ
     3SG   PREP INF   give diarrhea man   DED
     mɔ̀   zɔ̀m   tɔ́   nákà wàcíŋ dá   skú   má
     REL   eat   DED   REM   DEM   exist NEG   or(F.)
     wás   ɓà   hìdì   kà   ŋkù   tɔ́   lìvèŋ nék
     knife cut   man   POS   goat   GEN   black good
     skù
     NEG
     'If you do not oppose it, then the gravy will give diarrhea to the
     man who eats it, or else the knife will cut the person [skinning
     the goat]. The black goat is no good.'

The unmarked aspect, i.e. the form that is used in dependent clauses,
can be used in both the protasis and the apodosis clause. The unmarked
aspect describes the situation that exists or is likely to exist and the re-
sults that one could expect were this condition to be met:

(27) kwáykwáy-yîì wà   zá   ńgɔ̀   há   mbàl-ù
     hyena-PL   DEM   COMP   if   2SG   want-3SG
     há   yàn   á   kàcíŋ
     2SG   move   PRED   here
     'Those hyenas told her, "If you want, you can move in here."'

(28) ángɔ̀   hì   kíndíŋ ábɔ̀   gúzàk   dá   skù
     if   2PL   fear   ASSC   maternal uncle exist NEG
     kíndíŋ zɔ̀   ábɔ̀   ví
     fear   EE   ASSC   who
     'If you do not fear your maternal uncle, who are you going to
     fear?'

(29)   *ángà*   *ɓéɓé*   *hà*   *gál*   *á*   *ìdə́*
       if   past   2SG   grow   PRED   house
       gúzàk-áh   *tàŋ*   *grá*   *á*   *ìdə́*   *céh*
       maternal uncle-2SG   DED   like   PRED   house   father.2SG
       skə́   *vù*
       NEG   Q
       'In the past, if you grew up in the house of your maternal uncle,
       that was like in the house of your father.'

(30)   *ángà*   *gúzàk-áh*   *mà*   *lùw-á-h*   *kà*   *dál*
       if   uncle-2SG   REL   say-GO-2SG   INF   do
       gàzəd   *má*   *há*   *dál*   *zà*
       work   COMP(F.)   2SG   do   EE
       túk   *žìdép*
       2SG:GEN   now
       'If it is your maternal uncle who told you to do the work, you can
       do this work now'

The conditional particle *ángà* is a necessary marker of all clauses that do not have a verb, i.e. clauses that cannot use dependent tense and aspects to code the conditional protasis:

(31)   *ángà*   *kò*   *mávù*   *á*   *ìdá*
       if   even   beer   PRED   house
       'Even if there is beer in the house . . .'

(32)   *ángà*   *ŋkw-yì̀gwád*   *á*   *ìdə́*   *hìdì*   *táŋ*
       if   goat-PL   plenty   PRED   house   man   DED
       ŋkù   *tə́*   *lìvèŋ*   *á*   *nà*   *máŋ*   *kám*
       goat   GEN   black   PRED   PREP   LOC.ANAPH   TOP
       kó   *í*   *n*   *kə́*   *mìsíl*   *ŋkù*   *táŋ*
       even   3PL   PREP   INF   steal   goat   DED
       'If there are many goats at a compound, and there is one black
       goat among them, this is the one that will be stolen.'

(33)   *ángà*   *mə̀ná*   *hóŋ*   *sà*   *n*   *kə́*   *dzán-à*
       if   like   2SG   1SG   PREP   INF   find-GO
       láy   *á*   *tíkì*
       field   PRED   where
       'If I were like you, where would I find a field?'

6.3 Conditional protasis coding through the particle má

The conditional protasis may also be marked by the particle *má*, borrowed from Fula, occurring at the end of the protasis clause. The protasis clause occurs in sentence initial position:

(34) *àmmá   gúzàkú   má   séy   hà   žìné   tàŋ*
      but   maternal uncle COMP then   2SG   return just (Fula)
      'If it is your maternal uncle [that calls you], then you have to return.'

7. Conditional apodosis

The conditional apodosis clause may be unmarked, except for dependent aspect, as in the examples above, or it may be preceded by the comment-clause marker *syì*:

(35) ángɔ̀   hìdì   à   gɔ̀r   kɔ́   skɔ̀m   ŋ̀tèk   syì
      if   man   3SG   want   INF   buy   sheep COM
      tɔ́   kwèɗék   kɔ̀   mbɔ̀ɗ   tɔ́   lìvèŋ   zà
      GEN   white   INF   surpass   GEN   black   EE
      'If someone wants to buy a sheep, the white ones are better than the black ones.'

(36) *ángɔ̀   há   sɔ̀n   bɔ́ts   tɔ́   syì   há*
      if   2SG   know   blow   DED   COM   2SG
      ngàɮ-á-k   á   rɔ́   ngɔ̀n
      accompany-GO-1SG   PRED   PREP   3SG
      'If you know how to blow, we will go to him.'

It is important, however, to note that the marker *syì* is not narrowly a marker of the conditional apodosis clause, but rather a marker of a speaker's comment. This marker may occur in both the conditional protasis and the conditional apodosis clause:

(37)   *sá*   *skə̀n*   *wà*   *syì*   *há*   *kə́*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *zə́*
       here   thing   DEM   COM   2SG   INF   say-GO-3SG   EE
       kə̀də̃m   *vl-á*   *nòk*   *wùdə̀*   *gí*   *syì*
       calabash   give-GO   1PL   food   POL   COM
       à   *ndí*   *də́*   *tə̀*   *dàp*
       3SG   HAB   make   DED   only
       'Here you have this thing. If you say to it, "Calabash make us food, please," then it just cooks.'

The habitual aspect in the apodosis clause is coded by the dependent habitual because the event has to be interpreted in conjunction with the event of the protasis clause:

(38)   *hàz*   *kə́*   *ɟìm*   *zə́*   *í*   *ndə̀*   *r*
       dog   INF   hear   EE   3PL   go   D.HAB
       kə́   *sə̀*   *mávù*
       INF   drink   beer
       'If the dog hears, they will go to drink beer.'

The hypothetical mood in the apodosis clause is coded by the dependent future:

(39)   *wà*   *ángə̀*   *wàl*   *táŋ*   *kə́*   *lù*   *wír*   *tàŋ*
       but   if   woman DED   INF   say   sauce   DED
       ɓə̀ràŋ   *kwíl*   *táŋ*   *à*   *n*   *kə́*
       little   kuli   DED   3SG   PREP   INF
       mə̀l   *tàŋ*
       seize   DED
       'But if the woman says that her gravy is too little, kuli will get her'[3]

---

3. During the sacrificial meal, when the offerings are made to *kuli*, everybody gets his portion to eat. One should not complain during this meal about not getting enough to eat. Such a complaint is said to provoke the wrath of the *kuli*.

(40) wà   ángè   kè   mèl-á-ŋ   zè   syì   à
      but   if   INF   seize-GO-3SG   EE   COM   3SG
      n   kè   nd-à   kè   dè   tè
      PREP   INF   go-GO   INF   cook   DED
      bá   skà
      again NEG:Q
      'But if he_i caught it for him_j, he_j will come again to cook it,
      won't he?

If the condition already exists or is likely to exist, the apodosis clause
has the unmarked aspect:

(41) wàl   kè   vèl-á-h   wèdá   dä   skù
      woman   INF   give-GO-2SG   food   exist   NEG
      hà   mbál   vù
      2SG   like   Q
      'If the woman does not give you food, will you love her?'

(42) à   ɓá   bàkàlàf   kè   dèf-é   hínè
      3SG   say   buffalo   INF   call-GO   2PL
      mù   zá   gómbòk   kám   hí
      mouth   COMP   frog   TOP   2PL
      łéłé   òhók
      answer   ohok (frogtalk)
      'He said, "If the buffalo calls you frog, you answer yes."'

8. Conclusions

The conditional protasis clause may be coded by a dependent aspect or
tense, by the conditional protasis marker *ángè*, or by both. In verbless
clauses, where the dependent aspectual markers cannot be used, only the
particle *ángè* is available as a coding means. Through the system of
aspectual and tense markers, Mina indicates whether the condition al-
ready exists and may be selected in a given situation, or whether the
condition does not exist yet. The conditional apodosis clause may also
have different tense and aspectual systems, again coding the same tem-
poral properties of the conditions.

Chapter 23

Purpose, reason, and conclusion clauses

1. Introduction

The present chapter we describe three types of functions coded by different means. The purpose and reason clauses serve as adjuncts of matrix clauses. The conclusion clause does not function as adjunct, but rather as a co-dependent clause.

2. Purpose clause

For sentences with a purpose clause, the order of clauses is matrix adjunct. The adjunct clause may be preceded by the infinitive marker *kə* or by the locative preposition *n*:

(1) *hà   y-á-k   kà   dǎl   mí*
     2SG   call-GO-1SG   INF   do   what
     'Why do you call me?'

(2a) *à   nzə̀   kɔ́   kɔ́   gə̀r   yə̀m   kɔ́   sà*
      3SG   stay   POS   INF   search water   INF   drink
      'She stayed to look for water to drink.'

(2b) *à   zá   sə   y-á-h   wàcíŋ*
      3SG   COMP   1SG   call-GO-2SG   DEM
      kɔ́   sə̀   máv   wàcíŋ
      INF   drink   beer   DEM
      'He said, "If I called you, it is to drink this beer."'

The purpose clause may also be coded by the locative preposition *n*:

(3)   *kwáykwáy   à   ndè   dáp   nè   gr-á   nòkò*
      hyena   3SG   go   only   PREP find-GO   1PL
      'Let the hyena go to find it for us'

3. Reason clauses

The term "reason clause" is used for embedded clauses that describe the actions, events, and states that are the motivations for the main clause. In our data, the marker *(n)gàm* borrowed from Fula is used to mark reason. This marker may be used alone or be followed by *m kə*. This sequence precedes the embedded clause. The complement clause may occur before or after the matrix clause. Here is an example of the reason clause preceding the matrix clause:

(4)   *ngàm   mìnjé s   kè   nzə́   r*
      because   now   1SG   INF   remain D.HAB
      bákà   wàcíŋ ván   bè   mə́   bè
      today DEM   father:1SG   ASSC   mouth ASSC
      hìdì   táŋ
      man   DED
      'Because I am here now, my father had a problem with that man.'

Here is an example of the reason clause following the matrix clause:

(5)   *séy   mə́   ndá   ngàm   à   dèm-á-ŋ   rà*
      so   DEB   go   because 3SG   ache-GO-3SG PROG
      'He should go because it hurts him.'

Another marker of the reason clause is the clause-final demonstrative *wàcín*:

(6)   *hà   kə́   ndʼ-á-k   ngámbù   tə́   ngùl*
      2SG   INF   kill-GO-1SG   friend   GEN   husband
      nè   kə́   wàcíŋ ndè   tèkòŋ
      1SG   POS   DEM   go   2SG:POSS
      'As you have killed my husband's friend, go away.'

4. Conclusion clause

We have recorded only one instantiation of a conclusion clause, but this instantiation represents a type consistent with other co-dependent clauses, such as temporal and conditional protases and apodoses. The conclusion clause is coded by the clause-final determiner. The example we have deploys the deduced reference marker *taŋ*. The deduced reference marker is not an object of the verb, because the verb already has an object, the second person singular *h*. The deduced reference marker cannot have another object as its antecedent, as evidenced by the nature of the verb *bád* 'seduce'. However, the clause marked by *taŋ* must be interpreted in connection with the preceding clause. It constitutes a conclusion from the preceding proposition:

(7) *séy   à   zá   á   nà   wàl*
     so   3SG   say   PRED   PREP   woman
     wàcíŋ skàŋ   wàcíŋ   kúl   kà   nzàr-áh
     DEM   thing DEM   be able INF   take care of-2SG
     vù
     Q
     'So he said to the woman, is this thing able to take care of you?'

     sà   kà   ŋdà   ká   ná
     1SG   INF   hit   POS   1PL(excl)
     n   kà   bád-á-h   tàŋ
     PREP   INF   seduce-2SG   DED
     I have killed it and I am going to seduce you.

5. Conclusions

Purpose clause is marked by the infinitive marker *kə*. Reason clauses may be marked by the borrowed particle *ngàm*. The matrix clause in both types of sentences may end with the demonstrative *wàcín*. Both purpose and reason clauses are adjuncts, in that they both can be omitted from the sentence.

Chapter 24

Comparative constructions

1. Introduction

The number of comparative constructions in our data is not very large, and we had to supplement naturally occurring data with elicited examples. We describe first equal comparisons and then unequal comparisons.

2. Equal comparisons

Comparison of equal predicates can be realized by various means. One is by the verb *grá*, most probably derived from *grà* "search, like" with the goal-oriented marker. Given its use in comparative constructions, it is glossed as "be like":

(1) *bítsì*   *grá*   *kásòmà*
     Bitsi   be like   Kasuma
     'Bitsi is like Kasuma.'

(2) *séy*   *wàl*   *ngòn*   *zá*   *ngùl-yìì*   *wàcíŋ*
     so   *woman*   *3SG*   *COMP*   *husband-PL*   *DEM*
     grá   *kwáyàŋ*
     be like   squirrel
     'So his wife said, "My husband, this one is like a squirrel."'

(3)   *kwáyàŋ*   *tì*   *syì*   *ngèf*   *nákáhà*
       squirrel   see   COM   feather   REM
       wàcíŋ   *dîyà*   *njíf*   *á*
       DEM   put   smell   3SG
       njíf   *grá*   *ɓì*   *tɔ́*   *gàmták*
       smell   like   meat   GEN   chicken
       'Squirrel saw that the [burned] feather smelled like the meat of a
       chicken.'

The form *(á)ngɔ̀*, identical with the one used in conditional protasis
clauses, can also be used in equal comparisons:

(4)   *bícì*   *ngɔ̀*   *kásɔ̀mà*
       Bitsi   like   Kasuma
       'Bitsi is the same size as Kasuma.'

(5)   *kɔ́*   *và*   *zá*   *dɔ̀dìyè*   *bògó*   *ngɔ̀*   *sán*
       INF   spend time   EE   much   Bogo   like   1SG
       'He spent much time in Bogo, just like me.'

(6)   *mímèŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *mbíŋ*   *tséy*   *mímèŋ*
       leopard   3SG   COMP   ANAPH   then   leopard
       dîyà   *dzà*   *ángɔ̀*   *tɔ́*   *rà*
       start   sing   like   GEN   PREP
       wàl   *nákà*   *wàcíŋ*
       woman   REM   DEM
       'The leopard said, "That's it." Then the leopard started to sing
       just like that woman.'

The comparative construction where the standard of comparison is a
deictic expression is marked by the forms *mɔ̀ ná* 'like' and *kì mbín* 'like
that':

(7)   *séy*   *dû*   *tɔ̀tɔ̀*   *ká*   *mɔ̀ná*   *nákáhà*   *mɔ̀ɓéɓé*
       so   sit   3PL   POS   like   REM   past
       'So they remained, as in the past.'

(8) *há   tì   tì   mə́nà sə̀   wà   kə́   lìm*
    2SG   see   see   like 1SG   DEM   INF   see
    mbə̀ vù
    child Q
    'Do you think that a person like me can have a child?'

(9) *kóo   ví   zá   sə̀   déy   á*
    QUANT   who   COMP   1SG   also PRED
    kì   mbéŋ
    like ANAPH
    'Each one of them said, "Same with me."'

(10) *túm   à   ndí   dál   kə̀   mbéŋ*
     always (F.)   3SG   HAB   do   PREP ANAPH
     'She always did like that.'

3. Unequal equational clause predicates

Unequal comparison of equational predicates involves the use of two morphemes: *z* with *báytàŋ* 'big' to mean 'more' and *zín* with *fés* 'small' to mean 'less', both in a relative-clause-like construction:

(11) *zrúmbà   mbə̀   má   nàŋ   mə̀   z   báytàŋ*
     Zurmba   son   mother 1SG   REL   EE   big
     'Zurmba is my oldest brother from the same mother'
     (*z* cannot be omitted if *mə̀* is used)

(12) *zrúmbà   mbə̀   má   nàŋ   mə̀   zìn   fés*
     Zurmba   son   mother 1SG   REL   ?   small
     'Zurmba is my younger brother.'

The importance of these constructions, lies in the fact that the first provides evidence that *z* may actually be a copula 'be'. The second construction is important because it poses a question about the identity of the form *zìn*, which remains obscure.

4. Unequal comparison with verbal predicates

For clauses with verbal predicates, the comparative construction involves the use of the verb *dáy* 'surpass' following the predicate of the standard of comparison. There are two comparative constructions involving the verbal predicate. In one, the target of comparison is marked by the locative preposition *kə*:

(13) *sə   n   kə   ší   dáy   kò   hóŋ*
      1SG PREP INF run surpass   PREP 2SG
      'I will run faster/more than you'

(14) *à   ɓá   kái   à   ší   dáy*
      3SG say INTERJ 3SG run surpass
      kə   sáŋ
      PREP 1SG
      'He said, hey, he runs faster than me'

(15) *bánày   tə   ngùl   dáy   kə*
      suffering GEN husband surpass   PREP
      tə   wàlà
      GEN woman
      'The suffering of man is greater than that of woman.'

The verb *dáy* 'surpass' may be used as the final verb of the predication, its standard being put before the comparison clause:

(16) *tì   lìvèŋ kám à   hánə   kə   dál*
      GEN black TOP 3SG suit (F.)   INF do
      məsədəf-yìì mə nà nákà wàcíŋ
      devil-PL REL of REM DEM
      àmmá tə kwèdĕk syì dăm dáy
      but GEN white COM good surpass
      'The black one is convenient as an offering for the devil, as in the past, but the white one is better.'

For clauses with adjectival predicates the comparison is marked by the preposition *kə* 'like'. The structure of the clause is: Noun phrase Predicate *kə* Noun phrase:

(17)   *bítsì   fés   kɔ́   kásɔ̀mà*
         Bitsi small like Kasuma
         'Bitsi is smaller than Kasuma.'

(18)   *bítsì   ɓíp   kɔ́   kásɔ̀mà*
         Bitsi fat like Kasuma
         'Bitsi is fatter than Kasuma.'

Instead of the verb *dáy* one can also use the verb *mbɔ̀d* 'surpass' to code unequal predicates:

(19)   *mɔ̀ʒéʒé*   *kám* *mɔ̀* *dɔ̀gɔ̀nàk*   *kɔ́*   *mbɔ̀d*
         past   TOP REL black   INF   surpass
         zá   *ʒéʒé* *wàcíŋ* *rùkùt* *mɔ̀* *dɔ̀gɔ̀nàk*   *kɔ́*
         EE   past   DEM clothes REL black   INF
         mbɔ̀d   *tɔ́*   *kwèdékzá*
         surpass   GEN white   EE
         'In the past black clothes surpassed white clothes'

5. Conclusions

Equal predicates may be coded by the use of the verb *grá* 'search, like' or the particle *ángɔ̀* 'like'. The unequal comparisons use the verbs *dáy* or *mbɔ̀d*, both meaning 'surpass'. The standard of comparison may be marked by the locative preposition *kɔ*.

Chapter 25
Relative clause

1. Introduction

Since only certain types of relative clauses occur in natural discourse, we elicited examples for the types of relativization that are not attested in our corpus. The elicited examples should be used with extreme caution, because we do not know how natural they are.

The general structure of a relative clause is Head relative clause, although we have noted one exception to this order.

If the head of the relative clause is the subject and subject only, it is followed by the relative marker *mə̀*. The third-person pronominal subject is unmarked, and *mə̀* alone is used. The verb in the relative clause has high rather than low tone:

(1)   *hìdì*   *mə̀*   *tí*
         man   REL   look
         'the person who looked'

Cf.:

(2)   *kə́*   *tì*   *zá*
         INF   look   EE
         'He looked.'

The relative marker *mə̀* is not used if the relative clause is marked for focus. This may be a result of a constraint whereby *mə̀* cannot be followed by *kə*. The reason for this constraint could be that both of these forms belong to the same functional domain:

(3) *án*   *ndǝ̀*   *ngǝ̀n*   *kɔ́*   *tàl*   *á*   *tàl*   *tàl*
     3SG   go   3SG   INF   walk   3SG   walk   walk
     tàl   *tàl*   *ndǝ̀*   *dzáŋ*   *kwáykwá-yîi*   *í*
     walk   walk   go   find   hyena-PL   3PL
     kǝ̀   *ngá*   *ɓì*   *zá*   *syì*
     INF   break   meat   EE   COM
     'She walked and walked and walked. She went and found some
     hyenas who had caught some meat.'

2. Clause-final demonstratives

If the head of the relative clause is non-referential, the relative clause
does not have clause-final demonstratives:

(4) *hìdì*   *mǝ̀*   *ɓám*   *mǝ̀kwádàk*   *gǝ̀r*   *kɔ́*   *nzǝ̀*   *kɔ́*
     man   REL   eat   vulture   search   INF   be   like
     ngámbǝ̀-n   *skù*
     friend-1SG   NEG
     'The man who ate/eats vulture cannot be a friend of mine.'

Clause-final demonstratives code the existential status of the rela-
tivized head (cf. Frajzyngier 1996 for a comparative study of relative
clauses in Chadic). More specifically, they code the head of the relative
clause as referential. Referentiality means a specific entity, previously
described, or present in the environment of speech.

(5) *hìdì*   *mǝ̀*   *gíž*   *góŋgà*   *wàcíŋ*
     man   REL   tell   truth(F.)   DEM
     'the man who tells the truth'

(6)` *séy*   *hìdì*   *mǝ̀*   *ɓà*   *kǝ̀sáf*   *wàcíŋ*
     so   man   REL   cut   grass   DEM
     à   *zá*   *wàcíŋ*   *tá*   *nàŋ*
     3SG   COMP   DEM   GEN   1SG
     'The man who cuts grass said, "This is for me."'

séy	*á*	*nà*	*và*	*wàcíŋ*	*ábà*	*báy*	*mà*
so	PRED	PREP	year	DEM	ASSC	chief	REL

máts	*mà*	*ɓéɓé*		*wàcíŋ*
die	REL	long time ago		DEM

'except for the year with the chief who died a long time ago'

The clause-final demonstratives are not used with pronouns as heads of the relative clause, because pronouns are inherently referential. Subject pronouns are followed by the relative marker *mà*:

(7)
sà	*mà*	*dál*	*tífìlì*
1SG	REL	do	calumny

'I am the one who spread the calumny.'

(8)
hà	*mà*	*dál*	*tífìlì*
2SG	REL	do	calumny

'You are the one who spread the calumny.'

(9)
mbí	*mà*	*dál*	*tífìlì*
3SG	REL	do	calumny

'It is he who spread the calumny.'

The third-person subject pronoun *à* is unacceptable in this clause:

(10)
*à	*mà*	*dál*	*tífìlì*
3SG	REL	do	calumny

'It is he who spread the calumny.'

Headless relative clauses do occur. Since their subjects cannot be referential, such clauses do not end in a demonstrative:

(11)
mà	*rn-á-k*		*kó*	*ŋtà*	*dà*
REL	make love-GO-1SG		even	one	exist

nà	*màŋ*	*skù*
PREP	L.ANAPH	NEG

'There is not even one among them who made love to me.'

(12)   mà   ndə̀   kə́   ší   ví   s   kə́   ǹdǽ
       REL   go   INF   run   who   then   INF   hit:GO
       zà   mà   ndə̀   kə́   ší   ví   skə́
       EE   REL   go   INF   run   who   thing
       ǹdǽ   zà   mà   ndə̀ kə́   ší   ví
       hit:GO   EE   REL   go   INF   run   who
       s   kə́   ǹdǽ   zà
       COM   INF   hit:GO   EE
       'Whoever wants to run away, he hits him.' (repeated three times)

The relative clause may have the independent habitual aspect marker *ndí*, but it occurs as a means of modifying construction where the modifier is a general characteristic, coded in the verb and its object:

(13)   wà   hí   wə̀ží   hí   mà   ndí   dǎl
       but   2PL   children   2PL   REL   HAB   do
       màsáláɗ   skù   syì   láy   gwáɗ
       laziness   NEG   COM   field plenty
       á   dám   skə̀   vù
       PRED   bush   NEG   Q
       'But you children, you are lazy. Aren't there plenty of fields in the bush?'

The relativized subject of the verbless clause must be followed by the form *za*. This is one of the few pieces of evidence that the form *za* may actually be the verb 'to be':

(14)   mə̀   z   ví   ndéŋ   mə̀   téwél   ɓámbáy   ɓə̀t
       REL   EE   who   other   REL   twirl   stick   take
       ɓámbáy
       stick
       'The other, the one who twirls the stick, took the stick . . . '

3. Relativization of the object

Relativization of the object appears to consist of placing the object at the beginning of the relative clause. The relativized object may be coded twice, once at the beginning of the clause as the head of the relative clause, and the second time after the verb, in the position of object. The

object role of the head of the relative clause is computed from the fact that the relative clause has a subject and that it has a transitive verb:

(15) *skən   nàm   dzáŋ   skən   syì   há   dǐyà   gáy*
       thing   1DU   find   thing   COM   2SG   put   spoil
       kà
       POS
       'The thing we found, you are ruining it.'

In the future tense, as in the hypothetical mood, the relativized object is represented in the relative clause by the definite object marker *u*:

(16) *à   ɓá   háȥəm   wàcíŋ   ángə̀   dǎmà   há*
       3SG   say   daughter   DEM   if   good   2SG
       və̀l-á-ŋ   n   hìdə̀   í   kə̀
       give-GO-3SG   PREP   man   3PL   INF
       zámb-ú   wàcíŋ
       cheat-3SG   DEM
       'He said, "That girl, normally, you will give to the man who was cheated."'

(17) *à   də̌b-ák   ə́nə̀   də̀vər   sə̀   nkə́*
       3SG   ask-1SG   PREP   hoe   1SG   INF
       bèr-áh-ù
       sell-GO-3SG
       'He asked me about the hoe I sold.'

In our data, we have an example where the object of the relative clause is preceded rather than followed by the relative clause:

(18) *hìdì   míndì   yə́m   gúzàk-áh   kə̀*
       man   other   also   maternal uncle-2SG   INF
       və̀l-á-h   láy   wàcín   kə̀   dǎl-á-h   zə̀
       give-GO-2SG   field   DEM   INF   do-GO-2SG   EE
       ɓə́ràŋ   há   ndá-hà sə́   və̀l-á-h   nə̀   mə́ŋ
       little   2SG   go-GO 1SG   give-GO-2SG   PREP   L.ANAPH
       'The other [said], "If the field that your maternal uncle gave you is too small, I will give you more."'

4. Relativization of the dative

The dative role of the head of the relative clause is coded by object pronouns added to the verb:

(19) *hídə*   *s*   *kə́*   *vl-á-ŋ*   *dálù*   *wà*
      man   1SG   INF   give-GO-3SG   money DEM
      kə́   *zìn-é*   *dá́*   *skù*
      INF   return-GO   exist   NEG
      'The man to whom I gave money never came back.'

(20) *hídə*   *(mə́)*   *s*   *kə́*   *dál-á-ŋ*   *gə̀zə̀d́*   *wà*
      man   REL   1SG   INF   do-GO-3SG   work   DEM
      kə́   *méd́*   *kə́*   *vl-á-k*   *dál*   *dá́*   *skù*
      INF   never   INF   give-GO-1SG   money   exist   NEG
      'The man for whom I worked never gave me money'

5. Relativization of the instrumental

The instrumental role of the head of the relative clause is marked by a construction consisting of optional preposition *tə́*, associative marker *ábə̀*, and anaphoric marker *mbí*, which is a resumptive pronoun for the head of the relative clause. The relative clause ends with a demonstrative, if the head of the relative clause is referential. The end -of-event marker *za* follows the demonstrative:

(21) *s*   *kə́*   *lím*   *hìjí*   *hà*   *kə́*   *bə̀l-á*
      1SG   INF   see   sickle   2SG   INF   cut-GO
      ndìr   *(tə́)*   *bə́*   *mbí*   *wà*   *zá*
      sorghum   GEN   ASSC   ANAPH   DEM   EE
      'I saw the sickle with which you cut the sorghum.'

(22) *hìjí*   *sá*   *há*   *n*   *kə́*   *n*   *kə́*   *ʒə́*
      sickle   here   2SG   PREP   INF   PREP   INF   cut
      ndrì   *(tə́)*   *ábə̀*   *mbíŋ*
      sorghum   GEN   ASSC   ANAPH
      'Here is the sickle with which you will cut sorghum.'

6. Relativization of possessor

Relativization of the possessor involves the fronting of the possessor, following it with the possessum, and then the relative clause:

(23)   *sey*   *mbuu* *məməŋ*   *mə*   *mats* *mats* *waciŋ*
       so   child mother:3SG REL   die   die   DEM
       a   *za*
       3SG   COMP
       'So, the child whose mother is dead said:' (written sources)

7. Relativization of the topic of a verb of saying

The role of the head of the relative clause as the topic of a verb of saying is computed from the meaning of the verb and from the presence of other arguments in the clause, and from the fact that dependent rather than independent aspects are used. Most interestingly, the head of the relative clause may follow the relative clause. The structure is as follows: Subject Infinitive marker Verb Dependent habitual marker Head Noun phrase:

(24)   *à*   *zá*   *í*   *kà*   *lù*   *rə̀*   *hìdì*
       3SG COMP 3PL INF   say   D.HAB   man
       gə̀nák *syì*   *hà*   *vù*
       person COMP   2SG   Q
       'He said, "That person that they are talking about, is it you?"'

8. Relativization of locative and temporal adjuncts

The locative role of the head of the relative clause is marked by a locative anaphoric expression at the end of the clause:

(25)   *í*   *kù*   *gò*   *láy*   *sà*   *kə́*   *gár-r*
       3PL   INF   clean place 1SG   INF   stop-D.HAB
       wá   *kà*
       DEM   here
       'They cleaned the place where I stopped.'

(26) *í*   *n*   *kə́*   *gw-á*   *láy*   *sə̀*   *kə́*
      3PL   PREP   INF   clean-GO   place   1SG   INF
      gə́r-r   *kə́*   *ndə̀*   *nə́*   *mə̀*
      want-D.HAB   INF   go   PREP   L.ANAPH
      'They will clean the place where I want to go.'

9. Conclusions

In most cases, the relative clause follows the head, but the reverse order has also been recorded. Relativization of the subject differs from relativization of the object and adjuncts in that the subject must be followed by the relative marker *mə̀*, and the other relativized heads may not be followed by the marker *mə̀*. The referentiality of the head of the relative clause or its previous mention in discourse is coded by the deictic marker *wàcín* occurring at the end of the relative clause.

Chapter 26

Elements of discourse structure

1. Introduction

The present chapter describes two elements of discourse structure: One deals with the category of comment clause, a category that re-occurs in a number of syntactic environments. The second, unrelated, category is labeled here provisionally "change of scene."

2. Comment clause

Mina has grammaticalized a clausal category called here the 'comment clause'. The comment clause may be a complement of another clause, but it also may be a matrix clause. The comment clause is marked by *syì*, the same marker that codes the emotive modality.

3. Comment on topic

The comment clause marker may occur after the topicalized element:

(1) *sá   skɔ̀n   wà   syì   há   kɔ́   lùw-á-ŋ   zɔ́*
     here   thing   DEM   COM   2SG   INF   say-GO-3SG   EE
     kɔ̀dɔ̌m   vl-á   nòk   wùdɔ̀ gí   syì
     calabash   give-GO   1PL   food   POL   COM
     à   ndí   dɔ́   tɔ̀   dàp
     3SG   HAB   make   DED   only
     'Here you have this thing. If you say to it, "Calabash make us food, please," then it just cooks.'

(2) | *skə̀n* | *nàm* | *dzáŋ* | *skə̀n* | *syì* | *há* | *díyà* | *gáy* |
     |---------|-------|--------|---------|-------|------|--------|-------|
     | thing | 1DU | find | thing | COM | 2SG | put | spoil |

kà
POS
'The thing we found, you are ruining it.'

(3) | *skú* | *syì* | *kə́* | *zə̀m* | *skə̀n-yíì* | *wà* | *bə̀* |
     |-------|-------|------|--------|------------|------|------|
     | NEG | COM | INF | eat | thing-PL | DEM | ASSC |

mí
what
'Or else what will we eat those things with?'

4. Comment in parataxis

The comment clause may be used after another clause, where its relationship may be construed as taking place simultaneously with another clause, or as being a consequence, causal or temporal, of the preceding clause.

Here are examples of simultaneity of the events in two clauses:

(4) | *à* | *ndá* | *syì* | *tə̀tə̀* | *fú* | *tàŋ* | *í* | *mə̀* |
     |-------|--------|-------|---------|-------|-------|------|-------|
     | 3SG | go:GO | COM | 3PL | all | DED | 3PL | REL |

wàn-í	*sùlúɗ*	*sùlúɗ*	*mùkàɗkáɗáŋ*
sleep-STAT	two	two	upside down

'She came -- all of them were sleeping on their backs in pairs.'
(about turtles)

(5) | *mə̀* | *ndə̀* | *kə́* | *ší* | *ví* | *syì* | *kə́* | *ǹdə̀* | *zá* |
     |-------|--------|------|------|-------|-------|------|--------|------|
     | REL | go | INF | run | who | COM | INF | hit | EE |
     | *mə̀* | *ndə̀* | *kə́* | *ší* | *ví* | *syì* | *kə́* | *ǹdə̀* | *zá* |
     | REL | go | INF | run | who | COM | INF | hit | EE |

'The one who wants to run away, he hit him.' (repeated twice)

Here is an example of a causal relationship:

(6) | *ɓámbáy* | *ŋɗ-á-k* | *gí* | *syì* | *à* | *n* |
     |----------|------------|-------|-------|------|-------|
     | stick | hit-GO-1SG | POL | COM | 3SG | PREP |

kà	*ɗǎl-á*	*tàŋ*
INF	do-GO:2SG	DED

'"Stick, hit me," and it will do it to you.'

Here is an example of counterexpectation:

(7)   *dìyà*   *séitin*   *go*   *wàcíŋ* *syì*
         start   Muezzin's   call   DEM   COM
         kó   *wɔ̀l*   *nd*   *rɔ̀*   *skù*
         but   neck   go   D.HAB   NEG
         'He started to make the call, but the voice did not go out as before.'

Here are examples of temporal consequence:

(8)   *kwáykwáy*   *žíŋ*   *bɔ̀*   *dùwán* *syì*   *i*   *cíkè*
         hyena   return   ASSC   back   COM   3PL   all
         í   *tsù*   *tɔ̀tɔ̀*   *nɔ̀*   *yɔ̀m*
         3PL   went   3PL   PREP   water
         'The hyena returned after they all went into the water.'

(9)   *ndɔ̀*   *dzáŋ*   *kwáykwá-yíì*   *i*   *kɔ̀*   *ngá*   *ɓì*   *zá*
         go   find   hyena-PL   3PL   INF   break   meat   EE
         syì
         COM
         'And she found some hyenas who had caught some meat.'

         káyà   *dìyà*   *wàllə*   *tɔ̀*   *bɔ̀*   *dɔ̀*   *tàŋ*
         INTERJ (F.)   start   help(F.)   3PL   ASSC   cook   3PL
         'She started to help them cook.'

5. Comment with complementation

The marker *syì* is also used with complements of verbs of saying:

(10)   *bàhámán*   *zá*   *hí*   *n*   *kɔ̀*   *lùw-á-ŋ*
         Bahaman   COMP 2PL   PREP   INF   say-GO-3SG
         syì   *bárkàmà*   *kɔ̀dɔ̌m*   *vl-á*   *nà*
         COM   chief   calabash   give-GO   1PL.EXCL
         wùdɔ̀ *gí*   *tsáy*   *dàp*
         food   POL   finish   only
         'Bahaman said, "You say to it, my chief, "Calabash give us food." That is all.""'

(11) *mà   zá   báytà gómbòk-yìi   zá   syì*
      REL   EE   large frog-PL   COMP   COM
      hí   kám   fú   tàŋ   hí   wàn   kà
      2PL   TOP   all   DED   2PL   sleep:IMPER POS
      mùkàdkádáŋ   sùlúd   sùlúd
      upside down   two   two
      'The largest of the frogs said, "You all lie down on your backs in
      pairs."'

The comment marker may occur without the de dicto complemen-
tizer:

(12) *kwáykwáy   žíŋ   bà   dùwán   syì   i   cíkè*
      hyena   return ASSC   back   COM   3PL   all
      i   tsù   tàtà   nà   yàm
      3PL   went   3PL   PREP   water
      à   sé   i   dzòk-á-kù
      3SG   then   3PL   cheat-GO-1SG
      'The hyena returned after they all had gone into the water and
      said, "They cheated me."'

6. Comment marker and emotive modality marker

Although, the phonological shape of the emotive modality marker and
the comment clause marker is the same, their specific functions, or the
scope is different. The comment clause marker occurs at the beginning
of the clause, while the emotive modality marker occurs at the end of the
clause. Because of this property, the two markers may occur in the same
sentence and even in the same clause, one at the beginning of the clause
and the other at the end:

(13) *ndà   ɓàgám   syì   màl   á   màl-á-ŋ   tà*
      go   talk   COM   hit   3SG   hit-GO-3SG   3PL
      ǹdà   tàtà   mà   bá   syì
      strike 3PL   there again   COM
      'They talked [to the stick]. It started beating them over there
      again.'

(14)   *í*   *zə̀m*   *rá*   *í*   *zə̀m*   *rá*
       3PL   eat   D.HAB   3PL   eat   D.HAB
       í   *zə̀m*   *rá*   *syì*
       3PL   eat   D.HAB   COM
       'They eat, they eat, they eat.'

       séy   *mə̀*   *ngùl*   *ngùl*   *kə́*   *wə̀*
       then   REL   husband   husband   INF   start
       kédéŋ   *ngə̀n*   *tə́*   *zə̀*   *bá*   *dàp*
       stupidity   3SG   DED   EE   again   just
       'Then the man started again with his stupidity.'

7. Change of scene

It has been noted across languages that the associative preposition be-
comes a nominal and a clausal conjunction (Mithun 1988, Frajzyngier
1996). A superficial examination of Mina discourse may lead to a simi-
lar conclusion, because the associative does serve as nominal conjunc-
tion and from time to time one does indeed find forms that would be
translated as clausal conjunctions:

(15)   *ɓə̀t*   *á*   *ɓə̀t-á-ŋ*   *ǹdə̀*   *n*   *záván-yìì*
       get   3SG   get-GO-3SG   beat   PREP   guinea fowl-PL
       wàcíŋ
       DEM
       'He grabbed it [his stick] and beat those guinea fowl.'

       kə́   *lìm*   *ntá*
       INF   see   one
       'He hit one.'

       záván-yìì   *í-bə̀*   *fìr*   *tə̀tàŋ*
       guinea fowl-PL   PL-ASSC   flight   3PL:POSS
       'And guinea fowl flew away.'

A careful examination of the discourse data points to a quite differ-
ent function of the associative preposition, a function that we believe has
not yet been noted in the literature. Recall that there are two forms of the
associative preposition: *á-bə̀*, for singular subjects and *í-bə̀*, for plural
subjects. The associative preposition forms a construction with the pre-

ceding subject and the following verb, in that the preposition codes the number of the subject, and it ends in the phrase-internal form, viz. the consonant *b*, or the consonant followed by schwa, *bə̀*.

The function of the construction is to indicate that a participant has moved from the place where it has been at the last mention in discourse. The participant is represented by the subject of the clause

(16) *séy   á   tət   kám   í   ndí   ngà*
      then   PRED   3PL   TOP (F.)   3PL   HAB   catch
      ǰì-yîi   zə̀   kə́   ndá   kə̀   dá
      meat-PL   EE   INF   go   INF   cook:GO
      tàŋ
      DED
      "'Then, as for them [the hyenas], they just catch the meat [and] bring it for cooking'

(17) *èe   hìd-yîi   wá   í-bə̀   yáŋ   tə̀tə̀*
      ah   man-PL   DEM   PL-ASSC   move   3PL:POSS
      á   màcíŋ
      PRED   there
      "'Those people moved over there.'" (i.e., the woman with her family)

If the subject is third person pronominal, only the associative preposition with the third-person singular or plural pronoun is used:

(18) *á   n   kə̀də́m   ngə̀n   ɓə̀t*
      3SG   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
      'She took her calabash.'

      ábə̀   nd-á   ngə̀n   wùtá
      ASSC   go-GO   3SG.POSS   village
      'She returned home.'

In the texts we gathered, the associative preposition following the subject and preceding the predicate does not occur very often, which is evidence that it is not a clausal conjunction. In each case when the preposition is used in this specific syntactic environment, at least one of the participants changes place. The following example, the eighteenth sentence in a narrative, contains the first use of the associative preposition in this specific environment:

(19) ɓət   á   ɓət   yìm   wà   fɔk   á   fɔk-á
      take   3SG   take   water DEM   throw 3SG   throw-GO
      í-bə   ndə   tətàŋ
      3PL-ASSC   go   3PL
      'He took the water, threw it into the river, and they went away'.

The following fragment contains the first use of the associative preposition after the subject and before the verb in a text that before this fragment had about 25 sentences:

(20) ɓət   á   ɓət-á-ŋ   ǹdə   n   záván-yìi
      get   3SG   get-GO-3SG   beat   PREP   guinea fowl-PL
      wàcíŋ
      DEM
      'He grabbed it [his stick] and beat those guinea fowl.'

      kə   lìm   ntá
      INF   see   one
      'He hit one.'

      záván-yìi   í-bə   fir   tətàŋ
      guinea fowl-PL   PL-ASSC   flight 3PL.POSS
      'The guinea fowl flew away.'

The next two clauses again have participants leaving the scene:

(21) wàl   ngən   zá   áu   sə   dál-á-h
      wife   3SG   COMP INTERJ   1SG   do-GO-2SG
      mòná   wà   mí
      like   DEM   what
      'His wife said, "What did I do to you?"'

      í-bə   ndà   tòtò   wùtá
      PL-ASSC   go   3PL.POSS   village
      'They went home.'

Since the category of change of scene is not one that is frequently encountered in languages, it is important to provide convincing evidence for the hypothesis. Such evidence would have two components: The first is to show that all constructions of the type Subject Associative Verb

involve the subject leaving the previously mentioned scene. The following examples represent all of those occurring in the Texts section:

(22) *ndà   də́ɓ   á   də́ɓ-ú   ndə̀   lw-á*
      go   bring   3SG   bring-3SG   go   tell-GO
      ngùl   ngàn
      husband   3SG
      'She brought it and then she went to tell her husband.'

      yá   í-bə̀   ndə̀   tə̀tə̀   bíŋ
      call   PL-ASSC   go   3PL.POSS   room
      'They went into the room.'

(23) *séy   lù-á   dà   dà   á   d-á-ŋ   zə̀*
      then   ask   cook   cook   3SG   cook-GO-3SG   EE
      syì
      COM
      'Then the woman asked. It [the calabash] cooked for her [the woman].'

      bàhámán   ábə̀   ndá   ngàn
      Bahaman   ASSC   go   3SG.POSS
      'Bahaman went home.'

(24) *ndə̀ɗ   ká   n   skàn   ngàn   ɓə̀t*
      lay   down   PREP   thing   3SG   take
      'She put it down [and] took her thing.'

      ábə̀   ndá   ngàn   wùtá
      ASSC   go-GO   3SG   village
      'Then she returned to her village.' (She had been in the bush with the stick.)

(25) *ndə̀   ʒə̀gám syì   màl   á   màl-á-ŋ   tə̀*
      go   talk   COM   hit   3SG   hit-GO-3SG   3PL
      ǹdə̀   tə̀tə̀   mà   bá   syì
      strike   3PL   there   again   COM
      'They talked [to the stick]. It started beating them over there again.'

kàyífì   *í-bɔ̀*   *nd-á*   *tɔ̀tàŋ*
strange (F.)   PL-ASSC   go-GO 3PL
'Never seen before [a stick hitting people on its own]. They left [the court].'

(26)   *áa*   *dámà*   *wàl*   *wà*   *bà*   *á*
      ah,   good   woman   DEM   again   3SG
      lúw-á-ŋ   *tàŋ*
      say-GO-3SG   3PL
      '"It's good," the woman told them again.'

      ábɔ̀   *ndɔ̀*   *ngɔ̀n*   *n*   *kílvíd-yîi*
      ASSC   go   3SG   PREP   trash heap-PL
      'She went to the trash heaps.'

(27)   *íf*   *á*   *íf-é*   *tɔ̂*   *n*   *fɔ̀rɔ́m*   *wá*   *dàp*
      blow   3SG   blow-GO   GEN   PREP   horn   DEM   only
      'She blew that which was in the horn.'

      vènjéh   *tûl*   *kwáykwá-yîi*   *tíŋ*   *tíŋ*   *tíŋ*
      pepper   spread   hyena-PL   heap   heap   heap
      mɔ̀ts
      dead
      'The pepper spread, and the hyenas were lying around dead,'

      séy   *mɔ̀tábù*   *ábɔ̀*   *šì*   *ngɔ̀n*
      except   last born   ASSC   flee   3SG
      'except for the last born: he fled.'

If the subject is the same, the sequential clause is marked by the verb *ndá* 'go': The next example follows the preceding one in the narrative:

(28)   *ndɔ̀*   *dzáŋ*   *á*   *dzáŋ*   *dàkáy t-yîi*   *dámù*
      go   find   3SG   find   other   PL   bush
      'He went to search for others in the bush.'

(29)   *mbí*   *fɔk*   *á*   *fɔk fɔk-á-ŋ*   *kà*   *ábɔ̀*
      3SG   discard 3SG   discard-GO-3SG   POS   ASSC
      nd-á   *ngɔ̀ŋ*
      go-GO 3SG
      'He left it for him, and he returned.'

The change of scene is not constrained by any temporal factor, as evidenced by the following example, where the subject leaves the scene immediately after he has arrived:

(30) *tséy   mbí   kúrək   ábə̀   nd-á   ngə̀n*
      so   3SG   descend   ASSC   go-GO   3SG
      'When he came down, he returned.'

8. New action and its consequence

The verb *ɗìyà* 'put' can function as an auxiliary verb. The evidence that the verb *ɗìyà* is the verb "to put" is provided by clauses where it is followed by the object that is put down:

(31) *nd-á   ɗìyà   í   ɗì   ɓámbáy   wá*
      go-GO   put   3PL   put   stick   DEM
      kə́   n   fádə̀   tə́   dàp
      POS   PREP   court (F.)   DED   only
      'They came and put the stick in the court of the chief.'

As an auxiliary, the verb *ɗìyà* is used under two simultaneous conditions: when the activity is new for the subject and when the listener should expect some follow-up on this activity. Since the proposed category is not commonly encountered in linguistic literature, the following discussion includes all the examples found in the "Texts" appended to the grammar. The support for the proposed hypothesis consists of three arguments: (1) All clauses where *ɗìyà* is used are followed by another clause that is logically linked with the clause with *ɗìyà*. (2) The clause with *ɗìyà* is never used as the last clause of a narrative. (3) The clause with *ɗìyà* is never followed by the end-of-event marker *za*:

(32) *séy,   áb   dùwə́ŋ mbéŋ   làkwát mà*
      then (H.)   ASSC   back   ANAPH   river   REL
      nd-à-y   zá
      go-GO-STAT   EE
      'And afterwards a river came.'

      hìd-yîi   wá   í   ɗìy-á   ɓáŋ   làkwát
      man-PL   DEM   3PL   start-GO   cross   river
      'When the men started crossing the river,'

cìkíɗ	*tá*	*gwídîŋ*	*ndàv*	*ká*
sesame	GEN	single	fall	POS

'a single sesame seed fell down.'

Here are two fragments illustrating the logical linkage of the clause marked by *ɗîy-á*. An action of the subject in the first clause brings through consequences described in the second clause:

(33)

mà	*mbír*	*mbír*	*ván*	*dâ*	*rá*	*ɗîy-á*
REL	jump	jump	rain	draw	D.HABstart-GO	

mbìr	*nà*	*máŋ*
jump	PREP	ANAPH

cìɗék	*cìɗék*	*cìɗék*	*cìɗék*	*cìɗék*
ideophone				

'The one who jumps, when the rain was falling, he started to jump in it.'

ván	*kâ*	*mbàlém*	*ɗá*	*skù*
rain	INF	touch	exist	NEG

'The rain did not touch him.'

(34)

mìɗ	*žì*	*míndéŋ*	*mà*	*téwél*	*ɓámbáy*	*ɓât*
and	then	other	REL	twirl	stick	take

ɓámbáy	*ɗîy-á*	*téwél*
stick	start-GO	twirl

ɗîy-á	*téwél*	*ɗîy-á*	*téwél*
start-GO	twirl	start-GO	twirl

á	*tàlàŋ*	*ngàn*
PRED	head	3SG

'The other, the one who twirls the stick, took the stick and started to twirl, started to twirl, started to twirl [it] above his head.'

hál	*tá*	*ɓámbáy*	*ngàn*	*fúu*	*tàn*
limit	GEN	stick	3SG	all	DED

ván	*kâ*	*mbàlém*	*ɗä*	*skù*
rain	INF	touch	exist	NEG

'The area delimited by his stick, the rain did not touch it.'

The clause with the auxiliary *ɗîyà* may have the same subject as the preceding clause:

(35) | *pàts* | *ntá* | *náz* | *náz* | *náz* | *náz* | *á* | *náz* |
      |--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|
      | took | one | throw | throw | throw | throw | 3SG | throw |

tàŋ	*á*	*nə̀*	*yə̀m*	*wàhíŋ*
DED	PRED	PREP	water	DEM

'He took one [page] after another and threw them upon the water.'

dĩyà	*pàts*	*ngàz*	*nə̀*	*mə̀n*		*pàts pàts pàts pats*
start	put	foot	PREP	ANAPH		put put put put put

pàts	*pàts*	*ɓàŋ*	*tsám*	*tsám*	*déréwól*	*ngə̀n*
put	cross	pick up	pick up		paper (F.)	3SG

ká	*kó*	*mà*	*lə̀ɓ-yí*	*dá*	*skù*
POS	QUANT	REL	wet-STAT	exist	NEG

'He started to walk on them, walked, walked, until he crossed the river; then he picked up his paper. Not even one page was wet.'

The clause following the clause with *dĩyà* does not have to be a consequence of the preceding clause. But the listener knows, that if *dĩyà* is used, something else must follow:

(36) | *mà* | *ndá-y* | *zə̀* | *á* | *ìdá* | *séy* | *nd-á* |
      |------|---------|-------|-----|-------|-------|--------|
      | REL | go-GO-STAT | EE | PRED| home | then | go-GO |

dà
cook

'When she returned home, she cooked.'

í	*dĩyá*	*zə̀m*
3PL	put	eat

'They started to eat.'

ngùl	*ngə̀n*	*zá*	*wàl*	*nàn*
husband	3SG	COMP	wife	1SG

'Her husband said, "My wife,'

The subject of the auxiliary *dĩyà* does not have to be agentive:

(37) séy   wàl   ngàn   táŋ   á   nd   rà
     so   wife   3SG   DED   3SG go   D.HAB
     wàcín syì   wírnjìk   dïyà bàk-áhà
     DEM   COM   ash   start pour-GO
     cìdë' cìdë' cìdë'   cìdë' á   kàtàf
     pile   pile   pile   pile   PRED road
     'When his wife was going, ashes poured out in small piles on the
     road.'

     séy   mà   ngùl   ngùl   tìy   á   tìy-ú   wàl
     so   REL   husband husband see   3SG   see-3SG   wife
     tsú   zà   dámù
     went   EE   bush
     'So the husband saw that the wife went to the bush.'

The importance of the marker *dïyà* is that it is not predictable from any
other element of grammar or discourse.

(38) skàn   nàm   dzáŋ   skàn   syì   há   dïyà   gáy
     thing   1DU   find   thing   COM   2SG   put   spoil
     kà
     POS
     'The thing we found, you are ruining it.'

     nám   kà   tì   tàŋ
     1DU   INF   see   DED
     'We'll see about this.'

The auxiliary with *dïyà* may follow a clause with the inceptive
marker *ɓàt* 'take'.

(39) séy   ǳámbáy   nákà   kà   ɓàt   zà
     so   stick   REM   INF   take   EE
     dàp
     immediately
     'So the stick took off immediately.'

^hWáp   ^hWáp   ^hWáp   dïyà   gòld   wàl   wàhín
bap   bap   bap   put   hit   woman   DEM
'Wap, wap, wap, it started to hit the woman' (^hW=plosive with lower lip curled far back behind the teeth. The articulation is accompanied by the voiced velar fricative.)

wàl   wá   hàŋ   hàŋ   kà   dál   vàŋgáyá
woman   DEM   cry   cry   INF   do   how   3SG
sàn   skà   bà
know   NEG   again
'This woman cried, "What should I do?" She did not know!'"

The clause following *dïyà* may describe an event that is the opposite of what one would have expected from the preceding clause but that is nevertheless linked to the preceding clause:

(40)   bàhámàn   nd-á   gàr
       Bahaman   go-GO   stand
       'Bahaman went and stood.'

       dïyà   séitin   go   wàcíŋ syì
       start   muezzin's   call   DEM   COM
       'He started to make the call,'

       kó   wàl   nd   rà   skù
       but   neck   go   D.HAB   NEG
       'but the voice did not go out as before.'

The auxiliary *dïyà* may occur following another verb, but it still retains its function of directing the listener's attention to the next clause:

(41)   ndà   dïyà   dà   á   ìdá
       go   put   cook   PRED   home
       'Then she returned home to cook.'

       séy   tì   á   tì   á   kà   mbáŋ
       so   see   3SG   see   like   that   ANAPH
       á   dál   rà   skù
       3SG   do   D.HAB   NEG
       'Then she saw that one does not do it like that.'

The clause following *dĩyà* may have a different subject than the clause with *dĩyà*. The link between the two clauses is the unity of time:

(42)   *pá*   *tà*   *ngùl*   *ngàn*
       distribute in parts   DED husband   3SG
       'She gave a part [of the food] to her husband,'

       àa   *wàzí*   *ábà* *tà* *ngàn* *i*   ***dĩyà*** *zàm*
       children-PL ASSC GEN 3SG 3PL put   eat
       '[and] to her children, and they started to eat.'

       kwáykwá-yìì *í*   *mà*   *nd-à-y*   *zá*
       hyena-PL   3PL   REL go-GO-STAT EE
       'The hyenas came.'

       dĩyà *lù*   *tà dáp*   *á*   *wàzí*   *tùk-yìì*
       put   say continue   PRED children   2S-PL
       dáy *dáy* *dáy* *á*   *tán* *fĩs*
       a lot a lot a lot PRED 1SG little
       'He kept on saying, "For your children its a lot, for me it is little."'

       séy *hìdì* *wà* *zá*   *á*   *fàkát*
       then people DEM COMP   INTERJ true (F.)
       'Then those people [the hyenas] said, "Ha, it is true."'

9. Conclusions

The use of the comment-clause marker *syì* is motivated by the speaker's relating the proposition to the expectation that one may have given the discourse line. It reflects the speaker's attitude toward the proposition. Like many other complementizers (cf. Frajzyngier 1995, 1996), even when the marker occurs between two clauses within a sentence, it has a modal function.

    The change-of-scene construction consisting of the subject followed by the associative marker *áb* or *íb* for plural subjects indicates that the one of the participants in the event has moved to another place. Thus, the existence of the construction indicates that the unity of place in narration is the norm, and the change of place must be overtly coded.

The auxiliary *dïyà* used before a verb alerts the listener that the clause that follows is directly linked to the clause that has *dïyà*.

Texts

Text 1. The year of hunger

(1)　*tár　láy　tá　mìtã̂s*
　　month time　GEN　hunger
　　'The year of the hunger.'

(2)　*hìd-yìi　　wà⁴　i　tàtà　màkád*
　　man-PL　　DEM 3PL 3PL　three
　　'There were three men'

(3)　*i　ndà　kà　bèr-é　　cìkíd bùhù　　　ntá*
　　3PL　go　INF　sell-GO　　sesame bag (F.)　　one
　　'They were going to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

(4)　*ngàd　ngàd　i　ngàd cíké'　zà　ká*
　　count count 3PL　count all　EE　POS
　　'They counted all [the sesame seeds].' (The form *ká* was first given when the speaker repeated the recorded sentence.)

(5)　*dzàw　i　dzàw-ú　　á　dùwán*
　　attach 3PL　attach-3SG　PRED back
　　màdìngwàrzé
　　donkey
　　'They attached it to the back of the donkey.'

---

4. In a version of the same story recited by another speaker, instead of the demonstrative wà, the phrase final form *wècín* was used.

(6)   *í   nd-rá   í   nd-rá   vàŋ   wà   kə́*
      3PL   walk-D.HAB   3PL   walk-D.HAB   rain   start   INF
      dà
      draw water
      'While they were walking, rain started to fall.'

(7)   *dá   dá   á   dà   wàné*
      draw:GO   draw:GO   3SG   draw   a lot (F.)
      'It rained a lot.'

(8)   *séy,   áb   dùwə́ŋ   mbéŋ   làkwát   mà*
      then (H.)   ASSC   back   ANAPH   river   REL
      nd-à-y   zá
      go-GO-STAT EE
      'And afterwards a river came.'

(9)   *hìd-yîi   wá   í   dǐy-á   ɓáŋ   làkwát*
      man-PL   DEM   3PL   start-GO   cross   river
      'When the men started crossing the river,'

(10) *cìkíɗ   tə́   gwídíŋ   ndə̀v   ká   [ndə̀f]*
      sesame   GEN   single   fall   POS
      'a single sesame seed fell down.'

(11) *mà   ɓím ɓím   zá   cìkíɗ   mà*
      REL   listen listen COMP   sesame   REL
      ndə̀v-yì   zá
      fall-STAT   EE
      'The one who was good at listening said, "A sesame seed fell down."'

(12) *ɓàŋ   í   ɓàŋ   zá*
      cross   3PL   cross   EE
      'They crossed [the river].'

---

5. In another version of this story, the noun phrase *làkwátù wà* 'the river' follows the verb.

(13)   *mà   ngə́ɗ   ngə́ɗ   pə̀l   á   pə̀l   bàtákàr*
      REL   count   count   detach 3SG   detach bag
      ngə̀ɗ   ngə̀ɗ
      count   count
      'The one who was good at counting detached the bag and counted [the seeds].'

(14)   *mà   tə́   gwídîn dá   skù*
      REL   GEN   single exist   NEG
      'One grain was missing.'

(15)   *pə̀l   míndéŋ   dámdámà*
      detach another   normal
      'He detached the other—[was] normal.'

(16)   *tsáy   mà   tíy   tíy   nd-à   nástə́*
      then   REL   look   look   go-GO   enter (F.)
      nà   yə̀m
      PREP water
      'Then the one who was good at looking entered the water.'

(17)   *tíl   á   nà   yə̀m   tə́   áb   dùwə́ŋ*
      go   PRED PREP water   DED   ASSC back
      mbéŋ   tìy   tìy   á   tìy-ú
      ANAPH   look   look   3SG   look-3SG
      'He entered into water and he searched for it [the sesame seed].'

(18)   *dzáŋ   á   dzán-á   mà   tə́   gwídîn nákà*
      find   3SG   find-GO   REL   GEN   single REM
      wèhíŋ
      DEM
      'He found the one sesame seed of those [that were counted].

(19)   *nd-á   náz   á   náz   kə́   nà   láy   tàŋ*
      go-GO throw   3SG   throw   POS   PREP place   DED
      'He went and threw it into its place [in the bag].'

(20)   *mà   mbə́ɗ   ví*
      REL   surpass   who
      'Who is superior?'

Not on tape. After the tale is told, there may be a discussion, usually concluded by the story teller. The preceding tale may end in the following conclusion:

(21) *mà   mbə́ɗ   dá   skù*
      REL   surpass   exist   NEG
      'Nobody is superior!'

or

(22) *í   prák   prák*
      3PL   equal   equal
      'They are all equal.'

Text 2. The four men

(1) *hìd-yîi   wècín í   tə̀tə̀   nfáɗ*
     man-PL   DEM   3PL   3PL   four
     'There were four men:'

(2) *míndéŋ   à   ndí   lə́m   bíŋ*
     another   3SG   HAB   build   house
     'One builds a house.'

(3) *míndéŋ   à   ndí   téwél   ɓámbáy*
     another   3SG   HAB   twirl   stick
     'Another twirls a stick.'

(4) *míndéŋ   à   pə̀dǎk njûl*
     another   3SG   split   grass (a certain variety)
     'Another splits a stalk of grass.'

(5) *míndéŋ   à   ndí   mbìr*
     another   3SG   HAB   jump
     'Another jumps.'

(6) *íi   zék   yàw*   [žék]
     3PL   make   competition
     'They had a competition.'

(7)   *hìdì*   *wèhíŋ*   *à*   *zá*   *ván*   *á*   *n*   *kɔ́*
          man   DEM   3SG   COMP rain   3SG   PREP   INF
          dã̀   *á*   *gɔ̀r*   *kɔ̀*   *nd-á-k*   *kɔ̀sɔ́m*
          fall   3SG   want   INF   touch-GO-1SG   body
          skù
          NEG
          'This man said, "Rain, when it falls, will not touch me."'

(8)   *kóo*   *ví*   *zá*   *sɔ̀*   *déy*   *á*   *kì*
          QUANT   who   COMP   1SG   also   PRED   like
          mbéŋ
          ANAPH
          'Each one of them said, "Same with me."'

(9)   *ván*   *dá*   *rà*   *mɔ̀ná*   *á*   *nɔ̀*
          rain   draw:GO   D.HAB   like   PRED   PREP
          lúmò
          market
          'It was raining from the direction of the market.'

(10)   *mɔ̀*   *lɔ́m*   *bíŋ*   *rá*   *drĭš*   *ngádʼ*   *drĭš*
          REL   build   house   dig   mud   mix   mud
          'The one who builds a house dug the mud, mixed the mud,'

          lɔ́m   *bíŋ*   *ɓá*   *hàmás*   *nd-à*   *hɔ̀ɓ*   *ká*
          build   house   cut   straw   go-GO   thatch   POS
          wán   *kɔ́*   *nɔ̀*   *mɔ́ŋ*
          lie   inside   PREP   LOC.ANAPH
          built a home, cut some straw, thatched the roof, and lay down inside it.'

(11)   *ván*   *wílkíl*   *kɔ́*   *ndá-hà*
          rain   fail   INF   go-GO
          'The rain failed to come in.'

(12)   *mà*   *mbír*   *mbír*   *ván*   *dâ*   *rá*   *dǐy-á*
      REL   jump   jump   rain   draw   D.HAB   start-GO
      mbìr   *nà*   *mâŋ*
      jump   PREP   ANAPH
      cìdĕk   *cìdĕk*   *cìdĕk*   *cìdĕk*   *cìdĕk*
      ideophone
      'The one who jumps, when the rain was falling, he started to jump in it.'

(13)   *ván*   *kâ*   *mbàlém*   *dǎ*   *skù*
      rain   INF   touch   exist   NEG
      'The rain did not touch him.'

(14)   *mìd*   *žì*   *mindéŋ*   *mà*   *téwél*   *ɓámbáy*   *ɓât*
      and   then   other   REL   twirl   stick   take
      ɓámbáy   *dǐy-á*   *téwél*   *dǐy-á*   *téwél*
      Stick   start-GO   twirl   start-GO   twirl
      dǐy-á   *téwél*   *á*   *tàlàŋ*   *ngàn*
      start-GO   twirl   PRED   head   3SG
      'The other, the one who twirls the stick, took the stick and started to twirl, started to twirl, started to twirl [it] above his head.'

(15)   *hál*   *tâ*   *ɓámbáy*   *ngàn*   *fúu*   *tàŋ*
      limit   GEN   stick   3SG   all   DED
      ván   *kâ*   *mbàlém*   *dǎ*   *skù*
      rain   INF   touch   exist   NEG
      'The area delimited by his stick, the rain did not touch it.'

(16)   *mà*   *pàdǎk*   *njûl*   *ɓât*   *pàdǎk*   *á*   *pàdǎk-á*
      REL   split   grass   take   split   3SG   split-GO
      nástà   *ngàn*   *nà*   *mâŋ*
      enter (F.)   3SG   PREP   LOC.ANAPH
      'The one who splits grass split a stalk of grass and entered it.'

(17)   *tsú*   *ngàn*   *kâ*   *nà*   *mân*   *ván*   *kâ*
      go   3SG   inside   PREP   LOC.ANAPH   rain   INF
      mbàlém   *dǎ*   *skù*
      touch   exist   NEG
      'He entered it [the grass], and the rain did not touch him.'

(18)   *mà*   *mbáɗ*   *žì*   *ví*
        REL   surpass   then   who
        'Who is superior?'

(19)   *dá*   *skù*
        exist   NEG
        "Nobody.'

(20)   *fúu*   *tàŋ*   *í*   *kàlkàl*
        all   DED   3PL   equal (F.)
        'All are equal!' ('equal' in Mina is *prák prák*)

Text 3. The three men

(1)   *hìdì-yíi*   *wèhíŋ*   *í*   *tàtà*   *màkáɗ*
        man-PL   DEM 3PL   3PL   three
        'There were three men.'

(2)   *í*   *ndà*   *ká*   *ɓàɗ-á*   *wàlà*
        3PL   go   INF   woe-GO   woman
        'They went to woo a woman.'

(3)   *míndí* *wàcín* *màllúm*
        other   DEM   teacher
        'One is a teacher.'

(4)   *míndí* *wàcín* *gáw*
        other   DEM   hunter
        'Another is a hunter.'

(5)   *míndí* *wàcín* *màšíl*
        other   DEM   thief
        'Another is a thief.'

(6)   *í*   *nd-rá*   *í*   *nd-rá*   *í*   *nd-rá*
        3PL go-D.HAB   3PL go-D.HAB   3PL go-D.HAB
        ndà *dzáŋ* *làkwát* *mà* *nd-à-y*   *zá*
        go   find   river   REL go-GO-STAT   EE
        'They were going, going, going, till they came to a river, which was filled up.'

(7) nòk   kà   dǎl   žì   vàŋgáy   kà   ɓáŋ
     1PL   INF   do   then   how   INF   cross
     làkwát wàcín
     river DEM
     "'How are we going to cross this river?'" (žì phrase-internal, žèn
     phrase-final)

(8) màllúm   zá   á   táŋ   wérèh-nà
     teacher COMP PRED GEN:1SG   trick-1SG
     dǎhà
     exist
     'The teacher said, "As for me, I have my means."'
(9) ɓàt   á   ɓàt   déftà   ngàn
     take   3SG   take   Koran (F.) 3SG
     'He took his Koran.'

(10) pàts   ntá   náz   náz   náz   náz   á   náz
     took   one   throw throw throw throw 3SG   throw
     tàŋ   á   nà   yàm   wàhíŋ
     DED   PRED PREP   water DEM
     'He took one [page] after another and threw them upon the wa-
     ter.'

(11) dìyà   pàts   ngàz   nà   màn
     start put   foot   PREP   ANAPH
     pàts   pàts   pàts   pats   pats   pàts
     put   put   put   put   put   put
     ɓàŋ   tsám   tsám   déréwól   ngàn   ká   kó
     cross pick up pick up paper (F.) 3SG   POS   QUANT
     mà   làɓ-í   dǎ   skù
     REL   wet-STAT   exist NEG
     'He started to walk on them, walked, walked, till he crossed the
     river; then he picked up his paper. Not even one page was wet.'

(12) gáw   zá   á   táŋ   déy   sà   n   ká
     hunter COMP PRED 1SG   also   1SG   PREP INF
     ɓàŋ   táŋ
     cross DED
     'The hunter said, "Me too, I will cross it."'

(13) *ɓàt   á   ɓàt   gàdéɗ ngàn ɓál   ɓál   ɓál   á*
    take   3SG   take   arrow 3SG   shoot shoot shoot 3SG
    ɓál   á   nà   làkwát wà   cü`r   rá
    shoot   PRED   PREP   river   DEM   straight (F.)   D.HAB
    'He took his arrows and shot them straight into the river.'

(14) *á   ndá-r   báts   àn   ngáz   ánà   màn*
    3SG   walk-PROG   put   PREP   foot   PREP   L.ANAPH
    báts   àn   ngáz   ánà   màn   ʒán   ngàn
    put   PREP   foot   PREP   L.ANAPH   cross   3SG
    'As he was walking, he stepped on them, one after another, [and]
    he crossed the river'

(15) *màšíl   wà   ɗëù   á   nzà   ká*
    steal   DEM   remain   3SG   stay   POS
    á   zá   í   fká-kw   á   s
    3SG   COMP   3PL   leave-GO-1SG   PRED   1SG
    ží   vù (u fronted)
    then   Q
    'The thief remained there and said, "Is it me that they left
    alone?"'

(16) *ɓán   ɓán   á   ɓán   wècín skàn   wà*
    think   think   3SG   think   DEM   thing DEM
    á   nd-r   ká   mbáɗ-á-ŋ   sémbè
    3SG   go-PROG   INF   surpass-GO-1SG   strength (F.)
    'He thought and thought about it, "This thing is going to surpass
    me."'

(17) *séy   ɓàt   á   ɓàt   màšíl   á   màšíl   yìm*
    then   take   3SG   take   steal   3SG   steal   water
    wà   náz   á   náz   ngàn   ká   nà   jíɓà
    DEM   throw   3SG   throw   3SG   PREP   PREP   pocket
    ʒán   á   ʒán   zà
    cross   3SG   cross   EE
    'Then he up and stole the water, threw it into his pocket, and
    crossed [the river].'

(18) *ɓ̀ət   á   ɓ̀ət   yìm   wà   fə̀k   á   fə̀k -á*
        take   3SG   take   water   DEM   throw   3SG   throw-GO
      í-bə̀   ndə̀   tə̀tàŋ
      3PL-ASSC   go   3PL
      'He took the water, threw it into the river, and they went away.'

(19) *ndə́   dzáŋ   wàl   wèhín   ví   fú   á*
        went   find   woman   DEM   all   all   3SG
      gíž-ù   á   gíž   tə́   ngə̀n
      say-3SG   3SG   say   GEN   3SG
      á   gíž   tə́   ngə̀n
      3SG   say   DED   3SG
      'They went to find the woman. They were talking, and each of
      them was telling his story.'

(20) *séy   wàl   wà   zá   wà   sə́   n   kə́*
        then   woman   DEM   COMP   but   1SG   PREP   INF
      máy   wá   ží   ví   hí   fú   tàŋ   hí
      choose   DEM   then   who   2PL   all   DED   2PL
      kálkál
      equal (F.)
      'Then the woman said, "Who am I going to choose? You are all
      equal."'

Text 4. In the time of famine

Speaker Ahmadu Umaru
Text recorded and translated by Adrian Edwards, typed and first ana-
lyzed by Eric Johnston. Tonal transcription and present analysis by
Zygmunt Frajzyngier.
Language Assistant: Saibu

(1)   *tə̀r   láy   tə́   mìtĩš*
        month   time   GEN   hunger
        'In a time of famine:'

(2)   *hìdì   wàcíŋ   í-bə̀   wàl   ngə̀n*
        man   DEM   PL-ASSC   wife   3SG
        'This man with his wife'

(3) *mbù mbù í mbù wə̀žî gwádʼ*
give birth(x2) 3PL give birth children many
'had many children.'

(4) *wàl ngə̀n à ndí ndə̀ kə̀ dʼá tìpídʼ*
wife 3SG 3SG HAB go INF draw termites
'His wife had the habit of going to look for termites.'
(*dʼá* 'to fetch, to draw'. A clay pot filled with fresh cow dung, cut
sorghum stems and dead leaves put next to a termite hill over-
night. The next morning it is filled with termites which can be
drawn out like water from a well.)

(5) *kə́ ndə̀ zə́ fú ndə̀ dzáŋ záván-yîì*
INF go EE always go find guinea fowl-PL
í màr rà
3PL graze D.HAB
'Each time she went, she found guinea fowl grazing.'

(6) *záván-yîì zá fəd-á ná*
guinea fowl-PL COMP shave-GO 1PL
tàlàn kə́ gí
head POS please
'The guinea fowl said "Shave our heads, please."'

(7) *séy à ndí fəd-á-ŋ tà tàlàn*
so (H.) 3SG HAB shave-GO-3SG 3PL head
fəd fəd fəd
shave shave shave
'So, she would shave their heads. Shave, shave, shave.'

(8) *lìm-é té gwídîŋ ngà ká ɓàh ká*
see-GO one only break POS hide POS
'Each time she would kill just one and hide it.'

(9) *túm à ndí dʼàl kə̀ mbéŋ*
always (F.) 3SG HAB do PREP ANAPH
'She always did that.'

(10) má   nd-à-y   zá   á   ìdá   séy
     REL   go-GO-STAT   EE   PRED   home   then
     nd-á   dà
     go-GO   cook
     'When she returned home, she cooked [it].'

(11) í   dǐy-á   zə̀m
     3PL   put-GO   eat
     'They started to eat.'

(12) ngùl   ngə̀n   zá   wàl   nàn
     husband   3SG   COMP   wife   1SG
     'Her husband said, "My wife,'

(13) hà   ndí   dzán-á   nám   skə̀n   mə̀ná   wà
     2SG   HAB   find-GO   1DU   thing   like   DEM
     tíkì
     where
     'where do you find us things like this?"'

(14) dà   sə̀   hìɬdìɓ-é-h   kràp
     wait   1SG   sew-GO-2SG   shoe
     '"Wait, let me sew you some shoes."'

(15) hìɬdìɓ   hìɬdìɓ   á   hìɬdìɓ-é-ŋ   kràp   wàhíŋ
     sew   sew   3SG   sew-GO-3SG   shoe   DEM
     'He sewed and sewed and sewed the shoes for her.'

(16) bə̀k   bə̀k   á   bə̀k-á-ŋ   ɓə̀   wírnjìk kə́
     fill   fill   3SG   fill-GO-3SG   ASSC   ash   POS
     nə̀   mə̀ŋ
     PREP   LOC.ANAPH
     'He filled them with ashes.'

(17)　*séy*　*wàl*　*ngàn*　*táŋ*　*á*　*nd*　*rà*
　　　so　wife　3SG　DEM　3SG　go　D.HAB
　　　wàcín　*syì*　*wírnjìk*　　*dǐy-à*　　　*bàk-áhà*
　　　DEM　COM　ash　　　start-GO　　pour-GO
　　　cìdě'　*cìdě'*　*cìdě'*　*cìdě'*　*á*　*kàtàf*
　　　pile　pile　pile　pile　PRED　road
　　　'When his wife was going, ashes poured out in small piles on the
　　　road.'

(18)　*séy*　*mà*　*ngùl ngùl*　　*tìy*　*á*　*tìy-ù*
　　　so　REL　husband　　　see　3SG　see-3SG
　　　wàl　*tsú*　*zò*　*dámù*
　　　wife　went　EE　bush
　　　'So the husband saw that the wife went to the bush.'

(19)　*ɓàt*　*á*　*ɓàt*　*ɓámbáy*　*ngàn*　*dǐyà*　*žéɓ*
　　　get　3SG　get　stick　　　3SG　put　　follow
　　　tàŋ
　　　DED
　　　'He got his stick and went to follow her.'

(20)　*ngàzù*　*wá*　*tú*　*wàl*　*nàŋ*　*ngàzù*　*wá*　*tú*　*wàl*
　　　foot　DEM　GEN　wife　1SG　foot　DEM　GEN　wife
　　　nàŋ　*ngàzù*　*wá*　*tú*　*wàl*　*nàŋ*
　　　1SG　foot　DEM　GEN　wife　1SG
　　　'That is my wife's foot, that is my wife's foot, that is my wife's
　　　foot.'

(21)　*žèɓ*　*žèɓ*　*á*　*žèɓ-ù*　　*ndà*　*dzáŋ*　*wàl*
　　　follow　follow　3SG　follow-3SG　go　find　wife
　　　ngàn　*nákáhà*
　　　3SG　REM
　　　'He followed and followed and found his wife,'

(22)　*ká*　*dà*　*tìpíd*　　*tsáy*　*zà*
　　　INF　gather　termites　　finish　EE
　　　'who had finished getting termites'

(23) à   fə́d-á-ŋ   tàlàn   tə́
      3SG   shave-GO-3SG   head   GEN
      záván-yîi   r   bàhá
      guinea fowl-PL   D.HAB   again
      'and was shaving the heads of the guinea fowl again.'

(24) séy   á   nə̀   ɓámbáy   ngə̀n   ɓə̀t
      so   3SG   PREP   stick   3SG   grab
      'Then he grabbed his stick.'

(25) ɓə̀t   á   ɓə̀t-á-ŋ   ǹdə́   n   záván-yîi
      get   3SG   get-GO-3SG   beat   PREP   guinea fowl-PL
      wàcíŋ
      DEM
      'He grabbed it [his stick] and beat those guinea fowl.'

(26) kə́   lìm   ntá
      INF   see   one
      'He hit one.'

(27) záván-yîi   í-bə̀   fìr   tə̀tàŋ
      guinea fowl-PL   PL-ASSC   flight 3PL:POSS
      'The guinea fowl flew away.'

(28) wàl   ngə̀n   zá   áu   sə̀   dál-á-h
      wife   3SG   COMP   INTERJ   1SG   do-GO-2SG
      mə̀ná   wà   mí
      like   DEM   what
      'His wife said,"What did I do to you?"'

(29) íbə̀   ndà   tə̀tà   wùtá
      ASSC:PL   go   3PL.POSS   village
      'They went home.'

(30) ndá   zə̀m   zə̀m   nákà   wà   zá
      go   eat   eat   REM   DEM   EE
      'They returned and ate that one' (i.e. the guinea fowl that the
      man killed).

(31) wàl   wá   à   ndí   tàl   ngòn   dáp
      wife   DEM   3SG   HAB   walk   3SG   only
      à   ndí   tàl   ngòn   dáp   á   dámù
      3SG   HAB   walk 3SG   still PRED   bush
      'The wife still took walks in the bush' (despite the fact that her husband had killed the guinea fowl).

(32) séy   ndò   dzáŋ   á   dzáŋ-á   kòdóm
      so   go   find   3SG   find-GO   calabash
      á   dámù
      PRED   bush
      'While walking, she found a calabash in the bush.'

(33) lù   á   lùw-á-ŋ   nò   kòdóm   wàcíŋ
      say   3SG   say-GO-3SG PREP   calabash   DEM
      'She addressed this calabash.'

(34) kòdóm   vl-à-k   wùd   gí
      calabash   give-GO-1SG   food   POL
      '"Calabash, could you give me some food?"'

(35) séy   kòdóm   wá   dà   dà   á
      so   calabash   DEM   cook   cook   3SG
      d-á-ŋ   wùd   mòná   wà   mbá
      cook-GO-3SG   food   like   DEM   so
      pè   łé łé łé łé   á
      much   spread(4 times)   PRED
      mò   kòbóm   ngòŋ
      mouth face   3SG
      'So the calabash made a lot of food for her [and] spread [it] in front of her.'

(36) zòm   zòm   zòm   á   zòm   zá
      eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE
      'She ate and ate and ate' (until she was satisfied).'

(37) á   n   kòdóm   ngòn   ɓòt
      3SG   PREP   calabash   3SG   take
      'She took her calabash.'

(38) á   n   kə̀də́m   ngə̀n   ɓə̀t
     3SG   PREP calabash   3SG   take
     'She took her calabash.'

(39) ábə̀   nd-á   ngə̀n   wùtá
     ASSC go-GO   3SG.POSS   village
     'She returned home.'

(40) ndà   də́ɓ   á   də́ɓ-ú   ndə̀   lw-á
     go   bring   3SG   bring-3SG   go   tell-GO
     ngùl   ngə̀n
     husband   3SG
     'She brought it and then she went to tell her husband.'

(41) yá   í-bə̀   ndə̀   tə̀tə̀   bíŋ
     call   PL-ASSC   go   3PL.POSS   room
     'They went into the room.'

(42) ngùl-yíì   s   kə̀   dzán-á   nám   skə̀n   zá
     husband-PL   1SG   INF   find-GO   1DU   thing   EE
     '"My husband, I found us something."'

(43) mhm   kə̀də́m   wàcíŋ
     mhm   calabash   DEM
     '"Here is the calabash."' (woman still talking)

(44) hà   n   kə́   lùw-á-ŋ   vàŋgáy
     2SG   PREP INF   tell-GO-3SG   how
     '"How do you talk to it?"' (man talking)

(45) hà   n   kə́   zá   lùw-á-n   mə̀k
     2SG   PREP INF   COMP   tell-O-3SG   what
     '"What do you say to it?"' (error)

(46) kə̀də́m   vl-à-k   wùdə́   gí   tsáy   dàp
     calabash   give-GO-1SG   food   POL   finish only
     '"Calabash, could you give me some food?", just like that."'
     (woman talking)

(47) *tsáy   dàp*
     finish only
     '"That is all."'

(48) *mà   ngùl   ngùl   zá   kàdə́m*
     DEM husband   husband   COMP   calabash
     vl-á-k   wùdə́   gí
     give-GO-1SG food   POL
     'So, her husband said, "Calabash, could you give me some food?"'

(49) *kàdə́m   wá   dà   dà   dà   dà   á*
     calabash   DEM cook cook cook cook 3SG
     d-á-ŋ   wùdə́   mə̀ná   wà   kám
     cook-GO-3SG   food   like   DEM   TOP
     'The calabash made him a lot of food like that.'

(50) *gwáɗ tsáy zá*
     fill   finish EE
     'filled completely'

(51) *zə̀m   zə̀m   zə̀m   á   zə̀m   zá*
     eat   eat   eat   3SG   eat   EE
     'He ate a lot.'

(52) *pĭč   wà   ndə̀   gár   á   gár   kə́   dàp*
     Sun   DEM   go   stand   3SG   stand   POS only
     'Under this sun he went out and stood.'

(53) *kə́   fə̀k   wə̀l   zá*
     INF   give   neck   EE
     'He started to yell' (from joy).

(54) *séy   mìɗ   fə̀k*
     then   wind   give
     'Then a wind blew.'

(55) *báy   zá   ngwáy   tòr   láy   tô   mìtíš*
      chief COMP INTERJ   month time   GEN   hunger
      mòná   wàcíŋ
      like   DEM
      'The chief said, "Oh, during the time of hunger like this,'

(56) *syì   bàhámán   à   dzò   wúl   wàcíŋ syì*
      COM   Bahama   3SG   cry   neck   DEM   COM
      '"Bahaman is yelling over there."'

(57) *à   ʒìm-é   nòk   mí*
      3SG   listen-GO   1PL   what
      '"What has he heard for us?"' (What kind of news does he have for us?)

(58) *hí   ndò   déf-é-ŋ   mà*
      2PL   go   show-GO-3SG   mouth
      '"Go call him."' [lit. 'show him mouth']

(59) *ndò   yá   í   y-ú*
      go   call   3PL   call-3SG
      'And they called him.'

(60) *Bàhámàn   tíl   á   nd-á*
      Bahaman   go   3SG   go-GO
      'Bahaman left' (immediately after he was called).

(61) *ah   Bàhámàn   á   túk   bákà   syì   ták*
      oh   Bahaman   PRED   GEN:2SG   today COM   all
      pìč   wàhín syì
      sun   DEM   COM
      '"Oh, Bahaman, for you, with all this heat?"'

(62) *à   túk   há   bóŋ   rò   skù   wúl*
      for   you   2SG   think D.HAB   NEG   neck
      béł   rà   wá   syì
      break D.HAB   DEM   COM
      '"You are not thinking, you are yelling with joy."'

(63)   *hà*   *lìm-é*   *nòk*   *mí*
        2SG   see-GO   1PL.INCL   what
        '"What have you found for us?"'

(64)   *àa*   *bárkàmà*   *wàl*   *nà*   *kà*   *dzán-á*
        ah   chief   wife   1SG   INF   find-GO
        skàn   *pár*   *zà*   *dáhà*
        thing   strange   EE   exist
        '"Ah, my chief, there is something my wife found."'

(65)   *skàn*   *tà*   *nzà*   *vàngáy*
        thing   GEN   be   how
        '"What is the form of this thing?"' ('What is this thing?')

(66)   *à*   *à*   *dzán-á*   *kàdàm*
        ah   3SG   find-GO   calabash
        '"She found a calabash."'

(67)   *àa*   *ndà*   *ɓàt-à*   *nòk*   *skú*   *syì*
        ah   go   get-GO   1PL   NEG   COM
        á   *vàngáy*
        PRED   how
        '"Ah, go bring it to us, otherwise what can we do?"'

(68)   *à*   *zá*   *hí*   *ɮ-àŋ*   *hìdì*
        3SG   COMP   2PL   send-3SG   man
        'He [the man] said, "Send somebody.'

(69)   *ɮáŋ*   *í*   *ɮáŋ*   *hìd-yìì*   *ndà*   *ɓàt*   *í*
        send   3PL   send   man-PL   go   get   3PL
        ɓàt-á-ŋ   *kàdàm*   *wàcíŋ*   *dà*   *í*
        get-GO-3SG   calabash   DEM   bring   3PL
        dà-há-w
        bring-GO-3SG
        'They sent people and they went and got the calabash for him and brought it.'

(70) wà   kə́   lùw-á-ŋ   n   kədə̀m   tə́
      but   INF   say-GO-3SG   PREP   calabash   GEN
      ží   vàŋgáy   bàhámán
      then   how   Bahaman
      '"What do you say to the calabash, Bahaman?"'

(71) bàhámán   zá   hí   n   kə́
      Bahaman   COMP   2PL   PREP   INF
      lùw-á-ŋ   syì   bárkàmà
      say-GO-3SG   COM   chief
      'Bahaman said, "You say to it, my chief,'

(72) kədə̀m   vl-à   nà   wùdə̀   gí
      calabash   give-GO   1PL.EXCL   food   POL
      tsáy   dàp
      finish   only
      'calabash give us food." That is all.'

(73) séy   báy   zá   kədə̀m   vl-à   nà
      so   chief   COMP   calabash   give-GO   1PL.EXCL
      wùdə̀   gí
      food   POL
      'So the chief said, "Calabash, give us food."'

(74) dà   á   dà   d-á-ŋ   tə̀   wùdə̀
      cook   3SG   cook   cook-GO-3SG   3PL   food
      wàcíŋ   syì
      DEM   COM
      'Then it made food for them.'

(75) hìd   tə́   nfád-yîì   zə̀m   zə̀m   fə́k-á
      man   GEN   palace (F.)-PL   eat   eat   leave -GO
      'The men of the palace all ate and left the remains.'

(76) báy   nə̀   kədə̀m   ngə̀n   ɓə̀t   déɓ   á
      chief   PREP   calabash   SG   take   carry   3SG
      déɓ   ká   á   ìdá
      carry   POS   PRED   home
      'The chiefᵢ took hisⱼ calabash and carried it home.'

(77)   *ígà*   *nákáhà*   *kɔ́*   *ndɔ̀*   *kɔ́*   *n*   *kɔ̀*
      long time (F.) REM   INF   go   PURP   PREP   INF
      ɓàtá   *wàcíŋ*
      take   DEM
      'A long time after, he went to take the calabash.'

(78)   *wàl*   *wà*   *lù*   *lù*   *á*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *á*
      wife   DEM   say   say   3SG   say-GO-3SG   PRED
      n   *kɔ̀dɔ̌m*   *wá*   *mɔ̀*   *dà-ŋ*   *gwádʼ*
      PREP   calabash   DEM   DEB   cook-3SG   a lot
      'The woman told the calabash to cook a lot for her.'

(79)   *dà*   *dà*   *á*   *dà-ŋ*   *nɔ̀*   *wàl*
      cook   cook   3SG   cook-3SG   PREP   woman
      wà   *á*   *n*   *wùdɔ́*   *ngɔ̀n*   *dzɔ̀gɔ́dʼ*
      DEM   3SG   PREP   food   3SG   gather
      dzɔ̀gɔ́dʼ   *ɓàh*   *ká*
      gather   hide   POS
      'It [the calabash] cooked for the woman, and the woman gathered the food and hid it.'

(80)   *séy*   *báy*   *déɓ*   *zɔ́*   *ngɔ̀n*   *kɔ́*   *á*   *ìdá*
      then   chief   take   EE   3SG   POS   PRED   home
      'Then the chief took the calabash home.'

(81)   *ndɔ̀*   *lù-á*   *nɔ̀*   *wàl*   *ngɔ̀n*   *màdáràf*
      go   say-GO   PREP   wife   3SG   favorite
      'He went and said to his favorite wife,'

(82)   *sá*   *skɔ̀n*   *wà*   *syì*   *há*   *kɔ́*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *zɔ́*
      here   thing   DEM   COM   2SG   INF   say-GO-3SG   EE
      kɔ̀dɔ̌m   *vl-á*   *nòk*   *wùdɔ̀*   *gí*
      calabash   give-GO   1PL   food   POL
      syì   *à*   *ndí*   *dɔ́*   *tɔ̀*   *dàp*
      COM   3SG   HAB   make   DED   only
      '"Here you have this thing. If you say to it,'Calabash make us food, please,' then it just cooks."'

(83) *séy   lùá   dà   dà   á   d-á-ŋ   zɔ́*
      then   ask   cook cook 3SG cook-GO-3SG EE
      syì
      COM
      'Then the woman asked. It [the calabash] cooked for her [the woman].'

(84) *bàhámán   ábɔ̀   ndá   ngɔ̀n*
      Bahaman   ASSC   go   3SG.POSS
      'Bahaman went home.'

(85) *wàl   ngɔ̀n   zá   dǎmà bàhámán   hà   yɔ́m*
      wife   3SG   COMP good Bahaman   2SG   also
      skɔ́   vù
      NEG   Q
      'His wife said, "Good, Bahaman, you also [can do it?]."'

(86) *ták   tɔ̀r   láy   tɔ́   mìtíš   mɔ̀ná wàcíŋ ní*
      in   month time   GEN   hunger like DEM   EXCL (F.)
      '"In the time of the famine like this,"'

(87) *skɔ̀n   nàm   dzáŋ   skɔ̀n   syì   há   dǐyà   gáy*
      thing   1DU   find   thing   COM   2SG   put   spoil
      ká
      POS
      '"the thing we found, you are ruining it."'

(88) *nám   kɔ́   tìy   tàŋ*
      1DU   INF   see   DED
      '"We'll see about this."'

(89) *áb   dùwɔ́ŋ mbí   á   tál   ngɔ̀n*
      ASSC back   ANAPH   3SG walk   3SG.POSS
      r   dám   tɔ̀   dàp
      D.HAB   bush DED   still
      'After that, she continued to walk in the same bush.'

(90) à   tál-à   à   tál-à   ndə̀   dzáŋ   á
      3SG   walk-PAST 3SG   walk-PAST go   find   3SG
      dzán-á   ɓámbáy   lə̀kwíɗ lə̀kwíɗ lə̀kwíɗ lə̀kwíɗ
      find-GO   stick   straight straight straight straight
      'She walked and walked and she went to find (and found) a very
      straight stick.'

(91) à   zá   ɓámbáy   ŋ́ɗ-à-k   gí
      3SG   COMP   stick   beat-GO-1SG   POL
      'She said, "Stick, beat me, please."'

(92) séy   ɓámbáy   nákà   ká   ɓə̀t   zə́
      so   stick   REM   INF   take   EE
      dàp
      immediately
      'So the stick took off immediately.'

(93) ʰWáp   ʰWáp   ʰWáp   dîyà   gə̀lɗ   wàl   wàhín
      bap   bap   bap   put   hit   woman   DEM
      'Wap, wap, wap, [it] started to hit the woman.' (ʰW plosive with
      lower lip curled far back behind the teeth. Articulation is accom-
      panied by the voiced velar fricative.)

(94) wàl   wá   hàŋ   hàŋ   kə̀   ɗǎl   vàŋgáy
      womanDEM cry   cry   INF   do   how
      'This woman cried, "What should I do?"'

(95) á   sə̀n   skə̀   bà
      3SG   know   NEG   again
      'She did not know anymore!'

(96) séy   čáp   à   màl   ɓámbáy
      then   INTERJ 3SG   stop   stick
      wà   ká   dàp
      DEM   POS   only
      'Then chap! she stopped the stick.'

(97) ndə̀ɗ   ká   n   skə̀n   ngə̀n   ɓə̀t
      lay   down   PREP   thing   3SG   take
      'She put it down [and] took her thing.'

(98)   ábə̀   ndá   ngə̀n   wùtá
        ASSC   go-GO   3SG   village
        'Then she returned to her village'

(99)   nd-á   yà   ngùl   ngə̀n   á   bíŋ
        go-GO   call husband   3SG   PRED   room
        'and called her husband into the room.'

(100)   déɓ   á   déɓ-é-ŋ   ʝámbáy   nákà
        bring   3SG   bring-GO-3SG   stick   REM
        wà   bíŋ
        DEM   room
        'She brought him the stick in the room.'

(101)   à   zá   ngùl-yíì   ʝámbáy   tə́
        3SG   COMP   husband-PL stick   GEN
        màcíŋ   lùw-á-ŋ   mə̀k
        DEM   say-GO-3SG   would you
        'She said, "My husband, this stick, say to it,"'

(102)   ʝámbáy   ŋd-á-k   gí   syì   à   n   kə̀
        stick   hit-GO-1SG   POL   COM   3SG   PREP   INF
        də̂l-á   tàŋ
        do-GO:2SG   DED
        '"'stick, hit me,' and it will do it to you."'

(103)   há   n   tsàf   skù   syì   wàl-yíì
        2SG   PREP   lie   NEG   COM   woman-PL
        '"You're not lying, my woman."'

(104)   há   lùw-á-ŋ   ngásì   ʝámbáy   n-dí   dâl
        2SG   say-GO-3SG   like that   stick   go   do
        tə́   vù
        DED   Q
        '"You say to it just like that, 'Stick, do it'?"'

(105)   tíl   á   ndə́   zə́   bíŋ
        depart 3SG   go   EE   room
        à   n   mì   bíŋ   dzáŋ   á   dzáŋ   ká
        3SG   PREP   mouth   room   close   3SG   close   POS
        'He went to the room and closed the door.'

(106) *báhámàn   là   á   lúw-á-ŋ   nà   ɓámbáy*
Bahaman   say   3SG   say-GO-3SG   PREP   stick
nákà   wà
REM   DEM
'Bahaman spoke to the stick'

(107) *ɓámbáy   wà   mál   á   mál-á-ŋ   ǹdə̀*
stick   DEM   catch   3SG   catch-GO-3SG   beat
ngə̀n   bíŋ   màcíŋ
3SG   room   DEM
'The stick started to beat him in the room.'

(108) *hàŋ   hàŋ   hàŋ   á   hàŋ   mə̀ná   wàcíŋ*
cry   cry   cry   3SG   cry   like that   DEM
syì
COM
'He cried a lot like that.'

(109) *tús   ŋ́   gàtsà*
right   like   that
'rightly like that' (*tús* 'right, well')

(110) *wàl   wà   rə̀z   mə̀bíŋ   ndə̀   tsáp   á   mə̀l*
wife   DEM   open   door   go   tsap   3SG   catch
ká
POS
'the woman opened the door, went and tsáp caught [it].'

(111) *séy   bàhámàn   wurtə   páláh   à   zá*
then   Bahaman   leave(F.)   out   3SG   COMP
ndə̀   séytíinà   bá dàp
go   'call'   again
'Then Bahaman went out. She said to him, "Go make that call again."' (*séytíinà* 'name in Fula of Muezzin's call in the morning')

(112) *bàhámàn   nd-á   gàr*
Bahaman   go-GO   stand
'Bahaman went and stood' (at the same place from which he had yelled before).

(113) *dîyà   séytíin   go   wàcíŋ syì*
       start   muezzin's call   ?   DEM   COM
       'He started to make the call,'

(114) *kó   wàl   nd   rà   skù*
       even (F.)   neck   go   D.HAB   NEG
       'but the voice did not go out as before.'

(115) *báy   zá   ngwáy bàhámàn   bákà   bá   dzàn-á*
       chief EE   people Bahaman   today still find-GO
       nòk   mí
       1PL   what
       'The chief said, "People, what else did Bahaman find us today?"'
       (*ngwáy* 'plural addressee')

(116) *hí   ndà   lùw-á-ŋ   má   ndà-hà*
       2PL   go   say-GO-3SG   DEB   go-GO
       '"Go tell him to come here."'

(117) *ndá   yà   í   y-ù*
       go   call   3PL   call-3SG
       'One went to call him.'

(118) *tíl   á   nd-á   á   r   báy   tàŋ*
       go   3SG   go-GO   PRED   PREP   chief DED
       'He went to the chief's.'

(119) *á   vàŋgáy   bàhá*
       PRED   how   still
       '"How still?"' (i.e., What's new?)

(120) *áá   wàl   nà   kà   dzán-á   skàn   pár*
       ah   wife   1SG   INF   find-GO   thing   another
       zà   bàdáp
       EE   again
       '"Ah, my wife found another thing again."'

(121) *kə*   *dzán-á*   *nòk*   *skən* *pár*   *zə*
       INF   find-GO   1PL   thing another   EE
      bádàp
      again
      '"She found us something else again?"'

(122) *áa*   *kə*   *dzán-á*   *nòk*   *zá*   *bàrkámà*
      yes   INF   find-GO   1PL   EE   chief (F.)
      '"Yes, she found us something, my chief."'

(123) *à*   *zá*   *hí*   *ndə*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *mə*
      3SG   COMP 2PL   go   say-GO-3SG DEB
      dà-há-w
      bring-GO-3SG
      'He said, "Go tell her to bring it here."'

(124) *zàgíy*   *tíl*   *ndə*   *ɓət*   *í*   *ɓət-áhà-w*
      courtiers (F.) go   go   take 3PL take-GO-3SG
      gáɗ *bə*   *wàl*   *wà*   *táŋ*
      push with woman   DEM DED
      'The courtiers went and brought the calabash with the woman.'

(125) *nd-á*   *díyà* *í*   *dí*   *ɣámbáy*   *wà*
      go-GO   put   3PL put   stick   DEM
      kə *n*   *fádə*   *tà*   *dàp*
      POS PREP court (F.)   DED just
      'They came and put the stick in the court of the chief.'

(126) *ee,*   *wà*   *n*   *kə*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *vàŋgáy*
      well, but PREP INF say-GO-3SG how
      '"But what does one say to it?"'

Another language asistant does not accept the the prepostion *n* in the avove clause, and wants the sentence to be:

      [*ee,*   *wà*   *kə*   *lùw-á-ŋ*   *vàŋgáy*
      well, but INF say-GO-3SG how
      '"But what does one say?"']

(127) áa   hí   lùw-á-ŋ   mə̀k   hí   n   kə̀
       aa,   2PL   tell-GO-3SG won't you 2PL   PREP   INF
       zá   ɓámbáy   wà   tə́l   há   ǹdə̀   hìdì
       say   stick   DEM   try   2SG   hit   man
       gí
       POL
       "'Tell him, you will tell him, 'Try to hit someone.''"

(128) lù   í   lùw-á   ŋgù   ɓámbáy   wà
       say   3PL   say-GO   3SG   stick   DEM
       mə̀l   á   mə̀l-á-ŋ   tə̀   ǹdə̀   tə̀tə̀
       catch   3SG   catch-GO-3SG   3PL   hit   3PL
       mècíŋ
       there
       'They said [it] to the stick, and the stick went on to hit them
       there.'

(129) mə̀   ndə̀   kə́   ši   ví   syì   kə́   ǹdə̀   zá
       REL   go   INF   run   who   COM   INF   hit   EE
       mə̀   ndə̀   kə́   ši   ví   syì   kə́   ǹdə̀   zá
       REL   go   INF   run   who   COM   INF   hit   EE
       'The one who wants to run away, he hit him.' (repeated twice)

(130) ɓə̀t   á   ɓə̀t   káyyà   hí   mə̀l   ká
       start   3SG   start   INTERJ   2SG   catch   POS
       'He started, "Yikes! Stop (PL) it!"'

(131) séy   ndə̀   mə̀l   wàl   wá   mə̀l   ká
       so   go   catch   womanDEM catch   POS
       'So the woman went and stopped it.'

(132) báy   ɓə̀t   zə́   ngə̀n   déɓ   kə́   ìdá
       chief   get   EE   3SG   carry   POS   home
       'The chief took it [the stick] and carried it home.'

(133) ndə̀   lù-á   tə̀tə̀   sə̀   slúɗ   bə̀
       go   say-GO   3PL   PREP   two   ASSC
       màdárə̀f   ngə̀n
       favorite   3SG
       'He went to speak, between the two of them (privately), with his
       preferred wife.'

(134) màná   í   kɔ́   ɓət   kàdə̌m   bàhá
       how   3PL   INF   take   calabash   again
       'In the same way in which they took the calabash'

(135) ndə̀   ɓ̀əgám   syì   màl   á   màl-á-ŋ   tɔ̀
       go   talk   COM   hit   3SG   hit-GO-3SG   3PL
       ǹdə̌   tə̀tə̀   mà   bá   syì
       strike 3PL   there again COM
       'They talked [to the stick]. It started beating them over there
       again.'

(136) kàyífì   í-bə̀   ndà   tə̀tàŋ
       strange (F.)   PL-ASSC   go   3PL
       'Never seen before [a stick hitting people on its own]. They left
       [the court].'

(137) séy   wàl   wá   kám   kɔ́   nàz   tál   dǎ
       the   woman DEM   TOP   INF   stop   walk   exist
       skù   dáp
       NEG   only
       'Then, that woman [the one who found the calabash] did not stop
       taking her walks.'

(138) án   ndə̀   ngə̀n   kɔ́   tàl   áa   tàl   tàl
       3SG   go   3SG   INF   walk   3SG   walk   walk
       tàl   tàl
       walk   walk
       'She walked and walked and walked.'

(139) ndə̀   dzáŋ   kwáykwá-yíì   í   kà   ngá   ɓì   zá
       go   find   hyena-PL   3PL   INF   break   meat   EE
       syì
       COM
       'She went and found some hyenas who had caught some meat.'

(140) káyà   díyà   wàllə   tɔ̀   bə̀   də̀
       INTERJ (F.)   start   help (F.)   3PL   ASSC   cook
       tàŋ
       DED
       'She started to help them cook.'

(141)   *tséy*   *kə́*   *dà-ŋ*   *tə̀*   *zá*   *syì*   *à*
        so   INF   cook-GO-3SG 3PL   EE   COM   3SG
        ndá   *ngə̀n*
        go:GO 3SG
        rá   *án*   *ɬíp*   *šék*   *ngə̀n*   *ɓì*   *nákáhà*
        D.HAB   ?   ?   ?   3SG   meat   REM
        ngaara   *dĩyà*   *á*   *n*   *kə̀də́m*
        break and carry in hand   put   PRED   PREP   calabash
        'So when she finished cooking for them, she returned home, she tore off a piece of that meat, carried it [home], and put it in a calabash.'

(142)   *ndà*   *dĩyà*   *dà*   *á*   *ìdá*
        go   put   cook   PRED   home
        'Then she returned home to cook.'

(143)   *séy*   *tìy*   *á*   *tìy*   *á*   *kə̀*   *mbə́ŋ*   *á*
        so   see   3SG   see   like   that   ANAPH   3SG
        də́l   *rə̀*   *skù*
        do   D.HAB   NEG
        'Then she saw that one does not do it like that.'

(144)   *kwáykwáy-yîi*   *wà*   *zá*   *ńgə̀*   *há*
        hyena-PL   DEM   COMP   if   2SG
        mbàl-ù   *há*   *yàn*   *á*   *kàcíŋ*
        want-3SG   2SG   move   PRED   here
        'Those hyenas told her, "If you want, you can move in here."'

(145)   *à*   *zá*   *ááá*   *mbí*   *sə̀*   *n*   *kí*   *yàn*
        3SG   COMP ah,   myself 1SG   PREP   INF   move
        á   *tàŋ*   *àmmá*   *sə̀*   *bə́*   *ìdá*
        PRED   DED   but   1SG   ASSC   house
        'She said, "I want to move but I have a house."'

(146)   *ngùl*   *nə̀*   *də́hà*   *wə̀ží*   *n-yîi*
        husband   1SG   exist   children   1SG-PL
        də́hà
        exist
        '"I have a husband, I have children."'

(147) *kwáykwá-yîi*   *bɔ̀*   *í*   *zá*   *á*   *tùk*
hyena-PL   ASSC   3PL   COMP   PRED   GEN.2SG
kám   *hí*   *ndà-há hì*   *fú*   *tàŋ*
TOP(F.)   2PL   go-GO 2PL   all (F.)   DED
'As for the hyenas, they said, "Come, all of you."'

(148) *tèbéŋ*   *tɔ́*   *ndìr*   *dáhà*
granary   GEN   sorgho exist
'"There is a granary of sorghum"' (i.e., 'we have granary of sorghum').

(149) *tèbéŋ*   *tɔ́*   *kɔ̀kɔ̀s*   *dáhà*
granary   GEN   beans   exist
'"There is a granary of beans."'

(150) *tèbéŋ*   *tɔ́*   *wɔ̀ndɔ̀n*   *dáhà*
granary   GEN   peanuts   exist
'"There is a granary of peanuts."'

(151) *tèbéŋ*   *tɔ́*   *cìkíɗ*   *dáhà*
granary   GEN   sesame exist
'"There is a granary of sesame."'

(152) *fú*   *dà fú*   *á*   *r*   *tìn*   *wà*   *dáhà*
all   kind (F.)   PRED   PREP   1PL   DEM   exist
'"We have all kinds of things."'

(153) *séy*   *á*   *tà-t*   *kám*   *í*   *ndí*   *ngà*
then   PRED   3PL   TOP (F.)   3PL   HAB   catch
ʃì-yîi   *zɔ̀*   *kɔ́*   *ndá*   *kɔ̀*   *dá*   *tàŋ*
meat-PL   EE   INF   go   INF   cook   DED
'Then, as for them [the hyenas], they just catch the meat [and] bring it for cooking'

(154) *èe*   *hìd-yîi*   *wá*   *í-bɔ̀*   *yáŋ*   *tɔ̀tɔ̀*
ah   man-PL   DEM   3PL:ASSC   move   3PL:POSS
á   *màcíŋ*
PRED   there
'Those people moved over there.' (i.e., the woman with her family)

(155)   *í*   *nz-ù*   *í*   *nz-ù*   *í*   *nz-ù*   *í*
     3PL   stay-PL 3PL stay-PL   3PL   stay-PL   3PL
     nz-ù
     stay-PL
     'They stayed there a long time.'

(156)   *kwáykwá-yìì* *wá*   *zá*   *bákà* *ʓì*   *dã̀*   *skù*
     hyena-PL   DEM COMP today meat exist NEG
     '"The hyenas said, "today, there is no meat."'

(157)   *gèlɓé* *kám*   *há*   *pàts-á* *nòk* *mbà̀* *ntá* *hà*
     better TOP(F.)   2SG   take   1PL child one 2SG
     dá   *nòkóŋ*
     cook   1PL
     '"You better take one of your children and cook it for us."'

(158)   *skú*   *syì*   *ká* *zàm* *skàn-yìì*   *wà*   *bà*
     NEG   COM INF eat   thing-PL   DEM ASSC
     mí
     what
     '"Or else what will we eat those things with?"'

(159)   *áa*   *dámà* *wàl*   *wà*   *bà*   *á*
     ah   good woman   DEM again 3SG
     lúwá-ŋ   *táŋ*
     say-GO-3SG 3PL
     '"It's good," the woman told them again.'

(160)   *ábà̀* *ndà̀* *ngàn* *n*   *kílvíɗ-yìì*
     ASSC go   3SG   PREP trash heap-PL
     'She went to trash heaps.'

(161)   *ndà́* *tsàm* *tsàm* *tsàm* *á*   *tsámà* *kíríngíɫ-yìì*
     go   gather gather gather 3SG   gather bone-PL
     'She went and gathered bones.'

(162)   *wàží-yìì*   *gán* *ngùl-yìì* *rà*   *rà*
     children-PL   even man-PL   dig   dig
     í   *r*   *jíɓ* *címéɗ*   *ká*
     3PL dig hole around   POS
     'Children and also men dug a hole.'

(163) *áb   dùwɔ̀ŋ   mbí   á   n   mívɔ̀ŋ*
       ASSC   back   ANAPH   3SG   PRED   stone
       tɔ́   tápá   ɓát
       GEN   tobacco   take
       'Afterwards, they took the tobacco stone'

       kɔ́   ndá   kɔ̀   pék   mì   jíɓ   nákà   bɔ̀
       INF   come   INF   cover   mouth   hole   REM   ASSC
       béŋ
       ANAPH
       'to go and cover the entrance to the hole with it.'

(164) *séy   hìd-yíì   wà   mɔ̀   ndá-y   zà*
       then   man-PL   DEM   REL   go-STAT   EE
       'Then those people [the hyenas] came.'

(165) *áa   wùdɔ́ ʃkáy   á   sà   wùdɔ́ sá   dà*
       ah   food where   3SG   voici   food voila   bring
       '"Ah, where is the food? Here is the food, here is the food, she brought it."'

(166) *èe   á   nɔ́   mbán   té   gwídìŋ nàz   kɔ́   jíɓ*
       ah   3SG   PREP   child   GEN   one   throw   in   hole
       'Then [she took] one child [and] threw it into the hole.'

(167) *tɔ̀m   á   kɔ̀   mbíŋ*
       always (F.)   PRED   like   that
       '[She] did like that each time.' (I.e., each time when she was asked to cook one of her children, she did the same, she hid it in the hole.)

(168) *kɔ́   dǎl   zá   syì   á   n   mbɔ̀   pár*
       INF   do   EE   COM   3SG   PREP   child   another
       náz   kɔ́   jíɓ
       throw   PREP   hole
       'Each time she did that, she took one child and threw it into the hole.'

(169) *ndɔ́   tsám   tsám   kíríngíɬ   ndà   dá*
       go   gather   gather   bone   go   cook:GO
       'She went to gather bones and cooked [them] there.'

(170)

kə́	dál	zá	sə̀	hàa	tí	píc
INF	do	EE	3SG	until	GEN	day

'She did this until the day . . .'

wəží	túwə́d	zà
children	finish	EE

'when there were no more children.'

(171)

íi	zá		bákà	syí
they	COMP		today	COM
há	n	kə́	də́	tàlàn	tùkóŋ
2SG	PREP	INF	cook	head	2SG

'They said, "Today you will cook yourself."'

(172)

á	zá	á	dámà	sə̀	də́	zà
3SG	COMP	3SG	good	1SG	cook	EE

'She said "Good, I will cook."'

(173)

tíl	á	ndə̀	zə́	ndə̀	tsàm	tsàm	á
go	3SG	go	EE	go	collect	collect	3SG
tsám-à		kíríngíɬ-yíi		nd-á	ták	cìkíd	
collect-GO		bone-PL		go-GO	crush	sesame	
dál	dál	á	dál	cíkè	kà	
do	do	3SG	do	all	POS	

'She went and collected bones, returned, and crushed sesame; she did all that.'

(174)

dà	dà	á	də̀	zə́	dìy	á
cook	cook	3SG	cook	EE	put	3SG
dìyà-n		tə̀tə̀	ká			
put-GO-3SG		3PL	POS			

'She cooked, cooked, and she put [it] for them [hyenas].'

(175)

séy	mìné	ngùl	ngə̀n	žídèp
then	remain	husband	3SG	still

'Her husband was still left.'

(176)

hìd-yíi	wà	táŋ	kà	də̀	tàlàn	ngə̀n	zá
man-PL	DEM	return	INF	cook	head	3SG	EE

'Those people returned, and she cooked herself,'

(177) *àskà   tsú   ngàn   bàr   wùž íi*
 ?   went   3SG   side   children
 'but actually she went to be with her children.'

(178) *bákà   sài   á   tà   t-kóŋ   ngùl*
 today   ah,   GEN   GEN-2SG   husband
 hà   n   kə́   də́   tàlàn   tàkóŋ
 2SG   PREP   INF   cook   head   2SG
 (wife talking) '"Today, it is for you husband, you will cook yourself."

(179) *í yò   dămà*
 yes,   o.k.
 "Well, o.k." (husband answers)

(180) *kwàíkwà-yíì   wà   í   tsù   kə́   tàláa   kə́*
 hyena-PL   DEM   3PL   went   INF   walk   INF
 tàláa   ǹkù-ngàn-yíì   syì   bàs   kúhú   kú
 walk   goat -SG-PL   COM   lit   fire   when
 kə́   kàdăw syì   áw   wá   ngwáy
 INF   burn   COM   INTERJ   PL.ADRSE
 wàl   nà   ndí   d   ksám   ngàn   vàŋgáy
 wife   1SG   go   cook   body   3SG   how
 'When the hyenas went to tend their goats, the man lit the fire, and when the fire was burning well, the man screamed, "How did my wife cook herself?"'

(181) l'heur   tə́   skàn-yíì   wà   mbé   kà
 time (Fr.)   GEN   thing-PL   DEM   close   INF
 ndà-hà
 come -GO
 'When the time of their return was approaching,'

(182) *ə́nà   píč   mbé   kə́   nd-á   wácìi[n]*
 PREP   day   close   INF   go-GO   DEM
 'When the day of their [the hyenas'] return was approaching,'

(183) *wàl   wà   báf   á   bàf-áhà   bà   nə́f   dàp*
 wife   DEM   leave   3SG   leave-GO   ASSC   heart   only
 'the wife left abruptly with a lot of courage.'

(184) ndá   dà   dà   dà   á   dò   wírú   wá
       go   cook   cook   cook   3SG   cook   gravy   DEM
       fú   zà
       food (F.)   EE
       '[She] came to cook the gravy for the food.'

(185) ɓát   á   ɓát   vènjéh hòz   hòz   hòz   hòz   túk
       take   3SG   take   pepper crush   crush   crush   crush   fill
       fòrám
       horn
       'She took pepper and crushed, crushed, crushed [it], and filled
       the horn.'

(186) hé   dâl   í-bò   ndò   tòtò   á   jíɓ
       ?   do   PL-ASSC   go   3PL   PRED   hole
       'They went into the hole,'

       á   bòr   wòží   ngòn-yíì   nákáhà
       PRED   side   children   3SG-PL   REM
       'next to her children'

(187) pá   tó   ngùl   ngòn
       distribute in parts   GEN   husband   3SG
       'She gave a part [of the food] to her husband,'

       àa   wòží   ábò   tó   ngòn
       [hesitation]   children-PL   ASSC   GEN   3SG
       í   dǐyà   zòm
       3PL   put   eat
       '[and] to her children, and they started to eat.'

(188) kwáykwá-yíì   í   mó   nd-à-y   zá
       hyena-PL   3PL   REL   go-GO-STAT   EE
       'The hyenas came.'

(189) í   zòm   rá   í   zòm   rá   í
       3PL   eat   D.HAB   3PL   eat   D.HAB   3PL
       zòm   rá   syì
       eat   D.HAB   COM
       'They were eating, they were eating, they were eating.'

(190)   *séy*   *mə̀*   *ngùl*   *ngùl*   *kə́*   *wə̀*
            then   REL   husband   husband   INF   start
            kédéŋ   *ngàn* *tə́*   *zà*   *bá*   *dàp*
            stupidity   3SG   DED   EE   again   only
            'Then the man started again with his stupidity.'

(191)   *ngwáy*   *á*   *wə̀ží*   *tùk-yíì*   *dáy*
            PL addressee   PRED   children   2SG-PL   much
            dáy   *á*   *tán*   *fĩ̀š*
            much   PRED   1SG   small
            '"Say, for your children it is a lot, for me it is little."'

(192)   *à*   *wə̀ží*   *tə̀kí*   *dáy*   *dáy*   *dáy*   *à*   *tán*
            PREP   children   2SG   much   much   much   PREP   1SG
            fə̀š
            little
            '"For your children it is a lot, for me it is little."'

(193)   *séy*   *váz,*   *kwáykwá-yíì*   *wà*   *í*   *kə̀*   *tím*
            then   perhaps   hyena-PL   DEM   3PL   INF   hear
            zà
            EE
            'Then, the hyenas heard.'

(194)   *ngwáy* *skə̀n-yíì*   *ɓə̀gám*   *rə̀*   *dáhà*
            'say'   thing-PL   talk   D.HAB   exist
            (one of hyenas talking) '"There is something talking there."'

(195)   *dìyà*   *lù*   *tà dáp*   *á*   *wə̀ží*
            put   say   continue   PRED   children
            tùk-yíì   *dáy dáy dáy*   *á*   *tán*   *fĩ̀š*
            GEN.2SG-PL   a lot a lot   PRED   1SG   little
            'He kept on saying, "For your children it is a lot, for me it is little."'

(196)   *séy*   *hìdì*   *wà*   *zá*   *á*   *fàkát*
            then   people   DEM   COMP INTERJ   true (F.)
            'Then those people [the hyenas] said, "Ha, it is true."'

(197) kwáykwá-yíì   wà   lù   žéŋ   í   zà
       hyena-PL   DEM   say   RECIPR   3PL   COMP
       hìdì   wà   kà   dá   də́pdàp
       people   DEM   here   exist   only
       'The hyenas said to themselves, "There are some people in here."'

(198) màl   í   màl-á-ŋ   gə́r   tàtàŋ
       catch   3PL   catch-GO-3SG   search   3PL
       'They started looking for them.'

(199) hók   ńvəŋ   hók   ńvəŋ   hók   ńvəŋ   hók   ńvəŋ
       hók   ńvəŋ
       remove stone (X 5)
       'They removed one stone, removed another, another, and another.'

(200) í   hók   rà   wàcíŋ   séy   wàl   wà   ɓàt
       3PL   lift   D.HAB   DEM   then   wife   DEM   take
       á   ɓàt   fòrə́m   nákà   bə̀   vènjéh   dìyà   á   dì
       3SG   take   horn   REM   ASSC   pepper   put   3SG   put
       kə́   nə́   mà
       in   PREP   mouth
       'When they were lifting [the stones], the wife took the horn that contained the pepper and put it in her mouth.'

(201) séy   áb   dùwə́n   mbí   í   n   kə́   n   kə́
       then   ASSC   after   that   3PL   PREP   INF   PREP   INF
       ndá-hà   kò   hók   ńvəŋ-yíì
       go-GO   INF   lift   stone-PL
       'After they came to lift the stones,'

       ìf   á   ìf-é   tə́   n   fòrə́m   wà   dàp
       blow   3SG   blow-GO   GEN   PREP   horn   DEM   only
       'she blew that which was in the horn.'

(202) vènjéh   túl   kwáykwá-yíì   tíŋ   tíŋ   tíŋ   màts
       pepper   spread   hyena-PL   heap   heap   heap   dead
       'The pepper spread, and the hyenas were lying around dead,'

séy   màtábù   ábà   ší   ngàn
except last born   ASSC   flee   3SG
'except for the last born: he fled.'

(203) ndà   dzáŋ   á   dzáŋ   dàkáy   t-yíì   dámù
       go   find   3SG   find   other   DEM-PL   bush
       'He went to search for others in the bush.'

(204) séy   nástà   ngàn   tsákà   pàríi
       the   enter (F.)   3SG   inside (F.)   others
       'He went in with the others.'

(205) wàl   nákà   báf   ngàn   páláh   gàr
       wife   REM   jump   3SG   out   stand up
       kàts   á   kàts   ábà   wàzí   táŋ
       gather 3SG   gather ASSC   children   DED
       ábà   ngùl   táŋ   ndà   dzáŋ
       ASSC   husband   DED   go   find
       kwáykwáy-yíì   nákà
       hyena-PL   REM
       'The woman jumped out, stood up, gathered her children and her
       husband, and went to find the hyenas.'

(206) kwáykwáy-yíì   nákà   fú   mà   mbàd-í
       hyena-PL   REM   all (F.) REL   transform-STAT
       kà   wír   žìdép   áb   tèbéŋ-yíi   nákáhà
       PREP   gravy   only   ASSC   granary-PL   REM
       'The hyenas became [meat for] her gravy, and also the granaries
       [belong to her].'

Text 5. A frog and a buffalo

(1)   gómbòk   í-bà   bàkàlàf   ì   dál
       frog   PL-ASSC   buffalo   3PL   make
       gáabà
       conversation
       'A frog and a buffalo had a conversation.'

(2)   *bàkàlàf*   *zá*   *nà*   *gómbòk*   *hà*   *kúl*   *kà*
    buffalo   COMP PREP frog   2SG   able   INF
    ší   *skù*
    run   NEG
    'The buffalo said to the frog, "You cannot run."'

(3)   *túm*   *hà*   *tspádàp*   *á*   *nì*   *yàm*
    always 2SG   remain crouched   PRED PREP water
    dáp   *áz*   *tàm*   *k*   *ší*   *yámàk*
    only   go   1GEN.DU   INF   run   also
    '"Every day you remain crouched in the water. Let's also run."'

(4)   *gómbòk*   *zá*   *hà*   *r*   *ví*
    frog   COMP 2SG   insult who
    'The frog said, "Who are you insulting?"'

    sà   *n*   *k*   *ší*   *dáy*   *kóhóŋ*
    1SG   PREP INF   run   surpass   2SG
    '"I will run better than you."' [buffalo talking]

(5)   *à*   *ʒá*   *hà*   *tsàf*
    3SG   say   2SG   lie
    'He [the frog] said, "You are lying."'

(6)   *tò*   *à*   *ʒá*   *s-tsàf*   *kám*   *à*
    okay 3SG   say   1SG-lie   TOP(F.)   PRED
    pàt   *káfkáfá*   *áz*   *tàm*
    tomorrow   morning   go   1GEN.DU
    kà   *sĭ*   *táŋ*
    INF   run   DED
    '"Okay, he said, "If I lie--tomorrow morning let's run."'

(7)   *gómbòk*   *zá*   *tò*
    frog   EE   well (H.)
    'The frog said, "Okay."'

(8)   *ábù*   *tskòh*   *mbéŋ*   *gómbòk*   *tàr*
        ASSC   evening   ANAPH   frog   ask
        tàr   *á*   *tàr*   *á*   *ngámbù*
        ask   3SG   ask   PRED   friend
        ngòn-yîi
        3SG-PL
        'That evening, the frog asked for help from his friends.'

(9)   *dî*   *dî*   *á*   *dî*   *tòtò*   *ká*   *cìké*   *á*
        put   put   3SG   put   3PL   POS   all   PRED
        mòȝòm   *làkwát*
        shore   river
        'He put them all on the shore of the river.'

(10)   *à*   *ȝá*   *bàkàlàf*   *kò*   *dêf*   *hínò*   *mù*
        3SG   say   buffalo   INF   show   2PL   mouth
        zá   *gómbòk*   *kám*   *łéłé*   *òhók*
        COMP   frog   TOP   answer   yes
        'He said, "If the buffalo calls you frog, answer yes."'

(11)   *í*   *ȝá*   *tó*
        3PL   say   okay
        'They said, "Okay."'

(12)   *gàrà*   *káfkáf*   *žíŋ*   *bàkàlàf*   *mò*
        during   morning   return   buffalo   REL
        ndà-y   *zá*
        go:GO-STAT   EE
        'The next morning, the buffalo returned.'

(13)   *á*   *ȝá*   *áz*   *tòm*   *kò*   *ší*   *táŋ*
        3SG   say   go   1GEN.DU   INF   run   DED
        'He said, "Let's run."'

(14)   *á*   *ȝá*   *tó*
        3SG   say   well (H.)
        'He said, "Okay."'

(15)   *bàkàlàf*   *šèee*   *šé*   *šé*   *šé*   *á*   *ší*
        buffalo   run   run   run   run   3SG   run
        'The buffalo ran and ran.'

(16)   *gómbòk*   *óhòk*
       frog   yes
       '"Frog?" "Yes."'

(17)   *à*   *ʑà*   *á*   *kàbám* *kɔ́*   *mbɔ̀d-à-k*   *zá*
       3SG   say   3SG   ahead   INF   surpass-GO-1SG   EE
       'He [the buffalo] said, "He[the frog] is ahead. He surpasses
       me."'

(18)   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*
       3SG   run   only   3SG   run   only
       'He runs, he runs.'

(19)   *gómbòk*   *òhók*
       frog   yes
       '"Frog?" "Yes."'

(20)   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*   *á*   *šì*   *dàp*
       3SG   run   only   3SG   run   only
       'He runs, He runs.'

(21)   *gómbòk*   *òhók*
       frog   yes
       '"Frog?" "Yes."'

(22)   *à*   *ʑà*   *kái*   *à*   *šì*   *dáy*
       3SG   say   INTERJ   3SG   run   surpass
       kà   *sáŋ*
       PREP   1SG
       'He said, "Hey, he runs faster than me."'

(23)   *à*   *ràmú*   *à*   *ràmú*   *à*   *rámù*
       3SG   run fast   3SG   run fast   3SG   run fast
       'He runs fast, fast, fast.'

(24)   *gómbòk*   *óhòk*
       frog   yes
       '"Frog?"   "Yes."'

(25)   *bàkàlàf*   *dàbàráy*   *ngàŋ*   *dǎ*   *skà*   *bà*
       buffalo   strength   3SG   exist   NEG   ASSC
       žìdép
       still
       'The buffalo doesn't have strength anymore'

(26)   *gés*   *kà*   *bà*   *páy*   *mà*   *màts-yí*   *zà*
       lean   PREP   ASSC   tree   REL   die-STAT   EE
       'He leans against a tree; he is dead.'

(27)   *gómbòk-yìì*   *cìɓéw*   *á*   *páláh*   *nà*   *fàt*   *fàt*   *i*
       frog-PL   all   PRED   outside go   skin   skin   3PL
       fàt   *ɟì*   *tàtáŋ*
       skin   meat   GEN:3PL
       'All the frogs went outside and skinned their meat.'

(28)   *tò*   *kwáykwáy*   *kà*   *ndá*   *ngàŋ*   *r*
       okay   hyena   INF   come   3SG   D.HAB
       zá   *hí*   *dǎl*   *mí*   *hì*   *n*
       COMP   2PL   make   what   2PL   PREP
       kà   *dzán-á*   *nók*   *ɟì*   *zá*   *yà*
       INF   find-GO   1PL   meat   EE   isn't it
       'Okay, a hyena came and said, "What are you doing? You found us meat; how nice of you!"'

(29)   *háá*   *nók*   *kà*   *dzán-á*   *nók*   *ɟì*   *zá*
       yes   1PL   INF   find-GO   1PL   meat   EE
       '"Yes, we found the meat for ourselves."'

(30)   *há*   *áz*   *tòk*   *kò*   *ɓàm*   *tó*
       so   go   GEN:1PL.INCL   INF   eat   DED
       žìdép   *skà*   *vú*
       at last   NEG   Q
       'So, aren't we going to eat at last?"'

(31)   *í*   *ɟá*   *káy*
       3PL   say   INTERJ
       'They said, "Hey!"'

(32) | *wà* | *kà* | *ɓám* | *bà* | *mí* | *lèɓék lèɓék* | *wà* | *kà* |
|-----|------|------|------|------|--------------|------|------|
| but | INF | eat | ASSC | what | something raw | but | INF |

ɓám	*vàŋgáy*
eat	how

  '"But how can one eat it raw?"'

(33) | *tò* | *áz* | *tòk* | *kə́* | *grà* |
|-----|------|------|------|------|
| okay (H.) | go | GEN:1PL.INCL | INF | find |

kúhú
fire

  '"Okay, let's find fire.'

(34) | *wá* | *mə̀* | *kə́* | *ndə̀* | *kə́* | *gàd-á* | *nòk* |
|-----|------|------|-------|------|--------|------|
| but | REL | INF | go | INF | take-GO | 1PL |

kú	*ví*
fire	who

  '"but who will go to find us fire?"'

(35) | *kwáykwáy* | *zá* | *hí* | *ndà* |
|------------|------|------|------|
| hyena | COMP | 2PL | go |

  'The hyena said, "You go!"'

(36) | *kái* | *í* | *ẓá* | *nà* | *lə́* | *ẓì* | *nìnàŋ* |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| INTERJ | 3PL | say | 1PL | own | meat | 1PL |

kə́	*ndà*
INF	go

  '"Look, they said, "We who own the meat, it is we who go?"'

(37) | *kwáykwáy* | *à* | *ndə̀* | *dáp* | *nà* | *gr-á* |
|------------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| hyena | 3SG | go | only | PREP | find-GO |

nòkòŋ
1PL

  '"Just the hyena goes to find it for us."'

(38) | *kwáykwáy* | *tàŋ* | *kə́* | *ndə̀* | *kə́* | *grà* | *kúhú* |
|------------|-------|------|-------|------|------|--------|
| hyena | DED | INF | go | INF | find | fire |

  'The hyena went to find fire.'

(39) mà   zá   báytà   gómbòk-yíi   zá   syì
      REL   EE   large   frog-PL   COMP   COM
      hí   kám   fú   tàŋ   hí   wàn   kà
      2PL   TOP   all   DED   2PL sleep:IMPER POS
      mùkàdkádăŋ   sùlúɗ   sùlúɗ
      upside down   two   two
      'The largest of the frogs said, "You all lie down on your backs in
      pairs."'

(40) sà   bó   sà   n   kí   mìŋ   s   tátà
      1SG   also   1SG   PREP   INF stay   1SG   alone
      '"I also will stay alone."'

(41) sà   n   kə́   ʒá   bìʒáf   kə́   dzà   dàkáìt-yíi
      1SG   PREP   INF   say   God   INF kill   other-PL
      tsáy   zá   à   mín   s   tátà
      completely   EE   3SG   remain 1SG   alone
      'I will say God killed all the others; I alone remain'

(42) tò   kwáykwáy   tàŋ   z   kə́   gàɗ-á
      okay   hyena   go   EE   INF take-GO
      kúhú
      fire
      'Okay, the hyena went to get fire.'

(43) à   ndá   syì   tàtà   fú   tàŋ   í   mà
      3SG   go:GO   COM   3PL   all   DED   3PL   REL
      wàn-yí   sùlúɗ   sùlúɗ   mùkàdkádăŋ
      sleep-STAT   two   two   upside down
      'She came -- all of them were sleeping on their backs in pairs.'

(44) kwáykwáy   də́ɓ   í   wàn   sùlúɗ   sùlúɗ
      hyena   ask   3PL   sleep   two   two
      wá   mà   dál-á-ŋ   tàtà   mí
      but   REL   make-GO-3SG   3PL   what
      'The hyena asked, "They sleep in pairs, but what happened to
      them?"'

(45) à   ɓá   bìɓáf   ká   dzà   tàtà   cíké'   kà   à
      3SG   say   God   INF   kill   3PL   all   POS   3SG
      fín   nàmú   nám   ká   tì   tàŋ
      remain 1DU   1DU   INF   see   DED
      'He said, "God has killed them all; there remains only us, we will
      see."'

(46) kwáykwáy   zá   mèɗ
      hyena   COMP   swear
      'The hyena said, "Swear!"'

(47) à   ɓá   káy   à   fín   nàm   tátà
      3SG   say   INTERJ   3SG   remain 1DU   alone
      mbémbé   wá   à   n   ká   ndá   tàŋ
      immediately   but   3SG   PREP   INF   go:GO   DED
      'He said, "Look, there remains only us, but very soon he [God]
      will come."'

(48) kwáykwáy   zà   mbíŋ   kám   ɓì   tìkínìŋ
      hyena   COMP   ANAPH   TOP   meat   GEN:2PL
      mə́   nzà   hín   kà
      REL   stay   you   here
      'The hyena said, "If it is like that, your meat should remain with
      you."'

(49) ká   ɓət   šì   zá   gómbòk-yíì   wàhíŋ
      INF   take   run   EE   frog-PL   DEM
      ábə̀   dùwə́ŋ   fə̀dáh   tə̀tàŋ
      ASSC   after   wake up   3PL
      'She took flight; those frogs then woke up.'

(50) ɓì   tə̀tàŋ   fú   tàŋ   dèɓ   í   dèɓ   ká
      meat   GEN:3PL   all   DED   bring   3PL   bring   INF
      n   yə̀m
      PREP   water
      'They brought all of their meat into the water.'

(51) *kwáykwáy   žíŋ   bà   dùwɔ́n syì   í   cíkè*
     hyena   return   ASSC   back   COM   3PL   all
     í   tsù   tɔ̀tɔ̀   nɔ̀   yɔ̀m
     3PL   went   3PL   PREP   water
     'The hyena returned after they all had gone into the water.'

(52) *à   sé   í   dzɔ̀k-á-kù*
     3SG   then   3PL   cheat-GO-1SG
     'She said, "They cheated me."'

(53) *ndìká   mɔ̀njé wàhíŋ sà   n   kà   dzáŋ*
     better (F.)   now   DEM   1SG   PREP   INF   find
     gómbòk   zá
     frog   EE
     sɔ́   n   kɔ́   ndráɮ   mbàɗ   wìrnjík
     1SG   PREP   INF   smash   become   ash
     '"From now on, when I find a frog, I will smash it to ashes."'

Index

References

Cohen, Marcel
    1937   *Traité de langue amharique*. Paris: Institut d'ethnologie.

Dieu, Michel and Patrick Renaud, (eds.)
    1983   *Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique Cenrale. Le Cameroun.* Yaoundé: ACCT-CERDOTOLA-DGRST.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt.
    1977   On the Intransitive Copy Pronouns in Chadic. *Studies in African Linguistics.* Supplement 7.73-84

    1985a   Truth and the Indicative Sentence. *Studies in Language* 9.2.243-254.

    1985b   'Causative' and 'benefactive' in Chadic. *Afrika und Übersee* 68. 23-42.

    1985c   Ergativity, number, and agreement. *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society.* Ed. by Mary Niepokuj, Mary VanClay, Vassiliki Nikiforidou, and Deborah Feder, 96-106.

    1987a   Truth and the compositionality principle: A reply to Palmer. *Studies in Language* 11.1.211-217.

    1987b   Relative clause in Proto-Chadic. *Proceedings of the 4th International Hamito-Semitic Congress.* Ed. by Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Walter W. Müller. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 425-450.

    1987c   Encoding locative in Chadic. *Journal of West African Languages* 17.1.81-97.

    1991e   A man and a woman: or gender marking in a nominal system. *Les relations hommes femmes dans le bassin du Lac Tchad.* Ed. by Nicole Echard, vol. II, 35-46. Actes du IV colloque Méga-Tchad. Paris: ORSTOM.

    1993   *A Grammar of Mupun.* Berlin:Reimer.

    1995   Functional theory of complementizers. *Modality in Grammar and Discourse.* Ed. by Joan Bybee and Suzanne Fleischman. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 473-502.

    1996   *Grammaticalization of the Complex Sentence: A case study in Chadic.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. Complementary Series to the Study in Language.

    1997   Grammaticalization of number: From demonstratives to nominal and verbal plural. *Linguistic Typology* 1:193-242.

    1999   Domains of point of view and coreferentiality: system interaction approach to the study of reflexives. *Reflexives: Forms and Functions.* Frajzyngier and Curl, (eds). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt and Robert Koops

  1989   Double epenthesis and N-class in Chadic. *Current Progress in Chadic Linguistics*. Ed. by Zygmunt Frajzyngier. Benjamins: Amsterdam, 233-250.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt and Wendy Ross

  1991   Methodological issues in applying linguistics to the study of pre-history. *Unwritten testimonies of the African Past*, Orientalia Varsoviensia 2. ed. by Stanisław Piłaszewicz and Eugeniusz Rzewuski. 21-44.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, Holly Krech and Armik Mirzayan

  2002   Motivation for copula in equational clauses. *Linguistic Typology*, 6.2, 155–198.

Haiman, John and Sandra A. Thompson (eds)

  1988   *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hoffmann, Carl

  1971   Provisional list of Chadic languages. *Chadic Newsletter*. Special Issue.

Hutchison, John

  1984   *The Kanuri language*. Madison, WI.: African Studies Program.

Hyman, Larry and John Watters

  1984   Auxiliary focus. *Studies in African Linguistics* 15.3.233-273.

Jungraithmayr, Herrmann

  1994   'Zweite Tempora' in Afrikanischen Sprachen- Ägyptisch-Tschadische Gemeinsemkeiten. In Bietak, Manfred, Johanna Holaubek, Hans Mukarowsky and Helmut Satzinger (eds). *Zwischen den Beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*. Wien: Institute für Ägyptologie der Univesität Wien.

Lienhard, Ruth and Martha Giger

  1975   *Daba (parler de Pologozom). Description phonologique*. Yaoundé: Société Internationale de Linguistique.

Mithun, Marianne

  1988   The grammaticization of coordination. In Haiman and Thompson 1988, 331-360.

Mouchét, Jean

  1967   *Le parler daba. Esquisse grammaticale précédée d'une note sur l'ethnie daba, suivie de lexiques daba-français et français daba*. Yaoundé: Recherches et Études Camerounaises 10.

Newman, Paul

  1971   Transitive and intransitive in Chadic languages. In *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen.—Ein Querschnitt*, ed. Veronika Six et al., pp. 188-

200. (Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde, 14.) Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung.

1990   Chadic. *Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Ed by. William Bright. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2000   *The Hausa Language. An encyclopedic reference grammar*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Podlewski, André Michel

1965   *La dynamique des principales populations du Nord-Cameroun*. Yaoundé: Institut de Recherches Scientifiques du Cameroun.

Schuh, Russell, Galen

1981   Types of genitive constructions in Chadic. *Studies in African Linguistics. Supplement* 8, 117-121.